Appendix G

North Shore Cemetery Decoration Project: Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Investigations For the Proposed North Shore Road

North Shore Road Draft EIS

North Shore Cemetery Decoration Project

NOVEMBER 2005

In association with

National Park Service,
Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Federal Highway Administration,
Eastern Federal Lands Highway Division

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NORTH SHORE CEMETERY DECORATION PROJECT

ETHNOHISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATIONS FOR THE PROPOSED NORTH SHORE ROAD, GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK, SWAIN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

FINAL REPORT

November 2005

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Research concerning the nature and significance of Decoration Days on the North Shore of Fontana Lake within Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GSMNP, the Park) was performed as part of the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the North Shore Road Project. The work was conducted primarily by Dr. Alan Jabbour, former Director of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, and Dr. Philip E. Coyle, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Western Carolina University, under contract with TRC Garrow Associates, Inc. (TRC), the cultural resources subcontractor to Arcadis G&M of North Carolina, Inc. (ARCADIS), which is preparing the EIS on behalf of the National Park Service (NPS) and the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA). The project, which followed a Statement of Work approved by the NPS, included 57 "ethnographic events," such as attendance at decoration days, interviews, and other visits to cemeteries in the Park and surrounding area, as well as associated documentary research.

Twenty-seven cemeteries on the North Shore are presently decorated annually by members of the North Shore Cemetery Association (also known as the North Shore Historical Association) and others. The present Decoration Day tradition is a revival and modification of a practice that existed prior to the acquisition of the area by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in 1943–44 as part of the Fontana Project. The construction of Fontana Lake resulted in the removal of residents from the North Shore, and the associated inundation of NC 288 eliminated road access to most of the area. Although the 1943 agreement between the TVA, the Department of the Interior, the State of North Carolina, and Swain County that transferred the North Shore area to the Park called for construction of a road to replace NC 288 (which would have facilitated access to the cemeteries), only limited construction was completed prior to 1972, when work was halted. The cemetery decoration practice was revived beginning in 1978, when former residents and their descendants formed the North Shore Cemetery Association to seek increased access to the cemeteries for visits and decorations.

Decoration Day ceremonies on the North Shore take place on Sundays throughout the spring and summer, and follow cleaning (often including scraping and mounding) of the cemeteries by Park staff. Transportation to most of the cemeteries is by boat across Fontana Lake and then by Park vehicles along administrative roads, although a few cemeteries at the eastern and western ends of the North Shore can be reached by private vehicle or on foot. From one to three cemeteries are visited on each Decoration Day. In addition to decoration of the cemeteries, the ceremonies usually include a brief religious message, singing, and "dinner on the ground." They also provide a time to share community and family histories and renew ties to the North Shore area.

The North Shore Decoration Day practice and associated cemeteries are recommended eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP), due to the deep roots of the practice in the community's history and its importance in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community. Similarly, the cemeteries are recommended for listing as ethnographic resources, and the associated practitioners are recommended for consideration as a traditionally associated

group or people, as outlined in NPS Director's Order 28, *Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (NPS 1998:158), and NPS *Management Policies 2001* (NPS 2001:57).

The proposed alternatives for the North Shore Road Project have the potential to cause varying impacts to the Decoration Day practice and the associated cemeteries. The Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell and Northern Shore Corridor could result in both beneficial and adverse long-term impacts to the TCP, by facilitating access to some cemeteries while eliminating existing vehicular access to others. Some of those adverse impacts could be minimized or mitigated, however, through the implementation of minor changes in roadway location or grade, or other measures. The No-Action Alternative, Monetary Settlement Alternative, and Laurel Branch Picnic Area Alternative would not result in foreseeable impacts to the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Day TCP. Those alternatives, however, would not address the concerns about access expressed by many of the cemetery decoration participants, who tend to support the Northern Shore Corridor.

Regardless of the outcome of the EIS process, future management of the Decoration Days and North Shore cemeteries should take into account their status as an apparent TCP, as well as the status of the Decoration Day practitioners and others with long-standing ties to the North Shore as traditionally associated peoples or groups. A variety of measures are recommended to facilitate future Park management of these resources, including the development of additional procedures to assure appropriate consultation with the traditionally associated group, development and implementation of a *Cemetery Preservation Plan*, additional interpretive programming concerning the Decoration Days and the cemeteries, and additional research concerning the history of the cemeteries and of cemetery decorations on the North Shore, elsewhere in the Park, and in the surrounding region.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The project team wishes to express gratitude to the people of the Smokies for opening up their homes, providing lengthy interviews, sharing documents, giving guided tours of regional cemeteries, providing dinner on the ground and cover from the rain along with helpful cultural explanations during North Shore decorations, and in every way making the team feel welcome and comfortable during their work on this project. Special thanks are due to Helen Vance of the North Shore Historical Association for organizing the public meeting in Bryson City with which we inaugurated the project on July 2, 2004, and to members of the Association and Park staff members for assisting us when we attended North Shore cemetery decorations.

A number of the people interviewed were asked to provide additional assistance when this manuscript was in an earlier draft stage, by reading the draft and providing comments and corrections. They provided this help both individually over several weeks and during a small gathering in the room above the fire station in Bryson City on January 22, 2005. Although their comments and corrections improved the accuracy of this report, the authors alone are responsible for the report's broader observations, assertions, and conclusions.

The project also benefited from the guidance and oversight of professional staff from the following offices: Arcadis G&M of North Carolina, Inc., Raleigh, North Carolina; Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Gatlinburg, Tennessee; Southeast Regional Office, NPS, Atlanta, Georgia; Southeast Archeological Center, NPS, Tallahassee, Florida; the Washington Office, NPS; and the FHWA. Several of those individuals provided useful comments on drafts of this report.

The Anthropology and Sociology Department of Western Carolina University in Cullowhee provided a home base for the research. The project team is grateful for use of the Department's Ethnography Laboratory and its equipment, and for assistance in countless other ways.

Finally, the authors are grateful to Karen Singer Jabbour for the photographs that have added significant value to both the Final Report and the project archive; to Tonya Teague and Jamie Patterson for skillful assistance in many phases of the project, and especially for their able transcription of the sound recordings; and to the staff of TRC, for their assistance in facilitating the project at every stage.

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I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This report is the result of a research project undertaken in the summer and fall of 2004 in Great Smoky Mountains National Park (the Park, GSMNP) and nearby counties in western North Carolina, and concerns the nature and significance of Decoration Days as carried out on the North Shore of Fontana Lake. The North Shore is a large (over 44,000-acre) area that was added to the Park after access to it was cut off by construction of Fontana Lake in the 1940s. Twenty-seven cemeteries on the North Shore are presently decorated annually by members of the North Shore Cemetery Association (also known as the North Shore Historical Association) and others, in continuation of a practice with deep roots and significance in the Smokies (Figures 1 and 2). This work examines the history and meaning of the Decoration Days, as well as the potential impact of the North Shore Road Project on the Decoration Days and the associated cemeteries.

The study was launched with the title *Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Investigations for the Proposed North Shore Road, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Swain County, North Carolina*. But the project team, as they experimented with useful names for the archival collection they were generating, evolved a working title that better represents the actual focus and thrust of the research: North Shore Cemetery Decoration Project.

ORIGIN AND PLANNING

The North Shore Road Project began with an appropriation by the U.S. Congress in October 2000 to the U.S. Department of Transportation for the purpose of resuming work on the North Shore Road, construction of which was called for in the 1943 Agreement that provided for transfer of the North Shore area to GSMNP (see Appendix A to the DEIS; also available at www.northshoreroad.info). Although small segments of the road were built in the three decades following the agreement, construction had ceased in 1972 as a result of mounting economic and environmental concerns. The appropriation in 2000 was the result of sustained lobbying by local advocates of the road, which as originally envisioned would stretch from Bryson City, North Carolina, across the southern flank of the Great Smoky Mountains, or, looked at another way, along the northern shore of Fontana Lake, to the vicinity of Fontana Dam. Such a sizeable federal project requires an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), which must address a host of issues relating to construction of this road or alternative options.

The EIS process, which began in 2003 with a set of public scoping meetings, has resulted in the development of a series of alternatives for resolution of this 60-year-old dilemma. As outlined in the Draft EIS (DEIS), the five detailed study alternatives include a No-Action Alternative (which is required by the National Environmental Policy Act [NEPA]), a Monetary Settlement Alternative, and three partial-build and build alternatives: the Laurel Branch Picnic Area, the Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell, and the Northern Shore Corridor (see Sections S-4.3 and 2.5 of the DEIS). The technical studies carried out for

the EIS have been wide-ranging, including not only the geological, hydrological, and biological issues that most people associate with environmental impact statements, but also historical, archeological, and other cultural resource issues. Although cultural resources are frequently thought of as historic buildings and archeological sites, they also include a variety of other resources. One such resource type is the Traditional Cultural Property (TCP), which is a place that is of special importance in the cultural practices or beliefs of a living community. Such properties can require consideration in the EIS process (and in associated studies necessary under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act [NHPA]) if they are rooted in that community's history and are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community (King 2003; Parker and King 1990). Although the concept is often associated with Native American sacred sites, TCPs can also include traditional resource procurement areas (locations at which groups traditionally gathered foodstuffs, medicinal plants, or other materials) or sacred or secular locations important to other groups.

The early stages of the EIS process included preparation of a *Cultural Resources Existing Conditions Report* (Webb 2004) discussing the area's history and its known and potential resources. In that report, it was noted that at least some of the North Shore cemeteries might be classified as a TCP due to their association with Decoration Day practices and their role in maintaining group identity among former area residents (Webb 2004:149). As summarized in that report and discussed in detail elsewhere (e.g., Rohr 2003), the issue of access to the North Shore cemeteries has played a major part in the discussions about the North Shore Road over the past several decades. The North Shore Cemetery Association was organized in 1978 as part of efforts to press the Park to improve cemetery access, and since that time the Park has provided boat and other access to the North Shore cemeteries for Decoration Days. These ceremonies have in turn served to focus continued attention on the debate over completion of the North Shore Road.

As a result of continued discussion among project participants, it was agreed that a study of the Decoration Day practices was an appropriate component of the EIS work, and plans for such a study were made final in late spring of 2004.

The work for the study, as outlined in the Statement of Work, was to identify:

1) the nature and history of the Decoration Day practices in the North Shore area (i.e., the set of behaviors associated with these practices, how these local practices varied through time and space, and how they are related to a broader cultural pattern);

2) the identity and composition of the communities that participate in these practices;

3) the cultural meanings and values attached to the North Shore Decoration Day ceremonies by the families and communities associated with these places and ceremonies;

4) the nature and boundaries of the physical places that are tied to these practices;

5) the role these behaviors played and play in maintaining social cohesiveness and community identity;

6) information relating to previous government (TVA and NPS) policies affecting use, maintenance, and ease of access to cemeteries in the North Shore area;

7) the status of these properties and behaviors as a TCP and in relation to the National Register *Criteria for Eligibility*;

8) the possible effect of the proposed North Shore Road Project alternatives on these practices; and

9) the development of management recommendations.

If these practices and properties are considered likely to be eligible for the NRHP, the researchers were also to propose strategies to avoid or minimize impacts that might result from implementation of project alternatives.

Associated goals of the project were to enable NPS managers to:

1) determine the potential status of the North Shore area cemeteries and related locales as a Traditional Cultural Property;

2) deal with any potential unintended consequences of the North Shore Road Project on cultural values and practices of the families and communities associated with the cemeteries and Decoration Day activities;

3) evaluate impacts of the various North Shore Road Project alternatives on the cultural values and practices associated with the area, and differences among the alternatives;

4) foster favorable community relations between Great Smoky Mountains National Park and historically associated and neighboring communities;

5) develop management plans (e.g., monument maintenance programs) once the project is completed that will:

   a. minimize adverse physical effects on the potential TCP, and

   b. minimize effects on the cultural practices of the families and communities that ascribe meaning to the TCP.

Candidates for the project research team were identified in May of 2004. On June 14, an Initial Planning Meeting was held at the headquarters of the Blue Ridge Parkway in Asheville, NC, which was attended by staff of GSMNP; the NPS Southeast Regional Office, Southeast Archaeological Center, and Washington Office; ARCADIS; TRC Garrow Associates, Inc. (TRC), which is conducting the cultural

resources part of the EIS studies for ARCADIS; and Alan Jabbour and Philip E. Coyle, who had been recruited for the research team.

Later in June, Paul Webb of TRC assembled published and unpublished background materials for the project team. Coyle also located some relevant materials. Meanwhile, Jabbour drafted a Research Design based on the earlier Statement of Work, points and issues raised at the Initial Planning Meeting, and further discussions with Webb and Coyle. Discussions with the planning group led to modifications of the Research Design.

The key project team members were Dr. Alan Jabbour of Washington, D.C., former director of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, and Dr. Philip E. Coyle, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Western Carolina University in Cullowhee. Both conducted interviews, attended decorations, visited cemeteries, managed documentary equipment, and represented the project in public situations. Jabbour's wife, Karen Singer Jabbour, participated in the fieldwork and was responsible for much of the project photography. Two student assistants from Western Carolina University, Ms. Tonya Teague and Ms. Jamie Patterson, generated transcriptions of the recorded interviews, attended some decorations, and contributed in various other ways to the project. Paul Webb of TRC maintained constant contact with the project team, mostly by e-mail and telephone but occasionally through personal visits to the field; provided background research documents for team members to use; and offered other assistance as well.

FIELDWORK AND REPORTING

The fieldwork phase of the project began on July 2, 2004 with a meeting organized by Helen Vance of the North Shore Cemetery Association at the Swain County Administration Building and Courthouse in Bryson City. Between 25 and 30 local people attended the meeting, including a representative of Congressman Charles Taylor. The project team introduced themselves, described their research plans, asked for comments, and requested contact information for future personal interviews. Two days later, on Independence Day, the project team experienced their first North Shore decorations as a team when they attended the decorations at Proctor and Bradshaw cemeteries, and they used their documentary equipment for the first time to produce sound recordings and still photographs of the event.

Fieldwork took place from early July through October. Coyle was in the region throughout the period and undertook fieldwork on a steady part-time basis. The Jabbours were in the region for fieldwork from July 1 through 8, July 26 through August 8, and August 16 through September 3. The field engagements can be described as "ethnographic events," a concept that the project used in organizing the field data into a coherent archival collection. An ethnographic event is a fieldworker's engagement with a person, group, event, or site on a particular day. Ethnographic events included interviews, cemetery decorations, other public events, and tours of area cemeteries. Most ethnographic events were documented photographically

or by sound recordings–often by both–and all are documented by fieldnotes. The project yielded 57 ethnographic events, which are listed in Attachment G-1.

Almost all of the interviews were done in person, but Coyle also arranged for a few telephone interviews. A typical interview lasted over an hour and was part of a visit that may have lasted over two hours. Coyle undertook a group of shorter interviews with young people during one North Shore decoration. Coyle and the Jabbours also had the experience of conducting walking interviews in cemeteries. For the most part, Coyle and the Jabbours worked separately in the field, but several decorations were attended by multiple team members. The team also converged many afternoons and evenings at the Ethnography Laboratory within the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Western Carolina University, which provided use of the lab through the summer and into the fall. E-mail correspondence took place virtually daily during periods when the Jabbours were in Washington, D.C. The project was very much a team effort.

Following the fieldwork phase, Jabbour drafted the Management Summary, which provided an overview of the status of the project for the management group from the NPS and ARCADIS. The Management Summary included a review of project accomplishments, a forecast of key project conclusions regarding Traditional Cultural Property status and related matters, and a tentative outline of the Final Report. The text of the Final Report was primarily drafted by Jabbour, with the other team members and Webb offering editorial suggestions. Coyle drafted Chapter VII, which addresses the Traditional Cultural Property evaluation, with editorial input from other team members and Webb. Webb drafted Chapter VIII and part of Chapter V, and also assembled Attachment G-2, providing profiles on the North Shore Cemeteries, and Attachment G-3, analyzing potential project impacts to the cemeteries and associated practices.

At this point it may be useful to mention a few things that this report is <u>not</u>. Although it includes many historical considerations and perspectives, and might even be considered “history” from a methodological perspective (see below), it is not a regional history. Aspects of North Shore and regional history have been discussed in detail by such authors as Cole (1996), Holland (2001), Oliver (1989, 2003), Taylor (2001), and Webb (2004), and the reader is referred to these and other authors for historical information. Similarly, this study does not present a detailed recapitulation of the long-simmering controversy over the North Shore Road, which has been presented by Brown (2000), Holland (2001), and Rohr (2003), along with contributors to *Fontana*, the newsletter of the North Shore Historical Association. Finally, this report cannot address the many issues relating to identifying and evaluating TCPs in general, which are addressed usefully by Thomas F. King in *Places That Count* (2003).

This project was undertaken as part of the effort to identify and evaluate cultural resources that might be affected by the North Shore Road Project, and does not represent the formal consultation with interested parties required under the implementation regulations for the NHPA (36 CFR 800.2 [C] [5]). Such “Section 106 Consultation” was conducted with the North Shore Cemetery Association and other groups and agencies in 2004 and 2005, as outlined in Section 5.5 and Appendix H of the DEIS. Similarly,

members of the general public, including those who were concerned about issues relating to the cemeteries, have had multiple opportunities to comment on project alternatives and other issues as part of the North Shore Road Public Involvement Program (see Section 6 of the DEIS).

A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, this study is an example of the "human science" that Wilhelm Dilthey (2002) contrasts to "natural science." A natural science approach, for Dilthey, is used to understand relations between objects or forces that are outside the realm of human communication. Biological processes, chemical reactions, or physical laws are all understood using a natural science approach. A human science approach, on the other hand, recognizes that studying living people is different from studying objects. People can tell you–at least approximately–what they are thinking and why they believe they do things. Crucially, they can tell you and show you what particular places mean to them and why.

This study was based on face-to-face communication between researchers and consultants in meaningful ethnographic contexts. These contexts included public meetings, private homes, cemeteries, former home and town sites, and other places where the researchers interacted with people involved in decorating North Shore graves. In ethnographic work, researcher and consultant are somewhat like student and teacher. As such, the researchers came to different ethnographic events with a willingness to listen and learn from those who have devoted significant parts of their lives to perpetuating an ongoing human activity. The information developed out of this research is based primarily upon such conversations and interactions.

This study seeks to understand the meaning of particular practices and places–graves, cemeteries and associated locations–from the perspectives of the participants themselves, with all the emotionally charged feelings that such a point of view entails. This is the perspective demanded in considering the cultural significance of potential TCPs in the Section 106 Process, as well as identifying "ethnographic resources" under NPS policy. Nonetheless, the human scientific approach employed here is also methodologically grounded in systematic participant-observation fieldwork. It is a study of a particular social situation that the researchers were able to experience and observe directly. Moreover, the researchers take the comparative perspective that is the hallmark of anthropology and is increasingly shared by other human sciences, such as psychology. Local information was considered as it related to historical data and analogous information elsewhere in the region. This comparative approach also led the researchers to examine cemetery decoration in its larger socio-cultural context, which might be ignored without such a general perspective, taking into account interrelations of cemetery decoration with other aspects of human life like politics, kinship, and art.

The approach discussed here derives its validity and reliability from the balanced use of a comprehensive range of historical and ethnographic sources. In addition to reviewing documentary sources, the research team sought a wide variety of people to interview. These included both North Shore "insiders" and those

who only attend one decoration a year. It included the old and the young; women and men; “locals” and transplants; and those in favor of a North Shore Road and those opposed to its construction. The researchers also attended a range of decorations through the summer: those that are very popular and those attended by smaller groups. Finally, the researchers also interacted with a number of Park employees, from seasonal maintenance workers to the Park Superintendent. These Park employees and their work, entwined as it is with the activity of decorating graves on the North Shore, also became a part of this study. In writing this report the researchers have been careful to cite their sources and justify their conclusions based on verifiable information so that other interested individuals and researchers might critically consider the analysis and conclusions presented here. In all this, the researchers have scrupulously sought to protect the privacy of individuals with whom they have interacted, and have identified people by name only when those people have explicitly given permission to do so.

Because this study is an outcome of direct human interactions with living people–people whom the researchers came to know and respect–the researchers have also tried to write the report in a style that will be understood and appreciated by them. For this reason, the authors have tried to avoid jargon or excessive citation of scholarly polemics, while also attempting to maintain the scientific rigor required of such a research report.

THE PROJECT ARCHIVE

The archival collection generated by the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Project can be found in the Park Archives at Sugarlands, Tennessee. It contains materials in the following media:

1. Fieldnotes–digital documents amounting to the equivalent of approximately 150 single-spaced pages;
2. sound recordings–digital documents amounting to approximately 50 hours of interviews and decoration events;
3. logs and transcripts of the sound recordings;
4. still photographs (color)–approximately 800 images of decorations, cemeteries, and interviewees, including copies of old photographs;
5. biographical data forms and permission forms for each person interviewed; and
6. miscellaneous artifacts and paper documents given to the team in the field.

The fieldnotes, which describe the experiences and observations of each fieldworker with each ethnographic event, are what might be described as the intellectual core of the documentary corpus. All the other documents can be correlated with the same ethnographic events that the fieldnotes describe. The sound recordings, together with their logs and transcripts, provide the key to the interviews. The still

photography provides some portraits of the interviewees and also images of old documents or artifacts they shared. It also provides visual insights into the decoration events the team attended, and many of the photographs document cemeteries throughout the region.

II. THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

"Decoration" and "decoration day" are aptly defined by the recently published *Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English* (Montgomery and Hall 2004:170):

> An occasion on which a family or church congregation gathers on a Sunday to place flowers on the graves of loved ones and to hold a memorial service for them. Traditionally this involved singing and dinner on the ground as well as a religious service.

Over the past century many observers have noted the existence of this tradition in the Smokies and elsewhere in the southern Appalachians and beyond. For example, Muriel Sheppard offers the following description in *Cabins in the Laurel* (Sheppard 1935:214–215, also cited in Montgomery and Hall 2004):

> Among the mountain people, the national Memorial Day passes unnoticed. In its place each of the country churches has its own "decoration," when the congregation holds a memorial service for the dead. These individual services, in a long procession from late spring to midsummer, are a timely chance for wide inter-churchly visiting.

Mention of the tradition is often accompanied by the suggestion that the custom of cemetery decoration is dying out. But it has proved sturdier as a cultural practice than its observers had expected. Today one can attend decorations aplenty throughout the Smokies in the warm weather months of the year.

The building of Fontana Dam in the early 1940s led to the removal of about 600 families who had lived in the area prior to construction, including many residing outside the proposed reservoir on the adjacent southern slopes of the Great Smoky Mountains north of the Tuckasegee and Little Tennessee rivers (TVA 1950:483; Webb 2004:36). Before the building of the dam, the land between the lake and the Smokies previously had either no name at all or generic names like "the lower end of the county." Most people identified themselves more locally–they thought of themselves as being from Hazel Creek, Forney Creek, Chambers Creek, or the like. But out of the crucible of the removal–and the sense of grievance against the government–was born a social and cultural movement strong enough to name the entire area "the North Shore."

Since that cultural movement focused on gaining access to the North Shore in order to decorate the cemeteries there, the North Shore cemeteries have served as a major focus for this study. But the study also seeks to look more broadly at the cultural tradition of cemetery decoration in the wider region, thus describing both the general tradition of decorating cemeteries and also the more particular version of decoration that evolved in response to the North Shore expulsion and the NPS's assumption of responsibility for maintaining the North Shore cemeteries. In addition, the report also touches on other aspects of the cultural values ascribed to the North Shore by the former residents and their descendants.

THE PLURAL ROOTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE SMOKIES

The culture of the Smokies today is a plural culture made up of multiple ethnic components and various historical and geographical ingredients. Appalachian culture is sometimes imagined to be simple and mono-cultural, but that has never been the case anywhere in the region, and the Smokies are even more visibly multicultural than the rest of the Appalachians because of the flourishing of Cherokee culture there up to the present day. At the same time, the plural elements in the culture of the Smokies do not coexist in isolation from each other. They have always interacted, creating in the process a larger regional culture in which all the region's groups share.

The inhabitants with the longest ties to the Smokies landscape are the Cherokees, an Iroquoian-speaking tribe that occupied or claimed much of the Upland South (in modern U.S. terms), including parts of modern North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia. The site of the "mother village" of the Cherokees, Kituwha, is located in the EIS study area, on the Tuckasegee River above present-day Bryson City. The Cherokees traded with European settlers to the east from the 17th century on. By the end of the 18th century they had adopted a number of European economic and cultural features, including horses, guns, and various Old World foods such as chickens, hogs, watermelons, and black-eyed peas. It is interesting to reflect, as Michael Ann Williams has pointed out in *Great Smoky Mountains Folklife*, that the first builders of log cabins in the Smokies were the Cherokees, who had borrowed the idea from European-American settlers to the east (Williams 1995:74).

Contact and trade between the Cherokees and the new European-Americans not only grew during the 18th century but was gradually accompanied by sporadic settlement of the newcomers in the Cherokee homeland. Shifting alliances in the last half of the 18th century among the French, English, and various Indian tribes were replaced by growing tensions with the new government during the early 19th century. A succession of treaties resulted in the loss of much Cherokee territory, including lands on the north bank of the Little Tennessee River, and some Cherokees moved westward to the Arkansas Territory. Calls for the removal of the Cherokees from the Southeast crescendoed when gold was discovered in areas of northern Georgia where the Cherokees had settlements, and Andrew Jackson as President pushed through the negotiations that paved the way for the Trail of Tears, requiring most of the Cherokees to leave their homes and migrate to Oklahoma. Most Cherokees were forced to leave, but some received exemptions because of intermarriage or other causes, and some hid out in the mountains to avoid removal. (For a Cherokee-oriented and site-oriented review of this history, see Duncan and Riggs 2003:13–32.) The Trail of Tears has a direct relevance to the present narrative, for later generations of European-Americans would be removed as well by the federal government. Whatever their ancestors may have thought about the Cherokee removal, the generations of the later 20th century came to see a parallel between the Trail of Tears and their own removal from the North Shore a century later.

The removal of the Cherokees, even if incomplete, accelerated the flow of European-American settlers in the Smokies. At the time their cultural backgrounds were heterogeneous. Some moved in from areas to

the east and southeast in the Carolina Piedmont. Some moved down the Valley of Virginia from Pennsylvania or Virginia, filtering down through the Appalachians or down into the Piedmont and then back into the Appalachians. Some continued through the Valley of Virginia into the Tennessee Valley, then moved back across the Smokies into North Carolina. In fact, a surprising number of families living in the North Shore in the early 20th century had ancestors who came from Cades Cove and other areas in eastern Tennessee a hundred years or so earlier.

Ethnically, the new arrivals were diverse. The description of them in common parlance as "Scotch-Irish"–that is, descendants of Scottish settlers in Ireland's Ulster province, who in a later generation migrated to the United States and followed the roads south and west from Pennsylvania through the Valley of Virginia–fits only one subset of these new arrivals. Many were migrants from England, Scotland, Wales, and southern Ireland, and many more were from continental Europe–particularly German-speaking regions, but also French, Swedish, Dutch, and other European ethnic traditions. And most of the new arrivals in the Smokies, whatever their ethnic ancestry, were born in the United States and thus brought their Pennsylvania, Virginia, or Carolina cultural influences with them. Though they were diverse, the new arrivals quickly intermarried and in other ways began the process of welding a common regional culture.

Some of the new arrivals brought slaves into the region, thus adding African-Americans as a third major ethnic category ("third" if one considers the diverse European-Americans as a single ethnic group). African-American escapees and free persons also found their way into the area from early times forward, and a few African-American slaves were owned by local Cherokees. There was little direct mixing between African-Americans and European-Americans, but both intermarried more frequently with the Cherokees. Other African-Americans arrived in the region in the later 19th and early 20th centuries as workers on railroad construction or in logging and industry. But as the 20th century progressed, the African-American population declined. Today there are a few small African-American communities in larger towns, but hardly any in the countryside.

THE EMERGENCE OF A REGIONAL CULTURE

The origins of the people of the Smokies were varied, but their ethnic and national traditions combined with the new way of life and key historical developments to create a regional culture–a culture that has certain unique properties but shares a great deal with the more widely distributed Appalachian culture of North Carolina and neighboring states. One useful way of charting the emergence of an overarching regional culture is to observe the religious practices of the region. The new arrivals in the Smokies were not only varied in terms of European or other ethnic origin; they were also of different religious backgrounds. Looking back, one tends to assume that everyone who migrated into the region was Protestant, but in fact there seem to have been many arrivals who came from Catholic backgrounds. And the Protestants may have been Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, or Reform (that is, European

Calvinists). Actually, frontier America during the early days of the United States had few churches, and many people had no active religious affiliation at all. But the Smokies, like other parts of the Southern Appalachians, were touched by the lingering influences of the Second Great Awakening that swept the frontier at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries–a religious revival movement that was itself a sign of an emergent frontier culture in America.

What eventually developed was a region dominated by Baptist churches in the rural areas and Baptist and Methodist churches (tinctured with a few Presbyterian and Episcopal churches) in the towns. In many ways the rise of the Baptist domain was a sign of the coalescing of a new regional culture in the Smokies, and indeed in much of the Upland South. The Baptists were originally Calvinistic in doctrine and church organization, but as the 19th century wore on they were subject to waves of new ideas. Hence one finds in the region today quite a few Missionary Baptist Churches, as well as other denominations that emphasize free will and missionizing in their doctrines and who have added harmony, musical instruments, and other innovations to the church service. Historically, these new directions among Baptists also produced counter-reformation efforts to preserve or restore the old Calvinist vision, which account for some Primitive Baptist churches scattered through the region today.

The lay of the land and the pattern of settlement had a profound influence on the regional culture that gradually emerged. Essentially there were (and still are) two systems of social organization in the Smokies. The towns and broader river valleys comprise one system, while the rural coves comprise another. The towns in the project region include three county seats: Bryson City (Swain County), Sylva (Jackson County), and Robbinsville (Graham County). In addition, there is the town of Cherokee (in Swain County), which is controlled by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and economically dominated by tourism. Other towns are discernibly smaller, but all lie along the larger rivers in the Little Tennessee River system. Along those same rivers–the Tuckasegee, Little Tennessee, and Nantahala and their larger tributaries–lie expanses of fertile bottomland. This land was settled and farmed by landowners who tended to be more well-to-do and well connected to commercial establishments in the towns. Some had slaves, and the African-Americans in the region were therefore concentrated in the towns and along larger bottomlands nearby. Interestingly, Kituwha lies on just such a stretch of bottomland between present-day Cherokee and Bryson City.

The rural coves comprise a different system, even if they use the larger towns as centers for commerce. The word “cove” describes those narrower creek valleys that in most parts of the Appalachians (and often here as well) are called “hollows” (or “hollers”). Coves may contain arable bottomland, but the extent of it is typically more limited than in the larger river valleys. The coves are well suited for small farming for subsistence augmented by modest cash crops, but less well suited for larger-scale commercial farming. The network of branches and creeks favors a pattern of dispersed rural settlement. People of the coves are not clustered in tight villages but rather are located on small patches of arable land surrounded by woods, where they can combine subsistence gardening and farming with hunting and gathering from the surrounding woods and streams. That is exactly the pattern of life that emerged in the 19th century.

The people of the coves of course used the towns from time to time and traversed the broad river valleys to get there. Some of them even moved to town to take jobs or open businesses, so that today one can encounter the same surnames in town that one encounters in the coves. But one also encounters names in town that are not to be found in the coves. And over the years a sort of cultural divide grew up between town and cove, not only in the Smokies but throughout the Appalachians. They were all connected in a larger economic system, yet there was and remains today a degree of mutual mistrust between the town-and-valley dwellers and the cove dwellers. Alan Jabbour discusses in *The Hammons Family* (1973:2 and ff.) the same cultural pattern and resultant social divide in West Virginia.

LOGGING AND OTHER INDUSTRIES

The dual system of land use and culture in the Smokies was augmented in the later 19th and earlier 20th centuries by a third system. The boom industries of logging and mining that exploited the resources of the Smokies generated boom towns that expanded rapidly for several years, then contracted just as rapidly as the industry judged the area to be no longer economically profitable (Brown 2000:49–77; Holland 2001:79–107). Some boomtowns, like Proctor on Hazel Creek, were very small preexisting settlements that expanded greatly during their boom era (Oliver 1989:55–70). Others, like the logging town of Ravensford along Raven Fork of the Oconaluftee River in northeastern Swain County, were created for the industry and vanished when the industry departed (Webb 2002).

The systematic logging transformed the region in many ways. It eliminated the "old-growth forest" that had survived into the 20th century in many areas of the Smokies–now there are only remnants of the stands of giant hemlocks and tulip poplars that were common throughout the region in living memory. Many areas were virtually denuded of trees, and the run-off and silting damaged streams throughout the region. Many plant and animal species were profoundly affected, and so was the hunting-and-gathering pattern of culture that engaged and supported so many cove residents. Meanwhile, the boomtowns beckoned with jobs that supported a cash economy, only to disappear when logging was completed in that area. The 19th century pattern of land ownership was disrupted by the concentration of land into the hands of a few lumber companies. Once the logging companies had gone, the changes in both the natural and cultural environments made it impossible for most local residents to return to the earlier lifestyles.

As logging companies began shifting their major efforts to the Pacific Northwest, many of the generation who turned to logging in the Smokies followed the jobs to towns in the state of Washington. Today logging remains a regional industry of great importance, but the older boom-and-bust logging pattern has been supplanted by a more measured level of year-in-year-out logging. Meanwhile, throughout the region (including GSMNP and the national forests), young, new forests have replaced the old-growth forests that disappeared in the first decades of the 20th century.

Mining has a long history in the region, punctuated by periodic new discoveries of gold, copper, and other metals (Holland 2001:45–57). Most 19th-century mining consisted of small-scale mining operations,

but by the 20th century some operations were larger, including the mining on Eagle Creek before the coming of TVA. There has been a historical tendency for mining to follow boom-and-bust cycles correlating with the rise and fall of the price of various metals. But mining never reached the level of societal impact in the Smokies that logging had in the early 20th century.

Similarly, manufacturing has had only modest impacts on the social and economic life of the Smokies. In fact, the largest impact of manufacturing in the 20th century was the magnet of manufacturing jobs outside but within striking distance of the region–jobs in the cotton mills and furniture factories in the western Piedmont of North Carolina, and jobs with Alcoa and other industries across the mountains in the Tennessee Valley. A few factories sprang up in the Smokies proper, such as the Carolina Wood Turning Company (later Shanks Lumber Company and the Singer Furniture Company) in Bryson City and Jackson Paper Manufacturing in Sylva, but overall the lack of railroads and (until recently) four-lane highways to facilitate easy transportation discouraged factory construction in the Smokies.

Thus the Smokies reveal a pattern of development that parallels other parts of the southern and central Appalachians. Although extractive industries have exported logs and minerals from the Smokies, the most important export since the mid-19th century has been people. The population of the Smokies has grown rapidly, but the capacity of the land and the local economy to sustain people has not grown. This is the pattern of population explosion throughout the Appalachians that in the 19th century fueled the westward expansion of the country, and in the 20th century continued to send Appalachian migrants north, east, west, and south in search of jobs and a new life.

HISTORICAL TRAUMAS

The history of the Smokies region has been punctuated by a series of "historical traumas"–the term comes from Carmaleta Littlejohn Monteith, who used it in conversation during the project's interview with her husband, Max Monteith (NSCD 7-29-04 AJ/KJ-1). The first and greatest historical trauma for the Smokies was the forced removal of most of the Cherokee population in 1838–39. As the culmination of a long process of Cherokee land loss in the region, the Treaty of New Echota, signed by a small minority of Cherokee leaders and none from western North Carolina, ceded the remaining Cherokee lands in the Southeast in exchange for a payment and land in what is now Oklahoma. President Andrew Jackson took a personal hand in the issue, and his successor, President Martin Van Buren, issued the order for the forced removal in 1838. In the long and arduous march westward, several thousand people died, and the removal has been known ever since as the Trail of Tears. But some North Carolina Cherokees were able to gain exemptions from the removal, and others managed to avoid being rounded up (Duggan 1998; Finger 1979, 1984). According to local folklore, one Cherokee man, Tsali, killed two soldiers while resisting removal of his family, then later gave himself up voluntarily to protect the small band of remaining Cherokees and was put to death. His heroic resistance is legendary today, not only among the Cherokees but throughout the region, and Catherine Albanese points out that his story functions as a

contemporary origin story for the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, who grew out of those who remained (Albanese 1984:344–371).

The next historical trauma for the region was the Civil War and its aftermath. Residents of the study area in western North Carolina by and large expressed allegiance to the Confederate cause. Many headstones in regional cemeteries testify to service for the Confederacy. Since slave-holding was quite limited in the Smokies, and even rarer in the coves, one presumes that the region supported the Confederacy primarily out of a sense of family and community ties and loyalty to North Carolina as a state and the South as a region. The Cherokees also generally favored the Confederacy–perhaps in part out of mistrust of the federal government. But there is much evidence of division on this question throughout the region. Some fought, some opposed, and some simply lay low, hoping to avoid the brutal consequences of war, which included marauding gangs using the chaos of wartime as an opportunity for their own depredations.

The region of eastern Tennessee just across the Smokies tended to sympathize with the Union more than their North Carolina neighbors, although there were divisions there as well. Thus the war brought out and accented tensions between the two sides of the Smokies. Despite many family links across the state line, a sense of suspicion and resentment toward East Tennessee continues to this day in western North Carolina. In matters pertaining to the Park, it takes the form of a long-standing and widely held conviction that the residents on the Tennessee side of the Park have received more attention and benefits than those on the North Carolina side.

During the long aftermath of the Civil War, the dangers of war subsided, but the Reconstruction period seems to have brought little real peace and less prosperity to the Smokies and the Appalachians generally. But stability returned as the century wore on–only to be disrupted again by the dawning of the era of wholesale logging in the region. The region was not accessible by railroad until the early 20th century, when logging companies brought railroad lines to the region to haul logs to market. World War I had an impact; many young men from the Smokies were part of the armed forces in Europe and at home. But unless the loss of the old-growth forest and the resulting societal changes is counted as a historical trauma, the next major regional trauma came in the late 1920s on the eve of the Great Depression: the first of two removals of the people of the Smokies in order to create Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

THE ALLURE OF THE SMOKIES AND THE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL PARK

Although logging was the only traditional industry to anchor itself in the Smokies, the late 19th century brought the development of another industry, tourism, which had profound impacts on the region's development. Tourism was rooted in a growing national perception of the region as naturally beautiful, ecologically distinctive, and culturally fascinating. Its forested mountains are among the highest in the eastern United States, and the region is filled with rushing rivers, waterfalls, and other scenic attractions. Its peaks and coves contain a wide and extraordinarily diverse array of plant and animal species. And by the early 20th century there was a growth of local-color literature and travelers' observations that

contributed to an image of the Smokies as a culturally remote region with attractive and venerable customs. The earliest tourism consisted of hunting and fishing visits by outsiders, often well-to-do men from American cities who used the region's early hunting lodges as rural retreats. The European wild boar was released in the Smokies by hunters of this description, and it has thrived to this day. Gradually, as the 20th century progressed, a broader family-oriented tourism began to take hold throughout the region.

Taking a wider view, America inherited from the later 19th century and developed in the 20th century the concept of national parks as extraordinary places set aside for safeguarding and public appreciation (Rettie 1995:13–39). The broader conservation movement, as well as the parallel movement for historic preservation, spawned the idea of national parks as a coherent, systematic national response to the conservation and preservation impulse. In a sense, setting aside parks was a way of assuaging the anxiety about change, and thus it was a favored tool of the progressives of the turn of the century. Yellowstone National Park has the distinction of being the first national park (1872), and many more followed quickly as the concept began to be fleshed out in the ensuing decades. Great Smoky Mountains National Park was not one of the earliest. In fact, by the time it was created in the 1920s and 1930s, one argument for creating a park in the Smokies was that the eastern states were seriously under-represented in the development of the national park system.

One of the strongest advocates for the creation of the Park was Horace Kephart, whose book *Our Southern Highlanders* was first published in 1913 and is still in print. The book is a perfect example of America's spiritual migration from the 19th-century ideal of the pioneer or frontiersman to the 20th-century idealized image, after the closing of the Western frontier, of the Appalachians as a cultural byway that somehow, through isolation, preserved the customs and values of the old American frontier. Kephart, a librarian who had grown up in Pennsylvania and Iowa, moved to the Smokies in 1904. He lived on Hazel Creek from 1904 to 1907, returning after an absence of a few years to live in Bryson City until his death in an automobile accident in 1931. In honor of his writings celebrating the region and because of his advocacy for the creation of the Park, the National Geographic Board named a peak in western North Carolina after him. But the memory of him in the region is mixed, and many contemporary residents of the Smokies remain resentful about some of his more stereotypical characterizations of the Appalachian mountaineer.

All these forces, helped along by a sizeable gift from the Rockefeller family, culminated in the creation of the Park beginning in the later 1920s (Pierce 2000; Brown 2000:78–144). On the North Carolina side of the Smokies, the removal of people to create the Park had an impact primarily on homesteads and families situated at the higher elevations of the mountains. Mostly they moved down the creeks to the communities below the Park boundary. They were changing homes, and sometimes they were changing communities. But in most cases they were not changing their way of life radically. None could imagine that in less than a generation they would be subjected to a second removal. That was what happened, however, with the announcement of plans to build Fontana Dam.

Although the Fontana Project had its origins in thirty years of planning by the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) and its subsidiaries, Fontana Dam was built by TVA, which had already brought electricity to thousands of citizens throughout the Tennessee River basin. The tallest dam in the eastern United States, it was constructed on the Little Tennessee River just a few miles east of the Tennessee border. It was justified in part as a key ingredient of the war effort during World War II. The primary purpose of the dam was to supply electricity to Alcoa, the aluminum manufacturing company located just west of the Smokies in eastern Tennessee, which was regarded as a critical contributor to the war effort (Holland 2001:119 ff.; Brown 2000:145–173; Taylor 2001:60–94). To this day, the visitor to Fontana Dam will see electric power lines leaving the dam and following a path directly toward the Tennessee border to the west–one more piece of evidence to many Carolinians that Tennessee gets the better of all the deals involving the Smokies.

The dam created a lake that raised the river level hundreds of feet and stretched nearly thirty miles from one end to the other. In 1943 and 1944, as workers toiled feverishly to finish the dam, thousands of residents of the Smokies were told they must leave their homes. The removal included not only people at the lower elevations, whose property would be inundated. It also included an estimated 200 families whose homes were on higher ground, but who would be cut off and isolated by the Smokies to the north and Fontana Lake to the south (TVA 1950:483). North Carolina Highway 288, which had provided the only east-west access on the north side of the river, was to be inundated. They all had to leave. These inhabitants of Hazel Creek, Forney Creek, Chambers Creek, Noland Creek, and many other creeks and branches came to be known in retrospect as the residents of “the North Shore,” meaning the land on the northern side of Fontana Lake. By the end of 1944 the removal was complete and the lake was rising. Most of them never saw their houses or homeplaces again, despite reported assurances that they could return to retrieve additional belongings. Many houses and outbuildings were dismantled for scrap lumber; others were simply burned (Hunt 1945:5; Oliver 1989:92–93).

Most of the people who had been removed settled in Swain, Graham, and Jackson counties. Some crossed over to towns across the Smokies in East Tennessee like Maryville, and others moved to towns farther away in North Carolina, like Waynesville or Marion, seeking employment there (Hunt 1945:6; TVA 1950:486). A large concentration of the displaced stayed in and around Bryson City, near the eastern end of the new lake. They had received compensation for their land, but the land around Bryson City was much more expensive, probably reflecting a spike in market prices caused by their arrival.

Many resisted the removal. But even some who were resigned to the necessity of moving made the point, according to their later testimony, that they needed access to their cemeteries on what came to be called the North Shore, in order to show respect by decorating the graves properly. Decoration Day was for them one of the year’s most important holidays (see Chapter IV). On Decoration Day they gathered in community cemeteries and decorated the graves with fresh-cut natural flowers and homemade crepe-paper flowers. If the custom of Decoration Day, which bound them together as a community and reaffirmed their ties with their deceased family and ancestors, could be salvaged, it might help to assuage

the trauma of removal. The federal government, in a formal 1943 document, proclaimed that, as soon as the war was over, a road with a "dustless surface" would be built on the North Shore (see Chapter V). Not long afterward, the land that the TVA had taken was turned over to the NPS to expand the Park. The people who were displaced had to find consolation in the knowledge that, after the war was over, the government would build a new road that would provide them access to the cemeteries they had left behind.

People connected with the North Shore sometimes speak today of the first Park (meaning the earlier configuration of the Park, whose southern boundary ran along the slopes some distance north of the Little Tennessee and Tuckasegee rivers) and the second Park (meaning the expansion after Fontana Dam was built). They assert that some people had to go through not one removal but two (whether this was true and how often cannot be clarified here, but people now believe it to be the case). Taken together, the two removals suggested to them a pattern of betrayal and indifference, and the removal was remembered as a historical trauma by those who endured it. The Trail of Tears a century earlier began to be seen in a new light. North Shore residents are quick to say that they are not claiming their suffering was equal to the suffering of the Cherokee people, but they add that they now empathize with the Cherokees and see the succession of historical traumas as a long-term pattern or legacy of their home region. It is a pattern in which the federal government is profoundly implicated. Thus the historical traumas summarized here become the political backdrop for the remainder of the report.

DEFINING THE NORTH SHORE

An interesting question is when the term "North Shore" began to be used. It of course refers to the northern shore of Fontana Lake, and it did not exist in the pre-Fontana Dam local lexicon. Earlier terms such as "the lower end of the county" did not distinguish between the north and south sides of the Little Tennessee River. The two sides of the river were essentially one region. The term "North Shore" may have arisen first in the local press, or perhaps in the usage of the federal agency people in the region–no one knows now from what source the term arose. But it cannot be older than the 1950s or 1960s, and it caught on quickly. By the late 1970s it was the new byword for a newly identified place and a new cultural movement.

An unpublished essay by Zora Jenkins Walker written in 2003, entitled *A Road Is Forever*, evokes the easy back-and-forth access that bound together both sides of the pre-Fontana Little Tennessee River into one region:

> Although my home was on the Graham County side of the Little Tennessee River, I also felt at home on the Swain County side: Fontana, Ritter, Wayside, Proctor, and upper Hazel Creek. I visited my relatives over there, the Laneys and my great-uncle Martin Hyde and his wife, Rachel Farley Hyde. He was the postmaster at Proctor. I think I have walked about every trail there was over the mountains from Wayside to Proctor. I also

> rode the train occasionally and made a few trips in an automobile over the years. Our two family doctors lived over across the river. Dr. Riter lived at Fontana, and Dr. Clark lived along above Wayside. We'd cross the river in a paddleboat in different places, or the big ferry boats at Wayside and Fontana. I remember when I had yellow jaundice. We called it "yellow janders." I had to walk all the way to see Dr. Clark and then back home. Although I felt pretty bad, that was the only way we had to make the trip. Probably about five or six mile round trip. He gave me some little red pills—liver pills, I think—and put me on a diet of cornbread and milk for a few days. That fixed me right up. (NSCD 8-23-04 AJ/KJ, read aloud by her)

Fontana Lake disrupted that cultural interconnectedness, and in the post-war years a new special identity began to take hold among those who had been removed, or who were descended from those who were removed. Thus people now speak of themselves as being "from the North Shore," and they seem to imply that the term confers a special distinction. Sometimes the interviews for this project involved spouses born on either side of the lake, and the spouse who was not born on the North Shore would seem reluctant to join the interview, presuming that the interest was only in North Shore memories. Nevertheless, there have always been close family ties between people in Swain, Graham, and Jackson counties, and though the life experiences of the North Shore exiles–particularly the traumas arising from forced removal–are certainly distinctive, the cultural traditions of the region offer no distinctive demarcations between the North Shore and adjacent North Carolina counties.

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III. CEMETERY FEATURES IN THE SMOKIES

An understanding of the tradition of cemetery decoration must begin with an understanding of the cemeteries where the decorations take place. This chapter provides a broad profile of the features of cemeteries in Swain, Graham, and Jackson counties, North Carolina. In the course of fieldwork, the project team attended five decorations within GSMNP, during which team members observed and documented nine cemeteries. In addition, they visited and documented fifteen cemeteries in the neighboring counties of North Carolina. Philip Coyle was shown Lauada Cemetery by Bayless Crisp, who has been a leader in managing it over the past decade, and Coyle has visited a number of cemeteries in the Caney Fork community of Jackson County, where he resides. Alan and Karen Jabbour went on three extended cemetery tours with local guides. Verna Wiggins Kirkland and Carolyn Kirkland showed them Lauada and three cemeteries in the Alarka community of Swain County. Gene and Carrie Laney showed them four cemeteries in Graham County. William Crawford, who has visited every cemetery in Jackson County and is active in the Jackson County Genealogical Society, showed them five cemeteries in Jackson County. And they visited several cemeteries on their own.

Comparing and contrasting the cemeteries on the North Shore of Fontana Lake, which have been part of GSMNP for sixty years, with cemeteries in the living communities south and east of the lake proved to be a useful approach to illuminate questions posed by the project. The cultural role and profile of cemeteries were the same on either side of the Tuckasegee and Little Tennessee rivers before people were removed from what is now known as the North Shore. Or, to put it another way, the role of cemeteries may have varied from ethnic group to ethnic group, or between town and cove, but the two sides of the river were not culturally different. The river was a cultural connector, not a barrier like the lake that replaced it. Thus, if one wonders what might have happened to cemetery decoration on the North Shore if the Park had not altered the region's development, the ways in which the tradition has been maintained and modified south and east of the lake offer much to reflect upon.

Prior to the creation of Fontana Lake, cemetery maintenance and decorations were arranged by families and communities through an informal and diffuse system of local volunteer management. Churches sometimes had a limited involvement; for example, a church service might be the occasion for announcing a cemetery clean-up effort to be carried out on a certain day. But no formal organizations were responsible for coordinating either cemetery maintenance or decorations.

The creation of the lake disrupted the old communities, which were atomized as displaced people moved to different locales and no longer lived near either the old cemetery or their old neighbors. The North Shore cemetery visits and decorations that took place from the late 1940s through the early 1970s appear to have been improvised efforts to reconstitute a custom under drastically different circumstances. No clear patterns emerged. Meanwhile, new burials took place in cemeteries outside the North Shore, where the displaced families needed to adjust to local customary behavior. As Chapter V discusses in detail, the

late 1970s witnessed major changes in both the frequency and the organization of the decorations on the North Shore. The North Shore revolution of 1978 created a new, more standardized model for all the North Shore cemeteries, despite variation in decoration events from cemetery to cemetery. There was now a central organization representing the North Shore community–the North Shore Historical Association–and it negotiated with another central organization–the Park–that now supplied the cemetery preparations (see Chapters V and VI).

The published literature is thin regarding cemeteries such as one finds in the Smokies. Crissman's observations on Appalachian cemeteries in general in his book *Death and Dying in Central Appalachia: Changing Attitudes and Practices* are a useful comparative tool, and he also discusses associated practices such as burials and wakes (Crissman 1994). A descriptive essay by D. Gregory Jeane (1989: 463–465) on "Cemeteries" in the *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* provides an even wider view of cemetery traditions throughout the South, especially the Upland South–in fact, he suggests the term "Upland South folk cemetery" as a broad category within which most of the cemeteries in this study would be included (Wilson and Ferris 1989). Jordan-Bychkov (2003:74–76), describing the Upland South cemetery from the Appalachians to Texas, and Montell (1989), describing both cemetery features and decoration practices in Kentucky and Tennessee, reveal many similarities to the Smokies. Aside from occasional references to these sources, the discussion of cemetery features that follows is descriptive, not comparative. Any given attribute may be much more widespread than in the Smokies, but taken as a whole they provide a profile of the region's cemeteries that is both characteristic of the Appalachians and points west, and at the same time in some ways distinctive.

CEMETERY CATEGORIES

Cemeteries in the Smokies may be described using a variety of categories, with the caveat that the boundaries between the categories are sometimes blurred and often permeable. Cemeteries as cultural creations may evolve from one category to another over time, and many of the cemetery features described in subsequent sections occur in most or all of the categories. The categories used below may also be compared to those described by Crissman (1994:106–109), whose book provides a useful comparative resource for this entire chapter, as does Jeane's essay (1989). Crissman does not delineate adequately the "community cemetery" category that is central to understanding our project area. He instead blurs it with family cemeteries and civic cemeteries, and he uses the term "perpetual care cemeteries" for the category that is here called "private cemeteries." The terms "family cemetery," "community cemetery," and "church cemetery" are all widely used regional terms in the Smokies. "Civic cemetery" and "private cemetery" are coined for this report, thought the categories they represent are immediately recognizable to the people of the Smokies.

Family cemeteries. Many rural cemeteries in the region lie on private property and contain only the remains of members of the family living on that property; the Calhoun, Cook, Wiggins and Wike

cemeteries are North Shore examples of this practice. In fact, there is some evidence historically of individual burials (especially but not exclusively newborn deaths) in the yards of a few rural homes in the region (see interview with Pete Prince, NSCD 8-18-04 AJ/KJ). But most family cemeteries are situated on a ridge well away from the homesite, and most contain at least several burials. Many of them contain multiple family names, which comes about either through family members marrying, which gradually extends the family network, or through a family offering to share its cemetery space with neighbors. Thus it is that family cemeteries sometimes grow organically into community cemeteries.

Community cemeteries. The rural landscape of the region is dotted with community cemeteries, such as Woody and Bone Valley on the North Shore (Figures 3 and 4). The term itself is in widespread use among citizens of the region, and some cemeteries, such as Mason Branch Community Cemetery in Swain County's Alarka community, incorporate the term in their formal names. A typical community cemetery may have from 25 to 250 graves, and most community cemeteries grew out of family cemeteries following the evolutionary path described above. Typically, the names on headstones correspond to the names of families in the immediate community, so a handful of family names will predominate. Sometimes smaller areas within a community cemetery are set aside for specific families, but over time these designated plots tend to fill up, and a family is forced to begin using another area within the cemetery.

Maintenance of a community cemetery is the responsibility of the families whose members are buried there. Sometimes one encounters evidence of families tending only their own graves and the immediate surrounding areas, but many people evoke the communal ideal for community cemeteries: one should take responsibility for not only one's own family plots but neighboring plots as well. In effect, the whole cemetery is the whole community's responsibility. In practice, this communal ideal can be seen at work, but not consistently. Many community cemeteries in previous generations had cultural mechanisms for solving the problem of getting the cemetery cleaned–the preparations in advance of Decoration Day are the most important example–but today some communities have created formal cemetery associations to make sure that the cemetery is properly maintained. Volunteer labor still provides much of the maintenance, but sometimes the association holds fundraisers, then hires labor paid for by donations.

Church cemeteries. In much of America, where communities have multiple churches and some churches have their own cemeteries, a church cemetery would seem to be somewhat different from a community cemetery. In rural communities of the project area, however, there is often just one church, and it is likely to be Baptist, so the church cemetery can be quite similar to the community cemetery in its overall representation of the community. There are in the region a number of church cemeteries situated just outside the church itself, which conforms to most people's image of a rural church cemetery. But there are also cemeteries that are affiliated with a church (perhaps they lie on church-owned property) but are situated quite a distance from the church itself. The regional custom of siting a cemetery on a ridge may dictate a different site from the church site, which is more likely to be readily accessible on a main road. And although one might assume that the creation of the church must have preceded the creation of the

cemetery, in fact there are instances in our study area of cemeteries preceding churches historically, rather than following them (a pattern mentioned by Jeane 1989:463). Both are expressions of rural community, and it is as logical to create a church near a community cemetery, which is already a gathering place with spiritual associations, as to locate a cemetery near a church.

Civic cemeteries. Though rural cemeteries typically fall into the three preceding categories, some towns in the region maintain civic cemeteries with public funds. They are, like the towns themselves, more heterogeneous than rural cemeteries. One encounters some of the same surnames that appear in rural cemeteries, but also a host of names that do not appear in the countryside. There is more ethnic diversity–Italian names, for example, in the Bryson City Cemetery–and presumably more religious diversity as well, since the civic cemetery has no religious requirements. Civic cemeteries also have more diversity in the cost and elaborateness of headstones. The rural egalitarian ideal tends to discourage too large or expensive an investment in tombstones, as several people suggested in interviews or casual conversation. But town cemeteries reveal a few large tombs, towering monuments, and other cemetery forms that are unknown in the rural cemeteries.

Private cemeteries. In recent decades a few private cemeteries have been established in the region. To some people who have moved to town, who have had old rural connections interrupted or obliterated, or who have lost confidence in informal community forces to maintain community cemeteries over the long run, the argument for paying money for both a plot and its "perpetual care" can be compelling. As will be discussed in Chapter VI, religious beliefs about rising from the grave for the Second Coming strengthen the anxiety about ensuring that graves are tended in the long-term future. And with the passage of time, more people select a private cemetery simply because their parents are already buried there.

Lauada Cemetery. One cemetery in the region fits no other category but stands alone. When the TVA built Fontana Dam, a number of cemeteries were to be inundated by the rising water of Fontana Lake. TVA moved most of the markers and remains from these cemeteries to a newly created cemetery in Lauada (pronounced "Loo-aid-a"), lying on a ridge overlooking U.S. 19/74 in western Swain County. A few other graves that would have remained above the high-water line were also removed to Lauada, at the option of the families of the interred–presumably to make them more accessible to families removed from the northern side of Fontana Lake. (Rohr [2003:119–120] discusses the grave removals and the creation of Lauada.)

Lauada Cemetery is very large, numbering over 1000 graves, and it continues to receive new burials. TVA devolved its responsibilities to the families and communities tied to those buried in Lauada, but the task was difficult because of the size of the cemetery and the dispersal of the North Shore communities that once cared for its smaller predecessor cemeteries. After years of managing through informal means, a formal association created in January of 1993, the Lauada Cemetery Association, assumed responsibility for its maintenance. Today both the physical appearance and the new burials there testify to the new Association's success (Figures 13 and 24).

CEMETERY LAYOUT

The cemeteries of the region are almost always laid out along a ridge (e.g., Figures 5 and 6). Reasons given in interviews are:

1. using poor land in order to save fertile bottom land for crops;
2. avoiding digging into underground water sources;
3. using relatively level land (at the top of the ridge) to avoid water erosion; and
4. placing loved ones "closer to heaven."

Most interviewees enumerated two or three of these reasons. The "closer to heaven" explanation was offered often and with enthusiasm, but it was never offered alone, as if everyone recognized it as a spiritually satisfying but ultimately insufficient explanation for the custom. The gravesites sometimes turn down the hill from the ridge, but usually only as far as the slope is still gentle. Here and there, where lack of space has forced a cemetery farther down the slope, as in Brendle Hill Cemetery in Swain County or Shook Cemetery in Jackson County, retaining walls or terracing have been added to the slope to prevent erosion. The cemeteries are typically expanded by moving along the ridge, not down the sides. Crissman (1994:106–107) and Jeane (1989:463) discuss the use of ridges for Appalachian cemeteries and the associated lore explaining it.

The graves are typically laid out in north-south rows with the headstones at the west end and the footstones (when present) to the east. This is always described as "facing east," and the main inscription (if any) on the headstone almost always faces east. In a handful of cases, the main inscription faces west–that is, away from the grave, not overlooking the grave. Several such examples occur in a sloping area of Old Savannah Cemetery in Jackson County, and William Crawford suggested that the headstones could have fallen at some point and been re-situated turned the opposite way (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ/KJ). The deceased are buried facing east for religious reasons–specifically, in the direction of the Holy Land, in order to rise to meet the Lord, who will be coming from the east in the Second Coming (compare Jeane 1989:464).

CEMETERY NAMES

Cemeteries in the Smokies are named after families or after locales (a creek, branch, cove, or local community name are common). Family names for cemeteries suggest that the cemetery began as a family cemetery, but such cemeteries have become (through intermarriage, generosity toward neighbors, or outright gifts of land to the community) broader-based community cemeteries while retaining the family name as a matter of tradition. Some cemeteries are named after, or share a name with, a church. Those that are not adjacent to churches are sometimes on land held by a church for community benefit, but in

other cases the land is or was family-owned land contributed for communal purpose. There is a surprising dearth in the immediate region of church and cemetery names drawn from the pool of biblically resonant names found elsewhere in the South–Beulah, Mount Moriah, Pisgah, and so forth.

CEMETERY MAINTENANCE

In the past, and to a considerable extent in the present as well, the men of the families represented in the cemetery have been in charge of maintaining the cemetery grounds. Springtime just before Decoration Day has traditionally been a time for cemetery maintenance. Men (and perhaps a few women as well) would clear away grass, weeds, and small trees and sweep (or rake) the cemetery clean. The words "clean," "swept," and "scraped" traditionally imply that the graves and, insofar as is practicable, the entire cemetery are cleared of grass and weeds. People often compare this to the old-fashioned method of maintaining a dooryard: grassless and plantless except for a few carefully planted and cultivated shrubs and flowers. Thus the cemetery is, literally and symbolically, a home.

But as with homes themselves, a newer aesthetic in America has introduced grass into cemeteries, and many area cemeteries are now grassed. Some cemeteries show both the older and the newer style of maintenance, as some families struggle to maintain the older style while others gravitate to the grassy style. Grass must be cut, however, and those responsible for grassy cemeteries either must recruit the families represented in the cemetery or must take up funds to hire a mower. Mowing in turn has a profound effect on another older cemetery tradition, mounding (see below). In general, maintenance can be repeated at any season, but it is always done before Decoration Day.

Periodically, cemeteries need not just maintenance but major repairs or modifications as well. In the case of community cemeteries, it is hard to account for the mysterious process whereby someone decides to take on the task of renovating a cemetery. It certainly happens, though, and students of local history and genealogy such as William Crawford of Jackson County take great care to name and celebrate those otherwise unsung community heroes, such as Lucy and Mae Middleton, who spent untold time and energy on the renovation of Shook Cemetery in Jackson County's Canada community (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ/KJ).

CEMETERY BORDERS AND SURROUNDING FORESTS

Some cemeteries are sunny, some are shadier, and some have both sunny and shady areas. There seems to be no prevailing pattern, except that they are typically bounded on at least one side by forest. Presumably they are begun as a cleared area, and some people believe they should be kept open to the sunlight. Maintenance can push back the forest border to create more sun or allow it to approach the bordering graves for more overhanging shade. The shade has the virtue of suppressing grass and weeds and making summer cemetery visits a cooler experience, but overhanging shade trees put gravestones at risk during storms from falling trees or tree limbs, and shade also can encourage the growth of moss and mold. The

location of the forest border hinges more on tradition, land gradation, and other such variables than on legal boundaries of cemetery property, and in fact most North Shore cemeteries appear not to have been platted prior to the coming of TVA (see Attachment G-2). If the slope from the ridge is gentle, it is more likely to be cleared, whereas a narrow ridge with precipitous slopes is more likely to have trees on the slope that partially shade the open area on the ridge.

Local residents mention the fencing of cemeteries in the old days, the motive for which was to keep out foraging wild animals and local livestock (Figures 7, 8 and 53). In this respect, as in others, the cemetery resembled the fenced dooryard and vegetable garden of a home. Many older informants recall that cattle and hogs were routinely turned out into the forest to forage in the old days, especially in the fall, when the chestnut crop alone could fatten up animals for the winter. Rooting hogs, wild or domestic, are often cited as a historical problem for cemeteries. Some interviewees reminded the team that wild hogs remain a problem today for North Shore cemeteries, and such damage was observed first-hand during a December 2004 visit to McClure and Pilkey cemeteries.

Nowadays some regional cemeteries and most of the North Shore cemeteries are unfenced, but one encounters some fences, such as at Lower Coward Cemetery in Jackson County (Figure 9) (NSCD 8-25-04 KJ) or Breedlove Cemetery in Graham County (NSCD 8-4-04 KJ). The careful observer will find remnants of old fenceposts or fencing around others, including many on the North Shore. Here and there throughout the region there are not only fences but also posted signs at the margin of a cemetery (such as Watkins Cemetery near Bryson City) that suggest a collision between the older communal sensibility about cemeteries and the modern sense of property boundaries (NSCD 8-8-04 KJ).

TREES, SHRUBS, AND OTHER PLANTINGS WITHIN CEMETERIES

Many cemeteries have a few planted shrubs and trees within the cemetery grounds, as opposed to the surrounding forest (compare Crissman 1994:107–108; Jeane 1989:463). Occasionally there is a large tree that may have been left for shade when the rest of the surrounding forest was cut down to open up the cemetery. It may be either evergreen, such as a pine or hemlock, or deciduous, such as an oak (Figure 9). There are also trees and shrubs that have been planted, either as general ornamentals or at the head of an individual grave (Figure 10), and they are typically small and evergreen–cedars, junipers, hollies, boxwood, or arborvitae. Dogwoods (*Cornus florida*) seem to be a favorite tree in the region's cemeteries (Figure 11), and William Crawford (Figure 12) cites beliefs and traditions that support the dogwood's gracing so many cemeteries (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ fieldnotes). Dogwoods of course bloom in the spring, around the time of Easter, and the flower (it is actually not a flower but a bract) is shaped like a cross, so it has a Christian symbolic significance. In that vein, there is also a widespread tradition that the dogwood was the tree that furnished the wood for Jesus's cross. Roses are also commonly planted, either as a general cemetery decoration or at specific gravesites, and roses are featured prominently in annual decorations of graves (see below).

GRAVE LAYOUT

Graves tend to be about six or seven feet long. The “facing east” rule (from head to toe) is well-nigh universal for European-American graves in the region. It is always explained in religious terms that evoke the Second Coming (compare Crissman 1994:107). Small children’s graves tend to be about three or four feet long, but older children seem usually not to be measured but rather given an adult grave size. Thus there seem to be broadly two grave sizes, regular and small. Husband and wife are customarily side-by-side, with the wife on the left side of her husband. Christine Proctor explained this custom by citing the tradition that the wife was placed on her husband’s left to be closest to his heart.

In some cemeteries family plots have been edged and enclosed with stone, block, or wooden retaining walls (Figure 11). Such individuated plots are then sometimes filled with white gravel that both suppresses weeds and highlights flower decorations. But sometimes the plots run out of space and must continue elsewhere in the cemetery. And of course marriage links families to other families, so that family plots blend into community interrelationships. Space between graves and grave-rows varies in different cemeteries and in different sections of the same cemetery. Walking space between rows is common but by no means universal.

MARKERS AND MONUMENTS

Graves in the region have stone markers at the head of the grave, and almost all the markers are facing east. Many also have a modest stone marker at the feet. The headstone typically includes an inscription. Most newer headstones are marble and have two flat polished surfaces. Older stones include granite and other stones like slate and soapstone, and they are sometimes flattened on only one face. A few stone markers are irregular (though almost always vaguely flat and vertically situated), and a few have no inscription. Lauada Cemetery has two large groupings of unidentified graves marked with uninscribed wooden crosses (Figure 13). Other wooden grave markers are absent or rare, though wood is occasionally used for supplementary ornamentation, including adorned crosses.

Temporary metal markers provided by funeral homes are common on recent burials, and some of those markers have been left after the headstone has been added to the site. Lauada Cemetery, where there is special concern about tracing unmarked graves and tracking down displaced North Shore ancestors, seems to have retained most of the metal markers created at the time of the North Shore removal. Footstone markers are small and usually contain no inscription or only a letter (the first letter of a family name). Very large headstones, ornately sculptured stone presentations, and tombs or mausoleums are rare or absent in the rural family or community cemeteries, and when present are sometimes commented on in a way suggesting that they may be a bit inappropriate or extravagant. But they appear with more frequency in church and civic cemeteries in towns such as Bryson City or Sylva.

The project team encountered one distinctive structure over a grave in Watkins Cemetery, outside the Park near Bryson City (Figure 14). Over the grave there is a pitched roof, standing on four posts about three feet above the ground and extending over the entire gravesite. This open-air "graveshed" has been found in several places across the region, according to William Crawford. Some local historians and genealogists interviewed associate this type of structure with the Melungeons, a well-known ethnic component of East Tennessee that is also present in small numbers in western North Carolina (see Deanne Gibson-Roles interview, NSCD 8-16-04 AJ/KJ; Winkler [2004] provides an overview of Melungeon history and issues). Crawford believes the practice was not limited to Melungeons but was occasionally employed by others in the region, simply to protect the grave from the elements. Indeed, Crissman (1994:130–132) provides both photos and other citations of occurrences throughout the Appalachian region, and Montell (1989) provides several instances as well. Jordan-Bychkov (2003:76–80) presents a detailed argument that this custom is of American Indian origin and in its original form was practiced by the Southeastern tribes.

INSCRIPTIONS

Headstones are inscribed on the east-facing side. Some headstones are home-inscribed, but most 20th-century stones are "professionally" done by a regional stonecutter. A few contain a supplementary inscription (usually just the family name) on the west face of the headstone. West-facing inscriptions generally use larger lettering, making them easily identifiable from across the cemetery. The east-facing full inscriptions typically give name, birth date, and death date. Military service is often cited for men and women who served in the military. Joint husband-wife headstones sometimes include the marriage date. Sometimes a traditional piety is inscribed, such as "Gone but not forgotten." Some have short religious sayings in prose or verse, and some evoke the deceased in religious terms. There are also visual religious messages such as hands folded in prayer or lambs lying in repose. Crissman (1994:118–130) has a lengthy and useful discussion of inscriptions on Appalachian headstones, and Ruth Little (1998) presents similar information for North Carolina in general.

Occasionally there are visual evocations of worldly activities for which the person is fondly remembered. The back of one headstone in Watkins Cemetery near Bryson City features the carved outline of a large guitar (NSCD 8-8-04 KJ), and a headstone in Swain County's Brendle Hill Cemetery features three objects that symbolize a man's pursuits in life–his tractor, his tools, and a ginseng plant (Figure 15) (NSCD 9-2-04 KJ). Such inscriptions are largely a phenomenon of the last fifty years, and they were not observed in the North Shore cemeteries that were visited.

MOUNDING

Many graves in area cemeteries are mounded (Figures 3–6, 10, and others). The term is not quite standard locally, and some say "heaped" instead. The term and practice of mounding is briefly mentioned by

Crissman (1994:153) and Jeane (1989:484). The earth is mounded up in a long, straight row running the length of the grave, but stopping short of the headstone to prevent clay and mud from splashing, staining, or etching the face of the headstone. Mounds may be several inches across and a few inches high. The earth is usually raked ("swept" or "scraped") from the immediate area of the grave, but some people import clay to impede or sand to facilitate drainage (both tend to suppress grass and weeds). Two people cited favorite local white sand sources in their conversations with us. The resultant mound functions as a real and symbolic surface marker for the buried body.

People explain mounding variously, but often they mention that it compensates for gradual settlement of the earth within the grave itself–both because of the looseness of earth that has been dug and because the casket contains air space that, when it finally collapses, is filled by the sinking of the earth above it. Max Monteith (Figure 16) mentioned that one function of the mound is to help people avoid walking on a grave. Mounding requires periodic maintenance, either because of settlement or because of erosion from rain. Thus one of the traditional chores of the people who clean cemeteries before Decoration Day is remounding the graves.

Mounding was once the only traditional method for managing gravesites in the region, but recent decades have accelerated a trend away from clean-swept dirt cemeteries and toward grassy cemeteries. Grass requires regular cutting, and modern power mowers cannot easily traverse a landscape of mounded graves. Thus grassy cemeteries tend to feature gravesites that are "flattened" (as traditionalists describe it). Even grassy cemeteries, though, sometimes reveal a few family sites that are carefully mounded, bucking the trend. And the project found one cemetery, Mason Branch in Alarka, that remade a year earlier its previously mixed cemetery landscape (some graves flat, some mounded), reviving a landscape of all mounded graves (see Chapter VI). Most North Shore cemeteries are now mounded as well–in that area at least the Park seems to be adopting the older traditional style as its management standard.

Here and there one encounters graves dressed with white sand or coarse white gravel (Figures 10–11), an alternative that avoids grass and distinguishes the gravesite from surrounding areas (Jeane 1989:484). Many white gravel graves are also set off by edging or bordering the grave area with stone, blocks, or boards. White gravel seems to be serving as a sort of "third way," an alternative approach in the great "mounded and clean-swept vs. flat and grassy" issue. Many white gravel gravesites are flat, but some are also mounded. Mathis Cemetery in Jackson County has been entirely rendered in white gravel, and every grave is broadly mounded (NSCD 8-25-04 KJ). But all the space between the graves is dressed in verdant grass. The frequent combination of white gravel with edging or bordering seems to be carefully excluding mowers, while also excluding the grass that would require mowing. In a larger sense, the style defines the individual grave space as distinct and protected from the larger common ground of the cemetery. In this way it seems quite modern. Yet the white gravel has the effect of a clean field, like the older mounding tradition of clean-swept graves, and the mounding of white gravel in cemeteries such as Mathis is also a powerful bow toward tradition. So, like so many innovations within an organic tradition, the white gravel

solution to the mounding dilemma is tantalizingly traditional and modern all at the same time (see also Chapter VI).

DRESSING AND ADORNING GRAVES

Cemeteries in the region today are extensively decorated by contemporary artificial flowers of all colors, and also to some extent by live flowers (see Crissman 1994:135–136). The older tradition of homemade crepe paper flowers on wire or wooden stems (discussed more fully in Chapter IV) is remembered by nearly all older informants, but not by the younger generations, suggesting that the change-over from crepe paper to artificial flowers occurred rapidly in the years following World War II. Another shift occurred a generation later, as molded-plastic artificial flowers gave way to the "silky" woven fabric flowers that predominate today. Decoration today ranges from modest bouquets by or on the headstone to full decoration "from head to toe" of the grave. The fuller decorative style can be arrayed in a line of posies along the mound of the grave (Figure 17), or it can take the form of a full blanket covering the entire grave (Figures 18–20). Visitors to graves sometimes bring both live flowers and artificial flowers, as was the case at an August 2004 decoration at Lower Coward Cemetery (NSCD 8-25-04 KJ).

Grassy cemeteries sometimes encourage or require flower decorations to be placed on top of the headstone, not on the ground, again to facilitate mowing. North Shore cemeteries tend to be modestly decorated, but their decorators are limited in the amount of decoration by the once-a-year access by boat, whereas in areas of unlimited access the graves may be visited more often and materials may be brought more conveniently. A few more traditional rural cemeteries south and east of the lake show a great profusion of artificial flower decoration–head-to-toe decoration of grave mounds, special planted flower arrangements, decorations atop headstones, and other means of decoration.

Fern fronds are often draped across graves, both at the time of burial and during later decorations. Personal memorabilia, like work shoes, and crafted items, like crocheted crosses (Figure 21), also appear occasionally on graves. And occasionally one finds a small stone or glassy item laid on a headstone–apparently a gesture of personal connection between a visitor and the deceased. Broken glass or seashells, which have appeared in rural cemeteries in the Lowland South, have not turned up in our canvassing in the Smokies (see Jeane 1989:484 for a discussion of artifacts deposited on Southern graves).

CEMETERY EVENTS

The two principal types of events in cemeteries are funerals and memorial celebrations such as Decoration Days (see Crissman 2004:147–155). The project team has been able to observe several decorations, but only on the North Shore, where the structure of the event is to a degree shaped by the special circumstances of North Shore visitation. The traditional Decoration Day is still observed in other areas of the region–usually in May or early June, but sometimes later in the summer. Family reunions also customarily include visits to the cemetery, and church homecomings throughout the summer may include

gathering at the cemetery as a key element. The family reunion is an old tradition in the region for many families. It is sometimes associated with Decoration Day, but nowadays it often occupies its own traditional weekend for each family. Church homecomings seem to be a more recent cultural category, developing as the 20th century progressed, and to an extent they have captured some of the cultural energies that once found expression in Decoration Day.

The project team did not witness any funerals during their fieldwork, but funerals and graveside burial ceremonies are of course central to the public life of cemeteries. Many older informants today remember when church bells were rung to announce the death of a community member, and funerals were and still are major events in the life of the community. In addition to burial ceremonies and cemetery decoration visits, various other events occur in some cemeteries in the course of the year, such as the Easter sunrise service conducted at Brendle Hill Cemetery (NSCD 7-28-04 AJ fieldnotes).

Certain traditional structures in the region's cemeteries are designed to accommodate these public events. Some cemeteries (Figures 9, 22–24), such as Watkins Cemetery, have modest wooden outdoor pavilions with benches that are clearly designed for funerals, decorations, and other group uses (NSCD 8-8-04 KJ). Others, such as Cable Cove Cemetery in Graham County (NSCD 8-4-04 KJ) and McClure Cemetery on the North Shore (NSCD 8-24-04 KJ), have an array of tables and benches used for "dinner on the ground" after a service at the cemetery or the church (Figure 39).

The previous discussion has addressed public events, but cemeteries also are visited by individuals or small groups of family members. William Crawford reminded the researchers, during a tour of Jackson County cemeteries, that privacy is a necessary attribute of a cemetery (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ fieldnotes). Even though public events are satisfying, one also needs to be there alone sometimes to seek personal solace. Shook Cemetery is one cemetery that seems to have provided for this feature, with the placement of a few benches among the graves to facilitate quiet contemplation (NSCD 8-25-04 KJ). It should be noted that, unless one has access to a boat or is a skilled and inveterate hiker, quiet contemplation is impossible in the cemeteries of the North Shore.

RENOVATING AND REDISCOVERING GRAVESITES

Earlier the authors echoed William Crawford in celebrating the community heroes who have renovated cemeteries–the Middleton sisters who renovated Shook Cemetery, the advocates for Lauada Cemetery. But interviews also revealed an interesting facet of regional culture in respect to individual graves and gravesites. One might imagine that a grave, once created, is a stable aspect of material culture, subject to maintenance but not to dramatic change. But one quickly discovers that many of the graves of the region, though old, have new headstones. Families have decided to replace headstones that were worn and illegible with new headstones–often with a new inscription–and the active genealogical societies of the area, working with family members, have devoted countless hours to tracking down people buried in anonymous graves and restoring their identity with fresh stones. The passion to reconnect with lost kin is

so great that, as one hears the stories of these quests recounted, one almost feels that the speakers are rescuing their kin from limbo.

The folk custom of dowsing has been brought to bear on these cultural quests to reconnect the dead to the living. The practice of dowsing is used in most parts of the United States to find underground water–typically, to find the best place to dig a well. People (they are usually men) who are dowsers have used the technique for generations to help their fellow citizens find water. Dowsing is done with a pronged stick or wand, or with two sticks or wands, that are held pointing forward as one walks. When something is found beneath the earth, the wands turn toward each other or down toward the ground. It is sometimes regarded as a skill for which one is hired, but just as often it is treated as a gift from God that should be used to serve one's fellow humans. For comparative discussion see Ray Hyman's essay on "Dowsing" in *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia* (1996:105–106) and the book-length studies by Vogt and Hyman (1979) and Bird (1979).

In the Smokies, dowsing is widely used to search for graves–apparently just for genealogical and historical purposes, however, and not for treasure hunting. Several people are well known for being able to detect the exact location of buried bodies. Pete Prince, for example, has dowsed his way through nearly every formerly inhabited cove in the Smokies (Figure 25). He claims that he has identified many previously unknown gravesites and cemeteries, and he has lectured on, demonstrated, and taught his dowsing techniques to others (NSCD 8-18-04 AJ/KJ). Dowsing occupies this uniquely important role in the area for the same reason that decorations are so strong a tradition: the extraordinary cultural energy devoted by people of the region to connecting spiritually with and showing respect for kin who have passed away.

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IV. DECORATION DAYS IN THE SMOKIES

Decoration Day is an annual holiday observed over a wide area of the rural and small-town South. The tradition is particularly concentrated in the Southern Appalachians and in the states to the west and southwest that were settled largely by emigrants from the Appalachians. The holiday provides an annual occasion for cleaning cemeteries and decorating graves with flowers and other adornments. It is thus a time for showing respect to and communing with the dead and reflecting on their lives and times. It is equally an occasion for renewing contacts with relatives and neighbors and making new acquaintances, and on yet another level it is a celebration of spring itself as a time of the annual renewal of life.

DISENTANGLING TWO DECORATION DAYS

The name of the holiday causes some confusion nationally, and indeed even within the South. For many decades the modern national holiday now called Memorial Day was called Decoration Day, and some people still use that term to refer to Memorial Day. It is a holiday honoring those who died in combat, and it arose in the North immediately after the Civil War. The Decoration Day of the Smoky Mountain region of course pays respect to the dead who have fallen in battle, but finally it is about other things, as this chapter will set forth in detail.

A survey of encyclopedias and other reference sources will inform the reader that Decoration Day arose just after the Civil War. There are competing claims for how it began, but all sources give major credit to the General Order issued by General John A. Logan, Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic (comprising Union veterans of the Civil War), on May 5, 1868. It begins:

> The 30th day of May, 1868, is designated for the purpose of strewing with flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country during the late rebellion, and whose bodies now lie in almost every city, village, and hamlet churchyard in the land. In this observance no form or ceremony is prescribed, but posts and comrades will in their own way arrange such fitting services and testimonials of respect as circumstances may permit. . . . Let us, then, at the time appointed, gather around their sacred remains and garland the passionless mounds above them with choicest flowers of springtime; let us raise above them the dear old flag they saved from dishonor; let us in this solemn presence renew our pledges to aid and assist those whom they have left among us as sacred charges upon the Nation's gratitude,–the soldier's and sailor's widow and orphan.

Some towns later would claim to have inaugurated the idea before General Logan's proclamation, but none could doubt that the proclamation gave impetus to the new holiday as a national holiday. It quickly swept across the Northern states and became a major event on the annual calendar. Poets such as Henry

Wadsworth Longfellow wrote poems and composers like Charles Ives created musical compositions evoking Decoration Day. Edward Bellamy's famous turn-of-the-century novel *Looking Backward* begins with its hero falling asleep on Decoration Day. During the twentieth century, as the Civil War receded and new wars intervened, the name was officially changed to Memorial Day (which had already served as an alternate name for the holiday), but many people still referred to it as Decoration Day.

From the start, the Southern states resisted the new holiday, and when they eventually accepted the idea, they set other dates for Decoration Day or Confederate Memorial Day on a state-by-state basis. Paradoxically, they also insisted that their towns, not the Northern towns, were the first to celebrate the Civil War dead in Decoration Day observances. It certainly was understandable that they might have viewed Decoration Day as a Northern fabrication and a humiliating reminder of the human consequences of their unsuccessful secession. But Northerners then and Americans now may be surprised to discover that there may have been another point of resistance in the South: they already had their own Decoration Day.

Today it is not easy to find scholarly analyses of Southern decoration traditions, although Crissman (1994:151–155) describes Appalachian decorations and theorizes (unsatisfactorily to this author) that the custom may have originated in Appalachian "funeralizing" (referring to funerals occurring long after burial). Most of the literature assumes that the Northern custom was the original Decoration Day or simply ignores the existence of a separate Southern tradition. Even some Southern accounts of Decoration Day accept the premise of the Northern-influenced historical accounts–that the holiday began as a day to honor the dead fallen in war. One contemporary Arkansas website, created by a genealogist who lists all the cemeteries of Newton County (in the Ozarks), together with the dates on which Decoration Day is observed at each cemetery, gives the following summary of the history of Decoration Day:

> In 1868 General John A. Logan declared Decoration Day for the purpose of decorating the graves of Civil War Veterans. Has since become a day on which all war dead are commemorated. And in more recent times, a day when all graves are decorated. Decoration Days in Newton County are days when family and friends, from near and far, gather to remember the dead. (http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~edgmon/decoration.htm)

There is compelling evidence, however, that the flow of cultural influence actually ran in the other direction. Mary Cunningham Logan, the wife of General Logan and an activist in politics and culture throughout her life, was visiting Virginia cities just after the end of the Civil War. According to her subsequent account, published in the *Los Angeles Daily Times* (May 30, 1903) and entitled "Memorial Day: A Noted Woman's Story of Its Origin and Growth":

> We were in Petersburg, Virginia, and had taken advantage of the fact to inspect the oldest church there. . . . The weather was balmy and spring-like, and as we passed through the

> rows of graves I noticed that many of them had been strewn with beautiful blossoms and decorated with small flags of the dead Confederacy. The sentimental idea so enwrapped me that I inspected them more closely and discovered that they were every one the graves of soldiers who had died for the Southern cause. The actions seemed to me to be a beautiful tribute to the soldier martyrs and grew upon me while I was returning to Washington. Gen. Logan was at that time the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, . . . [and] I told him of the graves of the Southern soldiers in the cemetery at Petersburg. He listened with great interest and then said: "What a splendid thought! We will have it done all over the country, and the Grand Army shall do it! I will issue the order at once for a national Memorial Day for the decoration of the graves of all those noble fellows who died for their country." (Quoted on the website of James Ryan on "Memorial Day Origin," http://www.memorialdayorigin.info/index.html, which describes the work of the Ladies Memorial Association of Petersburg, Virginia, to decorate Blandford Cemetery)

Thus does the reader catch a glimpse, through Mary Logan's account, of Southern cemetery decoration inspiring the birth of a new Decoration Day, dedicated to honoring the memory of those who have fallen in service of their country. Our modern Memorial Day has its roots in that chance encounter between a Northern general's wife and a Southern cemetery after decoration.

A survey of contemporary publications and websites reveals an overwhelming number of accounts from Northern or modern national publications that link Decoration Day to Memorial Day, going forward, and to the aftermath of the Civil War, going back. That is the official history of Decoration Day, but Mary Cunningham Logan encountered another decoration tradition that inspired the modern Memorial Day and is still sustained in the rural South. The survey of contemporary publications also reveals many modest local publications, side by side with the encyclopedia definitions, that describe another Decoration Day, dedicated not to the fallen in war but simply to honoring deceased family, kin, and community. The other Decoration Day appears to be the original Decoration Day tradition, and it lives on in a swath of America that stretches from Virginia and North Carolina west and southwest to the Plains. That is the Decoration Day that is discussed in detail below.

THE DATE OF DECORATION DAY

Asked when Decoration Day came on the North Shore, Gay Calhoun (Figure 26) hesitated for a moment, then said, as if he had received a flashback, "I'll tell you when it was. It was about the time snowballs would bloom" (NSCD 8-2-04 AJ/KJ-1). He thus revealed the deep connection between Decoration Day and the blossoming of spring. Decoration Day in the Smokies–the grassroots Decoration Day, not the national holiday–always occurs on a Sunday, and usually it is in the late spring. May and June are the most common months, but some decorations occur in the summer, and of course the North Shore

decorations today have to be spread through the later spring and the entire summer in order to accommodate Park scheduling of the boat to ferry people across to the North Shore. Overall, though, the holiday is associated in the minds of older interviewees with the late spring, and while Gay Calhoun and a couple of others mentioned the formula connecting Decoration Day with snowballs (*Viburnum*), for most people the strongest association was with the blooming roses of late spring. So the date General Logan chose for what was to become the new national Decoration Day fell squarely within the compass of the traditional Decoration Day.

One important feature of the traditional Decoration Day is precisely that its date is not fixed. Since it was always on a Sunday, its calendar date floated. Many particular decorations are tied to a specific Sunday–say, the fourth Sunday of May. But a kind of diversification developed over the generations in most localities. Within the same general area, Decoration Day might occur on four different Sundays, depending on the cemetery. This diversification in the date has an important social corollary. An individual who had family and neighborly connections to multiple cemeteries could attend multiple decorations. Often people report that they would attend more than one decoration on the same day, as well as decorations on different days. This diversity is a key feature of the holiday and highlights a key purpose of the traditional Decoration Day. It is an occasion to interact with a wide variety of one's relatives and neighbors. Several interviewees contrasted this public scope and social breadth of Decoration Day with other holidays, such as Thanksgiving or Christmas, where gathering the immediate family was more important than meeting more distant kin and community acquaintances.

PREPARING THE CEMETERY FOR DECORATION DAY

Cleaning the cemetery is the major task that must be attended to before Decoration Day. Jeane (1989:484) presents the cemetery cleaning day as a landmark cultural tradition in its own right. In the Smokies a half-century ago, preparations began at home even earlier with fashioning crepe paper flowers in the winter and early spring. But as spring gets under way, the major preparatory task is cleaning the cemetery. If the cemetery has not been tended since the preceding spring–and this is the case with some cemeteries, though others are tended more often–the burst of growth that comes with spring, together with the legacy of last summer's growth, will create not only grass and weeds but even small saplings that must be removed. Furthermore, there may be full-grown trees that need to be removed from the woods at the cemetery margin, either because they are dying and will threaten the graves if they fall in a storm, or because they are creating more shade than is desired. Periodically, the woods must also be cleared along the ridge to make space for additional graves. Any such tasks can be done at any time, but Decoration Day has provided a powerful traditional impetus for cemetery cleaning and preparation.

Nearly all those interviewed for the study said that cleaning the cemeteries is a task for the men, but the gender associations with this range of activities are not absolute, and women occasionally help in one way or another. In some communities there would be an announcement in church calling on men to volunteer

for cemetery clean-up on a certain day. Other communities simply relied on local word-of-mouth to muster whatever crew would finally lend their hands.

The word “cleaning” is consistently used to describe this task. Cleaning in the old days meant removing all grass and weeds as well as volunteer saplings; nowadays one must also remove artificial flowers from last year’s decoration (Figure 27). The “clean” result was envisioned as a field lacking plant life except for plants specifically placed in the cemetery. Several interviewees noted the parallel between the proper care of the cemetery and the proper care of the dooryard to their homes. Older people in the region all remember when women “swept clean” the dooryard of their homes by removing all grass and weeds and creating a yard of carefully swept dirt. Thus, there is a standard for cleanliness in a well-kept yard, and the standard for the cemetery is the same. The parallel reinforces the idea that the cemetery is a “home” for the dead. As such it should feel like home in its outward appearance and should be managed in the same way the home’s yard is managed.

Over the past half century, as the favored aesthetic for yards has gradually changed from “clean swept” to mown grass lawns, cemeteries have followed exactly the same course in their development, so today the pre-Decoration Day tasks might include mowing the new grass. Vivian Cook mentions that her father was one of the innovators who sowed grass seed in their family area of Lauada Cemetery (NSCD 8-21-04 AJ). There were objections at first, she reports, but in time others concurred with the new approach, and now the entire cemetery is a grassy lawn. Grass seemed to help avert rutting and erosion during heavy rains, and it looked beautiful, once one had grown accustomed to seeing it in people’s yards. As people note, however, grass needs mowing more often than once a year, and it may require sowing seed as well. So the new domain of grass has its virtues, but it also has its attendant responsibilities.

Once the cemetery is cleaned, the next task is mounding. In an earlier period all graves were mounded from the time of interment. Interviewees say that one important function of mounding is to compensate for the settlement of the earth after a burial. It is a fact that earth that has been dug out of a hole, then replaced in it, is much looser than the densely packed earth surrounding it, and it will settle with time. An added factor, as a few interviewees observed, is that the wooden caskets of burials in the old days would eventually collapse as they rotted, and the empty space within the casket would fill up with earth, causing a further depression on the surface of the grave.

These factors would seem to account very well for the need for mounding in the years immediately after a burial. But the custom, when practiced, extends not only to recent burials but to all graves in the cemetery. It is true that the mounding from previous years tends to disappear, which might require remounding, but from all appearances the cause in older graves is not so much settlement as erosion from rain. Thus it seems that, whatever its practical justification, mounding is practiced for reasons of custom combined with aesthetics–it seems proper, and it is actually moving to those who are accustomed to it. In fact, since mounding traces the same path above the ground that the casket traces below, the mound may even seem to symbolize the body itself. During the course of cemetery visits in the company of local

people, it was noticed that when they talk about a person buried there, they frequently point to the grave as if gesturing at the person being spoken about. Any grave may facilitate that feeling, but it seems that mounding accentuates the feeling of being in the presence of someone.

Mounding has been in retreat throughout the Smokies over the last fifty years. The reason is readily apparent to interviewees, who quickly point out that once you have chosen grassy lawns as the model for a cemetery, mounding interferes with the modern power mowers that are used to keep the grass cut. Thus the progress of grass and power mowers has been accompanied by the abandonment of mounding–some people speak of "flattening" the graves. Today some cemeteries are entirely grassy with flattened graves, such as Lovedale Cemetery in Sylva (NSCD 8-20-04 AJ and KJ). Some cemeteries reveal a mix of styles, with some areas grassy and some cleaned and mounded, such as Watkins Cemetery in Bryson City (NSCD 8-8-04 AJ and KJ). Some graves, such as in Mathis Cemetery in Jackson County (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ and KJ), are covered with a white gravel, often bordered with stones, concrete, or boards, which keeps out grass and mowers and approximates in a new way the old "clean swept" appearance. And at least one cemetery in the region, Mason Branch Cemetery in Alarka (NSCD 7-31-04 AJ and KJ), has been returned recently to the clean-swept mounded style after previously featuring a mixture of styles. The North Shore cemeteries in the management of the NPS usually feature a clean-swept, mounded style, though some cemeteries, such as Proctor Cemetery, are not mounded. Compare the photo of Proctor Cemetery (Figure 43) with those of Woody (Figure 3), Bone Valley (Figure 4), and Cable Branch Cemetery (Figures 40–42 and 44).

FLOWERS AND OTHER DECORATIONS

Flowers are the essential decoration for Decoration Day, and indeed they are the most widespread and characteristic decoration for any occasion when cemeteries are visited. Fresh flowers have always held the place of honor. People who grew up on the North Shore recall picking roses and many other flowers and bringing them to cemeteries to lay on graves for Decoration Day. In fact, the link between roses and Decoration Day is so powerful that some say roses were planted in dooryards and along fencerows specifically with their Decoration Day function in mind. But people name many different flowers as being used for the holiday, so the only requisite seems to have been that the flower bloomed at the time that the decoration occurred.

The practice of laying fresh flowers on graves continues to this day. The project team visited Lower Coward Cemetery in the Caney Fork community a few days after a decoration and documented fresh flowers laid on most of the graves (NSCD 8-25-04 KJ). Everyone interviewed mentioned fresh flowers, and a few asserted that in the early days people used nothing but fresh flowers, but it seems clear from the interviews and other sources that artificial flowers have supplemented or complemented fresh flowers throughout the 20th century and perhaps even longer. And although people's sense of propriety may lead

them to emphasize fresh flowers in their descriptions, artificial flowers of one kind or another have been preferred in practice as a more convenient and longer lasting offering.

The interviewees who were born on the North Shore, as well as others from the region who were born before the end of World War II, remember fondly the homemade crepe paper flowers that were prepared for Decoration Day when they were young (Figure 20; cf. Howell 2003:121). Vivian Cook says her mother used to begin making crepe paper flowers during the winter (NSCD 8-21-04 AJ/KJ), and many people report family flower-making efforts beginning several weeks before Decoration Day. Most of the flower makers were women and girls, but some boys like Max Monteith were drawn into flower making, probably because of the influence of older sisters (NSCD 7-29-04 AJ/KJ).

Crepe paper flowers began as crepe paper sheets of various colors bought from local vendors. In many households the mother created patterns on which the final flowers were modeled. The flowers were fashioned by hand, folding or bunching up the paper to resemble the particular species of flower desired. Several people described how one could use a thumb to stretch a piece of crepe paper so that it resembled a petal. The paper flowers were affixed to wires or sticks that served as the artificial stalks. Then they were dipped in paraffin to make them more rain resistant. Finally they were thrust into the soft dirt of the mounds (as if they were growing from the grave) or distributed around the grave on Decoration Day. Some were placed against or close to the ground, while others were stood up quite a distance above the ground. Often they were aligned in a long row running the length of the mounding over the grave. Alternatively, they could cover the entire grave like a blanket, or could be gathered into posies at the head and foot of the grave. The project encountered and copied an old photo from Christine Cole Proctor showing a North Shore decoration (NSCD 7-6-04 KJ) and some old photos from Verna Kirkland showing blanket-style decorations at Brendle Hill Cemetery in Alarka (Figure 20). Older interviewees for the project all showed a deep fondness for crepe paper flowers. In many ways they were at the aesthetic heart of their memories of Decoration Day. Yet they seem to have passed rapidly from the scene in the 1950s, being eclipsed by the new store-bought artificial flowers (“plastic flowers,” interviewees called them) that came onto the market during that period. The “plastic flowers” were in turn eclipsed by a newer style of fabric flowers that appeared on the market a generation later. Today one encounters mostly fabric flowers, a few plastic flowers, and a few fresh-cut flowers on the graves of the region. But the crepe paper flowers that so many remember so fondly have vanished from the contemporary cemetery landscape, living on only in the recollections and imaginations of the older generation.

Other decorations ornament the graves of the region. Potted or planted perennial flowers are a fairly common sight, surviving from year to year where even the hardiest artificial flowers are whisked off in order to make way for the following year’s decoration. Ferns, cut and draped over the grave, are also a common ornament. And one occasionally finds such crafted items as crocheted crosses or angels (Figure 21), woven vine crosses, or other ornaments that are regarded as perennial, so long as they last. One also comes upon a round glass object or stone left on a grave as a personal token–as if to say to the deceased,

"I've been here to visit you" (Figure 28 shows a Watkins Cemetery example). The impulse to decorate is clearly a broad impulse, only part of which finds expression in Decoration Day activities proper.

The project interviewees often made the point that decorating graves was a communal responsibility. The idea took the form of a powerful social rule: one should not decorate the graves of one's family while leaving other graves undecorated. The ideal envisions a cemetery in which every grave is shown respect by giving it a proper decoration. People point out that one cannot always know why the families who are absent from a decoration were kept away. It may be the family's responsibility, but it is also the community's responsibility when the family fails to fulfill their responsibility. The communitarian ideal is manifest in this vision of cemeteries in which every grave is decorated. It is easy enough to find cases in the region where the ideal is not achieved. Nevertheless, many participants in the contemporary North Shore decorations make a point of living up to this communal challenge, consistently distributing flowers on each grave before the formal proceedings of the decoration event begin. And William Crawford pointed out two graves in Shook Cemetery that he said were the only African-American graves in the cemetery (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ fieldnotes). The family had moved away from the region decades ago, and no one from the family had been able to tend or decorate the graves for a generation or more, but the graves were neatly mounded and attractively decorated, just like their neighbors.

DECORATION DAY AS A RELIGIOUS EVENT

Decoration Day in the Smokies is a religious event. Of course, it has many other aspects as well, as most religious events do. But it always falls on a Sunday. For some North Shore residents in the old days, people convened at the cemetery after church and spent most of the day there. For others, the event replaced indoor church services. At the cemetery, the event might include preaching by one or several preachers invited for the occasion. Gospel singing is also mentioned by many as a vital and cherished component of decorations, and many decorations conclude, as church services conclude, with "dinner on the ground" (see Chapter V). The classic dinner on the ground, here and throughout the South, was just that; families would bring quilts or blankets and spread them out on the ground for a picnic on the cemetery premises. More typically in recent decades, the meal would be served on outside tables, and people would sit on benches. But wherever one actually sits, the term "dinner on the ground" survives as a symbol of the communion with the living and the dead that is the central purpose of the decoration as a religious event.

There is great variety in decorations past and present. The religious elements listed above may occur at one, but not another. Observations in 2004 suggests that the North Shore decorations of recent decades have developed a more consistent program format, however, including gospel singing, a religious message, a prayer, an offering, and dinner on the ground afterwards. But despite being managed by the same people and following the same broad format, the North Shore decorations absorb new impulses and accommodate whatever local circumstances might arise. The Proctor decoration in 2004 was followed by

a baptism of two teenage sisters at a traditional baptizing hole in Hazel Creek (Figure 29)–perhaps a "first" in North Shore decorations (NSCD 7-4-04 AJ and PC). The event was both new in the annals of local decorations, and at the same time a reaffirmation of the religious core of the decoration experience.

DECORATION DAY AS A SOCIAL EVENT

Asked about the importance of various holidays in the course of the year when they were young, older interviewees all rank Decoration Day as one of the most important holidays of the year. No one wants to compare the relative significance of religious holidays, but it became clear that, to a young person on the North Shore in the 1930s and early 1940s, Decoration Day seemed more exciting and more important than Easter. One telling detail is the fact that Decoration Day, not Easter, was when a girl or young woman was likely to get her new dress for the spring. Easter was a religious holiday in spring, but Decoration Day was the spring holiday that offered social engagement with a wide cross-section of relatives, friends, and others in the community.

To be sure, not all social engagement is amicable. Max Monteith remembers a decoration gathering that was disrupted by a fight (NSCD 7-29-04 AJ). But nearly everyone of the older generation associated Decoration Day with "community." It was the annual gathering that brought together the widest cross-section of people with whom you had family ties or community relations. Thus, although many decorations had formal programs or services, interviewees repeatedly cited the opportunity afforded by decorations to meet and converse with old friends, share dinner on the ground with far-flung relations who had returned for the event, and make new acquaintances from the community. For teenagers and young adults, it was an opportunity to meet other young people and to scout for marriage prospects, and little children scampered among the graves and played as they always do in large outdoor gatherings.

A key social element in the larger format of Decoration Day was the dinner. Although the phrase "dinner on the ground" is sentimentally associated with decorations, in fact some decorations would have no communal dinner on the ground. Instead, people would convene after the ceremonies at the cemetery for dinner at a nearby home. But even such dinners in homes were public, in the sense that many people beyond the immediate family would be welcomed. The fare was always bounteous and delicious–at least in the remembering. It was still early in the year for most fresh vegetables, so the vegetable fare was likely to be green beans and pinto beans canned the previous year. But chickens were slaughtered for the occasion, and people recall both fried chicken and chicken and dumplings. In fact, Carrie Laney (Figure 30) is admired for her chicken and dumplings contributions at contemporary North Shore decorations. For dessert, several people mentioned not only ordinary pies and cakes but also "stack cake," a multi-layered gingerbread-like molasses and spice cake in which the filling between the layers is composed of cooked dried apples or peaches. Stack cake required an elaborate preparation and thus was associated with public events of high ceremony like Decoration Day, when a cook's skills were most on view for the wider

community (compare Zora Jenkins Walker's recipe in NSCD 8-23-04 AJ; Oliver 2004:43; *The American Heritage Cookbook* 1964:602–603).

Many former North Shore residents recall attending more than one decoration each year. Some managed to attend more than one on the same day–a social custom that is reproduced by contemporary North Shore decorations, some of which move from one to another cemetery on the same day (Figure 2). In addition, different cemeteries in the area might have decorations on different Sundays in May and June, and people enjoy having the opportunity to repeat the decoration experience in different cemeteries and to meet different people. The contemporary North Shore decorations have the same social consequences. Although most people nowadays attend only the North Shore decorations that involve cemeteries where their family members are buried, many people have family members in more than one cemetery, so they have a formal reason to attend multiple decorations. And others attend North Shore decorations purely because they enjoy the events as spiritual and social experiences. Thus any given North Shore decoration will include at least a few people with no actual relatives buried in the cemetery being visited.

The experience of multiple decorations is, in a sense, a social celebration of the principle of diversity and organic connection within the community. The multiple and overlapping decorations teach that life's networks are complex and disparate, yet interwoven. And the loose structure and decentralized decision-making regarding the dates of and attendance at decoration events reflect the older Protestant (in the case of this region, Baptist) emphasis on consensual community decision-making as the basis for all important social choices. In fact, the cemetery itself, upon close inspection, reveals these same principles. The burials in community cemeteries reveal patterns of growth from a nuclear family to a broader community, with marriage and neighborly sharing being two mechanisms for extending the network and making it more complex. And when one visits a neighboring cemetery, one sees some of the same names, but also some new ones, revealing the overlapping and fluid links that connect family to community to region. Thus the burials in the cemetery and the participants on Decoration Day are two parallel and comparable cross-sections of the fabric of the dispersed rural communities of the Smokies.

DECORATIONS, REUNIONS, HOMECOMINGS

Talking with people in the Smokies about summertime activities that have to do with heritage, one hears many references to decorations–but also references to reunions and homecomings. The three activities have much in common, and in many ways they overlap and compete for people's time and energies, since all three are contenders for being the occasion on which people return to an ancestral home and visit family gravesites.

"Reunions" refer in local parlance to the family reunions that are a widespread phenomenon throughout the Appalachians, and indeed throughout much of the United States. The term is also used in the Smokies for the annual gathering of people connected to the North Shore. Family reunions are much more common today than a half century ago, but western North Carolina genealogist Deanne Gibson-Roles

says that certain family reunions in the region date back to the late 19th century (NSCD 8-16-04 AJ). Reunions bring far-flung family members back to an ancestral home. They often include religious services, and it is only natural that they should include visits, sometimes individually but often in larger groups, to cemeteries where family members are buried. These visits in turn are likely to include bringing decorations, and the term "decoration" is used for such a situation just as it would be for a formal Decoration Day.

"Homecomings" may sound like a synonym for reunions, but the term in the Smokies usually describes the church-sponsored homecomings that are a growing phenomenon throughout the region as well as beyond. Church homecomings of course emphasize affiliation to a particular church, and are sometimes held on the anniversary of the church's founding (for an early twentieth century example, see Anonymous 1926). They regularly include organized visits to church cemeteries for decorations, but decorations are not the focal purpose of the homecomings. Additionally, families who return to an ancestral area for a church homecoming may visit and decorate graves of family members in other cemeteries unconnected to the church that is sponsoring the homecoming.

In an earlier day, reunions and homecomings might have been organized to coincide with the well-known Decoration Day schedule for the area. Thus the Decoration Day date could serve as an organizational anchor for corollary activities. Today there is a greater likelihood that the reunion or homecoming will have its own date. Many church homecomings are now scheduled in the fall. Since most families who live a long distance from the area cannot come to every event of this sort, they are forced to choose. Thus decorations continue today in the Smokies, but under various banners, and with a kind of diffusion of the annual focus and energy that once was reserved for each cemetery's Decoration Day.

A PROFILE OF NORTH SHORE DECORATIONS

The annual schedule for North Shore decorations (Figure 2; compare with the map of cemeteries in Figure 1) is widely distributed throughout the region, and decorations are attended both by immediate family and also by friends, well-wishers, and other interested people from the region and beyond. The size of the crowd can vary considerably; some decorations at smaller cemeteries may be attended by only 20 or 30 participants, but many decorations at such cemeteries as Bone Valley or Proctor draw well over 100 persons. Overall attendance can also fluctuate according to the status of the larger North Shore debate; for example, NPS records indicate that one of the banner years for decorations (with 1,508 participants) was in 1984, apparently in response to attempts to designate much of the North Shore as wilderness. Sign-in sheets kept by the boat providers suggest that most participants come from North Carolina, but there are sizeable contingents from elsewhere. At the 2004 Proctor Decoration, for example, the participants (excluding Park personnel and study team members) included 53 persons from North Carolina, 26 from Tennessee, nine from Georgia, two each from Virginia and Mississippi, and one from Florida.

A core group of active members attends multiple decorations, and a 1985 Park study indicated that about 20% of the total participants attended two or more decorations that year. The regulars include not only organizers like Helen Vance, her sisters Mildred Johnson and Eleanor Rhinehart, and Verna Kirkland, but also a regular group of musicians and singers. Helen Vance's husband Harry Vance (Figure 32), who is a Baptist minister, often delivers the message. Others go for the service, the camaraderie, and the excursion into the Smokies, whether their immediate family is involved or not.

Every decoration has its own special character as an event, and yet there are certain recurrent commonalities that make each event a performance of a ritual genre with which the participants are already familiar. Based on attendance at several decorations during 2004, what follows is a profile of what might be called a typical North Shore decoration (compare Rohr 2003:142–144).

On many Sunday mornings from May through September, following the published schedule, people gather early at the Cable Cove boat ramp (Figure 35). The boat provided by the Park arrives, and people start boarding (Figure 36). A few smaller decorations may manage with one boat trip across the lake, but most decorations take two, three, or even four trips across. A few other attendees may make the journey across the lake in private boats. And of course there is no need for a boat for decorations at the two extremes of the lake, which can be reached by automobile and on foot. But the boat journey has become something of an emblem of the North Shore decoration experience over the past generation. Many people find that it provides a special meditative solace of its own, as if serving as a spiritual prelude when one leaves the world of daily life and enters the timeless domain of the sacred.

As people arrive, they greet each other warmly. Most of the participants are acquainted, but some may have come from afar and are seeing relatives for the first time in a year or more. They unload items to take along on the trip–food for the dinner on the ground, rain gear (generally there is no shelter where they are going, and rain is a frequent participant in the decorations), walking sticks, and of course flowers for the decoration. If there are musicians, they bring their instruments. The boatman carefully counts until the maximum is reached, then reassures the rest that he will be back soon. From Cable Cove the boat ride will not be too long if the destination is Hazel Creek, which is just across from Cable Cove, but other North Shore destinations require a longer ride (Figure 37).

Debarking on the North Shore, one is greeted by Park staff offering rides in the vehicles mustered for the occasion. Depending on the particular decoration, the hike may be anywhere from several hundred yards to several miles, and of course it is going to be all uphill (Figure 38). Many people happily accept the ride, making sure that elderly people and people who have difficulty walking are served first. But many more–even some of the older generation–turn down the offer and prefer the bracing hike in the woods. Even if one hitches a ride, the last hundred yards is likely to be accessible only on foot. The cemeteries all lie on top of ridges (see Chapter III), and the wagon roads on which the all-terrain vehicles navigate generally follow the creek beds below the ridges. So for the elderly or the crippled, the last hundred yards become a formidable physical challenge, and the way they surmount that challenge to visit loved ones in

the cemetery becomes part of the lore of North Shore decorations, narrated in amazement and admiration years later.

Benches or dinner tables are set up at a point off the path before arrival at the cemetery (Figure 39), and the Park provides plastic tent covers to shield the food and the diners from rain, should it make an appearance. People drop off their food baskets and boxes before ascending to the ridge top. Upon arrival at the top of the ridge, one sees a clean-swept cemetery with mounded graves, no weeds, and no leftover decorations from last year. The Park crew has already been here for the advance preparations–they now play a central part in the ritual that once was played by the men of the community in advance of Decoration Day.

The first task after arrival is decorating the graves (Figure 40). Those who have brought flowers begin distributing them on the graves, beginning with their own family members but also adding flowers to any other undecorated grave. One communal tenet of Decoration Day is that no grave should remain undecorated. Children are often enlisted in the act of decorating graves, and their active participation helps seal the experience in their memories as not just an adventure in the woods but a solemn ritual. As people move from grave to grave, they contemplate each headstone and comment to their family and relatives on the people buried there. This leads to general reflections on the past–life in the Smokies before the removal, past decorations, stories told about various ancestors. People describing decorations often cite conversation with family and community members as a central feature of the event, not just an ancillary by-product.

At some point, gospel music joins and then supplants the conversation (Figure 41). The music may be unaccompanied singing, but usually there are some instruments–guitar, mandolin, banjo, fiddle–to provide instrumental accompaniment. The gospel singing is in the old 19th-century style–part singing with overlapping harmonies that oscillate back and forth between the lead singers and the other part singers in the chorus. Most are lively-paced gospel hymns, like *I'll Fly Away* or *Will the Circle Be Unbroken*, but later in the service there may be some classic contemplative slow hymns – some leaders always end with *Amazing Grace*. As the singers warm up, the people gather into a loose circle in the cemetery, joining in the singing and listening to the music as it echoes through the open glade in the forest.

After several gospel songs are sung and the celebrants are gathered in a circle, Helen Vance, or whoever else is in charge of the event, steps forward and begins by welcoming everyone and making announcements. She may mention efforts that have been made to replace old and unreadable headstones with new stones that properly name and date the persons buried in this cemetery. She calls on special guests to say a word–in the summer of 2004 that included the project team, and also the Park Superintendent, Dale A. Ditmanson, who attended the Proctor Decoration (Figure 32). She may also recognize attendees from the family most prominently commemorated in this cemetery.

Helen Vance then asks someone to collect the offering, and the singers and musicians provide music while a couple of men walk around the circle with hats extended. It may be stipulated that the offering is to continue the work of replacing headstones, which is done through a stone carver in nearby Marble, North Carolina. Then she calls on someone to deliver a message and offer a prayer. It may be her husband, Reverend Harry Vance, or it may be someone else (Figure 42). The message is a short reflection on a religious theme. The person delivering the message may also be asked to offer the blessing for the dinner that is waiting at the foot of the ridge after the service. There may be one or two more hymns or gospel songs, after which the service is over. People linger by the graves to converse (Figures 43 and 44), while others make their way down the ridge to spread out the "dinner on the ground," which is usually spread along a row of tables and benches but sometimes spreads to other nearby logs or literally "the ground" (Figures 45 and 46). At the dinner, some people eat the food they brought for their own families, but often the food is arrayed buffet-style so that anyone can try anything, and all are encouraged to help themselves.

After the dinner, people linger for conversation. There may be additional events, such as the double baptism in Hazel Creek that followed the Proctor decoration in the summer of 2004 (Figure 29). Eventually, people begin walking back to the boat, and the Park vehicles are again available for those who want a ride back to the lake. The boat loads and departs while others linger in conversation, waiting for the boat to return. Back on the other side, people talk more but gradually load up their belongings, say their farewells, and depart.

V. DECORATION AND SOCIAL ACTION ON THE NORTH SHORE

Fontana Dam is the tallest dam in the eastern United States, but it is not the only one. Other dams are nearby in western North Carolina, and the TVA built a number of dams throughout the Tennessee Valley as part of its mission. Although some of them may have generated protests, only the removal in preparation for Fontana Dam created a social and cultural movement that has lasted for decades. This chapter will chart the history of the extraordinary movement that arose after the removal of people from the Little Tennessee Valley and the North Shore.

THE 1943 AGREEMENT

In 1943, as Fontana Dam's construction was proceeding, a "Memorandum of Agreement" was signed among the four governmental parties with vital interests at stake in the project–the TVA, the State of North Carolina, Swain County, and the United States Department of the Interior. The Memorandum of Agreement has many provisions, but it reserves its most extensive attention to providing for a new road to be built on the north side of the soon-to-be-created Fontana Lake. North Carolina State Highway 288 (NC 288), which had been paid for in part by Swain County bond funds, would be mostly submerged by the dam lake. The new road would presumably traverse the same general range as the old NC 288, but it would be on higher ground, well above the shoreline of the lake-to-be. Incidentally, the document makes it clear that, although the TVA was acquiring the land, the signatories understood that the newly acquired land on the North Shore would be transferred to GSMNP as soon as the dam was built. Hence the Department of the Interior, on behalf of the NPS, is a party to the Agreement, and the road proposed by the Agreement is called the "Park Road." Newspaper accounts indicate that the plan was announced as early as December 1942 (Anonymous 1942a, 1942b), although many people today say that the plan to transfer the land to the Park was not widely publicized until late in 1943, after many people had already moved out.

Regarding the road, the Agreement says:

> The Department [of the Interior] represents and states that it has evolved a Master Plan for the development of the Park as extended by the addition of the lands described in section 1 hereof, and that said Master Plan includes an "around the Park" road, of which the Park section of a projected road between Deals Gap and Bryson City constitutes an important link. Subject to the transfer by the Authority to the Department of the land described in section 1 as herein provided, the Department agrees that, as soon as funds are made available for that purpose by Congress after the cessation of the hostilities in which the United States is now engaged, the Department will construct or cause to be constructed the following described sections of road, all of said sections being hereinafter

> collectively referred to as the "Park Road" . . . (http://www.northshoreroad.info/memorandumofagreement.pdf – p. 8; see also Appendix A to the DEIS)

And it offers the following specifications for the road:

> the location and type of said road, the method and manner of constructing the same, and all standards and specifications therefor shall be determined by Department in its sole discretion; provided, however, that said Park Road when constructed shall as a minimum standard be finished throughout its length with a dustless surface not less than twenty (20) feet in width . . . . (p. 11)

The Agreement provides two stipulations. First, no further action was to be taken until after the end of World War II. Second, all commitments in the Agreement are necessarily subject to Congressional appropriation for the project. That can sound to the reader today as if it was an effort to build into the Agreement a means of backing out later. But the stipulation that the Agreement was subject to the availability of Congressional appropriations is a typical legal caveat for such governmental documents, especially for a major construction project. There is every reason to believe that the signers of the document expected the road to be built after the war was over. And indeed the first section of the road was eventually built, extending several miles into the Park from a new state road built to the Park boundary. The road even includes a tunnel under Forney Ridge, but just on the other side of the tunnel it stops. It is a scenic road, but the incongruity of its ending just beyond a tunnel inspired someone to nickname it "The Road to Nowhere," and the name stuck.

The 1943 Agreement clearly specifies what each of the parties agrees to do. But on the subject of the reasons for wanting the road, it is silent, except to point out that the Department of the Interior envisioned the road as a component of a larger roadway around the Park. That much seems logical, and indeed the Tennessee side of the Park has just such a route leading from U.S. 441 west and southwest through and around the Park, and then east past Deals Gap almost to Fontana Dam. The road envisioned in the 1943 Agreement would begin where that road ends and encircle the Park on its south flank, ending in Bryson City, not far from where U.S. 441 begins its ascent into the Smokies on the North Carolina side.

The testimony of many former residents of the North Shore, past and present, adds another purpose for the road that goes unmentioned in the 1943 Agreement. By that testimony, a key issue raised by the families who were to be removed, and by their community leaders, was maintaining access to the many family and community cemeteries that dotted the North Shore (by a current count there are 27). They wanted a means of access to the cemeteries, they said, because one should show respect to deceased relatives and ancestors by visiting, cleaning, and decorating their graves. They and their descendants have stoutly maintained for the past half-century that the road was promised as a means of ensuring that they would be able to visit their cemeteries for these purposes. Helen Cable Vance (Figure 31) recalls:

> And that contract for the road would never have been written if it hadn't been for the people insisting on a way to go back to the cemeteries. They weren't going to put a road in there. That wasn't even part of it when TVA came in there. There's no road going to be back in there. But they kept saying, "We're going to have a way back to our cemeteries." A lot of them didn't sign to leave those graves until they got promise of a road back in there.
>
> Alan Jabbour: So, you actually remember this being discussed as an issue.
>
> Helen Vance: Yes, well. And I remember when the TVA man came to the house and told Daddy, this is before he even signed to leave his – he said, "I'm going to have them moved," but he hadn't signed it. This was about the last of 1942 or the first of 1943. My brothers were both in service at the time. And this TVA man came by the house, and he told him they are going to build a road back in here. And I remember how happy my daddy was that they had finally decided to build a road back where they could come back. A lot of people left thinking they could come back and put these markers [headstones with identifying inscriptions] there. And they didn't get a chance to. (NSCD 8-19-04 AJ/KJ-1)

Access to cemeteries was not mentioned in the 1943 Agreement, which focused on other uses for such a Road. The Department of Interior saw a road along the North Shore as part of its plan for the Park's development, providing a key section of a road that would encircle the Park (Anonymous 1942a). Swain County no doubt thought of it as providing a potential boost for visitation and tourism on the North Carolina side of the Park, and many current advocates of the road remain concerned about economic development. In Swain County, there is a lingering feeling that Bryson City never benefited adequately from the development of the Park–there are recurrent complaints that Tennessee received the lion's share of benefits. But even those who support the road today for economic development also support it for access to the cemeteries of the North Shore. Cemetery access is a paramount and universal issue.

PARK POLICIES CONCERNING CEMETERIES: 1930s TO 1960s

When TVA transferred the North Shore to GSMNP in 1948, it became part of a Park that was already struggling to deal with issues of cemetery maintenance and access. The existing Park policy on cemeteries had been outlined in a 1931 letter from NPS Director Horace Albright to W.H. Woodbury, the Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Park Commission. Albright's letter was in response to a complaint about the overgrown condition of a cemetery in the Sugarlands, on the Tennessee side of the Park, but he took the opportunity to set forth a Park-wide policy:

> In this connection you may say on behalf of the Park Service that we will do everything in our power to keep the cemeteries intact and that the parties who have bodies buried

> there may go to and from the cemeteries with all freedom of action and have the right to keep the brush and briars cleaned off. . . . Furthermore, we will assume it as an obligation of the National Park Service to assist in keeping these cemeteries as cleaned up as possible after we have taken them over as part of the park.

Park archives contain little information on cemetery issues in the 1930s and 1940s, but it appears that, after initial attention, the Park's efforts to maintain cemeteries had slowed in the 1940s. A 1950 letter from Acting Superintendent White told a concerned citizen:

> During the days of the CCC and again when we had a CPS camp, there was quite a bit of man-power and money available and we tried to clean up the cemeteries every year. However, in late years, funds and, therefore, manpower have been very scarce and at present time we are shorthanded in many divisions.

In a similar vein, a 1950 memo from Assistant Chief Ranger Light noted that no maintenance work had been done on any cemeteries in the Oconaluftee district since the close of the CCC program (about 1942).

Thus the North Shore cemeteries entered a Park that was already having difficulties keeping cemeteries maintained. In fact, some of the next items in the Park Archives' Cemetery Correspondence Folder deal with a North Shore cemetery, and represent the start of almost twenty years of correspondence with Green Lee Hill concerning Payne Cemetery near Fontana. In 1953, Hill, who had family ties to the cemetery, wrote a letter to Senator Albert Gore (Senior) after a Mother's Day decoration. He protested that the attendees at the decoration were re-routed on a road that was overgrown and inaccessible. Hill's letter started a round of intra-agency memos, and it was eventually determined that the road in question (a surviving segment of NC 288) had been damaged by TVA trucks during power line construction, and had been taken off the Park maintenance schedule a year earlier. Additional correspondence about the cemetery followed, and in 1955 Reverend Fred E. Nichols sent the Park a letter and petition with 61 signatures demanding better access. Hill also continued to write the Park regarding Payne and nearby Orr Cemetery over the next few years, during which the Park also received letters concerning cemeteries in the Big Greenbrier area and a request to allow brush cutting at Cable Cemetery and along a path between it and Fontana Lake.

Dissatisfied with the results of his efforts, in 1959 Hill paid an angry visit to Superintendent Overly's office to request better access to Payne Cemetery. His trenchant cultural challenge to the Superintendent, recorded in a subsequent memo from Overly to the Regional Director, has become part of the oft-quoted lore of the North Shore:

> You don't have much regard for the dead, do you? Down here we like our dead folks and like to pay proper respect to them at these homecoming affairs. (Rohr 2003:124–125)

Overly's memo went on to discuss the larger issue of cemetery maintenance in the Park:

> The family burial plots and cemeteries in this park are a matter of real concern to me. . . . I have received numerous requests for assistance in maintaining access to various family burial plots and cemeteries and requests for actual maintenance of such plots. . . . There are a great many burial grounds in the park and where roads leading to them can be made passable, even behind locked gates, we assist in keeping the roads open for the various homecoming affairs, but we do not attempt to maintain any of the burial grounds or cemeteries themselves.

In reference to Albright's statement about maintaining cemeteries, Overly continued:

> To my knowledge, monies have never been made available for this purpose, and if we are to perform this function our appropriations must be increased substantially. . . . If we are to do this [maintain roads in passable condition] it means that our Master Plan on trails, jeep trails, and secondary roads must be revised. It is estimated that our secondary road mileage will be nearly doubled.

As the tide of requests and protests regarding cemeteries rose, Overly commissioned a survey of cemeteries in the Park and also contacted the TVA for information on the Park's obligations concerning the North Shore cemeteries. The cemetery survey revealed over 130 cemeteries in the Park as a whole, 51 of which Park staff felt should be maintained, as they

> carry an obligation for government maintenance in the deeds of transfer, … [or are] those for which active interest will likely be shown.

It was noted that the 51 cemeteries contained 2,871 graves, and that 6.52 miles of associated trails and 8.4 miles of roads would require maintenance. The greater part of the work was to be done "just prior to the Memorial Day services or scheduled Homecomings," with other work to be done as feasible later in the summer. Regarding access rights, TVA informed the Park:

> These [TVA land acquisition] procedures result in third parties continuing to hold rights to bury in remaining spaces in the isolated cemeteries, and in continuing to have the right to visit, decorate and maintain existing graves and monuments. The government, however, is reasonably protected against the assertion of any claims for impaired access, since all known parties in interest have either signed releases or directed that the bodies be reinterred in the areas which would be isolated. We find no instance where the federal government could be required to improve or provide alternate access to any of the cemeteries

> you mentioned. The government, however, could not prevent third parties from going to the cemeteries over whatever routes may be available.

Perhaps as a result of Overly's concerns, NPS Director Wirth apparently established a new cemetery policy in early 1962. In a presentation to the North Carolina National Park, Parkway and Forests Development Commission, Overly said of the draft policy:

> The new policy will provide for Service maintenance of the cemeteries within park boundaries except in those cemeteries where the area comprising the cemetery was reserved to the original owner. . . . Also, the new policy, like the old one, will permit free ingress and egress by relatives and friends of those buried in these cemeteries, will permit burials of relatives in the cemeteries so long as space is available within the original plot, and will permit relatives or friends to carry out maintenance of the cemeteries. . . . The Service will not reconstruct or improve the standard of the roads leading to cemeteries, but will maintain the present roads or trails in a passable condition.

The new policy and associated maintenance efforts apparently met with some success, for in June of 1962 Green Lee Hill wrote Overly that he had visited Payne Cemetery "and was well pleased in the condition of the road." Other correspondents made similar reports, and in July 1966 Congressman Roy Taylor wrote:

> I was visiting in the Hazel Creek Section of the Smoky Mountains National Park last week and was pleased to notice that the cemeteries in that section which are accessible are now being maintained. I know that this is important to citizens who have ancestors and loved ones buried in the cemeteries.

The maintenance issue was still not settled, however, for in a 1966 memo Superintendent Fry discussed the difficulty in satisfying expectations with the limited funding available. He forwarded the results of a 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* to the Regional Director, and requested the Regional Office "to come up with a decision on the standards of performance that you think we should accomplish," while noting that "not one cent has been appropriated to accomplish the work that we are doing." The study outlined the work and costs required for both "rehabilitation" and annual maintenance of 56 cemeteries, including eleven (Bone Valley, Cable, Cable Branch, McClure, Mitchel[l], Orr, Payne, Pilkey, Proctor, Welch, and Woody) on the North Shore. A subsequent memo suggests that the work was to be carried out by the Oconaluftee Job Corps Center, and noted that most of the work on the North Shore was scheduled for Fiscal Year 1969.

As part of the Maintenance Study, Park Ranger Bill Rolen was asked to gather information concerning the feelings of local residents concerning leveling of graves in cemeteries throughout the South District.

His reply to the Superintendent touches on many of the issues involved in cemetery maintenance, and states:

> I have personally contacted the main leaders and many of the old timers in each of the old settlements, Big Creek, Cataloochee, Oconaluftee and areas north of Fontana Lake in regard to their feelings about the cemeteries and all of them are greatly interested and really appreciate and praise your interest in this matter. By far the majority are for leveling the graves so they may be maintained easier. However they do want the tombstones and grave markers that are presently in place to remain in place. I believe you will receive far more praise than criticism in this public service to these old former residents.
>
> I believe even you would be surprised to know how difficult it is to find some of these old cemeteries that have supposedly been maintained and I believe it would be a mistake public relationswise to maintain only the ones that the Service might be obligated to maintain and not maintain all of the cemeteries that are in reason, due to size, location etc.
>
> Quite a few of the old timers are concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so.
>
> I know your maintenance people will submit a cost as to what it is believed will be needed to accomplish this project. Don't be surprised at the amount because it is going to be expensive to initiate this project, however I think it is a worthy one and you will only receive praise and the goodwill of the people for it.

A 1969 letter from Superintendent Neilson to Green Lee Hill (who had written once again to complain about the lack of road access to the North Shore) stated that rehabilitation work to some 76 cemeteries (presumably including the 56 noted above) had been carried out within the past two years, putting

> most of the cemeteries in the best condition that they have been in years. The question of access to the cemeteries behind the lake, which are accessible by trail or boat only, is something beyond our control. It is true that construction of the proposed road on the north shore of Fontana Lake would have made these cemeteries much easier to get to, but unavailability of construction funds in the past has resulted in very little progress in fulfillment of the Park Service commitment.

Neilson's letter concluded:

> We do appreciate your interest and concern and hope we will be able to find some solution to the problem, sometime in the future.

Thus, as the 1960s ended, Park staff felt that they had largely come to grips with the cemetery maintenance issue. But despite Superintendent Neilson's optimism, there was no solution in sight to the issue of access to the North Shore cemeteries.

THE EARLY RESPONSE TO REMOVAL

Following the 1943 Agreement and construction of Fontana Dam, it appears that there was a lull in discussions regarding the North Shore Road. World War II continued until 1945, and the people returning from the war gradually settled back into civilian life over the next few years. At the federal level, there was a great push to reduce government expenditures in the post-war years after the burst of spending and accumulated debt caused by the war effort. But by the late 1940s there is evidence of stirrings again on the subject of access to the North Shore. A short section of the Fontana end of the planned road was built in the later 1940s, and in 1959 the state of North Carolina completed its portion, from Bryson City to the boundary of the Park. Congressman Roy Taylor of western North Carolina became an advocate for building the road called for in the 1943 Agreement, and the first section of it was built into the Park from the east in the 1960s. But a growing opposition to further construction began to take shape, both from old-fashioned park lovers and from a growing new breed of environmentalists and advocates of the protection of what they considered wilderness. Eventually construction ceased, and the Park Road of 1943 was on its way to becoming the "Road to Nowhere."

Apart from occasional mentions in Park records, there is little documentary evidence of the initial local response to the removal and the lack of access to the North Shore cemeteries. There was no restriction on returning to visit old homesites, and some individuals and families managed to do just that. From people's present-day accounts (and Park records), it appears that visits happened with some frequency to homesites and cemeteries that were relatively accessible, including those that lay close to the Fontana or Bryson City ends of the lake (such as Payne Cemetery). A few people also had or hired boats to cross over the lake, although, as Green Lee Hill indicated in a 1969 letter, many could not pay the rental fee. But certain areas of former population concentration were not easily reached, either overland or by boat. And although some older roads and bridges, such as those along Hazel Creek, were maintained by the Park to provide access for hikers, maintenance crews, and fire protection, others were not maintained and quickly grew impassable.

Although the Park maintained some North Shore cemeteries to some degree, particularly those close to Fontana or Bryson City, others were allowed to become inaccessible and overgrown. Some maintenance was also done on a limited basis by family members, such as the group that maintained the Proctor Cemetery on Hazel Creek (Oliver 1989:97), or those who cleaned the path to Cable Cemetery in 1959 or 1960 (see above). But despite these visits, and Green Lee Hill's persistent communications regarding

Payne Cemetery, it appears that the public visibility of the issue of cemetery access was not very high. The pattern of the 1950s and early 1960s continued without dramatic change into the 1970s, and in retrospect there appears to have been no real reason to expect a dramatic change.

THE NORTH SHORE REVOLUTION

On Sunday, October 17, 1976, a reunion of former North Shore residents was organized at the Deep Creek Campground, not far from Bryson City. *The Smoky Mountain Times* reported (October 21, 1976) that "450 former Fontana Dam area residents" gathered for this first reunion, and "plans were being made for a follow-up reunion next year, according to organizers Helen C. Vance and Ruth V. Hicks."

At the reunion, conversation reportedly turned to the fact that no decorations had been held in most North Shore cemeteries since the expulsion in 1943 and 1944 (Oliver 1989:9697). By the spring of 1978, the impulse turned to a reality. Helen Vance (Figure 31) and her sister Mildred Johnson (Figure 32), with the help of some friends, organized a decoration at Cable Cemetery, and they arranged for four small boats to transport people across Fontana Lake.

As Helen Cable Vance tells it:

> . . . we started with the Cable [Cemetery], because the family had not been back. And they said, "Well, next year on the fourth Sunday in May, . . . we're going to go back and have a decoration next year." That was in 1977 or 1978. We let the others know and we put it in the paper. And we went over there beforehand. We told the Park, and the monuments were down. So many monuments were just laying down over on the ground or whatever. So, we put an article in the paper and also they sent word to the Park. So the Park called us, and they went back and they had it cleaned up. They wanted to know if we'd go over and look at Cable Cemetery. We did, and they had gone in there and cleaned it up. We were so proud of it! That's the way it got started. So, we went to that one. And Henry Posey said, "Alright, Helen, if we can go to Cable and get this many people, let's go to Proctor." We went to Proctor, and he said, "Let's go to Bone Valley." So we just branched out. He says, "What do you think about going to all of them." I said, "Suits me. Let's just go." (NSCD 8-19-04 AJ/KJ-1)

Henry Posey joined Helen Vance and her sisters as a key member of the core group. The first North Shore decoration was a great success, as was the second, which went to Proctor Cemetery on Hazel Creek. Hundreds of people participated, and there was intense media coverage.

Thus was a cultural movement born. The leaders of the movement soon found themselves negotiating with Boyd Evison, the Superintendent of the Park, on a variety of major issues. A schedule was designed for decorations at various North Shore cemeteries, and the Park agreed to provide boats to transport the

visitors for a full summer of Sunday decorations. Pushed some more, the Park began supplying vehicles to transport participants–especially the elderly and infirm–up the long trails that lay ahead of the decoration participants once they had debarked on the North Shore. Park staff also became suddenly active in maintaining the cemeteries, which had suddenly come into the public limelight.

The original reunion at Deep Creek took place in the year of the nation's Bicentennial celebrations, when much attention was being given to the historical and cultural roots of American communities. Helen Vance has said that the Bicentennial, despite its emphasis on local history and culture, was not a direct influence on the North Shore cemetery decorations movement. But Eddie Marlowe, who attended those early decorations on the North Shore, offered another parallel that reveals how much the idea of celebrating one's roots was in the air:

> It's what we are and what we come from, and I think that it's important for people to know your heritage. I remember about that same time, maybe a little bit later, Alex Haley come up with the book *Roots*, and how he traced his ancestors back to Africa and how that opened up so much for him, and it did the same for us here in the Smoky Mountains. (NSCD 8-4-04 PC-1)

In 1978 the public stir about the new decorations on the North Shore led to an offer by the North Carolina Humanities Committee to provide funding for a series of public presentations on North Shore cemeteries and cemetery decorations. But the committee stipulated that there be a non-profit organization to which the funds would be granted. So the movement created a formal organization. As Helen Vance tells it,

> We put on a program and we went to different places and gave a program. We went to Bryson City, Robbinsville, Marion, and Waynesville just more or less telling about our cemeteries and so forth. And that was in I guess about 1978, 1977 somewheres about there. But, in order to do this, we got a grant from the North Carolina Humanities Committee. So, in order to do this, we had to have a name. So, Charlotte Ross and Dr. Ross, he taught at Appalachian, and she was working with the North Carolina Humanities Committee at the time. So, she said, "Well, in order for you to get a grant to promote your cemeteries and your access, you'll have to have a name." So, we sat around at my dining room table there and we were going back and forth with names, how we would get a name. And I said, "Hazel Creek, Fontana." I said, "No, we want a word that includes everybody." So, from the end of the dam to the top of the dam, we wanted to include all the people. So, we came up with "Cemeteries on the North Shore." And that's the way the name came up. (NSCD 8-19-04 AJ/KJ-1)

So the organization became the North Shore Cemetery Association, choosing for its name a new term representing the entire region north of Fontana Lake. In choosing this name, they seem to have vaulted the general term "North Shore" into popularity in the speech of the region. Helen Vance says they did not

actually make up the term “North Shore,” and our research has not determined when and by whom the term was coined, although Superintendent Neilson is quoted above in a 1969 letter using the term in lower-case form –“the north shore of Fontana Lake.” But it does seem that the organization’s name and its highly visible decorations and other public activities propelled the term into widespread use as a new regional term.

Superintendent Boyd Evison seems to have been quite accommodating, as if he sensed the efficacy of this new grassroots movement with which he was negotiating. But he decided to draw the line on one issue– plastic flowers, the use of which had become widespread in regional decorations by the 1970s (see Chapter III).

In May 1978 the Park announced a revised cemetery policy, which was intended to help preserve the historic appearance of the Park’s cemeteries. As part of this policy, the Park asked:

> That no plastic flowers and non-biodegradable containers or supports be left in the cemeteries, because what is intended as a sign of pride and respect so quickly becomes a sad and unsightly castoff. Second, we need cooperation in assuring the historic integrity of the cemeteries by not replacing any gravestones or other markers without first discussing it with Park Historians.
>
> Graves decorated with real flowers, brought in and placed in biodegradable containers, such as peat pots, keep their traditional appearance and are not a source of litter problems…
>
> Handcarved markers are expressions of love engraved in stone. We are anxious that they not be replaced or tampered with, except under special circumstances. . . We would like to discuss stone replacements on a case by case basis, to agree on a design and size that will fit in with the cemetery’s historic character. We further ask that stones be installed only when the original is missing or completely illegible. Even if illegible, the old stone should be left in place with the new one.

The 1978 Park policy met with a mixed reception. After a standoff of sorts, people continued to use plastic flowers for North Shore decorations, and the Park’s edict was simply ignored (Rohr 2003:130–131). The policy governing the replacement of headstones also met with some challenges, though over the years the concept behind it seems generally to have been internalized by the North Shore Cemetery Association (Rohr 2003:130). Today one finds new markers beside the old headstones in North Shore cemeteries (Figure 33), but, with only a few exceptions, the new markers maintain the size, modesty, and grace of the old cemetery style of the region. Thus the North Shore cemeteries preserve a historical demeanor more than most other cemeteries of the region, where newer burials and some replacement markers reflect modern styles in headstone size, shape, and carving.

The North Shore movement matured in the 1980s. Its name oscillated between "North Shore Cemetery Association" and "North Shore Historical Association," reflecting the broadening context in which the members saw their labors. In 1986 it launched a newsletter called *Fontana*, which explored facets of North Shore family and community history, including personal memoirs of North Shore life from various contributors. According to Helen Vance, the list of cemeteries being decorated on the North Shore expanded until about 1980, reaching a level that has been maintained with little change up to the present day. Another sign of the maturing of the movement was the creation of the North Shore Road Association, which under Linda Hogue's (Figure 34) leadership has focused its energies on advocacy for building the long-sought-after road. Attempts to reach a negotiated solution to the situation (including a $9.5 million cash settlement) had foundered in the late 1970s (Brown 2000:268–272), and in 1983 Helen Vance and other Cemetery Association members filed suit in an attempt to compel construction of the road in fulfillment of the 1943 Agreement. The suit was dismissed in U.S. District Court due to the plaintiffs' lack of standing, as the court determined that they were "only incidental beneficiaries of the agreement," and as such could not bring suit to force its fulfillment (Brown 2000:273–274). The debate continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s, however, largely in response to various proposals for Wilderness designation for the North Shore and other parts of the Smokies.

The Park apparently has not promulgated a new cemetery policy since 1978. The 1980 *Smoky Mountains Operating Procedures* (NPS 1980) reiterate previous policies regarding access and maintenance, and add specific comments regarding the need to maintain "the old road system above the Hazel Creek ranger station" for the purpose of cemetery access, but the issue is not addressed in the Park's 1982 *General Management Plan* (NPS 1982). The overarching NPS policy regarding cemeteries (NPS 2000:94) only provides general guidance concerning cemetery issues; stating that:

> Family members (or their designees) will be allowed access for purposes of upkeep and commemoration (such as wreath-laying and religious rituals) that do not jeopardize safety or resource protection.

The current practices that have evolved on the North Shore seem to fall somewhere between policy and custom, with Park staff making an effort to accommodate the wishes of the North Shore Cemetery Association and others within certain parameters of access and funding. For example, Park trail crews work with community members seeking to locate potential lost cemeteries on the North Shore, and stand ready to clear access routes and facilitate their decoration if their locations can be verified. Similarly, as noted above, Decoration Day participants seem to follow the general spirit behind such issues as gravestone replacement. Most replacement stones are in fact small, and the older stones are generally left in place when new stones are installed. Artificial flowers are in fact used, but are disposed of in an organized fashion, with the Park staff cleaning up and removing the old flowers before each year's decoration (Figure 27).

But there is one point on which Park Policy is clear. No matter what the outcome of the EIS process, the Park will take no actions that would diminish the current level of access to North Shore cemeteries. As specified in Section 2.2 of the DEIS:

> The annual ferry service would continue if:
>
> - An alternative does not include provisions for a new road,
> - A partial-build or build alternative does not intersect an administrative road, or
> - A partial-build or build alternative only reaches a portion of the cemeteries.
>
> If a build or partial-build alternative intersects a maintained GSMNP administrative road, the public would be allowed access to the road on a scheduled basis for access to cemeteries. Transportation would be provided by NPS or personal vehicle, depending on the condition of the road.

NORTH SHORE DECORATIONS TODAY AND TOMORROW

If one asks the people attending North Shore decorations today whether they are satisfied with the arrangement that has been worked out with the NPS, the responses reveal an interesting complexity. The participants in the decorations still overwhelmingly favor building the North Shore Road and feel that the only permanent solution to the problem of access to the North Shore cemeteries is building the road. The boat schedule is limiting–one can only visit any given cemetery once a year, and the visit is limited by the schedule of the boat transportation. There is sometimes a tension between decoration pilgrims who want to linger and the captain of the boat rented by the Park, who wants to finish his duties. Some people also cannot swim and are afraid of boats. And when it rains, an automobile is a refuge, but there is no protection from the elements while waiting for the boat.

Yet many people have come to prize the boat experience as part of the special pilgrimage of a North Shore decoration. There is something compelling about the experience of sitting in the boat crossing Fontana Lake. It provides people with a feeling of a journey from the workaday world into a timeless sacred domain. A few people who are devoted regulars at North Shore decorations do not look forward to construction of the road and prefer the special qualities of the present arrangement, while others who are eager to see the road acknowledge that they may miss the boat journeys if it is built.

It seems that the North Shore decoration movement is at a point of historical transition. If the road is built, there will likely be at least a reduction in the use of boats to ferry people across the lake (see above). New patterns will evolve to accommodate a new situation. It will be possible for the decorations to last longer, since transition time will be reduced, and it is possible that more flowers will be brought for decoration and more food and other items for a longer dinner on the ground. But the engagement of Park staff will

still be necessary for preparation of the site and shuttling and facilitation between the road and the cemeteries. On the other hand, whether or not the road is built, the North Shore movement inevitably will face a transition in leadership, as the generation born on the North Shore is replaced by the generations for whom the North Shore is not one's old home but the home of one's ancestors and a place for pilgrimages.

Looking back over a generation of decorations using boats in collaboration with the Park staff, one can only conclude that the partnership between the North Shore movement and the Park has been successful and productive. The history of conflict is not forgotten, and tensions remain today over issues like the Park's resistance to fencing the cemeteries, or its insistence on eradicating some of the plantings that linger as evidence of the lives people once lived on the North Shore (due to the status of some plants as invasive species [GSMNP 2003]). But the issues and tensions should not obscure the accomplishment of the movement and the Park in partnership. Together they have created over a generation an extraordinary religious and cultural experience for thousands of people with roots in the region–an experience with profound historical and traditional moorings, but nevertheless a grand contemporary creative contribution of this generation of local activists and Park staff.

VI. INTERPRETING CEMETERIES AND DECORATION DAY

The preceding chapters are dotted with interpretive points about various aspects of the cemetery and decoration traditions of the Smokies, but their primary focus is descriptive rather than interpretive. At the risk of repeating a few of those earlier thoughts and observations, this chapter will shift from description toward identifying some key issues to be considered regarding cemeteries and cemetery decoration as expressions of cultural values.

CEMETERY DECORATION IN THE NORTH SHORE AND THE REGION

It is tempting for many people to equate tradition with a lack of change, and to assume that change represents a break with tradition. But tradition, properly understood, is dynamic and organic, incorporating within its compass the potential for regular innovation and gradual change. Thus the traditions associated with cemeteries in the Smokies reflect a variety of cultural changes that have swept through the region, and indeed the entire country, during the 20th century. During the fieldwork for this project in 2004, the changes, the reactions to change, and the competition between alternate approaches to change, were visible in synchronic array, often side by side in the same cemetery.

Perhaps the most momentous change in regional cemeteries over the past century has been the gradual shift from clean-swept to grassy cemeteries. Chapter III of this report discusses that change at some length. The old clean-swept style of cemetery maintenance has a close and powerful analogy to the old-fashioned style of dooryard maintenance for people's homes. The ground is kept free of grass and weeds, except for plantings carefully selected and properly situated. Thus the cemetery is like the home and looks and feels like a place where someone lives. But as the 20th century wore on, the approach to yard maintenance changed, and the ideal of a grassy lawn replaced the older ideal of a clean-swept dooryard. This change appeared first in towns, while rural homes maintained the older standard, but eventually the grassy lawn as a cultural ideal spread into the countryside and began to dislodge the older ideal. The exact same process occurred in cemeteries, and most of the cemeteries in the broad region of the Smokies are now grassy.

Not all the cemeteries in the region adopted the newer fashion, however, and some adopted it incompletely. It is not uncommon to encounter a cemetery that is partially grassy and partially clean-swept. Many are mostly grassy but contain sections where the older clean-swept style is maintained. One presumes that certain families resisted the change and were allowed to continue maintaining their family plots in the older style. And some cemeteries have bucked the trend and have either retained or restored the old clean-swept style. Interestingly, although the North Shore cemeteries, which are now maintained mostly by the Park staff, are not all alike in this respect, most seem to maintain the older clean-swept ideal–compare the clean-swept Cable Branch (Figure 44) and Woody (Figure 3) cemeteries with the somewhat grassy Proctor cemetery (Figure 43). It is hard now to reconstruct how this came about, but

perhaps it seemed historically appropriate, looking back to the era before removal of the North Shore population. Or the Park staff may have simply continued the practice of each cemetery at the time of removal, as best that could be discovered, out of respect for local standards. Or, since the Park seems to prefer hand tools and simpler technologies for trail maintenance, the clean-swept style may have proved easier to maintain on the partially shady and grass-resistant clay-and-stone ridges where the cemeteries lie. Whatever the reason, or confluence of reasons, the old clean-swept style dominates the North Shore cemeteries today.

Grassy cemeteries must be mown, and mowing needs to occur fairly frequently in the warm-weather seasons. The need for mowing proved to have other far-reaching consequences. The older style included the feature of mounding the graves. Mounding is usually explained as a way of compensating for the settlement of the earth over the years in a gravesite. But it acquired its own cultural volition as a practice, and many people feel that the mound in some way suggests or represents the actual body lying beneath it. Nevertheless, mounds are a hindrance to the task of mowing, and gradually those responsible began discouraging mounding in order to maintain the grounds in the grassy fashion. So mounding is a contested practice. Some cemeteries have managed to eliminate it. But new burials still feature mounding, which keeps the practice alive in at least one form. And again, as with grassy versus clean-swept styles, one can encounter clusters of mounded graves in many cemeteries that are otherwise level, suggesting that some families are hold-outs for the older tradition despite pressure from their peers.

An interesting alternate system of managing graves can be seen in some cemeteries throughout the region, but not in the North Shore cemeteries that were visited. The system uses white gravel for the gravesite, which suppresses weeds and avoids the necessity for mowing on top of the grave; then the grave can be either mounded or left flat, at the option of the family. One entire cemetery, Mathis in Jackson County, is grassy except for the graves themselves, which are all white gravel and mounded (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ fieldnotes). Other cemeteries have individual graves or family plots with white gravel. A variant of this system uses white sand instead of white gravel. The gravel or sand is also sometimes accompanied by the creation of formal wood or stone borders for graves or family plots, which have the effect of removing them from the general domain of the mower. Clearly these innovations represent alternative ideas for solving the dilemma between clean-swept or grassy–innovations that seek in one way or another to reassert certain traditional values.

The fact that one so often encounters competing systems of grave management within the same cemetery bears out the larger point that tradition is organic and dynamic, not fixed and static. Local people sometimes approach these issues with strong opinions, but they cannot help being aware of a kind of experimental pluralism within their own communities–a problem-solving approach to these issues that only sorts itself out over many generations. In that larger historical context, North Shore cemeteries and the cemetery decorations as a cultural movement have played a unique and important role in shaping trends throughout the larger region. That role can be illuminated by consideration of the concept of cultural revival.

NORTH SHORE CEMETERY DECORATION AS A CULTURAL REVIVAL

The term *revival* has had many uses in the cultural lexicon of the past century. One can speak of the revival of a Broadway play that first was produced a generation earlier. The sense of the word here is literal: the play was once produced, lay dormant, and is now revived. Or one can speak of a blues guitarist who is a revival musician or a *revivalist*, meaning (for example) a young White musician imitating Black bluesmen and popularizing their art with new audiences. Such a *revival* seems not literally a revival at all; rather, it is a transfer of a cultural property from one segment of society to another. Or, finally, one can speak of attending a revival meeting at one's church. Here the term refers to a religious convocation for the purpose of reviving one's religious engagement and commitment. Presumably one already belongs to that religious group, so it is not a religious conversion or a cultural transfer, but rather an intensification or even a redirection or reconfiguration of one's existing religious feelings and identity.

This final sense is the sense in which "revival" is used as a cultural term here. There is a literature on this subject in folklore studies, and a parallel and intersecting literature in cultural anthropology. A volume of essays edited by Neil Rosenberg, entitled *Transforming Tradition: Folk Music Revivals Examined* (1993) offers a number of approaches to the subject, using folk music movements as the primary foci for consideration. His "Introduction" (Rosenberg 1993:1–25) provides a helpful guide to the various uses of the term as a cultural concept, and the present author's "Foreword" (Rosenberg 1993:xi–xiii) also touches upon the subject. In anthropology the seminal work is Anthony F.C. Wallace's exploration of the concept of *revitalization movements* (Wallace 1956:264–281). Wallace, however, was interested in large-scale religious changes, rather than the kind of small-scale revival of a particular tradition that is the focus of this study.

At first glance it might seem that the North Shore decorations that began in 1978 simply resumed an older practice after a hiatus of a generation. But on closer examination, the North Shore decorations were hardly a simple resumption of the older status quo. In the first place, they exploded suddenly and powerfully, as if capturing and channeling pent-up cultural energy waiting to find new expression. The number of people who participated in them seemed to astonish everyone involved, and the move from one modest, low-key experiment to a summer-long program of decorations at numerous cemeteries happened within the compass of a single year. At the same time, the movement led to the formal organization of the North Shore Cemetery Association, and the leaders of the movement were suddenly vaulted into prominence through a series of public lectures throughout the region, supported by the North Carolina Humanities Committee. News coverage was intense, not only from local media but from regional and national print and television media. It was a full-fledged cultural movement–and, a quarter of a century later, it still is.

What took shape in 1978 was both profoundly traditional and also radically innovative. It was not possible to resume decorations as they were before, when everything else had changed. The decoration was now performed not by local communities, but by pilgrims who had been exiled from the North Shore

a generation before. The ritual cleaning of the cemeteries in advance of the decoration, which had formerly been performed by the men of the community, was now performed by Park staff. And the pilgrims did not walk or drive to the cemetery, as they had before the removal. Instead the pilgrimage began with a long ride on a boat across a deep and formidable lake–a radically new element, but also a timeless ancient symbol of spiritual transition from the secular to the sacred world. The boat trip and subsequent hiking meant that they could not bring large quantities of cut flowers from their yards, and this newer generation had lost or set aside the art of making paper flowers, so they brought a smaller sampling of cut flowers and store-bought artificial flowers. Finally, a loose general format emerged for the service at the cemeteries, in contrast to the great variability of decorations from cemetery to cemetery before the removal.

In short, the new cultural movement urgently and powerfully reasserted tradition, but had to respond to radical new circumstances with radical new solutions. The boat journey was one such radical innovation. But perhaps the most astonishing result of this cultural revival was the enlistment of the Park as a full partner in the ritual. From this time forward, Park staff provided the ritual cleaning of the cemeteries, the ritual boat ride, additional transportation on the North Shore for those unable to walk, and the general guidance and monitoring they typically provide to help manage large groups in unfamiliar circumstances. The partnership seems to have been invented fully in that first year or two, although there have been many smaller adjustments in subsequent years. And inevitably, for the oldtimers and the rising generation alike, the religious experience of the decoration that they were seeking merged with the ecological experience of being immersed in the forest that so many Park visitors seek. It became, in a stroke, both a religious experience and a Park experience, and the astonishing new cultural partnership forged in 1978 has now lasted a full generation.

UNKEPT CEMETERIES

Cemetery cleaning and decoration are widely practiced traditions in the Smokies, both in the North Shore cemeteries and elsewhere. But not every cemetery is well-kept. This fact is connected to a well-known Kephart lament (1922:334–335):

> The saddest spectacle in the mountains is the tiny burial-ground, without a headstone or headboard in it, all overgrown with weeds, and perhaps unfenced, with cattle grazing over the low mounds or sunken graves. The spot seems never to be visited between interments. I have remarked elsewhere that most mountaineers are singularly callous in the presence of serious injury or death. They show a no less remarkable lack of reverence for the dead. Nothing on earth can be more poignantly lonesome than one of these mountain burial-places, nothing so mutely evident of neglect.

In her 1932 novel *To Make My Bread*, which is partly based on observations in the Hazel Creek area, Grace Lumpkin (1995:42) evokes a similar sentiment: “There were no flowers in the burying ground. The

graves lay flat and plain on the slope. The dead were dead and there was enough to do caring for the living."

On the other hand, Muriel Sheppard's 1935 *Cabins in the Laurel* contains a clear description of mountain decorations (Sheppard 1935:194–197; see Chapter II of this report). It may be that the other authors happened to encounter cemeteries before the annual maintenance tidied them up and Decoration Day made them beautiful. But romantic exaggeration is a likelier explanation. Kephart is notorious for celebrating cultural extravagances–he helped make moonshining the emblematic art of Appalachia in the eyes of the modern world. Yet moonshiners do in fact exist in the Smokies region, and one can also encounter cemeteries in the Smokies that are untended and overgrown. Although most North Shore cemeteries are well tended today by the Park staff, it was not always so. And although most of the cemeteries in adjacent counties are tended either regularly or periodically, some show a lack of active maintenance, and some are altogether abandoned.

The fact is that if one visits the same cemetery at different points of the year, it may sometimes seem well-tended and at other times seem poorly tended. That is a natural by-product of the traditional cycle of cemetery maintenance in our project area. Furthermore, different cemeteries go through longterm cycles of relative care or relative neglect. When William Crawford celebrated certain local citizens who devoted themselves to upgrading and renovating their cemeteries (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ fieldnotes), he was by implication suggesting that there was an earlier period of relative neglect that these visionary individuals replaced with the current period of careful maintenance.

The cemeteries that are most likely to be neglected in the Smokies region are family cemeteries. Many families have moved away, abandoning the family graveyard along with all the other connections with the place. Even if another family occupies the same land, they may not use the same cemetery plot, and it slips into overgrown ruin within a very few years. Community cemeteries are less susceptible to this pattern of utter neglect, because community customs can withstand the periodic departure of individual families from the area. But the wholesale departure of members of a community can undermine customary community practices. Some rural African-American cemeteries in the region show the neglect that results from the departure of all or most of the community. And of course the forced evictions from the Park, as well as the departures of communities from Forest Service lands elsewhere, have inevitably caused the neglect of cemeteries.

At another level, cemetery maintenance and decoration in the Smokies can be interpreted within the framework of the fundamental patterns of the regional culture (compare the discussion in Chapter II). The civic and church cemeteries, having organizational structures supporting them, are reliably well tended. The community cemeteries so characteristic of the rural coves are more variable, reflecting the loose-knit informal and consensual culture of the dispersed communities scattered through the rural watersheds. The Baptist religious patterns reinforce the loose-knit, consensual grassroots decision-making, which sometimes can seem to lapse into non-decision-making and neglect. In such a context, one cemetery may

be well-kept, while another is not so well-kept. People notice and compare, but no one enforces, and care replaces neglect only when new leadership emerges within the community and the tradition is revived.

REGIONAL IMPACT OF THE NORTH SHORE DECORATIONS

One measure of the significance of the North Shore cemetery decorations movement is its radiating impact on the wider region. It is not an impact that can be easily proved. The tradition of cemetery decoration is diffused widely throughout the Central and Southern Appalachians, but it appears that the North Carolina Smokies have preserved the tradition of cemetery decoration more fully and tenaciously and have given more prominence to older features of the tradition than have other subregions of the Appalachians. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the North Shore decorations have had an impact on this tenacity. The following considerations support that conclusion:

- The people removed from the North Shore settled primarily in North Carolina, many in adjacent areas of Swain, Graham, and Jackson counties. Perhaps the largest concentration settled in and around Bryson City. Of course, some moved to towns farther away in North Carolina (Waynesville, Marion, and beyond), and others went to Tennessee (Maryville has a sizable North Shore community) (Hunt 1945:6; TVA 1950:486). But most of the activists in the North Shore Cemetery Association have lived in the three adjacent North Carolina counties, and these counties are precisely where the tradition of cemetery decoration seems strongest today.

- Cemetery decoration has always been pluralistic. Many older people describe the custom on the North Shore in the 1930s and early 1940s of visiting multiple decorations at different cemeteries, both because different branches of the family were buried in different cemeteries and because decorations have always been community social occasions–a time for recontacting relatives, for meeting new people, for renewing old acquaintances, even for courtship. After the removal, burials did not continue in the North Shore cemeteries, so in time people added yet other cemeteries to their list for decorations, since their family members were now being buried in Bryson City or beyond. The management of Lauada Cemetery, to which many North Shore graves were moved, was handled by many of the same people who were activists in the North Shore Cemetery Association. Thus it was natural for practices that developed in the North Shore decorations to spill over into other cemeteries in the region, since they were attended by some of the same people.

- The North Shore decorations have received heavy media coverage from 1978 to the present. The coverage was not only local but also regional and national, and it included television as well as print media. The continuing media coverage over a generation inevitably gave prominence to the North Shore decorations, highlighted the conservative

aspects of North Shore practice such as mounded graves, and generally kept the idea of decorations current and contemporary in the minds of residents of the region.

- The connection of the North Shore decorations with a hot political issue–building a road in the national park–also naturally tended to cast the North Shore decorations in a contemporary light.

- Several North Shore activists have also been schoolteachers, and they introduced North Shore educational units into the local school curriculum. High school and college students have often been urged to do independent research papers on the North Shore decorations.

A Park staff member who worked on the Tennessee side of the Smokies said he could not recall seeing mounding on the Tennessee side, whereas mounding is not at all hard to find in Swain, Graham, and Jackson counties on the North Carolina side. This suggests that the North Carolina side of the Smokies tilted more toward the conservative side in maintenance of cemeteries. The fact that the North Shore cemeteries generally have been mounded over the past generation seems a likely influence in that conservative trend in the nearby region.

In the course of project research in the summer of 2004, team members visited one cemetery in the Alarka area of Swain County, Mason Branch, which was entirely clean-swept and entirely mounded (Figures 17 and 19). Upon discussing it with the team's hosts for that day's touring, Verna and Carolyn Kirkland (Figure 23), the researchers learned that until recently the cemetery had been a mixed cemetery containing some mounded graves and some flat and grassy graves. But some of the men of the community had reworked the entire cemetery, converting it to clean-swept and mounded. This is an extraordinary instance, because it reveals a community consciously reverting to the older style of cemetery management. It seems a dramatic and persuasive case of cultural revival, and again it seems reasonable to suggest that the North Shore model may have a longterm influence on the wider region in such cultural choices (NSCD 7-28-04 AJ fieldnotes and 7-31-04 KJ).

RELIGION AND THE NORTH SHORE MOVEMENT

This project was launched with a public meeting in Bryson City, North Carolina, attended by about 30 people. The lead author of this report made a presentation about plans for the project, and after the presentation the floor was open to questions. Linda Hogue of the North Shore Road Association raised her hand and offered not a question but a comment. "Don't forget," she said, "it's religious." The team's fieldnotes for the event reflected, "She seemed anxious to remind us that theirs was not just a political movement, or just a historical re-creation. It was, she seemed to be asserting, a fully religious tradition–both in its older form and as a modern movement" (NSCD 7-2-04 AJ fieldnotes). It is a fact that cemetery decorations are religious events. The program that is now used for North Shore decorations has a regular

format, akin to a church service, and includes religious music, prayers, a brief sermon-like "message," and a prayer of thanksgiving for the dinner on the ground that will follow. The researchers were unable to observe other decorations in the region, but interviewees consistently describe decorations past and present as religious observances.

Decorations traditionally occur on Sundays from May until September. The use of Sunday is consistent. North Shore decorations are always scheduled on Sundays, though one decoration in 2004 was rescheduled for a Saturday to accommodate a conflict. The scheduling on Sunday is of course *prima facie* evidence that decorations are thought of as religious events. In interviews recalling practices in the old days, decorations are often compared with Easter, another religious holiday in the spring that falls on a Sunday. Decorations come later than Easter, and, at least for North Shore residents in the earlier 20th century, decorations seemed somehow a more important community event than Easter.

In a larger sense, the cemeteries where decoration services are held are themselves religious places. Cemeteries are hallowed ground in any community and function as plots of land removed from the secular world into the timeless realm of the sacred. Many inscriptions on gravestones reinforce the religious themes associated with reflections on the dead. Burial services are a form of religious service. Religious symbols appear often, and wooden crosses sometimes are used for graves where the identity of the person interred has been lost (see Chapter III).

A recurrent feature in virtually all the cemeteries in the Smokies is the positioning of the graves so that they "face to the east" (see Chapter III). Interviews in the region reveal a universal explanation for this orientation: the Lord will come from the east (the Holy Land) at the Second Coming, and they are facing east so that they can rise to meet him. This refers to the belief that there will be a resurrection of the dead at the time of the Second Coming, and that they will rise from their graves in the flesh. This report will not venture far into the domain of eschatology, but the belief is supported by passages in both the Old and the New Testaments (cited here in the King James version). Isaiah 26:19 says: "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." Daniel 12:2 echoes this phrasing: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake." And of the many New Testament references to resurrection of the dead, Paul's is the most dramatic, comparing burial and resurrection to the sowing of seeds and harvesting of crops: "that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die" (1 Corinthians 15:36) and "So also is the resurrection from the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption . . . . It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Corinthians 15:42–44).

These beliefs about resurrection have many and deep ramifications. For example, the project team noticed, during visits to cemeteries together with people from the region, that they would gesture toward a grave while talking about the person buried there. It was as if they were acknowledging a person while talking about him, or including him in the conversation. Graves seemed at times to be imbued with near-animate qualities in the eyes of local guides. Mounding adds to this effect, making the person buried there

seem almost palpable. Thus any visit to a cemetery is thought of as communing with the dead, and Decoration Day is a collective religious ritual of respect and honor for the dead, who are felt to be present to receive the gesture. The beliefs about resurrection seem to supercharge the entire practice of decoration, as well as elevating the level of urgency in all discussions regarding the protection and management of cemeteries.

CEMETERIES AND DECORATIONS AS SYMBOLS OF COMMUNITY

Reflecting on the meaning of Decoration Day, more than one of the people interviewed said that decorations were all about "community." Other religious observances might be for the church, or the family, or the private contemplation of the individual, but this was a custom that convened and symbolized the community. To understand fully their meaning, one must recall that most of the cemeteries on the North Shore, and indeed in the entire region, are "community cemeteries." These cemeteries generally began as family cemeteries and were expanded gradually to encompass a number of families–in short, a community. The community at a decoration might not exactly correspond to a geographic neighborhood, because families may expand into wider circles of connection through marriage, and marriage often reaches out beyond the immediate neighborhood.

In fact, the community at a decoration corresponds most exactly with the community buried in the cemetery. The participants themselves are conscious of the analogy. As they stroll meditatively through the cemetery and converse with others about the people commemorated by the gravestones, they are reviewing the connections that comprise the community of the cemetery and the community of the living who are there to remember them. For young people, a decoration may be a chance to meet other young people, but it is also an opportunity to learn about and review the intricate latticework of ties that bind them to others. One may know one's immediate family already, but a decoration is a chance to connect with less-familiar cousins fanning out into the community at large. And people associate the visit to the cemetery with story-telling about the lives and experiences of the people there. Decorations are, importantly, story-telling opportunities–narratives about people now passed away are the heart and soul of decorations as community events, and people like William L. Crawford specifically spoke of prizing decorations for stories he might hear about his ancestors (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ fieldnotes).

Cemeteries may represent community anywhere in the United States. But in this region, the rural areas are dominated by community cemeteries. Many of them have no connection to a church, and in others that are church-affiliated, the cemetery often preceded the church historically. The church in such cases was situated later at a locale that, by virtue of the cemetery, already had standing as a community gathering place. Other cemeteries exist in areas where no church exists. In a region of dispersed rural settlement, where families did not live in villages and often were far from other families, cemeteries carried even more weight as community gathering places.

DECORATION, MULTICULTURALISM, AND THE COMMUNAL IDEAL

One common theme of many project interviews was the collective obligation to decorate all graves in the cemetery. The responsibility may be compared with the old responsibility of the community to clean, mound, and otherwise prepare the cemetery for decoration. In both cases the challenge is to look beyond family responsibility to larger community responsibility. Of course, that ideal is not always perfectly realized. Nevertheless, as a principle that everyone is acquainted with, it serves to exhort people to think about the commonweal as well as their own family when they enter the cemetery on Decoration Day. People naturally think first about decorating the graves of their own kin. But the ideal of decorating all graves guides them toward regarding the entire cemetery–the entire community–as a communal responsibility.

This responsibility raises interesting questions about the boundaries of community in the Smokies. The rural community cemeteries of the region are multicultural in the sense that they represent multiple ethnic strands of what became the regional White population. But does the community include African-Americans and Cherokees? Both groups are clearly part of the life of the region. Both communities have also been discriminated against historically. One can see this social dilemma being played out in the cultural language of cemeteries.

One resolution of this dilemma presented itself during a visit with William L. Crawford to Shook Cemetery in Jackson County. The cemetery was beautifully decorated at the time of the team's visit. Walking down the rows of gravestones, the visitors came to two stones inscribed with the family name Knox. Bill Crawford pointed to them and said that they were graves of an African-American family who had lived in the community. The gravestones revealed that the burials were a generation or two ago, and he said the family had moved away from the region many years ago. They had been the only African-American family in the community. Nevertheless, both graves were freshly decorated with flowers. Someone else from the community, presumably operating on the "every grave must be decorated" principle, had decided to decorate the two graves.

Another story heard from several sources illustrates the dilemma more palpably, and the resolution of the dilemma did not occur until generations had passed. One North Shore community in the early 20th century included an elderly African-American man, and during one influenza epidemic he nursed many people in the community. Then he fell ill himself and passed away. People were uncertain where to bury him, and some in the community said he should not be buried in nearby Higdon Cemetery since he was African-American. Finally, as a compromise, the community buried him just outside the fence enclosing the cemetery. Years later, people decorating the cemetery remembered the story of this burial, and they located the grave. Reflecting on it, they decided to move the fence so that the segregated grave was now enclosed with the rest of the cemetery. No one could remember his name, so they purchased a gravestone to mark the grave, and it reads simply *A Black Man* (compare the account in Rohr 2003:141).

The project did not survey African-American cemeteries or Cherokee cemeteries, so it is not possible to comment on cemetery practices in these two minority communities, but a number of cemeteries in the region that are predominantly White include at least a few African-American or Cherokee burials. Watkins Cemetery in Bryson City contains a sizable African-American section with burial, headstone, and decoration practices that seemed consistent with the rest of the cemetery. Lower Savannah Cemetery in Jackson County has a section on the upper edge of the cemetery next to the woods where there are reputed to be Cherokee and African-American burials. Overall, it appears that African-American graves are at least partially integrated into the region's cemeteries, while also occurring in small special cemeteries for their own communities. Most Cherokee graves are in Cherokee cemeteries. The White community expresses a curiosity about Cherokee burial practices, often accompanied by a disclaimer to the effect that "they have their own way and it is their business." These practices and attitudes can be said to indicate fairly accurately the historical and contemporary relationships of these minorities to the White community.

ISSUES ABOUT ACCESS

The 1978 cultural revolution created a dramatic and important solution to the problem of access to the North Shore cemeteries. Not everyone is happy with boat access–many of the pilgrims cannot swim, and some people are simply afraid of water and boats, but most people seem to have found the boat solution not only satisfactory but spiritually satisfying. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the access is still limited in several significant ways.

First, the system of boat access provides access only once a year to any given cemetery, and that access is only on the appointed day. A person wishing to visit the cemetery on any other day would not be able. This disadvantages family members living far away who wish to visit the cemetery while they are in the area and cannot arrange their visit to coincide with the scheduled decoration. Family members returning home for Thanksgiving, for example, cannot visit the cemeteries, nor can family members wishing to pay respect on the birthday of the deceased.

Second, although the boat schedule preserves the Decoration Day tradition when people visit the cemetery as a community, it fails to provide access to the cemetery for solitary contemplation. William Crawford mentioned this point during a cemetery tour (NSCD 8-25-04 AJ fieldnotes), and others have noted the need for access as individuals, not only in a large group.

Third, the boat trips make decoration possible but limit the scope of the decoration. Some decorations outside the Park use many more flowers than the North Shore decorations, producing a more colorful and exuberant display. This seems to be simply a factor of how much decorations can be conveniently carried across on the boat and transported significant distances on the North Shore as well. The need to transport material for the dinner on the ground also competes with the decorations for limited transport space.

Finally, the boat arrangement limits the time. The boat trips back and forth consume a significant amount of the total available time for the trip. Many boat trips are quite long, and the same boat must sometimes make several round trips to ferry all the Decoration Day pilgrims. Often the people on the last boat across miss some or all of the service.

Most people interviewed do not perceive these points as failures or shortcomings in the Park's performance of its responsibilities. Indeed, there is a great deal of admiration for Park staff and gratitude for the services they provide. But the arrangements inevitably limit access to North Shore cemeteries, compared to access to other cemeteries in the world beyond Park control.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHALLENGES TO A CULTURAL MOVEMENT

The principal goal of the North Shore movement has always been to gain access to North Shore cemeteries. Thus, for the movement, the boat trip arrangements of 1978 were a great accomplishment, but only a partial fulfillment of their dream. "The Road" (it often is referred to with no qualifying adjective) promised in the 1943 Agreement was always, to them, the primary goal, and it was seen as helping them fulfill a religious obligation. But to many people in their own community, the Road also offered the promise of fuller development of the tourist potential for the North Carolina side of the mountains. Some people from the North Carolina side watched enviously as Tennessee developed a vibrant tourist economy on that side of the Smokies. Building the Road thus appealed to some for economic as well as religious reasons, but pressing their claim for the North Shore Road had consequences they could not have imagined. Changes in the world around them began to introduce issues into the debate that were of no consequence in the 1940s or 1950s.

The largest new factor was the growth of the environmental movement, which began changing the focus and character of the debate about the Road. As Rohr's dissertation points out, the older vision of national parks as resources for public use was complemented and to a degree challenged by the newer vision of "wilderness" (Rohr 2003). There was in fact a strong push for describing and interpreting the North Carolina side of the Park as a wilderness area, and the Park seems to have been moving in this direction, quietly and without fanfare, during the later decades of the 20th century. The Park is one of the most heavily visited parks in the national park system, so there emerged a national constituency seeking to prevent construction of the North Shore Road.

The size and passion of that environmental constituency stunned and distressed the people of the North Shore, who thought of the debate about the Road as a local and regional issue. Suddenly they found themselves cast as opponents of the environmentalists–who often implied or said outright that the North Shore advocates were against the environment. So many of the people interviewed protested, "We're the environmentalists!" that it became a leitmotiv of the interviews. By calling themselves environmentalists, they mean that they have a personal knowledge of and feel personal commitment to the environment in the Smokies as stewards of their ancestral lands.

Many North Shore Road advocates are inveterate hikers, and some of the hikers have taken a strong interest in charting the historical detail of the North Shore. David Monteith, for instance, has a large collection of photographs and maps that he has made documenting the old homesites of the North Shore. (In Figure 16 Max Monteith is showing David Monteith's maps.) Most North Shore people are passionately devoted to the Appalachian forests, know the Park's back country intimately, and want the region protected as much as anyone. Many would name the species of each tree encountered along a forest trail as they hiked toward a cemetery for a decoration, and they see a contrast between their first-hand knowledge and the views of outsiders. One local guide, gesturing toward the mountains on every horizon, said, "Those environmentalists couldn't point out which mountains are the Smokies if you asked them right now."

Not all opponents of the road come from afar. Many people in the region are not supporters of the Road, and there is enough irritability on the subject that a certain amount of hostile lore can be found. The researchers heard it asserted as fact, by people who have no personal ties to the North Shore, that some people call the Park asking for a free boat ride to the North Shore to visit "pa-paw's" grave (a local term for "grandfather"; Figure 15), then take along fishing gear and make a fishing trip out of it.

What is more, a few of the local people who are committed pilgrims to North Shore decorations reflect ambivalence or even opposition to building the road. They, too, worry that too much tourism would violate the sanctity of both the cemeteries and the Park itself as a natural preserve. The younger generation seems more divided on this point than the older generation, who are unhesitant and unequivocal about their desire to see the Road built.

Interestingly, all generations interviewed said that they were supporters of the Park, and they stressed that they did not seek a return of private land holdings in the Smokies. They in fact believe in the ideal of the national park as a means of conserving what they regard as their natural and cultural heritage in the North Shore. A few have adopted the argument that they are still the rightful owners of the land until the government fulfills its part of the bargain by building the Road. But one senses that this is a legalistic or rhetorical challenge rather than a realistic assertion. They want there to be a Park, as there is now, but with a road providing better access to their cemeteries. There is a kind of "disconnect" in the debate about the North Shore Road. Those who argue against the Road typically presume that they are making a case against development–the customary opposition for those favoring environmental protection. And some boosters for Swain County development are in fact supporters of the Road. But stories circulate among the North Shore people about being reproached by environmentalists for wanting to bring "McDonald's" into the Park–a thought that horrifies the North Shore people as much as the environmentalists. The core of the argument for the Road is not pro-development at all; it is religious and moral. The religious aspect derives from their feeling of responsibility for showing respect to the graves of their ancestors. The moral aspect undergirds their argument that the road should be built because the government promised to build it, and government should honor its promises.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NORTH SHORE IN SIGN, SYMBOL, AND ART

Mitzi Hall stood talking with a small circle of friends and strangers at the Cable Branch Decoration in 2004. Around her neck was a necklace with a striking and attractively set blue pendant (Figure 47). Closer examination revealed that the setting contained an irregular piece of blue pressed glass. When asked about it, she explained that it was a shard of a Depression Glass pattern called "Cherry Blossom" (Jeanette Glass Co.) used by her grandmother on the North Shore. It was found near her grandmother's and mother's homesite during a decoration, and her good friend and regular companion at North Shore decorations, Larry Vickery, had it set into a lavaliere and gave it to her as a present. She always wears it when attending North Shore decorations, and the visitor to her home will discover a glass cabinet given over to displaying pieces in this pattern:

> I have a special little black velvet display thing to put the necklace on. I keep it in a china cabinet, because, since I found that one little piece of glass, I've started collecting the dishes. So now I have several pieces of the dishes. So I put the piece of glass in the china cabinet. And I wear it occasionally so I can tell people the story of it. It's just meaningful. (NSCD 9-26-04 PC-2)

The pendant is a powerful symbol of Mitzi Hall's devotion to the North Shore decorations and to preserving and making palpable the memory of her family ties there.

The project encountered many signs, symbols, and artistic representations that show the North Shore and the issues swirling around it moving from the social into the symbolic realm. A large roadside billboard set on private property just before the Road to Nowhere enters the Park provides a public challenge to the U.S. Government on the "broken promise" of the North Shore Road. Another sign is available in smaller form to be tacked onto signposts or trees, such as the tree on the road by Christine Proctor's driveway (Figure 48). Baseball caps and bumper stickers on local vehicles proclaim "Build the Road," and one bumper sticker produced by Gene Laney (Figure 30) turns the popular "I'd rather be . . ." formula to regional symbolic use: "I'd rather be on Hazel Creek" (Figure 49).

Other examples represent and commemorate the North Shore experience through traditional artistic media. For example, Christine Cole Proctor (Figure 50) has framed drawings, created by a friend of the family based on early TVA photographs, that portray the Cole family home on Forney Creek (she and her sister as girls are standing on the porch) and her husband Troy Proctor's family home as well. Verna Kirkland's living room wall greets the visitor with a framed woodburning created by Arnold D. Kirkland portraying the Kirklands' former Chambers Creek homeplace. And Zora Jenkins Walker (Figure 51) has composed songs and short prose vignettes that evoke the North Shore experience. Her prose pieces include *Paradise Lost*, which was published locally in 1995, and the unpublished vignette *A Road Is Forever*. Her songs include one, *I Would Rather Be on Hazel Creek* (inspired by Gene Laney's bumper sticker), that she herself sang at the Bryson City Theater in 2003 on the occasion of the production of

Birdell, a play by storyteller and painter Gary Carden of Sylva, that deals with North Shore themes (Carden n.d.). Her performance for the interview revealed that the song was set to a tune of the sort traditionally used for old-time ballads and songs, and it was sung in a traditional Appalachian singing style.

I Would Rather Be on Hazel Creek

Way back in the Great Smoky Mountains
Is a place that I like to go.
But I can only go there in my memories,
For this happened a long time ago.

In a wall of majestic mountains
Lay a valley that seemed like a dream.
In the midst of this beautiful valley
Ran a clear and awesome stream.

It wound its way down the valley
Running swiftly and sometimes running slow,
Until it completed its journey
In the Little Tennessee River below.

The people who lived in this valley
Seemed to be so happy and free.
They had everything that they needed.
This was where they wanted to be.

Then the Tennessee Valley Authority
Hit the people with a great big “wham,”
They told them they had to leave there
So they could build the Fontana Dam.

There were many other families in other places
In the counties of Graham and Swain
Had to leave their home in the mountains
With a lot of heartbreak and pain.

They didn’t know where they were going
Just any old place they could find,

With a lot of sad feelings and memories
Of so much of their lives left behind.

They left behind some of their loved ones,
The ones who had died along the way.
But they got a promise before leaving
That everything would be okay.

They would build them a good road to the graveyards
They could travel on anytime that they chose.
But along comes all these buttinskis
Whose favorite word is “oppose.”

They say, “Let’s take the money,”
But that just wouldn’t be fair.
We deserve the road that was promised
To the families of the ones who were there.
(NSCD 8-23-04 AJ-1)

Like Mitzi Hall’s pendant, all these symbolic and artistic works reveal the importance their creators attach to the North Shore experience. One can establish the significance of places in many ways. The project team’s interviews reveal significance through people’s testimony, and the team’s documentation of decorations establishes significance through people’s actions. Symbolic and artistic expressions created to evoke the North Shore as a remembered or imagined place are an important additional means of gauging the cultural significance of the North Shore experience to the people who create, display, and perform them.

VII. PROTECTIONS FOR THE NORTH SHORE CEMETERY DECORATION TRADITION

As in so many divisive political conflicts, the principal parties involved in the North Shore Road controversy have much more in common than either "side" might immediately imagine. The mission of the NPS, as specified in the Organic Act of 1916, is to "conserve" the lands and resources that it protects, as well as 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" (http://www.nps.gov/legacy/mission.html). Similarly, the people who participate in and maintain what is called here the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition want to conserve, enjoy, and pass on pieces of land and history that are significant to their own lives and those of their family members.

Decorating the graves of one's ancestors is a way to celebrate the beauty and historical richness of a particular place. Like national parks, cemeteries are hallowed ground. Given these commonalities, agreement between those families and organizations that have continued to decorate cemeteries on the North Shore and other groups that similarly support the NPS mission should be possible. In fact, from the perspective of participants in the Decoration Days held at the North Shore cemeteries, it should not matter whether their activity is considered a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). In terms of policy, NPS Director's Order 28 (*Cultural Resource Management Guideline*) states that management decisions about cultural resources should be based on two issues: 1) long-term preservation goals; and 2) "the interests and concerns of traditionally associated groups" (NPS 1998, see http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/nps28/28contents.htm). The NPS also is required to consult with traditionally associated groups when ethnographic resources within parks are potentially to be affected by park actions, whether or not the resource is eligible for the NRHP. Consequently, existing NPS policies call for consultation with the traditionally associated group participating in North Shore cemetery decorations concerning any actions that might affect the cemeteries or the associated tradition (see http:/www.cr.nps.gov/aad/PEOPLES/ mandate.htm).

Unlike the internal NPS policies expressed in Director's Order 28, the NHPA provides protection for significant cultural properties both inside and outside Park boundaries. In particular, the "Section 106 Process" of the NHPA provides a set of procedures for reaching agreement about important historical places and traditions that might be affected by federal, federally assisted, and federally licensed undertakings, including those in national parks. The process requires consultation among the government and interested parties (such as traditionally associated groups or peoples under NPS policies), and provides a way for associated peoples to voice their concerns. Under 36 CFR 800, the implementing regulations for Section 106 of the NHPA, the federal government is then required by law to "take into account" the concerns of those peoples, as well as those of relevant state, local, and tribal authorities, when evaluating the potential undertaking (http://www.achp.gov/106summary.html).

The Section 106 Process is designed to identify, evaluate, and allow consideration of "properties" that are either listed on or eligible for listing on the NRHP. Eligibility is determined by the significance of the property, as defined according to the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (see below). The point is to protect "places that count" (King 2003), whether they are districts, buildings, archaeological sites, cultural landscapes, or TCPs. As specified by the NPS,

> a traditional cultural property can be defined generally as one that is eligible for inclusion in the NRHP because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community (Parker and King 1990).

Listing a property on the NRHP does not mean that it must be protected, as one might assume. Rather it activates the requirements for "consultation" and consideration provided in the NHPA and 36 CFR 800, many of which parallel the NPS policies discussed above. Nonetheless, NRHP eligibility is an important issue for understanding the significance of the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Day practice and other cultural resources located either within or outside national parks.

EVALUATING THE CEMETERY DECORATION TRADITION

The NPS provides step-by-step guidelines for evaluating the eligibility of a TCP for listing on the NRHP (Parker and King 1990).

The first step in the process is to ensure that the entity under consideration is a "property," in the NRHP's sense of the term; that is, it must be a tangible district, site, building, place, or object. The North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition clearly passes this first test, as it is closely tied to the tangible graves and cemeteries of Euro-American families who once lived on the North Shore. When those graves or cemeteries have been moved, as for example to the Lauada Cemetery, the tradition has also moved. When the graves and cemeteries have stayed, so too has the decoration tradition.

The second step is to consider the property's integrity. "Integrity" refers here to a sense of connectedness between the property and the tradition, as well as a feeling that the property continues to be suitable for the tradition that it sustains. Would a tradition be abandoned if a shopping mall or government building obliterated its place? Or would the tradition continue in a new place? TCPs are so closely connected to their settings that their continuation would be endangered by the loss of the place. This is called the "integrity of relationship" between the property and the tradition. Additionally, it is necessary to consider if the place has been damaged or disturbed in such a way that its poor condition might make it no longer important to the people who continue the tradition. This is called the "integrity of condition" as it is understood by the tradition-bearers themselves.

The North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition passes this second test in determining eligibility for listing on the NRHP. This was made clear both through participant-observation of actual cemetery decorations and through recorded interviews with people knowledgeable about the tradition. The two aspects of "integrity" are discussed in turn.

Integrity of Relationship. It is not easy to get to the North Shore cemeteries. To reach most of them one must take a boat across Fontana Lake, which may be quite a cold and windy trip. Although life vests are used, many people attending the decorations do not know how to swim well, or are so old that they would likely die if the boat were to sink or capsize. It frequently rains, and there are very few places to take shelter when it does. Although some cemeteries are reached at least in part by dirt roads or improved paths (Figure 52), to reach others people must climb steep "cemetery hills" on dirt trails that may be slippery or rocky (Figure 38). The amount of time and effort put into re-establishing and maintaining a connection with the North Shore cemeteries is nearly impossible to describe, even for the participants themselves. Mildred Johnson, for example, who was forced to move when her father's land was condemned by the TVA, was unable to find adequate words:

> Nobody really understands how much we have done . . . . I don't know how to say it, either. We've just done so much over the last twenty-five years, not only collecting history but also setting up monuments, trying to work for getting us a gravel road or a paved road or whatever kind of road so we can go back. But this hardship has been . . . sometimes the water has been down half a mile to a mile, and we still have to walk in there a long ways just on the sand until you've reached the water edge. It's just hard to explain to anyone what all we've done over the years. (NSCD 8-20-04 PC-1)

Despite these hardships, people continue to decorate their ancestors' graves. Indeed, stories of overcoming hardships to return to the graves of loved ones pervade conversations about the tradition. Larry Vickery, the son of a widow who was forced to leave Proctor with four young children, broke down in tears describing the hardships that people have endured to return to their cemeteries:

> We had some near heart attacks, near heat exhaustion, but, you know, they just kept coming back as long as they could. You see this seventy-two, seventy-three year old woman hike six miles up to the Bone Valley Cemetery, and it's just mind boggling. And they were just so thankful just to be able to get back, finally, to visit their heritage . . . . One woman, the elderly woman that I was telling you about that hiked all the way up to Bone Valley, her husband's grave was up at the very top of the cemetery, and she cleaned the leaves off of it and administered to the grave as she had thirty-five years before, and the preacher had been trying to get everybody to be quiet so we could have a word of prayer, and nobody was – it was the first time we'd been back. Everybody was real excited. And she sat down at the footstone of the grave and said, "I'd like to speak a few words." And everybody got – it was just so quiet that you could hear a pin drop. And we

> had some TV reporters from CBS out of Atlanta that day, and so the woman started talking about how much she appreciated the opportunity for coming back and seeing her husband's grave, how much he had meant to her when they had lived there together on Hazel Creek, and she wanted her family, when she died, to bring her back and bury her beside her husband. And I don't know what all she said, but everybody was crying, including the TV reporters and myself. (NSCD 8-2-04 PC-1)

Similarly, the parents of Dot Medlin Tysinger, who had lived on Hazel Creek, had thought until their deaths that the grave of their infant son had been flooded by Fontana Lake. In 2003, however, the five Medlin sisters discovered that the grave was located in Proctor Cemetery, a hundred feet above the high-water line of Lake Fontana. For them, returning to decorate the grave became one of the highlights of their lives and a source of pride that connected them to the memories of their parents:

> His name was Cletus Elmer, he was born in 1919 one day and died the next day. And so last year, of 2003, the first Sunday in July, our family—five girls, five sisters, the Medlin family—made our way up there and we carried a tombstone that we had had made for our little brother, and they showed us where his grave was, and we carried the stone and placed it there and put flowers on it. And then we shared our flowers, and every grave in that cemetery had at least one flower on it. But we were so thrilled to know that this baby was there, and I just said, "I would just give anything if my mother and daddy had known that someday, we would have access to that cemetery and that we'd be able to go there." I just think about my parents when I'm there every year. That they would just be so thrilled to know that we were going back and doing this visiting and putting the flowers on his little grave. I just wish they knew that he was not covered up in the lake. (NSCD 7-4-04 PC-1)

For all these people, and many others, the graves and cemeteries are "known or likely to be regarded . . . as important in the retention or transmittal of a belief, or to the performance of a practice" (Parker and King 1990). People feel that they need to get to the cemeteries in order to carry out the tradition. Thus, there is "integrity of relationship" between the tradition and the cemeteries that are its focus.

Integrity of Condition. The North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition pre-dates the construction of Fontana Lake, and was revitalized in the late 1970s as a result of the concern of many former residents about the deteriorating condition of the North Shore cemeteries. Indeed, from the perspective of many participants in the tradition, the NPS consciously set out to allow loss of the "integrity of condition" of their cemeteries, and so undermine one of their strongest traditional connections to land they once thought of as their own. But despite the general hiatus in decorations and intermittent cemetery maintenance between 1944 and 1978, the practice and the cemeteries never lost their integrity of condition to the descendants themselves. In fact, much of the work of these descendants over the past 25 years has been

oriented towards renewing the condition of the graves and cemeteries. Mildred Johnson addressed the state of the cemeteries prior to their renewal while looking through pictures that she had taken at the decorations:

> This was our first trip in April of 1978 (Figure 53). The cemetery was in such disarray, monuments broken and tree sprouts growing up in it. That was the year we decided to start. We had been talking about having our decorations before that, but this probably sent it making a movement.
>
> This is one of the first ones at Proctor Cemetery (Figure 54), and you can see how it's grown up and how people are having to try to find their graves and all; a lot of the markers were down.
>
> [This one] is me and Ivy Calhoun at the Wike Cemetery (Figure 55). If you'll notice there at our feet are two little graves, one above the other. The first trip I went into this and seeing these two small babies' graves up there all alone away from everybody, it gave me such a lonely feeling. Every year, we go back and we have services or prayer or song or something at this cemetery and decorate it. It's really hard to get to; it's right straight up the side of the mountain. And it's just really unbelievable how far back this is . . . . It's just all out by itself and no one ever came to that cemetery and it was just like they were forgotten . . . . And you would be surprised at the people that have told us what a wonderful thing it was just to go back to their loved one's graves. (NSCD 8-20-04 PC-1)

Over the past 25 years, members of the North Shore Cemetery Association have placed many new stone markers on graves that lacked personal identifying information in order to restore the "integrity of condition" of the cemeteries. Bryan Aldridge, a local genealogist who has been involved in placing a number of these gravestones, described the procedure:

> Back in the early 1940s when they knew that they were going to build the dam and they knew that everybody would be leaving and they knew that some cemeteries would remain, that they would not be covered by the lake, that they remain there, the TVA took family members to the cemeteries and had them identify the graves that were not marked. So, we go back to the TVA survey that they did back then and we get the name of the person that's buried in that grave. Then, we go to the courthouse and to the register of deeds' office and we locate a death certificate, which will give us the birth date and the death date. Once we have that information, we go to the monument place, which the guy that has been doing this for us is Bob Barton over at Western North Carolina Marble in Marble, North Carolina. So we go to him and we basically place the order. We pay him the money of the cost of the tomb rock and he makes them. Then he calls us when he's finished, and we go pick them up. Then, we arrange with the Park Service a day that is

> convenient for them to go with us or to provide us transportation to get the markers to the cemetery that they belong in (Figures 56-57). Then we go over there whatever day they arrange and place the markers on the correct grave . . . . What we do, we just take shovels and we just dig a trench or a hole there (Figure 58). These were not tall upright markers; they're flat markers, but yet they're not flat-flat. They stand probably four or five inches above the ground. It don't take a lot to install. You just have to dig a hole and basically put them in and put a little dirt around it, and it's there. (NSCD 9-21-04 PC-1)

Today the North Shore Cemetery Association has placed grave markers at most of the cemeteries in the North Shore area. Mildred Johnson described the effect of this and other work on her connection to the cemeteries themselves:

> Now, you can look at [the Proctor Cemetery], and it's all so pretty and grassy . . . . And it's just gorgeous the way you look at it if you get up and it's all decorated from the top of the cemetery and look down and flowers on all the graves; it's just something to look at. (NSCD 8-20-04 PC-1)

In short, the integrity of condition of the cemeteries and their relation to the Decoration Day tradition survives, and has been revived by the work of the cemetery decoration participants themselves. Thus, in terms of both "integrity of relationship" and "integrity of condition," the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition fulfills the requirements for listing on the NRHP as a TCP.

APPLYING THE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA AND CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS

The third step in determining eligibility is to evaluate the property with reference to the National Register *Criteria for Evaluation*, as codified in 36 CFR 60.4 and discussed in *National Register Bulletins* 15 (*How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* [NPS 1991] and 38 *(Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* [Parker and King 1990]).

The NRHP Eligibility Criteria state:

> The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.
>
> (a). That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
>
> (b). That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

> (c). That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values; or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
>
> (d). That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

To some minds, these criteria are meant to identify and list properties of national historical significance, those that are the "greatest and best" from the perspective of the nation's history: Mount Vernon, The White House, Gettysburg, Pearl Harbor. The problem with that understanding of significance, and the reason that a category like "Traditional Cultural Property" is included on the NRHP, is that our nation's history is actually composed of many less well-known histories that nonetheless have great meaning to different communities. It would be easy to ignore or even erase these histories, but ignoring them impoverishes the nation's collective cultural heritage.

When considering TCPs, it is especially important to remember the multiple strands of history that make up the greater whole, as well as potential differing perspectives on what makes something important or significant. As discussed by Parker and King (1990),

> It is vital to evaluate properties thought to have traditional cultural significance from the standpoint of those who may ascribe such significance to them, whatever one's own perception of them, based on one's own cultural values, may be. This is not to say that a group's assertions about the significance of a place should not be questioned or subjected to critical analysis, but they should not be rejected based on the premise that the beliefs they reflect are inferior to one's own.

In classic anthropological terminology, then, one should evaluate the significance of TCPs using a combination of two approaches: an "emic" approach that judges significance based on the views of the community that has developed and maintained the cultural tradition being considered, and an "etic" approach that evaluates those views and significance from an "outsider" perspective, while attempting not to confuse the two.

Evaluating the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition. The North Shore cemeteries are the focus of a cemetery decoration tradition that was once practiced throughout the Upland South and many areas of the trans-Allegheny West, and is still maintained in many areas of the South today. That tradition, which seems to have originated in the American South by the mid-19th century, is a resilient tradition that has also profoundly influenced the nation in larger ways. In particular, the modern national custom of Decoration Day, now known as Memorial Day, derives from this older Southern folk custom (see Chapter IV).

In addition to these broad associations, the Decoration Day tradition was clearly important in both the pre-TVA and post-TVA history of this part of the Little Tennessee drainage. Both interviews and documentary evidence attest to its importance to individuals, families, and the broader community prior to the creation of Fontana Lake. The annual Decoration Days provided a time for people to work together to renew both the cemetery and their own social bonds, and to remember their past relations, neighbors, and family and community histories.

The tradition has undergone a major cultural revitalization in the past three decades in response to the trauma of the forced removal of the people of the North Shore. Although the removal and lack of access resulted in initial disruptions in the tradition, it has survived and continues to play a major role in community identify. As attested to by participants, visiting and decorating the cemeteries of the North Shore area is a way for people to connect with their own history.

Chris Chandler, a grandson of Ruth and Red Chandler, who were among the last people to move out of the North Shore area, was very clear about his reasons for attending cemetery decorations, where he is sometimes called upon to "bring the message" prior to a group meal (Figure 59). "The reason we come," he said, "is it's our heritage. It's where our people come from." He continued:

> Every time I come back here, which is every year we come back several times, being back here knowing the Christian roots that I've been raised in. I know that my heritage, my roots, started here. Even back years ago, worshiping God was the way of life. They depended on God for everything, much more so dependent than we have become today. We are a spoiled people today. Then, they ate what they grew in their gardens, what the Lord let them harvest in the field. It's something I just have a lot of pride in knowing that for years my people, my forefathers, have worshiped the Lord Jesus in these mountains. It's just something I'm very proud of. (NSCD 9-26-04 PC-1)

Similarly, Bryan Aldridge was asked to provide a brief statement about cemetery decorations on the North Shore for someone who knew nothing about them:

> Come back to your roots, to your ancestry of where your people are from and visit the cemeteries. I think you would get a feeling of peace and serenity to go back and see where your family was born and raised and grew up and where they are now at rest. (NSCD 9-21-04 PC-1)

Since its revival in 1978, the tradition has intensified as it became the focal cultural practice for the North Shore community as a social movement (Figure 60). That movement has drawn and continues to draw regional and national attention, and national news media have regularly featured the tradition. It has become a veritable symbol of determined cultural conservation and cultural resistance. What is more, the tradition in its contemporary manifestation has literally named the region itself–the name "the North

Shore" is now part of the region's common parlance solely because of this cultural tradition. And finally, there is evidence (see Chapter VI) that the example of the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition has become influential in stimulating the maintenance and development of cemetery decoration as a cultural practice in the wider region.

For all these reasons, the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition is recommended eligible for listing on the NRHP under Criterion A: It is clearly associated "with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history." Although some aspects of the tradition may have changed, the practice not only still plays a key role in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community of former North Shore residents and their descendants, but has had a broader effect on the region as well.

The Criteria Considerations. The final step in assessing the NRHP eligibility of a TCP consists of applying the *National Register Criteria Considerations* contained in 36 CFR 60.4 (Parker and King 1990). Those considerations set forth several classes of properties that are usually not NRHP-eligible, and also enumerate potential exceptions to those rules:

> Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:
>
> (a). a religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
>
> (b). a building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
>
> (c). a birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his productive life; or
>
> (d). a cemetery that derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
>
> (e). a reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or

> (f). a property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or
>
> (g). a property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional significance.

At first glance, the eligibility of the Cemetery Decoration Day TCP could be affected by at least two of the criteria considerations. The physical properties representing the TCPs are certainly cemeteries, and the Decoration Day services held there are largely religious in nature. Upon closer inspection, however, it is evident that neither those considerations nor any of the others disqualify the TCP from NRHP-eligibility.

As discussed by Parker and King (1990), "the fact that a traditional cultural property is or contains a cemetery should not automatically be taken to render it ineligible." What is important is the nature of the proposed significance of the cemetery. Is it potentially significant just because it is a cemetery containing the physical remains of former residents, or is its significance due to its association with the traditional culture, history, and values of a community? In this case, the significance of the Cemetery Decoration TCP and the associated cemeteries certainly derive from their places in "the communities' historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practice," and their roles in "maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community," not from the mere fact that the cemetery exists.

A similar point can be made in reference to the criteria consideration regarding religion. As outlined by Parker and King (1990), this criteria consideration was originally included in the regulations

> in order to avoid allowing historical significance to be determined on the basis of religious doctrine, not in order to exclude arbitrarily any property having religious associations. . . . The fact that traditional history and culture may be discussed in religious terms does not make it less historical or less significant to culture, nor does it make properties associated with traditional history and culture ineligible for inclusion in the National Register.

Although there is a strong religious component to the Cemetery Decoration TCP, the spiritual value of the places to local residents and the use of the properties for religious purposes are not what make the cemeteries significant. As stated above, what is important in this instance is the place of the Cemetery Decoration Day in the history of the region, and its ongoing role in maintaining cultural identity, not the religious components of the practice. Consequently, the religious aspects of the Decoration Day TCP do not exclude it from eligibility for the NRHP.

A final criteria consideration that should be mentioned relates to age. While the revival of the organized Decoration Day practice is currently less than 30 years old, the practice itself is much older. There is considerable evidence from both oral and documentary sources of the Decoration

Day practice on the North Shore prior to the creation of Fontana Lake, demonstrating that it and the associated cemeteries easily meet the "50-year rule" for NRHP eligibility.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the information presented above, the researchers recommend that the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition and the associated cemeteries be determined eligible for listing on the NRHP. The North Shore Cemetery Decoration Tradition is clearly and strongly associated "with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community," thus meeting the standards for NRHP eligibility outlined in National Register Bulletins 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (NPS 1991), and 38, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Parker and King 1990). The tradition has integrity of relationship and condition, satisfies the requirements of NRHP Criterion A, and is not disqualified by any of the criteria considerations.

The Decoration Day practice and its associated cemeteries are probably best considered a discontinuous National Register District for management purposes, with the physical boundaries of the district consisting of the historical boundaries of the 27 associated cemeteries. Specifically, based on present knowledge it is not recommended that the boundaries be enlarged to include the existing eating facilities, access routes, or other ancillary facilities associated with the Decoration Day events. Additional consultation with the local communities should be undertaken on this topic, however.

In addition, it is recommended that participants in the tradition be considered a traditionally associated group or people, and that the sites relevant to the tradition be inventoried as Ethnographic Resources, as outlined in NPS Director's Order 28 (*Cultural Resource Management Guideline*) (NPS 1998) and NPS Management Policies 2002 (NPS 2000).

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VIII. POTENTIAL PROJECT IMPACTS TO THE PROPOSED NORTH SHORE CEMETERY DECORATION TCP

As discussed in Chapter VII, the 27 North Shore cemeteries (see Attachment G-2) that are regularly decorated as part of the Cemetery Decoration Day tradition are considered to be a Traditional Cultural Property that is recommended eligible for the NRHP. The final determination of eligibility will be made by the NPS in consultation with the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office. As with other potentially eligible cultural resources along the North Shore, however, potential impacts to this TCP that might result from the North Shore Road alternatives have been evaluated as part of the EIS process. Information on those evaluations is presented in Section 4.3.7 of the DEIS, and is discussed below.

NORTH SHORE PROJECT ALTERNATIVES AND ASSESSING PROJECT IMPACTS

As outlined in the DEIS (Section 2.5), there are five alternatives (with options) for the North Shore Project, including two no-build alternatives and three build alternatives. The first alternative, No-Action, is required by the NEPA as the basis for comparing the potential benefits and impacts of the other study alternatives; that alternative would forgo any improvements to Lake View Road (the existing North Shore Road from the park boundary to the tunnel) with the exception of routine maintenance. The second alternative, Monetary Settlement, would provide compensation to Swain County in lieu of new construction.

The final three alternatives involve varying amounts of new construction. The Laurel Branch Picnic Area Alternative would consist of a day-use area on the north side of the existing Lake View Road, just east of the existing tunnel parking area. A new, two-way, paved entrance/exit road would provide access to the day-use area. The fourth alternative, the Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell, would include four to eight miles of new roadway from the existing tunnel westward to a point in the Bushnell Area. Exhibit/museum space at Bushnell would be designed to highlight the local heritage. Day-use facilities would include a multi-use picnic shelter; picnic tables; several loop trails; an interpretive, self-guided trail; a backcountry permit station; restrooms; boat ramp; and dock. The alternative might also include concession opportunities. Two crossings of Forney Creek are being studied with this alternative: a small crossing north of Fontana Lake, and a major bridge over the impounded stream, which would provide a shorter road. The last alternative, the Northern Shore Corridor, would extend from the tunnel to the vicinity of Fontana Dam. Major bridge crossings of Forney, Hazel, and Eagle creeks are being studied as options to this alternative. Also, the crossing of Fontana Dam by the road is being considered as an option.

As part of the Environmental Impact Study, the researchers studied the potential impacts from preliminary “functional” designs for the build alternatives. Two typical road sections are being studied for the Bushnell and Northern Shore alternatives: the Principal Park Road and the Primitive Park Road. The Principal Park Road would be a two-way, asphalt surface with two ten-foot travel lanes and three-foot-

wide grass shoulders. It would have a maximum posted speed limit of 30 miles per hour (mph), and would be similar to the existing Lake View Road. The Primitive Park Road would have a two-way gravel surface with two nine-foot travel lanes and two-foot-wide grass shoulders, and a maximum posted speed limit of 15 mph.

The potential impacts to the Cemetery Decoration TCP (and to other cultural resources) were categorized as adverse or beneficial in nature, as no/negligible, minor, moderate, or major in intensity, and as long-term or short-term in duration, based on the available information on each resource and in accordance with the impact definitions and thresholds provided in Section 4.3.7 of the EIS (and presented as Table 1). The guidance and the definitions also cross-reference the impact assessments to effect determinations under Section 106 of the NHPA. Since the cemeteries are widely dispersed across the North Shore, potential impacts have been assessed on a cemetery-by-cemetery basis. It should be noted that all of the potential impacts to the TCP cemeteries would be indirect in nature. That is, they result from actions at some distance from the cemeteries themselves, such as changes to access routes. None of the alternatives would result in ground-disturbance at or immediately adjacent to the cemeteries.

It is difficult to assess impacts to any TCP, in part because, as King (2003:192–193) notes, “adverse effect is in the eye of the affected.” That is, the effect must be assessed “from the perspective of those who value the property,” which is impossible to do with confidence without detailed and focused interviews. There are other complications as well. Even under the best conditions it is difficult for anyone to predict future social behavior, even one’s own, in the light of hypothetical events. (For example, note the beneficial social effects in terms of social solidarity that have been produced by decades of restricted access to the North Shore). For the North Shore Road Project alternatives, the situation is further complicated by the preliminary nature of the “functional designs,” which would be refined considerably should a construction alternative be chosen. In light of these considerations, the effect determinations presented below focus on the tangible issue of ease of access, which for many people represents the core of the current debate. That is, an alternative that is seen as facilitating access to a particular cemetery is viewed as having a beneficial effect to that constituent of the TCP, and the resulting effect is classified in intensity according to how much the access would be eased. Similarly, an alternative that would hinder or prevent access to a particular cemetery is viewed as having an adverse effect to that cemetery, and the resulting effect is classified in intensity according to how much the access would be affected.

POTENTIAL IMPACTS BY ALTERNATIVE

The potential impacts from the project alternatives are discussed below, and are summarized in Attachment G-3. In all cases, it should be noted that these potential impacts result from the alternatives as presently defined, and do not take into account a variety of mitigation measures (such as the addition of parking areas, or minor changes in roadway location or grade) that could potentially ameliorate some of the potential adverse impacts.

Table 1. Definitions Used in Assessing Impacts to Traditional Cultural Properties for the North Shore Road Project.

Impact Thresholds	**No/Negligible**	Impact(s) to a National Register listed or eligible property(ies) is not measurable or at the lowest level of detection, and would not alter resource conditions, such as access or site preservation, nor the relationship between the resource and the affiliated group's body of beliefs and practices. For purposes of Section 106, the determination of effect would be *no historic properties affected* or *no adverse effect.*
	Minor	**Adverse impact –** impact(s) would be slight but apparent, but would neither appreciably alter resource conditions, such as access or site preservation, nor the relationship between the resource and the affiliated group's body of beliefs and practices. For purposes of Section 106, the determination of effect would be *no adverse effect.* **Beneficial impact –** impact would accommodate a group's traditional practices or beliefs. For purposes of Section 106, the determination of effect would be *no adverse effect.*
	Moderate	**Adverse impact –** impact(s) would be apparent and would alter resource conditions, such as access or site preservation, and/or the relationship between the resource and the affiliated group's beliefs and practices, even though those beliefs and practices would survive. For purposes of Section 106, the determination of effect would be *adverse effect.* **Beneficial impact** – impact would facilitate a group's beliefs and practices. For purposes of Section 106, the determination of effect would be *no adverse effect.*
	Major	**Adverse impact –** impact would alter resource conditions, such as access or site preservation, and/or the relationship between the resource and the affiliated group's body of beliefs and practices, to the extent that the survival of a group's beliefs and/or practices would be jeopardized. For purposes of Section 106, the determination of effect would be *adverse effect.* **Beneficial impact –** impact would encourage a group's beliefs and practices. For purposes of Section 106, the determination of effect would be *no adverse effect.*
Duration		**Short term** – effects extend only through the construction period. **Long term –** effects extend beyond the construction period into the foreseeable future.

No-Action Alternative. The No-Action Alternative would have no foreseeable impacts to the North Shore Cemetery Decoration TCP. The Park would continue to maintain the cemeteries, and access to them would continue by boat, other vehicle, and/or foot in the present manner.

Monetary Settlement Alternative. The Monetary Settlement Alternative also would have no foreseeable impacts to the North Shore Cemetery Decoration TCP. As with the No-Action Alternative, the Park would continue to maintain the cemeteries, and access to them would continue by boat, other vehicle, and/or foot in the present manner.

Laurel Branch Picnic Area Alternative. The Laurel Branch Picnic Area Alternative also would have no foreseeable impacts to the Cemetery Decoration TCP. As with the two no-build alternatives, the Park would continue to maintain the cemeteries, and access to them would continue by boat, other vehicle, and/or foot in the present manner.

Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell. The Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell (Primitive Park Road) could cause changes in access to four cemeteries near Forney and Chambers creeks. That alternative could result in a moderate adverse indirect impact to Hoyle Cemetery and a minor to moderate indeterminate or adverse indirect impact to Woody Cemetery, in both cases by cutting (and not replacing) current vehicular access routes. The alternative also could result in a major beneficial indirect impact to the McClure Cemetery and a minor beneficial indirect impact to the Welch Cemetery, however, in both cases by improving current access. Finally, the option could result in minor, short-term adverse indirect impacts to the Woody and McClure cemeteries, and a minor to moderate short-term adverse indirect impact to the Hoyle Cemetery, due to trail disruptions during construction. If the Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment were to be chosen for the Primitive Park Road, the long-term and short-term indirect impacts to the Hoyle and Woody cemeteries would also be eliminated.

The Bushnell Alternative (Principal Park Road) could result in a moderate adverse indirect impact to the Woody Cemetery by cutting the current access road. The option also could result in a major beneficial indirect impact to the McClure Cemetery and a minor beneficial indirect impact to the Welch Cemetery, in both cases by improving current access. Finally, the option could result in a minor to moderate adverse short-term indirect impact to the Woody Cemetery and a minor adverse short-term indirect impact to the McClure Cemetery due to trail disruptions during construction. If the Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment were to be chosen for the Principal Park Road, the long-term and short-term indirect impacts to the Woody Cemetery would be eliminated.

Northern Shore Corridor. The Northern Shore Corridor (Primitive Park Road) could result in moderate adverse indirect impacts to the Hoyle, Pilkey, and Posey cemeteries and a minor to moderate indeterminate impact to the Woody Cemetery, in all cases due to elimination of vehicular access along the current administrative roads. It would result in major beneficial indirect impacts to the Bradshaw,

McClure, and Proctor cemeteries, moderate beneficial indirect impacts to the Bone Valley, Calhoun, Hall, Higdon, McCampbell Gap, Mitchell, Walker, and Wike cemeteries, and minor beneficial indirect impacts to the Cook and Fairview cemeteries due to increased ease in private vehicular access, however, as well as minor indeterminate indirect impacts to the Orr and Payne cemeteries. The alternative could also result in a minor to moderate short-term adverse indirect impact to the Hoyle Cemetery and minor short-term adverse indirect impacts to the Bone Valley, Bradshaw, Calhoun, Hall, Higdon, McCampbell Gap, Mitchell, Orr, Payne, Pilkey, Posey, Proctor, Walker, Wike, and Woody cemeteries due to trail disruptions during construction.

If the Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment were to be chosen for this alternative, the long-term and short-term indirect impacts to the Hoyle and Woody cemeteries would be eliminated. If the Southern Option at Hazel and Eagle Creek Embayments were chosen, that option would eliminate the major beneficial impacts to the Bradshaw and Proctor cemeteries, the moderate beneficial impacts to the Bone Valley, Calhoun, Hall, Higdon, McCampbell Gap, Walker, and Wike cemeteries, and the minor short-term adverse impacts to the Bone Valley, Bradshaw, Calhoun, Hall, Higdon, McCampbell Gap, Proctor, Walker, and Wike cemeteries. If the Southern Option Crossing Fontana Dam were chosen, that option would eliminate the two minor long-term indeterminate impacts and two short-term adverse indirect impacts to the Orr and Payne cemeteries.

The Northern Shore Corridor Alternative (Principal Park Road) could result in a moderate adverse indirect impact to the Woody Cemetery and minor indeterminate indirect impacts to the Orr and Payne cemeteries, but would have major beneficial indirect impacts to the Bradshaw, McClure, and Proctor cemeteries, moderate beneficial indirect impacts to the Bone Valley, Calhoun, Hall, Higdon, McCampbell Gap, Mitchell, Walker, and Wike cemeteries, and minor beneficial indirect impacts to the Cook and Fairview cemeteries. The option could also result in minor short-term adverse indirect impacts to the Bone Valley, Bradshaw, Calhoun, Hall, Higdon, McCampbell Gap, Mitchell, Orr, Payne, Pilkey, Posey, Proctor, Walker, Wike, and Woody cemeteries, due to trail disruptions during construction.

If the Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment were chosen for this alternative, the long-term and short-term impacts to the Woody Cemetery would also be eliminated. If the Southern Option at Hazel and Eagle Creek Embayments were chosen, that option would eliminate the major beneficial impacts to the Bradshaw and Proctor cemeteries, the moderate beneficial impacts to the Bone Valley, Calhoun, Hall, Higdon, McCampbell Gap, Walker, and Wike cemeteries, and the minor short-term adverse impacts to the Bone Valley, Bradshaw, Calhoun, Hall, Higdon, McCampbell Gap, Proctor, Walker, and Wike cemeteries. If the Southern Option Crossing Fontana Dam were chosen, that option would eliminate the minor long-term indeterminate impacts and two fewer short-term adverse indirect impacts to the Orr and Payne cemeteries.

SUMMARY

As mentioned above, it should be stressed that these impact assessments are based on the preliminary "functional designs" for the build alternatives. As with other types of cultural resources, a variety of avoidance, minimization, and mitigation measures could potentially be taken to mitigate the potential adverse impacts discussed here. In particular, some potential adverse impacts to TCP cemeteries could be reduced or eliminated through choice of the Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment or through design modifications, such as changes in roadway designs to provide bridges over existing access routes, realignment of sections of the intersecting access routes to accommodate vehicle access, or by the addition of parking areas and/or steps along grade changes between the roadway and access routes.

IX. MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter VII details the team's assessment of the North Shore Cemetery Decoration tradition as a Traditional Cultural Property and the status of the North Shore descendants as a traditionally associated people or group under NPS policies. To complement that assessment, the following recommendations concern Park management and related issues, and are relevant regardless of how the North Shore Road issue is ultimately resolved.

THE NORTH SHORE PARTNERSHIP

- *Manage the North Shore cemeteries and associated cultural properties in partnership with descendants of the people buried in those cemeteries, as required in Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (*NPS Director's Order 28* [NPS 1998]), NPS *Management Policies 2001* (NPS 2000), *and by Section 106 of the NHPA.*

Since the "1978 Revolution," when decorations resumed on the North Shore after a hiatus of over a generation, the North Shore decorations have been managed as a partnership between the Park and the North Shore cemetery decoration movement. The partnership has often been uneasy, and sometimes it has been punctuated by confrontation. But despite tensions and anxieties, it has been astonishingly successful. Yet both the North Shore advocates and the Park staff have inherited a sense of opposition and confrontation regarding their relationship. In fact, both parties may be surprised to read their relationship being described in this report as a partnership. But it is a partnership in the sense that actions by both parties are required to make North Shore decorations happen. And the Park's contributions to the partnership are not simply practical. Providing a boat, tarps, portable toilets, and all-terrain vehicles for a scheduled decoration may be primarily practical contributions, but cleaning and mounding the cemetery for that decoration are profoundly cultural contributions, and it is important that all parties recognize the Park staff as not just gatekeepers but cultural partners in the entire undertaking.

Certain cultural issues seem to vex the relationship currently. For example, some North Shore people have proposed fencing the North Shore cemeteries. Fencing was certainly customary in the pre-Fontana era, and the wild hog or boar population has become a threat to the integrity of North Shore cemeteries in just the way that domestic cattle and hogs once were. North Shore people point out that at least some cemeteries in the Park (particularly on the Tennessee side) already have fences. The issue illustrates the need for careful coordination and orderly discussion between the Park and the North Shore advocates. It would be particularly helpful if a single Park staff member were to become the "point person" for North Shore issues, so that North Shore advocates would have a focal contact person within the Park who is acquainted with them and knowledgeable about the cemeteries and the decoration practices. Similarly, it would be helpful if the North Shore Historical Association were to designate a specific contact person or persons who can be approached when questions arise concerning individual cemeteries. The need for such

procedures, which is already great, will be greatly magnified if the decision is made to build the North Shore Road, which would entail a host of new decisions about cemetery maintenance, access, and public visibility. But regardless of the outcome of the present planning process, in the final analysis such issues would be best approached through the creation of a comprehensive *Cemetery Preservation Plan*. Such a plan would be developed by the Park in consultation with the traditionally associated group, and would ensure that consistent and appropriate policies are both established and survive into the future.

FUTURE PROGRAMMING AND RESEARCH

- *Develop interpretive programming to fulfill that partnership.*

The story of the North Shore cemetery decoration tradition warrants thoughtful cultural interpretation by the Park. The wider public that uses the Park will find it fascinating and edifying to learn about the tradition, and the North Shore descendants will be deeply gratified to see public interpretation of a tradition they have nurtured and conserved. One of the major issues that clouds the relationship between the Park and the North Shore descendants is a lingering perception by the North Shore advocates that the Park has tried to eradicate the evidence of their historical presence. This perception goes back to the burning of some homes by the TVA at the time of the removal, and it is fed today by the Park's efforts to extirpate some of the potentially invasive non-native plantings left by former inhabitants. Thus, if the Park undertakes interpretive programs such as those outlined below, it will have not only a broad educative benefit for the general public but an additional healing benefit in relationships with the North Shore descendants.

Interpretive opportunities include the following:

1. Publications. At a meeting of local people who had read a draft of this report, several urged that the report be published. Two publications could be produced based on this report–a full-length book with photographic illustrations, and a shorter booklet presenting the results of this research in more abbreviated form. In both cases some additional research and photography might be necessary, but the additional research need not be extensive.

2. Exhibits. The cemetery decoration tradition lends itself to interpretation in photographic exhibitions that could be mounted in interpretive centers in the Park and at other regional sites. The project photographs comprise a solid core on which such exhibitions could be based.

3. An online exhibition on the Park website or perhaps another regional website could present the results of this research. Such an exhibition could be very extensive–more like a comprehensive multimedia archival collection than a narrow selection of materials. It could include not only documents and photographs but also sound recordings.

4. Interpretive signage would be appropriate at North Shore sites, including but not limited to cemeteries, to acknowledge and interpret the history of North Shore residents and their families. The cemeteries should have signs giving their names and brief accounts of both their history and the contemporary Decoration Day practice. Further, a dialogue with former North Shore residents and their descendants would be a valuable tool in making prudent judgments regarding how widely the North Shore cemeteries should be advertised and whether signage should actually direct visitors to the cemeteries (as opposed to identifying the cemeteries to those who have already found them).

5. Live and mediated presentations should be organized that directly present North Shore residents and their descendants, as well as others from the region, to interpret the North Shore experience historically and culturally to the wider public. Such presentations could include lectures, slide presentations, and film or videotape documentaries, and their subject matter could include both Decoration Day practices and other aspects of North Shore history and culture. Ethnobiological presentations that tapped the knowledge and lore of North Shore residents to interpret the flora and fauna of the Smokies would also be welcome.

- *Undertake further research.*

The subject of cemetery decoration in the Smokies has received surprisingly little scholarly attention, despite the fact that the practice of Decoration Day on the North Shore has been a major cultural and political cause within the region with significant impacts on the operations of the Park. Furthermore, the topic as a whole has received little attention in comparative studies, so that it is not easy to compare the tradition in the Smokies with other parts of the South and the country. The present study provides a substantial contribution to the understanding of the subject, but more research both locally and comparatively would be welcome to fill in many gaps in the collective knowledge.

Specifically, the present research effort has yielded a rich array of documentary resources regarding the North Shore. Additional useful research could include:

1. filling in gaps in the knowledge base assembled by this project through further documentation of the cemeteries on the North Shore and solicitation of information to add to the North Shore cemeteries data base (Attachment G-2);

2. expansion of both the corpus of interviews and photographs and the North Shore cemeteries data base to include all the cemeteries in the Park;

3. expansion of the corpus of interviews and photographs to include more surrounding counties in both North Carolina and Tennessee. This project explored cemeteries comparatively in Swain, Graham, and Jackson counties, which proved valuable in assessing the nature of the tradition on

the North Shore proper. It would be helpful to expand the documentary purview to other nearby counties in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee;

4. gathering comparative data that will illuminate more clearly and in greater detail the range of the practice of cemetery decoration throughout the Southern and Central Appalachians and beyond; and

5. further exploration of the effect of NPS actions and policies on local and regional cemetery maintenance practices.

Looking beyond these research questions regarding the distribution of cemetery decoration practices, future research will be necessary for needs that cannot be determined at present. It will be important to monitor the traditions documented in this study as they continue to develop in coming years. Will they continue, or change, or subside? Only time–and timely research–can answer such questions. Interpretive programs such as exhibitions or local signage will likewise dictate further research and documentation on specific subjects. Future cultural and political issues will arise for which the Park will want solid independent research on which to base its decision-making. And research will always be needed to guide Park staff on the cultural parameters of practical questions that arise in managing the cemeteries–whether and how much to clear trees on the cemetery margin, whether to fence a cemetery and with what materials, and other future issues that will certainly arise.

- *Create a professional staff position specializing in ethnography.*

Having a professional position specializing in ethnography would greatly enhance the Park's capacity to address all these challenges. Such a person could carry out or supervise ethnographic research; prepare and present interpretive programs; assist other Park staff in carrying out their responsibilities to the cemeteries, the Decoration Day traditions, and the people who value those cultural resources; and provide a single contact point regarding cultural issues for people such as the North Shore advocates. There is a need for such a position even if the North Shore Road is not built. But if the Road is indeed built, there will be a very large array of new issues to solve, such as rethinking the entire system of cemetery access and providing timely and culturally appropriate modifications of the system to fit the new circumstances. Such a position will benefit in countless ways the relationship between the Park and the North Shore community and the efficient functioning of their cultural partnership.

SUMMARY

The North Shore Cemetery Decoration Project revealed a strong and vibrant cultural tradition of cemetery decoration in both Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the adjacent counties of western North Carolina. In the Park, the newly created North Shore Cemetery Association revived the tradition powerfully in 1978, after a generation of desultory individual efforts since the 1943–44 removal to

maintain and decorate selected cemeteries. The revived tradition continues unabated today. Meanwhile, the adjoining counties reveal a vigorous and varied rendering of the same tradition in contemporary cemeteries. There is some evidence that the highly visible advocacy involved in the North Shore decorations has had an impact throughout the wider region in conserving cemetery decoration as a cultural tradition, and there is also strong evidence that the version of the tradition maintained within and with the cooperation of the Park has had the effect of naming that area “the North Shore.” Indeed, the North Shore decorations have succeeded in keeping the custom visible to a wide range of Americans in and beyond the region, while at the same time helping to maintain the continuing cultural identity of the community of former North Shore residents and their descendants. For these and other reasons, this report therefore recommends that the North Shore cemeteries and the associated cemetery decoration tradition be considered a TCP, and that the people who maintain the tradition be considered a Traditionally Associated People or Group under NPS policy. Whatever is decided regarding the building of the North Shore Road, an understanding of this tradition as a dynamic contemporary cultural tradition is a vital prerequisite to the Park’s proper management of the North Shore cemeteries and the decorations held there in the future.

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FIGURES

The figures begin with a map of North Shore cemeteries (Figure 1) and the schedule of Decoration Day observances on the North Shore (Figure 2). All the subsequent Figures are photographs. Most were taken during the North Shore Cemetery Decoration Project in the summer of 2004, for which the principal photographer is Karen Singer Jabbour. A few are historical photographs that were digitally copied during the project. Philip Coyle undertook a major effort to copy a selection of Mildred Johnson's photographs, which document the North Shore movement in great detail since 1978, and to interview her about their content and significance. Karen and Alan Jabbour also copied some photographs shared by the people they interviewed. Finally, Paul Webb took some photographs before, during, and after the project's fieldwork phase. The report text contains parenthetical references to the Figures, and the Figures appear in an order loosely approximating their citation in the text – though many Figures are cited more than once and in different chapters.

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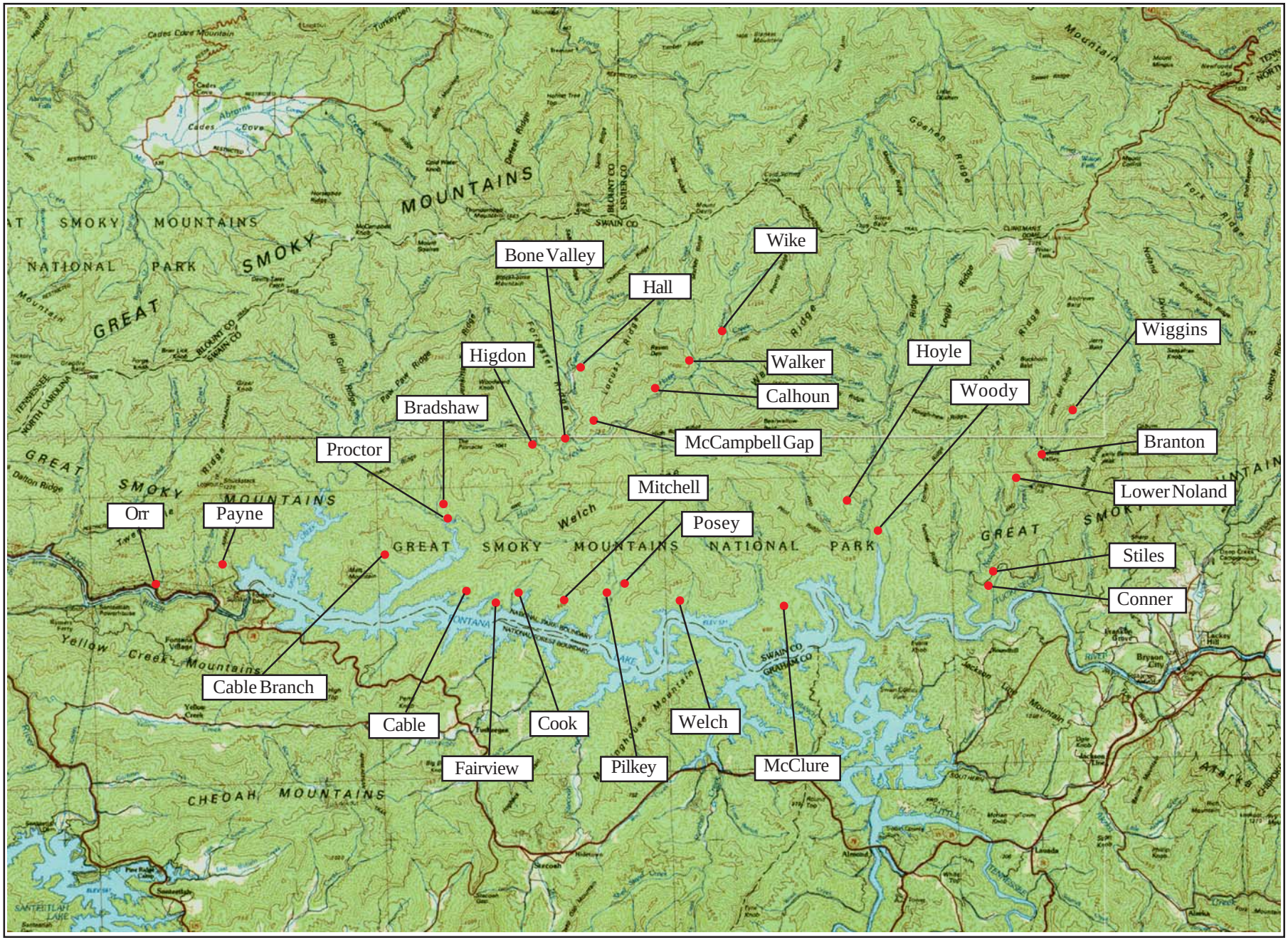

Figure 1. Map of the North Shore Decoration Day cemeteries.

NORTH SHORE CEMETERY ASSOCIATION
FONTANA NORTH SHORE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
SCHEDULE FOR HOMECOMINGS AND DECORATIONS

PLEASE BRING FLOWERS FOR EACH CEMETERY. EACH FAMILY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR LUNCH AND DRINKS. CONTACT A COMMITTEE MEMBER IF YOU WANT TO BUY A MONUMENT - $35.00 FOR HEAD MARKER, $8.00 FOR FOOT MARKER, $43.00 FOR BOTH. PLEASE KEEP YOUR SCHEDULE FOR FUTURE REFERENCE.

DATES	CEMETERIES	DEPARTURE PLACE	TIME
April - 4th Sun.	Branton & Lower Noland	Parking Area, Noland Creek	10:00 a.m.
May - 1st Sun.	Woody & Hoyle	Wilderness Marina	9:30 a.m.
May - 2nd Sun.	Payne & Orr	Cross Dam, Old 288	10:00 a.m.
May - 3rd Sun.	Cable	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
June - 1st Sun.	Pilkey & Posey	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
June - 2nd Sun.	Conner & Stiles	Road to Nowhere	2:00 p.m.
June - 4th Sun.	Bone Valley & Hall	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
July - 1st Sun.	Proctor & Bradshaw	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
July - 3rd Sun.	Fairview & Cook	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
Aug. - 1st Sun.	Cable Branch	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
Aug. - 3rd Sun.	Higdon & McCampbell Gap	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
*Sept. - 1st Sun.	Welch & McClure	Cable Cove	8:30 & 9:00 a.m.
**Sept. - 4th Sat.	Mitchell	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
Oct. - 2nd Sun.	Walker, Wike, Calhoun	Cable Cove	9:30 a.m.
Oct - 4th Sun.	Wiggins (Noland Creek)	Parking Area, Noland Creek	10:00 a.m.
Sept. - 3rd Sun.	The Hazel Creek – Fontana Area Reunion will be held at the Deep Creek Campground Shelter at Bryson City, NC. Bring your lunch, family, friends, pictures, stories and anything to share.		

Mrs. Helen C. Vance
177 Mica Ridge
Sylva, NC 28779
828-586-4898

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
152 Granny Squirrel Gap
Andrews, NC 28901
828-321-4951

Mrs. Verna Kirkland
P.O. Box 218
Bryson City, NC 28713
828-488-9868

*DO NOT HAVE TO CROSS LAKE TO REACH CEMETERIES.
**Note Change in Mitchell Cemetery to SATURDAY.

Figure 2. Schedule of North Shore Decoration Days.

Figure 3. Woody Cemetery (NSCD 6-17-03 PW).

Figure 4. Bone Valley Cemetery (NSCD 4-5-05 PW).

Figure 5. Lower Noland Cemetery (NSCD 2-24-05 PW).

Figure 6. Upper Noland (Branton) Cemetery (NSCD 2-24-05 PW).

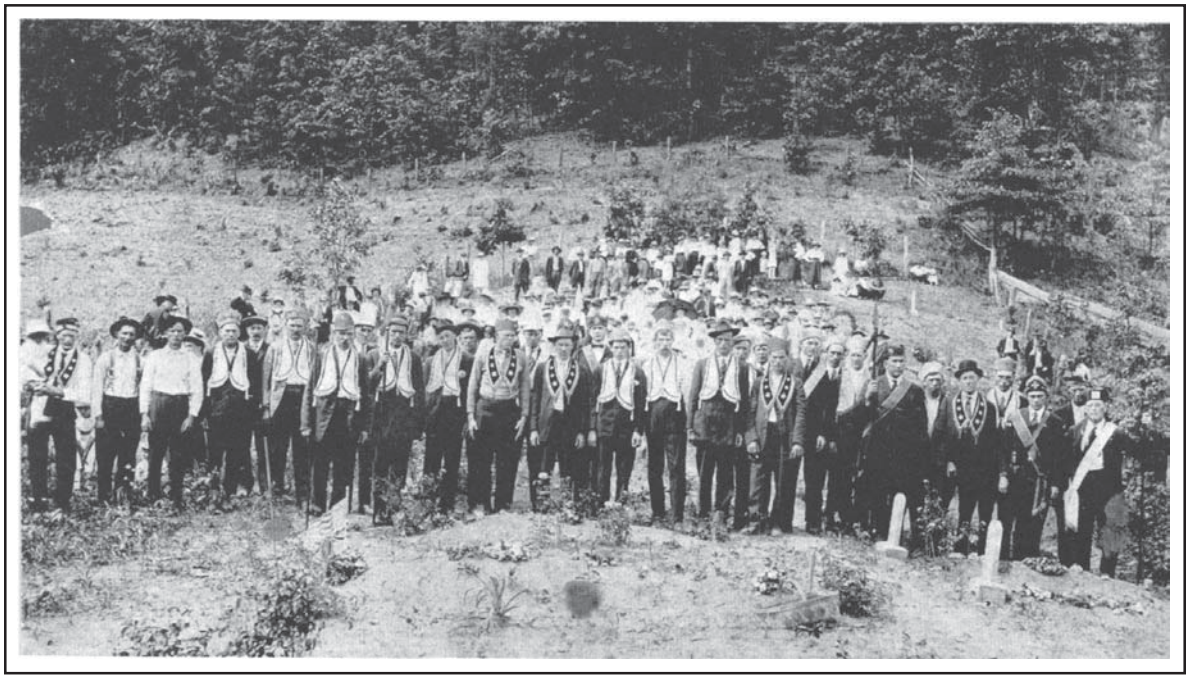

Figure 7. Historical photo of Proctor Cemetery in 1925, showing fencing.

Figure 8. Remnant fencing at Bone Valley Cemetery (NSCD 4-5-05 PW).

Figure 9. Gate and fence, roofed message board, and benches at Lower Coward Cemetery, Jackson County (NSCD 8-25-04 KJ).

Figure 10. Rose of Sharon plantings and white gravel mounding at Mathis Cemetery, Jackson County (NSCD 8-25-04 KJ).

Figure 11. Dogwood tree and decorated graves at Brendle Hill Cemetery, Alarka (NSCD 9-2-04 KJ).

Figure 12. William L. Crawford on his front porch with local history and genealogy books (NSCD 8-20-04 KJ).

Figure 13. Wooden crosses representing unknown graves at Lauada Cemetery, Swain County (NSCD 7-28-04 KJ).

Figure 14. Graveshed and mounding at Watkins Cemetery, Bryson City (NSCD 8-8-04 KJ).

Figure 15. Tractor, ginseng root, and tools carved on gravestone, Brendle Hill Cemetery, Alarka (NSCD 9-2-04 KJ).

Figure 16. Max Monteith shows David Monteith's North Shore maps to Alan Jabbour (NSCD 7-29-04 KJ).

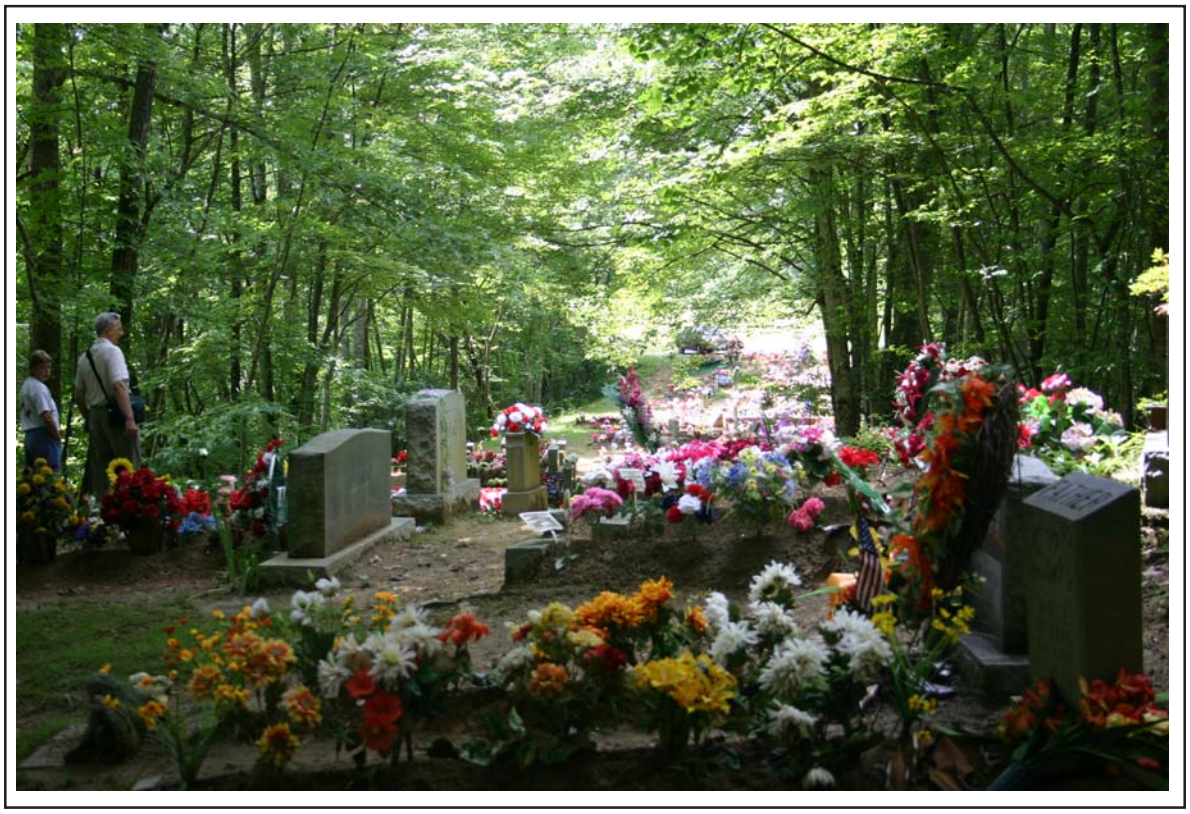

Figure 17. Mason Branch Cemetery, Alarka (NSCD 7-31-04 KJ).

Figure 18. Lectern and recently decorated grave, Broom Cemetery, Jackson County (NSCD 8-25-04 KJ).

Figure 19. Blanket decoration on mounded grave, Mason Branch Cemetery (NSCD 7-31-04 KJ).

Figure 20. Old photograph of blanket decoration at Brendle Hill Cemetery, courtesy of Verna Wiggins Kirkland (NSCD 7-31-04 KJ).

Figure 21. Crocheted cross with painted-feather butterflies on a mounded grave in Mason Branch Cemetery (NSCD 7-31-04 KJ).

Figure 22. Bench in Watkins Cemetery, Bryson City (NSCD 8-8-04 KJ).

Figure 23. Verna Wiggins Kirkland and Carolyn Kirkland interviewed by Alan Jabbour in Lauada Cemetery pavilion (NSCD 7-28-04 KJ).

Figure 24. Graves and pavilion at Lauada Cemetery (NSCD 7-28-04 KJ).

Figure 25. Pete Prince demonstrates dowsing rods (NSCD 8-14-04 KJ).

Figure 26. Gay Calhoun, son David, daughter-in-law Sheila, and grandchildren Dorothy Gay, Laurel Lee, Hannah, Joshua, and Caleb, at their home (NSCD 8-2-04 KJ).

Figure 27. Old decoration flowers discarded by Park staff during cleaning of McClure Cemetery (NSCD 8-24-05 KJ).

Figure 28. Glass tokens left on statue pedestal at Watkins Cemetery, Bryson City (NSCD 8-8-04 KJ).

Figure 29. Baptizing in Hazel Creek, Proctor (NSCD 7-4-04 KJ).

Figure 30. Carrie and Gene Laney being interviewed at their home in Graham County (NSCD 8-24-04 KJ).

Figure 31. Helen Cable Vance (NSCD 8-19-04 KJ).

Figure 32. Mildred Cable Johnson, Park Superintendent Dale Ditmanson, and Rev. Harry Vance at Proctor Decoration (NSCD 7-4-04 KJ).

Figure 33. Old and new Thomas McClure headstones, McClure Cemetery (NSCD 8-24-04 KJ).


Figure 34. Linda Grant Hogue (NSCD 7-7-04 KJ).

Figure 35. The view from Cable Cove (NSCD 6-17-03 PW).

Figure 36. Boarding the boat at Cable Cove (NSCD 7-4-04 KJ).

Figure 37. On the boat to Cable Branch Decoration (NSCD 8-1-04 KJ).

Figure 38. Climbing the path to Cable Branch Cemetery (NSCD 8-1-04 KJ).

Figure 39. Dinner tables at McClure Cemetery (NSCD 8-24-04 KJ).

Figure 40. Cable family members decorate graves at Cable Branch Cemetery (NSCD 8-1-04 KJ).

Figure 41. Gospel singing at Cable Branch Decoration (NSCD 8-1-04 KJ).

Figure 42. Delivering the message at Cable Branch Decoration (NSCD 8-1-04 KJ).

Figure 43. Conversing after the service at Proctor Decoration (NSCD 7-4-04 KJ).

Figure 44. Conversing after the service at Cable Branch Decoration (NSCD 8-1-04 KJ).

Figure 45. Dinner on the ground at Proctor Decoration (NSCD 7-4-04 KJ).

Figure 46. Dinner on the ground at Cable Branch Decoration (NSCD 8-1-04 KJ).

Figure 47. Pendant worn by Mitzi Hall at Cable Branch Decoration (NSCD 8-1-04 KJ).

Figure 48. *Build the Road* sign by Christine Cole Proctor's home (NSCD 7-6-04 KJ).

Figure 49. Bumper sticker *I'd rather be on Hazel Creek* designed by Gene Laney (NSCD 8-4-04 KJ).

Figure 50. Karen Singer Jabbour and Christine Cole Proctor (NSCD 7-6-04 KJ).

Figure 51. Zora Jenkins Walker singing *I Would Rather Be on Hazel Creek* (NSCD 8-23-04 KJ).

Figure 52. Steps up path to Proctor Cemetery (NSCD 4-5-05 PW).

Figure 53. Cable Cemetery before decorations resumed, courtesy of Mildred Cable Johnson (NSCD 8-20-04 PC).

Figure 54. 1978 Decoration at Proctor Cemetery, courtesy of Mildred Cable Johnson (NSCD 8-9-04 PC).

Figure 55. Ivy Calhoun and Mildred Cable Johnson at Wike Cemetery, courtesy of Mildred Cable Johnson (NSCD 8-20-04 PC).

Figure 56. Unloading markers from barge, courtesy of Mildred Cable Johnson (NSCD 8-20-04 PC).

Figure 57. Transporting markers via four-wheeler, courtesy of Mildred Cable Johnson (NSCD 8-20-04 PC).

Figure 58. Placing marker at grave, courtesy of Mildred Cable Johnson (NSCD 8-20-04 PC).

Figure 59. Chris Chandler brings message, courtesy of Mildred Cable Johnson (NSCD 8-20-04 PC).

Figure 60. 2002 Reunion of North Shore families, courtesy of Mildred Cable Johnson (NSCD 8-20-04 PC).

ATTACHMENT G-1. LOG OF ETHNOGRAPHIC EVENTS

The contents of the archival collection, and the field experiences that generated it, may be better grasped by reviewing the following log of ethnographic events for the project. They are all labeled "NSCD" referring to the project title, North Shore Cemetery Decoration Project, followed by the date of the ethnographic event and the initials of the fieldworker: AJ for Alan Jabbour, KJ for Karen Singer Jabbour, PC for Philip E. Coyle, and TT for Tonya Teague. AJ/KJ stands for recordings of interview events by Alan and Karen Jabbour as a team, whereas KJ for the same event stands for Karen Jabbour's photography. The log yields a total of 51 ethnographic events–or 57 if one counts separately the six shorter interviews at the 9-26-04 decoration.

NSCD 7-2-04: Public meeting, Swain County Administration Building and Courthouse

NSCD 7-4-04: Proctor and Bradshaw Decorations and Hazel Creek Baptism
- PC-1: Recording of announcements, music, and message at Proctor Cemetery
- KJ: 53 digital photos
- PC: 20 paper photos

NSCD 7-4-04: Kathryn Forbes and Dot Tysinger Interview
- PC-1: Recorded interview after Proctor/Bradshaw Decoration with sisters whose infant brother's grave was recently discovered

NSCD 7-6-04: Christine Cole Proctor Interview
- AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with active member of North Shore Historical Association and Lauada Cemetery Association
- KJ: 11 digital photos

NSCD 7-7-04: Linda Hogue Interview
- AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with Bryson City school teacher and head of North Shore Road Association
- KJ: 7 digital photos

NSCD 7-12-04: Kelly Cole Interview
- PC-1: Recorded interview with former resident of Forney Creek
- PC: 3 paper photos

NSCD 7-18-04: Fairview and Cook Decorations
- PC-1: Recording of announcements, music, message at Fairview Cemetery and brief talk by Eddie Marlowe at Cook Cemetery

NSCD 7-19-04: Millie Vickery and Ruth Vickery Hicks Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with former Proctor resident Millie Vickery and her daughter Ruth
PC: six paper photos

NSCD 7-21-04: Bayless Crisp Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with caretaker of Lauada Cemetery
PC: 7 paper photos

NSCD 7-27-04: David Monteith Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with Swain County Commissioner and mapper of North Shore sites
KJ: 6 digital photos

NSCD 7-27-04: Duane Oliver Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with local historian and author

NSCD 7-28-04: Visit to Alarka Cemeteries with Verna and Carolyn Kirkland
KJ: 46 digital photos

NSCD 7-29-04: Max W. Monteith, Sr. Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with former resident of Forney Creek
KJ: 8 digital photos

NSCD 7-29-04: Visit to Mason Branch Cemetery with Verna and Carolyn Kirkland
KJ: 35 digital photos

NSCD 8-1-04: Cable Branch Decoration
PC-1: Recording of announcements, music, message at the decoration
KJ: 59 digital photos
PC: 8 paper photos

NSCD 8-02-04: Larry Vickery Interview
PC-1 and 2: Recorded interview with North Shore Historical Association member

NSCD 8-2-04: Gay and David Calhoun Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with Gay Calhoun, former resident of North Shore, and his son David Calhoun, who baptized family members in Hazel Creek
KJ: 9 digital photos

NSCD 8-3-04: Shirley Crisp Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with North Shore Historical Association member
KJ: 6 digital photos

NSCD 8-4-04: Eddie Marlowe Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with active participant in North Shore cemetery decorations

NSCD 8-4-04: Gene and Carrie Laney Interview and Tour of Graham Co. Cemeteries
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with long-time North Shore cemetery decoration participants
KJ: 39 digital photos

NSCD 8-5-04: Swain County Genealogical Society Picnic

NSCD 8-6-04: Edwin Cabe Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with recent North Shore cemetery decoration participant

NSCD 8-6-04: Hazel Cline Sawyer Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with Swain Co. Genealogical Society member
KJ: 10 digital photos

NSCD 8-7-04: Peggy Bradshaw Medford and Cledus Medford Interview

NSCD 8-8-04: Visit to Watkins Cemetery
KJ: 34 digital photos

NSCD 8-9-04: Mildred Johnson Scanning Comments
PC-1: Recorded comments made while scanning photos (first of two such recordings)
PC: 35 scanned photos

NSCD 8-9-04: Trevor Lanier Interview
TT-1: Recorded interview with college student doing research on North Shore cemetery decorations, recorded by Tonya Teague

NSCD 8-16-04: Deanne Gibson-Roles Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with western NC genealogist
KJ: 9 digital photos

NSCD 8-18-04: Peter Hayden Prince Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with regional author and dowsing expert
KJ: 18 digital photos

NSCD 8-18-04: Mitzi Lea Hall Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with North Shore cemetery decoration participant
KJ: 12 digital photos

NSCD 8-19-04: Helen Cable Vance and Eleanor Cable Rhinehart Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with President of North Shore Historical Association and her sister
KJ: 10 digital photos

NSCD 8-20-04: Mildred Johnson Scanning Comments
PC-1: Recorded comments made while scanning photos (second of two such recordings)
PC: 108 scanned photos

NSCD 8-2-04: R.O. Wilson and William L. Crawford Interview
KJ: 11 digital photos

NSCD 8-20-04: Visit to Lovedale Cemetery
KJ: 17 digital photos

NSCD 8-21-04: Mary Vivian Calhoun Cook Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with North Shore cemetery decoration participant
KJ: 6 digital photos

NSCD 8-21-04: William Claude Laney and Esta Laney Interview
AJ/KJ-1: Recorded interview with North Shore cemetery decoration participants
KJ: 11 digital photos

NSCD 8-23-04: Zora Jenkins Walker Interview
AJ/KJ-1, 2, and 3: Recorded interview with author and composer of North Shore memoirs and songs
KJ: 19 digital photos

NSCD 8-24-04: Visit to Chambers Creek and McClure Cemetery
KJ: 18 digital photos

NSCD 8-25-04: Visit to Jackson Co. Cemeteries with William L. Crawford
KJ: 81 digital photos

NSCD 9-2-04: Visit to Brendle Hill Cemetery
KJ: 13 digital photos

NSCD 9-6-04: Welch and McClure Decorations
PC-1: Recording of announcements, music, message at McClure Decoration
PC: 14 digital photos

NSCD 9-19-04: North Shore Reunion at Deep Creek
PC-1: Coyle Fieldnotes

NSCD 9-21-04: Bryan Aldridge Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with local genealogist and North Shore cemetery decoration participant

NSCD 9-22-04: Sandy Sumner and Randy Wood Interview
PC-1, 2, and 3: Recorded interview with non-local participants in the North Shore cemetery decoration tradition
PC: 1 digital photo

NSCD 9-22-04: Glenn Cardwell Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with former Interpretive Ranger for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park

NSCD 9-26-04: Bone Valley and Hall Decorations
PC-1: Brief recorded interviews with the following cemetery decoration participants: Michael Kesselring, Christopher Chandler, Tommy Chandler, John Sandlin, Randall Hall, Jane Johnson (and minor grandchildren)
PC: 14 digital photos

NSCD 9-26-04: Recorded Follow-up Interview with Mitzi Hall
PC-2: Follow-up with details not covered in NSCD 8-18-04 AJ/KJ

NSCD 10-10-04: Wike-Walker-Calhoun Decoration

NSCD 10-29-04: Claude Douthit Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with former resident of Forney Creek

NSCD 11-8-04: Rodney Snedeker Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with supervisory archeologist with US Forest Service

NSCD 12-6-04: Duncan Hollar and Lorrie Sprague Interview
PC-1: Recorded interview with NPS rangers formerly stationed at Hazel Creek

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ATTACHMENT G-2. CEMETERY PROFILES

THE NORTH SHORE CEMETERIES

The North Shore Cemetery Decoration study has focused on the 27 North Shore cemeteries that are presently decorated by the North Shore Cemetery Association and others (Figures 1 and 2). The accessibility of these cemeteries vary considerably. Some can be reached readily by foot, such as Orr on the west, which is reached via a short powerline road along what used to be NC 288, and Conner and Stiles on the east, which lie a short distance south of Lake View Road (the Road to Nowhere) east of Noland Creek. But twenty are generally reachable only by boat. A few cemeteries are almost within sight of Fontana Lake, while others lie several miles up various tributaries from the lakeshore.

While all of the cemeteries are regularly decorated, they differ from one another in many ways. Some, such as Proctor, date to the mid-19th century, while one (Posey) is a reinterment cemetery created in 1943. Cable, Payne, and Proctor cemeteries each contain over 100 graves, while some others contain only one or two (Table 2). A few cemeteries were acquired for the Park about 1930, but most were acquired by the TVA and transferred to the Park as a result of the 1943 agreement. Most have active burial rights, while others do not. Some were visited frequently in the 1950s or 1960s, but others were essentially lost in the years prior to 1978. Most have seen no interments since the early 1940s, but others have received interments as recently as 1999. Some are scraped and mounded by NPS staff prior to decorations, while others are not. Some contain ornamental trees or shrubs, while others contain only native vegetation. A few have remnant fencing, although most are now unfenced.

Such information on these cemeteries is of historical significance, and is a valuable part of the Decoration Day story and the history of the North Shore. It is also important in another way, however. In order to protect and manage these cemeteries for the future, it is necessary to know what they were like in the past. Management decisions on such practices as scraping, mounding, or fencing cemeteries are best made with an understanding of the practices both as they existed during the years that people lived on the North Shore, and as they have changed over the past 60 years.

This attachment attempts to compile much of the readily available information on these 27 cemeteries into a form that will be useful to family members, other Decoration Day participants, and Park managers and employees. The information is derived from a variety of sources. Key primary documents include the maps, inventories, and descriptions created for each cemetery by the TVA (or, for a few cemeteries, the North Carolina Park Commission) prior to its acquisition, as well as the references in deeds or affidavits dating to those times or before. Other important sources include written and oral accounts, and occasionally photographs, of prior decorations or other aspects of a cemetery's history. Several family or community histories also contain details on specific cemeteries, and information on interments (derived

Table 2. North Shore Decoration Day Cemeteries.

Name	Quadrangle	Drainage(s)	Interments				Decoration Date	Park Maintenance
			Oldest Known	Original	Moved	Remaining		
Bone Valley	Tuskeegee	Hazel Creek (Bone Valley Creek)	1862	82	0	82	June - 4th Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Bradshaw	Tuskeegee	Hazel Creek (Sheehan Branch)	1891	17	0	17	July - 1st Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Branton	Bryson City	Noland Creek	1900	28	0	28	April - 4th Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Cable	Tuskeegee	Slick Rock Branch	1872	155	0	155	May - 3rd Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Cable Branch	Tuskeegee	Hazel Creek (Cable Branch)	1912	29	2	27	August - 1st Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Calhoun	Thunderhead Mtn.	Hazel Creek (Bee Gum Branch)	c. 1890	1	0	1	October - 2nd Sunday	Clean prior to Decoration Day; no scraping or mounding.
Conner	Noland Creek	Hickory Flat Branch	1921	14	0	14	June - 2nd Sunday	Clean prior to Decoration Day; no scraping or mounding.
Cook	Tuskeegee	Mill Branch	1877	2	0	2	July - 3rd Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Fairview	Tuskeegee	Mill Branch area	1877	74	2	72	July - 3rd Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Hall	Thunderhead Mtn.	Hazel Creek (Big Flat Branch)	1900	18	0	18	June - 4th Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Higdon	Tuskeegee	Hazel Creek (Hall Gap Branch)	1913	17	0	17	August - 3rd Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Hoyle	Noland Creek	Forney Creek (Bear Creek)	1885	4	0	4	May - 1st Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Lower Noland	Noland Creek	Noland Creek	Unknown	12	0	12	April - 4th Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
McCampbell Gap	Thunderhead Mtn.	Hazel Creek	Unknown	5	0	5	August - 3rd Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
McClure	Noland Creek	Chambers Creek	1894	23	13	10	September - 1st Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Mitchell	Tuskeegee	Chesquaw Branch	1912	5	0	5	September - 4th Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Orr	Fontana Dam	Little Tennessee River	1900	9	0	11*	May - 2nd Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Payne	Fontana Dam	Little Tennessee River	1893	116	0	c. 124*	May - 2nd Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Pilkey	Tuskeegee	Pilkey Creek	1900	42	1	41	June - 1st Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Posey	Tuskeegee	Pilkey Creek	1943	0	0	5*	June - 1st Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Proctor	Tuskeegee	Hazel Creek (Sheehan Branch)	1863	198	6	192	July - 1st Sunday	Clean prior to Decoration Day; no scraping or mounding.
Stiles	Noland Creek	Hickory Flat Branch	1917	6	0	6	June - 2nd Sunday	Clean prior to Decoration Day; no scraping or mounding.
Walker	Thunderhead Mtn.	Hazel Creek (Walker Creek)	Unknown	5	0	5	October - 2nd Sunday	Clean prior to Decoration Day; no scraping or mounding.
Welch	Tuskeegee	Kirkland Branch	1865	15	0	15	September - 1st Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Wiggins	Clingmans Dome	Noland Creek	1893	3	0	3	October - 4th Sunday	Clean prior to Decoration Day; no scraping or mounding.
Wike	Silers Bald	Hazel Creek (Proctor Creek)	1896	2	0	2	October - 2nd Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.
Woody	Noland Creek	Forney Creek (Woody Branch/ Grey Wolf Creek)	1878	146	61	85	May - 1st Sunday	Clean, scrape and mound graves prior to Decoration Day.

* Includes interments since 1943.

largely from the TVA records) is contained in at least two publications (SCGHS 2000 and Hunter 1996) and on several websites. The Park Archives contain some information relating to cemetery management in the 1940s–1990s. Finally, information on post-1978 Decoration Days is available from written accounts, photographs and other documentary evidence (including the interviews made for this project), and from the participants themselves.

The cemetery profiles that follow are as thorough as possible, but are certainly incomplete. In order to facilitate additions to these data, copies have been filed with the Swain County Genealogical and Historical Society and with the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Library and Archives. Anyone who would like to submit corrections or additions to these profiles is invited to send their information to one or both of those repositories:

Swain County Genealogical and Historical Society
PO Box 267
Bryson City, North Carolina 28713

Park Archives and Library
Great Smoky Mountains National Park
107 Park Headquarters Road
Gatlinburg, Tennessee 37738

Individuals with concerns about cemetery maintenance or other issues are invited to contact one or both of the following:

North Shore Cemetery Association
c/o Helen Cable Vance
177 Mica Ridge
Sylva, North Carolina 28779
(828) 586-4898

Erik Kreusch, Park Archaeologist
Great Smoky Mountains National Park
107 Park Headquarters Road
Gatlinburg, Tennessee 37738
(865) 430-0339

THE CEMETERY PROFILES

The following profiles are divided into five major sections, as follows:

Description/Location: This section contains basic descriptive and locational information for each cemetery, including UTM coordinates. The primary sources for this section are unpublished NPS and TVA records, including the TVA maps that were drawn of most cemeteries in 1942.

Pre-1944 Conditions: This information comes primarily from TVA land and cemetery records (TVA 1942–44, 1948), the Swain County Genealogical and Historical Society publication *The Cemeteries of Swain County* (SCGHS 2000), the North Shore Historical Association newsletters, and area residents.

1944–1978 Conditions: Information on conditions between the creation of Fontana Lake and the resumption of systematic Decoration Day visits comes primarily from NPS records and local residents.

1978–2005 Conditions: This information comes primarily from NPS records and staff, North Shore Historical Association newsletters, and from area residents, and has been supplemented with information from visits by the authors.

Other Information: This section is provided for future updates.

BONE VALLEY CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: NPS Cemetery HC-04, TVA Cemetery 22

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; ridgeslope at the southern end of Forrester Ridge, west of Bone Valley Creek, and north of Hazel Creek

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3931570 E256680

Size/Orientation: About 125 ft north-south by 55 ft east-west (from TVA map); 0.1 total acres

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1279, listed as Bone Valley Cemetery, and owned by heirs of J.E. and Bland Coburn (Will W. and Estelle Wiggins, Walter R. and Bertie G. Wiggins, Gertrude Duckett, and Katherine W. Swan). The tract was surrounded and apparently had been cut out of Tract FR-1277, which was also owned by Coburn's heirs. The land was acquired by the Coburns from Morrison Crisp and wife in 1894, but the cemetery is not mentioned in deeds until the 1940s.

Known Interments and Monuments: 82 pre-TVA (11 monuments); none were relocated by TVA

Known Interment Dates: 1862–1942. The earliest interment is reportedly that of a Civil War soldier named John T. Newman (1826–1862).

Community/Church/Family Associations: This cemetery was associated with Bone Valley Church, which was located about 0.25 miles to the east. Twenty surnames are recorded at the cemetery, including Bowers, Branuner, Brooks, Cook, Crisp, Curtis, Dills, Hall, Laney, Marr, Martin, Medlin, Newman, Pittman, Smith, Stewart, Tipton, Turpin, Wilson, and Wright.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map shows the cemetery as wooded, with clearings in the northeast and the southwest corners. Mary Walker Proctor stated that a rose was planted on John Newman's grave sometime prior to the cemetery's acquisition by TVA (see below).

Fencing: TVA records (J.C. Calhoun affidavit) state that the cemetery was fenced, and remnant stock fencing was observed during a 2005 visit.

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants): Mary Walker Proctor recalled attending decorations at Bone Valley Cemetery prior to 1938, when her and her husband left the area. She noted that on one Memorial Day Jim Brooks planted a pink rose on John Newman's grave, which remained for all the decorations that she later attended (NSHA Newsletter 1987[July]:9).

Access Route: via Proctor, north on Hazel Creek Road along Hazel Creek, short private road to the west up slope to cemetery

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 12 June 1945 in Book 67, Page 261. Deed states "Subject to outstanding burial rights."

Conditions: In 1961, maintenance at the cemetery and its access points was taken up by the NPS, as Bone Valley was one of 51 cemeteries in the Park that carried an obligation for government maintenance in the deed of transfer or in which "active interest will likely be shown." A NPS memo stated that the cemetery included 79 graves and had 0.2 miles of associated trail (GSMNP archives).

In July 1966, Congressman Roy A. Taylor visited a number of cemeteries in the Hazel Creek area and noted that they were accessible and being maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated that the cemetery was "maintained by relatives with minimum maintenance assistance by National Park Service (weed cutting once annually)" and needed "grave leveling; resetting of a number of markers; seeding and fertilizing" (GSMNP archives). Access to cemetery was noted as being in good condition.

Known Visits/Decorations: In 1964, Mrs. Murl Brown of Maryville, Tennessee, made plans (along with her brother, mother, and aunt from California) to visit the cemetery with Superintendent George W. Fry and the Chief Ranger and erect a headstone for Mrs. Brown's father (GSMNP archives).

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: none noted during 2005 visit

Fencing: remnant stock fencing survives in a few places, but the cemetery is effectively unfenced

Monuments Added (or Other Changes): metal military grave markers placed on graves of John T. Newman and other Confederate veterans; new granite markers placed on many other graves

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Hazel Creek Trail administrative road along Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk along the administrative road (Hazel Creek Trail), and up footpath to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): June – 4th Sunday. 157 attendees in 1985; 117 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location: wooden bench in cemetery; picnic tables at nearby Backcountry Campsite 83

OTHER INFORMATION

BRADSHAW CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: NPS Cemetery HC-03, NPS Cemetery HC-14, TVA Cemetery 50, Proctor Cemetery (in 1962 letter from Park Superintendent Overly; see below).

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; ridgetop at Hickory Bottom, south of Big Ridge and the Pinnacle, north of Sheehan Branch (Proctor Mill Creek) and Possum Hollow, east of Hickory Bottom Branch, and northwest of former community of Proctor

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3929352 E252206

Size/Orientation: About 150 ft north-south by 50 ft east-west (from TVA map); 0.2 total acres

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1245, owned by James R. and Arrie B. Bradshaw. The land was acquired from A. Jones by Josire Bradshaw in 1907.

Known Interments and Monuments: 17 pre-TVA (7 monuments); none relocated.

Known Interment Dates: 1891–1932. Earliest known interment is Nellie Cogdill (1891–1891)

Community/Church/Family Associations: At least in later years the cemetery was associated with the Bradshaw family; there are at least seven interments with the Bradshaw surname. Six other surnames are represented in the TVA records, including Bryant, Cogdill, Gribble, Gunter, Medlin, and Sprindle.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1943 TVA map shows the cemetery as a clearing in a wooded area; the northern-most grave is in the woods.

Fencing: The TVA records reference fencing, and the cemetery appears to be fenced on the 1943 TVA map. At least some fencing reportedly remains.

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via Proctor, northwest on Possum Hollow Road along Sheehan Branch, north on road along Hickory Bottom Branch, cemetery to the east of road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 2 June 1945 in Book 67, Page 346. Deed reportedly states "Subject to outstanding burial rights."

Conditions: In July 1966, Congressman Roy A. Taylor visited a number of cemeteries in the Hazel Creek area and noted that they were accessible and being maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Bradshaw Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations: Mr. Clyde Gordon, Jr. of Lubbock, Texas, inquired about the location of the cemetery in 1962 so that he and his mother (Louise Elizabeth Bradshaw Gordon) might visit the graves of his mother and three uncles and an aunt (GSMNP archives). Although Park Superintendent Overly referred to the cemetery as "Proctor Cemetery" in his reply to Gordon, it is clear that from the number of graves referenced that Overly's letter refers to the Bradshaw Cemetery.

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing: some fencing reportedly remains

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to administrative road along Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk along the administrative road to the north and east, north across Hazel Creek on bridge, west along Lakeshore Trail, and up footpath to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): July – 1st Sunday. 119 attendees in 1985; 100 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

BRANTON CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Upper Noland, NPS Cemetery FN-03, TVA Cemetery 47

Location: Noland Creek drainage; ridgeslope south of Noland Creek

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Bryson City; N3930733 E273299

Size/Orientation: About 215 ft north-south by 90 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1018; property owned by Phillip G. Rust. TVA records note the cemetery as "very old and abandoned."

Known Interments and Monuments: 28 pre-TVA (one monument); none relocated

Known Interment Dates: 1900–1935. Earliest known interment is Frank Branton (unknown–1900)

Community/Church/Family Associations: Seven interments are recorded with the surname Branton. Nine additional surnames are represented in the TVA records, including Barnes, Cragg, Laws, Payne, Riddle, Watkins, Woody, Wooten, and Young.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map shows the cemetery as a clearing in a wooded area.

Fencing: Remnant stock fencing was noted during 2005 visit

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along Noland Creek, cemetery south of the road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA through condemnation of the Rust property; final decree recorded in Swain County 15 January 1948 in Book 72, Page 156. Deed states "This land is taken subject to outstanding burial rights in and to the Upper Noland private cemetery."

Conditions: An undated Park document titled *North Shore Cemeteries* stated that the cemetery was maintained by family members about 1956. Access was not maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Branton Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: Two arborvitae shrubs were noted during 2005 visit

Fencing: Remnant stock fencing was noted in 2005 visit.

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: from Noland Creek parking area on Lake View Drive (Road to Nowhere), north along Park administrative road (Noland Creek Trail), cross bridge over Noland Creek four times, and south along footpath to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): April – 4th Sunday

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

CABLE CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Maggie Cable, Cable #1 (TVA), TVA Cemetery 19, NPS Cemetery HC-08

Location: Slick Rock Branch drainage; ridgetop south of Welch Ridge, north of Slick Rock Branch and Lake Fontana

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3926287 E253025

Size/Orientation: About 160 ft north-south by 45 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-712; property owned by Maggie Cable (widow of George S. Cable). The land was apparently acquired by William Cable in 1873.

Known Interments and Monuments: ca. 155 pre-TVA (66 monuments); none relocated

Known Interment Dates: 1872–1942. Earliest known interment is Margaret Cable Crisp (1826–1872).

Community/Church/Family Associations: At least 67 individuals buried at the cemetery have the surname Cable. Other surnames represented in the TVA records and *The Cemeteries of Swain County, North Carolina* (2000:389–398) include Ballew, Calhoun, Cline, Cole, Crisp, Fox, Garrison, Hall, Hughes, Hyde, Jenkins, Jones, Pilkington, Proctor, Marcus, McDonald, Millsap, Moore, Myers, Rose, Seabolt, Stacy, Swan, Tallent, Walker, and Williams. Many of these individuals are sons, daughters, and wives of Cable family members.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map shows the cemetery as cleared.

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants): The May 29, 1941 Bryson City Times contains a note on a decoration at Cable Cemetery, as follows:

> Decoration was held Sunday at the Cable graveyard. Rev. Wayne Hughes and Rev. Jesse Millsaps were in charge of the services. A large crowd attended, some coming many

miles for the event. It was said to have been the most beautiful decoration ever held at this cemetery.

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on farm road along Slick Rock Branch, farm road splits with cemetery found between the two roads

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 7 April 1944 in Book 67, Page 209. Deed states "It is understood that this conveyance is made subject to such rights as may be vested in third parties in the Cable Cemetery which affects approximately 0.7 acre."

Conditions: In 1959, Mr. R.A. Chambers of West Asheville, North Carolina, obtained permission from the Park to cut a walkway through the undergrowth from the lake to the cemetery and to clear the cemetery of undergrowth (GSMNP archives).

In 1961, maintenance at the cemetery and its access points was taken up by the NPS, as it was one of 51 cemeteries in the Park that carried an obligation for government maintenance in the deed of transfer or in which "active interest will likely be shown." A NPS memo stated that the cemetery included 158 graves and had 0.2 miles of associated trail (GSMNP archives).

In July 1966, Congressman Roy A. Taylor visited a number of cemeteries in the Hazel Creek area and noted that they were accessible and being maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated that the cemetery was in "very poor condition and is included on Park inventory for minimum maintenance involving mowing of weeds once annually" (GSMNP archives).

Known Visits/Decorations: see above

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes): yes, new monument added to Margaret Cable Crisp grave; other monuments likely added

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Park administrative road (Maggie Cable Cemetery Access Road) at Slick Rock Branch; NPS vehicles or walk north up administrative road to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): May – 3rd Sunday; 141 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

CABLE BRANCH CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Cable #2 (TVA), NPS Cemetery HC-02, TVA Cemetery 24

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; ridgetop east of Cable Branch, northwest of Hazel Creek, and southwest of Big Butte

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3927728 E250095

Size/Orientation: About 125 ft north-south by 40 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1216; property owned by Norman H. and Hardy C. Cable

Known Interments and Monuments: 29 pre-TVA (three monuments); two relocated (Monteith/Lauada Cemetery [R-5]); 27 graves remaining

Known Interment Dates: 1912–1939. Earliest known interments are Cas and Irene Jones

Community/Church/Family Associations: Cemetery may have been associated with Cable Branch Church, which was located 0.3 miles to the northwest. Seven surnames are recorded at the cemetery, including Bradshaw, Cable, Cope, Jones, Fore, Rose, and Weaver.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: 1942 TVA map shows clearing around graves surrounded by woods

Fencing: Cemetery was apparently fenced, at least some fencing reportedly remains

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, northeast on Hazel Creek Road along Hazel Creek, northwest on county road along Cable Branch, cemetery north of road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 12 April 1944 in Book 66, Page 622. Deed states “It is understood that this conveyance is made subject to such rights as may be vested in third parties in the Cable Cemetery.”

Conditions: In 1961, maintenance at the cemetery and its access points was taken up by the NPS, as it was one of 51 cemeteries in the Park that carried an obligation for government maintenance in the deed of transfer or in which "active interest will likely be shown." A NPS memo stated that the cemetery included 33 graves and had 1.2 miles of associated trail (GSMNP archives).

In July 1966, Congressman Roy A. Taylor visited a number of cemeteries in the Hazel Creek area and noted that they were accessible and being maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated the cemetery "receives minimum maintenance in form of occasional weed cutting. The cemetery as well as the trail to it are in poor condition" (GSMNP archives).

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing: cemetery was apparently fenced, at least some fencing reportedly remains

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Park administrative road (Cable Branch Cemetery Access Road); NPS vehicles or walk north to cemetery along the administrative road

Decoration Day (2004): August – 1st Sunday. 43 attendees in 1985; 47 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

CALHOUN CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name:

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; ridgeslope on southeastern slope of Locust Ridge, west of Bee Gum Branch, and north of Hazel Creek

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Thunderhead Mtn. quadrangle; N3933158 E259787

Size/Orientation:

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1276; property owner J.G. Stikeleather et al. Cemetery not surveyed by TVA, but noted in affidavit (below)

Known Interments and Monuments: one pre-TVA (no monument); was not relocated.

Known Interment Dates: Before 1890. Grave is recorded as that of an infant with the surname Calhoun (ca. 1887–before 1890). In a 1944 affidavit, G.I. Calhoun stated "An infant child of T.J. Calhoun was buried near the T.J. Calhoun homeplace prior to the year 1891."

Community/Church/Family Associations: Lone infant grave belonging to the Calhoun family.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via Proctor, northeast on Hazel Creek Road along Hazel Creek, north on road along Bee Gum Branch, cemetery to the west of road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 12 June 1944 in Book 67, Page 450–458. Deed contains several tracts and in concluding description of Tract FR-1276 reportedly states "Subject to outstanding burial rights."

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Calhoun Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: no, but cleaned by the NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Hazel Creek Trail administrative road along Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk along the administrative road to the north and east, north across Hazel Creek on bridge, east and north along Hazel Creek Trail, and up footpath to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): October – 2nd Sunday. 49 attendees in 1985; 77 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

CONNER CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Hickory Flats, NPS Cemetery FN-08, TVA Cemetery 34

Location: Hickory Flat Branch drainage; ridgetop west of Hickory Flat Branch

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Noland Creek quadrangle; N3926150 E271401

Size/Orientation: About 100 ft north-south by 50 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1020; property owned by Arnold E. Bradshaw. The property had been acquired by J.W. Conner from the Harris-Woodbury Lumber Company in 1922.

Known Interments and Monuments: 14 pre-TVA (eight monuments); none relocated

Known Interment Dates: 1921–1940. Earliest known interment is an infant with the surname Conner (1921)

Community/Church/Family Associations: Seven surnames are represented in the TVA records, including Ball, Ballew, Bowers, Conner, Hyde, Lequire, and Nichols.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: scattered trees, but mostly cleared according to the 1942 TVA map

Fencing: The cemetery appears fenced on the 1942 TVA map.

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along Hickory Flat Branch, cemetery east of road behind 1-story frame house

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA through condemnation; final decree recorded in Swain County 9 August 1944 in Book 67, Page 547. Deed reportedly states that the property is taken “subject to outstanding burial rights in and to the Conner Cemetery.”

Conditions: An undated (ca. 1960s) Park document titled *North Shore Cemeteries* states that the cemetery was last maintained in 1947; no details were provided. Access to the cemetery was not maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Conner Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: no, but cleaned by the NPS prior to Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: east and south along administrative trail from Lake View Drive (Road to Nowhere)

Decoration Day (2004): June – 2nd Sunday

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

COOK CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Mill Branch (TVA); NPS Cemetery HC-12 (?), TVA Cemetery 17. This may be the same cemetery as the Nelems Cemetery, which is reported to be nearby.

Location: Mill Branch drainage; ridgetop east of Mill Branch and west of Calhoun Branch

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3926281 E254755

Size/Orientation: About 15 ft north-south by 10 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1175; property owned by Houston H. Nelems (Nelms). TVA records incorrectly stated that the cemetery is on "property of W.H. Clark's heirs, Tract FR-723;" but the written description clearly refers to this cemetery. This tract was part of a 250-acre tract conveyed by Henry B. Cook and wife to J.B. Buchanan in 1879. H.H. Nelems acquired the property from J.L. and Parthina McIntosh in 1927.

Known Interments and Monuments: two pre-TVA (no monuments); none relocated

Known Interment Dates: 1877. Earliest known interment is Margaret E. Cook (unknown–1877).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Cemetery associated with the Cook family. Both graves have Cook surnames and were brother and sister.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The TVA map shows the cemetery as wooded

Fencing: A fence appears to run along southern boundary of cemetery on the TVA map

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on trail along Mill Branch which splits, cemetery between trails a short way up

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 16 December 1943 in Book 68, Page 254. No mention of cemetery in deed, since it was not found by TVA until after closing.

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Cook Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Park administrative road at Mill Branch; NPS vehicles or walk north along administrative road to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): July – 3rd Sunday

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

This tract may also contain a Nelems Cemetery, but no definite information on its existence or location is currently available (2005).

FAIRVIEW CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Calhoun (NPS), NPS Cemetery HC-09, TVA Cemetery 18

Location: Near Whiteside Creek and Mill Branch drainages; ridgetop east of Whiteside Creek, west of Mill Branch, and north of Lake Fontana

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3925827 E254129

Size/Orientation: About 95 ft north-south by 145 ft east-west (from TVA map); 0.3 total acres

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1178; acquired from J.E. Coburn's executors (Will W. Wiggins and S.W. Black). The first deed reference to the cemetery is in a 1916 deed from J.E. and Bland Coburn to W.O. Calhoun.

Known Interments and Monuments: ca. 74 pre-TVA (33 monuments); two relocated (to Hyde Cemetery [R-6]); 72 graves remaining

Known Interment Dates: 1877–1942. Earliest known interment is J.J. Calhoun (1821–1877).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Eighteen surnames are recorded, including Anderson, Cable, Calhoun, Crisp, Curtis, Dorsey, Drake, Franklin, Holloway, Jenkins, Laney, Millsaps, Mitchell, Pace, Sawyers, Turpin, Wilcox, and Winchester.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: 1942 TVA map shows the graves in a clearing surrounded by woods.

Fencing: A 1945 affidavit by J.C. Calhoun states that the cemetery was fenced.

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along stream opposite Calhoun Island, road circles back south with cemetery on east side of the road.

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by the TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 26 May 1945 in Book 67, Page 654. Deed reportedly states "Subject to outstanding burial rights."

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Fairview Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Park administrative road (Fairview Cemetery Access Road); NPS vehicles or walk north and east up road to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): July – 3rd Sunday. 71 attendees in 1985; 49 in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

HALL CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: NPS Cemetery HC-05, TVA Cemetery 23

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; ridgeslope east of Big Flat Branch in Bone Valley and west of Locust Ridge. Near the Hall Cabin; the location also is known as the Kress Place, after the former Kress lodge (GSMNP archives). (Note that this cemetery is some distance from its location on the USGS map).

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Thunderhead Mtn. quadrangle; N3934067 E257346

Size/Orientation: About 145 ft north-south by 75 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1135; property owned by John C. Calhoun. The TVA report *Cemetery Relocation for the Fontana Project* incorrectly references Tract FR-1137, owned by T.J. Calhoun's heirs.

Known Interments and Monuments: ca. 18 pre-TVA (six monuments); none relocated.

Known Interment Dates: 1900–1925. Earliest known interment is Narsisia Hall (unknown–1900).

Community/Church/Family Associations: At least eight individuals have the surname Hall. At least five additional surnames are represented in TVA records, including Aiken, Davis, Stewart, Williams, and Wyke. Willa Mae Hall Smathers stated that all of the individuals are related to the Hall family in some way (NSHA Newsletter 1991 [Spring]:15).

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: 1942 TVA map shows the graves in a clearing surrounded by woods

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via Hazel Creek Road north from Proctor, north on farm road along Bone Valley Creek, northeast on road along Big Flat Branch with cemetery on the east side of the road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 2 June 1944 in Book 67, Page 247. Deed reportedly states "Subject to the rights of third parties to burial easements in the Hall family cemetery."

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Hall Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Hazel Creek Trail administrative road along Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk along the administrative road to the north and east, north across Hazel Creek on bridge, east and north along Hazel Creek Trail, north along Bone Valley Trail, and up footpath to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): June – 4th Sunday. 117 attendees in 2004.

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

HIGDON CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Sugar Fork Creek, NPS Cemetery HC-06. TVA Cemetery 21

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; cove and terrace west of Sugar Fork, west of Haw Gap Branch, northwest of Hazel Creek, and north of Horseshoe Ridge

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3931502 E255505

Size/Orientation: About 90 ft north-south by 75 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1281; property owned by the Hazel Creek Land Company.

Known Interments and Monuments: ca.18 or 19 pre-TVA (one monuments); none were relocated. One interment is of an unidentified African-American man who died ca. 1919 during the flu epidemic, reportedly after helping to care for others in the community. He was apparently buried outside the cemetery fence in an unmarked grave; the fence was moved to include the grave and a marker provided in the 1980s.

Known Interment Dates: 1913–1933. Earliest known interment is that of an infant with the surname Higdon (1913).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Ten surnames are recorded, including Bolinger, Cable, Higdon, Hutchinson, Laney, Ross, Stewart, Walker, Wilson, and Wike.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map shows clearing around graves surrounded by woods. Mrs. Ruth Laney Chandler remembered the cemetery with “roses planted always around it” (NSHA Newsletter 1993[Spring]:3)

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via Hazel Creek Road north from Proctor along Hazel Creek, split at Haw Gap Creek and follow road northwest along Haw Gap Creek and Sugar Fork, cemetery southwest of road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 19 December 1944 in Book 67, Page 338. Deed reportedly states "Subject to outstanding burial rights in and to the Higdon Private Cemetery."

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Higdon Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing: Fencing apparently survived into the 1980s or 1990s, but is no longer standing (2004).

Monuments Added (or Other Changes): One interment is of an unidentified African-American man who died ca. 1919 during the flu epidemic, reportedly after helping to care for others in the community. He was apparently buried outside the cemetery fence in an unmarked grave; the fence was apparently moved to include the grave and a marker provided in the 1980s.

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Hazel Creek Trail administrative road along Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk along the administrative road to the north and east, north across Hazel Creek on bridge, east and north along Hazel Creek Trail, north along Jenkins Ridge Trail, and up footpath to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): August – 3rd Sunday. 57 attendees in 1985; 48 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

HOYLE CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: NPS Cemetery FN-01, TVA Cemetery 49

Location: Forney Creek drainage; ridgetop on Bee Ridge, east of Welch Branch, and west of Forney Creek

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Noland Creek quadrangle; N3929402 E266531

Size/Orientation: About 15 ft north-south by 10 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: Acquired by North Carolina Park Commission for GSMNP in 1929; NCPC Tract 173, owned by R.G. Coffey. Since construction of Fontana Lake was to cut off access, TVA inventoried this cemetery and executed relocation/remain agreements.

Known Interments and Monuments: four pre-TVA (no monuments); none relocated.

Known Interment Dates: 1885–1892. Earliest interment is Hattie Hoyle (unknown–1885).

Community/Church/Family Associations: All four graves are of Hoyle family members.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map shows the cemetery as wooded.

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along Forney Creek, trail north to cemetery

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by the State of North Carolina; final decree recorded in Swain County 19 September 1929 in Book 56, Page 359. No mention of cemetery in deed.

Conditions: An undated (ca. 1960s) Park document titled *North Shore Cemeteries* stated that the cemetery was not fenced or maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Hoyle Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition: This cemetery was reportedly relocated by NSHA members with the assistance of Park trails employee Ananias Martin.

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing: None

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Wilderness Marina to Park administrative road at Forney Creek; NPS vehicles or walk north up Park administrative road along Forney Creek Tail, west crossing Forney Creek on bridge, north on Bear Creek Tail, and north on footpath to cemetery. Alternate access is by foot along Lakeshore Trail from tunnel, and then up Forney Creek and Bear Creek trails.

Decoration Day (2004): May – 1st Sunday. 34 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

LOWER NOLAND CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Montieth-Noland Creek, NPS Cemetery FN-04, TVA Cemetery 46

Location: Noland Creek drainage; ridgetop north of Noland Creek

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Noland Creek quadrangle; N3929731 E272343

Size/Orientation: About 80 ft north-south by 15 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1026; owned by Betty Grueninger Stearns, wife of I.K. Stearns.

Known Interments and Monuments: 12 pre-TVA (no monuments); none relocated. Graves are arranged in a single row on a narrow ridgetop.

Known Interment Dates: Unknown. The TVA records this as a very old and abandoned cemetery. Cemetery is not recorded in *The Cemeteries of Swain County, North Carolina* (2000).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Four surnames are represented in the TVA records, including Baxter, Franklin, Smith, and Stiles.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map shows the cemetery as wooded

Fencing: Remnant stock fencing was observed in 2005

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along Noland Creek, cemetery northwest of the road north of small drainage and former Decker lodge site.

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 27 November 1944 in Book 67, Page 254. Burial rights were conveyed to TVA.

Conditions: An undated (ca. 1960s) Park document titled *North Shore Cemeteries* stated that the cemetery was last maintained by relatives in 1951, and that access was not maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Lower Noland Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: None noted in 2005 visit

Fencing: Remnant stock fencing was present in 2005

Monuments Added (or Other Changes): None noted in 2005 visit

Access Route: from Noland Creek parking area on Lake View Drive (Road to Nowhere), north along Park administrative road (Noland Creek Trail), across bridge over Noland Creek, and north along footpath past site of former Decker Lodge to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): April – 4th Sunday

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

MCCAMPBELL GAP CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Wilson, NPS Cemetery HC-07

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; saddle located at McCampbell Gap along Locust Ridge, north of Hazel Creek, and east of Bone Valley Creek

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Thunderhead Mtn. quadrangle; N3931925 E257456

Size/Orientation: Unknown

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1276; property of James G. Stikeleather et al. The cemetery was not surveyed by TVA.

Known Interments and Monuments: five pre-TVA (no monuments); none relocated.

Known Interment Dates: Unknown

Community/Church/Family Associations: Reported to be associated with Wilson family in an undated (ca. 1960s) Park document titled *North Shore Cemeteries*

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via Proctor, northeast on Hazel Creek Road along Hazel Creek to McCampbell Gap, cemetery is north of the road; no road or path to cemetery

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 12 June 1944 in Book 67, Page 450–458. Deed contains several tracts and in description of Tract FR-1276 states “Subject to outstanding burial rights.”

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of McCampbell Gap or Wilson Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Hazel Creek Trail administrative road along Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk along the administrative road to the north and east, north across Hazel Creek on bridge, east and north along Hazel Creek Trail, and up footpath to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): August – 3rd Sunday. 49 attendees in 1985; 48 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

MCCLURE CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: McClure Private, Chambers, NPS Cemetery FN-06, TVA Cemetery 12

Location: Chambers Creek drainage; ridgetop east of Chambers Creek and west of Welch Branch.

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Noland Creek quadrangle; N3925540 E263880

Size/Orientation: About 50 ft north-south by 80 ft east-west (from TVA map); 0.1 total acres.

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1222; property acquired from Joseph H. (Ham) McClure and others (McClure Cemetery listed as property owner on TVA map). A 0.5-acre tract immediately west of the McClure Cemetery, known as the Anthony Cemetery (FR-1282), had been deeded to H.B. Anthony et al., Trustees, in June 1943 by S.C. Welch, but according to a deposition by Roxie McClure in TVA records contained no interments.

Known Interments and Monuments: ca. 23 pre-TVA (nine monuments); 13 graves relocated (two to relocated Monteith Cemetery [R-5]; 11 to relocated McClure Cemetery [R-31]); 10 graves remaining

Known Interment Dates: 1894–1939. Earliest known interment is that of Mary M. McClure (1845–1894).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Associated with the McClure family, at least nine individuals have McClure surnames. Seven other surnames are represented in TVA records, including Anthony, Chambers, Crisp, Dill, Kirkland, Mills, and Proctor. According to *The Cemeteries of Swain County, North Carolina* (2000:451–452), most of those individuals were sons, daughters, or wives of McClure family members.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: 1942 TVA map shows cemetery cleared.

Fencing: The cemetery appears to be fenced on the 1942 TVA map of the cemetery, and some fence posts are still visible (2004).

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north up road along Welch Branch, cemetery west of road.

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA through condemnation; final decree recorded in Swain County 3 December 1948 in Book 72, Page 382. Deed states "Burial and other rights in connection therewith outstanding in third parties are not sought to be condemned herein."

Conditions: An undated (ca. 1960s) Park document titled *North Shore Cemeteries* stated that the cemetery was last maintained in 1959, and that access was not maintained (GSMNP archives).

In 1961, maintenance at the cemetery and its access points were taken up by the NPS, as it was one of 51 cemeteries in the Park that carried an obligation for government maintenance in the deed of transfer or in which "active interest will likely be shown." A NPS memo stated that the cemetery included 10 graves and had 0.5 miles of associated trail (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated the cemetery is "in fair condition and on Park inventory; receives minimum maintenance involving annual weed cutting" (GSMNP archives).

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: Scattered trees within cemetery; no ornamental plantings

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Park administrative road (Chambers Cemetery Access Road) at Chambers Creek; NPS vehicles or walk north along administrative road, east along Lakeshore Trail, and north along road to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): September – 1st Sunday. 46 attendees in 1985; 34 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location: Tables are located to the left of the access road, just before the cemetery.

OTHER INFORMATION

MITCHELL CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Mitchel, NPS Cemetery HC-11, TVA Cemetery 16

Location: Chesquaw Branch drainage; ridgetop west of Chesquaw Branch

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3926094 E256569

Size/Orientation: About 15 ft north-south by 40 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1185; property owned by James W. Mitchell's heirs. The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated that the property was acquired by TVA from Jane M. Anderson et al., who were probably the Mitchell heirs. James W. Mitchell acquired the property from A.V. Calhoun in 1903.

Known Interments and Monuments: five pre-TVA (four monuments); no graves relocated.

Known Interment Dates: 1912–1938. Earliest known interment is Julia Ann Mitchell (1834–1912).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Associated with the Mitchell family with three out of the five having Mitchell surnames. The other two graves have the surname Aldman, but according to *The Cemeteries of Swain County, North Carolina* (2000:452) are also family members. TVA records (an affidavit by W.O. Calhoun) state that the interments are "five members of James W. Mitchell family."

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map shows the graves in a clearing surrounded by woods.

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along Chesquaw Branch, which becomes a trail, cemetery to the west of trail

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 15 November 1944 in Book 68, Page 450. Deed states "This conveyance is made subject to such burial rights as may be outstanding in third parties to the Mitchel Cemetery."

Conditions: In 1964, the cemetery was located and inspected by the NPS. The cemetery is described as being in "fair condition, but the trail from the lake to the cemetery needs clearing out" (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated that the cemetery "receives minimum maintenance attention in form of annual weed cutting" (GSMNP archives).

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to administrative footpath along side Chesquaw Branch, north up administrative footpath crossing Lakeshore Trail to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): September – 4th Sunday; 32 attendees in 1985; 11 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

ORR CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Jenkins, Fairfax, NPS Cemetery TW-03, TVA Cemetery R-1

Location: Little Tennessee River drainage; ridgetop north of the Little Tennessee River/Lake Cheoah and NC 28.

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Fontana Dam quadrangle; N3926919 E242178

Size/Orientation: not known

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1255; property of Carolina Aluminum Company. Will Orr had acquired property in the area from the Jenkins family in 1913, and sold it to Carolina Aluminum in 1914.

Known Interments and Monuments: 9 pre-1944 (unknown number of monuments); none relocated, but two added after 1944 bring total of graves to 11.

Known Interment Dates: 1900–1971. Earliest known interment is Jeremiah Jenkins (1833–1900).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Although the earliest interment was of Jeremiah Jenkins, the cemetery is associated with the Orr family with six known interments.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via NC 28, east on road with cemetery to the south

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 13 December 1943 in Book 68, Page 270. Deed makes no mention of a cemetery.

Conditions: In 1956, G.L. Hill of Knoxville, Tennessee, wrote NPS calling attention to Jenkins Cemetery, which was known to NPS as Orr Cemetery (GSMNP archives).

In 1961, maintenance at the cemetery and its access points was taken up by the NPS, as it was one of 51 cemeteries in the Park that carried an obligation for government maintenance in the deed of transfer or in which "active interest will likely be shown." A NPS memo stated that the cemetery included 11 graves and had 1.5 miles of associated road (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated the cemetery received "minimum maintenance which involves mowing weeds once annually. It is in poor condition" (GSMNP archives).

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes): TVA relocated the grave of Elmer Thompson to this cemetery from the Thompson Cemetery in Graham County (TVA Cemetery 33). Florence Orr was buried at the Orr cemetery in 1971 (*Cemeteries of Swain County* 2000:366).

Access Route: via NC 28, east along Park administrative road (TVA power line access road).

Decoration Day (2004): May – 2nd Sunday

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

PAYNE CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Paynetown, Paine, Fairfax, NPS Cemetery TW-02

Location: Little Tennessee River drainage; ridgetop east of Lewellyn Branch, west of the Appalachian Trail, and northwest of Fontana Dam

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Fontana Dam quadrangle; N3927573 E244378

Size/Orientation:

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-494; property acquired from S.W. Black and Will W. Wiggins, executors of J.E. Coburn; cemetery reportedly founded in 1901 by Green Berry Payne according to *The Cemeteries of Swain County, North Carolina* (2000:377). The cemetery may be on land acquired by Joel Payne in 1901.

Known Interments and Monuments: The 1943 TVA land acquisition map suggests that about 100 graves were present, but no detailed map is provided. Various NPS documents list from 108 to 119 interments. *The Cemeteries of Swain County* (2000) lists about 128 graves, including at least 12 post-dating 1944.

Known Interment Dates: 1893–1999. Earliest known interment is William Oliver Crisp (1886–1893).

Community/Church/Family Associations: At least 25 surnames are recorded at the cemetery, including Birchfield (Burchfield), Brackett, Cable, Cooper, Crisp, Davis, Dills, Evens, Garland, Griggs, Hayes, Hill, Hughes, Hyde, Livingston, Moss, Myers, Payne, Pilkey, Proctor, Rose, Tallent, Thompson, Tipton, and Williams.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing: Cemetery was apparently fenced, and at least some fencing reportedly remains

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via NC 28, northeast on road with cemetery to the south

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 19 September 1944 in Book 67, Page 612. Deed reportedly states "Subject to such rights as may be vested in third parties to a cemetery which affects approximately 0.5 acre."

Conditions: In 1953, Mr. Green L. Hill of Knoxville, Tennessee, wrote Senator Albert Gore, Sr. (Tennessee) to request that access to the cemetery be improved. Mr. Hill, his family, and others had attempted to visit the cemetery on Mother's Day for decoration and were turned away by a TVA guard. The route to the cemetery, old N.C. Highway 288, had apparently been closed off for a short time due to the installation of new equipment and repairs at the Dam, and access to the cemetery was in disrepair due to work vehicles using Highway 288 and a lack of funds towards road improvements (GSMNP archives).

In 1955, Rev. Fred E. Nichols of Fontana Dam, North Carolina, wrote on the behalf of others to the NPS requesting a 200-yard road from old N.C. Highway 288 to the cemetery, more room to park and turn cars around, and that the NPS plant grass in the cemetery. He described the cemetery as being in "very poor condition" (GSMNP archives)

In 1959, the NPS inquired to the TVA about keeping the road to Payne Cemetery open for visits by families, and for information concerning the rights and responsibilities of TVA after the administrative transfer of land, the rights of the former families, and the obligations of the NPS (GSMNP archives). Also in 1959, Mr. G.L. Hill (see below) complained to the NPS about conditions there, and requested that the NPS improve the two-mile stretch of old N.C. Highway 288 from Fontana Dam Road to US-129 for Decoration Day and future burials (GSMNP archives).

In 1960, the NPS "brushed out the road, graded it, and improved the turn-around" for visitors (GSMNP archives). Mr. G.L. Hill inspected the improvements and was pleased (GSMNP archives).

In 1961, maintenance at the cemetery and its access points were taken up by the NPS, as it was one of 51 cemeteries in the Park that carried an obligation for government maintenance in the deed of transfer or in which "active interest will likely be shown." A NPS memo stated that the cemetery included 108 graves and had 0.4 miles of associated road (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation* Study stated the cemetery "is fenced and is still in use. It receives minimum annual maintenance by National Park Service which involves weed cutting." An undated (ca. 1960s) Park document titled *North Shore Cemeteries* added that maintenance is also carried out by family members (GSMNP archives).

Mr. G.L. Hill wrote the Park again in 1969 concerning problems with maintenance at the cemeteries located behind Fontana Lake.

The Cemeteries of Swain County (2000) lists at least 12 graves post-dating 1944.

Known Visits/Decorations:

See **Conditions**, above.

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing: Cemetery was reportedly fenced, at least some fencing reportedly remains.

Monuments Added (or Other Changes): The most recent interment is that of Nina M. Cable Williams, who was buried in late 1999 or early 2000 (*Cemeteries of Swain Co*unty 2000:377). A sign reading "Paynetown Cemetery" is visible in photographs.

Access Route: north and west along Park administrative road (TVA power line access road) from gate on Lake Shore Road, north of NC 28

Decoration Day (2004): May – 2nd Sunday

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

PILKEY CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Pilkington, Pilkey Creek, NPS Cemetery HC-10, TVA Cemetery 15 and R-21. (An affidavit by N.A. Pilkington in TVA records states "that the names Pilkerton, Pilkenton, Pilkinton, and Pilkington is the same name, and all of the names are used by the Pilkington family."

Location: Pilkey Creek drainage; ridgetop west of Pilkey Creek

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3926381 E257987

Size/Orientation: About 30 ft north-south by 90 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1202; property of General J. and Mattie Welch. The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated that the property was acquired from Vincent Herron et al., but that is apparently in error. Nathan Pilkinton acquired the land from William P. Crisp and wife in 1875.

Known Interments and Monuments: 42 pre-TVA (14 monuments); one relocated (Monteith/Lauada Cemetery [R-5]); 41 graves remaining.

Known Interment Dates: 1900–1941. Earliest known interments are Harley Cook (unknown–1900) and Nathan Pilkington (unknown–1900).

Community/Church/Family Associations: 19 individuals have Pilkington surname. At least 10 additional surnames are represented in TVA records, including Almond, Conley, Cook, Dyer, Gentry, Herron, Hooper, King, Posey, and Welch. According to *The Cemeteries of Swain County, North Carolina* (2000:469–471), many of these individuals were sons, daughters, or wives of Pilkington family members.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: 1942 TVA map shows the cemetery cleared.

Fencing: The cemetery appears to be fenced on the 1942 TVA map.

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants): Mr. Ray Hooper recalled attending a decoration at the cemetery around 1935, saying "It (Pilkey) looked about the same then and the services followed the same format" (NSHA Newsletter 1989[Fall]:14).

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along Pilkey Creek, circle back south at Coot Cove, cemetery west of road behind 1-story frame house.

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 8 May 1944 in Book 67, Page 247. Deed reportedly states "It is understood and agreed that this conveyance is made subject to such rights as may be outstanding in third parties to the Pilkey Cemetery."

Conditions: In 1961, maintenance at the cemetery and its access points was taken up by the NPS, as it was one of 51 cemeteries in the Park that carried an obligation for government maintenance in the deed of transfer or in which "active interest will likely be shown." A NPS memo stated that the cemetery included 42 graves and had 0.3 miles of associated trail (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated the cemetery "receives minimum maintenance in form of annual weed cutting. Cemetery is in fair condition" (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition: Hog damage was observed during a December 2004 visit

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Park administrative road (Pilkey Cemetery Access Road) at Pilkey Creek; NPS vehicles or walk north along administrative road crossing Lakeshore Trail, and west on footpath to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): June – 1st Sunday. 43 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

POSEY CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: NPS Cemetery FN-09, TVA Cemetery R-18

Location: Pilkey Creek drainage; cove and terrace at Coot Cove, east of Pilkey Creek.

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3926544 E258485

Size/Orientation: About 20 ft north-south by 20 ft east-west (from TVA map).

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1206; property owned by Andrew J. and Lora May Posey. The Poseys acquired the land from the Pilkington family in 1924.

Known Interments and Monuments: This cemetery did not exist until about 1943, when five graves were moved to this location from Dorsey Cemetery at the request of the Posey family. The oldest grave moved to the new cemetery was that of William C. Posey (1812–1894).

Known Interment Dates: Unknown

Community/Church/Family Associations: Associated with the Posey family. All five individuals are family members.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: None at this location.

Fencing: None at this location.

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants): None at this location.

Access Route: property was part of the Posey family farm

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 16 March 1944 in Book 68, Page 513. Deed reportedly stated “The parties of the first part hereby expressly reserve burial rights in and to a family cemetery as now located and existing on the above described tract of land; however, as a further consideration of the payment to them of the purchase

price herein stated, the parties of the first past, for themselves, their heirs, administrators, executors, successors and assigns, hereby release the United States of America . . . their successors, agents and employees from any and all liability for loss or impairment of access facilities to the family cemetery burial rights so reserved."

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Posey Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Park administrative road (Pilkey Cemetery Access Road) at Pilkey Creek; NPS vehicles or walk north along administrative road crossing Lakeshore Trail, and east on footpath crossing Pilkey Creek to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): June – 1st Sunday. 43 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

PROCTOR CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Farley Cemetery (TVA), Proctor Public (TVA), NPS Cemetery HC-01, TVA Cemetery 20

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; ridgeslope north of Sheehan Branch (Proctor Mill Creek) and Possum Hollow northwest of former community of Proctor; includes reported site of first cabin of Moses and Patience Proctor

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3928873 E252410

Size/Orientation: About 240 ft north-south by 120 ft east-west (from TVA map); 0.4 total acres

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1210, platted as Proctor Cemetery. This land was occupied by Moses and Patience Proctor as early as 1830, and Moses Proctor bought the land from the state in 1835. The land was then passed down in the family, first to their daughter, Catherine Proctor Welch, and then to Sadie Welch Farley (Duane Oliver, personal communication 2005).

Known Interments and Monuments: 198 pre-TVA (70 monuments); six relocated (three to relocated Monteith Cemetery [R-5]; three to relocated Hyde Cemetery [R-20]); 192 graves remaining

Known Interment Dates: 1863–1944. Earliest interment is Moses Proctor, who was reportedly buried in doorway of former cabin site (Oliver 1989:107; NSHA Newsletter 1993 [Spring]:9).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Originally Proctor and associated families; later expanded to serve Proctor/Sheehan Branch community at large (Oliver 1989:38). At least 34 surnames are represented in TVA records. Oliver (1989:38) estimates that about one-third of the interments are of members of the Proctor-Farley-Welch families, and (2003:86) describes the “left-hand or Proctor-Welch side” of the cemetery.

Scraped/Mounded: Appears scraped/mounded in 1925 photo (Oliver 1998:150)

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: Scattered trees; planted boxwoods and arbor vitae, native cedars, daffodils

Fencing: A 1925 photo of the Oddfellows Lodge conducting the funeral of Vate (or Nate) Payne shows a combination of board and post and wire fence (Figure 7); TVA deeds also reference fencing.

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via road from Proctor, short path up hill to east to foot of cemetery

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA through condemnation; final decree recorded in Swain County 30 June 1947 in Book 71, Page 608. Deed includes burial rights for J.C. (Sadie) Farley and for "third parties," and states that J.C. Farley has the "right to have her grave cared for perpetually", and that "those having deceased relatives buried on this property continue to have the perpetual right to care for their graves."

Conditions: In 1961, maintenance at the cemetery and its access points was taken up by the NPS, as Proctor was one of 51 cemeteries in the Park that carried an obligation for government maintenance in the deed of transfer or in which "active interest will likely be shown." A NPS memo stated that the cemetery included 79 graves and had 0.2 miles of associated trail (GSMNP archives).

In July 1966, Congressman Roy A. Taylor visited a number of cemeteries in the Hazel Creek area and noted that they were accessible and being maintained (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated that the cemetery was "in very poor condition and needs attention badly."

Known Visits/Decorations: Oliver (2003:33) states that Furman Farley, Jack Cable, and other descendants cleaned the cemetery each summer during this period, so that the cemetery remained in relatively good condition compared to others in the area.

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition: some erosion, some broken monuments

Scraped/Mounded: no, but cleaned by the NPS prior to Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: grass, scattered trees, planted boxwoods and non-native evergreens

Fencing: remnant stock fencing was observed on the west and north sides during a 2005 visit.

Monuments Added (or Other Changes): yes, including large Moses and Patience Proctor monument that was erected in 1993

Access Route: boat to Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk to cemetery

Decoration Day (2004): July – 1st Sunday; 119 attendees in 1985; 100 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location: Dinner occurs in grassy area adjacent to Calhoun House. In 2004 Reverend Harry Vance conducted a baptism in nearby Sand Hole/Baptizing Hole in Hazel Creek.

OTHER INFORMATION

STILES CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Styles, NPS Cemetery FN-07, TVA Cemetery 38

Location: Hickory Flat Branch drainage; ridgetop west of Hickory Flat Branch

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Noland Creek quadrangle; N3926418 E271487

Size/Orientation: About 30 ft north-south by 40 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1019; property owned by James M. Styles (Stiles). Stiles had acquired land in the area beginning in 1919. According to Park records the cemetery was maintained in 1930; the actions carried out in maintaining the cemetery are not specified; access to the cemetery was apparently not maintained (GSMNP archives).

Known Interments and Monuments: six pre-TVA (six monuments); none relocated

Known Interment Dates: 1917–1942. Earliest known interments are those of infant Pinkey Stiles (1917) and an infant with the surname Ridley (1917)

Community/Church/Family Associations: Four surnames are represented in the TVA records, including Payne, Ridley, Stiles, and Queen.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The TVA map indicates most of the graves were in a clearing except for the easternmost grave

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along Hickory Flat Branch, cemetery to the west of road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 17 December 1943 in Book 68, Page 267. The property was acquired "subject to outstanding burial rights in and to the Stiles Cemetery."

Conditions: An undated (ca. 1960s) Park document titled *North Shore Cemeteries* stated that the cemetery was maintained in 1930 and last maintained in 1947; no details were provided. Access to the cemetery was not maintained when the memo was written (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Stiles Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: no, but cleaned by the NPS prior to Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes) (or Other Changes):

Access Route: east from Lake View Drive (Road to Nowhere) along administrative footpath

Decoration Day (2004): June – 2nd Sunday

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

WALKER CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Walker Creek

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; ridgeslope on eastern slope of Panther Den Ridge, west of Walker Creek, and northwest of Hazel Creek.

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Thunderhead Mtn. quadrangle; N3934173 E261214

Size/Orientation: Unknown

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1276; property owner J.G. Stikeleather et al. Cemetery not surveyed by TVA.

Known Interments and Monuments: five pre-TVA (no monuments); none relocated.

Known Interment Dates: Unknown

Community/Church/Family Associations: Unknown.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via Proctor, northeast on Hazel Creek Road along Hazel Creek, north on road along Walker Creek, cemetery to the west of path, no path leading to cemetery

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 12 June 1944 in Book 67, Page 450–458. Deed contains several tracts, and description of FR-1276 reportedly states “Subject to outstanding burial rights.”

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Walker Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: no, but cleaned by the NPS prior to Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes) (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Hazel Creek Trail administrative road along Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk along the administrative road to the north and east, north across Hazel Creek on bridge, east and north along Hazel Creek Trail, and up footpath to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): October – 2nd Sunday. 77 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

WELCH CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Scott Anthony Cemetery, Kirkland Branch, NPS Cemetery FN-10

Location: Kirkland Branch drainage; ridgetop west of Kirkland Branch and east of an unnamed branch. This cemetery is misplotted on the further to the west, on the west side of the unnamed branch, on the TVA land acquisition maps and on the USGS quadrangle.

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Tuskeegee quadrangle; N3925754 E260654

Size/Orientation: About 60 ft north-south by 30 ft east-west (from TVA map).

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1081; property of Henry S. Anthony.

Known Interments and Monuments: 15 pre-TVA (no monuments); none relocated.

Known Interment Dates: 1865–1910. 1910 is the only interment date given by the TVA records, for an infant with the surname Herron. *The Cemeteries of Swain County, North Carolina* (2000:483–484) records additional dates for burials, including that of Millie Melton Welch Fergus (Granny Welch) (1780–1865).

Community/Church/Family Associations: Originally associated with the Welch family, nine of the graves represented in the TVA records have Welch surnames. Additional surnames recorded include Cody, Herron, and Kirkland.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map shows the cemetery as cleared.

Fencing: The cemetery is shown as fenced on the 1942 TVA map.

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along David Welch Branch (presently Kirkland Branch), northwest on road, cemetery to the east of road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 11 March 1944 in Book 67, Page 191. Deed states: "It is understood and agreed that the above described tract of land is acquired subject to such rights as may be vested in third parties to the Welch Cemetery located on the described land."

Conditions: According to an undated North Shore Cemetery Survey, the cemetery was last maintained in 1959, the actions carried out in maintaining the cemetery are not specified (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* stated the cemetery "receives minimum maintenance in form of annual weed cutting" and was in fair condition (GSMNP Archives).

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, cleaned and mounded annually by NPS before Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Docks to administrative footpath at Kirkland Branch; north along footpath crossing over Lakeshore Trail and cutting back southeast to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): September – 1st Sunday. 46 attendees in 1985; 34 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

WIGGINS CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Wiggins (Noland), Jerry Flats, TVA Cemetery 48

Location: Noland Creek drainage; ridgeslope east of Jerry Bald Ridge and north of Noland Creek

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Clingmans Dome quadrangle; N3931933 E274309

Size/Orientation: About 15 ft north-south by 15 ft east-west (from TVA map)

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: NCPC Tract 137 (James Laws); acquired by the North Carolina Park Commission for GSMNP in late 1920s or early 1930s. Since construction of Fontana Lake was to cut off access, TVA inventoried this cemetery and attempted to execute relocation/remain agreements. This was the former homeplace of Jim Uriah "Jim Ute" Wiggins, who lived just below the cemetery (Shirley Crisp, personal communication 2005).

Known Interments and Monuments: 3 pre-TVA (2 monuments); none relocated

Known Interment Dates: 1893–1900. The earliest interment was an infant Wiggins (1893). The TVA records state that the name of this child was Kirkland, but that is in error.

Community/Church/Family Associations: Two of the graves are those of infant children of Jim Uriah and Lily Burns Wiggins, dating to 1893 and 1897, and that the third is that of an infant named Moore. The Wiggins home was located on the left of the trail to the cemetery.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: 1942 TVA map shows the graves in a clearing surrounding by woods.

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via N.C. Highway 288, north on road along Noland Creek, cemetery north of the road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to NPS, outstanding burial rights:

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Wiggins Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: no, but cleaned by the NPS prior to Decoration Day

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: from Noland Creek parking area on Lake View Drive (Road to Nowhere), north along Park administrative road (Noland Creek Trail), cross over Noland Creek several times, and north along administrative footpath to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): October – 4th Sunday

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

WIKE CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name:

Location: Hazel Creek drainage; ridgeslope west of Proctor Creek and northwest of Hazel Creek.

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Silers Bald quadrangle; N3935147 E262289

Size/Orientation:

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: TVA Tract FR-1276; property owner J.G. Stikeleather et al. Cemetery not surveyed by TVA, but mentioned in affidavit (below).

Known Interments and Monuments: two pre-TVA (no monuments); none relocated.

Known Interment Dates: Flarrie Wike (unknown–1896) is the only grave with a known interment date. In a 1944 affidavit in TVA records, G.I. Calhoun stated that "two and perhaps three infant children of Dallas Wike were buried on the west side of Proctor Creek about one-fourth mile above its mouth prior to the year 1900."

Community/Church/Family Associations: Wike is the only surname recorded for the cemetery, but *The Cemeteries of Swain County, North Carolina* (2000:484) records that one grave might possible be that of a Stewart.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants):

Access Route: via Proctor, northeast on Hazel Creek Road along Hazel Creek, north on road along Proctor Creek, cemetery to the west of road

1944–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to TVA, outstanding burial rights: Acquired by TVA; final decree recorded in Swain County 12 June 1944 in Book 67, Page 450–458. Deed contains several tracts and in concluding description of Tract FR-1276 reportedly stated "Subject to outstanding burial rights."

Conditions: In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

There is no mention of Wike Cemetery in the 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study*.

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition:

Scraped/Mounded: yes, annually by NPS prior to Decoration Day and cleaned

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings:

Fencing:

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Cable Cove Dock to Hazel Creek Trail administrative road along Hazel Creek; NPS vehicles or walk along the administrative road to the north and east, north across Hazel Creek on bridge, east and north along Hazel Creek Trail, and up footpath to cemetery.

Decoration Day (2004): October – 2nd Sunday. 49 attendees in 1985; 77 attendees in 2004

Associated facilities and dinner location:

OTHER INFORMATION

WOODY CEMETERY

DESCRIPTION/LOCATION

Alternate Name: Forney Creek Cemetery (NCPC), NPS Cemetery FN-02, TVA Cemetery 10. This cemetery and an associated prehistoric artifact scatter were recorded as archaeological site 31SW420 in 2005 (Webb and Jones 2005).

Location: Forney Creek drainage; ridgetop west of Gray Wolf Creek (formerly Woody Branch).

Topographic Map/UTM Coordinates (NAD27): Noland Creek quadrangle; N3927948 E267602

Size/Orientation: About 280 ft north-south by up to 100 ft east-west (from TVA map); all known interments are located in northernmost 170 feet, which is cleared. South of that point the ground slopes up to a higher, wooded ridge.

PRE-1944 CONDITIONS

History, landowners/trustees: Acquired by North Carolina Park Commission for GSMNP in 1932. Cemetery was on NCPC Tract 178; property owned by J.N. Woody et al. Since construction of Fontana Lake was to cut off access, TVA inventoried this cemetery and attempted to execute relocation/remain agreements.

Known Interments and Monuments: 146 pre-TVA (29 monuments), including 48 graves that were unidentified or for whom surviving relatives were unknown; TVA records suggest that some of those individuals may have been "in the vicinity during the [Norwood Lumber] logging operations." A total of 61 graves were relocated (54 to relocated Monteith Cemetery [TVA Cemetery R-5]; six to relocated Judson Cemetery [R-4], and one to Shoal Creek [R-28]); 85 graves remain, including 37 graves for which TVA executed remain agreements and the 48 that were unidentified or had no known relatives.

Known Interment Dates: 1878–1933

Community/Church/Family Associations: Probably first established by Woody family, and later used by community at large. At least 21 surnames are represented among the 92 named individuals in the TVA records, which include 24 members of the Woody family. Other surnames include Bradshaw, Burns, Campbell, Cobb, Collins, Cook, Crisp, Cross, Freeman, Hoyle, Hutchens, Hutchins, Jenkins, Lefler, Lester, Nichols, Sanford, Seay, Sherrill, Shook, and Thomason.

Scraped/Mounded:

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: The 1942 TVA map indicates that most of the cemetery was cleared, although some graves were in the wooded edges of the cemetery.

Fencing: yes

Decoration Day (date, circumstances, participants): Jack Woody recalled decorations at the cemetery, where his mother would feed "four to five tables full" of guests (NSHA Newsletter 1990[Fall]:10).

Access Route: Pre-Park access route is uncertain, but probably followed current route up hill from Gray Wolf Branch (Woody Branch) area. The 1943 TVA records state "present access is by a park road up Gray Wolf Creek from the Forney Creek Road."

1932–1978 CONDITIONS

Transfer to NPS, outstanding burial rights: Conveyed to the State of North Carolina; final decree recorded in Swain County 11 May 1932 in Book 58, Page 555. The deed reportedly describes Woody Cemetery as "Forney Creek Cemetery, containing 0.65 acre" and states "It is hereby requested by the grantors herein that the tract of land herby conveyed shall, after it becomes a part of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, be maintained as a burying ground by the National Park Service."

Conditions: According to an undated North Shore Cemetery Survey, the cemetery was maintained in 1941 and last maintained in 1945, the actions carried out in maintaining the cemetery are not specified (GSMNP archives).

In a September 1966 memo, Park Ranger Bill Rolen reported that local residents were "concerned about the wild hogs that are beginning to disturb some of the graves in the cemeteries north of Fontana Lake. They wonder if fencing could be had to protect the graves, this would certainly be appreciated if it is possible to do so" (GSMNP archives).

The 1966 *Park Cemetery Maintenance and Rehabilitation Study* states that the "cemetery is in very poor condition with some graves almost lost. It is in extreme need of rehabilitation, including grave leveling, resetting of markers, seeding, mulching, and fertilization. … Trail is in good shape except for needing brushing out and mowing" (GSMNP Archives).

Known Visits/Decorations:

1978–2005 CONDITIONS

Overall Condition: some erosion, few broken rocks used as grave markers

Scraped/Mounded: yes, annually by NPS prior to Decoration Day and cleaned

Vegetation/Ornamental Plantings: graves cleared of vegetation

Fencing: none; some fenceposts still standing at south end of cemetery

Monuments Added (or Other Changes):

Access Route: boat from Wilderness Marina to mouth of Gray Wolf Creek; NPS vehicles or walk up unnamed Park administrative road along Gray Wolf Creek, west across Gray Wolf Creek on bridge on Lakeshore Trail, and up road to cemetery. Alternate access is by foot along Lakeshore Trail from tunnel.

Decoration Day (2004): May – 1st Sunday. 50 attendees in 1986; 34 attendees in 2004.

Associated facilities and dinner location: Tables are located at the base of the ridge, adjacent to the access road.

OTHER INFORMATION

ATTACHMENT G-3. POTENTIAL IMPACTS TO THE NORTH SHORE CEMETERIES

This attachment presents the impact assessments provided in Chapter VIII in tabular form, so that it is easier to determine the potential impact to any given cemetery from any specific alternative and option. As discussed in Chapter VIII, all of these potential impacts are indirect in nature, and have been identified through examination of preliminary "functional" designs without consideration of potential avoidance or mitigation measures.

TCP Cemetery	Monetary Settlement	Laurel Branch Picnic Area	Road Option	Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Northern Shore Corridor	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Southern Option at Hazel/Eagle Creek Embayments	Southern Option Crossing Fontana Dam
Bone Valley	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
Bradshaw	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Major beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Major beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
Branton	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Cable	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Cable Branch	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Calhoun	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
Conner	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.

TCP Cemetery	Monetary Settlement	Laurel Branch Picnic Area	Road Option	Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Northern Shore Corridor	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Southern Option at Hazel/Eagle Creek Embayments	Southern Option Crossing Fontana Dam
Cook	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor beneficial impact (change in access).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor beneficial impact (change in access).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Fairview	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor beneficial impact (change in access).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor beneficial impact (change in access).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Hall	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
Higdon	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.
Hoyle	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	Moderate adverse long-term impact (change in access: new road crosses access road 13 to 16 feet above road, 5000 feet from cemetery [along road], and 6000 ft below cemetery elevation. No trail or road connection presently provided); Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	Elimination of impacts.	Moderate adverse long-term impact (change in access: new road crosses access road 13 to 16 feet above road, 5000 feet from cemetery [along road], and 6000 ft below cemetery elevation. No trail or road connection presently provided); Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Lower Noland	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.

TCP Cemetery	Monetary Settlement	Laurel Branch Picnic Area	Road Option	Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Northern Shore Corridor	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Southern Option at Hazel/Eagle Creek Embayments	Southern Option Crossing Fontana Dam
McCampbell Gap	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impact.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impact.	No change from the baseline.
McClure	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	Major beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Major beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	Major beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Major beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Mitchell	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Orr	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor indeterminate long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor indeterminate long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.

TCP Cemetery	Monetary Settlement	Laurel Branch Picnic Area	Road Option	Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Northern Shore Corridor	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Southern Option at Hazel/Eagle Creek Embayments	Southern Option Crossing Fontana Dam
Payne	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor indeterminate long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor indeterminate long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts.
Pilkey	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate adverse long-term impact (change in access: new road passes 8 ft above access road, 2000 feet from cemetery; no trail or road connection presently provided); Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Posey	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate adverse long-term impact (change in access: new road passes 8 ft above access road, 3200 feet from cemetery; no trail or road connection presently provided); Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Proctor	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Major beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Major beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impacts	No change from the baseline.

TCP Cemetery	Monetary Settlement	Laurel Branch Picnic Area	Road Option	Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Northern Shore Corridor	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Southern Option at Hazel/Eagle Creek Embayments	Southern Option Crossing Fontana Dam
Stiles	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Walker	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impact.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impact.	No change from the baseline.
Welch	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	Minor beneficial long-term impact (change in access).	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	Minor beneficial long-term impact (change in access).	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Wiggins	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	None	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
Wike	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impact.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	None	No change from the baseline.	Moderate beneficial long-term impact (change in access); Minor adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction).	No change from the baseline.	Elimination of impact.	No change from the baseline.

TCP Cemetery	Monetary Settlement	Laurel Branch Picnic Area	Road Option	Partial-Build Alternative to Bushnell	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Northern Shore Corridor	Southern Option at Forney Creek Embayment	Southern Option at Hazel/Eagle Creek Embayments	Southern Option Crossing Fontana Dam
Woody	None	None	**Primitive Park Road:**	Minor to moderate indeterminate or adverse long-term impact (change in access: new road crosses access road 4 feet above road, 650 feet from cemetery [along road], and 120 ft below cemetery elevation. No trail or road connection presently provided); Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction)	Elimination of impacts.	Minor to moderate indeterminate or adverse long-term impact (change in access: new road crosses access road 4 feet above road, 650 feet from cemetery [along road], and 120 ft below cemetery elevation. No trail or road connection presently provided); Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction)	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.
			Principal Park Road:	Moderate indeterminate or adverse long-term impact (change in access: new road crosses access road 22 feet above road, 680 feet from cemetery [along road], and 120 ft below cemetery elevation. No trail or road connection presently provided); Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction)	Elimination of impacts.	Moderate indeterminate or adverse long-term impact (change in access: new road crosses access road 22 feet above road, 680 feet from cemetery [along road], and 120 ft below cemetery elevation. No trail or road connection presently provided); Minor to moderate adverse short-term impact (trail disruptions during construction)	Elimination of impacts.	No change from the baseline.	No change from the baseline.

LIST OF PREPARERS

Name	Title	Education/Experience	Primary Role
Philip E. "Ted" Coyle, PhD	Associate Professor of Anthropology, Western Carolina University	Ph. D. in Anthropology; over 10 years of experience in the ethnography of Mexico, 4 years of experience in the ethnography of the Blue Ridge region	Appendix G, co-author; North Shore Decoration Day ethnographic studies
Alan Jabbour, PhD	Unaffiliated; former director (retired), American Folklife Center, Library of Congress	Doctorate and Master of Arts in English Literature and Folklore; over 30 years of experience as manager of cultural programs at federal cultural agencies (Head, Archive of Folk Song, Library of Congress; Director, Folk Arts Program, National Endowment for the Arts; Director, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)	Appendix G, primary author; principal investigator, North Shore Decoration Day ethnographic studies
Paul Webb	Program Manager/Senior Archaeologist, TRC Garrow Associates, Inc.	Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology, PhD candidate in Anthropology; over 29 years of experience in archaeology and cultural resource management	Appendix G, co-author