Private Paths to Protecting

Places: The Creation of a Conservation Infrastructure in the American South Since 1889

by

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates changes in the ways individuals protected private land in the twentieth century American South. In contrast with iconic parks like Yellowstone or the heavily industrialized lands of the Northeast, most land in the American South was broadly populated, privately owned, and overwhelmingly rural. In this distinct American region, private initiatives to protect land began much earlier than commonly assumed and the motivation remained strong from the late nineteenth century to the present. The methods for protecting lands changed dramatically over the course of the twentieth century, and the twentieth century witnessed a correlation between the successes of the environmental movement and a higher likelihood of private efforts to protect land as the public's ecological knowledge grew. Ultimately, the phenomenal twentieth century increase in private conservation reflects a trend away from government-managed parks while also highlighting a growing public interest in protecting lands from development. These gradual alterations in the ways Americans protected their land demonstrates sweeping changes in American culture, the role of the state in society, and citizens' engagement with the environment.

Acknowledgments

When I read my first academic monograph many years ago, I was struck by the length of the acknowledgments. Having completed a dissertation, my perspective changed and now the space allotted to recognizing those who helped make this work possible seems wholly inadequate. This brief list is my attempt to credit these people.

Perhaps the most enjoyable part of writing a dissertation is conducting the research. This project started as a research paper which took me to the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives where I met James Ogden and first encountered Adolph Ochs's plans to create a park for Chattanooga. From this seed, the rest of the dissertation grew to explore the histories of other parks.

I am indebted to the staff of MARBL at Emory's Woodruff Library, the staff of the Southern Historical Collection, and particularly Carie Chesarino at the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh. Thanks also to Sarah Downing at the Outer Banks History Center. Dan Jones, CEO of 21st Century Parks, generously gave of his time to clarify his organization's history. Research on the Cumberland Trail and Bowater Pocket Wildernesses introduced me to Andy Wright of the Tennessee State Park System and Kevin Gallagher at Resolute Forest Products. They both provided documents, a quiet place to research, and stimulating conversation.

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BRP---------Blue Ridge Parkway
CCC--------Civilian Conservation Corps
ERA--------Eno River Association
FWS--------Fish and Wildlife Service
GSMNP----Great Smoky Mountains National Park
OBX--------Outer Banks, North Carolina
ORRRC----Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission
NPS---------National Park Service
TCWP------Tennessee Citizens for Wilderness Preservation
TVA--------Tennessee Valley Authority
USFS-------United States Forest Service

Introduction: "America's Best Idea" or "Dispossessed Wilderness?" Conceptions of American Parks and Conservation

"*The National Parks: America's Best Idea* is the story of an idea as uniquely American as the Declaration of Independence and just as radical: that the most special places in the nation should be preserved, not for royalty or the rich, but for everyone."

Ken Burns, 2009

"It was agreed that the wilderness experience was shared by many and was a genuine emotion. It was also agreed the experience could be just as valid standing in the center of 100 acres of woodlands as 5,000 square miles of woodlands."

Dick Dyer, 1991

In the fall of 2007, the National Audubon Society and the Defenders of Wildlife filed a lawsuit against the National Park Service (NPS) over the agency's off-road vehicle policies at the Cape Hatteras National Seashore. Pitting non-governmental environmental groups against one of the largest and most visible conservation bureaucracies in the world, the lawsuit sought to halt the Park Service decades-old policy of allowing four-wheel drive vehicles access to the beaches where endangered species of sea turtles and migratory birds nest.[1] The reactions to the lawsuit from the NPS, local tourism promoters, and national environmentalists were strong. The Audubon Society argued the off-road vehicle (ORV) access policies damaged the nesting grounds of

[1] Ted Williams, "Beach Bullies," *Audubon Magazine*, September-October 2012. See also, Committee on Natural Resources, *Report on the Preserving Access to Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Act*. H.R. REP No 113-146.

protected species and literally crushed young sea turtles before they had a chance to make their first swim. ORV advocates viewed the lawsuit as evidence of "eco-freak" meddling and a closing of public lands in the name of the dubious argument that the ORVs harmed endangered species of birds and turtles, even though these nests were clearly marked.[2] Caught in the middle of the firestorm was the National Park Service, an agency dedicated to the principles outlined in the Organic Act of 1916, which were "....to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life [in national parks] and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." The relationship between providing for the enjoyment of parks while also conserving the scenery, natural objects, and wildlife unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations remains one of the fundamental challenges to the NPS, and the lawsuit at Cape Hatteras cast this tension into sharp relief. On the one hand, the Audubon Society's concerns for wildlife find support in the Organic Act. On the other hand, the ORV proponents could cite the act's reference to "providing enjoyment" as evidence the purpose of the NPS was to offer American citizens access to public nature recreation lands.[3] Caught between the Audubon Society and the ORV groups, the National Park Service seemed to be failing in its stated mission.

Contrast this contentious firestorm to the celebratory chronicling of the National Park Service's history that appeared from Ken Burns, the well-known and respected documentary filmmaker of *The Brooklyn Bridge*, *Baseball*, *Jazz*, and *The Civil War*. Just two years later in the fall of 2009, Burns premiered a 12-hour documentary miniseries on PBS entitled *The National Parks: America's Best Idea.* Following the pattern of his

[2] Ibid.
[3] Congress passed the National Park Service Organic Act in 1916. 16 U.S.C. §1

previous success, *The National Parks* was well received by the general public and real park visitation rose in the year after the miniseries aired.[4] With sweeping filmography, stirring music, and a straightforward narrative, the documentary cast these lands as places apart from the modern world. Most episodes' opening scenes depicted quiet places in a national park, often with wildlife in the peaceful serenity of its habitat. People were noticeably absent, although when they did appear, they were overwhelmed by the majesty of the place they were visiting. One ranger's story described his early morning encounter with a herd of bison as he delivered mail by snowmobile. In the cold morning solitude, this ranger felt totally separated from the modern world he actually inhabited. He recounted how he "remembered thinking if I had not been on that machine I would have thought I was thrust fully back into the Pleistocene…and this was the first day. I was all alone, but I felt I was in the presence of everything around me and I was never alone. It was one of those moments when you get pulled outside yourself."[5] He felt powerless, he felt small, and he felt he was just a small part of a much bigger world. He *felt* wilderness. These types of interviews fleshed out the landscapes with stories of personal enlightenment, moments of "wilderness encounters," and the deep emotional impact the parks made on individuals.

From the first episode, *The National Parks* appealed to viewer's emotions and throughout the documentary the parks appeared as timeless, beautiful, and distinctly American. Capturing national parks at their best, the film emphasized the "democracy"

[4] It is difficult to argue causality between Burns's documentary and the rise in attendance. Deanne Stillman, "Review of *The National Parks: America's Best Idea"* by Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns," *The Los Angeles Times* September 25, 200; Tim Goodman, "Ken Burns' *National Parks* A Surprise" *The San Francisco Gate,* August 2009.

[5] Ken Burns, *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*, Dir. by Ken Burns. Prod. by Ken Burns and Dayton Duncan. (2009; Washington, DC: Florentine Films and WETA) Episode 2

of the parks and the idea that America was doing something revolutionary and special with a national park system. Juanita Greene succinctly summarizes the tone of the film, observing that "in the United States you don't have to be dependent on some rich guy being generous to you. To me, that's what national parks mean. It's a symbol of democracy, democracy when it works well---democracy at its best."[6] Ironically, it was the exercise of democratic rights that brought a lawsuit against the NPS at Cape Hatteras, but most media reviewers found the documentary informative, engaging, inspiring, and timely. In the *Los Angeles Times*, Deanne Stillman called the film "reverent," and other reviewers described it as "an unabashed love letter."[7] Alternately, some reviewers criticized the series as "beautiful but sometimes boring," a critique occasionally lobbied against the parks themselves.[8] In a particularly biting critique nestled in a joke, Hank Stuever wrote in *The Washington Post*, "that Burns can require me to watch all six episodes of *The National Parks* and not include a clip of Yogi Bear in Jellystone National Park -- as a representation of the parks' place in popular culture – is a good example of why I've never fully trusted Burns to tell all of America's story."[9]

Although they were not clamoring for Yogi Bear, restraint characterized many scholars' reactions. Writing in the *Journal of American History*, Paul Sutter observed that "as an environmental historian, [his] reaction to *The National Parks* was decidedly

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[6] Ibid

[7] Ken Burns, *National Parks*; Deanne Stillman, "Review of *The National Parks: America's Best Idea'* by Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns," *Los Angeles Times* September 25, 2009; Elizabeth Jensen, "Ken Burns, the Voice of the Wilderness," *New York Times.* September 10, 2009; Quote from *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*. Dir. by Ken Burns. episode 2; See also Cindy Ott, "A Visual Critique of Ken Burns's The National Parks: America's Best Idea." *The Public Historian* , Vol. 33, No. 2 (Spring 2011): 30-36

[8] Joe Weisenthal, "National Parks So Boring, Visitors Don't Even Respond To Lower Prices," *Business Insider*. August, 2009. accessed 2/11/2015 http://www.businessinsider.com/national-parks-so-boring-visitors-dont-even-respond-to-lower-prices-2009-8

[9] Hank Stuever, "Ken Burns's 'National Parks': Beautiful but Sometimes Boring," *Washington Post.* September 27, 2009

mixed." Sutter agreed with other reviewers in his admiration of the "Burns magic' to which many Americans respond, and "[that] one result of it is a growing public engagement with our nation's history." As a sweeping, and at times emotional, chronicle of an American idea, Sutter found Burns an excellent park advocate and appreciated his contributions to growing interest in the park systems nationwide. Sutter went on to qualify his admiration, however, and critiqued the film as a "story of creation" that too often whitewashed over the problems plaguing parks throughout their history. Sutter feared the film missed some of the uglier or less uplifting stories and "[made] it clear that *The National Parks* is more love story than critical history." [10] Burns' creation story for the national parks featured bold men recognizing the threats to a vanishing frontier and seeking to permanently preserve some of the most spectacular parts of the American West from a fate of despoilment and degradation. Using histories of actual park creation, Sutter encouraged readers to approach *The National Parks* with a health dose of skepticism, but to enjoy the aesthetics and storytelling.[11]

Ultimately, even with the many critiques of the philosophical underpinnings of Burns's *National Parks*, he captured an important part of the American park story with his emphasis on the parks as an American creation born of democratic impulses that the nation must continue to invest in to realize their full benefits. The desire to protect land has deep roots in American culture, and Burns was correct to point out the threats to national parks in the 21st century. The rancorous debate over off-road vehicles at Cape Hatteras had parallels in parks across the nation, and the role of the federal government in

[10] Paul Sutter, "Review of *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*. Dir. by Ken Burns. Prod. by Ken Burns and Dayton Duncan." *The Journal of American History* 97-3 (2010): 892-896.
[11] Ibid.

protecting land remained under threat for much of the late 20th century.[12] Even as the federal conservation bureaucracies failed to meet the expectations of the ideological fringe there was hope for continued conservation, particularly as private individuals shouldered some of the responsibility for protecting land through conservation easements, donations to conservation organizations, and grassroots efforts to affect political change. Throughout the 20th century American South, private landowners and concerned citizens engaged in conservation outside the traditional governmental channels. Even before the advent of conservation easements and the environmental movement, individuals attempted to protect land by unconventional means, including the establishment of private parks and nature preserves.[13]

What motivated these individuals, how they went about protecting land, and the outcomes of their efforts are the primary questions this dissertation answers. To address these questions, this dissertation explores the connections between private individuals, government entities, and non-governmental organizations throughout the American South in the creation of a "conservation infrastructure." By using the term conservation infrastructure I combine the history of private efforts in conservation with the notion that over time the nation as a whole built legal and cultural structures to facilitate and support the protection of natural assets. Much like other infrastructures in modern society, this conservation infrastructure was the result of gradual developments, often building on the work of previous generations, to create the sophisticated web of conservation measures

[12] A privately owned inholding at Zion National Park saw the construction of luxury mansion in 2012. Fears of similar building on private inholdings sparked a panic among park advocates. John M. Glionna, "Zion National Park Gets Land Donation to Ward Off Development," *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 2012; Jim Carlton, "Land Rush at National Parks: U.S. Steps Up Buying Privately Owned 'Inholdings' Just as Funding Shrinks," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 22, 2012.

[13] For the purposes of this dissertation, parklands will be include both public and private properties set aside for the purposes of recreation and conservation—the purposes of the National Park Service as identified in its founding legislation.

available in the 21st century. This infrastructure often relies on a combination of public and private organizations working together to protect land as a constellation of conservation entities, administratively distinct but working towards the same purpose and mobilizing the same supporters. As part of the history of these under-examined parklands in the southern United States, a recurring connection appears between private initiative and park creation. This initiative grows from many sources, but a common theme emerges that reflects a widespread, sustained private interest in nature preservation and in creating spaces for public recreation.

One of the most celebrated parts of the modern conservation infrastructure is the phenomenon where individual landowners voluntarily donate large tracts of land to the government for incorporation into managed parklands or otherwise surrender rights to land in order to serve the common good.[14] Early in the twentieth century, this voluntary surrendering of property illustrates the public's conceptions of the government's role in saving important lands from misuse. Whether or not the land was in danger of abuse and what "misuse" looked like to different groups of people at different times in American history is complex, but from the perspective of many donating landowners the Park Service or other government entity was an appropriate manager of natural spaces. How attitudes toward government changed over the course of the twentieth century charts broader shifts in American culture and changes in the management of the nation's natural resources. Indeed the mid twentieth century growth of organizations like the Nature Conservancy and the Trust for Public Land should be viewed as a history of the

[14] Particularly when threatened with development, these donations are celebrated. John M. Glionna, "Zion National Park Gets Land Donation to Ward Off Development," *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 2012; Susan Svrluga, "Loudoun Landowner Who Donated Acreage for New State Park Hopes He Started a Trend," *The Washington Post*, January 28, 2014.

increasingly limited role Americans saw for government in the protection of sensitive landscapes. The rise of private conservation is chronicled in a handful of works like Birchard's *Nature's Keepers* and explained in painstaking detail by works like Barrett and Livermore's *The Conservation Easement in California*, but both of these works date the beginnings of serious private conservation efforts in the mid-twentieth century.[15]

Private efforts to conserve land started much earlier than The Nature Conservancy or even the Sierra Club, however. This dissertation will explore some of these earlier developments and contextualize the various successes and failures of private conservation by examining a series of case studies in the American South. These cases include the successful 1880s organization of a public campaign to create a city park system in Louisville where the city passed a bond issue, solicited short sales and donations, and ultimately created a park system that remains an asset to the city in the 21st century. These early efforts, while inspired by government-sponsored parks elsewhere, came from the tireless efforts of a few Louisvillians and a wellspring of community support. This was one of the earliest methods of private conservation and provided a hybrid public-private path to create parklands that seems oddly advanced when compared to 21st century efforts. Another method for achieving private conservation before the dawn of the environmental movement was a totally closed system of park creation with private funds and administration as demonstrated by the Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park in Tennessee. Characterized by wealthy individuals, poor local governments, and a strong faith in the Progressive Era's promise of social betterment, private nature preserves and

[15] Bill Birchard, *Nature's Keepers: The Remarkable Story of How the Nature Conservancy Became the Largest Environmental Group in the World*. (New York: Wiley and Sons, 2005); Thomas Barrett and Thomas Livermore, *The Conservation Easement in California* (Covelo, California: Published by Island Press for the Trust for Public Land, 1983).

parks from the early 20th century prove that some individuals managed to create a conservation infrastructure in their region that rivaled government managed parks. As an example of the interweaving of government and private efforts, the creation of a national seashore at the Outer Banks of North Carolina took place over a long period of time and demonstrated the evolution of the National Park Service at a critical time in its history. Initially the efforts to create a park at the Outer Banks followed the leadership of a private individual named Frank Stick, who coordinated donations and secured the interest of prominent local landowners in the 1920s. The national seashore also represents the NPS transition in the mid twentieth century to embracing less traditional parklands and focusing efforts on creating places for nature recreation more accessible to the American people than those in the Mountain West.

While these early examples prove that private conservation existed earlier than commonly thought and was often very sophisticated, the changes to national legal and regulatory frameworks that came as a result of the environmental movement altered the conservation infrastructure forever. During the environmental movement, grassroots leaders used new legal methods for preventing development like environmental impact assessments and conservation easements while engaging the public in campaigns to protect green spaces. Tapping into the intense public interest in the natural world, these local leaders generated support for projects with appeals that were often intensely personal. Certain private landowners quickly put the moral and legislative victories of the 1960s and 1970s to the test, however, highlighting an increasingly fractured environmental movement. At the Eno River in Durham, North Carolina and Ichauway Plantation in Georgia, similar legal mechanisms preserved two very different properties

for dramatically different conservation purposes. Where environmental impact statements, conservation easements, and grassroots organization opened a river to public recreation at the Eno, the same mechanisms effectively closed Ichauway Plantation to the possibility of public access. That these two properties used the same laws and ecological logic to protect land demonstrates the total saturation of American culture with a consciousness of environmental issues and the evolution of a system so complex it enabled individuals to act on diverse and politically opposed impulses. As the environmental movement captured the attention of a nation and signaled a change in the way Americans conceived of their surroundings, large corporate interests also recognized the benefits of "going green," sometimes with surprising results. Emerging from a public relations program, Bowater Southern's Pocket Wilderness Program represents both a culmination of many discrete strands in the environmental movement and a novel adaptation of conservation-minded best practices in an effort to shape public opinion.

Reflecting on these case studies and the broader environmental movement, the term "park" in the 21st century is complicated. National parks around the world encompass places as diverse and spectacular as glaciers in Greenland, savannahs in Africa, or Central American rainforests.[16] Majestic and breathtaking, these parks are often cast as offshoots of the original idea as conceived in the United States, and it is possible to draw connections between America's early national parks and these foreign park systems. While some countries adopted the American-style national park model, there are many conservation systems in the 21st century that the 19th century language of the American "national park" is ill-equipped to explain. Conservation easements, the

[16] The United Nations Man and Biosphere Reserve Program reflects the global reach of the national park ideal. See http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/ecological-sciences/biosphere-reserves/ [accessed 1/19/2015]

complex webs of environmental law, or the public-private partnerships that frequently characterize 21st century protected land do not fit the federal-centric model outlined in Burns's documentary, yet these mechanisms serve to protect millions of acres worldwide and are particularly popular in the United States where they enjoy a reputation as being "democratic."[17] International organizations like the United Nations, the World Wildlife Fund, and others play a significant role in fighting for environmental issues globally, but many of these organizations also help with concerns inside the United States. In the end it is clear there are competing versions of park history and environmental protection at play. Erring on the side of simplicity for the sake of crafting a stronger and more compelling narrative, Ken Burns' film assures us the founding of national parks was an overwhelmingly good, wholesome, and American idea. From Burns's national parks all sorts of other environmental crusades drew their inspiration. Paul Sutter's review challenges this sugarcoated version of events and encourages a deeper analysis with historical nuances Burns sacrificed in the name of a telling a better story. Reading both accounts against each other, a viewer might be uncertain national parks really are America's "best idea," or even American at all.

Europeans created some of the earliest examples of parks in western society, yet European conceptions of parklands and wilderness necessarily differ from the American ideals of national parks as "untrammeled wilderness."[18] Europe's current recreation

[17] Sally Fairfax, *Buying Nature: The Limits of Land Acquisition as a Conservation Strategy, 1780-2004,* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 251-272.

[18] Much of this early park history in Europe came as the result of aristocrats setting aside areas for their own recreation. Hyde Park in London is one example of a royal enclosure that transitioned to a public urban park, a transition that occurred over centuries. Helen Douglas-Irvine. *History of London.* (London: J. Pott, 1912); Stephen Inwood, *A History of London,* (London: Papermac, 1998). The notion that American parks are meant to protect "untrammeled wilderness" has a long history, but for the codification of this particular phrase see The Wilderness Act of 1964, section 2 (c), "A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its

infrastructure includes the public use of private properties, which according to Burns' perspective is the very antithesis of America's experience with parks. Adhering to a standard and outdated interpretation of park historiography, Burns perpetuates the idea that American parks are somehow more public, and inherently more democratic, than their European counterparts. Yet, despite Burns's repeated emphasis on the public nature of American parks, the United States has a long history with less recognized conservation methods. The Appalachian Trail serves as a model of public-private partnership, with thousands of hikers traveling on this footpath every year. Although in recent years the route is increasingly located on public rights of way, for much of the trail's history significant portions of the path traversed private property.[19] At the other extreme, in 2011 the Occupy Wall Street movement garnered international attention for the large and unruly crowds that camped out in New York's Zucotti Park in the heart of the city's financial district to protest against social and economic inequality. Ironically, Zucotti Park was a privately owned property managed as a "publicly accessible" park by Brookfield Properties, a large and wealthy real estate firm. Both The Appalachian Trail and Zucotti Park illustrate Americans' experiences with *publicly accessible* areas that are not part of any publically managed or public-owned properties and do not fit the Burns paradigm of truly "democratic" parks.

Other significant questions arise from careful critiques of Ken Burns' *The National Parks*. How *American* was the idea, and how exceptional is the American experience? How have people throughout the national parks' histories viewed the parks,

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community of life are *untrammeled by man* [author's emphasis], where man himself is a visitor who does not remain."

[19] This transition to locating the footpath on public lands is viewed with a certain amount of anxiety by environmentalists. Sarah Mittlefehldt, *Tangled Roots: The Appalachian Trail and American Environmental Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014)

and were they universally viewed as one of America's "best ideas?" In addition to questioning how *American* the idea of a national park system was, are the national parks as we know them really America's "best idea?" Who are the Americans Burns uses to make these assertions, and what should historians make of the sometimes painful histories of removing Native Americans or white farmers from their homes? Finally, what do these spaces *mean* for America as a nation, and do different types of "park" spaces have different meanings?

Before the introduction of modern, planned, urban parks or their large-scale "wild" parallels in the American West, the European model for parks drew heavily on the tradition of wealthy landed aristocracy enclosing certain wild spaces for the protection of game. Without adequately addressing the European aristocratic histories of parks and nature recreation, Burns's assertion that the US National Parks are democratic loses some of its punch. Early in its usage, the word "park "contrasts with the ideal garden, which was a landscape designed for the pleasure of humans. First used as a Middle English word, "park" drew on German and French words related to pens, pen folds, and paddocks. The Oxford English Dictionary describes park as a word that "was originally a legal term designating land held by royal grant for keeping game animals: this was enclosed and therefore distinct from a *forest* or *chase.*"[20] This distinction from a medieval forest is crucial, as the relationship between a park, its wildlife, and humans was one of fostering game population growth and encouraging protection while still allowing for recreation in a smaller, less wild tract of land. According to this definition, "forests" at the time were wild places largely beyond the control of humans and left to

[20] Oxford English Dictionary entry for "park." *Oxford English Dictionary.* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013)

their own natural progression whereas "parks" were for the pleasure of people who wanted to engage in some sort of nature recreation and subject to some level of land management.[21]

Furthering the human control over the space, the English example also introduces the gamekeeper, an individual employed by the property owner for the express purpose of managing the land in a way that encourages a manufactured state of balance. Thus from its earliest use, "park" indicated a special place, dedicated to the protection of a natural state of order, but crucially distinct from notions of true wilderness and necessarily managed by a gamekeeper.[22] English gardens also offer a tradition of setting aside spaces for nature recreation in a drastically different way than the typical stylized French garden. While still subscribing to an idealized view of nature, and certainly distant from the eventual wilderness parks of the American West, English gardens rejected the geometric patterns and paved plazas of the French aristocracy in favor of rolling hills, quiet water features, and crumbling ruins or temples. Supposedly reflecting a more "natural" approach, English gardens featured few flowers, and the casual stroll through the tree-lined paths was considered suitable for quiet reflection when compared with the gaudy splashes of colors that characterized formal French gardens. English gardens

[21] The difference between America and European nations like Britain may be encapsulated in the early efforts in Europe to preserve "commons" for traditional land uses rather than wilderness protection. Richard Hoffmann. *An Environmental History of Medieval Europe.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); See also, Charles Isaac Elton, *A Treatise on Commons and Waste Lands, with special reference to the Law of Approvement. Copious MS. Notes.* London, (1868). Available online. As different as the approach to common lands in Europe and "wilderness" in the American West might appear, the early influence on the American Conservation Movement of European-born leaders like John Muir should not be understated. Donald Worster, *A Passion for Nature: The Life of John Muir.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Both Muir and Gifford Pinchot looked to Europe for comparisons to the American landscape and their experiences with European land management shaped their opinions on American conservation. Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History,* (Seattle, Washington: Washington University Press in partnership with the Forest History Society, 1976); Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism.* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2001)

[22] The gamekeeper would enter English literature as a mythologized and stylized figure representing humanity's natural and primal past. See D.H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

remained in fashion throughout the 19th century, and these types of spaces inspired further public park designs on both sides of the Atlantic.[23] Still, as wholesome and pastoral as English gardens appeared, they were exclusively for use by their owners, and the large rural estates where these gardens existed were unobtainable by average working class Britons.

Yet Ken Burns's assertions that American National Parks were, and are, exceptional remain hard to dismiss. Generally, it is possible to group American National Park histories together both chronologically and thematically starting with celebratory retellings of early park history like John Muir's *Our National Parks.* The foundation for much subsequent writing on national parks, *Our National Parks* was the product of John Muir's love of the sites that became parks and focused on the signature role of the federal government in saving these lands from a capitalist doom. This trend of top-down stories extended well beyond the confines of park history as scholars recounted larger historical trends like environmental disasters, the result of production for a capitalist market, or the impact of an increasingly urban population on the land.[24] Taking cues from this early historiographical emphasis on humanity's destruction of "nature," the creation of parklands as green oases or as a moral response to an increasingly industrial society remained a major theme. This moral element appeared in works throughout the early and

[23] Andrea Wulf, *Founding Gardens, The Revolutionary Generation, Nature, and the Shaping of the American Nation.* (New York: Vintage Press; Reprint edition 2012).
[24] Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004)*;* for the impact of mining on the environment in Appalachia and its implications for local organization, see Chad Montrie, *To Save the Land and People: A History of Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Appalachia.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003)*;* Also see Donald Davis, *Where there Are Mountains; An Environmental History of the Southern Appalachians* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), Timothy Silver, *Mt. Mitchell and the Black Mountains: An Environmental History of the Highest Peaks in Eastern America.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), and Ronald Lewis, *Transforming the Appalachian Countryside: Railroads, Deforestation, and Social Change in West Virginia 1880-1920.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) for explorations of the role of business in shaping landscapes in Appalachia, which often served as an example of the influence of business interests and a case study in environmental degradation.

mid-20th century, like Alfred Runte's *National Parks: The American Experience* and various materials produced by people directly associated with parks, including Aubrey Haines' *The Yellowstone Story*. These monographs articulated the importance of the federal government through an examination of the national park bureaucracy, specifically the National Park Service.[25] These works speak to the significance of the federal government as a force for mitigating the vagaries of a capitalist approach to land management, and their emphasis on federal involvement in land management is instructive for understanding the significance of a centralized model in environmental historiography.

As some of the first historical inquiries into parklands, these works perpetuated the celebratory discourse of national parks that chronicled rangers and bureaucrats "saving" significant natural areas from catastrophe and set the tone for future scholarship.[26] Building on the preservationist ethic that mobilized groups like the Sierra Club, works like Stephen Fox's *John Muir and His Legacy* lionized founders of the earliest preservationist movements. These works built on a record of environmental destruction in the East and a fear of harm to "pristine" Western natural areas as a result of replicating the East's short-sighted land management processes. Preservationists realized this fear when San Francisco interests flooded the Hetch Hetchy valley in the 1920s, a deeply traumatic event for activists and one that served as a rallying cry decades later

[25] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Aubrey Haines, *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park.* (Yellowstone Association for Natural Science, History & Education, 1996)

[26] Many early photographs of famous figures protecting land follow a pattern similar to photos of engineering exploits of the day, a sort of counter narrative to examples like the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal. See Roman Mars, *99% Invisible* podcast, episode 133 "Port of Dallas." In this episode Roman Mars comments on the number of photographs from the turn of the century with men proudly posing alongside heavy machinery as they shaped the land, a phenomenon of many engineering marvels from the 1800s. Similar photographs exist for conservation, with the bowler hats replaced by wide brimmed hats in the style of Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders or scouts of the era.

when environmentalists attempted to save other natural wonders in the height of the environmental movement.[27]

In addition to large scale government projects affecting landscapes, in the earliest histories business sometimes threatened ecologically sensitive areas. Particularly as a result of the destruction of natural landmarks, many of the 19th century founders of nature preservation societies encouraged the identification of landscape preservation with a crusade and charged the discourse with a moral tone.[28] These early authors and advocates cast a long shadow over subsequent historiography, including the establishment of founders' reputations as lionized crusaders. Often accepted without significant critiques, these early works demonstrated the close relationship between early park histories, the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and the bureaucracy of the National Park Service itself.

Primarily concerned with the bureaucracy and the procedures of park creation and management, the actual landscapes being preserved often appear in the stories only as a beautiful backdrop for human actors. This was partially the result of the topics historians examined. Among the first generation of histories of parklands, most of the focus remained on large national parks that served as key touchstones for the American psyche. These works included John Ise's *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History*, which examined the way the Park Service administered the various properties it controlled and John C. Miles's *Wilderness in National Parks,* which chronicled the changing attitudes

[27] Robert W. Righter, *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement.* (New York: Little, Brown, and Co, 1981)
[28] There is a long tradition of morality in American Environmentalism. Mark Stoll, *Inherit the Holy Mountain: Religion and the Rise of American Environmentalism.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015)

towards managing "wild" spaces.[29] Yellowstone, Yosemite, the Grand Canyon, and other nationally recognized symbols are important landmarks in determining the national criteria for designating parklands, but the historiography of "great white men" establishing large national parks for the good of the country failed to adequately address the rise of other conservation measures that fell outside the national spotlight. After the initial period of federal park histories, there was a period of phenomenal growth in both subject matter and analytical strength. Starting with bureaucratic histories of state park systems in the 1990s, historians began examining smaller state parks, some private tourist attractions, and private nature preserves which all garnered attention as examples of under examined conservation methods.[30]

The definition of what constituted a park also changed during the 20th century. The addition of designated "wilderness areas" to national parks and forests limited public access in sensitive areas, while the Forest Service simultaneously opened some of their lands to recreation under the philosophy of "multiple use."[31] Within the National Park

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[29] John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History.* (Baltimore: Resources for the Future by Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), Published in 1961, Ise came at the beginning of a reevaluation of how best to use the national parks during a period of rising visitation and an increased concern for environmental issues. John Miles *Wilderness in National Parks: Playground or Preserve.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009). Miles published in 2009, at another moment of reflection on how to manage the parks, this time emphasizing the right of nature to exist without humans tramping through sensitive areas. There are many letters advocating the inclusion of Cumberland Falls as a National Park but ultimately rejecting the area in the Wallace Papers, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY. Even in the late twentieth century, the majority of National Parks are west of the Mississippi and the newest parks are in "wilderness" areas like Alaska or the Mountain West. The counter balance to this is the popularity of the eastern parks and other NPS components that defy categorization as traditional parks or wilderness areas. For much of the early 21st Century the Blue Ridge Parkway was the most visited component in the entire NPS system, with Great Smoky Mountains National Park and Shenandoah frequently experiencing a higher volume of visitors than the more famous Yosemite, Yellowstone, or Grand Canyon National Parks. For visitation reports, see, https://irma.nps.gov/Stats/SSRSReports/National%20Reports/Annual%20Park%20Ranking%20Report%20%281979%20-%20Last%20Calendar%20Year%29 [accessed 2/11/2015]

[30] For an example of the shift to examining state parks, see Rebecca Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism.* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1997)

[31] The literature on conservation vs. preservation is vast and varied. The most important works remain Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) and Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American*

Service, the definition of "park" changed over the 20th century and by the second half of the century many of the most popular NPS components were places difficult to fit into a 19th century conception of "park." Roads like the Natchez Trace and Blue Ridge Parkways, National Monuments, National Recreation Areas, and others are some of the most popular installations, and even some of the most iconic national parks can hardly be described as "wild" in the traditional sense.[32] Keeping with this more complicated understanding of conservation, city parks, state parks, and private natural recreation areas illustrate local ways of balancing recreation, land conservation, and public needs while still locating the inspiration for these parklands in federal standards rooted in the 19th century national parks.

The growth of state and local park systems followed necessity as much as inspiration from the National Park Service. As more than simply a supplement to the national parks, state parklands encompass a significant amount of protected acreage and

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Mind (1967; fourth edition, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). Recent additions add complexity to the story, including Richard W. Judd's *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Louis S. Warren's *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); and Karl Jacoby's *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). For the importance of soil conservation, the role of capitalism, and attitudes towards the conservation of land generally, see Donald Worster's *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). The growth of the "wilderness" movement is chronicled by works such as: Michael Lewis,. *American Wilderness: A New History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). For the impact automobile accessibility on natural areas had on the environmental movement, see Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). For an attempt to reassess the notion of wilderness and possible problems with the concept, see William Cronon, "The Trouble With Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking The Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996). For a good explanation of the Park Service's bureaucratic dilemma over "preservation of wilderness" or "recreation," see John C. Miles, *Wilderness in National Parks*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009)

[32] For explorations on this topic, see the essays "Whose Nature? The Contested Moral Terrain of Ancient Forests," "Reinventing Eden: Western Culture as a Recovery Narrative," and "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995); See also Roderick Nash, *Wilderness in the American Mind*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier In American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921).

serve as an easier destination for most Americans' outdoor recreation needs. State parks have their own historiography, and Ney Landrum's *The State Park Movement in America* examines the growing importance and prevalence of state parks in the 20th century. Despite Landrum's emphasis on the importance of state parks, his work still focuses on the directive to establish state parks as coming from National Park Service director Stephen Mather and looks to the National Park Service as the defining administrative model. Landrum's work does offer some important departures from other histories examining the development of parks. First, state parks are typically formed around tracts of land that were not considered nationally significant. The "ordinary" nature of these properties meant that much of the political will behind designating them as parklands came from the local community and individual landowners played significant roles in turning these lands into protected spaces.[33] Second, the administrative burden of these smaller local parks fell to state governments and the vagaries of state budgets.[34] Nearly a third of the chapters in Ney Landrum's summary of the state park movement in America address issues like stagnation, interruptions, and searches for direction.[35]

Even as Landrum suggested a park history more complex than the one suggested by Burns or Muir, there were systemic problems with the relationship between federal direction and local implementation traceable to the way large meetings like the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation directed state park policy. Held in 1924, the National

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[33] Ney Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America: A Critical Review.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 1-2.

[34] As a response to state parks facing budget constraints, many now engage in some form of privatization. Ney Landrum, "Entrepreneurism in America's State Parks" *The George Wright Forum.* Volume 22 Number 2 (2005) 26-32. http://www.georgewright.org/222landrum.pdf ; Eve Endicott, *Land Conservation Through Public/Private Partnerships*. (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993)

[35] Ney Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America: A Critical Review.* Budget constraints are not unique to state parks, and city parks face some of the same problems. For Central Park in New York City, see Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and The People: A History of Central Park.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992)

Conference on Outdoor Recreation fits in a larger history of Progressivism and the Conservation Movement, with Calvin Coolidge convening the conference in order to address the apparent groundswell of support for outdoor recreation. The conference was a nationally sponsored attempt to both meet the already surging demand for outdoor recreation and to encourage those Americans who still stayed home or vacationed at resorts to exercise outside and generally enjoy the outdoors. The conference also represented the relationship between national initiatives and proposed local implementation, and the language of the meeting highlighted the tension between federal and local power. Indeed, in Calvin Coolidge's opening address to the gathered attendees in 1924 he promised, "…it is by no means intended that there should be any suggestion of Federal domination in these activities. Necessarily they are largely local and individual, and to be helpful they must always be spontaneous."[36]

Henry Graves, Chief Forester at the US Forest Service from 1910-1920, attempted to describe the growing interest in outdoor recreation, saying "in part this movement is explained by the betterment of roads, the wide ownership of automobiles, the diversion of travel from Europe by the circumstances of the war, the advertising of our recreation opportunities, and by the prevailing prosperity. A deeper cause is the existence of a new appreciation of outdoor recreation, a new impulse to seek the wholesome environment of the hills and forests and to refresh mind and body through the vigors of mountain and camp life."[37] By advocating decentralized outdoor recreation, the federal authorities recognized much of the implementation would fall to state and local governments.

[36] Calvin Coolidge, At the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation. Washington, DC May 22, 1924
[37] Henry S. Graves, "A Crisis in National Recreation," *American Forestry*, XXVI (July 1920), 39

Central to all these histories, however, is the widely accepted assumption that the federal government served as a dominant cultural influence on the national landscape, and it helped determine what properties became part of the national park system with a clear preference for large "wilderness" reservations. In many instances, citing the national parks as inspiration for certain local and city parks is anachronistic. Not only did a desire for open space spring from different sources, there was a precedent for setting aside dedicated space for recreation well before the national parks.

While wholesome and pastoral landscapes did not compare to the "wilderness" of the American West, as one of the most frequently cited differences between American and European conceptions of natural recreational space, the relationship with "wilderness" and the protection of wild places is the distinguishing feature in the history of intensive management of land for the purposes of recreation.[38] Before the English arrived in North America, a tradition of enclosing land for the purpose of aristocratic recreation already existed in the English countryside, but this type of parkland evolved in a crowded countryside where few people owned land and the whole countryside was known to its residents. As the European tradition of country parks and gardens evolved in tandem with a heavily populated rural landscape these starting conditions influenced the way English parks developed. In places like England, France, and Germany, the evolution of a certain "natural" landscape that included spaces for recreation and commons areas throughout the countryside not only offers an alternative to the large

[38] This is not to suggest that American landscapes are devoid of "significant" human impact prior to European colonization. See William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. (New York: Macmillan, reprint edition 2003) and Shepherd Krech, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).

parks of the American West, but in the Romantic era authors even ascribed to the landscape a sort of cultural determinism in addition to its natural beauty.[39]

Thomas Lekan's work on the German concept of *Heimat* is particularly instructive for understanding alternate ideas of protecting landscapes. As an idiom, *Heimat* appears to have several translations into English, including the case of zoology, where it means natural habitat. The cultural impact of *Heimat* extends beyond this strict scientific definition, however. Focusing on an idiomatic conception of the personal and emotional ties to a particular landscape, Lekan points to the emotional relationship between a region's people and the nature that Germans attribute to their "home" environment. The land is viewed as a formative aspect of regional culture, both creating a particular cultural heritage and reflecting the attitudes of the regional population's experience on the land. A serviceable definition of *Heimat* must combine the idiomatic associations of language, culture, landscape, and home. The regional identity that produces *Heimat* and the related idea of *Heimatshutz* (homeland protection) can serve as instructive examples of local citizens involving themselves in the move to preserve landscapes, a particularly useful comparison in light of the purpose of this dissertation.

Although it is a German concept, *Heimat* and *Heimatshutz* offer a theoretical framework for understanding how some areas in the United States were considered worthy parks by locals, but were ultimately rejected by National Park Service. The American experience of the relationship between local identity, the desire to protect land, and the NPS criteria for "nationally significant landscapes" serves as a key departure

[39] The notion that there was a relationship between a certain culture and its landscape is well documented in Europe and the United States, particularly among Romantic writers. Stephen Copley, Peter Garside. *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape, and Aesthetics Since 1770.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Noah Heringman, *Romantic Rocks, Aesthetic Geology.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

from the German experience and is instructive for showing how regional identity is a powerful motive for protecting landscapes.[40] Germany's history of deeply embedded cultural associations in the land, including cultural strains exploited by Nazism, are problematic for studying German history, but the *Heimat* relationship holds interesting avenues for comparison with the American experience.[41] Throughout Europe, rural regions experienced the sort of fights over access to undeveloped land that later appeared in the American South. England had been settled for centuries with few landowners and was undergoing a massive demographic shift as the result of the Industrial Revolution, but this demographic shift took place in a *settled* country.[42]

If rural areas were contested spaces divided along class and cultural lines, it logically follows that the towns and urban spaces throughout Europe and the Americas featured amplified clashes over the use of public space. These clashes, especially in light of the crowded and dirty conditions of the industrial revolution, sometimes turned violent.[43] Many of the Progressive Era impulses that produced wide-ranging programs like hospitals and other public health advances also connected a healthful environment with a more wholesome life for workers. Long before attempts to control specific types of emissions from polluting industries or combat phenomenon like acid rain, Progressive Era reformers linked parks, forests, and natural areas with cleaner air, healthier living,

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[40] Thomas M Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Lekan and Zeller, *Germany's Nature: Cultural Landscapes and Environmental History.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005); Also see MA Thesis Noah Huffman, "Hanging the Moonbow: Tom Wallace and the Cumberland Falls fight, 1926-1931" Department of History, University of Louisville. 2005 for an example of local Kentuckians attempted to interest the federal government in acquiring the Cumberland Falls.

[41] Frank Uekötter, *The Green and the Brown: A History of Conservation in Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[42] EP Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class.* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002).

[43] Public spaces as gathering areas for protest, see Dworkin, *Class Struggles.* (New York: Routledge, 2007)*;* Nan H. Dreher. "The Virtuous and the Verminous: Turn-of-the-Century Moral Panics in London's Public Parks." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* , Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer, 1997): 246-267.

and a happier populace. With the goal of bringing the countryside into the city, these reformers introduced planned "natural" spaces, made most famous in the United States by the works of landscape architects like Frederick Law Olmsted and his Central Park of New York City. This can be viewed as part of a larger effort to create a "healthier" city, characterized by other public works projects like the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal, efforts to reduce the ill effects of London's notorious smog, and the outlawing of livestock roaming city streets.[44] Despite the recent scholarly acknowledgment of these complex interactions in the creation of public nature recreation space, much of the American historiography of conservation continues to emphasize how the national parks are distinctly "American" and set the standard for the rest of the world.

While national parks evolved first in the United States, the relative timing of their creation on both sides of the Atlantic followed a system in the Progressive Era where ideas traded across the ocean and influenced new park development on both continents.[45] The critical sharing of ideas and influences of the Progressive Era had a wide-ranging and longstanding impact on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, including bureaucratic administrative structures that characterized the National Park Service and the Forest Service after the 1910s.

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[44] Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and The People.*; Justin Martin. *Genius of Place: The Life of Frederick Law Olmsted*. (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2011); The City Beautiful Movement also influenced park-building and civic projects across America. William Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). It is also important to remember how dirty cities were during the turn of the century. See Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West.* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992)*;* Ted Steinberg, "Death of the Organic City," *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 155-169. For the trans-Atlantic nature of urban environmental management, see Harold Platt, *Shock Cities: The Environmental Transformation and Reform of Manchester and Chicago,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005)

[45] Daniel Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998) and Alan Dawley. *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

As Daniel Rodgers argues in *Atlantic Crossings*, the ebb and flow of influence across "the pond" occasionally resulted in unusual adaptations of policies that did not translate across the Atlantic despite trying to address the same concerns. Indeed, despite the history of sharing ideas, many European impulses for preserving landscapes came from cultural associations that did not translate to North America and some of the American impulses were considered unsuitable for European landscapes. Primary among these exceptional American impulses were ideas of wilderness, frontier, and a rugged pioneering spirit. In 1850, Americans still considered many areas "frontier" and the country was poised to wage a civil war over whether to expand slavery into the sparsely populated western territories. The importance of experiencing nature firsthand and the importance of the frontier was first associated with works as old as Frederick Jackson Turner's *The Frontier in American History*, but Roderick Nash's *Wilderness and the American Mind* established the precedent for considering the importance of how Americans mentally conceived of nature.[46] The national obsession with the *idea* of frontier and wilderness affected how the country viewed itself and its history. American conceptions of wilderness and nature played a significant role in the creation of national parks, and these conceptions continued to influence park development throughout the twentieth century. As a powerful colonial imperial juggernaut, English frontiers existed on the periphery. According to the leading minds in Europe inferior peoples inhabited these regions and they needed the influence of a strong European country to guide

[46] Roderick Nash, *Wilderness in the American Mind*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier In American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921).

them.[47] Both America and England's frontiers helped define them, but through settling the American frontier the United States incorporated the experience of settling these lands into the national myth as well as expanding the nation's borders.[48]

The relationship between people and land remained a theme in American history even after the frontier "closed." Scholarly arguments about the importance of local landscapes in creating a particular type of culture in an American context extend back to works like Cash's *Mind of the South*, and the reinforcing effect of a poor landscape on an already culturally poor people served as an explanation for the benighted South well into the twentieth century.[49] Similarly, some historians and popular authors have used landscapes to argue for advantages for certain regions and the relationship between landscape and cultural superiority.[50] These ideas met criticism as deterministic, but the connections between culture and landscape elucidated in works as wide ranging as Judd's *Common Lands, Common People* and Drake's *The Nation's Nature* prove that the natural landscapes of America have a rich and varied relationship with American culture. *Common Lands, Common People* offers historians a look at how New England's landscape transformed from a natural area imbued with certain qualities to a human-shaped environment that held cultural associations and created a "cultural landscape" that remains an integral part of land management in the 21st century. Drake's work explores

[47] In 1850 England was not the dominant colonial power it would become later. Niall Ferguson, *Empire; The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and The Lessons for Global Power*. (New York and London: Basic Books. 2004).
[48] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier In American History*.
[49] Wilbur Cash, *The Mind of the South.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1950). Cash makes much of the hot southern climate affecting the temperament of the people who live there.
[50] David Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some are So Rich and Some are So Poor.* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies.* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999). Both of these works seek to explain European exceptionalism by emphasizing the importance of landscape and climate.

the interconnections of rhetoric, cultural thinking, and manifest destiny in such a way as to explain the American colonies' desire for separation from England.[51]

As deep as the relationship between nature and culture is in American History generally, environmental history, in the greater scope of historical studies, is a relatively new field. Born of the environmental movement, the field experienced a troubled childhood, plagued by its ideological constraints and political motivations, but much like early labor histories, these ideological motivations also provided a strong impetus for research and writing. Toward the final decade of the twentieth century, however, environmental history experienced the painful period of self-evaluation necessary for the field to mature. Illustrating this shift, a brief perusal of essay titles in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* represents the dilemmas of this ideological turn in the scholarship perfectly. Titles include "Are You an Environmentalist, or Do You Work For a Living?" "Whose Nature? The Contested Moral Terrain of Ancient Forests," "Reinventing Eden: Western Culture as a Recovery Narrative," and "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature."[52] Despite the widespread acceptance in the broader scholarly community of "nature" as a human construct, Cronon's preface for *Uncommon Ground* acknowledges, "asserting 'nature' is an idea is far from saying that it is only an idea."[53] Thus, the lines between natural history, environmental history, and a human history that incorporates the natural world into its analysis are frequently blurred and often indecipherable. Just as the public

[51] James Drake, *The Nation's Nature: How Continental Presumptions Gave Rise to the United States of America.* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011); Richard W. Judd's *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[52] William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), 7-9.
[53] Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground,* 21.

political debates that raged in late twentieth century about environmental policies exposed the constantly changing human definitions of "nature" and "wilderness," environmental historians often struggle to raise their field above the philosophical fray. This central narrative of mankind's interactions with nature remains one of the most important contributions of environmental history. By focusing on the *land* and the ecology of the areas, environmental history necessarily took a longer view of the areas that would later become parklands and moved the discussion out of the government offices and into the field. Investigating the role of bureaucratic management in the changing natural landscapes of national parks, these works continued a historiographical tradition of emphasizing federal actions as the most significant development in the history of parklands, yet broke the tradition of unwavering support as the federal impact on the land itself took center stage.

As critical histories of Park Service management added to an increasingly nuanced historiography, critiques of the overwhelming emphasis on the National Park Service emerged to illustrate the importance of other park models and to question the power of federal authorities to shape the land. The critiques came at a time of increased criticism of the government, but also growing sophistication in the environmental movement and environmental history. While some scholars emphasized the importance of non-federal park systems and conservation techniques, others began considering organizations like the Nature Conservancy and the Trust for Public Land and how they forged creative ways to protect lands never considered for inclusion in the national park system.[54]

[54] Thomas Barrett and Thomas Livermore, *The Conservation Easement in California.* (Washington, DC: Island Press, published on behalf of the Trust for Public Land, 1983); For a history of the Nature

In some instances even the focus on local environments and conditions confirmed the influence of federal leadership. Rebecca Conard's *Places of Quiet Beauty* offers a narrative that attributes Iowa's state park movement to the political progressivism of Iowa conservation leaders. Even as she argues against the idea that state parks are lesser parks formed in the image of their bigger brothers, Conard credits national politics for the progressivism exhibited by Iowa park founders and managers and keeps the focus on prominent individuals who were connected to the larger national political climate. Despite privileged individuals forming the core of her study, Conard's shift away from crediting the federal government with the creation of state parks and redoubling her efforts to excavate the local stories that informed park creation garnered substantial praise from the academic community. Her work's success came in light of the overbearing emphasis on the federal government in previous scholarship, yet her history still privileged founders, rangers, and bureaucrats. Conard moved the historiography productively away from further over-emphasizing the national model, but even with the success of *Places of Quiet Beauty* other works enriched the historiography by examining the impact of conservation activities on local communities.[55] Conard's contributions forced a reevaluation of the history of park formation, especially large rural parks like national parks.

The transition away from emphasizing bureaucracy and looking explicitly at theimpact of park creation on local communities came with a pair of books published in

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Conservancy, see Bill Birchard, *Nature's Keepers: The Remarkable Story of How the Nature Conservancy Became the Largest Environmental Group in the World*. (New York: Wiley and Sons, 2005) and Richard Brewer, *Conservancy: The Land Trust Movement in America*. (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2004).

[55] Rebecca Conard, *Places of Quiet Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism*. (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997).

the early 2000s, over three decades after the first Earth Day. While the field was slow to join other historians in the "social turn," Karl Jacoby's *Crimes Against Nature* chronicled local resistance to the imposition of new rules governing land incorporated into large nature parks. This focus on local actors emphasized *resistance* to parks that were imposed on the land by an outside authority and necessarily focused on large government parks. Where Conard focused on local parks and the influence of national politics Jacoby's work is best understood as a monograph examining the impact of national authorities on local communities.[56] Similarly, Mark David Spence's *Dispossessing the Wilderness* is an examination of the way federal agencies drastically changed the lives of American Indians in government attempts to create "wilderness" and critiqued the federal government's impact on local communities. Spence and Jacoby's works challenged the familiar and accepted notions of the federal government nobly setting aside "pristine," uninhabited wilderness when it created national parks and both works focus the majority of their attention on the local, non-elite populations. Examining local Indian tribes and the purposeful devaluing of their historical associations with lands that became National Parks, Spence's "wilderness" transitions from an occupied land to an empty land at the hands of federal managers. Spence contends with the previous scholarship with arguments like "uninhabited wilderness had to be created before it existed," and further contending that "the uninhabited landscapes preserved in these parks have served as models for preservationist efforts, and native dispossession…"[57] Major western parks like Yellowstone and Yosemite supposedly came from "wilderness," and therefore the

[56] Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)
[57] Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 5.

notion that protecting these lands might have negative implications for humans was unthinkable. As Jacoby argues, previous residents of newly formed parklands were recast as poachers, squatters, and thieves. The people affected by park creation generally had not changed their habits, but rather the rules changed around them, acknowledging the human impact of an historical trend previously cast as bureaucratic or focused on natural processes.

Spence and Jacoby's works challenged the familiar and accepted notions of the federal government nobly setting aside "pristine," uninhabited wilderness when it created national parks and protecting them from human influence. These authors draw on some of the seminal works of environmental history, including William Cronon and Donald Worster, who found humans and nature inextricably linked. The notion that iconic parklands like Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon might yield a more complicated narrative than originally assumed offered a significant departure from the previous works and encouraged environmental historians to consider the human element of the stories they told. Spence and Jacoby remain an important corrective for the oft-cited but misinformed celebratory histories of heroic environmentalists protecting lands that would otherwise be destroyed. In contrast to the celebratory historiography and Ken Burns' version of the park story where federal agents "saved" parklands from an otherwise disastrous capitalistic doom, Jacoby's foresters and rangers are agents of a distant government disrupting the ecologically sustainable existence of communities that suddenly found themselves neighbors to "wilderness." Instead of protecting empty wilderness from the stain of humanity, Spence's policymakers banished populations who had lived on the land for generations. Serving as both a counter-narrative to previous

historians' lionizing of key conservationists and as a deeply researched corrective to the history of the local communities affected by park creation, these works fundamentally altered the way historians viewed park creation and management.[58]

Ultimately a foundation in environmental histories like Jacoby's *Crimes Against Nature* reveals the constructed and often very complicated relationship between humans and nature. This relationship is both molded and informed by the larger cultural developments in the United States. Broader cultural ideas serve as the foundation and background for many of the decisions made regarding parklands and environmental protection of ecologically significant areas, particularly in the wake of the environmental movement when American culture incorporated ideas about nature at a basic level. While going as far back as Henry David Thoreau and George Perkins Marsh might be unnecessary to achieve an understanding of the importance of the environment in American historical and philosophical writing, such wide-ranging works as Roderick Nash's *Wilderness in the American Mind*, Katherine Early's *For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People*, and overviews produced by the Park Service itself like Conrad Wirth's *Parks, Politics, and the People* draw on the conception of a particularly "American" way of thinking of natural spaces that mirrors Burns' tone in *The National Parks.*[59] All of these works place humans and nature on equal footing, yet they still cast the local, human history in terms of national currents and trends.

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[58] This same sentiment is examined by authors like Margaret Lynn Brown. While ultimately a celebratory account of a far-sighted government agency preserving a landscape, Brown's *The Wild East: A Biography of the Great Smoky Mountains* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2001) also chronicles the devastating effect the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park had on families, and combined with other works like Durwood Dunn's *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of a Southern Appalachian Community* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), provides an accurate picture of the complex politics of park creation and dispels any notions of a mountain public welcoming the NPS with open arms.

[59] Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967; fourth edition, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Katherine Early, *"For the Benefit and Enjoyment of the People": Cultural Attitudes and the*

Again, Richard Judd's work on Oregon serves as an instructive counter example, particularly when considering the role of conservation activities that developed later in the 20th century including anti-litter campaigns and clean air legislation. Judd's *Natural States*, a comparative collaboration with Christopher Beach that looked at Maine and Oregon, expanded on ideas of what he termed "environmental imagination" and looked to local communities to examine truly grassroots organization around conservation goals. Describing the gradual construction of an American conception of environmentalism and its impact on parklands, Judd's work is able to explain the "American passion for nature" while also delving into what Americans mean when they self-identify as "environmentalists."[60]

This issue of what motivates average citizens to self-identify with the environmental movement drew increasing amounts of attention in writings from the late 20th and early 21st century. Major works in the field of environmental history, including William Cronon's, "The Trouble With Nature" and Richard White's "Are You an Environmentalist, or Do You Work for a Living?" also examine these themes.[61] Both of these essays critiqued contemporary conceptions of what environmentalists believed and who they were, while drawing connections between the paradoxes of the environmental movement and very real problems that faced widespread adoption of environmental objectives, particularly among people who were not professional conservationists or government bureaucrats. The notion that environmentalists were a new type of Luddite

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Establishment of Yellowstone National Park (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1984); Conrad Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980)

[60] Richard Judd and Christopher Beach, *Natural States: The Environmental Imagination in Maine, Oregon, and the Nation.* (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future Press, 2003): *x.*

[61] Cronon, *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature.* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1995).

or inherently anti-progressive found some tacit confirmation as a result of the lack of histories investigating environmentalism and the working class or environmentalism and big industries.

Indeed, working-class environmental histories remain a minority, but several scholars are expanding our understanding of work, nature, and environmental justice. Some authors seek to understand the unique relationship workers have with landscapes they use, while others look for urban working-class environmental sensibilities through hunting, club memberships, and outdoor recreation activities. Race and class figure prominently in these new discussions of environmental history, and these same currents are increasingly popular topics of tourism studies as well.[62] All of these developments suggest broader shifts in the historiography and a maturation of the field. One of the leaders in this field is Chad Montrie, author of *Work and Environment* and *To Save the Land and People*, both examining the intersections of labor history and the environment, particularly in Appalachian coal mining regions. Many environmental historians welcomed the focus on working class environmentalism as a corrective to the top-down approach of other histories. Andrew Hurley's work exploring inequality in harmful pollution in and around Gary, Indiana pioneered the idea of environmental justice as a civil rights issue. In Hurley's work, access to healthy environments became a rallying cry of working-class environmentalism, which further translated into solidarity across class lines. Environmentalism could not unify the region's residents however, as a coalition broke down over the issue of the Indiana Dunes national lakeshore. Originally cast as a solution to the growing problems of sand mining and also as a possible boon to

[62] Andrew W. Kahrl, "The 'Negro Park' Question: Land, Labor, and Leisure in Pitt County, North Carolina, 1920-1930." *Journal of Southern History.* Vol. 79, No. 1 (February 2013): 113-142.

the area's lagging manufacturing economy, by the end of the project Indiana Dunes Lakeshore became yet another example of the closing area to poor Gary residents.[63] Access to parks remains a contentious issue, with many national parks inaccessible to working class Americans and the dominant patrons of the large wilderness parks remaining upper middle class whites.[64]

Facing 21st century problems of overcrowding, underfunding, and environmental threats, the story of parkland in America is as complex as any other history filling history textbooks. The phenomenal twentieth century increase in conservation easements and public private partnerships reflects the trend away from government-managed parks while also highlighting a growing interest in protecting lands from development. These gradual alterations in the ways Americans protected their private lands demonstrate sweeping changes in American culture, the role of the state in society, and citizens' engagement with the environmental movement. Ultimately, this dissertation charts the growth of private conservation and argues that by the end of the 20th century neither government nor private conservation is adequately equipped to meet the critical need of protecting this nation's remarkable landscapes. While private interest in conservation remained strong from the late 1800s through the early 2000s, the lack of political will to adequately fund conservation and the inherent instability of private efforts necessitates the use of public-private partnerships to continue identifying and protecting threatened land. The phenomenal growth of conservation easements provides private landowners

[63] Chad Montrie, *Making a Living: Work and Environment in the United States: Work and Environment in the United States*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Chad Montrie, *To Save the Land and People: A History of Opposition to Surface Coal Mining in Appalachia*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Andrew Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945-1980*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).
[64] Carolyn Finney, *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

unparalleled opportunities to customize their land's ecological future, yet this decentralized and deeply individual approach neglects many of the necessary regional concerns and often removes the debate of a particular property's future from the public dialogue.

Chapter One: "Leading Spirits" and "Generous Offers:" Louisville, Chattanooga, and Creating Public Parks for the Urban Masses

"There was no general interest whatever in securing parks for Louisville until at a meeting of the Salmagundi Club at his residence in 1887 Col Andrew Cowan revived the subject."

Temple Bodley, 1913

"The proposed gift of the Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park has my whole-hearted approval. The park was dedicated to the public and its transfer to federal authority is the surest means of preserving and perpetuating the territory embraced in the best possible way for public use."

-Adolph Ochs, February 1934

In 1974 a tornado tore through Louisville, Kentucky as part of a wider regional super-outbreak affecting the Ohio Valley. The 1974 Super Outbreak remains one of the most devastating weather events of the 20th century, and resulted in over 300 deaths across the middle part of the United States and Canada. Some of the strongest storms impacted Kentucky and Indiana, including two affecting the city of Louisville. One of these storms tracked through some of the best known and wealthiest neighborhoods of Louisville, just east of downtown, and destroyed homes and infrastructure on its 22-mile path of destruction. At the heart of the neighborhoods it affected, the tornado also obliterated thousands of trees in the historic Cherokee Park, leaving vast open spaces of twisted trunks and shredded canopies where previously groves of hundred-year-old trees

stood. The human toll on the citizens of Louisville was mercifully small, with only three deaths resulting from a tornado later determined to be an F5 on the Fujita scale. The impact on Cherokee Park generated intense interest in restoring the park in whatever way possible.[1]

As these efforts began, city officials and citizens alike researched the history of Cherokee Park in an effort to better understand how it should be rehabilitated. While sparked by tragedy, this reexamination of the park's history revitalized interest in the park and encouraged a feeling of pride in Louisville's strong tradition of city parks. The emphasis on returning to the original plans highlighted the guidance of Frederick Law Olmsted and the fact that Louisville's system was unique in its adoption of Olmsted's comprehensive plan for city parks throughout Louisville. A tragedy turned to pride, and in the decades after the tornados Louisvillians researched, rehabilitated, and most importantly, found refreshment and relaxation in their Olmsted Parks.[2]

As Ken Burns explored in his series on the National Parks, tradition dictated that park creation, particularly for city parks or very large nature parks, was the realm of governments. As the earliest national parks and monuments first entered the federal government's new park infrastructure, smaller green spaces also sprang up in cities around the country. Some notable examples of city parks that first began or expanded significantly in the late 19th century include New York's Central Park, Chicago's Lincoln Park, and the U.S. Capitol Grounds in Washington, DC. The two parks examined in this

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[1] For information on the tornados, see Matt Frassica, "Remembering the '74 tornado," *The Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), April 3, 2014. Available at: http://www.courier-journal.com/story/news/local/2014/04/02/remembering-tornado/7218837/ [accessed 10/30/2014].

[2] For the impact of the tornado on restoring Cherokee Park to original plans see Carl Kramer, *Louisville's Olmstedian Legacy: An Interpretive Analysis and Documentary Inventory* (Louisville: Louisville Friends of Olmsted Parks, 1988)*; Journal of the Development of Cherokee Park, Louisville, Kentucky, 1891-1974* (Louisville: Louisville Friends of Olmsted Parks, 1988).

chapter, in Louisville, KY and Chattanooga, TN, illustrate the dual importance of larger national forces and local actors in creating spaces for recreation outside the National Park Service. Examining city parks in Louisville, Kentucky and Chattanooga, Tennessee, this chapter explains the outcomes of local, private initiatives in the creation of publicly accessible nature recreation spaces.[3] Perhaps most importantly, the way these parks weathered the turbulent years of the Great Depression speaks to the difficulties facing private initiatives in the early 20th century and demonstrates the state of private conservation at the time. These two parks also offer a way of understanding the philosophical and practical underpinnings that the mid-20th century environmental movement provided later conservationists. Operating without the support of major laws and or programs designed to facilitate private conservation, these parks demonstrate the difficulties and opportunities for private conservation in the late 19th and early 20th century.

City parks have a long history around the world, and as the Progressive Era saw an explosion of interest in creating parks throughout the United States, municipalities began creating and managing them as a service to residents in unprecedented numbers. National Parks modeled after the early examples of Yellowstone or Yosemite also demonstrate how bureaucrats assumed parks were the domain of large national governments, particularly for their powerful abilities to seize and manage vast expanses of land. While these models for understanding parks and park creation faced challenges

[3] Many monographs explore the role of the government in conservation, some sweeping, and some quite specific. See: Roderick Nash, *Wilderness in the American Mind;* Samuel Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence;* Runte, *National Parks: the American Experience;* Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and The People;* Ney Landrum, *The State Park Movement in America;* Richard Judd, *Natural States: The Environmental Imagination in Maine, Oregon, and the Nation.;* William David Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008); see also William Henry Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*.

from scholars who complicated the dominant model of park creation with stories of local actors, including resistance, boosterism, and pragmatism, the examples of Louisville and Chattanooga add the importance of private actors to the narrative.

In many ways, Louisville is a city that is proud of its heritage. As a destination for bourbon enthusiasts, a traditional gateway to the South, and the home of the Kentucky Derby, the city occupies a special place in the national imagination. Louisville also boasts of its progressiveness, with many Louisvillians identifying their city with "Midwestern" values or as part of the Ohio Valley rather than as the southern city that served as a gateway to the slave South.[4] Despite the residents' attempt to look north and east, the city of Louisville remained intimately attached to its past as a trading city on the Ohio River and a regional hub of Kentucky's interior bluegrass region. The city also supported a substantial black population as the result of its location in a border state and immediately across the river from the free state of Indiana. This population existed throughout the city with no clear segregation laws codified until 1914. Before this time,

[4] While Louisville often emphasized its connections to the Midwest, it is important to remember the city's significance to the South, particularly as an antebellum gateway to other slave states and a market place where slaves were literally sold down the river. Kentucky was one of the Border States that remained with the Union during the Civil War, but the experience of slavery left deep scars on the region. Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved* chronicles the emotional toll of slavery on a fictional emancipated black family in Cincinnati, and Louisville's own history includes its role as a key port in the trade of slaves "down the river" to the Deep South. Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). More recent scholars examine the role of Kentucky as a borderland of the South, including Matthew Salafia, *Slavery's Borderland: Freedom and Bondage Along the Ohio River* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Marion Brunson Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003); and Darrel E. Bigham, *On Jordan's Banks: Emancipation and Its Aftermath in the Ohio River Valley* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006). The history of Louisville as a city begins with Anglo-American settlement, as the region lay in between the main Native American powers of the 17th and 18th centuries with no one nation laying claim to the area. Lewis, R. Barry, *Kentucky Archaeology* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996) 53–63, 150.

poor blacks and whites intermingled in the lesser neighborhoods of the city, although racial tensions always simmered below the surface.[5]

Though plagued by corruption, economic stagnation, and cronyism, Louisville unwittingly stood on the verge of in the 1880s spectacular civic and economic renewal. The period spanning from the 1870s-1900 was a time of exceptional growth in both the economy and the public-spirited development of the city's infrastructure and services. Relics of this time period dot the city landscape, including the first running of the Kentucky Derby, the founding of Louisville's two major newspapers (the *Courier-Journal* and *Times*), the building of Louisville's Union Station, and the completion of several major bridges across the Ohio River. Even among such notable achievements, for many residents of Louisville the most impressive legacy of this period remains the system of Frederick Law Olmsted parks the city commissioned in the 1880s.[6]

Like Louisville, Chattanooga features some of the same early characteristics of a city on the edge of traditional southern economic and cultural regions. Straddling the border between the Deep South and Appalachia, and with transportation connections to Atlanta and Nashville, Chattanooga grew exponentially after the 1850 arrival of a railroad connecting the city and Tennessee River valley to Atlanta and the rest of the cotton South. Indeed, Sherman's infamous Atlanta campaign started in the city largely

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[5] Scott Cummings and Michael Price, "Race Relations and Public Policy in Louisville: Historical Development of an Urban Underclass" *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 5 (May, 1997), 615-649; Tracy K'Meyer. *Civil Rights in the Gateway to the South: Louisville, Kentucky, 1945-80* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009); M. Barrows, *Louisville: A Guide to the Falls City (*WPA Writer's Program, 1940); George C. Wright, *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930 (*Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 4. Wright calls Louisville home to a "polite form of racism."

[6] George Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio* (Louisville: Filson Historical Club, 1987); John Kleber, *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000); George C. Wright, "Black Political Insurgency in Louisville, Kentucky: The Lincoln Independent Party of 1921," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Winter, 1983), 8-23. Kevin McQueen, *The Great Louisville Tornado of 1890* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011).

because of these transportation links, and after the war Chattanooga remained an important regional city. Although an important transportation hub and growing industrial center, Chattanooga in the 1910s was still a young city, hardly comparable with the mature urban behemoths of New York or Chicago, and lacking many of those cities' concerns as well as their amenities. Chattanooga also failed to grow as quickly as other new southern cities located on railroads, such as Birmingham and Durham.[7]

Chattanooga's leading citizens nonetheless envisioned a bright future for the city, and they actively planned for Chattanooga to take its place among the greatest industrial cities of America.[8] Such a city deserved fine architecture, beautiful landscaping, and public facilities to enhance the lives of its citizens. If the city government would not provide these amenities, then the city's leading citizens would intervene. These motives mirror those of Louisville and other cities interested in the City Beautiful movement, but in Chattanooga the role of private individuals was unrivalled. While a much younger city, and the site of significant fighting in the Civil War, Chattanooga enjoyed many of the same benefits that encouraged growth in Louisville, including the transportation links of railroads and the mighty Tennessee River. Chattanooga also boasted a vibrant manufacturing sector at the turn of the century and some of the city's leading citizens were nationally successful businessmen. One man in particular would shepherd thousands of acres into a large park project: *New York Times* editor Adolph Ochs. Like

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[7] Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996). For context regarding Chattanooga's rapid rise as a New South city, see Thomas Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). Birmingham serves as an example in Numan Bartley and George Tindall's histories of the New South. Numan V. Bartley. *The New South , 1945-1980*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995); George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1967).

[8] Lookout Mountain Business League Resolution, December 6, 1911, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

Louisville, Chattanooga's boosters boasted of its progressiveness and forward-thinking, although the boosterism usually focused attention on the favorable business climate with standard New South slogans.[9]

In addition to the cities' civic histories, Louisville and Chattanooga offer an interesting comparison in their approaches to creating park systems. Around the turn of the century, both cities attempted to address the Progressive Era concerns of public park space, ameliorating the crowded conditions of urban neighborhoods and attempting to provide opportunities for outdoor recreation. In the 1880s Louisville embarked on a park development campaign that succeeded in creating beautiful parks for Louisville citizens and placed the management of these properties in the hands of city officials under a city parks department. Chattanooga's story is one of private attempts to protect land and provide for public recreation, with little government involvement in land acquisition or park development. Although motivated by many of the same desires, the cities followed dramatically different paths to achieve similar goals. The patterns to these different paths tell us about the possibilities, and limitations, of conservation policies and practices as they existed in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Louisville is proud of its parks, particularly the early park officials' decision to hire Frederick Law Olmsted to design these parks which left a legacy of landscape architecture unrivalled in the nation.[10] Following a traditional path towards park creation, Louisville's experience fits neatly with the broader national story of cities

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[9] Histories of Chattanooga generally focus on the city's role in the Civil War, but several locally produced histories provide an introduction to the narrative history of the city. See the Tennessee Encyclopedia entry "Chattanooga," http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=226 [accessed 10/25/2014]; Zella Armstrong, *The History of Hamilton County and Chattanooga, Tennessee vol I & II.* (Chattanooga: The Overmountain Press, 1993); William F Hull, *Chattanooga Then and Now.* (Mount Pleasant, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2008).

[10] Many municipalities have parks designed by Olmsted, but Louisville is one of the few cities to implement a city-wide master plan on the scale suggested by Olmsted's original plans.

building a park infrastructure for the rest and relaxation of their citizens.[11] Denise Meringolo, summarized the Olmsted Park System, saying

> "The Olmsted Park and Parkway System is made up of over 2,000 park land acres and fifteen miles of parkways. Olmsted completed his design for the system in 1897, and his sons, particularly John Charles Olmsted, continued the work of park development and expansion in Louisville until 1938. The system is anchored by three flagship parks-Shawnee, Iroquois, and Cherokee—each of which capitalizes on a different aspect of the natural environment."[12]

Located at the only significant fall in the Ohio River along its entire length, Louisville inhabits the level flood plain on the edge of Kentucky's famed Bluegrass Region. As the city grew, much of the lowlands that now form the heart of Louisville's downtown were wetlands that required draining as the city expanded. To the east of downtown, the land slowly rises to the Bluegrass plateau, and along the southern edge of the Louisville metro area rise numerous independent hills forming a small ridgeline called The Knobs Region. Following logical patterns of development, modern Louisville occupies nearly all of the level and historically productive floodplain, some of the gradually rising land that eventually joins the Bluegrass Plateau to the East, and little of the rugged Knobs region. The city experienced major floods in the 1880s, 1907, 1913, 1918, 1937, and 1945. The 1937 and 1945 floods were so devastating that the city erected a series of floodwalls three feet higher than the 1937 flood's highest stage in an attempt to protect the downtown businesses from further catastrophic flooding. Following similar development trends as other cities located near rivers, many of the

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[11] Carl Kramer, *Louisville's Olmstedian Legacy*, 20-43; *Louisville Parks: A Story of Growth, 1890-1938* (Louisville: Board of Park Commissioners, 1939). Despite the Native American names of these parks, the city was not a site of permanent settlement by any single Native American nation at the time of European settlement. Lewis, R. Barry, *Kentucky Archaeology* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996) 53–63, 150.

[12] Denise Meringolo, review of "The Olmsted Park and Parkways System; Parks Restoration Project undertaken in partnership between Louisville Metro Parks by Mike Heitz; Mimi Zinniel," *The Public Historian.* (Fall 2008): 106-110.

wealthiest neighborhoods occupy higher ground that is less prone to flooding, including the Highlands neighborhoods in East Louisville, which escaped the periodic floods that afflicted the downtown and industrial areas.[13]

When compared with other cities, Louisville boasts a large park system relative to its size, one that outshines many of its larger regional competitors. In 2014 Louisville's parks system, including a large wilderness-style reservation in the southwestern corner of the city named Jefferson Forest, managed approximately 13,000 acres of metropolitan parkland serving the 750,000 residents of the city-county area.[14] The Olmsted parks (Shawnee, Iroquois, and Cherokee) feature prominently in Louisville's identity and anchor many of the city's most popular and vibrant neighborhoods. Smaller parks and reservations dot the rest of the city, and the riverfront area remains largely undeveloped and open for public recreation. Coffee table books, pamphlets, regional websites, and local newspapers all hail the legacy of Olmsted's vision of a "City of Parks," but exploring the way Louisville started its park system highlights how an intensely interested private citizenry contributed to the city park system's creation.[15]

As proud as Louisville is of its park system, it should be seen as the product of broader trends that swept the nation in the late 1800s. In the late 19th century municipalities all across the United States either created from scratch or drastically redesigned open spaces with public recreation in mind as part of the larger Progressive

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[13] Lowell H. Harrison, James C. Klotter, *A New History of Kentucky*. The University Press of Kentucky; (1997).33-48. Charles F. Brooks and Alfred H. Thiessen, "The Meteorology of Great Floods in the Eastern United States," *Geographical Review* Vol. 27, No. 2 (Apr., 1937), 269-290*;* Lucille F. Stickel, "Observations on the Effect of Flood on Animals," *Ecology,* Vol. 29, No. 4 (Oct., 1948), 505-507

[14] As a point of reference, in 2014 New York City had approximately 29,000 acres of parklands for 8.4 million people. Reference [http://www.nycgovparks.org/about] Accessed 10/24/2014. New York's park system accounts for approximately 14% of the total land area of the city.

[15] Carl Kramer, *Louisville's Olmstedian Legacy:*; Denise Meringolo, review of "The Olmsted Park and Parkways System, 106-110; *Louisville Parks: A Story of Growth, 1890-1938.*

movement. Cities such as New York, Boston, and Chicago boasted about the role of their growing park systems in restoring the humanity of urban masses. While Louisville cannot claim titles to being the first city to create a large park system or having the largest one in the nation, the city was exceptional among American municipalities in its commitment to follow through on a sweeping plan to bring parks to its citizens throughout the city as part of an integrated strategy.[16] Another significant difference between Louisville and similar cities in the South and Midwest was Louisville's emphasis on acquiring large tracts of land on the outskirts of town with the anticipation of future growth, a plan that enabled the city to add large amounts of acreage for minimal cost and implement master plans in ways others could not. While other cities may have a half-completed "Emerald Necklace" that attempted an integrated system of linear parks or a grand "Central Park" that stood unrivalled in its singular magnificence, only Louisville can boast of fully implementing Olmsted's regional approach to a comprehensive park system for the entire city.[17] Louisvillians are right to be proud of this legacy, but the desire for great parks, now considered a Louisville tradition, started with a handful of visionaries in the late 19th century. The methods they used to build the parks system reflected the key role of private citizens in engaging their city government in a project for the public good.

Histories of Louisville parks sometimes start with the founding of the city and point to the original city plan outlined by founder George Rogers Clark and calling for

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[16] Carl Kramer, *Louisville's Olmstedian Legacy*, 20-43*; Louisville Parks: A Story of Growth, 1890-1938*
[17] Mona Demosh, *Invented Cities: The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth-Century New York and Boston.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)*;* Kathy Poole "Evolutionary Infrastructure : Urban Landscapes' Potential Roles + Expressions," (Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the American Collegiate Schools of Architecture, Los Angeles, 11-15 March 2000, 2001).; Karl Haglund, *Inventing the Charles River Inventing the Charles River:* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001); Geoffrey Blodgett, "Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape Architecture as Conservative Reform" *The Journal of American History,* Vol. 62, No. 4 (March, 1976) 869-889.

broad boulevards, parks spaced every few blocks, and a large portion of the riverfront dedicated to recreation. Clark's plans, which bear resemblance to the urban landscapes of Paris or Washington, DC, would have been impressive with long avenues and frequent plazas. The first true park system came much later, however, and reflected the economic and political realities of the late 1800s. The official beginning of a park system in Louisville came with an 1887 speech from local businessman and politician Andrew Cowan at the Salmagundi Club, a gathering of elites in the city for the purpose of stimulating intellectual discussions. Proposing a system of linked "rural" parks ringing the city, he viewed such an endeavor as critical to Louisville's continued growth as a modern, progressive city, but also sought to preserve some of the natural character of Louisville's countryside before urbanization consumed the rolling hills around the city. Cowan also published a short opinion piece in the *Courier-Journal* in 1890 encouraging the establishment of suburban parks, noting that "in the western part of the city is an unoccupied stretch of ground sufficient for a large and handsome park…There is no spot in or about Louisville better adapted to parks….how can anyone be so blind as not to see it, and, seeing it, not favor it?"[18]

Cowan's proposal was both brimming with optimism and laced with concerns. Cowan feared losing pastoral hinterlands, yet he also saw parks as part of a strategy for attracting new business and residents to the city. Cowan also voiced citywide concerns that Louisville had nothing noteworthy, a charge levied by Baedeker's travel guide in 1887, and he lamented the overall lack of investment in public works. While the past management of the city's affairs left Louisville lagging behind other cities in public

[18] Andrew Cowan's speech notes to Salmagundi Club, June 4th 1887. Andrew Cowan Materials, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society. Quote taken from Adrew Cowan, "Parks for Louisville," *The Louisville Courier-Journal*, May 30, 1890. Located in Clippings scrapbook, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson

investment, the city's economic advantages ensured it still occupied a prominent place in regional affairs, although the new dominance of railroads for transportation minimized the economic relevance of Ohio River traffic. Cowan argued that Louisville needed to set itself apart from other southern cities, emerge from the shadow of regional competitors like Cincinnati, and take its rightful place among the leading cities in the world.[19]

Andrew Cowan was an unlikely city champion. Born in Scotland and a Union Civil War hero, Cowan's beginnings in Louisville included business interests as a leather merchant and modest printer. Unlike many prominent Kentuckians, Cowan was a military colonel, not just a Kentucky colonel, and his military service garnered him some respect.[20] Although his initial time in the city was spent as a small leather merchant, by the time of his proposal for a new park system in Louisville, Cowan had been a resident of the city for decades and grown his modest leather enterprise into a large scale general mercantile business in addition to owning printing presses. Cowan occupied a space in late 19th century Louisville as an outsider who rose to prominence and financial success during his time in the city and as a consequence came to hold sway over city matters. Whatever his outsider status, his role in civic affairs was well established by the late 1800s, and both elites and the general population respected his opinions.[21]

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[19] "Parks for Louisville" article in the *Courier Journal*, which also mentioned competing with Cincinnati. Clippings scrapbook, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society. Cowan was also fond of blaming Cincinnati for many of Louisville's problems. Included in this is what may be the first usage of the word "smog" to describe a combination of smoke and fog, which Cowan blamed on the burning of "soft coal," Bohne Scrapbook. Folder 2. Bohne Collection. Filson Historical Society.

[20] "Kentucky Colonels" received their honors from the state government and it does not reflect any military service. John Kleber, Entry for "Kentucky Colonels," *The Kentucky Encyclopedia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015)

[21] Andrew Cowan Bio, Cowan scrapbook, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society. Andrew Cowan, "Parks for Louisville" Clippings scrapbook, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson , Filson Historical Society

In his proposal for city parks and public spending generally, Cowan specifically argued against the way many of his peers viewed urban parklands. Wealthy families, many of whom had extensive private gardens, declined to lend support to public parks on the grounds that their properties beautified Louisville without extensive public expense or management. They saw their homes and gardens as essentially a public service.[22] Cowan rejected the notion that private gardens and palatial homes provided any sort of public recreation beyond being pleasing to the eyes of passersby, but the tone and tenor of his speech indicated many of his peers genuinely believed their homes were contributing to the city's charm and therefore they did not need to support any public spending on recreation. Cowan countered these aristocratic notions by emphasizing the pressing need for public parks in keeping with some of the main arguments of the day, including social betterment theories and nascent ideas later associated with the City Beautiful movement.[23] Cowan also encouraged the parks as a necessary measure to preserve some representative natural areas for future generations, much the same as the motivation for many early national parks but implemented on a local level. As Louisville's hinterland increasingly converted to industrial development and housing, Cowan feared the loss of irreplaceable countryside he found both beautiful and culturally significant to Louisville's pioneer past.[24] Cowan's plans reflected this motive in his desire to locate the parks outside the city limits in an attempt to include more acreage. City officials did not consider the low flood plain areas of Louisville as naturally pleasing as the sloping bluegrass regions to the east or the rocky knobs to the south. As a result,

[22] Ibid.
[23] Wilson, William H. *The City Beautiful Movement*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).
[24] Andrew Cowan's speech notes to Salmagundi Club, June 4th 1887, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society ; Andrew Cowan scrapbook, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society.

Cowan's combination of a desire for aesthetically pleasing tracts and larger acreage moved his anticipated park sites outside the city limits.

To build public support, Cowan and his friends advertised in Louisville papers in 1888 to encourage citizens to support the parks and issue bonds to help pay for land acquisition while also encouraging their powerful peer group to support the park plans.[25] In order to clear the legal ability of the city to acquire land outside its city limits and to create a new bureaucracy to oversee the parks, the measure came before the state legislature, with Cowan planning for a Parks Commission of several prominent men to begin the process of identifying suitable properties and acquiring land in a careful and deliberate manner.

Almost immediately, events beyond his personal control threatened Cowan's plans. Depending on the perspective of the storyteller, these events are attributed to either misplaced enthusiasm or savvy political maneuvering. In 1889, without consulting any of the most prominent people involved in creating a park bond issue, Louisville mayor Charles Jacob purchased the popular informal recreation grounds at Burnt Knob with personal funds and immediately requested reimbursement claiming he intended the land for use as a park. Following this unauthorized and unorthodox move, the park advocates sprang into action, publicly denouncing the mayor and criticizing him for the exorbitant price he paid and the questionable acquisition process. In addition to the outrage over his actions and the public criticism, Mayor Jacob's purchase and subsequent sale of the property to the city was likely illegal. Editorials questioning the mayor's motivations and alleging corruption ran in both of the city's major daily newspapers.

[25] Temple Bodley, "The Park System of Louisville and the services of Andrew Cowan;" Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society. Also see the Andrew Cowan scrapbook, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society.

Many of Louisville's most prominent businessmen publicly condemned the purchase, not because they rejected the idea of creating more parks, but as a rejection of the sort of cronyism threatening Louisville's reputation as a modern city.

Jacob further complicated matters by the location of his purchase, a full three miles from the city limits, with no infrastructure to enable city residents to visit the park in comfort. Burnt Knob, the main geographic feature, was a popular recreation spot prior to Jacob's purchase, but it was not ready for the volume and intensity of traffic that would characterize an official city park. There were no improved roads to the hill, and no facilities for sanitation or access. In addition to his follies acquiring the land at Burnt Knob, Jacobs' attempts to develop the property proved an embarrassment as well. After a strong rainstorm, erosion destroyed many of the improvements he commissioned.[26] As a result of his public shaming and facing the end of his term as mayor, Jacob finally appointed a council of five prominent Louisvillians to operate a Park Commission, although until the bond issuance the parks received no funding and the commission met only in the homes of its members.

Following a flurry of legislative activity and a special citywide election to approve the bond issue, in May 1890 the state legislature enacted a bill allowing the establishment of parks "in and adjacent to Louisville and the creation of a non-partisan Board of Park Commissioners to manage them," officially beginning Louisville's city park program.[27] The city transferred the park land it owned, the Jacob purchase and some smaller open spaces near downtown, to the newly elected board of Park

[26] Andrew Cowan scrapbook, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society; *Louisville Parks: A Story of Growth, 1890-1938*; Carl Kramer, *Louisville's Olmstedian Legacy: An Interpretive Analysis and Documentary Inventory.*
[27] Ibid. The city needed state approval to create parks outside its corporate city limits.

Commissioners with the express intention of "operat[ing] the parks free from politics." [28] The professionalization of the parks commission created a bureaucratic process that fits neatly with other Progressive Era urban park creation efforts and Andrew Cowan's efforts finally received their long-due reward.

The creation of a park system was not remarkable itself, but in its emphasis on creating parks in the suburban outskirts of the city and integrating them into a broader network of parks and parkways intended to accommodate the city's future growth, Louisville's vision resulted in a park system unlike any other in the U.S.[29] The Louisville system is also remarkable for the speed of its expansion, facilitated by the bond money the city's voters supported. Within two years, the land acquisition efforts already brought the nucleus of the parks under city ownership and within five years the city implemented the master plans for park development. Under the leadership of Cowan, the city park system grew significantly in both acreage and facilities during the period 1888-1900, including acquiring land for the remaining two parks and hiring the well-respected landscape architecture firm F.L. Olmsted and Company after Olmsted's visit to the city in 1891. From this auspicious start, the Park Commission laid the foundation for a system of urban parks that would inspire Louisville residents for generations. The efficient and timely development of Louisville's park system was both emblematic of the larger Progressive Movement and also provides some insight into how Louisville's park system remained a beloved part of the city's identity.

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[28] *Louisville Parks: A Story of Growth, 1890-1938.*

[29] Olmsted himself planned some other park systems in the US, like Boston's Emerald Necklace, along similar lines as the Louisville suburban parks, but none of these other plans came to fruition. The Emerald Necklace plan also attempts to follow undeveloped waterways as its organizing principle, whereas Louisville's plan to locate the parks on the outskirts of the city to accommodate future growth was unique. Also, the Emerald Necklace, Chicago's Lincoln Park, and others all came out of lands that were not originally suitable for building.

One of the most significant features of Louisville's Olmsted legacy was the way the parks embraced or enhanced the various natural features that already existed at their creation. While the Olmsted firm certainly planned these parks to create an aesthetically pleasing environment for quiet reflection or nature recreation, much of the emphasis in Cowan's initial motivation was a desire to protect the natural features inherent in the chosen properties. With regards to Cherokee Park, Olmsted said "to produce such scenery in higher perfection than…is yet to be found in any public park in America, all that is needed is the removal of fences and a little judicious use of the axe on your Cherokee Park site."[30] Particularly when compared to places like Central Park in NYC, which underwent significant earthmoving to emphasize reservoirs, improve soil conditions, grade bridle paths, and other alterations of the natural landscape, Cherokee Park's design called for grading only to produce level walkways and bridges with no large earthmoving projects planned to alter the natural topography or any quaint buildings like the Belvedere Castle. Olmsted also followed many of his other "rules" when working on Louisville's parks, some of which grew from his experiences in New York, including an attempt to avoid politics at all costs and leave the development and management of the park to professionals.[31]

Cowan and his fellow commissioners endorsed Olmsted's plans and focused their efforts on land acquisition and development of the improvements Olmsted thought proper. The development of the parks proceeded apace throughout the early 1890s.[32] After the early growth, the parks reached a certain critical mass of acreage and began the

[30] F.L. Olmsted, quoted in *Journal of the Development of Cherokee Park, Louisville, Kentucky, 1891-1974*, 20.
[31] Ibid.
[32] F.L. Olmsted, quoted in *Journal of the Development of Cherokee Park, Louisville, Kentucky, 1891-1974*, 68

process of landscaping while land acquisition stalled as the land surrounding the parks grew more expensive. Olmsted's pleas for finishing the land acquisitions as outlined in the initial plans fell on deaf ears. As the bond funds reached exhaustion in this more expensive climate, the city did not appropriate more funds for land acquisition and the park boundaries hardened into permanence as houses sprang up around the existing acreage. The Olmsted reports "urged repeatedly that haste must be exercised in acquiring land, since it would quickly become economically unfeasible to purchase."[33] Primarily concerned with the look and feel of the parks, the Olmsted firm encouraged the Park Commission to purchase the remaining land up to ridge-lines and hilltops in order to enclose the park environs from outside interference. This plan ultimately met with failure as Louisville's rapid growth determined the park borders and the pace of acquisition slowed when the drying of funds rendered further acquisition impossible. In 1893, Olmsted went so far as to call the Cherokee Park boundaries "unscientific and irrational," and argued for widespread boundary plantings to shield the park's visitors from unsightly houses or backyards.[34]

The way Louisville built its parks also provoked Olmsted's continued interest. Olmsted wrote letters to the Park Commission discouraging the inclusion of "encroachment[s] upon the pleasure of a larger number of visitors…" by developing the parks for golf courses, an arboretum, or other uses that were not keeping with his master plan. Scenery reigned supreme in the Olmsted plans, with the restorative function of quiet relaxation or taking in impressive views from a hilltop preferred over any sort of facilities and the rejection of sports fields or permanent recreation structures in an area

[33] Ibid.
[34] F.L. Olmsted, quoted in *Journal of the Development of Cherokee Park, Louisville, Kentucky, 1891-1974,* 66-69

labeled "park."[35] These guidelines are common in other Olmsted parks and reflect his philosophy of landscape design that sought to bring an idealized pastoral motif to the city.[36] From the earliest days, the board supported the plans for scenery and relaxing vistas over organized outdoor recreation, and as a result the original master plans followed Olmsted's recommendations closely. There were no playgrounds at Cherokee Park under these plans, and the firm even rejected the idea of an arboretum on the grounds that it did not appear "natural."[37]

Louisville was unique in its approach for several reasons. Active planning for suburban regions, particularly the plan to create parks in order to carve out spaces before development encroached on a significant natural feature, showed a remarkable sense of optimism and foresight. Many of the open spaces that graced other cities were the result of carving out acreage in the midst of existing development. As a result of its plan to acquire land on the outskirts of the city, Louisville acquired the land at a discount price compared to parcels closer to downtown and was able to accomplish the second defining feature of its plan—regional implementation of a central guiding concept. Through the unique design of several independent yet conceptually linked parks, the city dramatically expanded its offerings in every direction while still maintaining neighborhood identities. Louisville also demonstrated remarkable wisdom in hiring Frederick Law Olmsted. Olmsted was already well known by the 1890s when Louisville employed his design firm, but in seeking out the best known and respected landscape architect the city ensured a strong foundation for the park system to build its future. After the initial period of

[35] *Journal of the Development of Cherokee Park, Louisville, Kentucky, 1891-1974,* 20-43; *Louisville Parks: A Story of Growth, 1890-1938.*
[36] Kramer, *Louisville's Olmsted Legacy.*
[37] F.L. Olmsted, quoted in *Journal of the Development of Cherokee Park, Louisville, Kentucky, 1891-1974*

publicity and acquisition, the city made good use of this strong foundation by continuing an active interest in the parks and their role in the communities they served.

As the parks grew in usage, however, the city increasingly juggled the master plans of Olmsted with the demands of citizens interested in using the parks for outdoor recreation. For most of the early 20th century, Olmsted's plans carried the day, but as the city grew up around the parks and they anchored new neighborhoods, city officials faced increasing pressure to create places for neighborhood recreation rather than simple reflective thought. This transition in priorities was part of a broader trend in American society and the way Americans experienced their parks, both city parks and larger state or national parks.[38] The shifting trends resulted in tremendous pressure on the city to provide recreation facilities near existing residential neighborhoods. Ultimately, these pressures caused departures from the Olmsted plans in order to make use of existing city park land rather than acquiring new lands for recreation facilities. Most of the parks retained the openness and scenery of the Olmsted design, but by the 1920s each park included a golf course and Shawnee also included baseball fields. Building these courses came as a response to public demand, which the Louisville Parks Department described as "golf madness," and the courses received immediate praise and usage. Cherokee Park's nine-hole golf course opened in 1896, with all of the Olmsted parks offering golf by the 1920s. [39]

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[38] One example of the shift is found in Calvin Coolidge, Address to the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation in Washington, DC: "The Democracy of Sports," May 22, 1924. Also see Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Committee (ORRRC) reports, 1962. ORRRC, *A Report to the President and to The Congress by The Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1962). http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CZIC-gv53-a545-1962/html/CZIC-gv53-a545-1962.htm

[39] *Louisville Parks: A Story of Growth, 1890-1938*; See also George B. Kirsch, *Golf in America.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

Previously criticized for being well outside the city limits, and accessible only to those wealthy enough to travel by carriage to the suburban location, the parks now enjoyed the popularity and visitation that came with their location in the center of new, upper middle-class neighborhoods. The golf courses, with their required equipment, training, and leisure time, appealed mostly to wealthy and middle class patrons. The parks themselves remained open to the general public, however, and visitation grew through the early 20th century. While responding to the public's recreation demands probably increased the parks' popularity, as Louisville departed from the Olmsted plan it began a slow and steady trajectory away from the characteristics that made its city parks unique in the nation.[40] They were still quite large by the standards of other cities, yet Louisville began using the land differently than Olmsted intended. Despite these significant changes, the size of the properties ensured the overall site design retained Olmsted's emphasis on reducing clutter, emphasizing natural scenery, and keeping changes to the landscape to a minimum. In an attempt to compromise, the golf course, playgrounds, and other recreation facilities occupied spaces on the fringes of the park, with the meadows and rolling hills remaining in their Olmsted-designed open state.

Faced with a board concerned with city residents' changing priorities and recognizing the unlikely further expansion of the parks, Olmsted advisors also recommended a forestry program along property boundaries to "complete" the parks in late 1934, an expense the Louisville Park Commission agreed to fund in January of

[40] Indeed, as much as Olmsted is praised for his approach to landscape architecture, many of his projects varied from his original plans in order to better fit the needs of the constituencies they served. Similar plans in Milwaukee and Buffalo also experienced changes to Olmsted's original plans. See Robin S. Karson, *A Genius for Place: American Landscapes of the Country Place Era.* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 28-31.

1935.[41] When the Olmsted firm finished their advisement on proper forestry in the parks, the board deemed the major anchors of the Louisville parks system "completed" and funding evaporated for any further expansion or development. This decision to complete the parks came at a time of remarkable global turmoil that deeply affected city projects across the nation. By 1934, when the proposal to complete parks came before the board, the Great Depression gripped the nation and Roosevelt's New Deal was only just beginning to attempt a resurrection of the economy. As economic conditions worsened and Hitler increased his power in Europe, the parks took a secondary place to the greater concerns of the Great Depression and World War II, and the next significant change to the Louisville parks system would not occur until 1947 with the proposal to route interstate highway 64 through Cherokee Park. That the conclusion of this initial period of growth and development occurred at the same time as a national economic catastrophe is no coincidence. The foundation established in this earlier period and the strong support from the city government in creating and funding the parks in their early years ensured that the lean days of the Depression and WWII would not erase the parks from Louisville's landscape. The Louisville that emerged from the Great Depression and WWII found itself part of a drastically different nation, however, with different attitudes toward both cities and urban parks. The routing of an interstate highway through the heart of the city, and particularly through Cherokee Park, demonstrates a nation on the precipice of a radical reshaping of settlement patterns.[42]

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[41] *Journal of the Development of Cherokee Park*, 80

[42] These changes in demographic trends are well documented. See Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988). Kenneth T. *Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985) Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (2001) Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (1991). Tom Wallace, editor at the *Louisville Times* wrote numerous editorials about the routing of an interstate

As a comparison to Louisville's path to city parks, Chattanooga, Tennessee represents an early example of the possibilities of the involvement of private individuals and offered an alternative to the Louisville model of government-led park creation. In Chattanooga, the city elites focused on rebuilding an economy in a young city damaged by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Founded shortly after Cherokee Removal in 1839, the city was much younger than Louisville, but grew quickly as a transportation hub for river traffic and as a regional center of commerce.[43] Located in the Tennessee River Valley between the Cumberland Plateau and the Ridge and Valley formations of the Appalachian Mountains, with the arrival of the railroad technology the city presented one of the only places for railroads coming out of Atlanta to efficiently cross the Appalachian Mountains. The arrival of the railroad in the 1850s solidified Chattanooga's place as an important city for the transshipment of goods between the cotton economies of the Deep South and the Upper South. These economic ties to the Deep South resulted in the city serving as a cultural crossroads as well, with elite Chattanoogans predominantly supporting the Confederacy during the Secession Crisis while many of the region's rural residents favored the Union.[44] The role the city played in the Civil War reflected both these loyalties and the critical transportation ties Chattanooga enjoyed with the Deep South's most prominent city, Atlanta. As a strategic crossroads, the Union forces made Chattanooga a priority in their campaigns and the attack they launched in the fall of 1863 resulted in the battles of Chickamauga and Chattanooga. The Union won a bloody

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highway through Cherokee Park, but his advocacy was not enough to stop the project. See in particular folders 324 and 333, Tom Wallace Collection, Filson Historical Society

[43] William F. Hull, *Chattanooga Then and Now;* Zella Armstrong, *The History of Hamilton County and Chattanooga, Tennessee vol I & II.*

[44] Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood, "Chattanooga Under Military Occupation, 1863-1865" *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Feb., 1951), 23-47; Fred A. Bailey, "Class and Tennessee's Confederate Generation," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Feb., 1985), 31-60.

victory and retained control of the city for the remainder of the war, using Chattanooga as a strategic supply center for Sherman's march into Georgia. The Union's supply depots and efforts to rebuild the city's transportation links encouraged postwar growth, and many of the city's postwar elites were former Union soldiers who returned to the city and helped facilitate an industrial boom that lasted until the 1890s. The Panic of 1893 interrupted the streak of prosperity, but by the 1910s Chattanooga enjoyed a stable economic foundation of industry and transportation.[45]

For all the city's successes, it still lagged behind its peers in parks and recreation infrastructure for the laboring population. Motivated by the failure of the city to provide adequate facilities, and to ameliorate the deficiencies, in 1925 business man and publisher Adolph Ochs founded a privately funded recreational park together with a small group of wealthy residents from Chattanooga. Hugging the slopes of Lookout Mountain, one of the area's most prominent geological landmarks, the park embraced the mountain's undeveloped slopes and was only a short distance from downtown, a fact reflected in the park's name—Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park. Like Louisville's Olmsted parks, Lookout Mountain offered the possibility of acquiring large amounts of acreage outside the central districts of the city, yet close enough to downtown to serve the growing urban population. Also, much like Louisville, the large rural Chattanooga park first gained public interest after an announcement by one of the city's wealthiest and most respected leaders. Yet where Cowan used the existing city government to create a park system for Louisville and marshaled the resources of city bonds, Chattanooga's park remained

[45] Mary Rogge, "Toxic Risk Community Resilience and Social Justice in Chattanooga, Tennessee," in *Sustainable Community Development: Studies in Economic, Environmental, and Cultural Revitalization*, Marie Hoff, ed. (Boca Raton, Florida: CRC Press, 1998); Constantine G. Belissary, "The Rise of Industry and the Industrial Spirit in Tennessee, 1865-1885," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (May, 1953), 193-215.

privately owned and funded, without the reach of the Chattanooga city government's meddling but also beyond its potentially helpful stabilizing influence.

Chattanooga's city government had investigated the possibility of building an extensive park system in 1911, with a report to the Board of Park Commissioners submitted by Cambridge, MA landscape architect John Nolen. Nolen served in a similar capacity for many other cities, and his report to Chattanooga highlighted the few park facilities the city offered while making sweeping recommendations for improvements. Nolen listed approximately 100 acres of parkland in the entire city, but this number included 65 acres of federal land conveyed to Chattanooga around the National Cemetery.[46] Nolen put the need for parks in perspective when he mentioned the city's remarkable economic growth, observing that "Chattanooga is growing by leaps and bounds… its banking capital has increased 92 per cent, its deposits 181 per cent, the value of its products 220 per cent…population jumping from 49,706 to 94,000 in a decade." He went on to ask "What does Chattanooga lack? …Its park possessions are small indeed"[47] Nolen closed his report by encouraging immediate action from the city government before the remaining lands available for conservation were lost to development. Nolen closed his report with a call to action: "It now rests with the community to express its civic spirit, to manifest its faith in the future of Chattanooga by rallying to the support of the Park Commission and the great work it has inaugurated."[48]

The call to action fell on deaf ears. Over a decade later, Chattanooga's park system remained in the same anemic and underfunded situation Nolen had observed in

[46] John Nolen, *General Features of a Park System for Chattanooga*, (Chattanooga: G. H. Ellis Company, printers, 1911) p 20. For comparison on park acreage, Louisville's Cherokee Park consists of more than 400 acres.
[47] Nolen, *General Features*, 19-20.
[48] Nolen , *General Features*, 21.

1911. Paralyzed by the sheer cost of developing a park system, the city government acquired none the properties Nolen recommended, generally neglected to improve the facilities it already possessed, and failed to implement Nolen's recommendation for a comprehensive city park plan. In 1925, however, the city's available park acreage suddenly and dramatically increased as the slopes of Lookout Mountain added over 3,000 acres to the city's park infrastructure within walking distance of downtown.[49]

Born during a 1925 luncheon, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park came to encompass 3,000 acres over a period of ten years, dwarfing any of the Louisville Olmsted parks. On the surface, both Louisville and Chattanooga's park projects began with prominent, wealthy, white men delivering speeches in front of equally privileged peer groups. Both park projects planned to provide large, open spaces for nature recreation and quiet contemplation. The projects had major differences in both the method for creating these parks and the proposed management of the properties once they acquired the land. Created with private money and the strong influence of one of Chattanooga's leading citizens, the Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park founders intended for the space to serve "public welfare purposes" from its inception, and sought to create "the greatest…park of the American continent." They also left no room for city involvement.[50] Early in the 20th century, the city leaders recognized the need for a place where local citizens might spend time relaxing, especially as "at present time the Park System available for the citizens of Chattanooga on hot nights is very limited."[51]

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[49] The distance from the municipal buildings downtown to the Incline Railway on Lookout Mountain is approximately 2.5 miles.

[50] Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park Mailing, 1925, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park Scrapbook. Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia; "To Perpetuate Scenic Beauty of Mountain," *Chattanooga Times*, February 3, 1925.

[51] W.E. Boileau to Major W.J. Colburn, May 1, 1911, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

Reliant on political support, Cowan's political campaign for the Olmsted parks engaged the politically active citizens of Louisville after his initial comments at the Salmagundi Club. In contrast, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park was the creation of renowned *New York Times* publisher Adolph Ochs, who described Lookout Mountain "in glowing terms," and "declared he had traveled the world over and never found anything to compare with Lookout Mountain."[52] Ochs referenced both the natural beauty, ideal location, and ease of development and he envisioned a park on the mountain that would serve the needs of all Chattanoogans, sounding very similar in his motivations to Andrew Cowan 40 years earlier in Louisville. Ochs' vision held no place for the city government, however, and from the beginning of the project it was clear Ochs planned to direct the park's management. Early in the park's history this provided decisive and effective leadership, a clear distinction from the beginnings of Louisville's park system and the abortive attempts that characterized previous efforts to create city parks in Chattanooga.

Ochs planned for a multi-purpose rural park from the very beginning, reasoning that Chattanoogans would benefit from both recreation facilities and quiet reflection in natural settings. Ochs' call for a park at Lookout Mountain came at a time when Americans were increasingly interested in what was dubbed "outdoor recreation," and when the elites of the nation actively promoted athletic and natural recreational pursuits, as demonstrated in the repurposing of the Olmsted parks in Louisville.[53] Building on this national emphasis on recreation, Chattanooga's leading citizens endeavored to place their city at a similar rank with other leading industrializing cities of the New South. As a growing city, Chattanooga faced the prospect of falling behind its peers in both prestige

[52] "Lookout Mountain Park Project is Now Assured," *The Chattanooga Times*, February 5, 1925.
[53] Calvin Coolidge, Address to the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation in Washington, DC: "The Democracy of Sports," May 22, 1924.

and ability to attract new residents. The solution Ochs proposed was a park close to downtown Chattanooga that boasted modern facilities, yet stayed "natural" enough to provide physical and spiritual refreshment. Yet Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park no longer exists as a distinct entity, while Louisville's Olmsted parks still serve as anchors of the city's neighborhoods. With the park's lands donated to the National Park Service in 1935 and Ochs's greater purpose long since forgotten by the general public, the journey of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park from private parcels of mountain land to a component of the National Park system illustrates the possibilities, and limitations, of 1920s private conservation efforts. Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park's brief existence represented a remarkable effort by the city's elites to create a park with private money. Within ten years, nonetheless, their grand experiment had failed.

Located on the slopes of Lookout Mountain, the park boundary at its nearest point rested approximately six miles northeast of the federally managed Chickamauga battlefield and partially within the city limits of Chattanooga. Lookout Mountain, the dominant feature of southern Chattanooga, rises from a sharp point near the Tennessee River and extends for hundreds of miles to the south and west, deep into Georgia. Topped by a relatively smooth ridge crest and accessible from the south, the Point Park area of Lookout Mountain served as a summer retreat for some of Chattanooga's wealthier citizens. Located at the northernmost tip of Lookout Mountain, Point Park was the site of a skirmish that took place as part of the battles for Chattanooga during the American Civil War and the area served primarily a commemorative function. Technically a component of the National Battlefield, in reality the park anchored an existing recreation infrastructure that included an incline railway to access the substantial

number of homes on the mountain's ridge. In contrast to Lookout Mountain's alpine appeal, less than six miles south Chickamauga battlefield remained under the management of the military until the 1930s. Although the army managed both Point Park and Chickamauga Battlefield, Chickamauga conveyed a distinctly military feel that never characterized Lookout Mountain. Indeed, though they are still managed under a single administrative unit, even after nearly a century of unified management the park property on Lookout Mountain is an odd fit when compared to the larger Chickamauga Battlefield. The public history of Lookout Mountain's role in the Civil War mostly focuses on Point Park and a few discussions of the famous, but largely romanticized, "Battle Above the Clouds."[54] This difference in the two components flows from the drastically different history of how their acreage joined the National Military Park.

Despite its commemorative function, Chattanoogans frequented the Point Park component of the national military park on Lookout Mountain as an informal recreation area in the early 20th century. The mountain's use as a park was more a reflection of the lack of facilities in the rest of the Chattanooga metropolitan area. The Point Park area on the northern promontory of Lookout Mountain had been a component of Chattanooga-Chickamauga National Military Park since the 1890s due to its significance to the Civil War battle, but in the early twentieth century this outpost of the military park served primarily as a recreation area for a city lacking in public park space. For Ochs, Point Park represented the worst outcome of Chattanooga's failure to take parks seriously or plan for recreation infrastructure. Facing a lack of city government initiative and recognizing the

[54] Peter Cozzens, *The Shipwreck of Their Hopes: The Battles for Chattanooga.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996)*;* and Peter Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound: The Battle of Chickamauga*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996)*;* John Bowers, *Chickamauga and Chattanooga: The Battles that Doomed the Confederacy.* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001).

need for spaces close to central Chattanooga for nature recreation, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park's founders sought to create a public space for the growing city from their own personal fortunes and without government intervention. When Ochs identified Lookout Mountain as a suitable place for a park, he drew on his experience with the region's managed public properties, including the parts of Lookout Mountain's slopes that already served as an informal component of the Chattanooga recreation landscape.

Like the Louisville park commission, Chattanooga's leading citizens saw public facilities such as parks as a part of the ideal progressive and modern city they desired. This motive was widespread in the late 19th and early 20th century. Chattanooga's elites emphasized their restorative influence on the undesirable elements of urban life including crime, declining morals, and an inferior quality of life due to overcrowded or unhealthy living conditions.[55] More than just providing a place for Chattanoogans to stroll on the weekends, as the primary architect for the Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, Henry Herts, bluntly asserted, "we may either build jails and penitentiaries or we may build parks and playgrounds."[56] Adolph Ochs explained that one of the primary motivations for building the park was so that "the little unfortunate people of the world who are sick in spirit and weary in body may find comfort and courage from the beauties of nature."[57] The notion that parks served social functions outside their immediate effect of protecting small pieces of natural space in the midst of rapidly developing urban areas is the subject of many monographs, but the explicit connection between the Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park and curing social ills is particularly striking.

[55] "Lookout Mountain Park Project is Now Assured," *The Chattanooga Times*, February 5, 1925.
[56] "Lookout Mountain Park Project is Now Assured," *The Chattanooga Times*, February 5, 1925.
[57] "To Perpetuate Scenic Beauty of Mountain," *Chattanooga Times*, February 3, 1925.

Though the park was to benefit the unfortunate, it fell to the fortunate to create the recreational space. Where Andrew Cowan couched his park plans as a civic responsibility for all Louisvillians, it was primarily the wealthy citizenry that attended the downtown Chattanooga lunch meeting in early 1925 where Adolph Ochs proposed the park, with "a large portion of the 'wealth, political and social power of the city…represented.'"[58] Cloaked in their wealth and privilege, the founders of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park embarked on a journey to create a park for the masses. Much like Cowan in Louisville, the public standing of Adolph Ochs played a significant role in attracting attention. A self-made man by all accounts, Ochs borrowed money to gain control of the *Chattanooga Times* in 1878 at the young age of 20.[59] After building his hometown newspaper into a successful business, Ochs looked further afield to expand his journalistic empire and purchased the *New York Times,* then a struggling newspaper that was only of regional interest. By the 1920s Ochs had built the *New York Times* into an internationally recognized powerhouse.[60] Described in later writings as "the leading spirit in all civic movements at Chattanooga," Ochs continued to involve himself in Chattanooga's affairs, even as his business interests increasingly demanded attention in New York City.[61] Ochs' trajectory of involvement in Chattanooga was the opposite of Cowan's involvement in Louisville. Whereas Cowan came to Louisville as an adult and after a successful career in the military, Ochs viewed Chattanooga as his hometown and

[58] "Lookout Mountain Park Project is Now Assured," *The Chattanooga Times,* February 5, 1925.
[59] Ochs Bio. Ochs Memorial Museum Materials, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.
[60] Edwin Diamond, *Behind the Times: Inside the New New York Times* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995)*;* Gay Talese, *The Kingdom and the Power: Behind the Scenes at The New York Times: The Institution That Influences the World*. (New York: Random House Publishing, 2013).
[61]Ochs Bio. Ochs Memorial Museum Materials, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.; E.E. Betts, *Map of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park,* June 25, 1925, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

held the city dear as the place where he first built his fortune. In building a massive park for public purposes, Ochs took initiative when he saw politicians squandering the natural beauty of the city he loved.

Ochs thought Lookout Mountain was naturally suited for a park, but his plans included grandiose alterations to the landscape. At his luncheon speech, Ochs proposed terraced "hanging gardens," which would take advantage of the geographic features of Lookout Mountain's bluffs and an abandoned quarry. Reclaiming marginal lands, the hanging garden idea featured complex landscape architecture and a radical reshaping of the slopes of the mountain. The gardens would exhibit indigenous flora and, as the landscape architect for the project proposed, "a unique waterfall" supplied by "water piped to the top of the mountain."[62] Ochs also explained the concept of "hanging gardens" by referencing the legendary hanging gardens of Babylon and a more recent example he had visited personally in Heidelberg, Germany. On the western side of the mountain where the slope was less severe, hiking trails and "literary acres" would offer places for quiet reflection. The "literary acres" concept featured busts of famous poets and playwrights with accompanying quotes from their most famous works. Conceived as a sort of circuit hiking trail with several stops for poetry reading, it offered an alternative to the grand plans for hanging gardens and playgrounds that characterized the eastern section of the mountain.

Guiding many of Ochs' decisions was a personal experience he had while visiting Heidelburg, Germany. The beauty of the Koenigstuhl, a large hill rising from the

[62] E.E. Betts, *Map of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park*, June 25, 1925, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

outskirts of the city and frequented by the city's residents, struck Ochs.[63] In addition to its dominant topographical position, the Koenigstuhl served as a place for the city's residents to relax and enjoy a combination of both natural and built environments, with careful landscaping complementing the natural beauty of the area. The mountain also featured amenities that made for an easy comparison to Lookout Mountain, including an incline railway, small developments at the top including a restaurant, and walking trails that took visitors to vantage points overlooking Heidelburg on the valley floor. As Ochs remembered it, the nature trails led residents up the slopes and to inexpensive restaurants where even the poor could afford to purchase refreshments. The German park offered all these amenities within walking distance of the city center.[64] For Ochs, the Konigstuhl represented the perfect pairing of natural and built environments, and his plans for Lookout Mountain similarly included "enhancements" to nature's beauty in addition to wild areas with only rustic hiking trails.

Because the project was privately funded, the motivations of its founder and lead donor took on increased importance, rendering Ochs's Konigstuhl experience vital to understanding the vision he had for Lookout Mountain and Chattanooga. While his template for the park came from his visit to Heidelburg, what motivated Ochs to build parks instead of other worthy projects? As one source of motivation, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park should be viewed as emblematic of a national effort to create large natural spaces for public enjoyment. Drawing on the same logic as Henry Herts, the engineer who cast the park development into a black and white dichotomy between

[63] Literally "Koenigstuhl" means "king's chair." *The Oxford German Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
[64] E.E. Betts, *Map of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park*, June 25, 1925, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. Ochs most likely referred to the Konigstuhl, which featured restaurants and hotels on its slopes.

playgrounds or prisons, Ochs viewed the park as a way to repair industrial workers' damaged souls with the restorative forces of nature, but he planned to dramatically reshape the mountain in the process. This plan may indicate a combination of influences.

From the national level to the local, outdoor recreation and nature protection grew in prominence during the 20th century, and these currents influenced Ochs in his desire for a space where modern workers could "experience" nature. At the same time that Ochs proposed his park project, organizations like the Sierra Club, the Appalachian Trail Conference, and others grew their membership, reflecting the national scope of the desire for wilderness protection and outdoor recreation. The National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service were both growing increasingly professional and expanding their geographical control. As demonstrated at Louisville, parks also proved overwhelmingly popular with the American people, driving further government involvement and an increasing interest among Progressive leaders in both creating green spaces for urban areas and protecting "pure" lands farther away from cities.[65]

From Ochs' earliest conceptions of how Lookout Mountain would appear, he intended for Chattanooga to compete with other cities from around the world. The scope of the proposed projects was impressive, especially in the heady early days. The planned park dwarfed not only the Louisville parks in both acreage and development plans but also larger city parks like New York City's Central Park. In T*he Chattanooga Times,* Ochs described a transformed mountainside with hanging gardens mimicking those of ancient Babylon, "fifty thousand native shrubs are to be transplanted…a massive

[65] Ellen Stroud, *Nature Next Door: Cities and Trees in the American Northeast*. (Seattle, WA,University of Washington Press, 2012); Sarah Mittlefehldt, *Tangled Roots: The Appalachian Trail and American Environmental Politics*.(Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013); Sarah Gregg, *Managing the Mountains: Land Use Planning, the New Deal, and the Creation of a Federal Landscape in Appalachia.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

playground with hundreds of swings, slides, and other play equipment is planned for the children as well as an amphitheater with parking facilities for several thousand automobiles."[66] If Olmsted advocated the "judicious use of the axe" in Louisville, Ochs encouraged the overwhelming use of power on Lookout Mountain. Where Louisville's Olmsted parks sought to protect an exemplary landscape, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain park sought to improve the landscape. Ochs planned for Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park to fill perceived gaps in the government's ability to supply its citizens with recreation facilities and exposure to natural areas, and because these gaps loomed large in the minds of the founders, plans for the new park were equally massive.

The diverse influences on Ochs' personal motivations reflect broader national trends, particularly with regards to outdoor recreation. Combining the national conversations about the importance of public parks with a desire to give back to his home city, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park illustrates how Ochs's personal direction influenced the park. Emblematic of the relationship between federal direction and local implementation, the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation was a nationally sponsored attempt to encourage Americans to seek outdoor recreation opportunities, yet by advocating this position the federal authorities recognized much of the implementation would fall to state and local governments. In the case of Chattanooga, prominent local citizens took the banner of outdoor recreation to new levels with the private funding, planning, and preliminary development of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, which otherwise seems sudden, unexpected, and out of place in a conservation regime dominated by government entities.

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[66] "Garden Shapes Into Reality," *The Chattanooga Times,* November 29, 1930; Report of Activity, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, March 2, 1931, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

There were some indications that the federal government might not be the only entity capable of nature conservation, particularly for reservations dedicated to outdoor recreation. In Calvin Coolidge's opening address to the gathered attendees at the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation in 1924 he promised, "…it is by no means intended that there should be any suggestion of Federal domination in these activities. Necessarily they are largely local and individual, and to be helpful they must always be spontaneous."[67] A Republican with a strong "small-government" ideology (and famously saying very little as well), Coolidge brought together conservation, recreation, and park interests through the powerful platform of the presidency to encourage more outdoor recreation and the facilities to support it. Indeed, the GOP championed the cause of conservation in the early 20th century nationwide with bureaucracies like the US Forest Service and National Park Service. National parks were part of both parties' efforts to conserve the nation's natural resources, and the push for conservation included other initiatives like watershed protection and state parks departments. Republican leaders viewed conservation as one aspect of their business-friendly model for America. Creating an environment conducive to healthy growth meant protecting both the actual natural environment and protecting the long-term ability to continue using natural resources. This plan, particularly in a pre-New Deal federal government, necessitated significant local support. In a national sense, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park

[67] Calvin Coolidge, Address to the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation in Washington, DC: "The Democracy of Sports" May 22, 1924 [http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=24169] accessed 2/13/2015. The Republican Party of the early 20th century was a very different party than the late 20th century GOP. Samuel Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); David Stradling, *Conservation in the Progressive Era: Classic Texts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013). Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

represented one of the ideal implementations of this emphasis on local efforts in the creation of outdoor recreation facilities.

Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain's founders emphasized some of the same themes national conservation leaders highlighted in their speeches and conferences. Of the early supporters, most were members of the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce and saw the park as a boost to the city's national profile and as a way to entice further investment. An article in the *Chattanooga Times* in February 1925 drew the explicit connection between the park and the city's prosperity, with the title "Businessmen Realize the Importance of Proposition in Connection with Future Growth of City." Tourism was one of the reasons for creating such a spectacular attraction, but the general improvement in quality of life also received attention. "Through this attractive medium, it is thought, Chattanooga will be so widely advertised that not only will people who are in search of health and pleasure come to the city, but new enterprises will be induced to locate in the city."[68]

Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, as a private initiative drawing on these large national themes, used the same motivations, language, and regional planning as many other parks. The main difference between the park in Chattanooga and other parks from the same period was the private money, planning, and management of the park, creating a public service without government involvement. For the GOP leaders who called the NCOR, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park was the ideal outcome of the proposed policies. Yet, despite the glowing language, high publicity, and encouraging pace of land acquisition, the park showed signs of trouble from its earliest days. Primary amongst these concerns was the central role of Ochs himself and the very nature of the

[68] Newspaper Clipping, February 5th, 1925. *Chattanooga Times*. Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park Scrapbook. Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

park's private foundations. As the progenitor of the park, its primary donor, and its most important proponent, Ochs singlehandedly shepherded the project to fruition and guided it once established. Donating sums of money totaling $105,000 in his own name, Ochs also provided the $1,000 founder's subscription for his numerous family members.[69]

In addition to monetary contributions, many of the park's defining features drew on Ochs' initial plans for a natural wonderland. Finally, Ochs contributed not only a substantial portion of the initial investment for land acquisition, but practically the entire yearly maintenance budget for the park. While this may suggest a lack of interest in supporting the park among the city's average citizenry, the more likely explanation is the discouraging large costs in maintaining the type of park Ochs envisioned and the method used for funding the park from the very first meeting. Ochs proposed creating the park after decades of administrative paralysis and the city government's failure to provide adequate park facilities. Unfortunately, by leading the efforts and dominating the funding, Ochs created a park that relied heavily on his personal involvement. Whereas Louisvillians supported the bond issue, engaged with the parks as they built new neighborhoods around them, and modified the parks to meet citizen demands, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park's management remained detached from the local community. Privately funded and directed, the park necessarily offered less chances for the public to feel ownership over its future.

Ochs asked for support from leading citizens of Chattanooga, but the founders' subscriptions largely funded land acquisition and not the regular maintenance budget. Keeping with Ochs's ideas of the role the park would play in the city, the park was

[69] Report of Activity, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, March 2, 1931, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

intentionally open to the public free of charge, and by design the park never generated revenues that might have supported its operating costs. [70] Unlike Louisville, however, once the initial money evaporated there was no bureaucratic entity tasked with managing the park beyond the foundation established by Ochs's donations. His powerful impact on the park and its association with him as an individual also meant other Chattanooga elites (aside from his brother Milton) were unlikely to champion the park in Ochs's absence. In Louisville, Cowan provided the initial drive, but then helped establish a permanent government management structure to continue the parks after he was no longer at the helm. All of these dangers of the private park model, combined with the lack of local government support, resulted in the property hanging in a precarious balance. As long as the park enjoyed the attention and patronage of Adolph Ochs, the media attention and generous funding assured its success. As the attentions of the parks' founder focused elsewhere, however, the park suffered from neglect and was subject to the many problems of linking its fortunes inextricably to one individual.

The park also suffered from bad luck in its timing. In the decades after Louisville established its park system, the city grew quickly and revenues increased, providing the financial backing necessary to carry out the land acquisition and park development to fulfill the Olmsted plans. Only after decades of expansion and development were the Louisville parks threatened by constrained budgets of national economic catastrophes such as the Great Depression. Chattanoooga-Lookout Mountain Park, founded in 1925, floundered as early as 1929 with the looming economic crisis of the Great Depression following the Wall Street crash. Compounding this general economic crisis was the

[70] Chattanooga Lookout-Mountain Scrapbook, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

locally significant crisis of Adolph Ochs's declining health. As the single most important person to the success or failure of the park, Adolph Ochs's personal health took on special significance. The lack of direction only exacerbated the challenges facing the park in the deepening economic crisis of the 1930s.

As the economy worsened and more serious problems appeared, they cast Ochs's substantial contributions into even sharper focus. The park began suffering from noticeable neglect. A symptom of the Great Depression, in some areas whole plants were uprooted while in others flowers in peak bloom were cut and allegedly sold for profit by downtown peddlers. Vandalism also increased with each passing year, and Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park finally declared a "war on vandals" in 1933.[71] In addition to vandalism and stealing, nearby residents complained of hunting on park land throughout the early 1930s, providing another example of local residents facing economic difficulties using the land for personal benefit. The western slope, which park plans proposed leaving in a relatively natural state, was the most frequently offended area, as it was here that the careful introduction of wildlife resulted in substantial populations of quail and pheasants. This section was also the furthest from the St. Elmo neighborhood and posed particular problems for policing.[72]The park was close enough to town that it had not been used as a hunting ground for half a century, so hunting represented a particularly troubling problem that had not been reported in the previous five years. When considered in conjunction with the other offenses, this reflects a possible return to viewing the mountain as a "commons" and a flaunting of the rules demonstrating a

[71] "More Park Thefts Draw Declaration of War on Vandals," *The Chattanooga Times*, February 4, 1933. It is unclear if the vandalism was defacement or the same type of stealing for resell in downtown markets.
[72] "Hunter Convicted for Park Shooting," *The Chattanooga Times*, October 2, 1932; Report of Activity, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, March 2, 1931, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

disrespect of the arbitrary authority now governing the park.[73] Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park also suffered from its size in this regard. The undeveloped western slope offered a haven for vagrants, who occasionally set fire to the woods when they were careless with their campfires. This type of pressure on landscapes occurred throughout the United States, particularly in undeveloped or marginally rural areas near urban centers. The three smaller Louisville parks all escaped large scale vandalism and misuse, most likely because they were only a few hundred acres each and were located in the middle of respectable neighborhoods by the time of the Great Depression. As anchors of neighborhoods, the Louisville parks generated intense interest among nearby residents that was impossible for Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park. The distant management style and lack of real investment may have played a role as well, with much of the Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain public posturing adopting a combative tone and casting the vandal as outside society. This is a staggering change from the initial motivations for creating the park that employed the dichotomy of either building parks and playgrounds or penitentiaries.[74]

Even as the park seemed assaulted from every angle, in 1933 the Federal government established several Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps around Chattanooga. While most CCC camps famously worked to improve public facilities such as national parks or public roadways, many camps existed on private lands where they

[73] For an explanation of the role of the commons in Appalachia, see John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 83-156; Kathryn Newfont's *Blue Ridge Commons: Environmental Activism and Forest History in Western North Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012). As discussed in the introduction, policing parks, particularly in places with a long tradition of using undeveloped lands as a commons, was a point of friction between average citizens and conservationists. See Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

[74] Henry Herts, quoted in "Lookout Mountain Park Project is Now Assured," *The Chattanooga Times,* February 5, 1925.

served a public good. Deploying teams of CCC "boys" on private lands typically reflected the CCC's mission of conserving natural resources. Kentucky saw several CCC camps on either private or semi-private lands where they engaged in tending to the forests and state park at Cumberland Falls.[75] Throughout the country, CCC camps and make-work projects bolstered local economies and improved the local nature recreation infrastructure.[76]

In this light, the use of CCC labor at Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park was somewhat unusual but not unprecedented.[77] Overall, CCC camps on private land were not common, but existed in areas where significant private acreage needed the CCC's labor to accomplish reforestation or erosion control. Moreover, camps on private lands were more common in the eastern states, where the region's higher population density and higher proportion of land in private hands meant CCC workers necessarily spent more time working on private lands.[78] At Chattanooga, the CCC labor did some of the same things they did in other places, planting vegetation and improving facilities. Altogether, the CCC camps were expected to bring approximately $100,000 a year in federal funding, completely replacing the operating budget for Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park with CCC labor.[79]

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[75] Newspaperman Tom Wallace repeatedly wrote to national authorities about CCC labor at the Cumberland Falls park. See Folder 62, Wallace Papers, Filson Historical Society; Also see Perry H. Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army, A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Montpelier, VT: PH Merrill, 1981).

[76] Neil Maher argues for the conservation work of the CCC as a seed of the environmental movement. Through their exposure to conservation ideals, CCC workers created rehabilitated landscapes and formed a generation of conservation-minded Americans. Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[77] "…Approves Spot for CCC Camp," *The Chattanooga Times*, October 21, 1933.

[78] Neil Maher, *Nature's New Deal*. Maher necessarily deals with the locations of camps, but the most useful resource is the online listing of CCC camps at www.ccclegacy.org.

[79] An accessible source for CCC camp locations can be found at http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/image/ccc-camps-across-america, accessed

The timing of the CCC's arrival benefited the park's beleaguered lands immensely. As of result of the combined effect of fires, vandalism, and neglect, the previously improved areas of the park had fallen into disrepair and by 1933 large swaths were overgrown with scrub brush or choked by weeds. Adolph Ochs was in declining health and died in April 1935. Although hiking groups continued using the trails, the founders had scrapped nearly all of the original plans, including the grand terraced gardens. Returning the mismanaged park to a manageable state, CCC laborers set to work clearing brush, improving fire breaks, and restoring some of the landscaped areas to a sustainable status. Their efforts were largely an attempt to maintain the park's existing useful features and they did not engage in further improvements. The CCC's impact on the park is best viewed as putting the project on life support rather than letting the property descend into further neglect and mismanagement. Whatever the role of the CCC in affecting the landscape of Lookout Mountain, it marked a significant change in the park's relationship with government agencies, particularly the federal government.[80]

The introduction of the CCC camp was the federal government's first contribution to the park, but following the vandalism and rampant fires the park's founders, including long-time supporter Frank Spurlock, Adolph's brother Milton, foreman of Chattanooga's grand jury Newell Sanders, and Attorney General John Lively realized the benefits of some level of government involvement.[81] With the obvious benefits of CCC help and the massive growth of the federal government in the 1930's, the prospect of Chattanooga-

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12/15/2014. For camps in Tennessee, see http://www.ccclegacy.org/CCC_Camps_Tennessee.html, accessed 2/13/2015. This website outlines the different types of camps in TN in addition to providing other details. The name of the camp on Lookout Mountain was "Adoph Ochs." For an overview of the CCC in NPS properties, see John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and The National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History*. (National Park Service, Department of the Interior 1985).

[80] "…Approves Spot for CCC Camp," *The Chattanooga Times*, October 21, 1933.

[81] Lively actively persecuted hunters, vandals, and arsonists after first trying to "educate" the public on the park's purposes. See "Hunter Convicted for Park Shooting," *The Chattanooga Times*, October 2, 1932

Lookout Mountain Park joining the federally managed infrastructure in the Chattanooga area gained interest. A watershed year came in 1933 when the National Park Service took control of National Military Parks. In addition to the consolidation of existing public properties under the unified leadership of the National Park Service, it was a common practice for communities to advertise "outstanding" local properties to the government for acquisition in the 1930s.[82] In attempting to interest the federal government, the benefit for the donating landowner was clear. Any properties managed as parks would remain part of the public recreation infrastructure, but under federal management the costs of maintenance and administration would pass to the federal government. Understandably, federal holdings ballooned during the New Deal when the government actively acquired massive tracts of land as part of its welfare programs. The 1930's saw the rise of federal involvement in Tennessee by means of the TVA and the expansion of National Park Service holdings in the area, including the consolidation and development of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. These national and local trends, combined to create a favorable climate for the mountain's addition to the NPS holdings in the area. In the case of Lookout Mountain, the transition from a privately supported park to a component of the federally managed National Park System was swift.

A "miscellaneous note" in the Report of Activity from 1931 indicated a "survey [of the park founders] with relation to interesting the National Government in the Park."[83] The timing of the park's transfer may indicate a reluctance by Ochs to convey the

[82] Louisville newspaperman Tom Wallace tried to interest the federal government in several properties throughout Kentucky, which ultimately all faced rejection for lacking the "outstanding" qualities that the NPS felt characterized parks worthy of federal attention. The correspondence is particularly instructive in Folder 62, Wallace Papers, Filson Historical Society.
[83] Report of Activity, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, March 2, 1931, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

property to the military and a preference for donating the property to the National Park Service. The park directors' resolution approving the donation of the park to the federal government "insures in perpetuity the purposes that prompted the organization of the Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park and a most advantageous arrangement by "which the nation's shrine [will have] added historic ground of significant scenic splendor, and gives the, government guarantee of maintenance and protection similar to that afforded the present national park."[84] With the emphasis on recreation and nature at Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, Ochs clearly did not view the military as a suitable entity to manage the property, preferring to either donate it to the state of Tennessee or to the National Park Service. The Park Service, however, was not initially interested in the mountain park as a standalone unit, preferring to acquire large and "nationally significant" properties, a stance it maintained throughout the early 1930s.[85] After the NPS took over the system of national battlefields in August 1933, Ochs quietly circulated among his supporters the idea of interesting the government again, hoping the agency might be more likely to accept the property as a part of the larger Chickamauga Battlefield.[86]

Park "directors" (a term used to refer to all those who donated $1000 or more), including Milton and Adolph Ochs, briefly debated the donation of Chattanooga-Lookout

[84] "Park Founders Approve Plans of U.S. Control" *Chattanooga Times*. February 15, 1934.
[85] For another example of how the NPS was not interested in an "inferior" park as a national park system component, see Noah Huffman, "Hanging the Moonbow: Tom Wallace and the Cumberland Falls fight, 1926-1931" (MA thesis, University of Louisville, 2005)
[86] Correspondence with Milton Ochs, October-December 1933. Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. See also, John C. Paige and Jerome A. Greene, *Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park.* (Denver: United States. National Park Service. Denver Service Center, 1983); Clippings, *New York Times*, January 21, 1934, January 23, 1934, April 6, 1934, and June 23, 1935*; Chattanooga Times*, January 21, 1934; Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Scrapbook. Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park. The addition of National Monuments and Battlefields is considered a one of the most significant events in the evolution of the National Park Service. See *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (U.S. Department of Interior, Washington, DC, 2005), 28.

Mountain to the National Park Service in late 1933 before offering "hearty approval."[87] While the move was universally praised as bringing increased national attention to the park and as a logical addition to the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, some founders were more sober in their reasons for supporting the donation. Frank Spurlock, one of the early subscribers and a supporter, encouraged the donation from the perspective that "the government would take better care of the park than any other agency would."[88]

This could be read as desperation or, more positively, as a vote of confidence in the National Park Service and the federal government in general. It is clear a major motivation for donating the park to the Federal government was the substantial cost involved in maintaining the property and the lack of leaders stepping up to champion the park's cause. Again, the importance of Adolph Ochs to the park's success comes into clear focus when examining the final years of the park's existence. Aside from his contributions to the initial founders' fund, Adolph Ochs provided the daily operating funds necessary for the park's continued existence and personally contributed nearly $300,000 by 1934. His vision for the park never materialized like he hoped, the conservation of the mountain's slopes was in danger, and the park was hemorrhaging money beyond that contributed by Ochs. In addition to Ochs money and other Chattanooga elites' subscriptions to the founders' fund, the state government appropriated nearly $1 million for the maintenance and improvement of roads throughout

[87] "…To Federal Government; Civic Leaders Praise Act," *The Chattanooga Times*, January 21, 1934. Adolph Ochs wanted to consult the "directors" before he approved the donation of the park to the federal government, although under the authority of his position as president of the park he did not need their consent.
[88] Ibid.

the park.[89] Implicit in Frank Spurlock's comments praising the National Park Service's ability to "take better care of the park" was the observation that under private management the park declined throughout the 1930s and likely faced further deterioration without intervention and an immediate injection of funds.[90]

After the 1931 expression of interest and the goal of donating the park to the federal government, and the late 1933 discussion of the donation's feasibility, the park founders approved the plan in early 1934, accepted by the National Park Service later that year, and finalized in early 1935. The donation of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park to the National Park Service closed the experiment of a private park system for Chattanooga's citizens. The park failed to achieve long term success as measured by Ochs's initial plans, but the impact of his strong-willed attempt to create a park for the city is clear in the nearly 3,000 acres of land that remain undeveloped on the slopes of Lookout Mountain. As a private park with a public mission, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park failed, but horseback trails, nature paths, and picnic areas all reflect the legacy of Ochs's vision for a place of relaxation on the slopes of the mountain rather than the official mission of the National Military Park to "[preserve] and suitably [mark] for historical and professional military study the fields of some of the most remarkable maneuvers and most brilliant fighting in the war of the rebellion."[91]

Superficially, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park was a failed, short-lived endeavor by a small group of well-connected people, yet the path this property took to

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[89] "Officials Okeh Mountain Park as U.S. Project," *The Chattanooga Times*, March 6, 1934. This also permanently improved transportation access to the ridge.
[90] Report of Activity, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park, March 2, 1931, Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.
[91] John C. Paige and Jerome A. Greene, *Administrative History of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park*, (Denver: United States. National Park Service. Denver Service Center, 1983)

incorporation into the National Park system represents a distinct departure from traditional narratives of park creation and illuminates both the private initiative that resulted in the park's creation and the challenges facing an early 20th century *private* park. Lacking effective management and having lost the support from many of its initial donors as a result of the Great Depression, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park's fell from grace. Yet, the land was not worthless or even neglected, as evidenced by the deliberations that went into donating the property to the National Park Service, the rigorous attempts to fight the vanadalism, arson, and hunting, and its early success under Ochs's leadership. Unlike other properties that transitioned to public ownership in the 1930's, Lookout Mountain's slopes were not in need of "saving" from private landowners nor was the mountain a diamond in the rough that required the guidance of federal planners to realize its potential as a public attraction. Rather, the property offers a foil to both the traditional city park model and the model of federal intervention to save neglected lands. Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park illustrates the complexities facing private landowners who wished to permanently protect land in the 20th century and is one of the earliest models of a concerted wholly private effort to protect land for public enjoyment. The motivations behind Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park's creation would continue to drive private individuals to protect land throughout the 20th century.

If private interest in conservation remained a constant, the changes during the next decades came in the variety and effectiveness of methods available for affecting land conservation. In 1933, Chattanooga's elite saw few options for the perpetuation of their nature preserve beyond donating the land to the government and actively worked to this end. Indeed, the diverse array of conservation techniques facilitated by groups like the

Nature Conservancy later in the century would have been difficult for the Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain founders to fathom in 1933, and had groups like the Nature Conservancy or Trust for Public Land intervened, the park infrastructure in Chattanooga may have been drastically different.

Chattanooga's experience with a lack of city commitment to creating parks and the federal government's reluctance to accept the donation of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park shows the difficulties facing private conservation efforts serving public purposes in the early 20th century. The park on Lookout Mountain never attained Ochs's lofty vision, and only through the donation to the federal government was the land permanently protected. While the park provides an excellent green space and nature recreation area as the result of the National Park Service management, the park does not feature any improvements or function in the manner originally conceived. Louisville, however, retained control over its park system and as the city grew toward the suburban parks they predictably increased in usage. The political process guiding Louisville's park system was messy and at times featured cronyism, corruption, and conflict. The investment by the city did create a certain level of stability, however, and during the grim days of the Great Depression the parks remained functional and open to the public as they had been in the Roaring Twenties. In both cities, prominent, powerful individuals were the driving force behind park creation. Cowan and Ochs both invested tremendous time and energy into creating park systems for the cities they loved, and as a result of their efforts both Chattanooga and Louisville still enjoy the legacies of these Progressive Era projects.

Chapter Two: From "Lands Nobody Wanted" to Lands "Fiercely Protected:" Culture, Nature, and Tourism at the Outer Banks of North Carolina

"Perhaps the most critical aspect of the National Seashore is the delicate balance that exists between these thin off-shore strands and the great natural forces that threaten the very form and future of the "Outer Banks."

Allyn F. Hanks, Superintendent, 1955

"Now that we…have this opportunity for development and progress, the National Park Service is very persistent in stepping in and taking away from us the very thing we have hoped for for years. Should this come to pass, all future prospects for development and progress would be killed."

Citizen Petition against Cape Hatteras Seashore, 1950

The bridges to the Outer Banks of North Carolina are long concrete reminders of the islands' distance from the mainland. Traveling east on US Highway 64, travelers cross three impressive spans over the Alligator River (Lindsey Warren Memorial Bridge), Croatan Sound (Virginia Dare Memorial Bridge or William B. Umstead Memorial Bridge), and Roanoke Sound for an approximate total of 10 miles over water and an additional 10 miles through swamps before arriving on Bodie Island, the northernmost island of the Outer Banks. At the Virginia Dare Memorial Bridge, the concrete spans curve upward to make room for vessels traveling below. Travelers to Hatteras or

Ocracoke Islands must then add another 3 miles on the Herbert Bonner Bridge, which soars hundreds of feet over Oregon Inlet before bending back to the earth near the abandoned Oregon Inlet Lifesaving Station. Passing from farm fields and swamps on the mainland to the windswept dunes of the banks is a profoundly isolating experience. With each span, the physical distance from the mainland grows more noticeable, and the trip from first bridge at the Alligator River to the town of Rodanthe on Hatteras Island takes no less than an hour. The journey to Rodanthe also passes through Pea Island Wildlife Refuge, which is largely devoid of human structures, making the final leg of the trip seem like a journey away from civilization and into a wilderness of sand and wind perched on the edge of the American continent.

All those isolating miles come to a crashing halt in Rodanthe, however. The two lane asphalt of NC Highway 12 suddenly struggles to handle the increased congestion of side streets filled with beach houses and businesses catering to tourists. KOA campgrounds, miniature golf, and mansions on stilts occupy the narrow space between the Atlantic Ocean and Pamlico Sound for approximately five miles, when just as suddenly as it ended, the serenity of windswept wilderness returns for another twelve miles before the whole process is repeated in another village. To the uninitiated tourist, the suddenness of these occasional transitions between open land and very dense development is jarring, but an explanation for the Outer Banks' unique human landscape lies in the process behind creating the Cape Hatteras National Seashore.

Both Chattanooga and Louisville's experiences with park creation featured some of the same dynamics driving urban parks in other regions, including boosterism, the influence of the broader Progressive movement, and the deep-rooted feelings of

competition and inadequacy that often drives civic improvement.[1] At the heart of the Louisville and Chattanooga parks were people interested in improving their city's fortunes, specifically individuals interested in helping the place they held dear and identified as home. At the end of the nineteenth century, many in Louisville were first or second generation immigrants and identified the city with the America they hoped to make. Likewise, in Chattanooga, even after Adolph Ochs's business interests shifted primarily to New York, he still endeavored to build a park for his "home" city in Tennessee. Both Louisville and Chattanooga's parks came from a desire to halt radical changes that accompanied urbanization and development of the land, if only for a few hundred acres. They also demonstrate a connection to particular landscape and often featured a desire to avoid "spoiling" a place with development or by otherwise altering the land in ways that would change its inherent character.

This relationship between people and place is an undercurrent of most environmental movements, particularly before the widespread adoption of an ecological understanding of the world, when sentiment sometimes was more important than science to conservationists.[2] As the foundation for a vernacular understanding of environmental issues, this deep connection with particular landscapes continues to motivate some of the most significant advocacy groups of the 20th century US environmental movement and played a significant role in how certain places were protected. The distinction between

[1] Andrew Cowan's speech notes to Salmagundi Club, June 4th 1887, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society.

[2] Aldo Leopold serves as an example of this moral argument for nature that preceeded the science of ecology. Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac: With Other Essays on Conservation from Round River* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966). For many Americans, scientific environmentalism began with the 1962 publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*.

the science of ecology and the emotional attachment to landscapes remains fundamental to the ways Americans think about environmental issues.

Beyond the nationally significant and visually spectacular places, however, other American regions spawned local responses to environmental threats, which found expression in a profound attachment to place. In the previous chapter, both Louisville's Olmsted parks and Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park subscribed to the notion of a vanishing landscape that made particular contributions to regional identity. Particularly in Louisville, the argument for "judicious use of the axe" indicates a desire to protect and preserve rather than improve. Attempts to interest the National Park Service in state parks or other properties often met with failure, but the local desire to have land permanently protected remained. At the Outer Banks the complicated interplay of how a place defines a people and how those people in turn defined their landscape resulted in a dramatic political battle for the future of a fragile littoral ecosystem. Understanding this battle improves our understanding of the complex forces guiding the politics of park creation, as the nation and its attitudes towards parks and conservation changed, particularly after World War II.[3]

The German concept of *Heimat* and *Heimatschutz,* briefly introduced in the introduction, are useful theoretical tools for understanding how the relationship with nature and natural landscapes affects the way those lands are protected, and what that "protection" can look like. The relationship between Germans and nature should not surprise American historians; after all, Prussian foresters were the first teachers in American forestry schools. The Germans also have deep environmental roots that sustain

[3] Ellen Stroud, *Nature Next Door: Cities and Trees in the American Northeast;* Kathryn Newfont, *Blue Ridge Commons*; Noah Hoffman, MA Thesis "Hanging the Moonbow"; Ochs's Luncheon Speech at Chattanooga.

their modern environmental sensibilities. The Green Party regularly contends in German elections, and the earlier *Heimatschutz* movement captures in an idiomatic way the fundamental link between regional identity and regional landscape, intimately tying people to their traditional homeland. Ultimately, Coen's concludes that whether the Germans are the most environmentally friendly may be debatable, but they undeniably have a special relationship with nature.[4]

The German relationship with nature differs from American culture, particularly before the modern environmental movement. Thomas Lekan and Thomas Zeller's *Germany's Nature* asserts that the German relationship to nature may confound America's preoccupation with pristine wilderness and declension narratives. In an introductory statement that "environmental debates in Germany generally have centered on the best way to harmonize human priorities and the organic order, rather than glorify wilderness," Lekan and Zeller clearly outline some of the differences in American and German environmentalism.[5] What Lekan and Zeller emphasize is the *cultural* fascination in America with "pristine" wilderness—a fascination that appears in works like Turner's frontier thesis, continues through the 21st century, and is on display in Ken Burns' documentary.[6]

American environmentalism has had a fruitful and productive relationship with the wilderness ideal as a means of motivating action and galvanizing public support for the protection of natural areas. While scholars of the last few decades eloquently demonstrated the problems with "wilderness" as both an organizing concept and as an

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[4] "The Greening of German History" Review by: By Deborah R. Coen, *Isis*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (March 2008), 142-148.
[5] Lekan and Zeller, *Germany's Nature*, 4.
[6] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1894).

ideal, "wilderness," to return to Coen's review of environmental histories of Germany, is plagued by many of the same problems as the concept of "landscape." "Blurring distinctions between nature and culture, objectivity and subjectivity, landscape carries with it the postmodern insight that the wilderness ideal is a modern myth, one that obscures the history of indigenous peoples and interferes with value judgments about resource allocation in a world where more than half the population is now urban."[7] As American scholarly conceptions of land and landscape grew beyond the myth of a wilderness-wasteland dichotomy perpetuated by popular histories and environmentalist propaganda, the use of a concept like *Heimat* allows for a more complex and nuanced understanding of humanity's relationship with the natural world.

The related concept, *Heimatschutz*, appeals to the broader population of a region and refers to a feeling of regional identity based on culture, common ancestry, and intimate connections to the land. *Heimatschutz* engenders a desire to protect the land that fostered this identity. In the United States, the relationship between landscape and history often was absent from discussions of park development. While the recommendation of only the "judicious use of the axe" in Louisville resulted in a park landscape that resembled rural Kentucky, this plan was not obvious when the commission hired Frederick Law Olmsted on his Central Park design reputation. Andrew Cowan saw the park as a way to protect a representative piece of Kentucky land from the human development that encroached, but considering the trust Louisville's park commissioners placed in Olmsted, the architect could have affected significant alterations of the

[7] Thomas M Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Lekan and Zeller, *Germany's Nature: Cultural Landscapes and Environmental History*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005); "The Greening of German History" Review by: By Deborah R. Coen, *Isis*, Vol. 99, No. 1 (March 2008), 142-148.

landscape. For Cowan, Ochs, and Olmsted, humanity and "nature" remained distinct entities. Encouraging urban residents to engage with the natural world were goals in both Louisville and Chattanooga, but neither Cowan nor Ochs were interested in proving an organic cultural connection to the land as much as they were interested in wholesome recreation in a natural setting.[8]

Unlike these parks, which progressed with little public resistance, the creation of a park at the Outer Banks (OBX) faced a more difficult path and reflected changing American attitudes towards conservation, nature recreation, and the relationship between a people and their environment. The first National Seashore, Cape Hatteras is characterized by wildlife refuges and expansive areas permanently protected from human development but also by intensely developed "villages" that are relics of negotiations when the park was formed. The seashore faced alternating support and resistance from a people intimately tied to the land in ways Cowan and Ochs were not. Finally, the creation of a national park at the Outer Banks demonstrates how ideas about the role of local individuals, the federal and state government, and debates over tourism development and environmental protection affected park creation.[9]

Though the National Park Service sought national seashores that had recreational values, the OBX are a unique natural feature in the nation. The Outer Banks, occasionally called a "ribbon of sand" stretching from the border with Virginia to Morehead City, are a series of barrier islands jutting out into the Atlantic Ocean. From an

[8] Andrew Cowan's speech notes to Salmagundi Club, June 4th 1887, Temple Bodley Papers, Filson Historical Society and Och's speech to luncheon meeting. Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park Scrapbook. Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Archives, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.
[9] There are many books on tourism, including Richard Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky: Tourism and Society in Western North Carolina* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press2010); Richard Starnes, ed. *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003).

environmental perspective, the Outer Banks serve the same general geological and ecological purpose as barrier islands elsewhere on the Atlantic coast, and they play a crucial role in protecting the estuarine environments of the American South. As barrier islands, the Outer Banks serve as a buffer between the mainland forests and the full force of the Atlantic Ocean, turning aside the relentless waves and winds of the open ocean and creating a brackish marsh habitat on the mainland side of the island that is rich in young marine life. Most barrier islands, particularly those in North Carolina, have distinct bodies of brackish water between the islands and the mainland, often teeming with life and providing important nurseries for ocean fish species.[10] While in many ways the OBX are typical barrier islands, the key to understanding the unique characteristics of the Outer Banks lies in their name. Unlike other barrier islands, these banks are far out from the mainland. In places, as much as 30 miles separate the banks from the rest of North America, and between the islands and mainland is a broad sound with treacherous sand bars and shifting currents, unlike any other sounds on the American continent. All estuarine environments pose navigation hazards, but the main sounds bounded by the Outer Banks encompass over 2,000 square miles of brackish water, forming a giant, shallow, sea-like expanse where vessels in the middle of the sound struggle to see the shore. Because of their distance from the mainland, the Outer Banks are more vulnerable to disruptions or shifting sands as the result of strong hurricanes or offshore currents.

[10] Robert Dolan, Bruce Hayden and Conrad Jones, "Barrier Island Configuration," *Science* , New Series, Vol. 204, No. 4391 (Apr. 27, 1979), 401-403; Stephen P. Leatherman, Thomas E. Rice and Victor Goldsmith, "Virginia Barrier Island Configuration: A Reappraisal," *Science* , New Series, Vol. 215, No. 4530 (Jan. 15, 1982), 285-287; Robert Dolan, "Barrier Dune System along the Outer Banks of North Carolina: A Reappraisal," *Science* , New Series, Vol. 176, No. 4032 (Apr. 21, 1972), 286-288.

Ultimately, the OBX are narrow spits of land precariously positioned between the open ocean and the massive brackish sounds.[11]

The historically low human population obscures this remarkable ecological diversity and biological productivity of the Outer Banks region, a productivity that drew seasonal visitors for the fishing and hunting opportunities. The OBX form one of the largest estuarine environments in North America, with the Pamlico, Albemarle, and Currituck Sounds representing a contiguous brackish basin where many varieties of commercially significant fish spawn as well as shellfish such as oysters and blue crab. The Atlantic Ocean immediately off the Outer Banks is also the place where the warm currents of the Gulf Stream meet the colder waters of the Labrador Current, creating a large area featuring both tropical and arctic fish populations and enticing deep sea fisherman with the diversity of the offerings. The marshy sounds and estuaries offered resting places for millions of birds passing through the state on the Atlantic Flyway.[12] For thousands of years these fish and bird populations enticed seasonal hunters and fishermen, but the sandy islands were unsuitable for agriculture or substantial human populations. The dense development of resort communities is a phenomenon of the late twentieth century and improved transportation networks. As late as the 1960s, the population of Hatteras and Ocracoke islands, the main islands in Cape Hatteras National Seashore, numbered in the hundreds rather than the thousands.[13]

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[11] Hans W. Paerl, et al. "Ecosystem Impacts of Three Sequential Hurricanes (Dennis Floyd, and Irene) on the United States' Largest Lagoonal Estuary, Pamlico Sound, NC," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* , Vol. 98, No. 10 (May 8, 2001), 5655-5660.
[12] J. H. Matthews, "Fisheries of the South Atlantic and Gulf States" *Economic Geography* , Vol. 4, No. 4 (October, 1928), pp. 323-348. "The World with Us: The State of American Environmental History," *Journal of American History*. Vol. 100. (June 2013) 94–120.
[13] Even with the dramatic increase in population at the OBX, many of the houses and businesses close during the winter, reflecting the area's reliance on the tourist economy.

Despite the poor conditions for settlement on the Outer Banks, North Carolina's coast was also the site of the first British attempt to establish a permanent presence on mainland North America. As a colonial venture, the Roanoke Colony was a spectacular failure. After arriving in 1585, the settlers remained on Roanoke Island while their ships returned to England for supplies and more colonists. Delayed by war and weather, John White returned in 1590 to find the entire population of the settlement mysteriously vanished after long years of no contact with England. Speculation continues regarding the colonists' fate, with the most popular theory explaining their disappearance as a friendly adoption into a local Native American tribe.[14] The Roanoke Island "Lost Colony" and subsequent mythologizing of the first British attempts to settle the continent combined with the area's later reputation as a refuge for famous pirates like Blackbeard to create an Outer Banks mystique that was both foreboding and romantic. In addition to the fantastical history of the islands themselves, the shoals immediately offshore posed a significant threat to ocean-going vessels well into the 20th century, with the area immediately off the coast of North Carolina dubbed the "Graveyard of the Atlantic," and few settlers interested in living in such an inhospitable place.

There were, of course, some exceptions. Ocracoke, a small harbor village located on an inlet bearing the same name, was the place where the British finally defeated the notorious pirate Blackbeard, and the treacherous shoals around the inlet were a favorite haunt of his pirate crew. The village served as a safe harbor for smaller ships travelling the sounds, and supported a population of fishermen and marines who worked in the

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http://www.outerbanks.org/media/914511/hatteras_island_economic_impact_assessment_final_report_july_2013.pdf, accessed 2/15/2015

[14] David W. Stahle, et al. "The Lost Colony and Jamestown Droughts," *Science* , New Series, Vol. 280, No. 5363 (April 24, 1998), 564-567; "Study of Croatans Reveals No Link with Lost Colony," *The Science News-Letter* , Vol. 24, No. 641 (July 22, 1933), 52-53.

transshipment of goods from larger ships that could not enter the shallow sounds. Ships traveling up and down the Atlantic coast on their way to safer ports faced danger from the Outer Banks' unique geology. Hatteras Island and its shoals jut out into the Atlantic farther east than any other barrier islands, meaning ships are forced to swing out farther from shore and into the open ocean. As a result, the Outer Banks features some of the oldest and tallest lighthouses on the Atlantic coast. Hundreds of ships wrecked off North Carolina's shores, and German U-boats even utilized the confusing currents and shoals in their attacks on American shipping in World War II. Modern technology renders the lighthouses unnecessary, but there was a time when the many lights and lifesaving stations along North Carolina's coast served a vital maritime function, in addition to providing a link to the rest of the world for an otherwise isolated region.[15]

As a result of the area's isolation and forbidding environment, writers often characterized the Banks as a land apart.[16] Yet, much like other regions cast as isolated and backward, the Outer Banks were integrated into a larger North Carolina economic and social sphere despite the difficulties of traveling to the islands. The plant and animal life of the area was the earliest reason for US federal government involvement in the management of this maritime habitat.[17] The beginnings of federal involvement on the Outer Banks came with the introduction of management of migratory bird habitats under the national wildlife refuge system. With their biodiversity and ability to support large numbers of baitfish, Pamlico and Albemarle sounds served as regular stops for migratory

[15] David Stick, *Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).
[16] Anthony Bailey, *The Outer Banks* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1987)
[17] "The World with Us: The State of American Environmental History," roundtable. *Journal of American History,* Volume 100, No. 1 (June, 2013)

birds, in addition to their role in the life cycles of several species of commercially significant fish. Both sea trout and shad (particularly *alosa mediocris*) spawn in eastern North Carolina rivers, and these species support significant bird and predatory fish populations. The swamps of eastern North Carolina also remained largely undeveloped by agriculture or industry, owing to their soggy soils and poor transportation networks, and these areas supported large populations of ducks, geese, and even the beautifully exotic tundra swan.[18]

Drawn by the natural bounty of these waters, the Outer Banks supported a seasonal indigenous human population inhabited the OBX for thousands of years, and a documented Euro-American permanent population at least since the 1500s.[19] Before European contact, Native Americans utilized the banks for their rich fisheries and regularly crisscrossed the Albemarle and Pamlico sounds to harvest oysters.[20] Despite the productive fisheries, well after the English established settlements elsewhere on the East Coast, the swampy lowlands of eastern North Carolina stymied settlement from the mainland and prevented large-scale development. The difficulty of large ocean-going

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[18] J. H. Matthews, "Fisheries of the South Atlantic and Gulf States" *Economic Geography* , Vol. 4, No. 4 (October, 1928), 323-348. The recent sea level rise and the impact of pollution threaten these estuarine environments in ways unfathomable in the early 20th century, but development is the main culprit of most estuarine decline. See Lotze, et al, "Depletion, Degradation, and Recovery Potential of Estuaries and Coastal Seas" *Science*, New Series, Vol. 312, No. 5781 (June 23, 2006), 1806-1809. The land use along the sounds is also the subject of study, especially in comparison with other watersheds that have denser human populations. The debate over whether these large watersheds can be effectively managed continues. For comparison, see studies of the Chesapeake Bay's problems, John J. Alford, "The Chesapeake Oyster Fishery" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (June, 1975), 229-239; Christopher Pala, "Chesapeake Crabs: Engineering a Rebound," *Science*, New Series, Vol. 330, No. 6010 (December 10, 2010), 1474. Working in tandem with state and federal wildlife preserves, substantial acreage in eastern North Carolina remained undeveloped as part of rural shooting plantations that appear throughout the South.

[19] David Stick, *Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

[20] Jeffrey Pompe, *Altered Environments: The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010) 22-24. Anthony Bailey, *The Outer Banks* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1987).

ships crossing the shifting shoals of the area's inlets and sounds meant few European settlements on the banks advanced beyond small fishing villages or marginal pastoralist agriculture. Some towns developed a legal and stable business in the transshipment of goods when larger ships that could not traverse the sounds anchored offshore.[21] Whereas the Outer Banks are unique in Atlantic geography, once settlers moved inland past the swamps, the mainland coastal plain of North Carolina offered the same agricultural opportunities as other coastal plains in the American South and these staple crops needed shipment to Europe to reach their markets. Rice, tobacco, and later cotton, grew in eastern North Carolina, but even with the growth of some small river ports across the sounds from the Banks on the mainland, the port at Wilmington remained (and remains) the most important shipping center on North Carolina's coast and the state never developed a port that rivaled Charleston or even Savannah for volume or value of goods moved.

With few economic prospects, the Outer Banks remained largely undeveloped until the rise of the 20th century tourism industry.[22] The unique transportation concerns of the Outer Banks that prevented large-scale shipping industries also provided one of the most lucrative sources of employment for many "bankers."[23] Bankers living in towns located newer major inlets, like Ocracoke, particularly benefitted from this transshipment of goods. As difficult as the sounds were for navigation, the offshore shoals near Cape

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[21] Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Atlanta: Southeast Regional Office National Park Service, 2007).
[22] Anthony Bailey, *The Outer Banks* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1987). The rise of 20th century automobile tourism is well documented. Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), David Louter, *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009). The story of the underdevelopment of OBX is the story of the underdevelopment of NC writ large during the colonial period and early national period.
[23] "Bankers" is a common term on the Outer Banks to refer to year-round residents and distinguish them from the seasonal tourist population.

Hatteras presented one of the most significant dangers to shipping traffic along the Atlantic coast. With the increase of shipping along the treacherous North Carolina Atlantic coast, the United States established several lifesaving rescue stations to aid commercial vessels passing the dangerous Diamond Shoals and also built and funded several lighthouses, including the iconic Hatteras Lighthouse.[24] These stations and lighthouses protected the lives of sailors well into the twentieth century and provided stable and steady employment for the few lightkeepers. Geography, however, confined their overall economic impact to an area immediately surrounding the lighthouses and lifesaving stations. Often the light keepers and their families lived lonely lives, and while these facilities are an important and iconic part of the Outer Banks story, nothing rivals the profound economic and social impact of the establishment of Hatteras National Seashore. [25]

If the problems with the poor shipping conditions hampered economic development that derived from the sea, travelers interested in traversing the banks on land also faced poor transportation and difficult terrain. Until the interest in a national seashore, no plans for a paved road on the banks made it past the idle talk of locals on the docks or in the general stores. Many of the same geographic conditions that affected sea travel made overland travel difficult. The shifting of the inlets and the unstable surface of the sandy banks complicated road construction, and the low population made a hard-surface road outside established villages economically impractical as well. Indeed, to many Bankers the 20th century proposal of linking the island villages with a hard-surface

[24] Robert Johnson, *Guardians of the Sea: History of the United States Coast Guard, 1915 to the Present.* (Washington, DC: Naval Institute Press, 1987).
[25] David Stick, *Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

road and the building of bridges to span the inlets must have seemed absurd.[26] The desire for a permanent hard surface road eventually impacted the arguments over the National Seashore, serving as one of the most important requirements of many bankers before they would support the park. Even those who supported the park project considered the failure to construct a road as a reason to withdraw their support.

The central figure in establishing a seashore park at the Outer Banks was Frank Stick, a hunter, fisherman, nature illustrator, and eventually real estate developer. While Stick considered himself a Banker by the time the Park Service fully integrated the Hatteras National Seashore into the park system in the 1950s, Stick was originally from the Dakotas and came to the Outer Banks by way of New Jersey, an unusual path at the time. His interest in the Outer Banks started in the 1920s, and while he became a respected part of the community and gained acceptance as a local well before the official dedication in 1958, his roots outside the islands marked him as different in the small communities on the OBX. His family did move to Roanoke Island in 1929, however, well before the federal government's interest in a national seashore, when the OBX were still just a backwater section focused on fishing and hunting. When Stick moved to the OBX, there was no real tourism industry, and the value of land was quite low. He immediately began his efforts to raise the profile of the Outer Banks as a hunter's and fisher's paradise while continuing to paint scenes of the islands he had come to love.[27]

Stick was a new *permanent* resident in the OBX, but by 1929 he had painted natural landscapes and birding scenes for years before moving to the area and was very

[26] David Stick, *The Outer Banks of North Carolina, 1584-1958.* As of 2015 there is still only one bridge along the banks, the Herbert Bonner Bridge spanning Oregon Inlet.
[27] Cameron Blinkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007); "A Half Century of Observations," Frank Stick Collection, OBHC.

familiar with the region. He also immediately invested in his new home and began purchasing property and starting development companies. Perhaps his status as a newcomer to the OBX allowed him to see the area differently than those who grew up on the unforgiving islands, but it was Stick who became the dominant force behind creating a National Seashore at the OBX. As an outsider who fell in love with the region, Stick's advocacy was vital to the initial push to establish a national seashore at the Outer Banks, and his continued support eventually resulted in his dream coming true. Moreover, Stick's firm belief in the vital role of the government set the banks on a fateful path. Skeptics might note the timing of Stick's arrival on the banks and his advocating a National Seashore, but Frank Stick was a frequent visitor to the region well before he moved his family's permanent home to Roanoke Island in 1929 and many of his attempts at land speculation failed. Also, while his advocacy was of vital importance to the eventual establishment of the park, the National Park Service arrived at the decision to creation national seashores and lakeshores independent of Stick's lobbying and decided on the OBX as a suitable location based on factors they used to evaluate other sites, including proximity to large populations, minimal development, and recreation value. Still, Stick's outsider status and his role in the creation of the national seashore remained an issue for many critics of the park in the following decades.

Whatever his perceived status, Stick was not alone in his interest in creating a park. Some prominent locals, including representatives Lindsay Warren and Herbert Bonner, supported the park even when these positions were politically unpopular in the 1940s. The initial legislation authorizing the park came from Lindsay Warren in 1937 while he served in the U.S. House of Representatives. Warren left Congress to serve as

Comptroller General for the Roosevelt Administration. Lindsay Warren, a native of "little" Washington, North Carolina, first encouraged the OBX as a location for the new National Seashore program with the intention of boosting his region's profile and protecting an ecosystem that was obviously under stress from poor management and overgrazing by the wild livestock that roamed the banks.[28] Implicit in Warren's initial legislation was the understanding that the banks needed stabilization before building a tourist economy, and that the region was both geologically and biologically unstable under its current system of ad hoc management. Warren, a traditional southern Democrat, encouraged the park because he thought it was best for his constituents.[29] Warren was a seasoned politician by the 1930s. He led North Carolina's efforts to defeat the 19th Amendment while he still served in the state legislature and he continued his conservative record at the federal level. This conservatism served him well when he was selected by FDR as the Comptroller General of the U.S., with the stated goal of eliminating waste and kickbacks to defense contractors during WWII. As a representative, however, Warren believed the park would improve the economic situation in eastern North Carolina, and encouraged the park on the grounds of improved conservation.[30] Unlike the parks in Louisville or Chattanooga, Warren viewed the National Seashore as a matter of national significance. Rather than planning for a park to uplift the downtrodden locals, Warren thought the park was important from a conservation standpoint and *also* believed it would economically benefit the area.

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[28] Wild horses also grazed Assateague Island in Virginia, but these horses were allowed to remain. Hope Ryden, *America's Last Wild Horses* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1973) 263-269.
[29] Correspondence between Warren and Bonner, August, 1952. Folders 2207-2208 in the Bonner Papers #3710 in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[30] Lindsey Warren Congressional Bio: http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=W000166 [accessed 2014].

When Warren resigned his seat, his secretary Herbert Bonner replaced him as the region's Congressional representative and held the position until his death in 1965. Due to the length of time between the authorization and the final acquisitions, Herbert Bonner was the park's strongest political advocate during the crucial years of the 1940s and 1950s. Warren remained personally interested, but by the 1950s enjoyed a well-deserved retirement from public life and only occasionally offered his views on political issues. Warren and Bonner also differed slightly on their reasons for supporting the park. Warren identified the park as a way to encourage recreation and protect natural resources. Bonner, influenced by his experience with development on other parts of the Atlantic coast, feared overdevelopment and the loss of a unique American landscape. These fears included some concern for the environment, but mostly Bonner believed in the original purpose for establishing national seashores, that "seashore areas in the United States amount to less than 1 percent of the total coast line, [and] the National Park Service for a number of years has given consideration to the possible acquisition of outstanding portions of this type of area for public recreation use." He also thought "the park would bring to the people of the Outer Banks many things that they would not have otherwise."[31]

The long period of time involved in creating the park also saw coalitions of both locals and influential outsiders, who variously supported, undermined, questioned, and ultimately embraced the park. Crucially, the attempts to create a park at the OBX met resistance from locals in a way the other two projects did not. How this resistance grew,

[31] First quote from "Questions and Answers," Folder 2205, Second quote from Herbert Bonner Letter to Preston Basnett, October 16th, 1950, Folder 2206. Both in the Herbert C. Bonner Papers #3710, National Seashore Files, Box 47, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

and the way opponents couched their arguments, demonstrated the increasing complexity of park creation and the problems facing advocates, as the National Park Service expanded into new areas. Public attitudes toward large government programs at the OBX also changed from the 1930s, reflecting the changes in national mood and politics, but also reflecting the local conditions surrounding the park.

After the election of FDR, the 1930s saw the phenomenal growth of National Park Service holdings including the consolidation of properties that brought places like Lookout Mountain to the National Park Service. The types of "parks" also changed in the 1930s. According to Conrad Wirth in his speech at the dedication of the Hatteras National Seashore, the realization in the 1930s that "less than one percent of the nation's total coastline was in public ownership and undeveloped seashore areas were fast vanishing…" spurred the NPS to consider the feasibility of a national seashore program.[32] This reflected an early NPS focus on "sublime" landscapes like Yosemite or Yellowstone, where officials argued that wilderness still existed. The coastlines of the United States, particularly on the east coast, were long-inhabited places with histories older than the nation itself. Surely no wilderness existed on the coasts of the original 13 colonies, and so the first round of park establishment did not consider these places. The shift in priorities in the 1930s combined with a wave of seashore development to change the NPS attitude towards coastlines. While the NPS could not argue the OBX were "wilderness," they were underdeveloped and largely insulated from the real estate booms that characterized places such as Florida and New Jersey. The NPS desire to include all

[32] Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66*, (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007), 247.

types of natural areas also encouraged the acquisition of coastlines, and the threat these places faced from development only confirmed the desire to protect them.

The inclusion of nontraditional parklands in NPS holdings also reflected federal government recognition that demand for these facilities was increasing. The concepts for some of the later NPS success stories, including both the Blue Ridge Parkway (BRP) and National Seashores, started with far-sighted park boosters in the 1920's and grew through the expanding federal government of the 1930s.[33] Both the Blue Ridge Parkway and the Cape Hatteras National Seashore took decades to develop, with full completion delayed until the 1970s, but the fact that both of these revolutionary NPS projects came in southern states demonstrates the contributions of several factors in locating new NPS components in the American South. As discussed previously, the American South was a broadly populated yet predominantly rural region in the early 20th century. This combination of population and low levels of development made southern landscapes particularly appealing as the NPS looked to expand. The long time that elapsed for these newer parks between park proposal and dedication was unprecedented in NPS history.[34] The story behind this very long process of park establishment provides insight into the challenges and opportunities facing land protection efforts in the mid-20th century, particularly in the American South. The tenor of the resistance to the park demonstrates the ways *Heimat* might be useful as an analytical tool.

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[33] These "latecomer" parks are also some of the most visited. The Blue Ridge Parkway typically tops the list of "most visited units of the National Park Service." See Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Highway* and Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.*

[34] Many of the earlier parks came out of public lands, whereas most of the parks after WWII came from private lands in a time of increased resistance to land acquisition. Many of the parks formed after WWII faced decades of land acquisition negotiations. See John Ise's *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History*; John C. Miles's *Wilderness in National Parks;* and Conrad Wirth's *Parks, Politics, and the People.*

The stakes in creating a federal park at the Outer Banks were high, with the dedication of a large amount of the Outer Banks as a "National Seashore," the first seashore in the nation. The government's interest in the area translated into significant federal investment and set the tone for other late 20th century acquisitions.[35] Villages that only offered amenities to seasonal hunters or subsisted on a weak fish market now faced the prospect of the area's first paved road and the national attention that accompanied selection as a federal park. Land that was worthless in the Great Depression of the 1930s suddenly had a guaranteed buyer, and speculators flocked to the area immediately north of Whalebone Junction. The methods of both fighting and encouraging park expansion reflected the evolving legal and social priorities of conservationists, but the public debates over creating a park on the Outer Banks also highlighted attitudes towards the government, development, the environment, and National Park Service management or parks and protected lands. Rather than a park system created with a group of wealthy private individuals or a ballot measure in a citywide referendum, the creation of the National Seashore at Hatteras opened the process to substantial criticism and conflict between competing interests that illuminated the very nature of bankers' relationship with their land.[36] Administratively, the story of how the Outer Banks joined the national park infrastructure follows a familiar NPS story of fits and starts characteristic of the 1930s. The Blue Ridge Parkway and the National Seashore also represent changes from the types of parks the National Park Service managed before World War II. The selection of the Hatteras site and the idea for national seashores still reflected the desire to protect

[35] Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore.* As a document, the administrative history is very concerned with press relations and the portrayal of the national seashore in the local newspapers.
[36] The Blue Ridge Parkway faced many of the same issues. Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway.*

places that were generally regarded as the few remaining "pristine" beaches in America, but by committing to the expansion of the existing villages, dune stabilization, and the paving of a hard surface road the Park Service emphasized the area's recreation potential rather than its naturally changing landscape.[37]

Like many other littoral areas, North Carolina's beaches, particularly around Wilmington and areas close to Morehead City, experienced a wave of development in the early 20th century that mirrored larger land development booms in Florida and elsewhere.[38] While North Carolina's emphasis on boosting the tourism industry ensured unfettered access to beaches, the state failed to formally protect the seashore for permanent public use like Oregon's designation of beaches as state property. North Carolina did pass a coastal area management act, but not until 1974. Some municipalities declared their beaches open to the public in an effort to boost tourism and ensure properties on the second or third rows of houses from the beachfront remained economically viable.[39] North Carolina's approach to beach management eventually produced the sort of comprehensive planning that characterized Oregon, but these efforts

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[37] Both NPS and Forest Service attitudes in the 1930s increasingly addressed the need for recreation areas. See *An Act To authorize a study of the park, parkway, and recreational-area programs in the United States, and for other purposes* (1936). The report indicated that the nation lacked in true "recreational" facilities, particularly parkways and beaches. The same report provided justification for the Natchez Trace Parkway. For the attitude towards NC's beaches as "pristine" see *An Act To provide for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes.* Sec. 4. (1937) which references the "primitive wilderness state" of the islands.

[38] Jack E. Davis, Raymond Arsenault, *Paradise Lost: The Environmental History of Florida*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005) Also see Jennifer Price, *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America*, (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 130-133. Price describes the development of Miami and the impact on American's perceptions of the natural surroundings of South Florida.

[39] The Legislative findings of the Public Beach and Coastal Waterfront Access Program reads in part: "The public has traditionally fully enjoyed the State's beaches and coastal waters and public access to and use of the beaches and coastal waters. The beaches provide a recreational resource of great importance to North Carolina and its citizens and this makes a significant contribution to the economic well-being of the State. The General Assembly finds that the beaches and coastal waters are resources of statewide significance and have been customarily freely used and enjoyed by people throughout the State." Part 6. Public Beach and Coastal Waterfront Access Program § 113A-134.1. Legislative findings**.** (b). North Carolina's beaches mostly have free access, but it is not enforced in state legislation to the same degree (or as early) as Oregon. See Judd and Beach, *Natural States*.

came well after the coasts closest to Wilmington experienced several waves of development. In the end, the North Carolina Seashore Commission actually grew out of the efforts to protect and form a park at the Outer Banks, with the OBX Seashore Commission slowly growing in geographical scope and purpose. Additionally, some recognition of the need to set estuarine areas aside for conservation developed with the earlier involvement of a wildlife refuge system, but protection of these properties was generally the result of a desire to encourage game birds and protect breeding grounds for migratory fowl worth hunting rather than an understanding of the area's diverse and complex ecology.[40]

For the NPS, the proposals for National Seashores represented a clear break with previous land management practices. Previously, wildlife refuges were intended for wildlife, state parks were intended for outdoor recreation, and large national parks were intended to protect areas of national significance. However, the same 1930s reorganization that brought National Military Parks under the control of the NPS and encouraged the creation of "park to park highways" like the Blue Ridge Parkway fundamentally changed the way the Park Service functioned. At Cape Hatteras, the federal government proposed combining recreation and nature protection in a signal moment for changes to NPS management of properties. Building off the trend towards recreation and recognizing the need to protect the undeveloped shores of the nation's marine environments, with Warren's introduction of legislation in 1937 and the National

[40] For example, timbering was allowed to continue farther inland, eventually having ill effects on the fish in the sounds. John Alexander and James Lazell, *Ribbon of Sand: The Amazing Convergence of the Ocean and the Outer Banks*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). For comparison, see Susan P. Bratton and Kathryn Davison, "Disturbance and Succession in Buxton Woods, Cape Hatteras, North Carolina," *Castanea*. Vol. 52, No. 3 (1987), 166-179.

Park Service endorsing the area as worthy of consideration, the project received national support and attention.

Beginning with an editorial published in the *Elizabeth City Independent* on July 21st 1933, Frank Stick began an attempt to drum up public support for a park centered on Hatteras Island, which had recently experienced one of the worst hurricane seasons in its recorded history. The devastation of the hurricanes, coupled with a dramatic fall in land prices, meant several landowners on the banks preferred delinquency or donating the land to the state instead of continuing to pay taxes on what amounted to nothing more than a sandy wasteland. Stick already owned significant acreage by the 1930s, and his suggestion of expanding NPS activities into the OBX was motivated by both his interest in the natural world and perhaps his interest in shoring up the banks' failing dune system.[41] Over the next few years, Stick continued publishing editorials and attempting to interest large landowners in conveying land to the park as part of his contribution to the Seashore Commission.

Aside from the lighthouses and rescue stations, the bankers were used to being ignored by the national government, so sudden interventions that came with New Deal programs like the WPA and the CCC were unexpected and somewhat uncomfortable. The CCC camps in particular represented a marked shift in federal attitudes towards the banks, and OBX residents immediately reacted to the proposed camp with a broad range

[41] David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," OBHC. Frank Stick, "A Coastal Park for North Carolina and the Nation," *Elizabeth City Independent* July 21st 1933. Stick was a small scale developer on the islands, but the park proposal included significant areas that he owned and suggested donating for the establishment. By the time of his proposal, Stick had "retired" to the Outer Banks after a successful career as a nature illustrator. Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007) 85-87.

of emotions.[42] Some bankers welcomed the federal money and CCC workers, viewing their influence as economically and environmentally positive. Though the CCC boys sent much of their money back home as part of the program, the presence of the camps did increase the retail business in the region and the construction of necessary infrastructure supplied some local residents with extra income. From another perspective, one of the most important reasons for resisting the government programs was the perceived interference in traditional ways of life. With the beach "nourishment" operation came increased outsider presence on the banks, and a substantial federal presence where none existed before bringing both money and disruptive social forces. Lighthouses and lifesaving stations were one type of government involvement, but the wholesale reshaping of the physical landscape and the relocation of outsiders into CCC camps made many Outer Banks residents uncomfortable. The camps also generated distrust of the federal government for other reasons. Several of the CCC camps were destined to be "colored" camps, and the possibility of racial strife lurked beneath a veneer of hospitality. These tensions combined with the perceived notion that the government was planning a closing of the beach to all native Banker use, an argument that would appear frequently in later opposition to the national seashore.

These rumors, perhaps minor to outsiders, posed threats to traditional banker life and their interactions with the land. Starting a trend that would extend through the rest of the long park creation process, bankers viewed the government plans with skepticism because of the perceived changes to their way of life more than any other consideration. Similar to the way the *Heimatschutz* movement encouraged identification with particular types of landscapes, bankers' lives were fundamentally shaped by the unforgiving

[42] David Stick, "A Half Century of Observations," OBHC

landscape, which they also loved deeply. CCC involvement in stabilizing the banks also met with mixed reactions. Bankers used the beaches in many ways that were incompatible with the stated government mission of fixing the sand dunes and encouraging the return of vegetation. Despite the fact that free ranging livestock ate down any vegetation outside the villages, some locals were committed to keeping the free range open even though these same bankers referenced stories about islands covered with trees before the coming of large white populations. The connection between the livestock, white populations, and the decline of the vegetation seemed lost on bankers who were accustomed to letting their ponies roam free.[43]

There was a racial element to the banker's fears as well. The Outer Banks were overwhelmingly white, and the small population of African Americans on the banks were known in the community.[44] The specific instance that sparked outrage was the proposed location of a transient camp on the northern end of Roanoke Island that would be populated "entirely by colored people" working on dune stabilization. Simmering under the enthusiasm for federal spending was a "fear of a free and rambling crowd of *foreign* [emphasis added] Negroes scattered among our own colored people."[45] Some bankers feared the influx of "strange negroes" on their small, traditional villages and any mixing or crime that might result from colored CCC camps, but authorities assured resident that the camp was to be "supervised and directed by white men. Semi-military discipline under strict government regulation [was] to be exercised." In addition, "most of the

[43] This was a battle the Park Service waged for many years, with National Seashore Superintendent Allyn Hanks addressing the removal of Ocracoke ponies as late as 1955. There are still ponies and wild horses on some of the Outer Banks' northern reaches, although these areas are outside NPS control. Allyn Hanks letter to Marvin Howard, February 28th, 1955. Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2214, UNC Special Collections.
[44] Of course, this is not unusual for the time. Victor Meekins made offhand racial remarks in his letter to Bonner dated January 31st, 1949, Folder 2205, Bonner Papers, UNC Special Collections.
[45] David Stick, "Half Century of Observations" Stick Papers, OBHC.

Negroes were from North Carolina and…there is practically no such thing as a Negro tramp. They are of the type that have been left out with the failure of farmers, and they are glad to work." Their fears addressed, if not fully quelled, all the local civic associations endorsed the "transient camps" and their dune regeneration program.[46]

Racism was certainly a factor in resistance to the CCC, but the generalized influence of outsiders and the prospect of change were equally important, as evidenced by some local's comments against CCC camps-white or black. Actual experience with these early government interventions allayed most bankers' fears. The CCC boys largely stayed in their camps, the beach nourishment employed local labor in many ways, and the federally funded programs benefited the region as promised. As with other camps located in beautiful rural regions, some of the CCC boys either remained at the end of their service or returned years later to settle in the area.[47] Despite reservations about federal intervention in the area, the possibility of significant spending mitigated much of the distrust that might have stalled the government's plans in the 1930s. After World War II, Victor Meekins observed that as long as the opponents of the park "and/or their relatives were drawing checks from Uncle Sam…they were all in favor of it."[48] By the end of the CCC program most bankers had positive feelings towards federal involvement and when the park proposal appeared in 1937, most bankers treated it either with enthusiasm or indifference.[49] In the depths of the Great Depression, prospects for

[46] Frank Stick appeared before a public meeting in Manteo on May 3rd, 1934 to personally address the concerns of Roanoke Island's residents. David Stick, "Half Century of Observations" Stick Papers, OBHC,
[47] This was a nationwide phenomenon. See Neil Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[48] Victor Meekins letter to Herbert Bonner, January 31st, 1949. Folder 2205, Bonner Papers.
[49] According to the administrative history, this change in attitudes accompanied the significant federal spending. CC/WPA funds for sand fixation projects on the Outer Banks included $675,772 in 1937, $421,224 in 1938, $268,769 in 1939, $189,757, and $186,454 in 1941, when the program ended. Cameron

developing the Outer Banks as a tourist attraction seemed minimal, the open range had been closed to help encourage dune stabilization, and the fisheries were in decline. Attempting to appeal to economic motives, federal officials promised the park would bring visitors, integrating the OBX into a national economy that was previously too distant and offering bankers the ability to commodify their natural surroundings in a way agriculture and industry failed to do. As with other federal projects, there was some confusion by locals about what the park might entail, but with the support of North Carolina's politicians and an interested federal government, the National Seashore formally moved forward with the passage of legislation in 1937.[50]

Having traveled to other regions during his time as a politician, Lindsay Warren feared the type of development that marred the natural beauty of coastlines elsewhere on the east coast, and his legislation recognized both the natural attributes and the possibility of building a tourist economy if a national park located in the region. Warren's fears combined with the lobbying efforts of Frank Stick, who was busy interesting landowners on Hatteras in the prospect of a large nature park. Much of the early land acquisition came from donations from former hunting clubs, including the massive Phipps donation on Hatteras Island near the village of Buxton and the Cape Hatteras lighthouse. Many owners on the OBX placed little value in their land, with some even failing to keep current on their taxes, resulting in the possibility of losing their land to government

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Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division
National Park Service, 2007)

[50] An Act To provide for the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina, and for other purposes. August 17, 1937. (50 Stat. 669).

seizure.[51] The legal precedent established by these early donations served as the template for the rest of the land acquisition process, which unfolded like many others.

It is important to note the legislation passed in Washington merely authorized the park and allowed the federal government to accept land. The legislation followed standard Park Service methods of acquiring land where the federal government was not authorized to condemn land or make outright purchases, but rather accepted transfers of land from the state or from individuals. North Carolina served as the clearinghouse for properties, and the state established the Hatteras Seashore Commission to manage the transfer of land from private landowners to the government, where it would remain with the state until there was enough acreage (a minimum of 10,000 acres) to establish the park.[52] The initial makeup of this Commission reveals several interesting elements of the story. John Midgett, a prominent local who later objected to the park on the grounds that it violated landowner rights, initially served on the Commission. As with other new NPS parklands, the state had the power to condemn property to clear titles to land, but generally resisted using these powers to force land acquisition. Helping the government's cause, the park's authorizing legislation allowed for the continued existence of villages on the Outer Banks and even made allowances for village expansion, although the particulars of these allowances would serve as stumbling blocks later. The purpose of the park was to provide the American public with access to natural littoral areas, which meant the government was *not* interested in the developed and

[51] It is unclear if the failure to pay taxes was the result of inability to pay or choosing not pay because the land was overvalued. Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007)

[52] This commission later expanded to cover the whole coast and still exists. Many of the records for this commission are held in an offsite archive in Uncategorized papers at the NC state archives. For some context, see also Folder 2205-2207 in the Bonner Papers (3710) Southern Historical Collection University of North Carolina.

inhabited areas of the islands. As part of the master plan, the federal government targeted the largely uninhabited areas in between towns, and was particularly interested in the Pea Island area in between Whalebone Junction and Rodanthe. By planning around the villages, the NPS hoped to avoid some of the conflicts that emerged when they created "wilderness" in Shenandoah and GSMNP.[53]

The park's approval in 1937 was congenial and polite, and initial reports and plans for development progressed through the rest of the 1930s as land acquisition proceeded steadily. The NPS published an optimistic document in early 1941 outlining the pace and plans for land acquisition, survey work, infrastructure plans, and wildlife management zones and expecting the work to be completed within the decade.[54] When compared to other National Park Service projects at the time, the Outer Banks plans seem quite routine, and met with little initial resistance, especially compared to contemporary projects like the BRP, which featured a battle between North Carolina and Tennessee over locating the southern portion of the Parkway and fights between large landowners and the NPS over routing the road through their property.[55] While the NPS made significant progress and laid the ground work for acquisitions, the project was put on hold in late 1941 when the United States entered WWII and the federal government shifted priorities.

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[53] These conflicts were the result of very real confrontations as the NPS attempted to create a wilderness where none existed. These measures included the destruction of houses in Shenandoah and the planned death of the Cades Cove community GSMNP. See Durwood Dunn, *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of a Southern Appalachian Community, 1818-1937* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Sarah Gregg, *Managing the Mountains: Land Use Planning, the New Deal, and the Creation of a Federal Landscape in Appalachia.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)

[54] "Questions and Answers Concerning the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area Project: North Carolina." (1941) Folder 2205 Bonner Papers

[55] Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Highway*

The impact of World War II had a dramatic effect on the NPS plans for a national seashore on the OBX. As mentioned, Lindsay Warren left Congress during WWII to serve as Comptroller and his former aide Herbert Bonner filled his vacant congressional seat. The transition was mostly seamless, but bankers still wrote letters to Warren about the park project as late as the 1950s despite his retirement from office.[56] Upon taking office, Bonner's enthusiasm for the park reflected a better understanding of what the NPS wanted to achieve at the OBX, and his support for the seashore fully recognized the bargain's costs to bankers' traditional life in return for greater economic opportunities. World War II effectively ended the massive federal spending on beach erosion control, and North Carolina's coast was the site of some of the most frightening U-boat attacks of the Battle of the Atlantic.[57] With the end of the war and the anticipated postwar boom in tourism, the NPS considered the national seashore one of the pillars of its new emphasis on recreation.[58] Unfortunately, the stagnant years of the late 1930s and the distraction of World War II meant most of the efforts at dune stabilization were erased, and for many bankers the project seemed dead in the absence of major efforts to secure the needed tracts of land.[59]

Other problems plagued the reboot of NPS efforts at Hatteras. Following the allied victory in WWII and the prospect of returned attention to the proposed park, the Park Service faced unexpectedly stiff resistance as an oil speculation boom gripped the

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[56] Herbert Bonner to Lindsay Warren, August 1, 1952. Herbert C. Bonner Papers #3710, National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2206, in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[57] Ed Offley, *The Burning Shore: How Hitler's U-Boats Brought World War II to America* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); David Stick, *Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989)
[58] Harold L. Ickes on outdoor recreation, from the foreword to *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1941)
[59] David Stick, "Half Century of Observations" Stick Papers, OBHC

Outer Banks, temporarily promising astronomical returns on land investments and creating a real estate bubble riding on the promise of postwar peace and prosperity. Before the war started, the OBX were unproductive lands and the National Park Service viewed the Outer Banks park as a goal attainable in the near future with an acquisition schedule of a few years, not decades. The shift in perception of the land from worthless to newly valuable is evident in comments from bankers pinning their hopes on the tourist economy and the coming of a hard surface road. Referencing the earlier economic stagnation, native banker Ben Dixon MacNeil wrote to Lindsay Warren reminding him to "remember how Nags Head was when you went to Congress. Well, they can too, and they have a road here now." In another section of the letter, MacNeil observed that "times and circumstances have changed, Lindsay, since you knew this island..." although he was quick to add "it still loves you and venerates you."[60]

After WWII's conclusion, the Park Service met resistance from local landowners who were concerned about their possible financial losses and chasing the dream of economic prosperity through mineral wealth. Outsiders and land speculators purchased tax-delinquent properties while many native bankers considered the possibility of their poor lands turning into riches through either private tourism or oil exploration. Federal and local supporters of the park decried the lack of progress on park development and dismissed the oil speculation as not only economically unlikely, but ecologically unwise.[61] Frank Stick himself faced economic difficulties and was no longer at the

[60] Ben Dixon MacNeil to Lindsay Warren, June 22nd 1952. Folder 2207, Bonner Papers #3710 in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
Also see, David Stick, "Half Century of Observations" Stick Papers, OBHC
[61] David Stick, "Half Century of Observations," Stick Papers, OBHC.

forefront of the National Seashore activities.[62] From the late 1930s until the revival of interest in the park in the early 50s (with the initiative of the Mission 66 program), Frank Stick and the NPS blamed each other for the failures of the project.[63] Complicating matters, the state passed legislation during the oil speculation boom that delayed any further land acquisition for the park, effectively killing NPS hopes of completing the seashore in the immediate postwar years.[64]

Without the ability to force land acquisition and with the state of North Carolina clearly interested in the prospect of a local oil industry, NPS officials could only wait to see the outcome of oil exploration. In the meantime, tourist interest in the OBX surged and some of the transportation connections improved with postwar highway building near the Alligator River. With the promise of economic development and the potential state revenues from the oil industry, federal officials watched as the first National Seashore stalled. The oil speculation, however, turned out to be just that, speculation. Despite months of searching, petroleum companies found no oil off the coast of North Carolina, and the speculation bubble burst as quickly as it had inflated.[65]

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[62] Financial records indicate several failed businesses and occasional correspondence with local merchants attempting to collect debts during the immediate postwar period. Stick Papers, OBHC.

[63] Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007), 85-87.

[64] March 19, 1945, Chapter 811, Public Laws of North Carolina, 1945. See also J. Henry Leroy, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, May 10, 1945, in Herbert C. Bonner Papers #3710, Box 47, Folder 2205, in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
The oil speculation failed to produce any promising wells, however. "Oil Well Fails at Buxton; Seen Worth Expense," *The Virginian-Pilot*, July 11, 1946. The legislation the state passed merely delayed any further land acquisitions while the search for oil was active. This could have posed a serious threat to the park project, but the exploratory wells found no extractable oil and the legislation expired without incident. See Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore: The Great Depression through Mission 66*, (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007), 69-72.

[65] Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007), 69-72.

The long delay between the enthusiastic beginnings of the project and the stalled advances of the 1940's also provided a period of reflection for many OBX residents. No longer gripped by the Great Depression, the region was increasingly connected to cities nearby, with the tourism industry on the northern islands booming and the fisheries of the southern islands returning to profitability. Traditional ways of making a living, particularly fishing, recovered from their previous declines.[66] Most bankers seized the economic opportunities, yet many residents focused on what they were losing by catering to outside interests. Some of the tourist attractions that bankers established, including the Lost Colony outdoor drama and tours of the various lighthouse and rescue stations, sparked reflection on how the bankers should portray themselves to tourists. Bankers, partially in an attempt to sell the region to tourists, emphasized the hardships and small triumphs of the ancestors which encouraged identification with a particular banker culture and history. The emphasis on the hard living at the OBX came through language describing the Coast Guardsmen as "heroic," the fisherman as "hardy," and the lightkeepers as "stoic." The culture of the OBX received special attention in these dramas, with the romanticized 19th century banker highlighted and lionized.[67]

When the oil craze passed and prohibitive state legislation expired, acquisition negotiations began anew. After over a decade of no acquisition activity amid monumental changes in the social, economic, and environmental circumstances at the OBX, the federal government faced a very different acquisition process. Fearing a

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[66] This rebound in fish stocks was a phenomenon in most regions of the Atlantic. For an accessible history of the North Atlantic fishery, see Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1997). See also, J.R. McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth Century World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 246.

[67] The idealized image of a rural "folk" is most commonly observed in Appalachia. See Henry Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

government "land grab" and hoping for an increased tourist industry, some landowners continued to resist the park project in the 1940s and 50s. In the administrative history of the Seashore, Cameron Blinkley noted this shift and its ties to tourism development, saying "While there was hope for private land donations in the 1930s and 1940s, those hopes had all but evaporated by the early 1950s. Despite the oil bust, road construction and residential and commercial development continued, especially around Nags Head and points north. Such development only bolstered park opponents, whose resistance remained strong."[68]

As much as conditions changed at the OBX, the nation also changed during these years. Improved transportation networks and a higher national standard of living created a market for tourism unrivalled in American history, and private tourist interests expanded their offerings throughout the nation to respond to the increased opportunities.[69] The OBX, long considered peripheral to the rest of North Carolina, now found an influx of tourists who had certain expectations for their beach vacation. Reflecting the ambivalence of the local banker population, the state was reluctant to force land acquisition and slow to convey land to the National Park Service.

At the same time as the broad changes in American tourist culture, many bankers appeared to grow skeptical of outside developers, which also translated into skepticism of the NPS plans for the seashore. In the meantime, some bankers' resistance to the park grew in both visibility and rancor. Variously described as "grassroots," reactionary, or influenced by outside land speculators, the resistance featured many different arguments

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[68] Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007), 109.

[69] This change in American tourist culture is well documented. See Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*; Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild*; Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*.

from Bankers all across the OBX.[70] The resistance is notable because unlike previous opposition it appeared to come from locals. Warren estimated outsiders owned 85% of the land outside the villages, which was the majority of the land intended for park purposes, but the opposition by bankers in villages changed the dynamics of the park's creation.[71] In these new letters and petitions of protest, bankers repeatedly referenced their traditional ways of life, with some of the most persistent issues being unrestricted access to the beaches, the "room to grow" for existing villages, and continued access to the beaches and sounds for fishing and hunting. Bankers feared the establishment of a wilderness park would destroy the communities on the southern islands as they existed.[72] In a report to George Ross, Head of the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, surveyor Marion Shuffler reported that bankers feared the end of "century long isolation," while also being concerned about government interference in their communities. Intimately linked to these fears was the realization that life was changing on the OBX whether or not bankers supported the park project. "Strong men acquainted with storms at sea, and oarsmen manning a life boat have written their pages in history," but the transshipment of goods and the lifesaving stations no longer offered the stable

[70] Calvin Meekins was a notable critic of the park, and his distant relative Victor Meekins repeatedly changed sides in his newspaper articles published in the *Coastland Times*. Others also changed their allegiances, often reflecting personal politics and changes in how bankers understood the park, including the continued circulation of outdated information. See David Stick to George Ross, July 3rd, 1952. Folder 2207, Bonner Papers #3710, in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[71] Warren letter to Bonner, Sept 25th 1952. Folder 2207, Bonner Papers #3710, in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[72] Some of these complaints appear in a "Petition from residents of Collington," December 1944, Box 12, Folder 400 in Lindsay C. Warren Papers #3172. See also, J. Henry Leroy, Letter to Herbert C. Bonner, May 10, 1945, Box 47, Folder 2205, Bonner Papers #3710, in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

employment of years past. Fisheries also declined again in the 1950s after a brief postwar boom, resurrecting the contentious access to fishing and hunting grounds.[73]

Most of the earliest fears centered on access to the traditional fishing and hunting grounds that allowed most OBX residents to earn a living. Circulating an outdated "Answers and Questions" brochure from 1941, the NPS allowed OBX residents to continue believing the national seashore would limit their access to hunting and fishing areas, which fueled fears of a decline in traditional lifeways. In particular, a section that said hunting would be allowed "upon the waters of the sounds, Ocracoke Island, in the area north of the Currituck County line, and within *not more than 2000 additional acres* that may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior" received special attention.[74] This stipulation, although erroneous by the 1950s due to changed NPS policies, encouraged the belief among bankers that nearly all of Hatteras Island would be closed to hunting and that much of Bodie Island would be closed outside the towns of Nags Head and Kitty Hawk. In the administrative history of the National Seashore, Cameron Blinkley finds these concerns erroneous and places much of the blame for spreading misinformation with outsiders, including the largest landowner on the islands, Elizabeth City attorney Winfield Worth.[75]

In an unsigned 1952 letter to Governor Scott and copied to Herbert Bonner, a Buxton resident expressed concern that "together the state and federal governments own

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[73] Marion J. Shuffler, Special Representative to the North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development and the National Park Service, "Report of Investigation Relative to the Proposed Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area," July 20, 1950, State Parks Division: Miscellaneous Records. North Carolina State Archives.
[74] "Questions and Answers," National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205, Bonner Papers #3710, in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[75] Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66*, (Southeast Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division National Park Service, 2007), 116.

a little more than half the land area of this island. None of us is opposed to the development of those lands for recreational use," but continued with a familiar worry that the villages would be closed off from any future development and exist merely as outposts of bankers in a great NPS-managed park, cut off from the mainland. The author continued, saying "it seems to us so obvious a thing, that it ought not be necessary to protest against shutting up these villages within their present boundaries."[76] The outdated "Questions and Answers" brochure undoubtedly influenced these fears, with its assertions that the NPS sought to keep "the major portion of the area…permanently preserved as a primitive wilderness and no development [would] be undertaken which would be incompatible with the preservation of the unique flora and fauna and the physiographic conditions now prevailing."[77]

Another letter to Governor Scott from Ben Dixon MacNeil and dated July 22nd 1952, confirmed the objections of Hatteras Island residents to "the present plan. It contemplates taking 90 per cent of the island. That shuts up the Seven Villages within their present boundaries, with no access to the sound or ocean---and from these the people take their living."[78] Access to the ocean and sound, the ability to make a living, and the "obviousness" of the fault in shutting up the villages within their present boundaries all seemed reasonable critiques of the NPS plans. A 1950 petition, signed by a number of "Dare County Residents" and accompanied by a letter from Frisco resident

[76] Letter to W. Kerr Scott, June 22nd 1952. National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205, Bonner Papers #3710, in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[77] "Questions and Answers," National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205, Bonner Papers #3710, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[78] Letter to W. Kerr Scott, July 22nd 1952. National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Ben Dixon MacNeil was fond of saying he lived in "Buxton on Hatteras," which is where this letter originated. It is a quirk unique to MacNeil and indicates the letter is probably his.

Preston Basnett, objected to the seashore particularly on the grounds that if allowed to dominate the island, "all future prospects for development and progress would be killed." In a telling final paragraph, the petition said "we consider such steps as aggression. This is what our country is doing to-day is fighting the aggressors. We as others want our liberties and the *privileges of our home lands.*" Basnett also emphasized these reasons in his letter accompanying the petition, which he asserted "shows by count that 98% of people [on the banks] are against it. Why not, the areas that have been set aside for people to live can hardly be seen. It would destroy all the rights and priveleges that the people have always enjoyed. Hunting would be no more except for Ocracoke. Fishing would be as a set aside from the director. Fishing grounds from the land to the reef is included in the restricted area. We need your help to remain a 'Free People." [79] In an area of the country with so little actual dry land, access to the sounds was particularly important. Most bankers on Hatteras still relied on local fishing or hunting for making their living, and the combination of the Seashore's planned "primitive wilderness" and the restriction of access to the sounds and ocean meant the villages would be further isolated and economically limited.

Bonner's response to Basnett's 1950 letter indicated the lack of NPS communication on the plans for the seashore, which allowed rumors to circulate unchecked and fostered distrust. Still believing in the park but unable to offer any evidence to calm Basnett's fears, Bonner stated mildly "I think there must be some misunderstanding; nevertheless, it is not my desire to force on the people of the OBX something they would not desire." He continued to promote the park, however, arguing

[79] "Preston Basnett letter and petition" National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2206, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

it would "bring many things to the people of the Outer Banks they would not have otherwise." Bonner was correct in his understanding that the park boundaries of the 1950s were much reduced from earlier estimates and that the NPS had backed off the plans to limit fishing and hunting access beyond the laws already in force under state law. Without any concrete evidence to the contrary, however, Bonner admitted the prospects Basnett outlined in his letter were quite unacceptable. The misunderstood relationship between the National Seashore and the ability of bankers to access the sound and mainland was the product of NPS incompetence in properly informing the OBX property owners of the plans for the park. Combined with outside instigators who appealed to bankers' fears about the park's restrictions on their livelihoods and access, the lack of NPS information allowed imaginations to run wild and encouraged bankers' worst fears.

Bonner recounted a 1952 encounter on the banks when he "indirectly made reference to the creation of the National Seashore Park" at a public event in Rodanthe. The response of those in attendance was immediate and strong. "After the speaking…I had many people asking me about the park. From the questions I cannot help but come to the conclusion that the National Park Service and the representative of the Park Services at Manteo have done a miserable job of public relations. In fact, I could find no evidence of there having made any effort to inform the people just what the whole thing is about."[80] The failure of the NPS to educate bankers about the park, and particularly the failure to counter the erroneous statements made by the park's opposition, resulted in at least four petitions circulating and many public meetings against the park. In response, Bonner and Warren encouraged the NPS to visit the banks and set the record straight.

[80] Bonner to Warren, September 22nd, 1952. Herbert C. Bonner Papers (3710), National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209, Special Collections, UNC.

After these statements, drastic measures ensued, with Herbert Bonner traveling extensively throughout the area, park superintendents shaking hands and attending public meetings, and Park Service director Conrad Wirth both visiting the area and writing a letter directly to the people of the Outer Banks through the local newspaper, the *Coastland Times*.[81] Repeatedly the park advocates mentioned the importance of the *recreation* focus at the National Seashore and emphasized how the seashore would benefit the residents, and would not harm their way of life. According to the administrative history of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore, much of the resistance to the project came from outside sources, but in reality the situation was more complicated. At the heart of the issue were real concerns from bankers who were misinformed by a handful of outsiders organizing public meetings, but the way these outside sources pitched the argument against the park indicates the real fears of village bankers that their traditional rights and privileges to use the beaches and sounds would be impaired.

In reality, Worth and Basnett were working from outdated materials and using their knowledge of the Outer Banks people and politics to attempt to generate ill will towards the Park Service over issues of access and traditional ways of life. This ill will manifested itself in arguments resting on a foundation of the intimate ties bankers felt with their region. Several prominent residents of Manteo also threw their political support behind the petitions, including Theo Meekins, who was afraid the taking of lands might introduce tax hardships on those lands remaining in private hands. With such poor prospects for economic advancement, so little land on the county tax rolls, and the Park

[81] "A Half Century of Observations," OBHC; Conrad Wirth, "A Letter to the People of the Outer Banks," *Coastland Times* October 31, 1952, Bonner Papers, Folder 2207 Special Collections, UNC.

Service's supposed insistence on a "wilderness" with no road access, even those villagers who retained their land would be forced to leave the banks from economic necessity.[82]

Complicating matters was the announcement of an "anonymous donor" who promised to provide matching funds to the State of North Carolina for acquisition of the outstanding lands. The anonymous donor was actually a combination of two charitable trusts established by the heirs of Andrew Mellon, the Old Dominion Foundation and the Avalon Foundation.[83] This announcement briefly backfired, as some residents viewed the sudden donation of funds as another attempt by outsiders to influence the outcome on the banks. The news combined with the prospect of a newly planned state-paved road extending down the banks to create a situation where the park faced opponents from both the nostalgic bankers interested in preserving their traditional way of life and the outside land speculators hell bent on developing the area.[84] Many of the banker arguments against the park were based on misinformation. Not necessarily anti-modern, the OBX resistance stemmed from attitudes expressed in a letter to NC governor W. Kerr Scott that "we have, some of us with misgivings, shared our heritage with the state and federal governments. That, it seems to us, is enough."[85] In a particularly heated exchange, Melvin Daniels accused the NPS of "throwing the Outer Banks into bondage similar to

[82] These concerns are raised in a Letter from Henry LeRoy to Herbert Bonner, May 10th, 1945. National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2205, Bonner Papers #3710, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[83] Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Atlanta: Southeast Regional Office National Park Service, 2007), 114.
[84] Clark Stratton faced resistance based on the concerns over development. Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Atlanta: Southeast Regional Office National Park Service, 2007).
[85] Letter to W. Kerr Scott June 22nd, 1952, Folder 2207, Bonner Papers #3710, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

the bondage of the South after the Civil War."[86] Daniels might have overdone the comparison to Reconstruction for dramatic effect, but his sentiments attracted the attention of many people after the meeting's conclusion.[87]

Conrad Wirth's assertions in the open letter to bankers published in the *Coastland Times* outlined all the benefits national parks bring to communities, and particularly emphasized the improvements in infrastructure and marketing that would benefit the Outer Banks tourism industry and necessarily improve the material quality of life for all bankers. His comments also attempted to directly address the small number of bankers who opposed the park in favor of private development but also appealed to the concerns of other bankers who worried about the prospect of villages "shut off" from the sounds or mainland. Wirth assured that any losses incurred from the closure of the free range commons, which resulted in a decline in the number of livestock on the islands, would easily be replaced by tourism dollars. Hunting and fishing rights would remain open to bankers, and driving on the beaches could continue.[88] Park Service officials and politicians like Bonner repeatedly extolled the virtues of national parks from an *economic* perspective, and the seashore was considered vital to the parks infrastructure primarily from a national *recreation* perspective, not an attempt to protect sensitive natural areas. The National Seashore ultimately focused mostly on recreation, albeit with a tourist clientele in mind, and attempted to protect the *feel* of the OBX rather than preserving the

[86] Bonner to Warren, September 22, 1952, National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209, Bonner Papers #3710, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[87] Bonner to Warren, September 22, 1952, National Seashore Files, Box 47, Folder 2209, Bonner Papers #3710, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[88] Conrad Wirth, "A Letter to the People of the Outer Banks," *Coastland Times* October 31, 1952. Folder 2207, Bonner Papers #3710, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

whole region in an ecologically stable way. Federal officials talked about the roads planned, the recreation facilities, and the generous allowances for village expansion to accommodate the flocks of tourists, and avoided mentioning wildlife, beach stabilization, or federal management goals.

Ultimately, these arguments, combined with the promises that bankers' access would be minimally changed, won over some supporters at the OBX and changed the tone of the conversation. Frank Stick's vision for a massive seashore park was closer to coming true. With the true plans for the park widely circulated and the majority of OBX residents now either favoring the park or indifferent, the NPS sought to continue land acquisition.[89] With the establishment of a land office and the use of 1.2 million dollars, the Seashore Commission began buying the necessary land to finish creating the park. The renewed vigor and enthusiasm from the NPS and the support of the state of North Carolina combined to encourage donations or sales in unprecedented numbers. Where before the various government entities involved failed to work together and even at cross purposes, the late 1950s saw the previous disagreements evaporate. In December of 1952, the state of NC held ceremonies in Raleigh that transferred the lands it held in trust for the National Seashore, including the original lands donated by the Phipps family as the first parcel acquired. With the combination of this transfer, the land already in federal ownership, and the finalization of purchases already authorized, within 5 years the NPS had enough land to formally establish the National Seashore.[90]

[89] Bonner to Wirth, August 1958, Folder 2223, Bonner Papers #3710, Southern Historical Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
[90] Cameron Binkley, *The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore The Great Depression through Mission 66* (Atlanta: Southeast Regional Office National Park Service, 2007).

In the end, the Cape Hatteras National Seashore was a park dramatically different from the various expectations of both supporters and opponents. Significant acreage remained in a primitive state of development as part of the Pea Island NWR, the paved road extended from Whalebone Junction to Ocracoke, and the villages all grew in both prosperity and geographical size with the influx of the promised tourists. The establishment of the Hatteras National Seashore and Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge drastically altered both the ecological and economic conditions on the Outer Banks. Ironically, the establishment of the national park and wildlife refuges meant that the area gained a paved road and higher national profile, which was what park opponents wanted all along. With increased prosperity came an increased human impact on the land, despite the original intentions of creating a sanctuary for wildlife and preserving "pristine" beaches as characteristic of a lost American landscape. The paradoxical relationship between the establishment of national parks and the adverse impacts on the land are documented in other areas, but the fragile spit of land that characterizes the Outer Banks amplifies the effect.[91] Through the efforts of both tourism advocates and environmentalists, the Outer Banks joined a national park system that increasingly focused on recreation, "forgotten places," and preserving the remaining open spaces in an increasingly cluttered and urban America. Hatteras has the distinction of being the first national seashore, but the process of establishing the park followed procedures common to other new park projects and faces similar difficulties.[92] With the creation of Hatteras National Seashore, the Park Service and its allies inadvertently opened up an isolated area

[91] Paul Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); Jeffrey Pompe, *Altered Environments: The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010).
[92] The Blue Ridge Parkway is remarkably similar See Whisnant, *Super-Scenic Motorway.*

to runaway development and summer population densities in the "small villages" more akin to the urban areas tourists left behind. Like other eastern park projects in popular tourist areas, definitions of insiders vs. outsiders, residents vs. landowners, and the battles over whose voices should carry more weight are easily transferable to other parks. Perhaps the most difficult judgment to make is whether the park had a positive impact on the ecological systems of the Outer Banks as a whole. Like Gatlinburg outside GSMNP, the protected areas of the OBX seem to amplify the desire to develop the villages and also amplify visitors' consciousness of the difference between the parklands and the private development. Ultimately the legacy of Hatteras National Seashore remains debatable, with residents and outsiders considering the environmental impact of development against the economic and ecological benefits of Park Service Management. Even with a booming tourist economy, the prospect of offshore oil drilling returned in the early 21st century and the NPS continually developed a policy on four wheel drive beach access throughout the late 20th century in an attempt to balance local wishes and environmental concerns.[93]

One of the reasons for this outcome at the OBX, however, was the stark dichotomy posed between national park land and private land. Most of the bankers' resistance stemmed from the "primitive wilderness" statements in the broadly circulated "Answers and Questions" brochure, or the perceived threats to their traditional way of life, including hunting and fishing rights. When these fears evaporated in the late 1950s,

[93] The fragility of the OBX and the unique access rights to sensitive areas draw frequent national attention. Dan Neil, "Drive on the Beaches of Cape Hatteras National Seashore," *The Wall Street Journal*. April 4, 2014; Christopher Solomon, "Leaving Only Footsteps? Think Again," *New York Times*, February 13, 2015; Bruce Siceloff, "Road Worrier: NC House Members Oppose Limits on Cape Lookout Beach Driving," *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 24, 2014; Jeff Hampton, "Court Rules in Favor of Beach Driving Restrictions." *The Virginian-Pilot*, June 21, 2014.

the park establishment proceeded quickly. The park service modified its expectations somewhat, but the land on the banks still broke down into either privately developed land or public government-owned land. The establishment of the park groaned under the constraints of this restrictive conception of conservation, and the battles over the park indicated the myriad reasons people might support or oppose such a project. By the time of the park's dedication in 1958, a new concern for both property rights and protecting natural places began to appear. Over the next 20 years one of the most important upheavals in modern conservation took place, with dramatic implications for the American South.

Chapter Three: "To Continue to Preserve and Cherish:" The Eno River, Ichauway Plantation, Conservation Easements, and Twentieth Century Environmentalism.[1]

"You can't see an orchis spectabilis from a truck window at more than sixty miles an hour."

Margaret Nygard, 1969

"[We seek] to retain as much as possible the land management practices and hunting traditions which set Ichauway apart from all other land holdings in the region"

"General Purposes," Ichauway Plantation 1992

In the spring of 1969, Margaret Nygard gave an impassioned speech at an otherwise mundane Durham City Council Meeting in Durham, North Carolina, asking her city officials to do more to protect the Eno River. The agenda that night included a vote on whether to appropriate funds for the construction of a dam on the only major river to flow through the city. Asking the city's leaders to reconsider their plans for "Durham's river," at the heart of her objections were the Eno's unique ecological attributes, its scenic beauty, and the devious way the city politicians went about planning to dam the river by using complex government funding measures. Acknowledging previous city spending to improve access to the Eno and encourage the protection of its

[1] Quote taken from "Eno River State Park Master Plan Alternatives" Series 1, Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection for the Eno River #5232, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

banks, Nygard then accused the city of "proceed[ing] to bungle their efforts."[2] The city spent money to protect the river, but appeared to be throwing away an opportunity to create something of greater regional importance. The criticism this one woman levied at the City of Durham was that the city was not doing *enough* to protect a river they already identified as ecologically significant. This argument combined expectations of government intervention, an understanding of ecology, and a passionate desire to see "nature" protected from the harmful influence of human beings. The City Council took the speech seriously, yet if Nygard had used the same arguments ten years earlier she might have faced confusion and ridicule rather than sober consideration.

At the heart of this chapter are the ways the modern environmental movement forever changed the way private individuals approached conservation and the tools that major environmental legislation offered private efforts to protect land. While private and government efforts to conserve land both bore fruit in the period before the environmental movement, the values and laws enshrined in the National Environmental Policy Act changed the foundation for conservation. Indeed, the sentiments that produced this legislation changed Americans' relationship with nature. As discussed in previous chapters, conservation by both private individuals and large government agencies has deep roots that trace back to the nineteenth century, but the way Americans conceived of conservation and the role of the government fundamentally changed in the decades after World War II. The failures of private efforts at Chattanooga to produce the type of parklands Ochs envisioned and the challenges faced at the Outer Banks in North Carolina, demonstrated changes in the way locals viewed the Park Service's mission and

[2] "Notes Read at City Hall March '69" Series 1, Folder 23 in the Margaret Nygard Collection for the Eno River #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

how the National Park Service operated. The theoretical intersection of recreation and preservation, and the way the National Park Service changed its management of a region to reflect an agency-wide shift towards recreation, also affected the way local leaders attempted to protect the fragile banks. The Hatteras National Seashore developed before the explosion of interest in ecology and the organization of the environmental movement. As Americans began considering the ecological underpinnings of modern society and adjusting their attitudes to reflect a more scientific understanding of nature, their concerns shifted from romantic notions of nature and scenery to more nuanced attitudes towards parks and conservation.

Building on these shifts in public perception, from both a conservation and public recreation perspective the two sites examined in this chapter are polar opposites. The Eno River in Durham County North Carolina, a place "haunted by echoes of a good past," existed as an ecological enclave in a rapidly growing and urbanizing region.[3] Hundreds of miles away, at Ichauway Plantation, a hunting property formed from sharecropper lands in sparsely populated southwest Georgia and acknowledged as a "resource of national and international ecological significance," estate managers faced different circumstances guiding its management but professed similar conservation goals.[4] This chapter examines the modest river facing a gradual decline, an elite hunting retreat that faced a crisis of management, and the way both of these sites eventually found their way into a conservation regime that suited site-specific needs. The process behind the protection of these sites demonstrates he power of rhetoric and the ways conservation

[3] Raymond Ford "Letters to the Editor" Series 1 Folder 22. Margaret Nygard Collection Southern Historical Collection.
[4] Ichauway, Inc. "Attachment to form 1023" box 54 folder 5, Joseph Jones Papers MSS1003, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

methods changed after the success of the environmental movement and the passage of major Federal legislation. It also proves a sustained private interest in protecting natural spaces through donation to acceptable agencies or the use of non-governmental organization managed conservation easements and how the priorities of the conservationists involved affected the methods employed to permanently protect the properties.

The Eno River rises in western Orange County North Carolina**,** flows through the town of Hillsborough, enters Durham County north of the city limits and flows through northern Durham before joining the Flat and Little Rivers to form Falls Lake on the border between Durham and Wake Counties.[5] Unlike many of the region's mud-choked rivers flowing over a bed of silt, the Eno flows over a rocky stream bed with a swift, shallow current. The valley of the river is generally steep walled and rocky, and in many places the swift current sculpted a rugged landscape reminiscent of gorges and canyons of more mountainous regions. [6]

As the only North Carolina river to pass through a major urban area without artificial alterations to its natural flow, the Eno River is a widely used nature recreation area in an increasingly urban, and suburban, North Carolina region. Through a combination of state parkland, conservation easements, Nature Conservancy purchases,

[5] Falls Lake is an impoundment of the Neuse River. Before the damming of the Neuse River, the Eno remained the principal stream flowing into Neuse, but now the mouths of the Flat and Little are flooded by Falls Lake.

[6] There are many excellent histories of rivers and the importance of managing water to human development, including Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River*; Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West*; and Mark Fiege, *Irrigated Eden.* All of these works examine the American West, however. Christopher Mangianello published a recent addition to these histories that examined the Southeast "Hitching the New South to White Coal: Water and Power, 1890-1933," *Journal of Southern History* 78, no. 2 (May 2012): 255-292. For a history of the Nature Conservancy, see Bill Birchard, *Nature's Keepers: The Remarkable Story of How the Nature Conservancy Became the Largest Environmental Group in the World* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley and Sons, 2005); Richard Brewer, *Conservancy: The Land Trust Movement in America* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2003)

and a Durham City park, most of the Eno's banks in Durham County are protected in perpetuity. This river's combination of protective measures is the result of efforts by North Carolina citizens to protect one of the few free-flowing streams in a growing region and the consistent guidance of citizens' groups "dedicated to preserving for public enjoyment the unspoiled easterly stretches of the Eno River."[7] When considered alongside examples such as Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park and the Outer Banks, the Eno River also illustrates the changing roles of government and landowners in the search for a sustainable conservation program.

Previous attempts to tell the story of the Eno River chronicled the initial fight against damming the river, but focused on political wrangling and bureaucracies at the highest level and primarily examined the state government's involvement in land acquisition. The role of the local citizenry in preventing the dam was chalked up to a grassroots organization with occasionally successful lobbying efforts, resulting in the eventual intervention of the state, which "saved" the river and ensured its future protection. Most previous versions of the story focused on the government's role, including the state's willingness to acquire land, the city's acquiescence when the state advocated for the park, and the federal government's peripheral involvement through Department of Housing and Urban Development grants or the Army Corps of Engineers.[8]

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[7] Margaret Nygard, "Letter to Roy Taylor" Nov 17th, 1970. Series 1 Folder 22. Margaret Nygard Collection. Southern Historical Collection.

[8] Jean Bradley Henderson, *Durham County: A History of Durham County, North Carolina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011) 381-385; Histories of Durham usually focus on the city's tobacco industry, race relations, or status as a New South city. See Leslie Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Devin Fergus, *Liberalism, Black Power, and the Making of American Politics, 1965-1980* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

The role of the state is certainly an important aspect of the story, and the willingness of governmental agencies to involve themselves in the management of the Eno River's protection is significant to long term preservation goals. However, the contributions of private citizens were the driving force behind the river's protection. The Eno also serves as an example of how the top-down conservation model embraced by previous generations evolved during the 1960s and 1970s to focus more on the importance of local communities and local actors. As seen with previous examples, Andrew Cowan, Frank Stick, and even Adolph Ochs relied on the influence of a few prominent men which sometimes proved a liability. Lookout Mountain failed to achieve the lofty heights predicted by Ochs and Frank Stick's approach alienated some bankers even as he tried to bring in government spending to affect positive change. Unlike these examples of well-connected white men, the saving of the Eno engaged large numbers of average citizens in an attempt to persuade the government to action. This transition away from top-down conservation, born of an uneasy combination of distrust of government plans and utilizing emerging legal tools for environmental protection, resulted in a mosaic of conservation measures on the Eno in the 1970s.

The Eno's protection also took place in the context of major national changes in the way many Americans conceived of nature protection and the government's role in affecting the new "environmental" protection. The cultural shift toward viewing nature as an entity worth the federal government's attention was the result of long-term trends. Beginning with the basic conservation model of the late 1800s, which inspired some of the most significant park projects in American history, the broad cultural understanding of natural systems changed during the Great Depression and its most iconic ecological

disaster, the Dust Bowl. As a national calamity, the tragedy on the Great Plains drew the attention of the national media, the federal government, and the country's conservationists. The response to the Dust Bowl also provided the spark for many federal conservation programs and exposed thousands of young urban men to the great outdoors through programs like the CCC. [9] Coupled with concerted efforts to expand the NPS system, soil conservation, new land management techniques, and a greater awareness of the impact overtaxing the land had on natural systems, the Dust Bown and Great Depression provoked a new scientific understanding of the natural world as well as a growing *emotional* reaction to humanity's impact on the American landscape. Illustrating these trends are works such as Aldo Leopold's *A Sand County Almanac* and the consistent growth of organizations like the Izaak Walton League. The rise of suburbia, chemical farming, and the interstate highway system all dramatically altered Americans' views of the natural world they inhabited. After 1945, the world also lived under the constant threat of nuclear war and the fallout associated with that unthinkable event.

As tense as the postwar years seemed for Americans and their environment, some stirrings of a reaction began to gain momentum. Marjorie Stoneman Douglas's call to protect the Everglades, a stark contrast to the sublime landscapes of Yosemite and Yellowstone, and Aldo Leopold's assertions that nature has inherent rights to exist represented a shift from previous conservation efforts. Douglas still attempted to cast the Everglades as mystical, but even considering the Everglades as a place requiring protection for purely "natural" reasons was a significant shift. Most previous

[9] Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Neil Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)

conservation efforts, however helpful to the natural systems they protected, still cast humanity at the center of the story. Forests upriver from major urban centers and important timber markets enjoyed protection for their value as water purifiers or as stands of merchantable timber. The federal government protected Yellowstone, Yosemite, and other national parks as unique natural features, but these sites were places that inspired strong emotional feelings in the humans who visited them. The *feeling* of wilderness and the emotional response the vistas engendered remained the main criteria for national parks, which Kathy Mason argues were more like natural monuments in a young country with few historic sites to compete with the Roman Forum or the Greek Parthenon. The full transition to a scientific notion of nature protection came in the 1960s. As scientists improved chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides, the marriage between modern chemical technology and a new Edenic surplus seemed a wonder of unimaginable fortune. The way many of these chemicals affected their environments, however, would birth a new field of scientific inquiry and the publication of a book that highlighted the intricate connections inherent in natural systems. This book also captured the American imagination in ways both revolutionary and long-lasting.[10]

The new scientific field was ecology, and the book was *Silent Spring.* Both focused on a new understanding of biology called an ecosystem, which advanced the notion that distinct species worked together in natural systems in intricate and interdependent ways. Many date the beginnings of scientific adoption of a theory of ecology with Rachel Carson's research for *Silent Spring,* but the antecedents for the explosion of interest in ecology existed for many years before the book's 1962

[10] Marjory Stoneman Douglas, *The Everglades: River of Grass* (Everglades, FL: Rinehart, 1947)*;* Kathy Mason, *Natural Museums: U.S. National Parks, 1872-1916* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2004).

publication.[11] Despite the scientific interest in ecology, *Silent Spring* took the popular acceptance of ecology to a new heights as it demonstrated the persistence of man-made chemicals in the environment and proved the deleterious effects on a charismatic type of fauna—songbirds. The social upheaval of the 1960s offered fertile ground for growing criticisms of the military-industrial complex and the lack of oversight for new technological advances.[12]

While Rachel Carson focused on DDT, her book encouraged others to think about how modern science and industry altered the balance between humanity and nature. With the rise of ecology as a distinct field of scientific inquiry, researchers began to focus on the way humanity existed as a part of the natural systems it affected rather than a species apart. As a result, new sites across America suddenly became ecologically interesting. Many of the most important parks and protected places featured a combination of natural beauty and inspirational landscape that encouraged emotional feelings best described as sublime. With the rise of ecology, scientists considered many previously "normal" sites for conservation such as grasslands, marshes, and swamps. Previously recognized arguments for protecting places joined this new model of understanding natural systems and opened up new possibilities for conservation that were reflected in an explosion of conservation efforts in the 1960s and 1970s.

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[11] The scientific interest in "ecology" dates back to the 19th century, but one of the first formal treatments of the study of interacting natural systems was Frederick Clements, *Research Methods in Ecology.* (Lincoln, NE: University Publishing Co., 1905); Aldo Leopold practiced "conservation biology," a related field that reflected how ecology was not an accepted and unified field of study at the time. For an early example of Leopold's work in this respect, see Aldo Leopold, *Game Management* (New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1933). Ironically, some recent scholarship suggests that "nature" may be making a truly ecological understanding of the world more difficult. See especially, Timothy Morton, *Ecology Without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[12] Edmund Russell explores this in *War and Nature: Fighting Humans and Insects with Chemicals from World War I to Silent Spring* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Also see works like Barry Commoner's *The Closing Circle: Nature, Man, Technology* (New York: Knopf, 1971).

In this way, the Eno was well suited for conservation in the late 1960s. Largely undeveloped and unknown, the Eno River above Durham remained mostly privately owned by farmers or smallholders. The river, by pre-industrial standards, was unremarkable compared to other park projects. The river survived the industrialization of nearby Durham largely untouched by radical alterations in its course or any major impoundments downstream of Hillsborough. Unremarkable as it seemed, the Eno is emblematic of the new types of environmental protection that characterized the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Unlike the spectacular landscapes of Yellowstone or the Grand Canyon, the Eno's modest banks sheltered regionally significant species and offered a natural enclave in a rapidly developing part of North Carolina. The level of interest from the community also shows how environmentalism filtered down to regular citizens and affected the way they perceived conservation. The path this land took to public stewardship reflects these changing attitudes towards conservation, as does the fact that much of the land along the Eno River was donated or sold cheaply by private individuals to conservation groups interested in protecting it. In another development growing out of the environmental movement, many landowners used conservation easements, resulting in the river's protection without actually acquiring title to land on its banks. In this way, the Eno was different from the other examples examined.

Jean Henderson's Eno River story in her history of Durham County dismissed these donations and mentioned them only as a morale booster for the local citizen group, saying "from time to time donations of land for a park along the river kept up the

association's spirits and zeal."[13] Casting donations as merely encouraging a small group of concerned citizens minimizes their importance and the powerful message they sent to the community. These donations and easements also removed land from the possibility of easy acquisition by the city, rendering it impossible for Durham to acquire large contiguous tracts of land. Finally, when faced with the prospect of the city's attempts to acquire the land, any donation to an entity other than the city, especially to an entity that was adamantly opposed to the city's plans, represented a public vote of no confidence in the city's desire to utilize the valley. From a national perspective, the Eno River was also the first project in North Carolina to involve the Nature Conservancy, a partnership that brought the national organization to open a field office in the state and increasingly involve itself in North Carolina politics.[14] Indeed, the phenomenal rise and increasing importance of non-governmental organizations in conservation marks another departure from previous efforts to protect land. [15]

These early organizing efforts followed a pattern of environmental activism that repeated across the country, and Nygard rode a rising tide of interest in natural systems. If Rachel Carson's 1962 publication of *Silent Spring* marked the beginning of a new "modern environmentalism," the nascent environmental movement, already finding support among scientists and older conservation groups, grew by leaps and bounds as the general public realized the distance between the scientific advances and the regulatory agencies responsible for protecting the American public from harm. The scientific underpinnings of ecology also bolstered environmentalists' arguments that a natural crisis

[13] Jean Bradley Henderson, *Durham County,* 383.
[14] The Nature Conservancy set up its initial office in Durham and the main North Carolina office remains there to this day. See letters between Nygard and The Nature Conservancy, Series 1 Folder 22 in the Margaret Nygard Collection for the Eno River #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[15] Bill Birchard, *Nature's Keepers;* Richard Brewer, *Conservancy: The Land Trust Movement in America.*

loomed. Just as the many social movements of the day encouraged a more inclusive and equal society, a steadily growing body of literature encouraged identification with other species and highlighted the impact humans had on the natural systems that surrounded them. Running contrary to both the conservationists who operated under the guiding principles of Gifford Pinchot and the preservationists who operated under the inspiration of John Muir, many of the new "environmentalists" saw humanity as a part of nature.[16]

Ultimately, many people and organizations took part in saving the Eno, but Margaret Nygard, a Durham resident and tireless advocate for the river's permanent protection, was among the most prominent. Starting in the 1960s, Nygard spearheaded the campaign to block the proposed damming of the Eno and eventually shepherded thousands of acres into state parkland, conservation easements, and a city park.[17] In October of 1966 she founded the Association for the Preservation of the Eno Valley, an organization "dedicated to preserving for public enjoyment the unspoiled easterly stretches of the Eno River."[18] Starting with the organization of hiking trips along the river banks in 1965 and maturing into a regional conservation watchdog with several full-time staff by the 1990s, the Association for the Preservation of the Eno Valley (often shortened to Eno River Association) offers a powerful example of citizen activism accomplishing meaningful goals through partnerships with government and industry. The Eno River Association under Nygard's leadership also demonstrated the fundamental shift in how Americans perceived nature protection. The Eno, a river of marginal

[16] The authority on this "turn" in conservation remains Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2005); see also Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in William Cronon ed, .*Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (1996): 69; Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*.
[17] Nancy Herndon, "A Woman Who Guards a Wilderness." *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 7, 1989.
[18] Margaret Nygard, "Letter to Roy Taylor" Nov 17th, 1970. Series 1, Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection for the Eno River #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

importance economically and hydrologically, took on increased significance as the result of its "natural" ecosystem and largely undisturbed natural landscape. Born of reactionary conservation and a deep mistrust of Durham's city government, the Eno River Association also represents an environmental movement critical of established power structures in an era of increasing distrust of old regulatory agencies that seemed inadequate for a new ecological understanding.[19]

Margaret Nygard was particularly suited to the task of articulating this new ecological critique of plans to alter the Eno. She also demonstrated a fluency with the cultural and emotional appeal of the river. Born in India to British parents and Berkeley educated, Margaret Nygard learned that the river near her house in Durham was in danger of damming to create a new municipal water supply and recreational lake for the city of Durham. At the time of their move to Durham, the Nygards could be described as "outdoorsy" and "engaged," but they did not bring a history of environmental activism with them to the Bull City.[20] City officials proposed a dam on the river to secure a future water supply to support the city's anticipated growth and Nygard immediately reacted to the threat of a reservoir by organizing protests against development of the valley, despite

[19] The growing distrust of the government over the course of the 20th Century is chronicled in works like Dan Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, The Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*; Matthew Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South*; Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*. These works reflect a conservative backlash against government more generally, but some of the same strands in the conservative backlash characterize the most important supporters of the environmental movement. For a deeper analysis, see Hal Rothman, *The Greening of a Nation? Environmentalism in the United States Since 1945*. Rothman reflects on the associations between environmentalism and affluence, but also argues that environmentalism was a significant indicator of American values in this period Some of his best analysis examines the Sagebrush Rebellion, the tenure of James Watt as Secretary of the Interior, and the contention that radical environmentalists became increasingly polarized in contrast to their opponents, even though they had not resolved the issue of individual rights vs. individual constraint that lies at the heart of going fully "green."

[20] Nygard had no records of being an environmental activist, although according to friends she was always politically engaged. Nancy Herndon, "A Woman Who Guards a Wilderness." *The Christian Science Monitor* March 7, 1989 There are also handwritten notes from friends, undated, particularly folder 22 in the Margaret Nygard Collection for the Eno River #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

ridicule from some local development-minded newspapers.[21] Reflecting her own long-held beliefs and drawing on larger debates taking place on the national political scene, Nygard rejected the zero-sum game that cast business as necessarily destroying natural features in the name of "progress." Nygard's methods for blocking the damming and development of the river included the use of the most recent legislative and bureaucratic tools—tools that were not available even five years earlier and marshaled arguments focused on the river's unique ecosystems as worthy of protection.

Reading Nygard's letters is like reading a roll call of major conservation initiatives of the 1960s. The Nature Conservancy, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Land and Water Conservation Fund, the Wild and Scenic River Program, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the North Carolina State Parks, and the use of easements and environmental impact assessments all figured in Nygard's plans. As the Eno River Association matured, Nygard also worked with local businesses, youth groups, and various citizen groups to build relationships that might bolster the Eno's chances for protection. The Eno River Association's relationship with these other conservation groups also demonstrated the way local organizations interacted with the national environmental movement and the way the movement fed on itself while building a national network of environmentalists who used similar language and worked from a similar playbook. After much of the river was protected through acquisition and easements, Nygard took her expertise to other organizations, eventually becoming a

[21] While generally even-handed, the *Durham Herald* initially cast Nygard as a Rip Van Winkle. For a good overview, see Jean Bradley Anderson, *Durham County,* 453-458. Nancy Herndon, "A Woman Who Guards a Wilderness"; Mosi Secret, "Eno Puzzler," *Indyweek* January 31st, 2007. http://www.indyweek.com/indyweek/eno-puzzler/Content?oid=1200529, accessed 3/25/2014

figure in statewide conservation groups and impacting North Carolina far beyond the Durham river she loved.

The remarkable array of options available for conservationists in the 1960s and 1970s and the inventive ways Nygard sought to protect the river should not overwhelm the fundamental truth that the Eno River Association protected thousands of acres because individual landowners made decisions in favor of conservation and not development. The pace of the Eno River Association's success demonstrates the level of environmental concern among Durham residents and the desire to somehow contribute to the protection of a special ecosystem. Emphasizing the "wild" and "scenic" qualities of the river, in the late 1960s the Eno River Association started lobbying local politicians and organizing regular hiking trips to raise awareness of both the river's qualities and the danger it faced.[22] By 1970, the immediate threats to the river faced constant public attention and legal challenges from the Eno River Association. By 1973, with crucial contributions from the Eno River Association, North Carolina established a small state park on the banks of the Eno near the border between Durham and Orange counties. The Eno River Association continued its efforts throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and by 2013 over 6500 acres were permanently protected through parklands, private nature preserves, county zoning measures, or various conservation easements.[23]

The river's threats were very real and came from multiple fronts. As part of its survey of waterways in the Southeast, the US Army Corps of Engineers planned the damming of many rivers in the general vicinity of Raleigh and Durham, NC. The Army

[22] Despite calling the river "wild" and "scenic," the river flowed through two municipalities and many suburbs of Durham.
[23] "What we Protect-Parks" Eno River Association. http://www.enoriver.org/what-we-protect/parks/ accessed 8/12/2013.

Corps of Engineers surveyed and planned dams on nearly every dammable waterway in the Southeast, and the floor control and reservoir system the Corps planned for the Eno was not unusual. Building off the Corps' plans, the city of Durham grew increasingly interested in damming the Eno as a possible water supply in the 1960s, with plans for the damming reaching Nygard by word of mouth and through announcements of official hearings in 1965.[24] Nygard's earliest responses to the threats of damming were to raise the public profile of the Eno by exposing people to the river and demonstrating to the city government that there was significant support for protecting the river from development. Hiking trips along the banks of the Eno (which were still privately owned) served as the earliest organized activity of the nucleus of people who would create the Association for the Preservation of the Eno River Valley. The Nygards hiked the river for personal recreation during the early 1960s, but when the river faced threats of damming in 1965 Margaret Nygard turned these family outings into advocacy. The first publicly organized hike brought out 75 supporters, the next one over four hundred.[25] Citizens who could not directly affect the immediate plans for the Eno found a way to express their concerns over environmental degradation in their hiking and canoeing on the river. That the environmental degradation held an increased urgency with the popularization of the environmental movement and its ecological understanding of nature only made the ability to "experience" the Eno more meaningful. By 1966 the hiking trips transitioned into a formal organization with dues-paying members and an executive council, in addition to an annual "Festival for the Eno" that featured a carnival atmosphere and served as both a

[24] Durham later faced water shortages, as the planners in the 1960s predicted. See "Durham Looks for Water" *News and Observer*, December 6, 2006.
[25] "Rebuilding West Point Mill: A Timeline" Series 1 Folder 9, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

fundraiser and advocacy fair. Primary among the Eno River Association's earliest concerns were the possible flooding of the valley and the proposed construction of a northern highway "belt-line" across the river valley and Nygard's emphasis on protecting the river in its natural state contrasted with the city's plans for a lake.[26]

The Nygards viewed the Eno with a combination of John Muir's reverence and Rachel Carson's scientific reason. The region was aesthetically beautiful and ecologically diverse, but the Nygard's made arguments to save the river based on a combination of factors. Ecologically, the proposed developments on the Eno contrasted sharply with what the Nygards called the "wilderness" of the river and the remarkable array of species living in the riparian zone. According to Margaret Nygard's recollection of those early family hikes, they initially were "surprised to find how uninhabited the lands along the river were."[27] The Eno's geography played a role in this feeling of "wilderness," with the steep walls of the river providing niche habitats for unique species and offering a feeling of isolation, effectively shielding the river from the sights and sounds of human development that might impact the feeling of natural isolation.

Despite the river's relatively undeveloped banks, everywhere the Nygards looked they found evidence of the area's human past. Mill sites were the most common sites along the river, but many of these mills were the economic and social centerpieces of larger communities that sprung up around them. The Eno also had evidence of recent human activity, despite Nygard's opinion that the river was wild. Significant portions of the river flow through Durham City, and the rural banks often embraced farmland and

[26] Letters between Nygard and B. Everett Jordan, Roberta Andrews, Robert Heron. Winter 1971-1972. Series 1 Folder 18 in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[27] Margaret Nygard, "West Point Mill Area History" Series 1 Folder 18 in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

suburban neighborhoods as often as forests. In the mid to late 1960s, the Eno was "haunted by echoes of a good past," that included a significant human history but also featured some of the region's most significant tracts of land worthy of conservation.[28] With their personal interest in the Eno growing with each hike and each new discovery, Eno River Association members began searching for traces of the historic mills and admiring the natural beauty of the river gorges just minutes from the bustling city of Durham.[29]

The prospect of a large project like the proposed dam spurred many people with no personal connection to the river to acquaint themselves with the stream, by means of hiking its banks or attending one of the Eno River Association's planned events.[30] Public awareness of the river, expressed in letters to the editor, personal letters of support to Nygard, and attendance at Eno River Association events grew, with the city government increasingly on the defensive as their dam project drew negative attention. Despite the Eno's ecological diversity, Nygard primarily appealed to romantic notions of an untamed river in her early efforts. The early success of the environmental movement often combined scientific and emotional reasons for protecting nature. Point-source pollution, oil spills, and endangered species of charismatic megafauna captured the public imagination while also serving real scientific objectives for protecting ecosystems and threatened species. In the late 1960s letters to Nygard from concerned citizens familiar with the Eno captured in prose the features of the river the Association sought to protect. Many of those observing the Eno cast the struggle to save it as more than simply a matter

[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] "Eno R. Assn" notes in Series 1 Folder 18 in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection. In addition to weekly hikes, the association also hosted rafting trips to raise awareness.

of good environmental stewardship, insisting that the Eno was one of the crucial amenities that set Durham and the entire Triangle area apart as a place of special character. The letters also illustrate the diversity of reasons people supported the Eno River Association and the various ways they articulated their views on humanity's role in shaping natural systems.

One of those concerned enough to write a letter of support was Russell Hope Robbins, a former Visiting Professor at UNC-Chapel Hill who drew connections between the appeal of the Triangle and the presence of places like the Eno. While he was familiar with the river "in a general way" before writing his letter, when he heard about the dam he drove out to the river with his wife to "look at the location more closely." Robbins then drafted a letter to Durham mayor Wense Grabarek to encourage the city to abandon its plans for a lake. Both Robbins and his wife felt "that to change the contours and character of that sector would be detrimental to the whole overall beauty of the entire area." Robbins "believe[d] that by retaining the Eno in its present state, you would be maintaining the beauty of the area, not just for the residents, but the academic and professional people who are for a nice place to come and live." As a visiting professor, Robbins considered the Research Triangle "one of the most attractive areas in the South," and counted the Eno among the amenities that made it a special place, attractive to a class of people who might contribute to the area's economic and cultural improvement.[31]

Robbins was not alone in his romantic reasoning for why the Eno was such a vital part of the character of Durham. Mrs. R.J. Roberts, from nearby Creedmoor, North Carolina, wrote to the Nygards in 1969 thanking them for leading efforts to protect the

[31] Robbins, "Letter to Mayor Grabarek" Feb 11th, 1967. Series 1 Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

Eno. Roberts also found the Eno's natural state to be a reason for civic pride, but where Robbins counted the Eno as an attraction, Roberts defended against an impending ecological apocalypse encroaching development created a "world of concrete and steel where trees no longer dot the landscape."[32] Ironically, Creedmoor was close to the site of the "Falls of the Neuse" reservoir created for the municipal water supply needs of Raleigh. Roberts drew connections between urbanization and the decline in the average citizen's care for the natural world, placing concrete, buildings, highways, and reservoirs in the same category. Drawing on an increasingly widespread understanding of an ecological ethic, Roberts viewed the reservoir as more than environmentally unwise; she saw it as ecologically unjust. The needs of the city should not supplant the right of natural areas to stay natural, she reasoned, and she blamed urban dwellers, casting them as fundamentally out of touch with the natural systems that sustain life. "Many people," she wrote, "having lived their lives along city sidewalks, do not see or understand the link between man and his natural environment."[33] For Roberts, the reservoirs on the Eno, at New Hope, and elsewhere were a clear sign that city dwellers were imposing their will on the countryside with tragic ecological results.[34]

The threatened Eno, if saved, appeared as a possible remedy to the sort of environmental disaster scenario Robbins and Roberts feared. According to these local citizens, the threats to the river, whether damming or development, were symptoms of a society with its priorities tragically out of order. The Eno River Association touted the river's natural state as a cure to these ills if only Durham's citizens would visit the river's

[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Prominent works detailing the role of cities in shaping their hinterland include William Cronon's history of Chicago and the "making of the West," *Nature's Metropolis,* and Richard White's history of the Columbia River *The Organic Machine.*

banks and be restored by its natural beauty.[35] Both authors also saw the fight in Durham as part of a larger battle to protect natural places and Roberts even explicitly compared the attempts to save the Eno to national stories like the Grand Canyon and efforts to save the redwood forests.[36] In many ways these two advocates were examples of how the environmental movement unfolded in communities throughout the nation.

This comparison to nationally recognized places was not mere hyperbole and some advocates for the protection of the Eno invoked the river's unique natural characteristics to make the argument that it was regionally significant and should receive government attention to permanently protect its banks. Fred Beyer, a Program Developer at the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction wrote in January of 1971 to Thomas Ellis, Superintendent for the State Parks system, encouraging the inclusion of sections of the Eno River on the grounds that he "consider[ed] [it] to be one of the rare strips of near wilderness left in the Piedmont." He further explained that the geology of the area was exceptional and "by virtue of its gorge-like character, the river valley provides a unique protective habitat for the flora and fauna of the region." The flora and fauna were unique, particularly because the gorge sections offered a combination of an unusual ecological niche and also discouraged the interference of humans interested in utilizing the river banks, ensuring the area's relative protection for hundreds of years. Finally, Beyer highlighted what both Roberts and Robbins emphasized, the proximity of

[35] The purported restorative effects of nature spawned an eco-tourism industry, which often had an adverse affect on the land. Martha Honey, *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise?* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1999)

[36] Roberts, "Letter to M. Nygard in support" May 7th, 1969, Series 1 Folder 22; Robbins, "Letter to Mayor Grabarek" Feb 11th, 1967. Series 1 Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection. Similar arguments appear in Steven Noll's examination of the cross-Florida barge canal, which ultimately became a greenway and nature trail, see Steven Noll and David Tegeder, *Ditch of Dreams: The Cross Florida Barge Canal and the Struggle for Florida's Future.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2009).

this relatively untouched and unique river to major population centers and the contextual attractiveness of the stream in light of its location. As a program developer for the Department of Public Instruction, Beyer encouraged the protection of the river because "the stream's locale makes it easily accessible for students both as individuals and in guided classes." He closed his letter by reaffirming his main points and adding he, "hope[d] you will find it possible to preserve this area so it may serve as a classroom for future generations."[37] These letters of support reflect the serious threats the Eno faced for nearly a decade and offer a window into the range of reasons people supported the environmental movement. The reasons offered for protecting the river in these letters also outlined the contours of the environmental movement in a particular community.

The timing of events and the organizational strategies, language, and legal challenges the Eno River Association utilized reflected how the fight to save the Eno unfolded even as the environmental movement gained support and began offering conservationists new options for protecting sites beyond the national parks and forests. When Holger and Margaret Nygard moved into their house near the Eno in 1963, the Army Corps of Engineers already planned for a dam and Durham County expected little resistance. When the city began moving to acquire the land necessary for damming in 1965, the Nygards organized their hiking trips and a public awareness campaign, following many other environmental crusaders.[38] From 1966, when they established the Eno River Association to 1968, the Nygards engaged in a continuous public relations campaign and with the filing of various legal challenges to the lake and the prospect of a

[37] Fred Beyer, "Letter to Thomas C. Ellis" January 4th, 1971. Series 1 Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[38] Margaret Nygard, "Letter to Roy Taylor" Nov 17th, 1970. Series 1 Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection. Other environmentalists used methods like organized hikes and massive public awareness campaigns. See Noll and Tegeder, *Ditch of Dreams.*

large commercial development on the Eno's banks in 1970, the Eno River Association experienced its major victories. While the efforts of Nygard and the interest of her fellow Durham citizens ultimately turned the city's plans away from damming the river, the sea change in attitudes towards the project also reflected the gains of the national environmental movement. Newly attuned to ecological concerns, average Durham citizens supported Nygard's fight against the city and joined her campaign to create a protected corridor along the Eno.

It is best to view the Eno River fight as an intersection of personal efforts and changes in national attitudes. Without the leadership and tireless efforts of Margaret Nygard, the ERA might not exist, yet Nygard enjoyed the environmental movement's public profile and benefitted from its political success. Crucially, the environmental movement's success offered Nygard new legal and bureaucratic options for stopping the city's plans although Nygard herself seemed more concerned about her local community than federal legislation. New agencies like the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the Environmental Protection Agency featured prominently in Nygard's plans for halting the dam project, and while the grassroots organization of hikes and canoe trips created the public engagement that was ultimately necessary to convince the city planners to drop the plan, it was the immediate legal challenge that actually delayed the dam project. This relationship between grassroots organizations and national legislation existed in an atmosphere where the environmental movement both influenced the federal government to action and was influenced by recently passed legislation.

In a 1970 letter to George Romney, then Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Nygard brought his attention to the 1968 application for a grant to develop

the dam and reservoir as "open-space." The letter to Romney was "written to invoke the Environmental Policy Act and the federal guidelines for implementation," legislation and environmental protections that did not exist even a few months earlier. In her letter to Romney, Nygard also outlines the local, regional, and state support the Eno enjoyed. Reading her letter, it would be impossible to overemphasize the importance of national environmental legislation to the successful defense of the Eno River. Nygard observed that "at the time of the [HUD] grant in 1968 no environmental impact statement was required. And in 1968 there were no provisions for the preservation of scenic rivers, either at the national or state level. Until 1970 few legislative or legal measures existed for environmental protection, but today the HUD grant request from the City of Durham is made under different protective circumstances and in a context of increased concern for environmental quality." [39]

The legal challenges halted progress on the dam and bought time for the Eno River Association to propose other options for the valley's utilization. Simultaneous with the efforts to halt the damming of the river, the state of North Carolina proposed creating more nature recreation areas near urban centers. The proposed increase in parklands and nature recreation included plans to repurpose William B. Umstead Park in Wake County, as well as adding new acreage throughout the state.[40] Combining state support with the timely help of the Nature Conservancy, particularly in 1971-1972, the creation of Eno

[39] Draft of letter to George Romney Series 1, Folder 23, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection. Nygard was correct that at the time of the HUD grant application Wild and Scenic River legislation did not exist, but in October of 1968 it passed Congress and Lyndon Johnson signed the bill into law. The National Wild and Scenic Rivers System was created by Congress in 1968 (Public Law 90-542; 16 U.S.C. 1271 et seq.) to preserve certain rivers with outstanding natural, cultural, and recreational values in a free-flowing condition for the enjoyment of present and future generations.
[40] William B Umstead Park, located on the outskirts of Raleigh, was considered for a dramatic redevelopment until public outrage halted these plans. North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development. Unprocessed files, State Archives of North Carolina.

River State Park on the border of Orange and Durham counties marked a turning point in the battle to protect the river valley.[41] The fight continued to preserve other areas of the river, but the establishment of the state park provided much needed institutional validation of the work the Eno River Association was doing.[42]

Eno River State Park did not represent the end of Nygard's fight, however. Part of the drawn-out concern over the possible marring of the Eno River stemmed from continuing duplicitous messages coming from City of Durham planners. Where the state government pledged support to the Eno River Association, the city government remained immune to the public outcry and proceeded with their plans to impound the river. Referencing the outstanding application for a HUD grant the city of Durham intended to use for acquiring land along the Eno in preparation for the lake, Nygard questioned the environmental implications of the City Council's plans. Under the HUD grant the the land's classification was as "open space use," which could include flooding the valley even if the purpose of the lake was primarily to provide a city water supply, as long as that lake was part of a broader public recreation plan. For Nygard this technicality violated the *spirit* of the HUD grant. Even more egregious, the city planned to build a four-lane highway through the northern section of the purchased land, both immediately destroying the beauty of the area and opening the lands outside the HUD grant's proposal to further development.

Nygard also referenced the plight of other regional rivers in her pleas before City Hall, basing her argument on the sheer number of reservoirs planned for the North

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[41] Margaret Nygard, "Letter to the Editor" undated late 1970. Series 1 Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[42] "Eno R. Assn" notes in UNC-CH Series 1 Folder 18. Margaret Nygard, "West Point Mill Area History" Series 1 Folder 18, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

Carolina Piedmont in the 1950s and 60s. Indeed, free-flowing rivers in the Triangle area were rapidly disappearing. Regional planners projected the damming of The Neuse at that river's fall line at New Hope as another reservoir to supply water for the growing Triangle Region, and a dam on the Haw River south of Chapel Hill. Once these reservoirs filled and joined the public infrastructure network the proposed Eno reservoir would be just one of many lakes. The existing reservoir at Lake Michie met Durham's water supply needs admirably and Nygard argued that instead of lakes what the Durham area needed was a "real" river, one that was unfettered by dams and uncluttered by development.[43]

At the heart of the disagreement between Nygard and the City of Durham were different perspectives on nature and outdoor recreation. The Durham City HUD application made clear mention of the plans for a lake, for public recreation and "preserving the ground water supply."[44] The city emphasized the importance of the natural features, but throughout all the documents related to this early proposal the plans for a lake appeared without fail. For the city, the lake could serve "nature recreation" purposes while also providing a stable water supply. For Nygard, damming the river effectively erased the natural features that made the Eno such a valuable part of Durham's appeal. In its designs for a lake on the Eno, however, Durham faced resistance beyond the Eno River Association as the city's plans for a reservoir became clear. At the Federal level, Association efforts to block the possibility of the dam met with great success, with the area director for the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation indicating that any

[43] "Notes read at City Hall, March '69" Series 1 Folder 23, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[44] William A. Clark "Open-Space Application" December 3rd, 1968 Series 1 Folder 23 in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

sort of flooding of the Eno would require repayment of the HUD grant money whether the proposed lake became part of a park or not.[45] Ultimately, the wording of the city's contract for land acquisition kept a strictly hamstrung provision for the possibility of a lake once "all alternative methods for satisfying the needs for a reservoir had been taken."[46]

Nygard saw an opening in this wording and sought to demonstrate alternative methods for acquiring water in addition to proving the environmental damage the flooding would cause the Eno River valley. While Nygard worked to prevent the reservoir, the legislative victories of the national environmental movement opened new possibilities and strategies for conservationists, as mentioned in Nygard's letter to Romney. Although the Eno River State Park protected thousands of acres and the Nature Conservancy helped the ERA with acquisition of tracts along the river, newly passed legal mechanisms made an impact on the portions of the river outside the state park. Combining her public relations campaign with the filing of legal challenges, Nygard invoked the environmental impact assessments outlined in the National Environmental Policy Act passed in 1970 to block the dam, one of the first uses of the new environmental laws in North Carolina and among the earliest nationwide.[47]

As part of the Eno River Association's efforts to fight the damming, Margaret Nygard appeared at City Hall in March 1969 and read a statement that publicly

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[45] Correspondence with B. Everett Jordan, Marianne Polk, etc 1972 Series 1 Folder 23 in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

[46] R.B. Barnwell, "Letter in response to Margaret Nygard" Series 1 Folder 24 in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection. Durham City officials also conceded defeat when it became apparent that a nearby quarry would be available for "emergency" use by the late 1990s or early 2000s.

[47] Nygard wrote formal letters to George Romney requesting an environmental impact assessment in 1972. Draft of letter to George Romney Series 1, Folder 23 in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

questioned the true motives of the Durham City government. She asked "is the purchase of this land in the name of open spaces for a park? Is not primarily for *a reservoir and thoroughfare* [original emphasis]?"[48] In a deft move of political theater, Nygard cast the money proposed for the "open space use" acquisition as not only failing to safeguard the Eno, but argued the council would be "furnishing the means for purchasing land along the Eno through which this *road* will pass. Grant this money and I fear you will be safeguarding the *thoroughfare*. Do not be misled into thinking that you are safeguarding or protecting or preserving the Eno. You will be helping to destroy it."[49] This distinction between recreation, development, and ecological preservation served as the cornerstone of Nygard's arguments for saving the river. Like Aldo Leopold decades before, Nygard asserted the river had a right to exist and should not be dammed, even if the damming created "recreation" opportunities.

Nygard wrote letters to garner support from prominent North Carolina legislators in an effort to both encourage a state park and stop the dam. The contention of the Eno River Association was that the use of HUD money to flood the valley necessitated an environmental impact statement, and that the impact of the planned reservoir on the Eno would be so catastrophic and the benefits of such a reservoir so meager that the dam construction should not commence.[50] Writing to her own congressman, Nick Galifianakis, as well as the more powerful and connected congressman Roy Taylor, Nygard outlined the threats to the river and encouraged instead a "green crescent" of

[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Correspondence with B. Everett Jordan, Marianne Polk, etc 1972 Series 1 Folder 23 in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

parklands that would stretch from Hillsborough in the west to Raleigh in the East.[51] The green crescent idea came at a time when the relationship of urban "nature" parks to their cities was under review by North Carolina state officials. In these letters, Nygard drew connections between the proposed Falls of the Neuse Reservoir (which also alleviated some of the concerns about a municipal water supply) as a State Recreation Area and the Eno River as a proposed greenway and wilderness park. Nygard also referenced the "Wild and Scenic River" program that would permanently protect the Eno from development, although significant portions of the river flowed through already-developed land and the Department of Interior rejected these applications on the basis of the river's location in a developed urban area.[52]

Despite widespread recognition that the Eno was a significant place worthy of protection by 1970, many within the Eno River Association feared their efforts were too little too late. In 1970, no lands were actually set aside for a park and the lake was still officially planned for construction, although temporarily on hold. By the end of 1969, the dam project faced significant popular resistance in addition to legal challenges brought by the Eno River Association, but the goal of cancellation remained elusive. With the passage of significant national legislation and the completion of several Eno

[51] This is still technically the goal of the Eno River Association, although they are close to completing this goal. Their organizational structure has changed drastically since the events chronicled here. The inspiration for this for this sort of contiguous parkland seems to come from the Eno River itself, which flows through two of the main municipalities of the Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill or "Triangle" metropolitan area. As an area that experienced phenomenal growth, Nygard correctly predicted the need for greenspace in this heavily populated region.

[52] Margaret Nygard, "Letter to Dr. W.L. Turner, Director of N.C. State Department of Administration" February 14th, 1972. Series 1 Folder 18; William A. Clark "Open-Space Application" December 3rd, 1968 Series 1 Folder 23; R.B. Barnwell, "Letter in response to Margaret Nygard" Series 1 Folder 24, all in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection. Nygard seemed to have considered the Wild and Scenic River Program after hearing about two rivers in North Carolina that were suitable for listing. These rivers, in extreme southeast North Carolina, flow through rural land with little development and could be considered truly "wild," having no obstructions or major changes to their flow.

River land donations, 1970 was a year of great success for the river's allies.[53] Still, a note from Charlotte Franklin to Margaret Nygard in early 1971 referenced the "hopeful" news articles in the Durham Herald-Sun while simultaneously voicing concerns. Franklin was a dues-paying member of the Eno River Association and understandably concerned about the possibility that the river would still face development or damming, and feared that while "things are beginning to happen... The question [was] whether they [would] happen in time."[54]

The situation facing the Eno River Association was one of a conservation infrastructure faltering under the demands of an increasingly engaged citizenry. This infrastructure included government bureaucracies like the National Park Service, various State Park agencies, or the Forest Service dedicated to managing "natural" landscapes. Private individuals who desired permanent protection for particular tracts of land either set up trusts with substantial endowments or attempted to interest the government in acquiring the lands to permanently remove them from the market. Management of the properties depended on which agency held the land, and once the private properties entered the public domain previous owners had no control over them. As demonstrated in earlier chapters, the process for both acquiring and developing public properties for visitors often took decades, which failed to address the immediacy of projects like saving the Eno River.

The same sense of urgency in Durham characterized the larger environmental movement. Some of the most iconic battles over preservation occurred at Hetch Hetchy

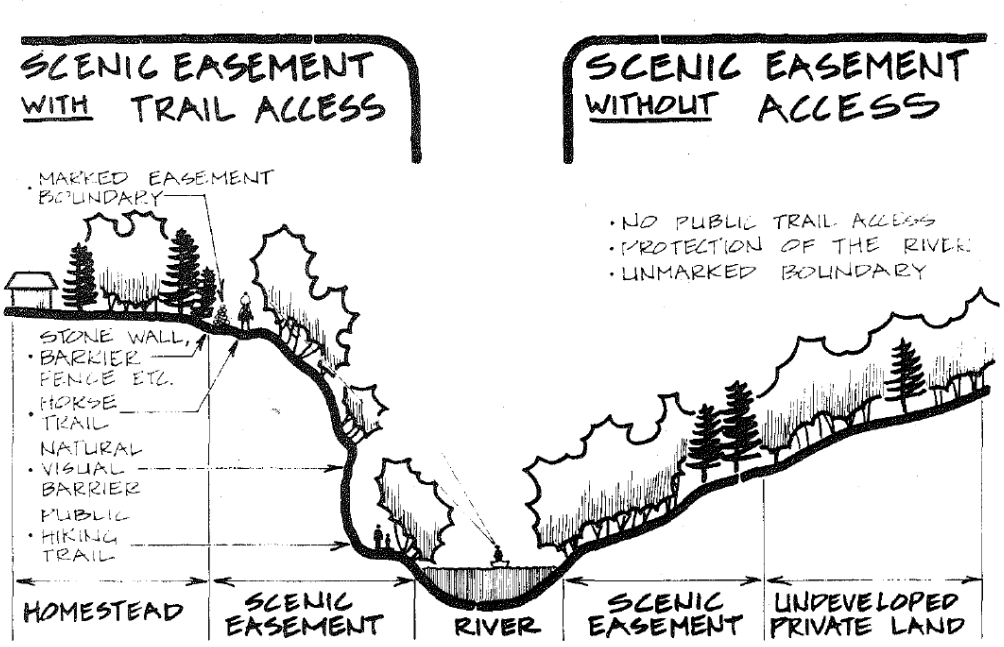
[53] The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 was the most important national legislation, but the local victories were equally important. Charlotte Franklin, "Letter to Margaret Nygard, Undated 1971." Series 1 Folder 22. in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[54] Charlotte Franklin, "Letter to Margaret Nygard, Undated 1971." Series 1 Folder 22. in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

and Dinosaur National Monument and included battles over damming areas of national significance. While the Eno River was not of national significance (despite Nygard's protests), the parallels and the arguments advocates made are eerily similar. "Saving Places" was the most common environmental call to action in the 1960s, and reflected the understanding that "nature" was generally under threat. Point source pollution, threats to dam significant areas, and endangered species were immediate concerns. Unlike climate change, persistence of chemicals in the soil, or misuse of the planet's resources, the predominant ecological crusades of the 1960s had clear enemies, identifiable objectives, and established plans of action. In this way, the Eno River Association fit neatly with the larger environmental movement and arguments over how to treat the Eno followed the contours of larger national debates.

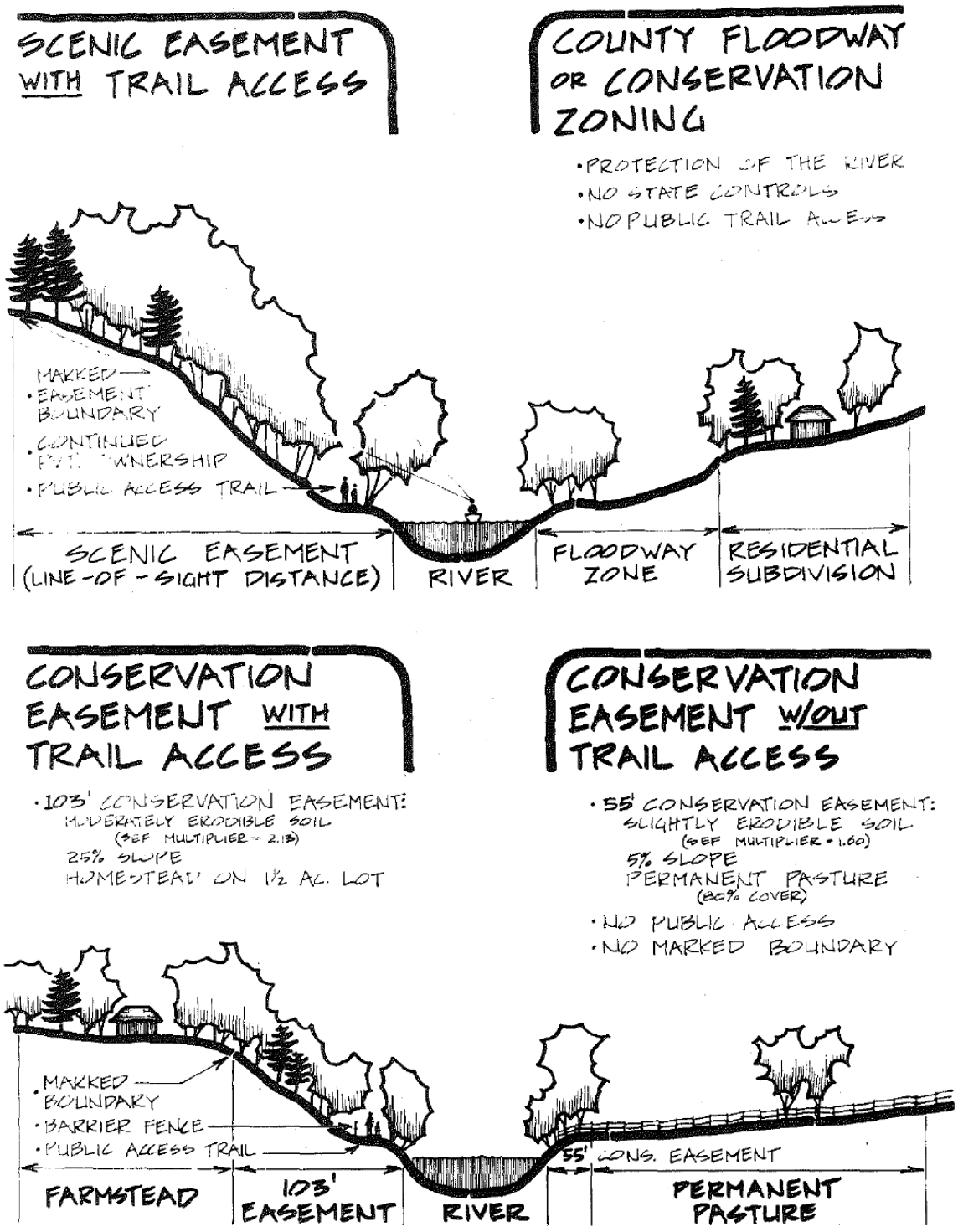
The clear objectives of the 1960s also fostered creative thinking in addressing complex environmental issues. One of the most significant innovations was an addition of conservation to the well-established practice of placing easements on private land. According to The Nature Conservancy, New London, Connecticut, used the first conservation easement to introduce the nation to the prospect of protecting private land with restrictions, or easements, in 1961.[55] Placed on the deed and limiting certain types of developments, conservation easements typically involve either the exchange of money or the promise of reduced tax burdens on the property, in addition to agreeing to allow the entity holding the easement to monitor and enforce the restrictions on the deed. In practice, easements are a way for private landowners to retain title to their property and permanently restrict its development. This ensures that future uses of the land conform to

[55] The Nature Conservancy has an excellent infographic to explore the history of conservation easements. http://www.nature.org/about-us/private-lands-conservation/conservation-easements/conservation-easements-101.pdf, accessed 2/17/2015.

their wishes to conserve the property's natural features. Large organizations such as The Nature Conservancy or regional land trusts such as the Triangle Land Conservancy and the North Carolina Coastal Land Trust hold the easements on acreage while the landowner retains ownership. Since the first easements appeared in the 1960s, their popularity grew exponentially in the late 1970s and 1980s as federal and state governments reduced expenditures for land acquisition or actively sought to reverse conservation policies.[56]



[56] For an excellent introduction to the explosive growth in conservation easements, see Sally K. Fairfax, et al. *Buying Nature: The Limits of Land Acquisition as a Conservation Strategy, 1780-2004.* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005). Of particular note are chapters 6 and 7, pg 133-202. See also, Thomas Barrett and Putnam Livermore, *The Conservation Easement in California* (Washington, DC: Island Press, published on behalf of the Trust for Public Land, 1983); For a history of the Nature Conservancy, see Bill Birchard, *Nature's Keepers* and Richard Brewer, *Conservancy: The Land Trust Movement in America.*



These graphics explaining conservation easements appeared in "Eno River State Park Master Plan Alternatives," published by the North Carolina Department of Natural and Economic Resources, Division of Parks and Recreation. August 1975. Uncategorized Papers. State Parks and Recreation. Offsite Storage. NC State Archives.

These innovations springing from the wider environmental movement came at a crucial time for Margaret Nygard. The years 1970-1973 were a tense time for the Eno River Association despite their progress in organizing the citizenry and raising awareness. In a letter Nygard drafted to the editor of the Durham Herald, she invoked Governor Scott's declaration that 1970 was the "year of the environment." She agreed there was "limited success," but there was a "disquieting phenomenon on the environmental front in Durham during 1970," and that was the perceived " gap between the planners and the officials."[57] At the very time the state government encouraged new park development and the national focus on the environment gave rise to the very first Earth Day, Nygard perceived the Durham City government as catering to industry and failing to uphold the progress she saw elsewhere in the nation.[58]

Nygard's efforts received help from divisions within the city government, however. Reflecting on the state's recreation objectives, themselves influenced by the guidance of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Nygard questioned the differences between the planner's advisement and the city official's actions. "Last January the City Administration and the City Planners recommended the implementation of the original park plan for the Guess to Roxboro road park on the Eno," Nygard pointed out, but "this recommendation was rejected by the City Council to conciliate Ervin Industries."[59] While the city planners and the administration sought to create parkland, the City Council

[57] Margaret Nygard, "Letter to the Editor" undated late 1970. Series 1, Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[58] Nygard's criticisms of Durham City seem ironic considering that city's proactive stance on civil rights and progressive approach to integration.
[59] Margaret Nygard, "Letter to the Editor" undated late 1970. Series 1 Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection. Ervin Industries had no connection to Senator Sam Ervin, who represented North Carolina in the US Senate with distinction during the Watergate controversy. For the definitive work on Sam Ervin, see Karl Campbell, *Senator Sam Ervin, Last of the Founding Fathers,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

rejected their efforts, demonstrating a rift in the government's previously united front. Nygard closed the letter with an appeal to the power of the electorate and her faith in the will of the people to protect the Eno by electing city officials who "[would] not exploit the environment, and [would] back the planners our taxes pay for." Again, Nygard identified the division between the elected officials who favored a reservoir and the city planners who favored the creation of a city park. One telling sentence, scratched out and not included in the final draft of the letter, called for "disinterested" officials who would not be swayed by large economic interests like Ervin Industries.[60]

Particularly threatening to the Eno River Association's plans for the river was a proposed development by Ervin Industries. Citing recommendations by officials in the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Nygard also encouraged congressmen Roy Taylor and Nick Galifianakis to exert pressure on the City of Durham to stand up to Ervin Industries, a local developer with designs on a lower portion of the river. As the Eno River Association enjoyed success with halting Durham City's plans, the fight against Ervin Industries represented a new chapter in the Eno River's saga. The city council in Durham noticed the increasing swell of support for protecting the Eno and halting the planned reservoir. The letters to the editor, public demonstrations, and appeals to city politicians like Mayor Grabarek combined with legal challenges like environmental impact statements to delay the process and cast doubt on the wisdom of the dam, effectively undermining the project from two directions.

As a larger private development company, Ervin Industries represented a new challenge to the protection of the river and the first time the Eno River Association faced

[60] Margaret Nygard, "Draft Letter to the Editor" undated late 1970. Series 1 Folder 22, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

a large corporation that already owned substantial acreage along the river's banks. Whereas the Durham city council might be persuaded that the flooding of the Eno would be detrimental to the overall image of the city and was incompatible with the citizenry's wishes, Ervin Industries owned the property and had a legal right to dispose of it as they wished. The particular property at issue was a 16-acre tract of greater *historic* than ecological significance. The location of the former West Point community, including a mill and several other buildings from the 1800s, this 16 acres was part of an area already proposed as a Durham city park before Ervin Industries purchased the land in 1970. Nygard viewed the rejection of the original plans for the park at West Point as a clear sign Ervin Industries had swayed city officials with the power of promised tax dollars.

Nygard's linkage between the City Council's previous failures to protect the river and their interest in Ervin Industries' plans to develop a major subdivision and shopping plaza struck a nerve with local politicians. Nonetheless it was the legal challenge to the planned development that actually stopped progress on Ervin Industries' strip mall, again illustrating the power of new legal mechanisms in protecting critical areas. Nygard's use of environmental impact statements stalled and stymied the reservoir, and a new organization formed that planned to use the historical significance of the West Point Mill area Ervin proposed for development as the means of protecting the tract. Friends of West Point, although affiliated with the Eno River Association and sharing many prominent executive members, dedicated its efforts to protecting the 16 acre tract and rehabilitating the buildings for their historical value—and *human* history—rather than an ecological motivation like those of the Eno River Association. In the meantime, the Eno

River Association continued its work with The Nature Conservancy to secure donations and easements on properties upriver.

While employing stalling tactics and calling for an environmental impact assessment, members of the Eno River Association, including Nygard, also researched the West Point area to document the historic nature of the property and bolster their arguments for a city park at Roxboro Road. Emphasizing the significance of the historic West Point Community and additionally serving as a much-needed recreation area in an urban section of the city, the West Point on the Eno River offered an eastern counterpart for the state park that anchored the corridor of protection Nygard proposed. With the Eno River Association's legal challenges on the basis of the HUD grant application holding up progress on either damming or developing the river, the Association made some compelling discoveries while researching the West Point area's history.[61]

The founding of a mill at West Point came from a 1778 petition for a public grist mill to server the area's farmer. The state selected the West Point site and the area also grew as the result of Shoemaker's Ford on almost exactly the same route followed by the modern Roxboro Road. The convenient mill location on this transportation route encouraged farmers from the surrounding area to use the mill and established the area as a centerpiece of the farming community. The area's basic layout was in place by 1786, with the mill, mill owner's house, and several outbuildings in existence by that time. Remarkably, the mill remained in operation until 1942, when the dam and trace collapsed, and both the mill and house remained linked by ownership and function. At its greatest, the population of the immediate area included approximately 300 families and

[61] Margaret Nygard, "West Point Mill Area History" Series 1 Folder 18, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

West Point served as the centerpiece of the larger farming community (Durham was not incorporated until well after the Civil War) with a blacksmith, post office, cotton gin, and general merchandise stores. In the 1880s, as Durham Station grew in tobacco manufacturing and as a railroad hub, the modern city gradually absorbed the smaller West Point community, although the 17 acre mill tract remained undeveloped.[62]

Perhaps most important to the protection of the Eno, the discovery of this mill site's historical significance to the Durham area provided arguments against developing the area into a strip mall. Nygard refused to mince words in her assessment of the site's value, or in her condemnation of the city and Ervin Industries, writing that "despite vandalism at the house and mill and irresponsible stewardship on the part of both Ervin Industries and the City of Durham, the old farm house and the old mill are capable of restoration and could provide for the people of Durham, starved for history by ignorant or unimaginative development, a genuine and working reminder of their pioneering past and of the many mills along the Eno."[63] Despite her anger towards Ervin Industries and the City of Durham, she also knew that the site was important as an interpretive center for contemplating the changes modern society wrought on the landscape. Reflecting her larger desire for protecting the entire Eno Valley from Hillsborough to Raleigh, Nygard observed that "graphically spelled out in the history of this section of land at Roxboro Road is the classic succession story of the Carolina Piedmont." Whatever the historic significance of the West Point site, Nygard still focused on the environment, asserting

[62] Margaret Nygard, "Letter to Dr. W.L. Turner, Director of N.C. State Department of Administration" February 14th, 1972. Series 1 Folder 18. in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[63] Ibid.

that to preserve the mill and the farm environs proper to it would give grounds for reflection in this *urbanizing yet environmentally conscious age* (author's emphasis)."[64]

Nygard's use of the historically significant mill to further the protection of the Eno also demonstrated an increasingly common symbiosis between the environmental movement and historic preservation. West Point's historical significance served Nygard's purpose of protecting land along the Eno, and while she started her campaign for the Eno with the intention of protecting the environment, she used historic associations to advance the larger goal of protecting the river. The West Point On the Eno Park also represented a different strategic approach from Nygard's attempts to bring the rest of the Eno Valley under permanent protection. For one, the city already owned the property in question. Secondly, the acreage was intended as a park as early as 1968, and the original plans incorporated the area's historical significance into the master planning for the park, which was still on file with Durham planners. Finally, the West Point Park spawned its own organization, separate and distinct from the Eno River Association (although some individuals served both groups), called the Friends of West Point, Inc. Organized in 1975, the Friends of West Point acted as "an advisory group to the City of Durham for the development and operation of a forty-acre public park along the Eno River at what was once known as the West Point Community and to facilitate the ability of groups and individuals to contribute to the establishment of the park…"[65]

Especially considered in light of other examples of local conservation groups, the Eno River Association's members joined other local organizations and encouraged their

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[64] Ibid.

[65] This quote is found at the bottom of the Friends of West Point letterhead, which is featured in much of the correspondence in Series 1, Folder 18; it is also in the copies of official documents regarding the beginnings of the Friends of West Point, also in Folder 18, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.

growth, fostering a statewide conservation network that worked together for a common good. This branching out is important as a means of growing the reach of the original group of concerned citizens and also demonstrates the many overlapping motivations behind these advocacy groups. Lessons learned in the Eno River Association transferred to the newer groups, while the new leaders and purpose often energized these groups' members. The various advocacy groups also benefitted from a shared membership base, effectively inflating their numbers. In this way, groups with a slightly different purpose but the same overall goal combined into a coalition to save the Eno from development along its entire course.[66]

This growth of other advocacy groups allied with the ERA also reflected maturation in the ways Nygard appealed to government and business leaders as she attempted to protect land and Friends of West Point represented a middle ground organization between the City of Durham and some of the more environmentally radical members of the Eno River Association. The neighborhoods around West Point were also racially, economically, and politically mixed, which was represented in the membership of Friends of West Point. Members represented this diversity, and half of the board consisted of city officials and half were representatives of various civic and conservation groups with an interest in the area. Collaboration held many benefits, and reflecting the difficulties she faced as the "voice in the wilderness" and leader of the Eno River

[66] According to Margaret Nygard, the founding members of the Friends of West Point came from the Eno River Association, the Council of Garden Clubs, the Junior League of Durham, and a number of Durham architects. Among the roll calls listed in the minutes of the Friends of West Point often half of the board members present also served on the Eno River Association, in total approximately 7-12 board members at any given meeting. It is important to note that these are members of the board who held leadership positions and therefore were more engaged in the process. Average citizens often (understandably) conflated the West Point on the Eno Park with the larger efforts to protect the Eno. Jean Anderson and Margaret Nygard's investigations into the history of the area remain on the ERA's website for the West Point on the Eno park. http://www.enoriver.org/what-we-protect/parks/west-point-on-the-eno/ accessed 3/2/2015.

Association, in Nygard's own words, "after 12 years of effort this cooperative endeavor [was] marvelously successful."[67] Ervin Industries backed down under the threat of another environmental impact assessment and the increasingly negative publicity the development of the West Point area generated. The city government returned to the original plan calling for the restoration of the West Point mill and the incorporation of the area in to the city's parks infrastructure. Once formed, West Point on the Eno Park lay at a crossroads of white, black, and mixed neighborhoods and served as an urban park that brought the feel of historic rural North Carolina to Durham residents, "[recalling] the 200 years of progression from rural to industrial which has changed the face of the North Carolina Piedmont."[68]

The victory at West Point marked a turning point in the management of the Eno River. Anchored by the Eno River State Park in the west and the West Point on the Eno city park on the east, approximately 20 miles of river frontage were protected. Where state or city parks did not cover the river frontage, many of the river banks entered a conservation infrastructure by the use of conservation easements or private nature preserves which ensured the protection of the river without land passing into public ownership. Many of the properties that entered into conservation easements under the guidance of the Eno River Association were aided in the legal and practical aspects of establishing easements by the Nature Conservancy and later the Triangle Land Conservancy. By the end of the 1980s, the Eno River enjoyed widespread recognition as a community jewel and the main stream from Eno River State Park to West Point on the

[67] Story of West Point, Series 1 Folder 9, in the Margaret Nygard Collection #5232, Southern Historical Collection.
[68] Ibid. The most recent census maps for Durham show that the north of the city is racially diverse, particularly when compared to other Triangle area cities. These maps are available at http://tigerweb.geo.census.gov/datamapper/map.html, accessed 3/2/2015.

Eno City Park was protected and carefully managed. With public support, government attention, and private initiative, the Eno enjoyed a level of protection unrivalled in its history. Largely responsible for the outcome, Margaret Nygard let others take the help after 20 years of giving her best efforts towards protecting the river, although she remained a fixture at the Association until her death in 1995.

Even before her passing, the Eno River Association changed in many ways. Perhaps one of the positive reasons for the organization to change was The Eno River Association's success in meeting many of its initial goals. By the 1980s, the river enjoyed a high profile in Durham and protection from both regional and national organizations, including strong relationships with the Nature Conservancy and the North Carolina Department of Environment and Natural Resources. The Eno River Association also won most of the early battles by easily galvanizing public support around key issues like dams or mill buildings. In this way, the "easy" victories already came in the 1960s and 70s, effectively anchoring the Eno with Durham's West Point on the Eno and Eno River State Park, whereas the smaller parcels connecting the two main parks conservation required tedious legal negotiations that failed to capture the public's imagination. The Eno River Association harnessed the unused energy to focus public attention on other environmental issues affecting the river's basin. This change in the Eno River Association mirrored changes in the broader environmental movement, as many of the early victories against the most egregious polluters left the environmental movement fragmented in its search for direction.[69]

[69] This fragmentation is well documented in works like Samuel Hays, *A History of Environmental Politics Since 1945* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000).

In this light, this story offers some interesting insights into the broader changes in the environmental movement and American attitudes towards protecting properties worthy of conservation. At the Eno River where state or city parks did not cover the river frontage, conservation easements or private nature preserves ensured the protection of the river without land passing into public ownership. Many properties entered into a new hybrid conservation infrastructure with the guidance of the Eno River Association and aided by the Nature Conservancy, again highlighting the importance of that organization's future role in conservation efforts throughout the state.

The fight to protect the Eno River cast into sharp relief some of the larger national battles over the identity of the environmental movement. NGOs, industry, local and federal government, and ultimately the crucial contributions of private actors combined to create a modern conservation infrastructure that provided a glimpse into the future of the environmental movement. No longer did city governments single-handedly create park systems from scratch, and private citizens interested in conservation could now rely on the expertise and legal acumen of organizations to guide the process of writing conservation easements or donating land to public trusts. The increasing array of options also meant large private landowners could dictate the future of their property even after their death. Representing this other path to a protected place, Ichauway Plantation in southwestern Georgia transitioned from a private quail hunting plantation in the early twentieth century to an ecological research station during the 1980s, and the motivations and implications of its transition hold clues to the maturation of the environmental movement.

Robert W. Woodruff, the president of Coca-Cola from 1923-1939 and chairman of the board until 1955, quietly acquired the Baker County property from several landowners in the 1920s through purchases intended to create a contiguous "plantation" suitable for quail hunting and rural leisure activities.[70] As a broader regional phenomenon, hunting plantations were generally a product of northern capital and low prices for rural southern land. Quail were a common quarry on these plantations, but coastal properties sported duck hunting and some areas in the mountains still offered bear hunts well into the twentieth century.[71] As a part of a broader quail hunting culture, Ichauway was representative of land management in southwest Georgia and the Florida panhandle.[72] While some of the properties originally were working antebellum staple crop plantations, most hunting "plantations" only came into existence with the purposeful acquisition of land by businessmen interested in owning southern hunting properties for recreation.[73]

Northern businessmen owned many of these plantations and generally remained absent during the hottest months, only coming to the land in winter for hunting purposes. Some hunting plantations were owned by native southerners, including Ichauway,

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[70] "Joseph W. Jones Ecological Research Center General Description," Jones Papers MSS1003 box 48 folder 1, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University. Also note the use of the word "plantation" in Ichauway's name does not imply any historical association with antebellum cotton agriculture, nor a contiguous slaveholding plantation existing on the property Woodruff assembled. Ichauway was assembled in the twentieth century.

[71] Robert B. Cuthbert and Stephen G. Hoffius, eds. *Northern Money, Southern Land: The Lowcountry Plantation Sketches of Chlotilde R. Martin* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009); for the southern quail hunting plantations, Robert L. Crawford and William R. Brueckheimer, *The Legacy of a Red Hills Hunting Plantation: Tall Timbers Research Station and Land Conservancy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012); For the bear hunt, Tim Silver, *Mt. Mitchell and the Black Mountains: An Environmental History of the Highest Peaks in Eastern America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) 100-103.

[72] Robert L. Crawford and William R. Brueckheimer, *The Legacy of a Red Hills Hunting Plantation*; Albert Way, *Conserving Southern Longleaf: Herbert Stoddard and the Rise of Ecological Land Management.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011).

[73] Drew Swanson, *Remaking Wormsloe Plantation: The Environmental History of a Lowcountry Landscape* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012).

although the land management principles at most quail plantations followed similar precepts. [74] Quail populations required pine forests alternating with open fields (a perpetuation of the traditional land use patterns of the region), but Ichauway's path to a private preserve represents the remarkable power of a place to impact the humans managing it. As a result of its private recreation atmosphere, Ichauway's path towards a nature preserve represents a distinctly different trajectory than Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park. While rich white men dominated the history of both properties, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park served a public function and Ochs conceived it as a gift to Chattanooga's people. It also offers a different path from contemporary examples, including Margaret Nygard's grassroots campaign to prevent the destruction of the Eno River in Durham, North Carolina. Yet, Ichauway's owner and managers operated in the same atmosphere of growing environmental awareness and, particularly after Woodruff's death, with an interest in serving a public good, albeit with different management outcomes.

Central to the story at Ichauway is the property's owner and the man who directed most of the 20th century land use guidelines. Robert Winship Woodruff, born in Columbus, Georgia in 1889, was the son of a prominent businessman whose father owned interests in coal, ice, steel, banking, and cotton. A poor student and rebellious against his father, R. W. Woodruff worked a handful of blue-collar jobs before joining the White Motor Company as a salesman in 1913. According to one biographic source, his rise was "meteoric," and by 1921 he was vice-president of the company and gaining a reputation as a confident and capable businessman in his own right. While the younger

[74] For an introduction to Southern hunting traditions, see Stuart Marks, *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Southern Community.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Woodruff was expanding the White Motor Company, his father helped several investors in a takeover of the Coca-Cola Company. As president of the company, Woodruff brought the drink maker from financial difficulty and relative obscurity into a period of prosperity and recognition as an American icon.[75]

As Robert W. Woodruff climbed up the ranks to vice-president of White Motor Company, he joined forces with Walter White to purchase the parcels of land in Baker Country, Georgia that eventually became Ichauway. A Georgia native, Woodruff was generally familiar with the area, but his purchase also reflected the increasing economic and social profile of the budding businessman. Amassing approximately 28,000 acres at Ichauway provided a quiet retreat from a hectic business schedule, but also afforded a place for Woodruff to entertain prominent guests. Hosting famous Americans from the powerful echelons of politics and business, Woodruff created an atmosphere of old-fashioned southern hospitality at Ichauway that attracted powerful men, including the likes of Dwight Eisenhower and Atlanta mayor William Hartsfield.[76] By the 1930s, as his management of Coca-Cola turned that company into a powerful American symbol in addition to an economic juggernaut, Woodruff bought out Walter White and became the sole owner of Ichauway, freeing him to manage the property however he saw fit. Ichauways's importance as a "country retreat" grew as Woodruff's personal fortunes continued to rise with his masterful control of Coca-Cola. As Atlanta grew in size and prominence, Woodruff often donated to charities and helped improve the cultural

[75] *Scribner Encyclopedia of American Lives*, vol 1 1981-1985; also Charles Elliott, *"Mr. Anonymous," Robert W. Woodruff of Coca-Cola* (Atlanta: Cherokee, 1982) and Mark Pendergrast, *For God, Country, and Coca-Cola*. (New York: Basic Books; Enlarged 2nd edition , 2000); There is also a recent environmental-corporate history of Coca-Cola, Bartow Elmore, *Citizen Coke: The Making of Coca-Cola Capitalism.* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014).
[76] Charles Elliott, *"Mr. Anonymous"*

offerings of his adopted home town. Ichauway remained his getaway, however, and he took great care in managing it. For the next 50 years, Woodruff's personal interest in the plantation, and the quail it supported, unintentionally protected one of the rarest ecological systems in the southeast.

Located in southwestern Georgia in an area known for its distinctive wiregrass and the large stands of longleaf pine, Ichauway embraces many of the stereotypes about Southern landscapes. Traveling through Ichauway's Baker County in 2012, one is struck by the slow pace of life, the languid rivers, and a general sense of decay that characterizes many rural areas of the American South. Temperatures in the summer are oppressively hot, and winters are mild enough that many afternoons still warrant short sleeves even in February. The feeling of decay nods to a formerly bustling agricultural economy, and the current population figures obscure a history of steady increases in residents until the declines accompanying the Great Depression and postwar mass migrations. Ichauway itself forms the northwest bank of the Flint River and both banks of the Ichauway-Notchaway Creek. Small rectangular agricultural fields interspersed with longleaf pine forests set Ichauway apart from its market-oriented neighbors and their massive center-pivot irrigation systems, reflecting the plantation's long-standing emphasis on shooting quail.

While quail hunting defined the property in many ways, Ichauway's owner and managers took great pains to portray the property as a working plantation for much of the twentieth century and only in the 1980s and 1990s did it transition to a scientific nature preserve operated by a non-profit foundation. The properties that Woodruff combined to form Ichauway were productive agricultural properties prior to their sale, and these

properties had long histories of intensive management.[77] However property management under Woodruff represented a gradual shift in the way the property functioned and eventually changed the way interested parties viewed the land. The model of a private hunting preserve transitioning to a non-profit public-mission scientific research station also represents a gradual shift in the ways Americans protected land, but like other methods discussed, the transition did introduce a measure of permanence to the already familiar and ecologically sensitive land management at Ichauway. Moreover, many of the same advisory groups appear in the Ichauway story, including the Nature Conservancy, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, and local experts from the Tall Timbers Research Station.

Unlike other properties that joined a park infrastructure or entered federal management as forests or wildlife areas, Ichauway remained a private property even after Woodruff's death, albeit heavily restricted by the property's newfound scientific mission under the Joseph W. Jones Ecological Research Center.[78] In the words of one historian, rather than transitioning from a place of private to public recreation, Ichauway transitioned from a private recreation property to a place of scientific *creation.*[79] The property remained closed to "outsiders," although under the auspices of a public-good research center to study and manage a particularly rare ecosystem. The land also transitioned from personal property with no deed restrictions to an easement-guarded property managed by a multi-member oversight-minded board of trustees. In fact, the

[77] "Notes on Ichauway Plantation Book," Woodruff Papers MSS10 box 501 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University; "Joseph W. Jones Ecological Research Center General Description," Jones Papers MSS1003 box 48 folder 1, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Albert Way, comments on "Private Paths to Public Places: Local Actors and the Creation of Parklands in the American South," presented at the annual meeting of the Agricultural History Society, Banff, Alberta, Canada, 2013.

one aspect of the property's management that departs from the other examples studied thus far is the increasingly exclusive access to Ichauway rather than an opening of the area to public recreation. Under Woodruff, the property slowly lost population as families abandoned farming for city life and eventually scientists discouraged open access in order to protect ongoing experiments and fragile ecosystems.

Ichauway was always more than simply a place to shoot, however, and while hunting was the cornerstone that anchored Ichauway, Woodruff's acquisition of a South Georgia quail plantation was also more of an attempt to provide a place for wealthy business leaders to play and distinguish himself through ownership of such a property. A Georgia native, Woodruff bought into the stereotypes of the southern gentleman hosting his friends on an expansive plantation which included traditional gender roles and racial segregation. The gun room, complete with whiskey cabinet and a large wooden table, served as the center for manly white socialization at Ichauway and projected a social ideal Woodruff felt was fast fading in twentieth century America. The study, with its large wood-burning fireplace and finely upholstered couches offered a comfortable respite for both hunters returning from a long day in the field and their other guests. Wives often joined their husbands at Ichauway to socialize in the evenings and enjoy the quiet country. Guests at Ichauway were never far from the attentive house staff, and they frequently cited the nightly dinners as reason enough for accepting "the Boss's" invitation to the plantation.[80]

The emphasis on tradition and "southern culture" created a particularly divided experience with the land. A place that served a recreational purpose for Woodruff was a

[80] "Invitations and Thank you notes, 1970s," Woodruff Papers MSS10 box 501, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

landscape of work for the sharecroppers and plantation staff.[81] Much of this distinction between guests and staff also followed racial lines. Woodruff inherited many of the sharecropping agreements, but his experience with Ichauway was one of a visitor who retreated to the plantation for an escape from the daily life he led in Atlanta, usually in the winter. Woodruff's staff was at Ichauway year-round, gathering the crops in the sweltering heat of south Georgia summers, maintaining the grounds and house, tending the livestock and hounds, and generally living their normal daily lives in Baker County. For them, Ichauway was a place of employment, a place of monotony, and ultimately a landscape of labor.

Many of the records on Ichauway in Woodruff's papers reflect its continued use as a productive agricultural property, and one of the most common critiques of Charles Elliott's coffee-table book about the plantation was that it mentioned farming at all in a book that was "supposed" to be about a hunting plantation. Still, it was Woodruff's personality and affinity for quail hunting that drove the patterns of daily life for guests and employees alike. The hunts on the plantation began early in the morning and represented an example of Woodruff's personal interpretation of elite hunting traditions a bygone era. Mule-drawn wagons carried crates of specially bred and trained hunting dogs in addition to extra provisions for the men and the guides. The hunters rode saddle bred horses from the main complex to the fields, further enhancing the "rustic" and "gentlemanly" nature of the experience. The guides handled the dogs, drove the wagons, and did much of the work required for the guests to have an enjoyable hunt, with the gentlemen hunters engaging in enough strenuous activity to feel like they were "roughing

[81] For an introduction to the relationship between work and nature, see Richard White, "Are you an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living?" in Cronon, ed, *Uncommon Ground*. See also Chad Montrie, *Making a Living: Work and Environment in the United States.*

it" without ever actually experiencing deprivation. Reinforcing the importance of hunting to life at Ichauway, despite this overt emphasis on old fashioned methods and draft animals for transport of the hunting gear and men, at lunchtime, if the hunters were still in the field, employees brought a meal from the main kitchen to wherever the hunters were on the plantation. Full meals, including place settings and linens, found their way into the fields where hunters discussed the morning's events over carefully prepared dishes. After eating, occasionally the men enjoyed an afternoon nap in the shade of the forest before either resuming their hunt once or returning to the house.[82]

The importance of using mule-drawn wagons and riding horses fits neatly with other authors' observations about the development of "manliness" in the late 1800s and the early importance to conservationists of recreating an old fashioned and outdated ethic in the face of encroaching modernity.[83] Under Woodruff's ownership and direction, Ichauway appeared as a place that the modern world forgot. When Woodruff was in residence, the flow of daily activities followed the pattern of the hunt, but even when Woodruff returned to Atlanta, Ichauway followed many of the same southern practices that those from outside the region decried as outdated, including a sharecropping system and the perpetuation of a segregated workforce. Woodruff was no advocate of racial segregation, but these social policies reflected much of the surrounding region, even if Woodruff was regarded as a good and kindly "Boss," reinforcing the crucially important role place plays in how people interact with their environment.[84] For comparison,

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[82] "Notes on Ichauway Plantation Book," Woodruff Papers MSS10, box 501 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
[83] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[84] Mark Pendergrast, *For God, Country, and Coca-Cola*. Woodruff was considered "progressive" on civil rights, including his famous support of a dinner honoring Martin Luther King Jr. in concert with his powerful influence over Atlanta's mayors during the civil rights movement.

Wormsloe plantation near Savannah, Georgia provides an instructive foil to Ichauway's invented traditions and concocted nostalgia. Human hands also fashioned Wormsloe's grounds after notions of how a proper southern plantation should appear and function, taking into account the fashions of the day and the climate of the place. Over centuries of work, much of it coerced, Wormsloe changed dramatically. Rice gave way to mixed agriculture, although Wormsloe's owners eventually abandoned their unprofitable farming ventures and treated the plantation as a country retreat. As Savannah grew towards the plantation, it became a sort of informal nature preserve surrounded by suburban development. The State of Georgia acquired Wormsloe in the late 1970s and ultimately it served as a place of remembrance and reflection on the colonial history of the area.[85]

While Wormsloe was a landscape altered by generations of human work, Ichauway was, in many ways, an *invented* landscape. For Woodruff, Ichauway as a place helped define him as a man. Entertaining powerful men and having a large estate in the country served a pragmatic purpose for Woodruff the businessman, but for Woodruff Ichauway represented much more than an outdoor boardroom. Woodruff considered himself an avid outdoorsman, purchasing properties like Ichauway and a ranch in Wyoming to restore his spirit after spending long months in Atlanta building his Coca-Cola empire. According to Woodruff's friend Harold Martin in a 1974 letter, "each man, like Brer Rabbit with his Laughing Place, has to have his own quiet retreat where he can

[85] Drew Swanson, *Remaking Wormsloe Plantation.*

go to let the springs of his spirit fill up—whether it be a park bench, or a 30,000 acre plantation—and Ichauway was yours."[86]

Yet, Woodruff was not always at the plantation, and beyond the recreation and social activities, Ichauway was indeed a working agricultural property which affected land management. As with many rural southern lands, sharecropping remained a significant part of Ichauway's existence late into the twentieth century for economic and social reasons, despite the primary focus of land management efforts on maximizing the quail population.[87] Indeed, the mixed agricultural land that characterized Ichauway's sharecropping system was partly responsible for the significant quail populations that drew hunters. Without any specific *wildlife* management, Ichauway's fields supported a quail population large enough to keep hunting sustainable. Whatever the benefits to the quail, significant parts of Woodruff's plantation remained in agricultural production for other reasons beyond quail production? Many of the sharecropping families lived on the lands that became Ichauway well before Woodruff acquired the property, and working the land remained their primary means of sustenance. Woodruff's income from his Coca-Cola holdings allowed him the possibility of removing these sharecroppers, but he retained many of them well into the late 20th century.[88] Woodruff took an interest in Baker County's residents, particularly those who worked his property or leased tracts near his land. While leaving the actual management of crop plantings and harvests to his

[86] "Letter from Harold Martin to Robert Woodruff" June 18th, 1974. Woodruff Papers MSS10 box 501 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
[87] "Sharecropping letters and sharecropping agreement with Brooks Sheffield, Woodruff Papers MSS10 box 501 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
[88] Ibid.

employees, Woodruff's personal interests in the sharecroppers built goodwill in Baker County and beyond.[89]

There were also pragmatic reasons for continuing traditional land uses at Ichauway. As much as the property was a hunting plantation, Woodruff himself recognized the need to emphasize the agricultural aspects of the land when referencing Ichauway to outsiders. The public perception of both Ichauway and Woodruff affected the management of the property, with attempts to keep Ichauway identified as a "plantation" drawing from many motivations. In response to proposed language for a coffee table book that chronicled Ichauway's charm by emphasizing the quail hunting, Ichauway managers and Woodruff's personal confidants countered that, "with statements such as these in print, it might be more difficult to defend our position that Ichauway is essentially a farming and timber operation and that the sporting activities are incidental."[90] Of course, the sporting activities were crucial to Woodruff's interest in the property, but for tax purposes it was prudent to emphasize the continued agricultural patterns on the land. The conscious efforts to portray Ichauway as more than a quail hunting retreat resulted in some land management strategies that served as antecedents to later scientific management under the Joseph W. Jones Ecological Research Station.

Of course, the sporting activities were far from incidental and were fundamental to the existence of the plantation, and while the sharecropping system predated Woodruff's ownership of the property, the continued agricultural activities resulted more

[89] Bert Way, "The Invisible and Indeterminable Value of Ecology: From Malaria Control to Ecological Research in Southwest Georgia" forthcoming paper, *ISIS* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
[90] "Notes on Ichauway Plantation Book," Woodruff Papers MSS10 box 501 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University. Some of the notes reference keeping the "plantation theme" for IRS purposes. Some of the comments regarding the importance of quail hunting included, "All activities, farming or otherwise center around the quail and hunting season."

from the pragmatic appeal of maintaining traditional land use policies. As sharecropping families left the plantation for better opportunities in the urban South, their fields were rarely managed with the same intensity. Woodruff employed agricultural management firms to oversee the planting and harvesting of fields, reflecting both the owner's priorities and broader trends in southern agricultural history as the region transitioned from sharecropping to capital-intensive mechanized agriculture.[91] Despite the introduction of more "efficient" management and modern agricultural practices, throughout the twentieth century Ichauway regularly lost money on its agricultural pursuits. The continued emphasis on farming and casting Ichauway as a "plantation" allowed for managers to write off agricultural losses, maintain traditional relationships with tenant farmers and local officials, and occupy a place in Baker County life that would have been impossible if it was considered merely a private recreation area.[92] The maintenance of sharecropping also kept a significant amount of the land in production, cleared of forest, and when fields were fallow they were over-seeded in beneficial food plots to encourage quail.

The importance of Woodruff's image-making at Ichauway and the way others perceived the property was vitally important for its eventual permanent protection and the establishment of the research center. With a personal reputation for philanthropy, especially in connection with educational and scientific endeavors at Emory in Atlanta, Woodruff's personal impact on his estate managers affected their plans for the property. In the 1970's, Ichauway was a place on the verge of a momentous decision. Managed as

[91] George B. Ellenberg, *Mule South to Tractor South: Mules, Machines, and the Transformation of the Cotton South.* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007); Jack Temple Kirby, *Rural Worlds Lost: The American South, 1920-1960.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).
[92] "Policies on Use of Ichauway," Jones Papers MSS 1003 box 55 folder 2, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

a personal pleasuring ground and adhering to Woodruff's own ideals of a southern hunting plantation, Ichauway in the 1970's remained undeveloped and largely forested, with a mixed-use model that featured both agriculture and timber production alongside the long-standing tradition of hunting quail. The property escaped many of the farm consolidations taking place throughout the country as agricultural lands increasingly entered the control of large agribusiness concerns in an attempt to achieve greater efficiency in a ruthlessly competitive market. These ownership and management changes are visible on the land. Aerial photographs of Baker County emphasize how special a place Ichauway was in comparison to other local farmlands which were part of the modern agribusiness system. The crop circles of center-pivot irrigation fields surrounded the greens and browns of Ichauway's mixed forest and field approach.

As a rural property managed for its owner's recreational pursuits, Ichauway also avoided many of the pressures facing other ecologically sensitive properties even as it stood poised to benefit from earlier battles over places like the Eno River, and the rise of organizations like the Nature Conservancy. At the same time, Woodruff did not explicitly plan for Ichauway in his will, leaving his executors and estate managers to determine the future of the property. The only mention Woodruff made of Ichauway's fate after his death was that "Ichauway remain a wildlife sanctuary and that to the extent possible its natural resources be maintained and conserved."[93] The decisions of his estate managers reflected not only Woodruff's apparent dying wish to see Ichauway protected, but also their personal experiences at the plantation and the time spent hunting with "the boss." Unequivocally, these men remembered Ichauway for the quiet mornings spent

[93] "Attachment to Form 1023" Jones Papers MSS 1003 box 54 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

among a small group of hunters and not its fields of peanuts or as a place of sharecropping, memories as important to Ichauway's future as any other influence.[94]

By 1985, with the death of Woodruff and the future of Ichauway in question, the earlier importance of quail shooting was no longer something to hide.[95] While deciding how to manage Woodruff's massive estate, including Ichauway Plantation, the estate managers invited experts to survey the properties and help them determine the best way of meeting Woodruff's desire to see the place's natural resources maintained and conserved. Representatives from the Nature Conservancy, the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, The Audubon Society, a scientist from the University of Georgia, and the director of the Tall Timbers Research Station all advised them on a course of action to move Ichauway towards permanent protection.

Each of these entities represented a different aspect of the broader environmental movement. This variety of options represented one of the most significant differences between Ichauway's path to a protected enclave and the other cases examined. Both the Nature Conservancy and Audubon Society both boasted a national reach and focused their efforts on protecting natural sites. They also both existed well before the rise of the environmental movement, but enjoyed increasing popularity as more Americans joined conservation-minded groups in the 1960s.[96] The Georgia Department of Natural Resources was also interested in protecting wildlife, but the agency served the recreational needs of hunters and fishermen as well. Tall Timbers Research Station,

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[94] Similar motivations affected Hugh Morton's heirs at Grandfather Mountain. Christopher Eklund, "Making the Mountain Pay:' Hugh Morton's Grandfather Mountain and the Creation of Wilderness." M.A. Thesis, Appalachian State University, 2011.

[95] Woodruff died on March 7th, 1985 at Emory Hospital in Atlanta. Reflecting his national significance as the leader of Coca-cola, his obituary ran in most major newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times, The New York Times*, and of course the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution.*

[96] Eve Endicott, *Land Conservation Through Public/Private Partnerships*. (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993).

located in the Florida Panhandle, specifically focused its efforts on research related to understanding and propagating longleaf pine with little concern for recreation or encouraging game animals.[97]

It is difficult to underestimate the significance of Ichauway's private managers inviting these various groups to advise them on how to best protect the plantation. Coupled with the variety of advisory groups, the options available for Ichauway's protection reflected the real gains of the environmental movement and the growth of an increasingly complex conservation infrastructure. Central to the estate managers' decision to invite these advisors was their belief that Woodruff would want Ichauway managed in a way that would "protect it" and keep it safe from harm but also to advance the way of life he believed Ichauway represented. During this process the importance of earlier hunting and quail management to the ecological complexity of the area became evident as the plantation included one of the largest outstanding longleaf pine forests in the southeast precisely because this habitat encouraged quail and Woodruff kept many of the pine stands intact as a safe haven for the birds. The very recreational activities that made Ichauway Woodruff's retreat also indirectly protected the land from the erosion, soil exhaustion, and neglect that characterized much of the twentieth century rural southern landscape and preserved a habitat rich in both biodiversity and cultural history.[98] Since "crops contribute[d] to, instead of interfering with, quail production and hunting," the agricultural activities on the plantation had remained relatively low-impact and the overwhelming majority of the land remained covered by longleaf pine forest

[97] Robert Crawford and William Brueckheimer, *The Legacy of a Red Hills Hunting Plantation: Tall Timbers Research Station & Land Conservancy*; Albert Way, *Conserving Southern Longleaf: Herbert Stoddard and the Rise of Ecological Land Management.*
[98] "Ichauway Plantation Recommended Utilization Plan," Jones Papers MSS 1003 box 54 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

managed under the Stoddard-Neel approach.[99] Most of Ichauway's neighboring farms had the distinctive crop circles of center-pivot irrigation while Ichauway had rectangular fields roughly oriented along the contour lines of the plantation's topography, a clear indication of the different priorities and traditional agriculture at Ichauway.

The invited groups all came to the conclusion that Ichauway was unique and all of them made suggestions for its future. Between Woodruff's death in 1985 and the final settlement of Ichauway's future in 1988, there was a flurry of activity at Ichauway as the estate managers hosted representatives from these conservation groups. The possibilities confronting Ichauway's managers to convert the plantation into state wildlife lands, continue conservation efforts while maintaining the site as a working agricultural property, relinquish management to Tall Timbers for use as a scientific research outpost, or retain control of the property and create some variety of the other options. After a period of reflection, the estate managers decided to operate Ichauway as a scientific research station independent of Tall Timbers. The transition to an ecological research station and the conservation of quail populations did not result in the opening of Ichauway to public recreation, however. Starting with the hiring of a scientist to manage the ecological preserve, Ichauway transitioned from a place for exclusive, elite private recreation to an equally exclusive scientific research station during the late 1980s. This transition held many changes for the surrounding community, but the public was not included in plans for the plantation's future. Indeed, the estate managers seemed committed to keeping Ichauway much the same as it had been for the preceding half-

[99] "Recommendations for Changes to Ichauway Book," Woodruff Papers MSS 10 box 501 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University. For the definitive work on the Stoddard-Neel Approach, see Albert Way, *Conserving Southern Longleaf: Herbert Stoddard and the Rise of Ecological Land Management.* The Stoddard-Neel approach is one of the "prescribed burn" management techniques specifically adapted to longleaf forests.

century. The plans for a research center did *not* end the tradition of hunting, with Ichauway's management plan including a desire to "retain as much as possible the land management practices and hunting traditions which set Ichauway apart from all other land holdings in the region."[100]

In some ways, the management of Ichauway after Woodruff's death represented a continued closing of the "commons" that characterized much of the 20th century rural southern history. While Ichauway was never open to the public, the hardening of the boundaries and the ending of Woodruff's personal influence in the area marked a change for the area. Woodruff was generous with the local population, and after his death some local groups still wrote to Ichauway or Woodruff's estate managers requesting aid for their projects, including a local church youth group. Woodruff regularly gave small sums of money when presented with these sorts of requests, and his earlier magnanimity made the closure of Ichauway after his death even more egregious to the local population. The man who helped eradicate malaria from Baker County, gave freely to Georgia philanthropies, and employed local families died in 1985 and his gifts to Baker residents ended with him. Additionally, while Ichauway was always private, the coming of the scientific research station saw a modest increase in the confrontations over securing Ichauway's boundaries from encroachments.

In 1991, nearly simultaneous with the establishment of the Joseph W. Jones Ecological Research Station and the creation of a scientific preserve at Ichauway, the plantation's management entered a heated public battle with local residents over the closing of Ichauwaynochaway Creek to boaters. Some Baker County residents initially

[100] "Recommended Utilization Plan (1989)" Joseph Jones Papers MSS1003 box 54 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

objected to the closing of the creek as an impediment to their rights of use along navigable waters, but the issue expanded into a broader reaction against the perceived closure of a public space. Ichauway managers echoed many of the citizens' worst fears in their letters to county government officials that argued "we must tighten control of the land and water within our boundaries…"[101]

This hardening of the property's boundaries is a stark contrast to the efforts to open the Eno through easements and parks. Where Margaret Nygard worked to encourage people to hike and canoe the river, Ichauway's managers closed the area to anyone but the scientific staff of the research station. This actually reversed one of the major recommendations proposed in the earlier "Ichauway Plantation Recommended Utilization" plan which included among its purposes "to offer limited recreation experiences for the general public including hunting, fishing, low impact camping, canoeing, field trials, wildlife observation, and hiking."[102] From the time of this recommendation to the incident over access to Ichauwaynochaway Creek, the managers determined the main purpose of scientific research was incompatible with recreation. A tacit acknowledgement of this perspective came with the earlier decision to establish a privately funded research station rather than donate the property to the government for a park, but the possibility for public engagement remained even after the establishment of the Joseph Jones Ecological Research Station. Instead, Ichauway remained a closed property that continued to rely on the endowment provided by Woodruff's estate, although it now qualified as a tax-exempt nature preserve and research center.

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[101] "Letter to Joe Tanner from Lindsay Boring" January 29th, 1991. Joseph Jones Papers MSS1003 box 51 folder 7, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
[102] "Ichauway Plantation Recommended Utilization Plan," Jones Papers MSS 1003 box 54 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

The closure of the creek came in light of the Jones Center's scientists performing research on fish populations and deploying monitoring equipment in the stream. Charles McTier, President of the Woodruff Foundation, phoned local county officials to inquire whether the Jones Center was legally able to restrict access. Ichauway plantation included fourteen miles of Ichauwaynochaway Creek, and government officials determined that under Georgia law it was legal for the Jones Center to close these fourteen miles to public access. Perhaps reflecting Woodruff's legacy or the powerful individuals who were involved in the maintenance of the Jones Center itself, interest in the creek closing drew the attention of the Lieutenant Governor who ultimately sided with Ichauway over the local citizens.[103] Facing powerful enemies, some of the locals organized to protest the closing of the creek, occupying bridges that crossed the stream and disrupting traffic.[104]

Central to the protestors' understanding of their right to access the creek was their contention that as a navigable waterway, the creek was technically state property and open to public use. The larger issue of access to rural land appeared alongside pseudo-legal arguments that the area should be legally categorized as public. In public statements demanding access to the creek, local resident Carroll Givens said "we want that fence down shortly, we want it off our state property now."[105] Givens went so far as to launch his boat as part of the protest and law enforcement promptly arrested him for trespassing. In listing the reasons for the creeks closure, Ichauway officials included the

[103] Joe Tanner to Pete McTier January 6th, 1992. Joseph Jones Papers MSS1003 box 54 folder 5, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
[104] "Press Release" January 29th, 1991. Joseph Jones Papers MSS1003 box 51 folder 7, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.
[105] Ibid.

investment in equipment, possible lawsuits if "visitors" injured themselves on Ichauway property, and the protection of "numerous rare species, many federally protected."[106]

The 1991 incident reveals the tensions between Ichauway and the local population over the plantation's place in the region. Choosing science over recreation and exclusion over access, Ichauway focused its efforts on protecting its boundaries and the species inside. The protests of people like Carroll Givens centered on the right to access to common areas and the assertion that this access would not disrupt the ecology of the area. Karl Jacoby's *Crimes Against Nature* chronicles many examples of the imposition of outside order, and argues that many of the excluded people had already developed a vernacular ecological understanding of their region that often resulted in sustainable practices. At Ichauway, the issue of closing the preserve extended beyond protecting the wildlife within the plantation's boundaries. The main motivation for closing the creek was protecting sensitive and expensive *equipment,* rather than flora or fauna. This distinction supports the view of the Joseph Jones Ecological Center as a place of scientific exclusion and creation rather than a natural site for public recreation.

This was not the first incident involving the creek's closure to local citizens, however. In 1987, after Woodruff's death but before the formal establishment of the Joseph Jones Center, a note from Joseph Jones to Marvin Benson addressed an incident of "vandalism" that centered on the closure of the creek. In response to an Ichauway sign reading "This creek is posted, no trespassing, no hunting, no fishing," a local resident taped a piece of brown paper reading "Dear Ichauway: This is God's creek so watch what

[106] "Letter to Joe Tanner from Lindsay Boring" January 29th, 1991. Joseph Jones Papers MSS1003 box 51 folder 7, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

you say."[107] These disputes over the closure of Ichauwaynochaway Creek not only represent the closure of common southern lands, they also throw into stark relief the sometimes confusing and ironic management aspects of the Joseph Jones Center. Despite the land's closure to locals for hunting, fishing, or recreation (closures with roots in Ichauway's Woodruff past), the newfound mission of the Joseph Jones Center included serving the public through education about longleaf.

Both the Eno River Association and the Joseph Jones Ecological Research Station at Ichauway Plantation permanently protect unique natural features in perpetuity, and both of these entities utilized the full range of modern environmental protections available through the legal victories of the environmental movement. How these two entities achieved their goals differs remarkably, however, and these differences are important for the light they shed on the status of modern conservation work. Grassroots organization in Durham resulted in involving the local, state, and federal governments in addition to NGOs and concerned local citizens. While Margaret Nygard provided direction for both the Eno River Association and the Friends of West Point on the Eno, her voice was one of guidance and lobbying rather than command. Woodruff owned Ichauway and directed its management himself, with his personal sense of what the plantation should be informing his ownership. After his death, his memory loomed large in his estate managers' efforts to permanently conserve the plantation, but again it was a top-down approach to conservation. Both examples utilized organizations that enjoyed much higher profiles as a result of the popularity of the environmental movement, including The Nature Conservancy. Both sites used new legal mechanisms to ensure the

[107] "Correspondence about a Trespassing Letter, Jones to Benson" Joseph Jones Papers MSS1003 box 47 folder 8, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

long-term conservation of the natural qualities inherent in the land, including conservation easements. From a recreation perspective, the two sites examined in this chapter are polar opposites, but they both offer historians examples of how private land could enter the conservation infrastructure in the age after the legislative victories of the environmental movement. The desire of private citizens to permanently protect land resulted in an increase in places "saved" in the American South, but some of the largest landowners in the South remained industries reliant on raw materials from the land for their profits. The impact of individuals on the conservation of southern land continued to be constrained by the sheer scope of the need. Individual citizens and big government entities were not the only groups working to conserve the land, however. In rural Tennessee, a large paper company played a significant role in creating a nature recreation infrastructure unlike any other.

Chapter Four: "Trying to Be a Good Neighbor:" Bowater Paper Company's "Pocket Wilderness Program" in Tennessee, 1967-2007

"It was agreed that the wilderness experience was shared by many and was a genuine emotion."

Dick Dyer, 1968

"They decided since they had so much land in Tennessee, and that there was a PR problem at that time…they decided they would have a PR program which would use the company land, some of the beautiful spots of company land…for outdoor recreation."

David Rhyne, 2012

In previous chapters, environmental advocacy groups and wealthy individuals used whatever means were available to permanently protect land from development and ensure its continued contributions to a broadly defined "public good." The motivations for protecting private lands differed widely, reflecting the growing diversity in conservation tools available after the success of the environmental movement. Both Margaret Nygard's Eno River Association and the Joseph Jones Ecological Research Center used language that invoked "saving" particular types of landscapes threatened by modern human influence and vowed to protect these lands from the sullying influence of development, degradation, and decay. As in Durham, one of the easiest threats to identify was the prospect of a large industry degrading a landscape through resource extraction, development, or pollution.

This chapter seeks to further complicate the environmentalist rhetoric of "saving" places from private ownership by exploring the ecological and social impacts of an unconventional park project that served as a foil to this traditional dichotomy between environmentalists and industry. In southeastern Tennessee, Bowater Forest Product's Pocket Wilderness Program offers an instructive example of how a large corporation can manage certain lands in a way that serves nature and the need for public nature recreation. This example represents a departure from previous conservation programs, particularly those concerned with the government holding and managing land, and an analysis of these programs also indicates why the methods of conservation continued changing after the explosion of interest following the environmental movement. Bowater's program also differs from the grassroots environmentalism and private efforts of individuals like Margaret Nygard, as reading the documents related to protecting the Eno or the Outer Banks leaves the impression that the world of the late twentieth century was drawn into only two, mutually exclusive camps. In reality, even before the environmental movement coalesced, the constituent members of the coalition that brought about the passage of major federal legislation came to the movement for widely differing personal and political reasons.

Beginning in the 1980s, historians complicated this dichotomy between "green" environmentalists and rapacious capitalists, yet the black and white world of good vs. evil served a particular purpose to the environmental movement and continues to serve as a rallying cry in the 21st century. This dichotomy also served as an accurate description of earlier times when corporations reaped the benefits of the earth's natural bounty with little concern for sustainability or the natural environment they inhabited. For some

industries, attitudes changed with the 20th century rise of the environmental movement, where citizens demanded accountability for polluting industries and corporations often later realized the potential public relations gains for "going green."[1] Some of the most frequently criticized sectors of the American economy were the various extractive industries, including mining, petroleum, and timber interests. Clear-cut forests and foul-smelling pulp paper mills were easy targets for environmental crusaders, and when ecology grew as a serious field of scientific inquiry, even the most "natural" feature of the timber industry, the trees, faced criticism as monocrop plantations that squelched biological diversity and kept land in a constant state of immature, unimaginative pine forest monotony.[2]

Paper companies also faced criticism as they bought up significant acreage to supply their mills with timber, often dominating the region as the largest single landholder and sometimes upsetting the balance of traditional power relationships in local communities.[3] Paper manufacturers during the middle of the 20th century owned most of their own timber supply in an attempt to properly manage the incoming stock and ensure the quality of their raw material supplies, but these industrially-motivated policies sometimes created animosity towards the companies. Boycotts were ineffective methods for altering the companies' behaviors, as most of their customers were other large

[1] American culture is so saturated with the phrase "going green" that even the federal government's website, usa.gov, has links to help you individually "go green" and purchase "green" products. http://www.usa.gov/topics/environment-agriculture/going-green-tips.shtml, accessed 1/11/2015.
[2] Most of the advances in pine silviculture over the twentieth century focused on improving site preparation and planting methods in order to effectively reduce the number of competing hardwoods and understory species. See Thomas R. Fox, Eric J. Jokela, and H. Lee Allen "The Development of Pine Plantation Silviculture in the Southern United States." *Journal of Forestry* October/November 2007. This article also outlines the breeding programs that effectively reduced biodiversity of the trees in plantations to achieve higher growth rates, less slash, and disease resistance.
[3] Ted Steinberg, "Shades of Green" in *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 239-261. See also Donald Davis, *Where There Are Mountains: An Environmental History of Appalachia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 161-198.

industrial interests that finished the paper stock into a final consumer product. Relations with locals often reflected this tense relationship, and while most timber companies eventually allowed locals use of the forests for hunting and nature recreation, the local population often viewed the transfer of land ownership as a closing of the commons.[4]

One company in particular sought to reverse this perception of an impersonal absentee landowner gobbling up the countryside to feed an industrial mill's insatiable appetite. The vestiges of this corporate goodwill project now form crucial links in the Cumberland (Plateau) Trail in eastern Tennessee as well as continuing to provide recreation areas open to the public on former company land now managed by Tennessee as part of its state park system. How these lands first entered the nature recreation infrastructure in east Tennessee, and the unique corporate experience of managing a fully functioning park system, offers insight into the increasingly complicated relationship between the American people and the common lands they enjoyed.

Bowater Corporation (sometimes spelled Bowaters), founded in London in the late 19th century, takes its name from the Bowater family, headed by Sir Eric Bowater after 1927.[5] Primarily a paper and newsprint company for most of its 20th century existence, Bowater's first and most important market in its early years was Britain's newspaper industry. After rapid expansion in Europe, which included building a modern

[4] Kathryn Newfont, *Blue Ridge Commons: Environmental Activism and Forest History in Western North Carolina*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012); Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" Presented October 23rd, 1991. Timber Conservation Board U.S. Forest Service Report on Cooperative Management of National Forest and Private Lands, 1931. Harold K. "Pete" Steen Collection. USFS Research box 1. Forest History Society, Durham, North Carolina.

[5] Early in its history, company documents name the firm "Bowaters" with an S added to Sir Eric's family name. Inexplicably, the name changed during the company's history, with uneven adoption of "Bowater" starting during the 1970s and reflected in nearly all company documents by the 1980s. In this chapter I will variously refer to Bowater, Bowaters, Bowater Southern, Bowater Incorporated, and Hiwassee Land Company. All these terms refer to the same continuous company. Over the course of the twentieth century, Bowater went through several name changes to reflect corporate mergers, spin offs, and rebranding. Hiwassee Land Company was the forest management company affiliated with Bowater Southern in Tennessee, although for financial and legal purposes they were separate legal entities.

paper mill at Northfleet on the Thames River in the 1920s and dominating the European newsprint industry, the company looked to other markets. Concerned about his home country's lack of standing timber after a devastating Scandinavian boycott, the next frontier for Bowater was the Canadian market with its massive forests and largely untapped potential for locating paper mills near the country's many waterways. Moving toward vertical integration, Bowater acquired enough timberland to support its mills and diversified its production into packaging and other paper products that appealed directly to the consumer market.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, the American newspaper market expanded rapidly and Bowater executives moved to capitalize on the burgeoning demand for newsprint, which remained the company's most important business. The U.S. newspaper market expanded so rapidly in the postwar years that Sir Eric went on record defending the United States from accusations that it was "hogging" available newsprint supplies at an international meeting of industry representatives.[6] This defense from a prominent business leader likely reflected the company's expansion after WWII, as a Bowater team surveyed the American South with the intention of selecting a site for the company's first mill in the region and servicing the growing American demand for newsprint. [7] Following the patterns established elsewhere in North America, Bowater acquired significant land holdings as it expanded aggressively into the American paper market. Although Bowater eventually became a fixture on the Tennessee landscape, the

[6] Special to *The New York Times*. "Briton Defends U.S. on Newsprint Use." *New York Times* (1923-Current file): 47. May 25 1951. ProQuest. Web. December 30, 2014.
[7] John Popham Special to *The New York Times*. "Dixie Newsprint for Dixie Press: Huge Mill Opens in Tennessee." *New York Times (1923-Current file)*: 33. Jul 21 1954. ProQuest. January 11, 2015.

company's move into the South was tinged with controversy from its first surveys and site searches.[8]

According to Dick Dyer, who served as land management forester for the region for several decades and eventually led Bowater Southern as president, the U.S. Forest Service strongly opposed a mill in Calhoun, Tennessee, "citing a low pine inventory in the surrounding area."[9] The TVA, however, strongly supported the planned mill and particularly supported the Calhoun site as a boon to the area's economic growth. Part of the discrepancy stemmed from the way the two agencies counted forest inventories, with the TVA estimates reflecting younger trees that would be suitable for mill use in the near future while the US Forest Service inventoried merchantable standing timber only. Most importantly, the TVA supported Bowater in its bid for a government certificate of necessity to build the mill during the Korean wartime restrictions, and construction started in 1952 on the site of a former farm located on the banks of the Hiwassee River near Calhoun, Tennessee.

The Calhoun site offered Bowater several amenities, but also posed some challenges. The Hiwassee River provided more than enough clean water for the mill's demanding kraft process, but much of the best timber grew on the top of the Cumberland Plateau and required transport by truck, adding to the ultimate cost of production.[10] The

[8] The only comprehensive history of the twentieth century growth of Bowater remains W.J. Reader, *Bowater: A History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). This history focuses much of its efforts on exploring Sir Eric Bowater's influence in the company and argues it was his personality that turned a paper mercantile enterprise into an international corporation. Regarding the location controversy, see Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" Presented October 23rd, 1991.
[9] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" Presented October 23rd, 1991.
[10] "The Anniversary Story," *The Arrow*, Fall 1979; For a useful introduction to the kraft process, which separates the fibers from pulpwood for use in making paper, see Art Ragauskas, "Basics of Kraft Pulping & Recovery Process, published online by the Institute of Paper Science and Technology at the Georgia Institute of Technology
http://ipst.gatech.edu/faculty/ragauskas_art/technical_reviews/Kraft%20Pulping%20and%20Recovery%20

mill also competed with other large operations in the region, particularly the well-established Champion Fibre Mill in Canton, North Carolina. The company immediately began purchasing land to properly manage forest production with plantations of Virginia pine (commonly called scrub pine). After building the most modern paper mill possible and clearing all legal hurdles, by 1954 the mill was processing local timber and producing newsprint for southern markets.[11]

Unlike companies in the American West, which could draw on vast federally-owned timber reserves of the western national forests, Bowater dedicated significant resources to its land acquisition and tree farming program to supply regional mills with pulp wood.[12] Part of the motivation for this landholding program stems from Sir Eric's experiences in Britain during the 1930s when Scandinavian pulp suppliers organized an artificial price increase, damaging the profitability of Bowater's British paper manufacturing interests and threatening the finances of the company generally. After World War II, Britain also continued rationing raw materials for newsprint and set prices for imported pulpwood from Scandinavia. After these shocks, Sir Eric resolved to own as much timber as the company's mills needed to supply their regular operations, resulting in landholdings of millions of acres in North America.[13] The American South

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Process%20basics.pdf, accessed 1/11/2015. The basics of the kraft process involve two chemical liquors which separate the fibers from pulped wood in a highly pressurized chamber, called a digester. This "cooking" process continues for several hours, and the extraction from the digester varies between continuous or batch methods. The remaining liquor goes through an evaporater to remove any lingering fibers. From here the pulp is blown, screened, washed, and bleached. The kraft process produces a very strong paper (named for the German word for strength) and also accepts a wide variety of "lesser" woods, including the pines that dominate most southern plantations.

[11] "The Anniversary Story," *The Arrow*, Fall 1979; Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" Presented October 23rd, 1991.

[12] Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, 2/16/2012 courtesy of Cumberland Trail History Project.

[13] W.J. Reader, "Businessmen and their Motives," in edited volume: *Enterprise and History: Essays in Honour of Charles Wilson.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

made an attractive candidate for expansion with its low labor costs, lax regulations, and forests that offered two to four times the growth rate of northern pine forests.[14]

The drive to secure an adequate supply of timber faced obstacles, however. Located in a temperate hardwood forest, the Calhoun mill demanded more pine than the area supported naturally and required a sophisticated forest management program to sustain the pine plantations. Unlike South Carolina, which had significant inventories of loblolly pine growing naturally, East Tennessee's natural forest succession favored hardwoods that threatened the monocrop plantations and the hardwoods were incompatible with the Calhoun mill's production process. As a result of the need for pine, Bowaters Southern embarked on an elaborate nursery program to supply pine seedlings to its newly purchased timberland and slowly converted farmland and hardwood forests to pine plantations suitable to the mill's needs.[15] The sheer volume of timber needed also overwhelmed local production, so the company acquired land to ensure an adequate supply of timber. As a result of these demands, Bowater managed vast acreages of timberland in East Tennessee through its subsidiary, the Hiawassee Land Company, effectively insulating the parent company from exposure to the legal problems that might grow out of the company's land disputes and offering the opportunity to

[14] This was part of a broader national trend in pulpwood production. See John N Popham "Pulp, Paper Output Expanding in South." *New York Times* (1923-Current file): 28. Jun 25 1951. ProQuest. December 30, 2014; Thomas R. Fox, Eric J. Jokela, and H. Lee Allen "The Development of Pine Plantation Silviculture in the Southern United States," *Journal of Forestry* (October/November 2007).
[15] "The Anniversary Story," *The Arrow*, Fall 1979; The mechanisms for keeping a plantation dominated by pines was under investigation at the time and industry best practices would continue to evolve throughout the latter 20th century.

manage the timber independently of the parent company's newsprint manufacturing business.[16]

As such a large landowner acquiring vast acreages over a short period of time, some areas of the Cumberland Plateau that Bowater acquired were either difficult to access with logging equipment or deemed unsatisfactory for pulp wood production after their purchase. Along with the Tennessee River, the Cumberland Plateau is the main geographic feature of the region and is typical of plateaus with its large flat top surrounded by rugged, steep escarpments. The escarpment is marked in many places by small gorges where tributaries of the Tennessee descend the plateau to join the larger river. Many of these areas also possessed "some focal point of interest, such as unique plant growth, unusual geological formations, flowing streams, waterfalls, caves, scenic overlooks, and others."[17] Some of these small gorges also featured valuable materials like seams of coal, which attracted modest mining and coke operations. By the time Bowater acquired the lands, most of these mining operations ceased and the Hiwassee Land Company left these gorges to their own natural succession of tree species.[18]

Although primarily concerned with the long-term management of their holdings for pulpwood production, Bowater executives observed a marked shift in public attitudes toward industry over the course of their early land management as a result of the environmental movement. With the mill online in 1954 and the company in possession of vast acreage by the 1960s, Bowater felt the full force of the environmental movement's critiques as Americans increasingly targeted large industries for scrutiny.

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[16] National Trails Council Eastern Regional Symposium, comments by Clarence Streetman, courtesy of Cumberland Trail History Project; Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, 2/16/2012 courtesy of Cumberland Trail History Project.
[17] Pocket Wilderness special edition of *The Arrow*, vol 16 no. 4 (April 1970).
[18] Ibid.

The plant's release of wastewater into the Hiwassee River and the exhaust from the paper processing visible from nearby highways presented constant evidence of the mill's discharge into the local environment.[19] The company also dramatically altered the local landscape by planting large Virginia pine plantations in areas previously farmed or left to the natural succession of hardwoods. This wholesale reshaping of the area's ecology was greeted with mixed reactions from local residents and environmental advocates, with some identifying the reforestation as a boon to soil conservation while others found the monotony of the Virginia pines unsettling.[20]

As the greatest single influence on the landscape, it is fitting that Bowater's pine plantations spawned one of the company's first serious challenges from environmentalists. As an intersection of human designs and natural forces, there is certain poetry in the sequence of events that transpired in late 1968. Facing a hungry and out of control vole population during the drought in a tract immediately north of Chattanooga, Bowater unwittingly sparked a wave of criticism that caused the company to seriously consider its relations with the public and the land it owned. In East Tennessee, 1967's rainfall totals were above average, prompting an explosion of understory growth and fueling an increase in the vole population living off insects, green shoots, and other tender plants in the plantations. Omnivorous by design, the vole is an imminently adaptable species related to mice and rats and capable of subsisting on nearly any food source, including the tender xylem just under the bark of large trees. After the

[19] The plant's discharge into the Hiwassee River was even blamed by many East Tennesseans in a catastrophic 1990 vehicle pileup on I-75 near Calhoun. Emily Bregel, "Echoes from the fog" *Chattanooga Times-Free Press.* December 5th, 2010.
[20] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" Presented October 23rd, 1991; see also Herbert Bell, *The Hazards of Secondary Poisoning from Zinc Phosphide to Selected Vertebrate Species.* M.A. Thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1972.

boom of 1967, an historic drought struck East Tennessee in 1968. This rapid shift in the food sources available forced the voles of Bowater's Virginia pine plantations to begin girdling trees in an attempt to access the tender xylem after they exhausted all other readily available food sources.[21]

The drought conditions, combined with the new monocrop pine plantation, set the voles on a collision course with Hiwassee Land Company foresters attempting to save their trees from the scourge. Girdling often kills even healthy trees, and under the added strain of drought the voles threatened to kill thousands of acres of planted pines. Bowater consulted the US Department of Fish and Wildlife in an effort to control the vole population and save their pine plantation. According to Dick Dyer, the FWS experts recommended soaking cracked corn in a poisonous zinc phosphide solution and coloring it green to make it unattractive to most birds and animals other than the hungry voles. Following FWS recommendations, Dick Dyer recalls dropping this "material on our Virginia pine plantations from a helicopter at the rate of ten pounds per acre [in November 1968]. The vole population was reduced immediately. We were very successful—or so we thought."[22]

Unanticipated and furious, a firestorm of public outrage swept over the Hiwassee Land Company in response to the broadcast of the zinc phosphide. After accusations that the poisoned bait killed a local farmer's chicken, some nationally recognized conservationists took interest in the "terrible tragedy. [Local hunters] found dead

[21] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" Presented October 23rd, 1991; see also Bell, *The Hazards of Secondary Poisoning from Zinc Phosphide to Selected Vertebrate Species*.
[22] Ibid. Quotation from Dyer, "There at the Beginning."

opossums, dead honeybees, dead rabbits...[23] The Hiwassee Land Company and its Bowater parent rejected these claims, citing the US FWS suggestion to use the bait and government studies that deemed the poison "safe."[24] A hastily scheduled meeting by the Tennessee State Game and Fish Commissioner brought out hunters, local residents, and media representatives to confront Bowater on the issue of the poisoned corn. For the first time since Bowater opened the mill and began planting pine plantations, the company came before the public in an open forum to debate and explain its land use policies. Dick Dyer remembered the Commissioner leaving the lights on during the slide show portion of the presentation to keep the meeting from getting out of hand, and that "the media was well represented." In a sign of the sometimes uneasy alliance between hunters and environmentalists, Dyer also recalled "a large group of hunters [were] present to protect the wildlife they wished to kill on our lands."[25] Both sides offered opinions, with Bowater representatives arguing they were doing the area a service by stabilizing it both ecologically and financially with pine plantations and good paying jobs. Ultimately, Bowater had a failsafe argument that they acted on the recommendations of U.S. government experts, an argument that exonerated them of any legal responsibility for the environmental outcomes of using the zinc phosphide.[26]

While deriding the influence of out-of-towners, meddlesome environmentalists, and hunters looking to use Hiwassee lands, the massive public backlash following the spreading of zinc phosphide in the winter of 1968-1969 demonstrated the influence of the

[23] Michael Frome, "Conservation: Now is the Time for our Politicians to Come to the Aid of our People" in *Field and Stream*. July 1969; Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" 36-37.
[24] Zinc Phosphide is still recommended as a rodenticide. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Biological Opinion on Selected Pesticides: Dated June 14, 1989 available through http://www.epa.gov/nscep/index.html, accessed 11/31/2014.
[25] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" Presented October 23rd, 1991, 36-37.
[26] Ibid; U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Biological Opinion on Selected Pesticides: Dated June 14, 1989; Herbert Bell, *The Hazards of Secondary Poisoning from Zinc Phosphide to Selected Vertebrate Species*.

nascent environmental movement on the population of East Tennessee and the distrust of Bowater's policies. Changes in the landscape resulted directly from Bowater's presence, including the disruption of traditional land use, physical alterations of the land, and the creation of a pine plantation monoculture. For residents of the Calhoun area, the plant's sulfur smell, massive boilers and steam discharge combined with the sheer size of the paper mill to produce the effect of an industrial stain on an otherwise rural landscape.

More importantly, the question of whether the company was actually innocent in the poisoning remained open for debate even after the public meeting. Nationally respected nature writer Michael Frome used his "Conservation" column in *Field and Stream* to shed light on the widespread use of chemical poisons and decrying "development [as] a kind of national syndrome, a nihilistic psychosis."[27] Bowater responded to Frome's article, with Public Relations Director Clarence Streetman calling the article full of "misleading statements and fabrications." Streetman offered Frome several experts he could consult to get the correct story, and fell back on the standard industry response that Bowater consulted the correct authorities before spreading the zinc phosphide and had nothing to hide. Frome was not immediately convinced, but after consulting several of the experts came to the conclusion that Bowater indeed followed the proper protocol for determining an acceptable poison to kill the voles.[28]

For Frome the sticking point was that Bowater seemed either unaware or insensitive to the ecological argument of the wildlife's right to live. Whether or not Bowater worried about the collateral damage to wildlife, for Frome it was damning enough that "no such statement of ecological awareness was forthcoming from Bowater's

[27] Michael Frome, "Conservation: Now is the Time for our Politicians to Come to the Aid of our People" 22, *Field and Stream* (July 1969).
[28] Michael Frome, "Conservation: A Poison in East Tennessee" 30, *Field and Stream* (January 1970).

collaborators, consultants, or apologists." Frome also placed great stock in the personal account of Hoyt Bonds, a local environmentalist and beekeeper who first broke the news of the zinc phosphide and the initial dead chicken. Frome described Bonds as a "professional trapper, hunter, fisherman, and one of the most learned outdoorsman and naturalists in this area."[29] Dick Dyer, recalling the same man and the same incident, described him as a "self-appointed environmentalist, [who] had placed beehives and trapped on Hiwassee land for years."[30] Ultimately, Frome came to the conclusion that Bowater sought out advice from the correct authorities, but there was also a combination of poor advice from the State Game and Fish Commission and mistakes by those spreading the grain.[31]

Bowater admitted these mistakes, but while the executives knew the vole incident generated ill will among the local population, the company also felt it had done nothing seriously wrong. Again, Dick Dyer observed that "at a meeting with Lowell Culbertson (general manager) and Clarence Streetman (public relations director), it was decided that we had nothing to be ashamed of and should state our position at every legitimate opportunity. People would support us. The media loved the controversy…Ultimately we decided to quietly go about our business… and try to be a good neighbor."[32] Dyer recognized that this approach might not work in other times and places, observing that "the media cut us up pretty good. In retrospect, as attitudes have developed, we possibly would have been more severely criticized today."[33] The result of this firestorm was that in 1969, less than ten years after building a multi-million dollar paper mill in Tennessee,

[29] Ibid.
[30] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)" 36-37.
[31] Michael Frome, "Conservation: A Poison in East Tennessee."
[32] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)"
[33] Ibid.

the Bowater Company faced a concerted effort by environmentally concerned citizens to make the company's questionable policies publicly known. The impact this early experience with environmentalists had on Bowater Southern's public relations, and the way the public relations campaign affected the company's use of its massive landholdings, continues to influence the public recreation landscape of East Tennessee.

Initially interested in generating some positive press, Bowater embarked on a unique and ultimately successful program of park building. Just as Dick Dyer's story about the voles focused on the winter of 1968-1969 and featured environmentalists criticizing the company in public meetings, other Bowater employees acknowledged the role of public relations in the creation of the Pocket Wilderness Program. Forester David Rhyne, longtime trails manager for the Pocket Wildernesses, recalled how "Bowater's involvement in trails really came about through several people there in public relations and also in the management of what was then Hiwassee Land Company…They decided since they had so much land in Tennessee, and that there was a PR problem at that time… they decided they would have a PR program which would use the company land, some of the beautiful spots of company land, for outdoor recreation."[34] David Rhyne came to Bowater shortly after the zinc phosphide public relations fiasco, so while he managed the trails for decades, his perspective on the initial development of the pocket wildernesses was different.

David Rhyne and Dick Dyer both credited forester Louis Camisa with the far-sightedness of managing certain areas of company land for recreational value rather than timber production. Dick Dyer also credited Bob Edgar with managing the property for long-term interests rather than short term gains, which ultimately reflected the project's

[34] Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, February 16, 2012.

support from the highest levels of Bowater.[35] The initial tentative opening of company lands began with the admission of hunters in the late 1960s. The positive press of allowing the public onto Hiwassee lands faced a natural limit, however, as Bob Edgar noted that according to Bureau of Outdoor Recreation statistics only 12% of Americans hunted. While the number of hunters seemed small, other statistics such as the 57% of Americans who picnicked and the 49% who went sight-seeing meant the possibilities for appealing to these other segments of American society remained much higher. Bob Edgar also noticed the stirrings of the environmental movement, correctly predicted outdoor recreation would increase in popularity, and saw that by offering certain sites for public recreation Bowater might foster positive feelings towards the company.[36] Spurred by these motivations, there were already discussions taking place in 1968 at the highest levels of Bowater and Hiwassee management over the future of lands located on the escarpment of the Cumberland Plateau that were inaccessible yet held "exceptional and unique scenic and/or historic values."[37] Forester David Rhyne credited the public relations efforts with the creation of the whole park system, saying public relations director "Clarence [Streetman] and those people put their heads together, and they came up with this program to try to win over the public that Bowaters was not just a bad thing who was clear cutting and raping the land, et cetera, et cetera, and polluting the air, that there were benefits that they could offer to the public from their land ownership."[38]

Other companies faced similar criticism, with the national environmental movement targeting large industries with easily measureable point-source pollution.

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[35] Ibid; Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)."
[36] Bob Edgar quoted in Craig Earnest, "Bowater Pocket Wilderness Program" *Bowater Southern News*. March-April 1992.
[37] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)."
[38] Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, February 16, 2012.

Bowater's initial response to criticism was typical of large industries at the time as with the public relations fiasco in the winter of 1968-1969. That winter killing voles was the goal. The company explored its options by consulting with government experts, and after the government-recommended poison caused concern, Bowater merely argued they had done their due diligence and were not responsible for any damages. Many timber companies used these types of arguments to deflect accusations of environmental misconduct, but Bowater's response went beyond merely resting on the talking points of sustainable yields and the company's long term investments in their managed forests. Bowater's public relations campaign created a real, tangible asset for outdoor recreation in East Tennessee and the company went beyond its peers to create a park system on its lands.

The Pocket Wilderness system was unique even when compared to Bowater's previous public relations efforts. The initial response to the backlash over zinc phosphide followed a more traditional path for the timber industry. Shortly after the adoption of the "good neighbor" stance, Hiwassee opened its roads and lands to the public and issued hunting licenses for a nominal fee. The theory behind this sudden openness was twofold. First, greater access to Hiwassee lands meant the company no longer appeared as a large absentee landowner shutting off East Tennesseans from huge swaths of land with no consideration of the local population.[39] The forests, while technically owned by Hiwassee and actively managed for timber production, reentered the "commons" and remained open to those interested in hunting or hiking. Secondly, Hiwassee executives reasoned that those people who they wanted to utilize the timber lands were the law

[39] Kathryn Newfont, *Blue Ridge Commons: Environmental Activism and Forest History in Western North Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 227-250.

abiding and friendly folk who would respect signs and stay off the roads if they were closed whereas unsavory types pulled down gates and damaged the roads in bad weather. "We reasoned that the presence of the good people would tend to curb the actions of the bad."[40]

The idea of opening company forests to the local population was not particularly revolutionary among timber companies and other large landowners. Bowater was certainly one of the early adopters of this pragmatic approach to trespassing, but for generations many forest lands in the region functioned as a commons in practice if not in purpose.[41] After the environmental movement-influenced public response to Bowater's zinc phosphide use and the positive public response to opening the lands to hunters, Bowater executives noticed the goodwill the opening of company lands generated. Expanding the idea of opening lands even further to bring in the general population, Hiwassee Land Company's leadership began discussing the possibility of utilizing the economically useless gorges on the Cumberland Plateau's escarpment for a public works project to generate positive relations with east Tennesseans who were not hunters.[42] At a meeting in 1968, Hiwassee president Bob Edgar explored the possibility of "setting aside parcels of land in a wilderness state for public use." After the fiasco with the meadow vole poisoning and the subsequent opening of company lands to hunters, Louis Camisa, Clarence Streetman, and Dick Dyer revisited the concept of opening these inoperable "wilderness areas" to the public. In dated language reflecting the newness of an

[40] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)." Ironically, Dyer includes moonshiners and pot growers in this category of "good people," as moonshiners were not typically responsible for tearing up the land or signage.
[41] Kathryn Newfont, *Blue Ridge Commons.*
[42] It is useful to note here that the initial firestorm over the zinc phosphide disproportionately affected hunters, who feared the impact on their quarry and their dogs. See again Michael Frome, "Conservation: Now is the Time for our Politicians to Come to the Aid of our People"

environmentalism that now saturates American culture, Dyer recalled that "it was agreed that the wilderness experience was shared by many and was a genuine emotion. It was also agreed that the experience could be just as valid standing in the center of 100 acres of woodlands as in the center of 5,000 square miles of woodland. From all these discussions the Pocket Wilderness Program evolved."[43]

It is necessary to keep in mind how the current fluency in complex ecological concepts like watersheds and forests is primarily a product of the environmental movement's success. For Dick Dyer to agree that the "wilderness experience" was a "genuine emotion" seems odd when taken out of context, but with the dramatic changes in attitudes towards nature and outdoor recreation only just beginning in the 1960s, Dyer's comments seem more relatable. Furthermore, if the environmental movement was new, Bowater's Pocket Wilderness Program represented a new "public relations" campaign that required a remarkable level of investment from the company. Vest Pocket Wildernesses, which meant small-acreage tracts of land open to the public where local residents could enjoy the natural beauty of those "focal points," were modeled after the "vest pocket parks" of heavily urbanized cities rather than the sweeping National Parks in the American west or the Great Smoky Mountains, and reflected Dick Dyer's argument the "wilderness experience" was a "genuine emotion."[44] Bowater executives proposed a series of small parks (1000 acres or less) on these marginally productive timber lands,

[43] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)."
[44] "Pocket Parks" *Issue Brief* (Ashburn, VA: National Recreation and Park Association, 2009) available online at http://www.nrpa.org/uploadedFiles/nrpaorg/Grants_and_Partners/Recreation_and_Health/Resources/Issue_Briefs/Pocket-Parks.pdf.

and unwittingly launched one of the most successful privately managed park programs in the nation.[45]

While the initial inspiration for the name came from the idea that the parks were small enough to fit in a vest pocket, Dyer recalled they "dropped the 'vest' quickly as it seemed antiquated" and just called it the Pocket Wilderness Program, still reflecting the smaller size of the areas but no longer connecting it to the outdated menswear.[46] Bowater described the size of the pocket wilderness areas in comparison to the larger nationally recognized wilderness areas by quoting HG Wilm from American Forests Magazine as saying wildernesses have to be, "certainly no larger than necessary to give that lovely feeling of isolation from the activities of civilization."[47] While the federal government engaged in debates over the role of nature in parks, the Pocket Wildernesses were clearly created with *people* in mind and never aspired to protect watersheds or other naturally occurring discrete areas beyond the geographic limitations of access. As discussed in previous chapters, definitions of "wilderness" are more complicated than the low threshold offered by Bowater's parks, yet this "goldilocks" approach to achieving a "wilderness experience" resulted in a realistically manageable program.

Reflecting its original mission as a public relations tool, the Pocket Wilderness Program focused on the visitor experience and enjoying the undisturbed beauty of the areas rather than dramatically changing them through forestry management or by restricting access to ecologically sensitive areas. The areas also appeared prominently in

[45] David Rhyne, administrator of the pocket wilderness trails system, was invited to national conferences throughout the time Bowater maintained the Pocket Wildernesses. The trailbuilding manual he wrote remained a reference guide well after his retirement. See comments from Andrew Wright in Interview with David Rhyne, Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, 2/16/2012.
[46] Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)"
[47] Pocket Wilderness special edition of "The Arrow," vol 16 no. 4 (April 1970).

company communications. A special 1970 edition of *The Arrow* introduced the pocket wilderness idea and outlined how the pocket wildernesses would differ from other lands the company owned in several significant ways. The program's debut was clearly influenced by the uproar over the vole incident, but the timing of the program's introduction was perfect. The 1970 issue of *The Arrow* highlighted the Pocket Wilderness Program at a moment of incredible change in the American relationship with nature. Clean air, clean water, and an agency to protect America's environment came out of longer battles started during the 1960s, but the early 1970s were a watershed moment for the environmental movement. While Bowater started to consider a Pocket Wilderness system before the full implications of the environmental movement were apparent, the company also timed its program perfectly with the swell of popular support for environmental causes. Thus, the company enjoyed the compounding effects of the environmental movement's popularity.

As a sign of their awareness of their target audience, Bowater floated the idea of the pocket wildernesses before the Tennessee Citizens for Wilderness Planning (TCWP) and the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club (SMHC) in the winter of 1969 before going "live" with the program. A note in the November 1969 TCWP newsletter that "Bowaters Southern Paper Corp. recently sought the advice of TCWP and SMHC concerning possible preservation of and trail development in the Virgin Falls area" ended with an endorsement by the two organizations of the project's purpose. The endorsement followed TCWP comments that they found Bowater's plans to identify and protect areas "where the scenic value outweighs the commercial value [which] will be reserved from

harvesting and other timber crop development activities…enlightened."[48] These endorsements from TCWP and the SMHC joined others from President Richard Nixon, The Nature Conservancy, the Tennessee State Legislature, and local citizens. The supportive resolution by Tennessee's legislature offers a particularly instructive note on why the program was so well liked. Paragraphs two and three read "whereas, there is an outstanding need to preserve areas with scenic and nature attributes; and whereas, the state should not undertake this project entirely on its own but with the assistance of private enterprise…be it resolved…that the Bowaters Southern Paper Corporation is commended for its public spirited policy…"[49]

Whereas lands in management for timber were open to hunters and nearby landowners for use well before the Pocket Wilderness system first appeared, in 1969 the company had few lands with improved facilities for day recreation or hiking, and the pocket wildernesses needed a significant investment to make them usable. Most of the company's existing infrastructure reflected the need to move timber out of the pine forests, with roads and rail lines designed to be efficient rather than provide a pleasant view or communion with nature. While multiple-use land management was the industry norm on both private lands and Forest Service lands, Bowater promised pocket wildernesses would never be cut for their timber, and further ensured that these areas were properly managed with recreation as the first priority meaning the normal methods for cutting roads would not be used in pocket wildernesses. According to Bowater, "intensive forestry practices on suitable acres are aimed at producing timber for use in

[48] Tennessee Citizens for Wilderness Preservation Newsletter No. 26. Many of these newsletters are searchable online through the Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange, http://trace.tennessee.edu, accessed 3/3/2015.
[49] Tennessee House Joint Resolution No. 183. May 19th 1971

paper and lumber. These lands are available for *compatible* (author's emphasis) recreational uses, such as hunting, hiking, picnicking and camping. The wilderness concept is an entirely different matter. This is necessarily a single-use purpose because preservation of an area in its present natural state is essential." After identifying parcels of land worthy of protection, "pockets of varying sizes will be marked out on maps and on the ground. They will be protected from logging, timber stand conversion, road construction, or other use that would essentially change these areas."[50]

As a result of the perspective that the wilderness "experience" could exist in small acreage parcels, Bowater created pocket wildernesses "as small as five to 10 acres," but the most popular and best maintained areas included tracts of several hundred acres.[51] The emphasis on the human experience of perceived wilderness is telling. Bowater's pocket wildernesses were less about protecting broad ecological systems than protecting representative spaces where people could go "experience nature." [52] The company argued its conservation activities had deeper roots, however, with an issue of *The Arrow* in September 1970 dedicated to the topic "We Live Here, Too." Borrowing phrasing from Mark Twain, Bowater found that "everyone talks about the environment, but few have done anything about it. Bowater would have to be included among the 'few." [53] Whatever the critiques of Bowater's impact on the environment over the course of its history, throughout the 1960s, 70s, and 80s the company often stayed ahead of federal regulations on discharges, cutting timber, and waste recycling. They were one of the

[50] Pocket Wilderness special edition of "The Arrow" vol 16 no. 4 (April 1970): 6.
[51] Document summarizing conveyances of land to the State of TN. Received from Kevin Gallagher, Resolute Forest Products. This document is in the author's possession and also available from Kevin Gallagher.
[52] Pocket Wilderness special edition of "The Arrow, vol 16 no. 4 April 1970 pg7
[53] "The Arrow," vol 17 no. 8 September 1970. 2

industry leaders in recycling chipwood, sawdust, and other refuse from lumber mills for use in their paper mills, and for decades after the company opened its first pocket wilderness at Virgin Falls they continued to adequately fund and promote the parks.

Citing long-standing concerns for the environment and quality of life, the *Arrow* covered everything from the company's pollution mitigation policies to wider environmental policy issues like littering and energy consumption. These topics illustrated the wide-ranging concerns of the environmental movement, but also focused attention away from any of Bowater's negative impacts on the ecological systems near their mills. On first glance, the skeptical reader might dismiss these self-policing programs as an industrial powerhouse merely attempting to avoid litigation or negative press, but the decades-long commitment to monitoring and the pocket wilderness program were expensive ways of mitigating bad press. Considering what Bowater put into the program, it is fortunate the company's public relations investments in Pocket Wildernesses paid immediate dividends, with letters of support pouring in from conservation groups across Tennessee. The commitment to the Pocket Wilderness system ensured the continued existence of the unusual system of corporate-owned and managed nature parks in southeast Tennessee, unusual even by Bowater's own previous standards.

The support the company received came as a result of the *idea* of the pocket wildernesses and the public relations coup they represented, but Bowater also needed to actually build trails and protect the land if they were going to continue to benefit from the endorsements of groups like the TCWP. The result of Bowater's desire to create and manage a park system made for interesting adaptations among the company's staff.

David Rhyne, who joined the company in 1969 as a forester, designed and built nearly all the trails. Rhyne described how Bowater hired him as a research forester in 1969 and immediately assigned him to survey the Honey Creek area. Rhyne was new to the company, but he was excited his new job was a bit unconventional and remembered how he relished "being the first person to really go in and explore and see what could be made out of the area. I don't know, that's always one of the things I consider to be the luckiest things that ever happened in my life was to fall into a situation where I could do this kind of thing. I spent several weeks exploring the area."[54] With the interest from Hiwassee and Bowater executives in creating Pocket Wildernesses, and David Rhyne's survey complete, he set out chopping a trail through the brush to open the area for recreation. As a research forester, Rhyne was professionally unprepared for the job but was personally interested in seeing the program succeed.

Suddenly presented with his "dream job," although admitting he, "didn't know anything really about trail construction at the time," Rhyne laid out a trail to the best of his abilities and opened the area with a rugged hiking trail that traversed the gorge and some notable rock formations. Reflecting the difficult terrain, or perhaps Rhyne's inexperience with planning footpaths, "a lot of it [was] really not trail, its more like, almost like bushwhacking. I did subsequently learn a lot more, or taught myself how to do a lot of different things too."[55] After building an initial trail at Honey Creek, Rhyne focused on areas closer to the mill site in Calhoun and near its Piney River Tree Farm, including pocket wildernesses at Laurel-Snow, Stinging Fork, and the spectacular Virgin

[54] Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, 2/16/2012 courtesy of Cumberland Trail History Project
[55] Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, 2/16/2012

Falls.[56] After the men who first conceived of the program, David Rhyne was perhaps the most important individual in the creation of the Pocket Wilderness Program. As the person in charge of creating the trails and directing their construction, Rhyne demonstrated ingenuity, intelligence, and a passion for the outdoors that delivered a consistently excellent outdoor recreation experience for those who visited the Pocket Wildernesses. He also enjoyed the support of Bowater, enabling him to serve the company full time as a trails manager and *de facto* park manager.[57]

The drive to improve public relations sustained interest in the Pocket Wilderness program, and reflected a wider company public relations campaign directly influenced by the environmental movement. *The Arrow* confirms the company's continued struggles with its public image, with many of the issues published in the 1970s dedicated entirely to environmental issues and nearly every issue touching on some aspect of the company's environmental impact. Much of the public relations focus was on the fact that the company had a stake in the environmental sustainability of the region because of the paper industry's unique reliance on a continuous cropping of trees. Bowater downplayed the effluent from the mill they discharged into the Hiwassee River, citing "advanced techniques" to mitigate any pollution or harmful effects of the massive volumes of wastewater released into the river. Airborne emissions also featured prominently in company literature, with the common argument focusing attention on the role of individual's contribution to air pollution through automobiles and the consumption of consumer goods that polluted the environment during their manufacture. These arguments were quite sophisticated for their time, and when coupled with their very real

[56] Ibid.
[57] Comments by Andrew Wright, Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, 2/16/2012

land management practices, Bowater effectively countered arguments that disparaged their reputation as an environmentally friendly industry.

It is perplexing that Bowater would go to such lengths to improve its public image. Newsprint (or paper generally) is not a common consumer good and as a result the companies are largely immune to traditional boycotts. This may demonstrate how seriously the company took its relationships with the local community or that it truly felt the need to open the naturally spectacular areas to the public. The power of prominent individuals in Bowater's corporate structure may have also played a role. Bob Edgar, Louis Camisa, and David Rhyne were all members of hiking, wilderness, or conservation organizations in their private lives. Their encouragement of the program and their links to these organizations may have influenced company policy with regards to the more difficult areas to log, areas that later became pocket wildernesses. Also, as Dick Dyer observed, the company was not using the land, so public recreation seemed a good use of otherwise worthless properties. The industrial process of creating paper would never be totally clean, no matter the technological advances or care taken to recycle resources, and so Bowater's creation of public recreation spaces on company land generated good will and encouraged positive press for a fraction of the price of expensive mill retrofits.[58] The financial costs of the company's efforts to protect the environment always featured prominently in press about their remediation technologies and their land management practices. Whether focusing on the cost of implementing new measures or highlighting the lost revenue when protecting certain stands of timber, the company portrayed itself as

[58] Transcript of Interview with David Rhyne, 2/16/2012; Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)." Dick Dyer referenced the amount of money spent on the Pocket Wilderness developments and specifically mentioned it was a good bargain. *The Arrow* makes mention of some of the plant's retrofits with new technology, and these projects cost more than the entire Pocket Wilderness program combined.

a self-sacrificing steward of the environment. While the financial benefits of positive public relations can be difficult to gauge, it is certainly beyond doubt that Bowater's pollution reducing technologies and pocket wilderness program cost the company funds without any clear return on investment other than the good will it generated.

In this way the Pocket Wildernesses also represents the will of a handful of administrative leaders at Bowater and Hiwassee Land Company. Despite the company's large operations and international presence, the decisions to support the Pocket Wilderness Program came from a remarkably small number of senior managers at Bowater Southern. In the beginning, less than a dozen people made decisions related to the program, and this number grew only slightly over the years. As an excellent PR bargain, the program took only a handful of people to manage and maintain despite being one of the most visible parts of Bowater's presence in Tennessee, and the recreation areas had very little to do with the day to day operations of the mill or forests.

Highlighting the theme of Bowater's voluntary environmental stewardship contrasting with overzealous government regulation became a favorite topic in company publications although tracking the change in attitudes clearly demonstrates this was a later development. For example, in the same issue of *The Crossbow* (the sister publication of *The Arrow* for the South Carolina mill), Bowater discussed the dedication of Bob's Creek Pocket Wilderness in one article and the financial costs of retrofitting industrial plants in order to meet Clean Air and Water legislation in a later section.[59] The dedication speeches at Bob's Creek illustrated how Bowater viewed the Pocket Wildernesses' contributions to local communities and the company's relationship to the people who lived near their mills, but the antagonistic relationship with federal regulatory

[59] *The Crossbow*, vol. 4, no 3 (Fall-Winter 1974).

agencies sometimes resulted in a mismatch of messages coming from the company. For many the conflicting messages posted no problem. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife Douglas Wheeler, who represented the Department of the Interior at the dedication, said "Bob's Creek is another example of the significant contributions being made by private industry," a sentiment echoed by North Carolina DENR representative Sam Stevens. Stevens praised Bowater and specifically the Pocket Wilderness Program as "a shining example of how corporations, private individuals, and government have really begun working together…to vastly expand recreation opportunities in North Carolina."[60] Bowater Southern reminded the public that they were a company that *did* care, a position endorsed by some government conservation experts. Douglas Wheeler referenced the desire of the federal government to see industry and private individuals take a greater role in developing the nation's nature recreation infrastructure. Presenting the company with an "Outdoor Recreation Achievement Award" and a certificate designating the Bob's Creek Pocket Wilderness as an official part of the National Trails System, Wheeler observed that "Bob's Creek is another example of the significant contributions being made by private industry…" in the effort to create a nature recreation infrastructure.[61]

That the environmental movement of the 1960s and 70s generated enthusiasm and national recognition for Bowater's Pocket Wilderness Program while also creating federal legislation protecting the environment proved a double-edged sword for such a large corporation reliant on industrial production methods. Earlier in the same 1974 issue of *The Crossbow*, Bowater emphasized the financial costs of federal pollution legislation

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

in a special editorial devoted to the retrofitting of mill effluent control technologies. Comparing environmental costs of compliance with the federal legislation requirements to the pollution produced under the older methods, Bowater argued the new Clean Water regulations were unreasonable. Citing a study performed by a scientist at 3M Corporation on the new solid pollutants generated in order to eliminate water waste from the company's facilities, Bowater executives argued that the "solution to the problem must be realistic." The editorial continued with assertions that water pollution controls were admirable and Bowater had already started some voluntary measures, but closed by stating the "solution is not a solution at all if it 'solves' the problem by creating new problems."[62]

The financial costs of retrofitting the mills also affected company policy towards various federal agencies and conservation organizations. Bowater entertained Sierra Club and Department of the Interior representatives at the dedication of pocket wildernesses and emphasized their contributions to nature recreation, but they also vocally opposed the most recent clean water legislation as an unnecessary burden on their profitability. Unlike some other industries, the company's position as a manager of vast timberlands and creator of the pocket wildernesses lent a certain air of environmental credibility to the corporation that forestalled some of the most common criticisms about "big industry" simple dumping pollution into their surroundings with little though of the consequences. Simultaneous with the company's lobbying for less restrictions on timber cutting and clean water regulations, they invested in pocket wildernesses and the system grew throughout the 1970s with the addition of several new recreation areas and the continued development of trails, picnic areas, and increased publicity campaigns for the

[62] Ibid.

existing pocket wildernesses. In addition, as part of its timber management, Bowater planted millions of pine seedlings in the lands it opened for hunting and other recreation, providing another opportunity for the public relations department to emphasize the positive environmental contributions of the company's presence in the American South. Unfortunately, there were storm clouds on the horizon. Bowater's years of expanding the Pocket Wilderness Program coincided with the company's strongest years financially. As the 1980s progressed, the company's internal investments in Pocket Wildernesses declined even as the areas increased in usage by the general public. These declines in funding reflected wider trends in the company as it faced declining revenues and a tighter newsprint market.

Ironically, the timberland Bowater worked to procure and plant only came into full production in the 1980s, after the company's finances began experiencing stress. Facing stronger global competition and a stabilizing newsprint market, Bowater's profitability began to falter in the 1980s. Though still profitable, the company began a period of slow growth or stagnation. The capital investments in timberland acquisition and management outweighed any eventual benefits the company reaped from its massive landholdings. Despite the frequent assertions that Hiwassee Land Company performed the "vital contribution of supplying the mill its raw material," in reality the company-owned land only supplied six percent of the timber for the Calhoun mill in 1974, and was never expected to reach a harvesting capacity capable of fully meeting the mill's demands.[63]

[63] Bowater Southern 25th Anniversary "In the Woods" Despite the high hopes for the plantations, their harvestable timber and the cost savings that resulted never reached their predicted potential, partially because of competition from other regions.

Reflecting these trends of mill supply and the market forces encouraging the company away from vertical integration, Bowater's policy of land acquisition slowed and ultimately halted in the late 1970s in favor of long term leases or purchasing timber on the market. The company timberland did not fall out of production, and the overall contributions of timberland to the mills continued to serve an important function, but the company discontinued its land acquisition and severely curtailed its timber management program in the 1980s. This slowing of purchasing and the move away from vertical integration represented broader industry trends. Forest management expert Clark Binkley outlined these changes in private forest ownership at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C. He observed that, "the forest products industry, at one time, owned not just the trees, but also the manufacturing facilities, including pulp and saw mills. However, over the past 20 – 30 years these components have been separated into their own entity, and the timberland is no longer part of an entire system but rather an input into another system."[64] Whereas other companies began divesting their lands in the 1980s, Bowater held its lands until the 1990s still believing it was the best steward of the land and only selling parcels when necessitated by financial considerations.[65]

Comparing the Bowater policy of retaining forestlands to other forest products companies, Bowater kept its forests under company management for decades longer than its peers, a radical departure from the industry norm, and continued management of the recreation facilities. Indeed, over the course of the 1980s, the company encouraged

[64] Clark S. Binkley, "The Rise and Fall of the Timber Investment Management Organizations: Ownership Changes in US Forestlands" *2007 Pinchot Distinguished Lecture*, given at the Cosmos Club in Washington, DC, 2007.
[65] Clark S. Binkley, "The Rise and Fall of the Timber Investment Management Organizations." For Bowater selling land see Mary Anne Lagasse and Orna Izakson "Bowater Selling More Land" *The Bangor Daily News (Maine).* November 3, 1998; "Bowater Land Sale May Limit Hunting" Associated Press in *The Spartanburg Herald-Journal.* July 6, 2006.

further utilization of pocket wildernesses and opened the Mt. Aetna education forest in an attempt to explain how the mills used local lumber and how Bowater's role in the community extended beyond the stumps, hulking paper mill, and gaseous discharge both fragrant and visible from the interstate.

The land that Bowater already owned continued to serve as one of its most stable and financially sound investments and served as an asset to the company's long-term solvency, in addition to providing the company with positive public relations opportunities. Unfortunately, the downturn in Bowater's fortunes came as the result of exterior forces. The newsprint market in the 1980s began a decline that continued into the early 21st century, and as a result of these declines in demand the company faced mounting financial pressure. As the company faced these financial difficulties in the late 1990s, some of the easiest assets to liquidate were timberlands. This reflected a longer history of viewing trees as collateral in lending and agricultural business practices, particularly with regards to smaller farms that held timber as a small part of the overall land in production.[66]

By the late 1980s, it was clear the paper and timber industry had changed from the boom days of the 60s and 70s. As the demand for newsprint stagnated while the competition among producers increased, the company started looking for opportunities to merge with peer level competitors and grow its market share. By this time, the American business was no longer affiliated with the home company in England, with the North

[66] Clark S. Binkley, "The Rise and Fall of the Timber Investment Management Organizations." The Forest Service also dedicated significant efforts to encouraging smallholders in rural areas to manage their woodlots according to the industry standards for forestry. See Pete Steen files, Forest History Society. The fall of the American newspaper industry is well documented, with many papers blaming the internet. See Tim Arango, "Fall in Newspaper Sales Accelerates to Pass 7% " *New York Times,* April 28, 2009, page B3.

American mills separating from the U.K. corporation in the 1970s.[67] The mills in Calhoun and Catawba were well positioned for regional markets, but the large administrative costs of running the company, and particularly managing timber, strained the dwindling resources in a hyper competitive market. The company faced increasing debt burdens and began selling timberlands in an attempt to regain solvency. The final result of these trends was a strategy of acquisitions and eventually a merger with Abitibi, a large Canadian company with diverse forest products experience. The merger with Abitibi resulted in a brief return to financial stability, but the market failed to improve and by the 2000s the combined company again faced the prospect of successive years operating at a loss.[68] The result of this financial uncertainty was the gradual divestment of one of the main real assets the company owned—its woodlands—and the marked decline in the company's investment in the Pocket Wilderness Program.

Over the course of the late 1990s and early 2000s, the company divested itself of the majority of its landholdings on the Cumberland Plateau, including the pocket wildernesses. Bowater sold many of its pocket wildernesses to the state of Tennessee at a reduced price and also donated substantial portions of the recreation areas in an attempt to protect the pocket wildernesses and continue their use as public recreation areas. Selling the woodlands was not enough, however, and Abitibi-Bowater declared bankruptcy in 2009 to reemerge as a part of a new company called ResoluteForestProducts, which still exists.[69] ResoluteForestProducts still employs a handful of foresters, but the company follows the industry standard of owning little or no

[67] Bowater Southern 25th Anniversary "In the Woods"; Dick Dyer, "There at the Beginning (Almost)"
[68] "Bowater files for bankruptcy protection" Associated Press in *Chattanooga Times-Free Press.* April 16th, 2009.
[69] "AbitibiBowater tries simpler name: Resolute" *Chattanooga Times-Free Press.* October 12th, 2011

woodlands itself, instead relying on purchasing timber on the market from various other entities.

The trajectory of the Bowater Pocket Wilderness Program offers several indicators for the broader developments in the forest products industry and the environmental movement as a whole. During the 1950s, when newsprint was profitable and environmental legislation lax or non-existent, Bowater built two mills and acquired millions of acres of land to secure a steady supply of quality timber. These events are not particularly noteworthy by themselves. Many timber and paper companies acquired and managed vast acreages to support their paper production needs. Bowater's engagement with the community through pocket wildernesses was unique, however. As the environmental movement gained popular support, Bowater took steps to remediate its image as a polluter by reducing its overall impact on the environment (often in response to legislative mandates) and creating several programs to educate the public about their role in protecting the environment. With a strong balance sheet and expanding newsprint market, Bowater could afford the program in the 1960s and 70s. During this time, Bowater's administration of the Pocket Wildernesses resulted in tangible advances in the recreation infrastructure in eastern Tennessee, and the program proved that private industry, whether motivated by negative publicity or genuine public interest, can successfully manage and operate a parks system that rivals or even surpasses the government-managed infrastructure in the region.

Indeed, this is one of the lessons Bowater's Pocket Wilderness Program offers historians. What started as a public relations program slowly evolved into a program that helped define Bowater's role in southeastern Tennessee and provided the company with

long-term goodwill. Over the course of three decades, the company built trails, bridges, and picnic shelters. Bowater maintained the areas as recreation facilities, but also hired foresters whose whole job centered on caring for the natural settings found in the Pocket Wildernesses. The investments in the program produced both public relations and ecological dividends, with the Pocket Wildernesses often cited in state of Tennessee promotional materials, hiking manuals, and even state park parks and recreation materials. Many of these pocket wildernesses are still operating and open to the public. Following Bowater-Abitibi's bankruptcy and the transfer of most of the parks to the state, they remained open under the management of the Tennessee State Park System and form crucial links in the Cumberland Plateau Trail, although the parks are not as well maintained and often suffer from vandalism. In a time when government management of public parks is questioned and critiqued and parks are increasingly privatized, Bowater's program offers an example of how industry can successfully manage parks to the benefit of both the public and the natural inhabitants of the areas in question, but also as a failure that demonstrates the limitations of private corporations leading such efforts. Without a diversified group of stakeholders in a particular park project, whether it is a totally privately funded park in 1930s Chattanooga, a corporate park project in the early 2000s, or National Park Service installations in the 1970s, the dominance by any one entity leaves the park property vulnerable to that entity's fortunes. Still, by providing a viable alternative to the strict dichotomy between government parks and private mismanagement, the Bowater Pocket Wilderness Program offers a cautious but useful counter-narrative with the potential to inform 21st century policies.

Conclusion: Louisville's 21st Century Parks, Public Private Partnerships, and the Legacies of Private Efforts to Conserve Land

"At the heart, parks are about people and nature. I see it as a spectrum. On one end you have wilderness, and on the other you have a highly developed urban park. Parks are a defined space, an intellectual construct, but at the basic level people will be involved in their use somehow. The 21st Century is going to be the urban century, we need to serve that population."

-Dan Jones, 2013

"*The National Parks: America's Best Idea* is the story of an idea as uniquely American as the Declaration of Independence and just as radical: that the most special places in the nation should be preserved, not for royalty or the rich, but for everyone."

-Ken Burns, 2009

Whether entering the conservation infrastructure through traditional government acquisition activities or private conservation easements, the properties examined in this dissertation all followed a path to protection that featured persistent privately-led efforts to conserve places within evolving legal and political frameworks. Whether led by prominent businessmen, concerned local citizens, or an international corporation, the efforts to protect land outside the public domain demonstrate a long-term interest in private conservation. While the interest remained strong throughout the twentieth century, the methods for accomplishing the protection of private lands matured over the

same period. What began with outright purchases and single-donor development funds shifted to more complex regimes involving multiple donors and NGOs. Illustrative of these changes and reflecting the fracturing of the environmental movement, places such as Durham and Ichauway produced dramatically different landscapes with different concerns about accessibility and public recreation. Influence from the environmental movement and its supporters also spurred companies such as Bowater to consider their role in the local ecological fabric, something that developed over time into a system that supplemented the state parks. Additionally, by the end of the twentieth century, individuals interested in placing conservation easements on their own private property could consult with a number of organizations, ranging from the internationally recognized Nature Conservancy to their local land trust, and thereby craft an easement that protected very specific aspects of their property.

To illustrate an example of this maturation requires a return to Louisville, Kentucky. Many of the gains of the environmental movement and private conservation appeared in the effort to create a new park system for the city. Combining many of the lessons from exposure to the ideas of the environmental movement, the 21st Century Parks program, a new framework that combined public and private efforts to develop parks on the perimeter of Louisville, emerged in the late 20th century to meet the rising demand for public recreation and mitigate the perceived shortcomings of the city parks department. Louisvillians loved their Olmsted Parks, but the city budget did not include any funds for the type of historic park expansion necessary to create a similarly spectacular addition to the city's park infrastructure to accommodate growth. Much like Louisville's leaders of the late 19th century used the tools available to them at the time,

the 21st century parks foundation utilized the advances of the environmental movement. Faced with a range of options and inspired by the model of partnerships such as the Central Park Conservancy, and recognizing the failure by the city parks department to adequately provide for expansion, several prominent Louisvillians, led by David Jones, quietly put together an organization to expand the city park system outside normal governmental channels.

The Olmsted parks served as both an inspiration and a model for how Louisville could grow its parks system to meet growing population pressures. Although commonly called Olmsted Parks, it is important to note that the idea for the parks and initial efforts to establish them were homegrown. Olmsted's involvement only began when the already-funded Parks Commission hired his firm to consult on the design of the new park system. Raising the money, lobbying for broad public support, and negotiating for a new city parks commission came before anyone at Olmsted's firm put pencil to paper to draft any plans. The community also remained engaged. Through the early 20th century the Olmsted Parks remained respected and much loved parts of the Louisville urban infrastructure as neighborhoods grew up around their boundaries and generations of Louisvillians spent their childhood in these oases of nature.

After World War II the rapid growth of suburbs combined with inner city decay to render some of the parks less attractive, and the city strayed from the original Olmsted designs in significant ways. The shift to an interstate highway transportation infrastructure marred Cherokee Park with the four lanes of I-64 cutting across its northern edges. Many of the areas that were carefully landscaped under Olmsted's designs declined into open grassy spaces, which were easier to maintain with large commercial

lawnmowers. Even with all these changes to the parks' character and the neighborhoods that surrounded them, the parks still retained the grandeur of their initial designs and functioned as quiet places where Louisvillians could engage with nature in the heart of their city. Despite falling on hard times, the Olmsted parks experienced a surge in interest, particularly after a tornado in 1974 devastated large sections of Cherokee Park and required the city to think about restoring the property to its former glory.

As the city began considering its "Olmsted Legacy," several citizens also began thinking critically about the ways the parks changed over time, the political and cultural atmosphere that birthed them, and how Louisville might recreate the conditions that created one of the city's distinctive features and sources of national pride. According to the 21st Century Parks' own creation story, "Bill Juckett, the…Chairman of the Louisville Olmsted Parks Conservancy, asked community leaders this ambitious question: 'Would you help us think of something that our generation can do that will have a 100-year impact on Louisville like the Olmsted Parks?[1] David Jones, CEO and founder of the health insurance company Humana, took Juckett's question at face value and organized the support of other prominent Louisvillians to embark on a new park project modeled on the Olmsted parks of the late 19th century. His son, Dan Jones, headed the nonprofit corporation that would manage the new undertaking, deciding to give up possible careers in real estate or academe to do what he describes as "applied history."[2]

Even to a casual observer, the similarities between 21st Century Parks and the efforts to create Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park or the original Olmsted parks are uncanny. Like Adolph Ochs, the leadership of prominent businessman David Jones

[1] "Our Story," *21st Century Parks* http://www.21cparks.org/21st-century-parks, accessed 2/15/2015
[2] Dan Jones holds a PhD in History from Indiana and decided to leave academe in order to work with 21st Century Parks full time. Phone conversation with author, 2 December 2013,

encouraged the addition of this individual's equally powerful friends and effectively jumpstarted the project financially, much like Ochs' "founders' subscriptions" and the issuance of bonds in Louisville. In all three cases, money from wealthy donors flowed into an entity set up with the express purpose of managing the newly formed park, and the vision articulated by this individual gathered support from the community. It is easy to overdraw the comparisons, however. The 21st Century Parks initiative had much longer roots than either the initial Olmsted Parks or the attempt to create a Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park. Discussions about expanding the park system into the suburbs began with the gradual movement of the city's citizens away from the urban core and gained currency with the 1970s "rediscovery" of the city's Olmsted parks. The plan for Floyds Fork also reflects how much the conservation infrastructure changed over the course of the 20th century. Before unification under 21st Century Parks' management, the creek's watershed featured various types of public and public-private conservation measures including land held in trust, tracts owned by the city, and private landowners who refused to sell to developers.

This mixture of historical antecedents like the "Olmsted heritage" of Louisville with the new conservation infrastructure that grew out of the success of the environmental movement resulted in a patchwork of protected properties in the Floyds Fork watershed, with properties owned by the city, local land conservancies, private citizens, and 21st Century Parks,inc all unified under the leadership of 21st Century Parks. This patchwork approach is increasingly common across the country and reflects the diversity of options available to conservation-minded individuals in the 21st Century. One common theme among the oral histories of landowners who sold their properties to

create The Parklands at Floyds Fork was their enthusiasm that their land was going to be included in the park and their sophisticated understanding of the new paradigm of land conservation.

Like the Olmsted parks, the focus for 21st Century Parks would fall on the suburbs where large undeveloped tracts of land were available to create several contiguous nature parks. Unlike the Olmsted parks, the initiative received little monetary support from the city government.[3] The sheer scope of the park proposals also dwarfed the acreage of the Olmsted parks, with the Floyd's Fork project growing to include approximately 4,000 acres (twice the size of the Olmsted Parks) and incorporating several park features that were not considered in the 1880s like a dog walk area.[4] The lands acquisition process for the park also demonstrates the interest among private citizens in creating a lasting park system for future generations to enjoy. Whether buying from families that lived for generations on the land or managing property originally intended for a wastewater treatment plant, 21st century parks acquired large tracts of land through negotiations, outright purchase, and occasional donations. The motivations behind these conveyances, aside from the money involved, speak to the perceived importance of parks and the belief of the landowners that by selling their property they were improving the lives of future generations of Louisvillians.[5] Recalling the land acquisition negotiations, Dan Jones

[3] The city government gave $1.5 million to the Floyd's Fork project out of a total capital campaign of $120 million. Sheldon Shafer, "21st Century Parks, David Jones Surpass $120 Million Fundraising Goal For Parklands" *Louisville Courier-Journal* March 14, 2013. http://21cparks.org/featured/21st-century-parks-david-jones-surpass-120-million-fundraising-goal-for-parklands-courier-journal, accessed 2/15/2015.
[4] "4,000 Acre Parks System Gets Official Look and Names: 21st Century Parks Unveils The Parkalnds of Floyds Fork" *Canoe Roots Magazine* August 2010. http://www.theparklands.org/News/4-000-ACRE-PARKS-SYSTEM-GETS-OFFICIAL-LOOK-AND-NAMES-21ST-CENTURY-PARKS-UNVEILS-THE-PARKLANDS-OF-FLOYDS-FORK-CANOE-ROOTS-MAGAZINE [accessed 3/3/2015].
[5] Interview With Bob & Nancy Bell, October 14, 2008. 21st Century Parks Collection. Filson Historical Society.

characterized "every transaction [as] 'weird' in the sense that they were not normal real estate purchases like buying a house"[6]

From the initial announcement of the park project, Louisvillians greeted the idea with overwhelming support. Within a few weeks, 21st Century Parks raised millions of dollars and began the process of site selection. Landowners who sold to 21st Century Parks in the Floyds Fork area cited the future of the area as a park as one reason for parting amicably with their lands. Bob Bell, one of the few remaining farmers in the watershed, observed that he won the award "conservationist of the year" for Jefferson County by simply "not screwing it [the land] up." When approached by 21st Century Parks, Bell thought the project sounded worthy of his support, selling his land "and rather than paying a commission--a real estate commission--I gave them a good-sized donation for handling the sale." 21st Century Parks also allowed the Bells, who at the time of the sale were retired and in declining health, to live out the rest of their lives in their house undisturbed. [7]

The maturation of private conservation efforts that even allows for something like the Parklands at Floyds Fork or the combined sale and donation from the Bells was the result of a culmination of factors. Some, including the evolution of new political and legal mechanisms for protecting lands, emerged from efforts to protect specific sites. Other factors, including the broad cultural and social implications of the environmental movement, had a spillover impact on conservation methods as a result of a greater interest in ecology and the environment. The way these influences played out had important implications for the quantity of land protected and the ecological value of that

[6] Phone Conversation with Dan Jones, December 2nd, 2013.
[7] Interview With Bob & Nancy Bell, October 14, 2008. 21st Century Parks Collection. Filson Historical Society.

protection. Both Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park and Louisville City Parks sought to create natural places with planned development intended to foster outdoor recreation and relaxation, but as the result of the reliance on Ochs' contributions to Lookout Mountain never featured the spectacular attractions planned in its early days. Louisville's parks, with the city government's involvement and zealous public interest, fared much better in the early twentieth century, but by the middle of the century they were sacrificed in the name of progress and efficiency. These projects utilized dramatically different management and development regimes, yet Lookout Mountain's plans failed in the 1930s and Louisville's parks faced neglect in the 1960s. As the environmental movement gained attention, some of the later projects shifted from the top down approach of Louisville and Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain to a more inclusive and ultimately more sustainable system of governance. In particular, the protection of the Eno River and the Outer Banks illustrate the changing role of the individual in protecting landscapes. While Margaret Nygard and Frank Stick began the long processes of protecting these areas as individuals, ultimately the conservation of these sites came from a combination of locals and outsiders, government and NGOs, and various interest groups who all worked together to accomplish a common goal. The protection of lands on the Cumberland Plateau by Bowater Corporation provides an explicit example of how the environmental movement changed conversations about conservation. No longer did the public expect only the government to protect endangered American lands. Whether motivated by PR concerns or a genuine interest in conserving unique lands, the Bowater example proves the environmental movement's concerns with broad ecological issues

saturated the American public's conceptions of appropriate uses for land and who could be stewards of those lands.

This sophistication is part of the longer history examined in this dissertation. The failures of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park and Bowater's Pocket Wilderness Program are cautionary tales for conservationists interested in the continued importance of private entities. Bowater's demise is particularly instructive. Facing a decline in newsprint demand and the corresponding decline in both prices and volume, Bowater began to falter as a company in the 1980s and 1990s in lockstep with the rest of the industry. Retrofitting the mills to meet increasingly stringent environmental regulations also took a financial toll on the company, although these unexpected burdens were shouldered without harming the company's balance sheet during the period of prosperity in the 1960s and 70s. The pocket wildernesses did not cost enough to have affected the overall health of the company's financial situation, but they were also properties that did not contribute directly to Bowater's profitability. As a result of the failure of the company, their groundbreaking private park system also faltered. That the state ultimately stepped in to "save" the pocket wildernesses speaks to their importance for East Tennessee's nature recreation infrastructure, but the reliance on a private company invited the disastrous outcome that ultimately led the state of Tennessee to intervene and save these properties as components of the Cumberland Trail Project. This dynamic is repeated in other parts of the country, most noticeably in the management of the Appalachian Trail. Early in its history, the Appalachian Trail traversed numerous private

properties on its trek from Maine to Georgia. In the 20th century the trail increasingly moved its route to public land in an effort to avoid conflicts with landowners.[8]

The moving of the Appalachian Trail and the failures of Bowater's Pocket Wilderness Program also demonstrate how the environmental movement, despite its success in raising awareness, has fractured in the late 20th century. With Margaret Nygard's efforts to protect the Eno River, recreation and river access worked towards the larger purpose of the Eno River Association's desire to protect the area's natural features. The Eno River Association also changed its approach over time, with a shift away from relying on Margaret Nygard's charismatic personality and scrappy grassroots organization to entering a leadership and consulting role with other regional conservation organizations. At the same time Ichauway Plantation used the very tools pioneered to protect places like the Eno and to open them to the public to engineer a closing of the commons in the name of scientific discovery. The contours of the history in these two places demonstrate not only the way the environmental movement dramatically changed the way people considered protecting land, but also how the movement itself changed over time.

There are several things to learn by examining these examples spread across more than a century of private conservation. One of the most important lessons is that private conservation in this country is not a phenomenon of the late 20th century interest in "going green," but a part of a long and sustained conversation about the role of the individual in protecting nature and the importance of conservation to society writ large. This is not a completely new observation; historians and other scholars pointed out the

[8] Sarah Mittlefehldt, *Tangled Roots: The Appalachian Trail and American Environmental Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013)

limits of the public park model and encouraged a reevaluation of the importance of private conservation throughout the late 20th century.[9] The role and significance of these private efforts remains understudied, however, and often scholars overemphasize the connections to public parks and public agencies. Particularly in the early 20th century, the difficulties facing privately funded efforts such as Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park did result in these properties devolving to government ownership, but even in the failure of Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park it is important not to lose sight of the groundbreaking nature of these early private efforts. In a time of growing government involvement in the lives of everyday citizens and attempts to increase the public recreation opportunities through building new parks, the city of Chattanooga failed to provide adequate recreation facilities for its citizens, and members of the community responded by creating their own plan for a park. These Chattanoogans ran against the grain by creating a large, privately owned, public park, and while their efforts are representative of a larger private interest in conservation and nature recreation, Chattanooga-Lookout Mountain Park was the exception rather than the rule.

The example of the Outer Banks is more representative of how the older system of government parks faced challenges as the desire for outdoor recreation grew and the amount of available open land declined. The federal government met increasing resistance in its efforts to create parks, particularly in the South and East where higher populations placed a greater demand on the existing park infrastructure but a larger share of the property was privately owned. While Frank Stick's initial efforts to interest the government in creating a park met with some success, by the end of the process the park

[9] Eve Endicott, *Land Conservation Through Public/Private Partnerships* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993); Barbara Rusmore, Alexandra Swaney, eds. *Private Options: Tools and Concepts for Land Conservation* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1982).

at the Outer Banks looked different than the traditional model for National Park Service units. The NPS allowed hunting, commercial fishing, and off road driving at the Outer Banks. They also allowed for dense pockets of development and contributed over half a million dollars to the construction of the massive Herbert Bonner Bridge, itself a necessity only because the NPS agreed to allow a hard surface road run the length of the national seashore. With its emphasis on recreation and access, some argue the National Park Service ultimately did more harm than good for the ecological systems of the OBX.[10] The compromises that came out of the creation of a national seashore posed fundamental questions about what it meant to be a national park in the mid-twentieth century. These compromises stem from the very real concerns of OBX residents and reflect the limitations of large-scale government-owned parks in the twentieth century. Many of the precedents set by the OBX followed to other national seashores, including the emphasis on recreation and the likelihood the properties would not fit "traditional" models of park conservation.

With the difficulty of creating national parks growing in the postwar years as private landowners resisted government purchase programs and NPS funds dropped precipitously, land conservation entered a critical phase. The "march of progress" met a strong opponent in the rise of scientific ecology and the coming of the environmental movement. A deep distrust of the government's regulatory agencies also fueled efforts to identify new methods to protect land outside the traditional conservation infrastructure. Engaged citizens who were unable to afford the extravagant expenditures of philanthropists like Adolph Ochs and who also distrusted their local government's

[10] Jeffrey Pompe, *Altered Environments: The Outer Banks of North Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010)

motives turned to organizations like The Nature Conservancy or The Sierra Club. These organizations pioneered new methods of conservation, including the revolutionary use of the highly customizable conservation easements. The experience gained in these early engagements spread to an increasing number of local land trusts and regional conservancies. The remarkable diversity of options available as a result of this expansion in the conservation infrastructure resulted in some outcomes beyond those imagined in the early years of nontraditional conservation measures. With its scientific research mission, Ichauway Plantation is exempt from county taxes and remains closed to the public even as the property enjoys funding from government-awarded grants.

Perhaps the example of Bowater offers the most cautionary tale. Fifty years after Adolph Ochs attempted to singlehandedly create a park system in Chattanooga, Bowater attempted the same thing on the Cumberland Escarpment. The motivation for the Pocket Wilderness system was different as a result of the influence of the environmental movement, but the outcome of a single entity managing a privately owned park system remained the same. Bowater faced financial difficulties and the property entered the public domain in an effort to avoid its liquidation and to protect the parks from dissolution. What began as a promising new type of outdoor recreation opportunity that demonstrated a hopeful marriage between industry and conservation ended with the company's bankruptcy and a hasty transfer or sale of the properties to ensure they would remain parklands.

From these examples, the state of affairs in the early 2000s points to the importance of considering sustainability, not just in an ecological sense, but also in an organizational and financial sense. This quest for sustainability is one of the reasons

public-private partnerships are the most promising way forward for conservation in the 21st century. Now that "going green" is a popular mantra among corporations, the quest for true sustainability encourages companies to consider the environmental costs of their operations and also encourages conservationists to consider the long term management of protected areas. Indeed, with the explosion of conservation groups and watchdog organizations, the costs of identifying and managing sensitive sites can be reduced through a sort of outsourcing. Partially a result of decreased NPS budgets, NGOs are increasingly shouldering the burden of conservation.

The transition to a patchwork approach to conserving land might be more sustainable, but it takes place in an era of increasingly complex ecological threats. Climate change, resource scarcity, and the pressures of a growing human population all make demands on the remaining open land that will tax these public private partnerships in unforeseen ways. These partnerships are also increasingly complex, often requiring months of negotiations and creating an administrative headache for regional authorities. These headaches also take place in a time when Americans are increasingly separated from their natural surroundings. Dan Jones predicted the 21st century would be the "urban century," and that it was imperative cities plan to create open spaces for their residents, yet in an environment where all nearly all government budgets face pressure to reduce spending many cities lack the financial ability or will to create new parks. With the continued decline in funding for parks and the growing scarcity of open space near cities, the public private partnership model addresses the outdoor recreation needs of the 21st century and will also ensure the ability of conservation groups and private individuals to protect sensitive tracts of land. What the transition to this new model of

conservation says about America's commitment to protection of natural sites is open for debate, but in an era of buzzwords like "sustainability," the public-private partnership fills a real need for pragmatic solutions. Ultimately, since the 1970s the United States entered into a new era of conservation with a new "American best idea," the conservation easement. The role of private conservation efforts is now more important than ever, and by understanding the history of private efforts perhaps we can better guide conservation in the 21st century.

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