North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources
State Historic Preservation Office

Michael F. Easley, Governor
Lisbeth C. Evans, Secretary
Jeffrey J. Crow, Deputy Secretary
Office of Archives and History

Division of Historical Resources
David L. S. Brook, Director

April 19, 2004

Kristina Miller
ARCADIS G&M of North Carolina, Inc.
801 Corporate Center Drive, Suite 300
Raleigh, NC 27607-5073

Re: Cultural Resources Existing Conditions Report, North Shore Road Environmental Impact Statement, Swain and Graham Counties, CH03-1877

Dear Ms. Miller:

Thank you for forwarding the Cultural Resources Existing Conditions Report for the North Shore Road EIS by TRC Garrow Associates, Inc.

The report meets our office's guidelines and those of the Secretary of the Interior. We look forward to working with you on the development of a Programmatic Agreement for the proposed undertaking.

The above comments are made pursuant to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's Regulations for Compliance with Section 106 codified at 36 CFR Part 800.

Thank you for your cooperation and consideration. If you have questions concerning the above comment, please contact Renee Gledhill-Earley, environmental review coordinator, at 919/733-4763. In all future communication concerning this project, please cite the above-referenced tracking number.

Sincerely,

David Brook

cc: Paul Webb, TRC Garrow Associates

bc: Southern/McBride
Claggett/Hall
106
County

TRC

Customer-Focused Solutions

CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT, NORTH SHORE ROAD ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT, SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTIES, NORTH CAROLINA

FINAL REPORT

TRC GARROW ASSOCIATES, INC.

CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT, NORTH SHORE ROAD ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT, SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTIES, NORTH CAROLINA

FINAL REPORT

ARPA Permit GRSM 03-001
SEAC Accession No. 1850

Submitted to

ARCADIS G&M OF NORTH CAROLINA, INC.
800 Corporate Center, Suite 300
Raleigh, North Carolina 27607

By

TRC GARROW ASSOCIATES INC.
501 Washington Street, Suite F
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Project No. 02427

Authored by

Paul A. Webb

with contributions by Heather L. Olson and David S. Leigh

January 2004

ABSTRACT/MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

Cultural resource background studies have been undertaken as part of the North Shore Road Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), which is designed to determine the feasibility of and assess the potential environmental effects associated with fulfillment of a 1943 agreement among the U.S. Department of Interior (DOI), the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), Swain County, and the state of North Carolina, calling for the construction of a road along the North Shore of Fontana Lake in western North Carolina. This road proposal originated in the early 1940s with the construction of TVA's Fontana Lake in Swain and Graham counties. Due to the inundation of parts of the Little Tennessee and Tuckasegee valleys, road access was cut off to some 44,000 acres lying above the reservoir pool on the north side of the lake. Rather than construct a road to access the area during wartime conditions, the TVA acquired the entire 44,000-acre area and subsequently transferred its ownership to Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GSMNP). Although limited road construction took place between 1948 and the early 1970s, construction was stopped in 1972 due to environmental and engineering concerns. The project has remained controversial since that time, with numerous alternate proposals put forth by road proponents and opponents. The North Shore Road EIS study is intended to bring this long simmering controversy to a close, and to discharge and satisfy any obligations on the part of the government that presently exist as the result of the 1943 agreement. The present cultural resources studies are an initial step towards that goal, and are designed to gather and summarize existing data concerning the known or potential cultural resources of the 121,000-acre study area for use in developing project alternatives.

The North Shore Road study area has a rich history. Native Americans have occupied the area for at least the past 10,000 years, including several hundred years of Historic Cherokee presence. Although most Cherokees were forcibly removed from the region in 1838, others remained within the study area, and along with other nearby Cherokee groups formed the nucleus of the present-day Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Euro-Americans began to enter the area in numbers in the 1820s, living first in dispersed settlements; some of these later developed into such communities as Bryson City, Bushnell, Proctor, Almond, and Judson. The relatively self-sufficient farming/herding/hunting lifestyles of the nineteenth century began to change with the arrival of the railroad and the beginning of logging and mining operations in the 1880s and 1890s, and were modified greatly when large-scale railroad logging commenced about 1910. Lumber companies such as Ritter, Norwood, Whiting, and Montvale logged extensive parts of the study area before ceasing operations in the late 1920s. By the time the lumber companies left, the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) had developed plans for a reservoir along the Little Tennessee River and had begun buying up bottomland. Also in the late 1920s, the North Carolina Park Commission began acquiring parcels in the northern part of the study area for GSMNP, which was formally established in 1934. TVA took control of the proposed Alcoa reservoir in 1941, and eventually acquired 68,291 acres in the Fontana Project area. Many communities along the rivers were inundated by Fontana Lake when it was completed in 1944, and others were isolated by the reservoir construction. In total, approximately 1,320 families were displaced by the reservoir.

Despite its history, relatively few cultural resource studies have been previously conducted in the study area, and the extent of the coverages and resulting data is extremely uneven. Although considerable information is available concerning cemeteries and historic structures, only an estimated 3.0 percent of the study area has been intensively surveyed for archaeological sites. In particular, essentially no intensive surveys have been conducted on the 53,600 acres of GSMNP lands in the study area. As a result, attempts to determine the likely locations and densities of sites and other resources in the study area must rely on a combination of existing information and predictions based on topographic and historical data. The resulting data will prove useful in the preliminary identification of project alternatives, but will eventually need to be supplemented by intensive inventory and evaluation studies.

Almost 2,000 known or predicted potentially significant cultural resources have been tentatively identified in the study area, including 101 of 250 recorded archaeological sites, 16 other reported site locations, 44 structures and other aboveground resources, 97 cemeteries or former cemeteries, and 1,716 former historic structure locations derived from historic maps. (Another 149 archaeological sites have been determined ineligible for the National Register of Historic Places [NRHP]). Although some of these resources are inundated by Fontana Lake, they must be considered potentially NRHP-eligible pending further study. Many other sites and potential sites are located above the reservoir pool in GSMNP or elsewhere. Besides these recorded or potential resources, the specific locations of large numbers of prehistoric, Historic Cherokee, and earlier Euro-American archaeological sites cannot be predicted based on historic maps. Those sites are considered most likely to occur in areas of 15 percent or less slope, however, although some specialized site types may occur on steeper areas. In addition, the locations of some other types of potential resources, such as Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) and cultural landscapes, cannot be readily predicted based on physiographic variables. Despite these limitations, the combination of known and potential resource locations and slope data offers the best way to predict likely site locations in the absence of extensive field surveys.

In order to facilitate the selection of preliminary project alternatives, a series of maps have been prepared showing the known and potential resource locations (including known and potential archaeological sites, structures, and cemeteries, as well as likely areas of 15 percent or less slope) within the study area.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study has benefited from the assistance of many individuals, agencies, and institutions. In particular, the work was greatly facilitated by the cooperation of the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) and GSMNP. Jack Van Dop, Contracting Officer's Technical Representative at the FHWA, provided oversight throughout the project, as did Imelda Wegwerth, Project Manager for GSMNP. Several other GSMNP staff members provided crucial data, including David Chapman, Erik Kreusch, and Maryann Neubert of the Cultural Resources Office and Annette Hartigan of the Library and Archives. Other help was provided by GSMNP staff members Bob Miller, Tobias Miller, George Minnigh, Richard Schultz, Steve Shular, and Mike Tomkosky. Bennie Keel of the National Park Service (NPS) Southeast Archeological Research Center (SEAC) is thanked for providing an Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) permit for work within the Park.

Many other federal, state, and tribal resource managers also provided assistance and information, including representatives of the TVA Cultural Resources Office (Eric Howard and Richard Yarnell), the Appalachian National Scenic Trail (Don Owen), the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office and Office of State Archaeology (Steve Claggett, Dolores Hall, Linda Hall, John Mintz, Susan Myers, and Tony VanWinkle), the National Forests in North Carolina (Scott Ashcraft, Lorie Hansen, and Rodney Snedeker), and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians Tribal Historic Preservation Office (Lee Clauss and Russell Townsend).

The work was aided by archivists and other librarians at several other institutions, including Hunter Library at Western Carolina University, the Marianna Black Library in Bryson City, the North Carolina Collection and Southern Historical Collection at UNC-Chapel Hill, the TVA Land Department in Chattanooga, the Forest History Society, the North Carolina Geological Survey, and the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park and East Point. Steve Bush of the Duke Power Company is thanked for providing access to early land acquisition maps. Morgan Sommerville of the Appalachian Trail Conference also provided information on the study area.

A special debt is owed to those local residents and other interested persons who took time to share information on the study area, including Gary Carden, Wade Cook, the late Leroy Fox, Lance Holland, Linda Hogue, Bill Millsaps, David Monteith, Duane Oliver, and Tommy Thompson. Lance Holland, David Monteith, and Duane Oliver also are thanked for providing permission to reprint photographs and maps from their collections or publications, as are the North Shore Historical Association and Hunter Library. Several other regional researchers also provided assistance, including Lance Greene, Deborah Joy, Brett Riggs, Scott Shumate, and Gail Walker.

At ARCADIS, thanks are due to Kristina Miller, Barney O'Quinn, and others for providing guidance and sharing information on the study area, and to Rob Floyd and Scott Phelps for assistance with GIS mapping. Consultant David Leigh conducted the geomorphic research, prepared the GIS slope maps, and otherwise gave valuable assistance to the project.

At TRC, Heather Olson authored portions of the historic background. Todd Cleveland, Heather Millis, and Heather Olson edited parts of the report for content. Will Adamson, Tasha Benyshek, Joel Evans, Jeff Holland, Amy McDonough, Heather Olson, Jen Peters, and Cheri Williams assisted with the archival research. Tracy Millis and Matt Pare assisted with the GIS work, and Randy Kuppless prepared many of the graphics.

Paul A. Webb

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1. INTRODUCTION

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The North Shore Road is a long-controversial road proposal that originated in the early 1940s with the construction of the Tennessee Valley Authority's (TVA's) Fontana Lake in Swain and Graham counties, North Carolina (Figure 1.1). As a byproduct of the inundation of parts of the Little Tennessee and Tuckasegee valleys, road access was cut off to some 44,000 acres lying above the reservoir pool on the North Shore of the future lake. Rather than construct a road to access the area during wartime conditions, the TVA elected to acquire the entire 44,000-acre area (through a combination of purchase and condemnation), and subsequently transferred ownership of the area to Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GSMNP), which had been formally established in 1934 and bordered the area on the north. This transfer was made official in a 1943 Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) among the U.S. Department of Interior, the TVA, Swain County, and the state of North Carolina, which also called for the construction of a road along the north shore of the lake to replace NC 288, large sections of which had been inundated (Brown 2000:267–274, 309–311; Holland 2001:191–196; Oliver 1989:95–99; Taylor 2001:122–143).

With the exception of initial work by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers on a road in the Pinnacle area in the western part of the North Shore, no attempt was made to begin construction on the road during the waning years of World War II, presumably due to a lack of funds (NPS 1996:5; Oliver 1989:90; Taylor 2001:128). A short one-mile spur at Fontana Dam was built in 1948, but no additional construction occurred for some time (NPS 1996:6). By the early 1950s controversy over future road construction was also beginning. As summarized by Holland (2001:191), during the

> late 1940s and early 1950s [North Carolina officials] and others lobbied extensively to precipitate the road construction promised in the 1943 Agreement. Conversely, as early as February 1953 a letter writing campaign to Park Service officials and members of Congress was undertaken ... to protest the construction of the North Shore Road.

No federal road construction was immediately forthcoming, although by 1959 the State of North Carolina had completed construction of 2.67 miles of road from Bryson City to the park boundary. The following year, construction in the park resumed with work on a 2.55-mile section of the road from the park boundary west to Canebreak Branch. Construction did not go smoothly, however, due to the rough terrain and unstable rock in the area (O'Neil et al. 1962).

> As work progressed, the BPR [Bureau of Public Roads] discovered that the fill on which the road was being built was "sett[l]ing and cracking" because it had been placed over underground springs. As a result, the rock placed in the fill began to disintegrate. In order to correct this problem, rather than place the road on fill in order to build over the difficult terrain in the area, in May 1963, the contractor was allowed to flatten the slopes on which the road was being built [NPS 1996:7].

That section of the road was completed in 1963, and work began on the next section (a 2.135 mile section from Canebreak Branch towards Noland Creek and Goldmine Branch) the same year. This part of the road was completed in 1965, ending at a 1,200-foot tunnel through Forney Ridge. Difficulties were encountered during construction of that section as well. As before, it was discovered that the route was through very unstable terrain, resulting in the possibility of landslides, both during and after construction, and requiring more invasive engineering techniques than originally considered (NPS 1996:7–8; Taylor 2001:133). In addition, the route traversed geologic strata of sulfidic and graphitic schists that can produce acidic drainage when disturbed if not properly handled and contained (Flum and Nodvin 1995; Foley et al. 1972).

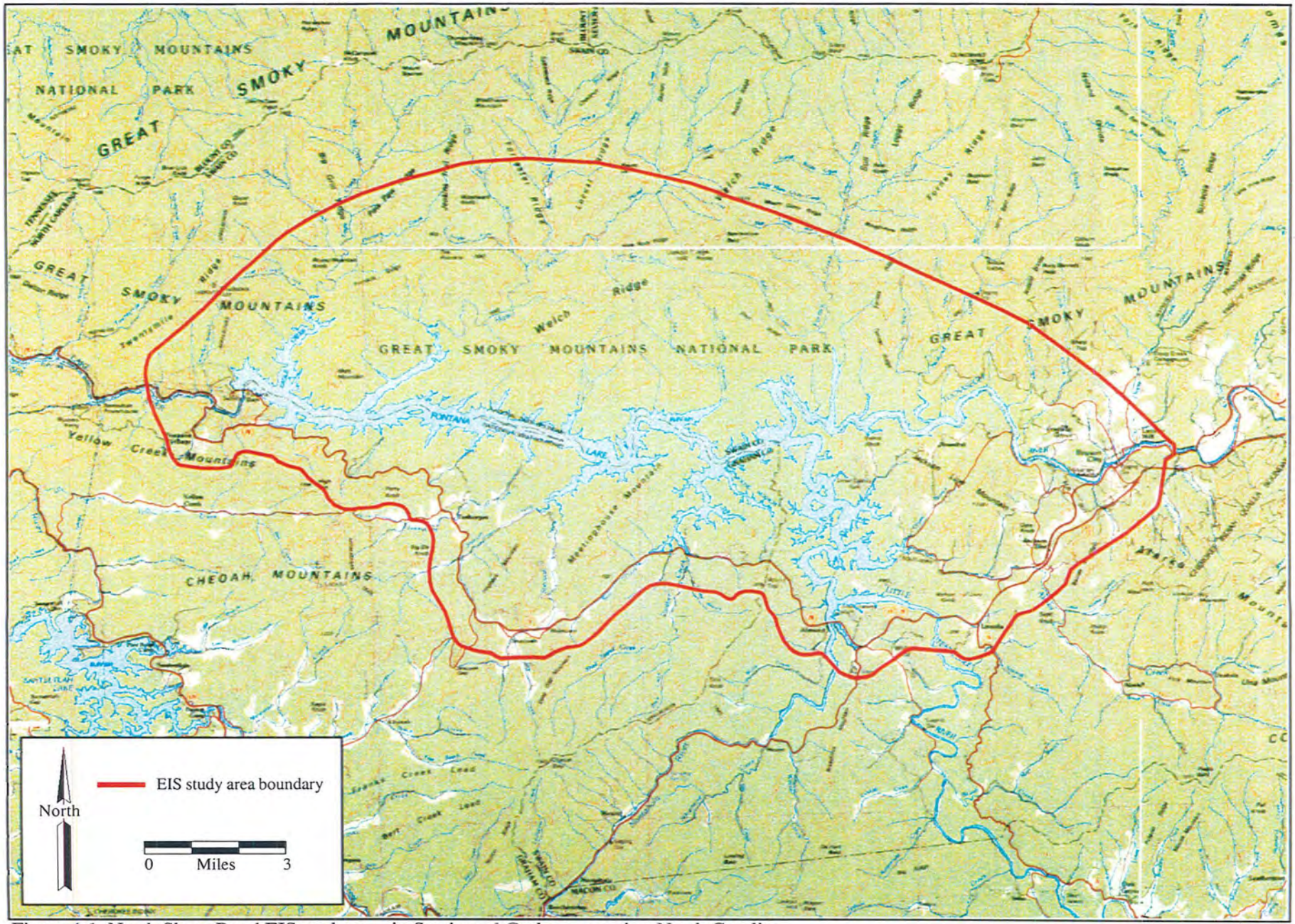


Figure 1.1. North Shore Road EIS study area in Swain and Graham counties, North Carolina.

As a result of the environmental and engineering concerns and funding issues, road construction ended in 1972 after the completion of a tunnel through Forney Ridge (Figure 1.2). The past 30 years have been marked by considerable controversy over the project, with the completed road section from Bryson City to the tunnel acquiring considerable notoriety as the "Road to Nowhere" (Figure 1.3). The ongoing debates between local, regional, and national groups concerning the pros and cons of road construction have included many alternate proposals, ranging from those calling for completion of the road as proposed to those calling for no new road construction and a cash settlement to Swain County (Brown 2000:267–274, 309–311; Holland 2001:191–196; Oliver 1989:95–99; Taylor 2001:122–143). Although much of the debate concerns the potential economic benefits of the proposed road, other aspects include three issues that have arisen since the 1943 agreement: the right of access of former North Shore residents and their descendants to cemeteries and former homeplaces on the North Shore; the potential environmental degradation to be caused by construction through acidic rock formations if not properly treated; and the proposed designation of much of the area north of Fontana Lake and the rest of GSMNP as wilderness under the Wilderness Act of 1964.

The North Shore Road Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) is a multi-year planning process designed to determine the feasibility of and assess the potential environmental effects associated with fulfillment of the 1943 agreement. The study is being conducted in response to Public Law 106-346 Section 378, which appropriated funds for the "construction and improvements to North Shore Road in Swain County North Carolina," and under a Statement of Work prepared by the NPS, GSMNP, and the FHWA, Eastern Federal Lands Highway Division (EFLHD). The NPS is the Lead Agency for the project. The EIS is being prepared by ARCADIS G&M of North Carolina, Inc. (ARCADIS), under contract to the FHWA; the cultural resource studies for the project are being conducted by TRC Garrow Associates, Inc. (TRC), under contract to ARCADIS.

As described in the Purpose and Need statement for the EIS study:

> The purpose of the proposed action is to discharge and satisfy any obligations on the part of the United States that presently exist as the result of the Memorandum of Agreement of October 8, 1943, between the U.S. DOI [Department of Interior]; Tennessee Valley Authority; Swain County, North Carolina; and the state of North Carolina. The Agreement dealt with the creation of Fontana Dam and Reservoir that caused the flooding of lands and roads within Swain County. As part of the Agreement, 44,170 acres of land were ultimately transferred to the DOI and made part of GSMNP. The Agreement contained a provision by which the DOI was to construct a road through GSMNP, along the north shore of the newly formed Fontana Lake (generally located between Fontana Dam and Bryson City, North Carolina), to replace the flooded NC 288.
>
> Approximately seven miles of the originally proposed North Shore Road have been constructed, with the last segment being completed in 1970. The need of the project is to determine whether or not it is feasible to complete the road and to evaluate other alternatives that would satisfy the obligation. Both build (i.e., road or other facilities) and no-build alternatives will be developed to determine how the 1943 obligation will be met.

In recognition of the extensive debate over the issue, the North Shore Road EIS will include a range of alternatives for detailed study. These alternatives will be developed in part through an intensive public involvement process, and will be "screened and subjected to detailed analysis in the draft EIS based on their ability to address the purpose and need, while attempting to avoid known and sensitive resources" (Federal Register 68[79]:20169–20170). These alternatives will include a no action alternative (which is required by the National Environmental Policy Act [NEPA]) as well as a variety of build and no-build alternatives. Some of these latter alternatives may be based on past alternatives that have been proposed for the project, which have included:

Figure 1.2. Lake View Drive tunnel through Forney Ridge.

Figure 1.3. "Road to Nowhere" sign on Fontana Road near Bryson City.

- Constructing a two-lane road across the North Shore area in accordance with the 1943 agreement, either along the route proposed in the 1964 GSMNP Master Plan or along a different alignment;
- Securing federal appropriations for Swain County in lieu of building the road;
- Constructing an unpaved narrow road (either as a public use road or a gated administrative road) that would allow access to the Fontana Addition and the cemeteries;
- Constructing the previously designed Laurel Branch Picnic Area at the terminus of the tunnel through Forney Ridge; and
- Continuing the road approximately five additional miles beyond the tunnel to a proposed development near the former townsite of Bushnell or another location, and developing a recreation area or heritage center as a destination point.

THE NORTH SHORE ROAD EIS STUDY AREA

In order to provide the full range of study alternatives and thorough analyses that is required by NEPA, the EIS study area has been drawn to include an extensive area on both the north and south shores of Fontana Lake. Specifically, the inclusion of land south of Fontana Lake is necessary to evaluate the existing roadway network, the area's transportation needs, and potential access options across Fontana Lake. The study area covers over 120,000 acres, and extends from just west of Fontana Village to the eastern municipal limits of Bryson City, including portions of both Graham and Swain counties. The southern limits of the study area run just south of and parallel to NC 28 and US 74/US 19, while the northern limits follow an arc that includes most of the land transferred to GSMNP in the 1943 agreement (as well as some acreage incorporated in the earlier park boundary). The study area includes approximately 53,600 acres in GSMNP, approximately 10,300 acres of TVA property (including almost all of Fontana Lake), and approximately 13,700 acres in the Wayah and Cheoah ranger districts of Nantahala National Forest. An additional 43,400 acres of the study area is in private or other public ownership.

REPORT ORGANIZATION

This report is organized as follows. Chapter 2 describes the goals and methods of the cultural resource studies, and Chapter 3 contains a description of the natural environment of the study area. Chapter 4 summarizes the prehistory and history of the area, including the prehistoric Native American, Historic Cherokee, and Historic Euro-American occupations. Chapter 5 discusses the known and potential cultural resources in the study area, and Chapter 6 summarizes the research. The text is followed by the References Cited.

2. RESEARCH GOALS AND METHODS

RESEARCH GOALS

This existing conditions report represents the initial aspect of the cultural resources studies for the North Shore Road EIS, which will ensure that cultural resources are appropriately considered in the planning process in accordance with the NEPA (42 United States Code (USC) Section 4321 et seq.), Sections 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) (16 USC 470 et seq.), and NPS Director's Orders 2 (*Park Planning*), 12 (*Conservation Planning, Environmental Impact Analysis, and Decision Making)*, and 28 (*Cultural Resource Management*). As specified in the Final Project Goals, these studies will seek to:

> protect the tangible (archaeological sites, cemeteries, historic structures, landscapes, and Traditional Cultural Properties) and the intangible (feelings of attachment, family life, myth, folklore, and ideology) aspects of the cultural resources

that might potentially be impacted by the project. In addition, the Final Project Objectives state that the

> alternatives will incorporate cultural resource management strategies that include the following elements:
>
> ensure that any human remains, funerary objects, objects of cultural patrimony, or traditional grave sites are treated in accordance with the provisions of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, and any other applicable laws and regulations;
>
> protect Traditional Cultural Properties present within the study area; [and]
>
> ensure that all cultural resources located within the study area are evaluated and considered in accordance with the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act.

In order to fulfill these objectives, it is necessary to have as thorough an understanding as possible of the nature, extent, and potential significance of the known and potential cultural resources within the study area. The present report attempts to provide this understanding through background research into the prehistory and history of the study area, which along with data on environmental conditions and known and potential cultural resources will enable the appropriate consideration of cultural resources in the initial planning process. Once project alternatives are chosen, additional background research and field survey will be conducted to inventory and evaluate cultural resources that may be present within the associated impact areas.

RESEARCH METHODS

Background Research

Information Sources. Data on the natural environment, prehistory and history of the study area were gathered from a wide variety of sources, including regional and local histories (e.g., Brown 2000; Holland 2001; Jenkins 1988; Millsaps and Millsaps 1992; Oliver 1989, 1993, 1998a, 2002; Taylor 2001; Thomasson 1965) and historic maps. In addition to these sources, valuable data were gathered from the following repositories:

- GSMNP Library and Archives;
- North Carolina State Archives;
- North Carolina State Archives Old Records Center;

- North Carolina Geological Survey;
- National Archives and Records Administration (East Point, GA, and College Park, MD);
- TVA Land Department (Chattanooga, TN);
- TVA Corporate Library (Norris, TN);
- Duke Power Company;
- Forest History Society;
- North Carolina Collection at UNC-Chapel Hill;
- Southern Historical Collection at UNC-Chapel Hill;
- Hunter Library, Western Carolina University (Cullowhee); and
- Marianna Black Library (Bryson City).

Additional data were collected through communications with regional historians and archaeologists, and through communications with local residents.

Information on known and potential cultural resources within the study area was gathered from these repositories and agencies:

- GSMNP Cultural Resources Office;
- GSMNP Library and Archives;
- North Carolina Office of State Archaeology (OSA);
- North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO);
- North Carolina State Archives;
- Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI) Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO);
- United States Forest Service/National Forests in North Carolina (USFS);
- Appalachian Trail Conference (ATC); and
- TVA Cultural Resources Office.

These institutions provided information on a variety of previously recorded and potential archaeological sites, standing structures and other above-ground objects, cemeteries, and other resources. Data on specific known and potential resources also were gathered from historic maps, published local histories, through conversations with regional archaeologists and historians, and through communications with local residents.

Land Acquisition Maps and Files. Several sets of land acquisition maps and/or files are available for various parts of the study area. Due to the varied nature of these relatively inaccessible data sources, descriptions of these materials are provided below.

GSMNP Maps and Files. Parts of the northern portion of the study area were acquired for GSMNP in the late 1920s and early 1930s by the North Carolina Park Commission. Data on those land acquisition tracts are on file in the GSMNP Library and Archives and in the North Carolina State Archives, and include individual plat maps, property descriptions and appraisals, chains-of-title, metes and bounds property descriptions, and miscellaneous correspondence. The GSMNP plat maps do not illustrate structure locations and there are no accompanying photographs, although later photographs of some of the structures are on file in the GSMNP Library and Archives.

Pre-TVA Fontana Lake Land Acquisition Maps and Files. Several sets of land acquisition maps relate to pre-TVA purchases of land by the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) for proposed reservoirs in the Fontana Lake area. A set of 1913–1915 maps prepared by the Knoxville Power Company (KPC) (an Alcoa subsidiary) show parcel boundaries and some cemeteries, but with the exception of a 1915 map of Almond do not show individual structures. A second set of land acquisition maps was created from 1929–1932 by the Nantahala Power & Light Company (NP&L). Those maps show parcel boundaries and some, but not all, structure locations; accompanying maps provide detailed depictions of Judson and

Almond. Other NP&L maps include 1940 maps showing state land grant locations along the Little Tennessee and Tuckasegee rivers. No attempt has been made to identify or examine any KPC or NP&L land acquisition files that may be extant.

TVA Fontana Lake Land Acquisition Maps and Files. The 1943 TVA land acquisition maps provide the most intensive documentation of the study area. Those maps include detailed depictions of each acquisition parcel, including the location of structures (such as houses, sheds, barns, stores, etc.), cemeteries, roads, fence lines, and other cultural features. The accompanying files contain detailed appraisals, legal property descriptions, "affidavits as to possession," chains-of-title, and other information. The TVA files also contain photos of some structures, as well as a variety of sociological data. As summarized by Shumate (1994:32):

> These files record statistics for a variety of property types, but for the typical mountain farmstead include the current property owner, composition of family, occupation, wage, age, etc. Each file records the process of acquisition, condemnation when necessary, and relocation of families affected by the Fontana Dam project. In addition, they offer brief descriptions of nearby communities and trading centers, descriptions of houses, landscapes, and local water resources. On a more personal level, these records identify health and hygiene problems, describe attitudes towards the TVA generated by the sale of these farms, identify difficulties in the purchase of some farms and businesses, and detail the transactions of legal battles resulting from these land acquisitions.

Besides the individual property files, the TVA also commissioned "Population Readjustment" studies of the Stecoah, Bushnell, Proctor, and Almond-Judson communities (Hyde 1944a, 1944b; Ketchen 1944; Sharp 1944). These studies and an accompanying synthetic report (Hunt 1945) are of varying quality, but contain some useful descriptions and summary data on these communities.

GIS Database

The data on known and potential resources were placed into a Geographical Information System (GIS) database that was created and manipulated in ArcView™ 3.2. For the purpose of creating and displaying data layers, all maps and data were maintained as ArcView™ shapefiles using the NAD27 datum (UTMs); when necessary, maps and data were converted from other projections using the ArcView™ Projection Utility. The following map layers have been utilized in viewing and analyzing the cultural resources data:

- Digital Raster Graphics (DRGs) of current USGS 7.5-minute quadrangles (obtained from the North Carolina Geological Survey);
- USGS shaded relief map of the study area (10-meter National Elevation Dataset);
- Georeferenced versions of historic USGS planimetric and quadrangle maps (obtained from the TVA and the Library of Congress and georeferenced by David Leigh); and
- Georeferenced versions of the TVA Fontana Lake land acquisition maps (georeferenced by the TVA).

The following data layers have been created and maintained:

- NRHP-eligible archeological sites;
- Potentially NRHP-eligible archaeological sites;
- Ineligible archaeological sites;
- NRHP-eligible structures or other above-ground resources;
- Potentially NRHP-eligible structures or other above-ground resources;
- Cemeteries recorded on GSMNP;
- Other potential cemeteries on GSMNP;
- Former cemeteries (all graves moved);

- Other cemeteries;
- Former structure locations from pre-1926 maps (Kephart n.d.; Riggs 1988; USGS 1886, 1892a, 1892b, 1906, 1913; Williams 1838);
- Former structure locations from 1926–1941 maps (TVA 1941; USGS 1926, 1931a, 1931b, 1935, 1936a, 1936b, 1936c, 1936d, 1936e, 1940a, 1940b, 1940c, 1940d, 1940e, 1941a, 1941b, 1941c);
- Former structures in the Chambers Creek area (Chambers et al. 1988);
- Mines and prospect locations (Emmons 1942, 1944; Espenshade 1963; Fox et al. 1944; Mohr 1975; Robinson et al. 1992);
- Former Hazel Creek mine structures (Espenshade 1963);
- Former Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp locations (Pyle 1979); and
- Areas that have been intensively surveyed for archaeological resources.

Other map sources, including the 1943 TVA land acquisition maps, earlier KPC (1913–1915) and NP&L (1929–1932) maps, and hand-drawn maps provided by area residents (e.g., Anonymous 1986; Monteith n.d.) were also consulted, but were not used in the creation of the data layers.

In addition to these data layers, layers were also created to illustrate areas of less than 15 percent slope in the study area, so that this information could be used in predicting potential archaeological site locations and areas of potential alluvial/colluvial deposition (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of site predictive modeling in the study area). These layers were created by David Leigh, and were derived from a 10-m interval Digital Elevation Model (DEM) obtained from the Seamless National Elevation Dataset developed by the USGS. Leigh used *Erdas Imagine*™ to convert the DEM pixels into slope values.

Field Inspection

Due to the preliminary nature of this study (and the extensive size of the study area), no attempt was made to field verify most of the data layers, although a few cemetery and structure locations were checked. In addition, project personnel participated in a three-day hike of parts of the study area in June 2003. Although the hike was intended only to provide an introduction to the existing road networks in that area, very limited archaeological and geomorphic reconnaissance was also conducted at that time. Finally, limited geomorphic reconnaissance also was conducted elsewhere in the study area.

The archaeological reconnaissance within GSMNP was conducted under ARPA permit GRSM 03-001; no archaeological investigations have been conducted on other federal, state, or privately owned lands.

NRHP Eligibility Criteria

Although no formal recommendations concerning NRHP-eligibility are made in this report, frequent reference is made to the known or potential status of resources, and for that reason it is useful to review the NRHP *Eligibility Criteria* as outlined in 36 CFR 60.4 and discussed in *National Register Bulletins* (Little and Siebert 2000; McClelland et al. 1991; NPS 1991; Townsend et al. 1993) and other publications (Anfinson 2002, Hardesty and Little 2000, King 1998, 2000).

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.

The regulations (36 CFR 60.4) also outline several *Criteria Considerations* that should also be taken into account when evaluating eligibility of some types of resources:

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.

For the purpose of this report, the NRHP-eligibility of resources is discussed in four ways.

- NRHP-listed. These resources have been formally listed in the NRHP by the Keeper of the National Register, either as a direct result of nomination by a Federal Agency or after their nomination has been approved and forwarded to the Keeper by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). Consequently, these resources must be considered in federal undertakings under the provisions of the NHPA.

- NRHP-eligible. These resources (generally archaeological sites) have been determined eligible for listing in the NRHP by the SHPO or by the appropriate Federal Agency, such as the NPS, the TVA, or the USFS. These represent Class I sites under USFS terminology. As with NRHP-listed resources, these resources must be considered in federal undertakings under the provisions of the NHPA.

- Unassessed. These resources have been identified, but have not been determined either eligible or ineligible by the SHPO or Federal Agency. In some cases these resources have been recommended for additional evaluation on the basis of initial archaeological or architectural investigations, and in other cases no formal report or recommendation has been made. These resources are often referred to as "potentially eligible" (despite the semantic

3. ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

PHYSIOGRAPHY AND HYDROLOGY

The North Shore Road EIS study area is centered along a 29-river mile section of the Little Tennessee Valley in western North Carolina, which divides the Great Smoky Mountains to the north from the Snowbird, Cheoah, Alarka, and Cowee ranges to the south. The Great Smokies are part of the Unaka range. The mountain wall constituting the Smokies is the highest and most massive in all the Appalachians, containing 16 peaks over 6,000 feet above mean sea level (AMSL) within its 34-mile length (Frome 1994:17–18). The crest of the Smokies (which reaches an elevation of 6,642 feet at Clingmans Dome, a few miles north of the project boundary) forms the northern boundary of Swain County as well as the boundary between North Carolina and Tennessee. South of Fontana Lake, the nearby mountains reach over 5,062 feet at Cheoah Bald. The elevations in the study area vary considerably, and range from the 1,276-foot elevation of the pool of Cheoah Lake (below Fontana Dam) to 5,190 feet at High Rocks on Welch Ridge. The full pool elevation of Fontana Lake is 1,710 feet, and most of the study area lies above that elevation.

The study area is drained by the Little Tennessee River and its tributaries, which include the Tuckasegee and Nantahala rivers. The Little Tennessee and Nantahala head to the southeast, while the Tuckasegee heads to the east and southeast. Major tributary streams within the study area include Tuskeegee, Stecoah, and Alarka creeks, which drain the mountains to the south and southeast, and Eagle, Hazel, Forney, Noland, and Deep creeks draining the Smokies to the north (Figure 3.1). Numerous smaller streams are also present, some as tributaries to the major creeks and some draining directly into the rivers. The major hydrologic feature in the vicinity is Fontana Lake (Figure 3.2), a 10,670-acre reservoir that was formed in 1944 when the TVA completed construction of a 480-foot high dam on the Little Tennessee in the western part of the study area (TVA 1950:22). Construction of Fontana Lake submerged the bottomlands along the major rivers in the study area, and also created major embayments along such streams as Eagle, Hazel, Forney, Noland, Stecoah, and Alarka creeks. The only major drainages in the study area that were not at least partially inundated by Fontana Lake (or by Cheoah Lake below Fontana Dam) are a short segment of the Tuckasegee River at Bryson City and adjacent Deep Creek.

The Little Tennessee is part of the Tennessee River system, and flows west from Fontana Dam through the Cheoah reservoir into Tennessee, continuing through Calderwood, Chilhowee, and Tellico reservoirs before joining the Tennessee River west of Maryville. The Tennessee River flows first southwest, then west, and then almost due north through the Mid-South before reaching the Ohio River a short distance above its confluence with the Mississippi.

GEOLOGY

A number of geological maps are available for various parts of the North Shore project area. The entire area has been mapped several times, beginning with early work by Keith (1895, 1907) and including more recent maps or compilations by the NCGS (1985), Robinson et al. (1993), and Weiner and Merschat (1992). In addition, detailed maps of portions of the area have been prepared by Espenshade ([parts of the Hazel and Eagle creeks drainages] 1963), Mohr ([the Noland Creek quadrangle] 1975), Southworth ([the Fontana Dam and Tuskeegee quadrangles] 1995), and others. Given the expansive size of the study area and the varied nature of this mapping, the following discussion provides only a brief overview of the local geology. The reader is referred to the detailed maps and other sources for more specific discussions of the geology of any individual part of the study area.

Figure 3.1. Forney Creek, view to north from Lakeshore Trail.

Figure 3.2. Fontana Lake, view to north from Cable Cove.

The most readily available map of the area is the large-scale North Carolina geologic map (NCGS 1985). That map indicates that most of the area is contained within the Great Smoky Group, which includes a number of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks of the Blue Ridge Belt (Figure 3.3). Most of the North Shore is mapped as the Copperhill Formation (Zch), which consists of metagraywacke along with dark gray slate, mica schist, and "nodular calc-silicate rock." A linear band extending northeast-southwest in the Eagle Creek area is mapped as Slate of Copperhill Formation (Zchs), and includes dark gray graphitic and sulfidic slate to phyllite along with metagraywacke. Two small areas within that formation are mapped as intrusive amphibolite (Czam) of the Murphy Belt. Most of the rest of the study area is variously mapped as the Wehutty Formation (Zwe), which primarily consists of dark gray slate to schist; unnamed metasandstone, metagraywacke, metasiltstone, and mica schist (Zhha); and seritic schist of the Dean formation (Zd), all of the Great Smoky Group. Small areas at the south edge of the study area are mapped as metamorphic rocks of the Murphy Belt, including the Nantahala Formation and Tusquitee quartzite (Znt), which includes slate, metasiltstone, and quartzite; and schist and micaceous quartzite of the Brasstown Formation (Zb). A small area surrounding Bryson City is mapped as middle to late Proterozoic biotic granitic gneiss (Ybbg) (NCGS 1985).

Robinson et al.'s (1993) map of the Knoxville 1 x 2 degree quadrangle (Figure 3.4) depicts most of the North Shore as the Anakeesta (Zga) or Copperhill (Zgc) formations of the Late Proterozoic Great Smoky Group; smaller areas are mapped as intrusive Cambrian and late Proterozoic metadiorite (CZmd). Moving south and east, sizeable areas are mapped as the Wehutty Formation (Zgw); sandstone, graywacke, and siltstone of the Great Smoky Group (Zgsg); the Nantahala Formation and Tusquitee Quartzite (Cnt) of the Murphy Belt; and the Copperhill (Zgc) and Dean formations (Zgd) of the Great Smoky Group. An area around Bryson City is mapped as middle Proterozoic biotic gneiss (Ybg). (The red squares on this map indicate the location of known mines or prospects). In addition, Espenshade et al. (1963) provide detailed mapping of an irregularly shaped area in the Hazel and Eagle Creek drainages on either side of Pinnacle Ridge, and differentiate feldpathic sandstone, phyllite, and schist of the Great Smoky Group, along with small areas of diorite and carbonate schist.

The most detailed geologic maps of the study area are provided by Mohr (1972, 1975) and Southworth (1995). Although these maps generally support earlier characterizations of the bedrock in the area, there are substantial differences in the nomenclature employed. In particular, Southworth (1995:4) notes the lack of detailed mapping and correlations between the North Shore area and the type localities for the various metasedimentary formations (including the Anakeesta Formation and others), and for this reason does not provide formation names for many lithologic units in the project area.

The varied formations in the area potentially provided a variety of lithic resources to the prehistoric, Historic Cherokee, and early Euro-American inhabitants. Quartzite and quartz for stone tool making are present as residual materials in many drainages, and workable quartz or quartzite outcrop in some areas. In particular, Mohr (1975:4) notes the occurrence of a thick deposit of white, vitreous quartzite or metaquartzite of the Thunderhead Formation south of McHan Knob in the southeastern part of the study area. In addition to these materials, Southworth (1995:10) describes deposits of a "light gray, fine grained" porphyritic material (probably metarhyolite) in the Ecoah Branch area of the Eagle Creek drainage. This material is reportedly similar to metarhyolites of the Grandfather Mountain and Mount Rogers formations to the northeast in North Carolina and Virginia, some of which are known to have been exploited by prehistoric populations in those areas (Bondar 2001). There are no known chert sources in the area, and chert occurrences are extremely unlikely given the local geology.

Other potential lithic resources in the area include soapstone (carbonate-chlorite schist), which outcrops at several locations in the Eagle Creek and Soapstone Gap areas (Southworth 1995:4, 6) and in Welch Cove (Rodney Snedeker, personal communication 2003). Greenstone deposits have also been reported in the Ecoah Branch area (Southworth 1995:6). Finally, copper was mined at several locations in the area

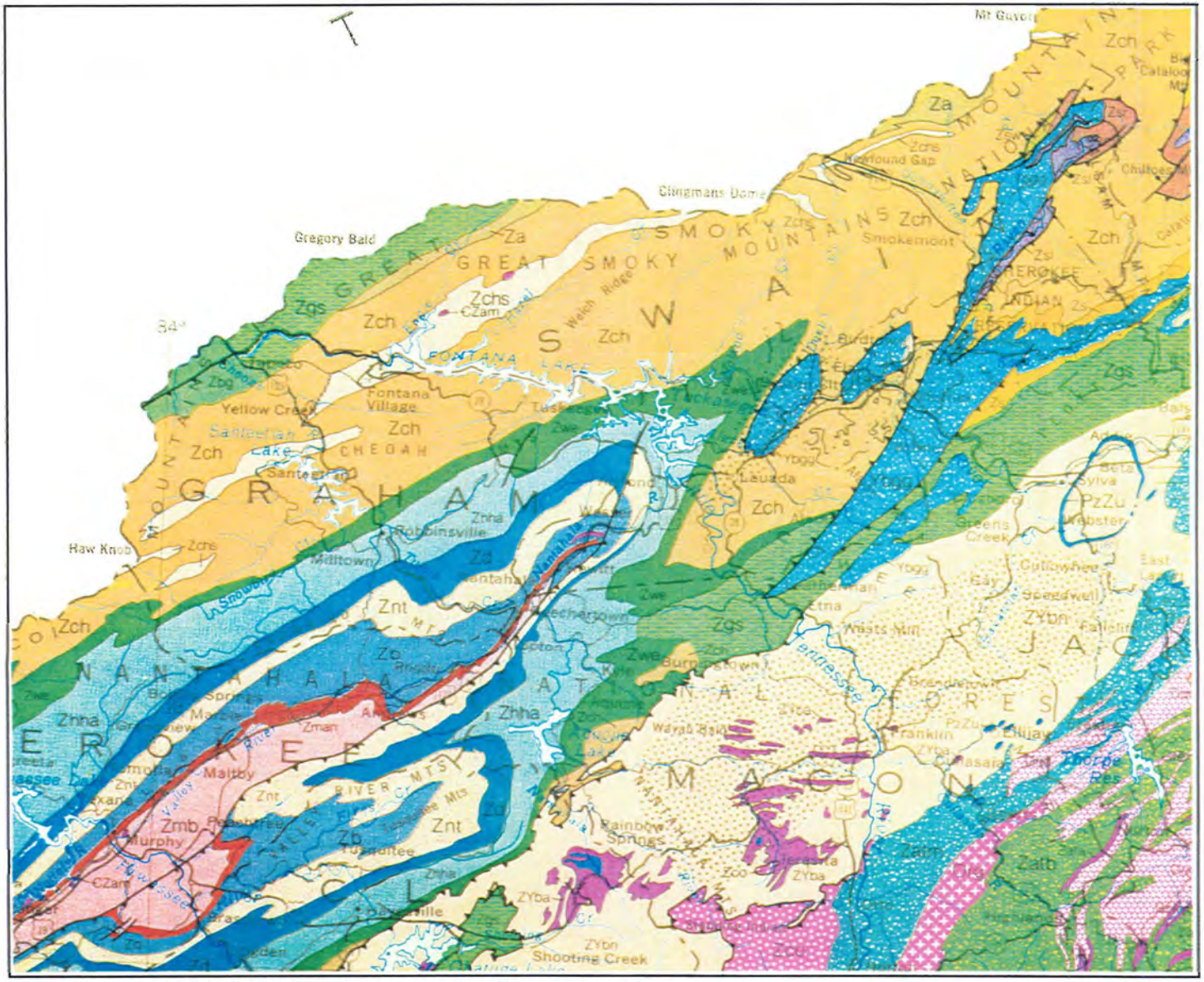


Figure 3.3. North Carolina Geological Survey (1985) map of study area.

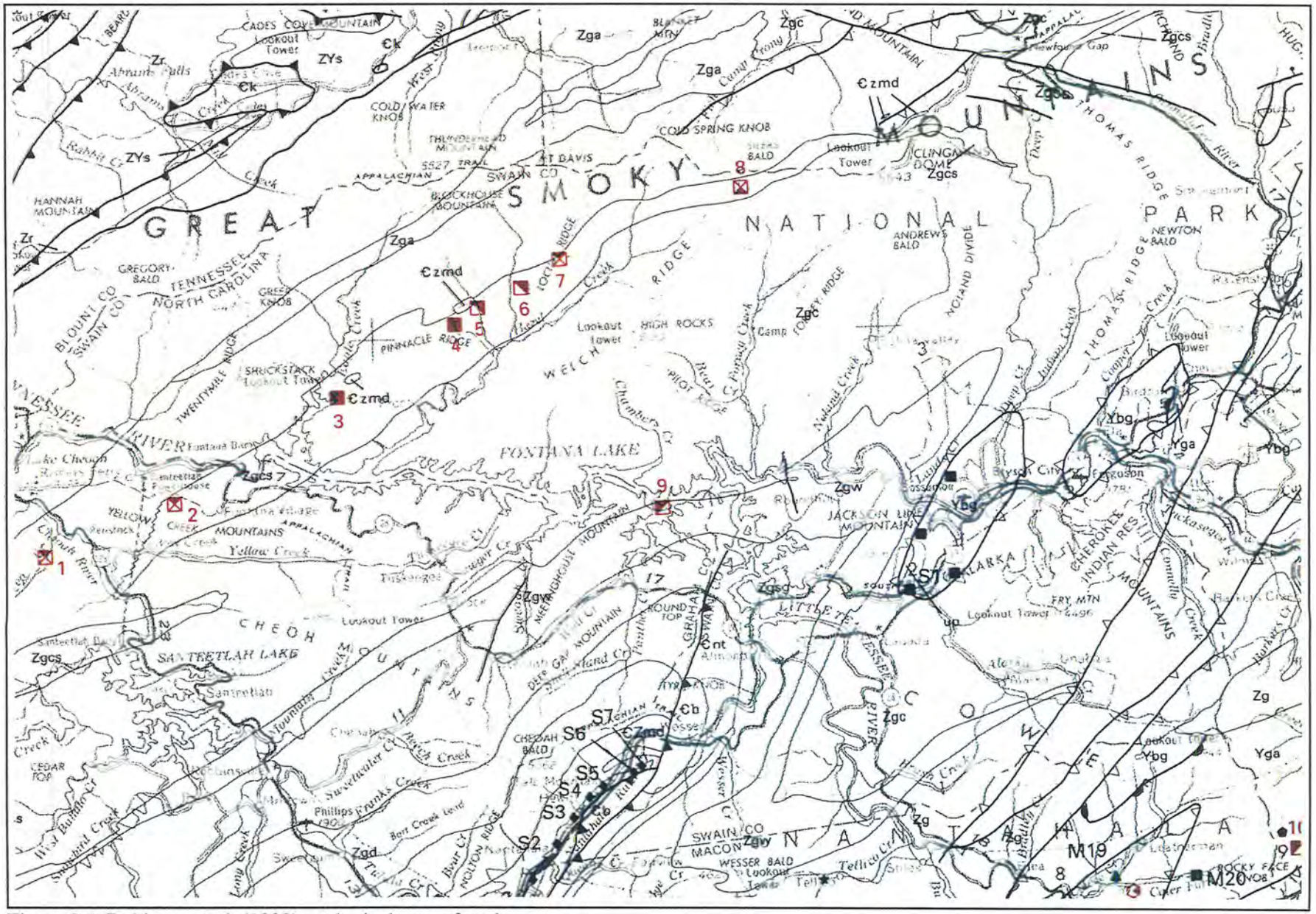


Figure 3.4. Robinson et al. (1993) geological map of study area.

during the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries (see Chapter 4), but is not known to have occurred in a form suitable for use by the prehistoric or Historic Cherokee inhabitants.

GEOMOPHOLOGY AND SOILS

No comprehensive attempt has been made to characterize landforms in the study area, although some preliminary investigations were undertaken as part of the present project (Leigh 2003). The following overview is based on that work, map inspection, and more intensive investigations undertaken elsewhere in the region (Cleveland et al. 2002; Leigh 2002).

At least five basic landform types are present in the study area, each with a different potential for containing intact archaeological remains. These include stream and river floodplains, terraces, alluvial/colluvial fans, hillslope deposits, and uplands.

Floodplains lie only a few feet (ca. 1–2 m) above the low-water levels of rivers and streams, are characterized by distinct ridges and swales, and receive new sediment during relatively frequent overbank flood events. These features are present along major streams such as Hazel Creek and probably along the upper reach of the Tuckasegee River, although other floodplains along the rivers and lower reaches of the major tributaries are inundated by Fontana Lake. Due to their recent age and instability, floodplains have very low potential for containing intact or buried prehistoric cultural deposits, but could contain historic sites or artifacts.

Fine-grained low terrace deposits are present along such drainages as Hazel and Deep creeks and the Tuckasegee River, and are typically located some 5–12 feet (ca. 1.5–3.5 m) above the low-water level. Limited investigation at sample locations in the study area (including along Hazel and Deep creeks) suggests that these terraces are primarily mid-to-late Holocene in age, as are similar terraces mapped along the Raven Fork River to the northeast (Leigh 2002). Consequently, these terrace deposits have a high potential to contain shallowly buried cultural deposits. High terraces (greater than 12 feet [ca. 3.5 m] above low-water level) are substantially older and offer little to no potential for burial of cultural materials.

Alluvial/colluvial fans and hillslope deposits constitute the third and fourth landform types. Alluvial/colluvial fans are fan-shaped aprons of sediments situated along drainages along the valley edge and contain sediments that have been transported from the uplands and redeposited in the valleys. Many such fans in the study area have probably been inundated, but others are visible at the mouths of tributaries entering larger valleys. Hillslope deposits are similar to the fans but are largely composed of sediment from debris flows and include more angular cobbles and gravels mixed with the fine matrix; these deposits are common along the valley edges and in high-mountain valleys. Debris flows were apparently relatively common in the Smokies during the early to mid-Holocene, perhaps as a result of increased rainfall during the period (Leigh 2002). Debris flows also frequently result from historic period logging on upland slopes (Jakob 2000), and there is some evidence of increased debris flow activity in the study area in the 1920s, as evidenced by a major flow that occurred in the headwaters of Pilkey Creek (David Monteith, personal communication 2003; Southworth 1995:15). Both alluvial/colluvial fans and hillslope deposits have a high potential to contain buried cultural deposits.

A fifth landform type consists of the upper mountain slopes and summits in the study area. Although some of these areas were suitable for habitation, they represent erosional landscape settings and are unlikely to contain buried deposits.

The only published soils data for Swain and Graham counties (Goldston and Gettys 1953; Perkins and Gettys 1947) are based on pre-Fontana Lake fieldwork; consequently, both surveys include data on both

inundated and noninundated areas. The lowest floodplain soils in the area were variously mapped as Buncombe, Chewacla, Congaree, Toxaway, and Wehadkee soils, and were generally poorly drained. Terrace soils were generally mapped as Hiwassee and State soils, and were considered of medium to high fertility. Tusquitee series soils were present on the colluvial slopes, while Porters, Burton, Ramsey, Talladega, and Hayesville soils were present in the uplands (Goldston and Gettys 1953; Perkins and Gettys 1947). Updated soil surveys of both Swain and Graham counties are currently in progress. Provisional soil association data developed by the National Resources Conservation Service indicate that three soil associations are present in the study area: the Sylco-Cataska-Spivey-Junaluska-Tsali Association, the Evard-Cowee-Trimont Association, and the Soco-Stecoah-Cheoah-Spivey-Junaluska-Brasstown Association.

CLIMATE

The climates of Swain and Graham counties are characterized by cool, relatively short summers and wet, occasionally cold winters. Temperatures are generally moderate and usually do not exceed 90° F in the summer or drop below 0° F in the winter. Average summer temperatures are about 70° F, with winter temperatures averaging 40° F. Local weather conditions vary considerably with elevation and exposure (Swain County Planning Team 1976:16–17). The area averages 176 frost-free days each year, and snowfall is usually light. Snow does not remain long in the valleys, but may last throughout the winter on the higher peaks (Perkins and Gettys 1947:7).

With the exception of the Pacific Northwest, the Little Tennessee drainage basin receives more rainfall per year than any other area in the United States. Between 1937 and 1948, annual precipitation in the river basin above Fontana Dam ranged from 49.6 inches to 69.6 inches (TVA 1950:23). The higher elevations may sometimes receive as much as 80 inches of rainfall per year. Precipitation is fairly consistent throughout the year, although fall is generally the driest season.

FLORA

The North Shore study area and the rest of the Southern Appalachians are part of the Oak-Chestnut Forest Region, which includes a number of distinct forest types that vary with elevation. The pre-twentieth century vegetation in the river valleys and coves, and on the sheltered mountain slopes was dominated by tulip poplar *(Liriodendron tulipifera)*, ash (*Fraxinus* spp.), hemlock (*Tsuga* spp.), white basswood (*Tilia* spp.), buckeye (*Aesculus* spp.), oak (*Quercus* spp.), red maple *(Acer rubrum)*, chestnut *(Castanea dentata)*, and walnut *(Juglans nigra)*. The higher elevations supported wild cherry *(Prunus serotina)*, oak, maple, birch (*Betula* spp.), and beech *(Fagus grandifolia)*. Clingmans Dome and other higher elevations were covered with balsam (actually Fraser) fir *(Abies fraseri)* and rhododendron (*Rhododendron* spp.) (Holmes 1911:38; Perkins and Gettys 1947:9).

Extensive logging in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries removed much of the virgin timber from the area. By the late-1920s most of the accessible timber had been cut, and much of the study area was covered by secondary growth. The chestnut blight also resulted in further alterations in forest composition. Species present in upland forests today include oaks, pines (*Pinus* spp.), birch, hickory (*Carya* spp.), dogwood (*Cornus* spp.), sourwood *(Oxydendrum arboreum)*, cherry, honey locust *(Gleditsia triacanthos)*, black gum *(Nyssa sylvatica)*, tulip poplar, white basswood, hemlock, cucumbertree *(Magnolia acuminata)*, and buckeye. Valley species include pines, oaks, sourwood, dogwood, hickories, and locusts (*Gleditsia* spp.) (Perkins and Gettys 1947:9).

In addition to arboreal species, the forests supported a variety of undergrowth species. The latter included several varieties of edible berries, such as blackberries and raspberries (both *Rubus* spp.) and huckleberries (*Gaylussacia* spp.), as well as many other species used for food and medicinal purposes by both the Cherokee and later Euro-American settlers (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Oliver 1989:29).

FAUNA

The varied forests in the area supported a substantial and diverse fauna, as indicated by both early historic period observations and modern inventories (Davis 1990:32; Stupka 1960). Ecological analysis indicates that white-tailed deer *(Odocoileus virginianus)* would have inhabited the forests at a rate of about 400 head per 10 square miles (Dorwin 1975), although densities likely varied by season and by local topography and vegetation. Other large and small mammals were also common. Black bear *(Ursus americanus)* were present in densities of about 5 per 10 square miles, and elk *(Cervus elaphus)* probably occupied the region during some intervals when human populations were low (Dorwin 1975). Wolves (*Canis* sp.) were also present, along with panthers or mountain lions (*Felis concolor*), bobcats *(Lynx rufus)*, gray foxes *(Urocyon cinereoargenteus)*, raccoons *(Procyon lotor)*, beavers *(Castor canadensis)*, otters *(Lutra canadensis)*, muskrats *(Ondatra zibethica)*, mink *(Mustela vison)*, opossums *(Didelphis marsupialis)*, gray squirrels *(Sciurus carolinensis),* and fox squirrels *(Sciurus niger)* (Linzey 1995; Oliver 1989:31; Shelford 1963; Stupka 1960). Avian species of possible economic importance included turkey *(Meleagris gallopavo)* and smaller species; other species may have been valuable non-food resources as well. The Little Tennessee and its tributary streams would have provided a variety of fish, including catfish (Ictaluridae), sunfish (Centrarchidae), largemouth *(Micropterus salmoides)* and smallmouth *(Micropterus dolomieui)* bass, and brook trout *(Salvelinus fontinalis).*

PALEOENVIRONMENT

The contemporary climate and vegetation of the Great Smokies are products of a long and complex process of natural and human-induced change. The average winter temperatures in the area were considerably colder during the last glacial period, ca. 23,000–13,000 B.C. At that time, the Southeast was covered by a boreal, northern coniferous forest dominated by pines and spruce (Delcourt and Delcourt 1983; Whitehead 1973). The climate warmed and precipitation increased from ca. 13,000 to 8000 B.C., the period during which the first humans arrived in the Appalachian Summit region. During this time (the Late terminal Wisconsin glacial period), coniferous forests were replaced by northern hardwoods as dominant overstory species in the lower elevations (Bryson et al. 1970; Watts 1975, 1980; Whitehead 1973). The period from ca. 6000 to 3000 B.C. is referred to the Hypsithermal. This has typically been considered a period of continued warming but decreased precipitation (Bryson et al. 1970; Watts 1975), although there is increasing evidence (e.g., Lamoreaux 1999; Leigh 2002; Leigh and Feeney 1995; Prentice et al. 1991) that parts of the Mid-Holocene were much wetter than previously supposed. The climate since ca. 3000 B.C. has cooled slightly. Delcourt and Delcourt (1983) have documented long-term fluctuations in vegetation zone elevations through pollen analysis. This vegetational variability would have been an important factor in the potential for human utilization of higher altitudes.

4. CULTURAL BACKGROUND

This chapter presents an overview of the prehistoric and historic period occupations of the study area and the Appalachian Summit region. Much of the earlier part of the cultural sequence for the region is based on Coe's (1964) investigations of the prehistoric cultures of North Carolina, coupled with more recent research across the mountains in Tennessee (e.g., Davis 1990; Kimball 1985). The later prehistory of western North Carolina has been refined by various researchers, including Dickens (1976), Keel (1976), contributors to Mathis and Crow (1983) and Moore (1986), Riggs and Rodning (2002), and Ward and Davis (1999). Information on the historic period Cherokee occupation of the area was derived from a number of sources, most prominently works by Duggan (1998, 2002), Finger (1984, 1991), Greene (1996), and Riggs (1996, 1999).

Information on the historic period Euro-American settlement of western North Carolina was obtained from regional and local histories, including works by Arthur (1914), Brown (2000), Holland (2001), Jenkins (1988), Millsaps and Millsaps (1992), Oliver (1989, 1993, 1998a, 2002, 2003), Taylor (2001), Thomasson (1965), and others. The Fontana Lake area has also been the subject of a large number of journal and newspaper articles, including those published in *The Bone Rattler* (the journal of the Swain County Genealogical and Historical Society), *Fontana* (the North Shore Historical Association newsletter), and elsewhere. These books and articles form the basis for the following discussion, and have been supplemented by a variety of technical or otherwise more specific publications (e.g., Espenshade et al. 1963; Lambert 1958b, 1961; Stroupe 1996; TVA 1950), as well as information from published and unpublished maps and other primary sources (e.g., Hyde 1944a, 1944b; Kephart n.d.; Ketchen 1944; KPC 1913–1915; NP&L 1929–1932; Ritter Lumber Company 1922–1928; Sharp 1944; Smoky Mountain Railway 1916; TVA 1941, 1943, 1950).

PREHISTORIC CONTEXT

The prehistory of western North Carolina can be divided into four basic time and cultural periods. These periods—Paleoindian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian—relate to both social and technological factors. Several authors (e.g., Dickens 1976:10; Keel 1976:18; Ward and Davis 1999; Wetmore 2002) divide some or all of these periods into phases, some of which overlap in time and name but vary in precise definition.

Paleoindian Period (ca. 10,000–8000 B.C.)

The Paleoindian period represents the earliest well documented human occupation of the Southeast. Key diagnostic artifacts of this period are fluted and unfluted lanceolate projectile points; a variety of flake tools, such as endscrapers, gravers, retouched blades, and burins, are also found. Almost all of the Paleoindian materials found in the region have come from surface contexts, and as a result few data are available concerning regional subsistence or social organization (Anderson 1990). Hunting of late Pleistocene megafauna is inferred based on evidence from other areas, although direct evidence for use of animals of any kind is rare in the Southeast. Most, if not all, Paleoindian populations probably relied extensively on other animal and plant foods as well (Meltzer and Smith 1986; Purrington 1983).

Paleoindian populations are believed to have been highly mobile, and settlements are thought to have included small temporary camps and less common base camps that were occupied by loosely organized bands. Paleoindians selected high-quality lithic materials for tools, and many sites are linked to important source areas. The high degree of curation in the tool assemblage (and the low frequency of clearly diagnostic artifacts) makes recognition of Paleoindian assemblages problematic. Keel (1976:17) suggests that the earlier Clovis phase (pre-9000 B.C.) populations may have been confined to south of an east-west line at the latitude of Asheville because of permafrost to the north. The later Paleoindian phase appears to

include Dalton (Goodyear 1982) and perhaps Hardaway (Ward 1983) points and related cultures, although both types of artifacts are rare in the Appalachian Summit region.

Archaic Period (ca. 8000–1000 B.C.)

The Archaic period began with the onset of Holocene, post-glacial climatic conditions in the East, and has been subdivided into three subperiods: the Early, Middle, and Late Archaic. Diagnostic projectile points are the primary criteria used to identify and date distinct Archaic manifestations. As a whole, the Archaic may be seen as a relatively long and successful foraging adaptation, with subsistence based on hunting, fishing, and the collection of wild plant resources. The period is also marked by a general increase in the density and dispersal of archaeological remains. Group size gradually increased during this period, culminating in relatively large populations.

Early Archaic (ca. 8000–6000 B.C.). During the Early Archaic period, the mixed coniferous forests present in much of the Southeast were replaced by mixed hardwood communities dominated by oak, hemlock, beech, and maple (Claggett and Cable 1982:212). A modern faunal assemblage was in place following the extinction of the Pleistocene megafauna. Diagnostic markers of the Early Archaic period in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee include Kirk projectile points of the Corner Notched tradition (ca. 8000–6800 B.C.) and bifurcate-based points such as the St. Albans, LeCroy, and Kanawha types (ca. 6900–5800 B.C.) (Kimball 1985). Low regional population densities and a continued high degree of group mobility are inferred for this period in the Mountains, where most known sites are located in high upland areas (Bass 1975). The nature of more general land use patterns and strategies for technological organization remain the subjects of discussion, however. To the west in Tennessee, Kimball (1992) has proposed an ongoing change from logistical to residential mobility patterns during the Early Archaic period, perhaps as a result of the first signs of warming climatic conditions.

Middle Archaic (ca. 6000–4000 B.C.). During the Middle Archaic, the cool, moist conditions of the early Holocene are generally considered to have given way to the warmer, drier climate of the mid-Holocene Hypsithermal interval. Extensive estuarine marshes and riverine swamps began to emerge in coastal regions as sea levels ceased their post-Pleistocene rise by 3000 B.C. The northern hardwoods vegetational matrix in those regions was replaced by an oak-hickory forest, which was in turn replaced by a southern hardwoods-pine forest characterized by the species occupying the region today (Claggett and Cable 1982:212–216; Delcourt and Delcourt 1983, 1985). Subsistence economies became increasingly diversified, and the first use of estuarine shellfish resources and possibly anadromous fish may have begun at this time. Exactly how the Hypsithermal affected the relatively higher altitudes of western North Carolina is unclear, however, and there is increasing evidence that parts of the Mid-Holocene were much wetter than previously supposed (Leigh 2002).

Archaeologically, the transition from the Early Archaic to the Middle Archaic is characterized by the appearance of stemmed rather than notched projectile points, and by an increased incidence of groundstone tools such as atlatl weights, axes, and grinding implements. The Middle Archaic witnessed the first substantial occupation in the Smoky Mountains and most adjacent regions (Bass 1975:109). Three subperiods within this period are recognized. These are identified by the presence of Stanly (ca. 6000–5000 B.C.), Morrow Mountain I and II (ca. 5000–4200 B.C.), and Guilford (ca. 4200–3500 B.C.) projectile points, following the classic Archaic sequence first identified by Coe (1964). Morrow Mountain sites are frequently encountered in the uplands of western North Carolina (e.g., Purrington 1981), and occur both at high elevations and along lower elevation drainages where they exit the mountains (Yu 2001). All three types of Middle Archaic points are found in the area, although the Smoky Mountains appear to mark the western extent of the distribution of Guilford points (Bass 1975; Dorwin 1975).

Late Archaic (ca. 4000–1000 B.C.). During the Late Archaic period, population levels in the Mountains appear to have risen markedly. Sites occur in a wide range of environmental zones although most major settlements were in riverine or estuarine settings (Bass 1975; Ward 1983). In particular, many Late Archaic sites in the Smoky Mountains region appear to be situated near quartzite sources (Bass 1975:77; Shumate and Kimball 2001). The existence of formal residential base camps occupied seasonally or longer is inferred, together with a range of smaller resource-exploitation sites, such as hunting, fishing, or plant collecting stations (Claggett and Cable 1982; Mathis 1979; Ward 1983). Many sites from this period contain evidence of prepared floors, post molds from structures, and features such as storage pits, all of which indicate a more sedentary lifestyle than is suggested for earlier periods. Grinding implements, polished stone tools, and carved soapstone bowls become fairly common, suggesting increased use of plant resources, and possibly changes in subsistence strategies and cooking technologies. Although regional evidence is minimal, the first experiments with horticulture probably occurred at this time, with the cultivation of plants such as squash *(Cucurbita pepo)*, sunflower (*Helianthus* sp.), and *Chenopodium* (Cowan 1985; Ford 1981; Smith 1989).

The Late Archaic has been divided into a series of subperiods or phases, identified primarily by the presence of diagnostic projectile points. Late Archaic occupations in the Appalachian Summit region are marked by a variety of large- to small-stemmed points. The most prominent of these is the Savannah River Stemmed type, a large, broad-bladed, square stemmed point that appears ca. 3000 B.C. and lasts to ca. 1500 B.C. Subsequent Late Archaic sites frequently contain slightly smaller stemmed points of the Iddins Undifferentiated Stemmed or Otarre Stemmed types (Ward and Davis 1999:71). Size reduction of these stemmed forms, on the average, is clearly indicated over the course of the Late Archaic/Early Woodland in the region (Oliver 1981, 1985). Soapstone vessels were in use during the Late Archaic in some areas, and towards the end of this interval pottery appears in coastal regions (Sassaman 1993).

Woodland Period (ca. 1000 B.C.–A.D. 1000)

The Woodland period began about 1000 B.C. and continued until the appearance of the Mississippian adaptation, about A.D. 1000. Across the eastern Woodlands the period is marked by the appearance of widespread pottery use, a greatly increased role for horticulture in subsistence economies, and an elaboration of mortuary ceremonialism, including the appearance of burial mounds (Griffin 1967:180).

In the greater Southeast, the Woodland began with a gradual transition from the Late Archaic. Although this transition period is not well understood, Woodland occupations appear to be marked by increasing sedentism and improvements in food storage and preparation technologies. Subsistence strategies represent a continuation of earlier hunter-forager ways, but with an increased reliance on the cultivation of native plants (Yarnell and Black 1985). Religious expressions, as evidenced by increased ceremonialism and the development of burial mounds, seem to have become more complex during the Woodland period. Large triangular projectile points are diagnostic of the Woodland period. Ceramics became more refined and regional differentiation of wares, particularly in temper, paste, and surface decoration, became evident during this time.

Early Woodland (ca. 1000–400 B.C.). Initial Woodland occupations are generally thought to reflect a largely unchanged continuation of Late Archaic lifeways coupled with the first widespread introduction of ceramics. The earliest Early Woodland manifestation in the region is the Swannanoa phase, which dates ca. 1000–300 B.C. and is marked by distinctive thick, crushed quartz- or grit-tempered fabric or cordmarked ceramics (Keel 1976:260–266; Ward and Davis 1999:140–143; Wetmore 2002:254–257). Although Swannanoa site distributions have not been thoroughly documented, it is apparent that the settlement pattern included both large floodplain sites, such as Warren Wilson, and numerous small upland extractive camps. Direct evidence is lacking, but it seems likely that the Early Woodland inhabitants of the region were engaged in at least some degree of horticulture (Ward and Davis 1999:145).

Middle Woodland (ca. 400 B.C.–A.D. 800). The Middle Woodland period is characterized by intensified long-distance trade throughout the Eastern Woodlands, and there is increasing evidence that some western North Carolina groups participated in the Hopewell exchange network (Keel 1976; Scott Shumate, personal communication 2002). Bass (1975:81) reports that while over 50 percent of Middle Woodland sites in his sample occurred on the floodplain, 40 percent were located above the valley in coves and on benches. Numerous large and small sites dating to this period have been found, suggesting periodic aggregation and dispersion or some kind of a village/base camp–specialized resource extraction station settlement dichotomy. Horticulture also is thought to have become increasingly important during this period.

Diagnostic Middle Woodland ceramics in western North Carolina include the Pigeon series, which Keel (1976:256–260) defines as including check stamped, simple stamped, plain, brushed, and complicated stamped varieties. Vessel forms include conical jars, hemispherical bowls, and tetrapodal and shouldered jars with flaring rims. Pigeon ceramics are relatively common in the region but are generally found in mixed contexts (Ward and Davis 1999:146). Subsequent Middle Woodland ceramics consist of Connestee series wares, which are generally thin, sand-tempered wares often decorated with simple stamped or brushed surfaces (Keel 1976:247–255). Connestee phase populations engaged in mound building, evidenced by such substructure mounds as Garden Creek No. 2, and interacted with Hopewellian populations in the Midwest and elsewhere (Keel 1976; Ward and Davis 1999:151–153).

Late Woodland (ca. A.D. 800–1000). The Late Woodland period in much of the Southeast saw the emergence of sedentary village life based on intensive maize (*Zea mays*) horticulture and the development of complex tribal and chiefdom-level political structures. In the Appalachian Summit, the Late Woodland is largely invisible, raising questions about its character there (Dickens 1986:74; Wetmore 2002). A similar lack of recognition of distinctive Late Woodland components has been described in northern Georgia (Rudolph 1991). Part of the problem may be the lack of specific diagnostic artifacts useful for unequivocally identifying sites of this period, but it is also possible that the Appalachian Summit region was only lightly populated during this time. More recently, Robinson et al. (1994) have suggested that the Connestee phase may have lasted well into the Late Woodland period. Another Late Woodland manifestation was identified by Keel and Egloff (1984) at the Cane Creek site; the distinctive, largely plain-surfaced assemblage from that site has been suggested to date to ca. A.D. 1000. Finally, scattered Napier and Swift Creek ceramics and sites (such as the Cullowhee Valley School site [31JK32] [Greene 1996:120–121]) in the region reflect influences from the south during this period.

Mississippian Period (ca. A.D. 1000–1540)

The Mississippian period in the Southeast is marked primarily by the increasing intensification of maize horticulture, the establishment of increasingly hierarchical social structures and settlement systems, and an increase in ceremonialism expressed architecturally in the construction of flat-topped substructure mounds. Increasing evidence exists that territorial boundaries between chiefdoms were closely maintained during the Mississippian period, although individual chiefdoms rose and fell in cyclical patterns. Studies of relations between native chiefdoms and Spanish expeditions suggest that some type of supra-chiefdom level organization was maintained through a system in which paramount chiefs traveled from fief to fief, displaying royal powers and prerogative and receiving gifts and tribute from subservient chiefdoms (Smith and Hally 1992).

The Pisgah phase (ca. A.D. 1000–1450) corresponds with the early centuries of the Mississippian period in parts of western North Carolina (Dickens 1976:13–14). Pisgah sites are found primarily in the eastern and central part of the Appalachian Summit region, and range from small farmsteads to nucleated villages with substructure mounds (Ward and Davis 1999:160–161). Diagnostic Pisgah artifacts include small triangular projectile points and distinctive rectilinear complicated stamped vessels with collared

rims. Maize and other crops were important sources of food, but floral and faunal remains document the persistence of wild resources as major components of the diet (Ward and Davis 1999:171).

The Qualla phase represents the final centuries of Native American autonomy in the region. Although elements of the material culture, belief systems, place names, and social structure of Mississippian society lingered in the region well into the nineteenth century (and in some cases to the present day), this period is largely one of social change due to increasing Euro-American intrusion and settlement in the region. This part of the Native American occupation of the region is discussed below as part of the historic background of the region.

HISTORIC CHEROKEE OCCUPATION

Early Historic Period Cherokee Settlements

The first Euro-American incursion into western North Carolina took place in 1540, when Hernando de Soto's expedition passed through the area. Several different reconstructions of de Soto's route have been proposed, with some scholars (e.g., Swanton 1985:201–202) suggesting that he crossed the Cherokee country by way of the Hiwassee River valley, approximately 45 km southwest of the study area. Another reconstruction (Hudson 1997; Hudson et al. 1984) suggests that de Soto passed approximately 70 km to the northeast, crossing the Blue Ridge at Swannanoa Gap and continuing along the French Broad River into Tennessee. A similar route was apparently followed by the expeditions of Juan Pardo, a later Spanish explorer who traversed much of the same area in 1567–1568 (Hudson 1990:27–46).

Whatever the precise routes of these explorers, it is clear that the ancestral Cherokees' first encounters with Europeans occurred in the mid-sixteenth century. These encounters were to have dramatic effects. The introduction of European diseases to which the native populations had little resistance caused a major reduction in population levels and extensive changes in political organization. Elsewhere in the Southeast, the fragmentation and reformation of political groups resulted in a general decrease in social complexity and the total disappearance of some prehistoric societies (Smith 1987). Although the Cherokee underwent substantial disruption, they managed to retain control of portions of their homeland.

The historic-period Cherokee occupation of western North Carolina is known archaeologically as the Qualla phase (ca. A.D. 1450–1838). Although early formulations of the phase (e.g., Dickens 1976) divided it into two segments (Early Qualla, ca. A.D. 1450–1650; and Late Qualla, ca. A.D. 1650–1838), more recent analysts (Riggs and Rodning 2002; Ward and Davis 1999) have suggested a tripartite division. Following this scheme, the early Qualla phase predates A.D. 1450, and thus was likely contemporaneous with the latter part of the Pisgah occupations in the region. These authors suggest that Qualla represents an in situ development in the Upper Little Tennessee and Hiwassee basins and likely is not a direct derivative of the Pisgah phase. Early Qualla phase ceramics show affinities to the more southern Savannah and Wilbanks styles, and samples from Coweta Creek and 31SW291 are characterized by grit tempered, primarily rectilinear complicated-stamped wares (Riggs and Rodning 2002:39). Subsequent Middle Qualla phase (ca. A.D. 1450–1700) ceramics are characterized by jar forms with notched appliqué rims, and by the presence of carinated or cazuela bowls with incised designs. By the Late Qualla phase (post-A.D. 1700), incised ceramics become much less common, and rectilinear stamped designs are dominant. Check stamping also becomes more common in later, pre-Removal (pre-1838) assemblages.

The Qualla subsistence base was mixed, and included cultivation of maize, beans, and other foods as well as wild plant gathering, hunting, and fishing (Dickens 1976:14). The Late Qualla phase is marked by the increasing appearance of European goods at Cherokee sites, as well as shifts towards more European-style architecture (Dickens 1976:15). Although small triangular projectile points are found in early and

Middle Qualla assemblages, these disappear with the increasing prevalence of European firearms after A.D. 1700.

Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Cherokee Settlements

During most of the eighteenth century, the Cherokees were concentrated in towns and villages scattered throughout much of present-day western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, northeast Georgia, and northwest South Carolina. The towns in western North Carolina were known as the Middle Towns (along the upper Little Tennessee River), Out Towns, and the Valley Towns. The Lower Towns were situated to the southeast, and the Overhill Towns lay to the west, across the mountains in Tennessee (Greene 1996; Smith 1979). The northern and eastern parts of the study area were within the Cherokee Out Towns, while the southwestern part of the study area was apparently a relatively sparsely populated area between the Out Towns and the Valley Towns to the south. The only possibly documented eighteenth century Cherokee town in the study area was the Out Town of "Evanga," which is depicted on the 1760 Kitchin map immediately southeast of the confluence of the Little Tennessee and Tuckasegee rivers, across the Tuckasegee from the future site of Bushnell (Greene 1996:50; Kitchin 1760) (Figure 4.1). (The 1730 Hunter map also shows an unlabeled settlement at approximately the same location [Greene 1996:43]). There is no other documentary evidence available concerning "Evanga," however, and it is likely that the name (if not the location) is a misinterpretation by the cartographer (Lance Greene, personal communication 2003). If there was a town at that site, it was apparently not visited by Grant's English military expedition in 1761 (Greene 1996:53–56). After Grant burned several of the Out Towns they apparently ceased to be referenced as such, and most surviving populations in the area were probably categorized as belonging to the Middle Towns.

The latter eighteenth century brought the continuous arrival of Europeans and the resulting loss of Cherokee lands (Figure 4.2). With the signing of the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785, the Cherokee lost their remaining lands east of the Blue Ridge (Mooney 1900:61–62). A subsequent treaty in 1791 resulted in additional cessions, but failed to stop Euro-American movement into Cherokee lands and the resulting conflicts (Mooney 1900:68–77). A third treaty, signed in 1798, ceded additional land in North Carolina. The early nineteenth century witnessed the increasing acculturation of many Cherokees, largely as a result of increasing contact and intermarriage with white traders and settlers. Other Cherokees resisted changes to their traditional lifestyles, especially those residing in western North Carolina (Riggs 1988:10–11). Accounts by contemporary observers indicate that the population of this area was strongly traditionalist, and contained the highest proportion of fullbloods to be found in the Cherokee Nation (McLoughlin and Cosner 1984:224–225). The late eighteenth century was marked by a general shift to a more dispersed settlement pattern (Dickens 1976:15), but some nucleated settlements remained in the region into the nineteenth century. There is little documentation of Cherokee populations in the study area during that late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, although the village of Tuckaleecheee was apparently located at the mouth of Deep Creek (near present day Bryson City) in 1809, when a population of 92 was recorded in Davis' census (Greene 1996:68).

The northern and eastern sections of the study area were part of a large tract in southwestern North Carolina, southeastern Tennessee, and northeastern Georgia that was ceded to the U.S. government by the Calhoun Treaty of February 1819 (Royce 1884, 1887). The cession boundary ran along the Little Tennessee River, with the area to the north and east passing to the U.S. and the area to the south and west remaining in the Cherokee nation. Although this and an 1817 treaty were intended to encourage Cherokees to migrate west to Arkansas, they also contained provisions allowing any Cherokee head of family residing within the ceded lands who wished to become a U.S. citizen to apply for a life reservation of 640 acres. Ninety-one heads of family in western North Carolina applied for reservations, and 49 life estates and two fee-simple reservations were actually deeded (Riggs 1988:15, 25; Royce 1887). At least seven of these reserves were in or immediately adjacent to the study area, including those of Yonah, Backwater, the Heirs of Too-lee-noos-tah, Ool-lah-not-tee, Johnston, Parch Corn Flour, and Jack. (Yonah

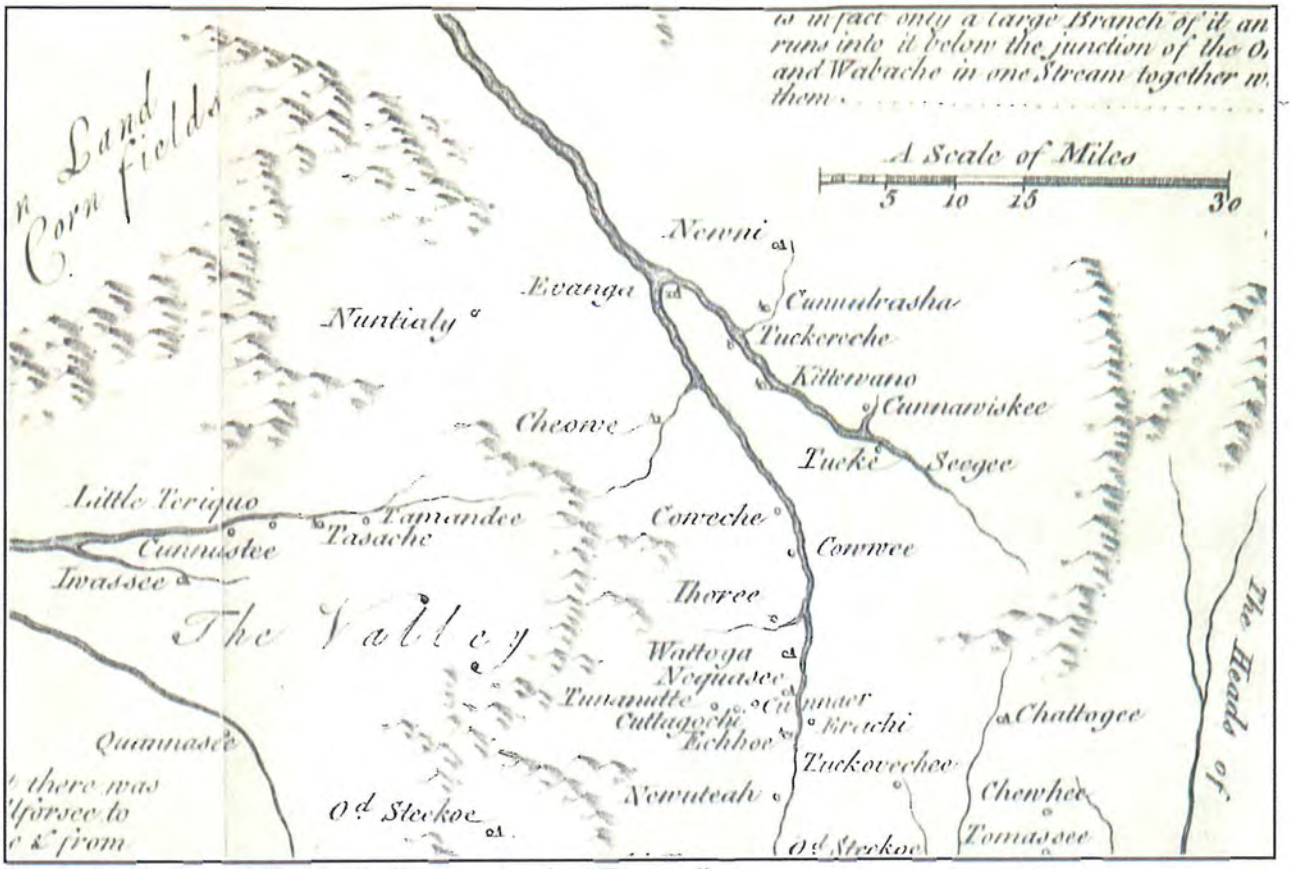


Figure 4.1. Portion of Kitchin (1760) map showing "Evanga."

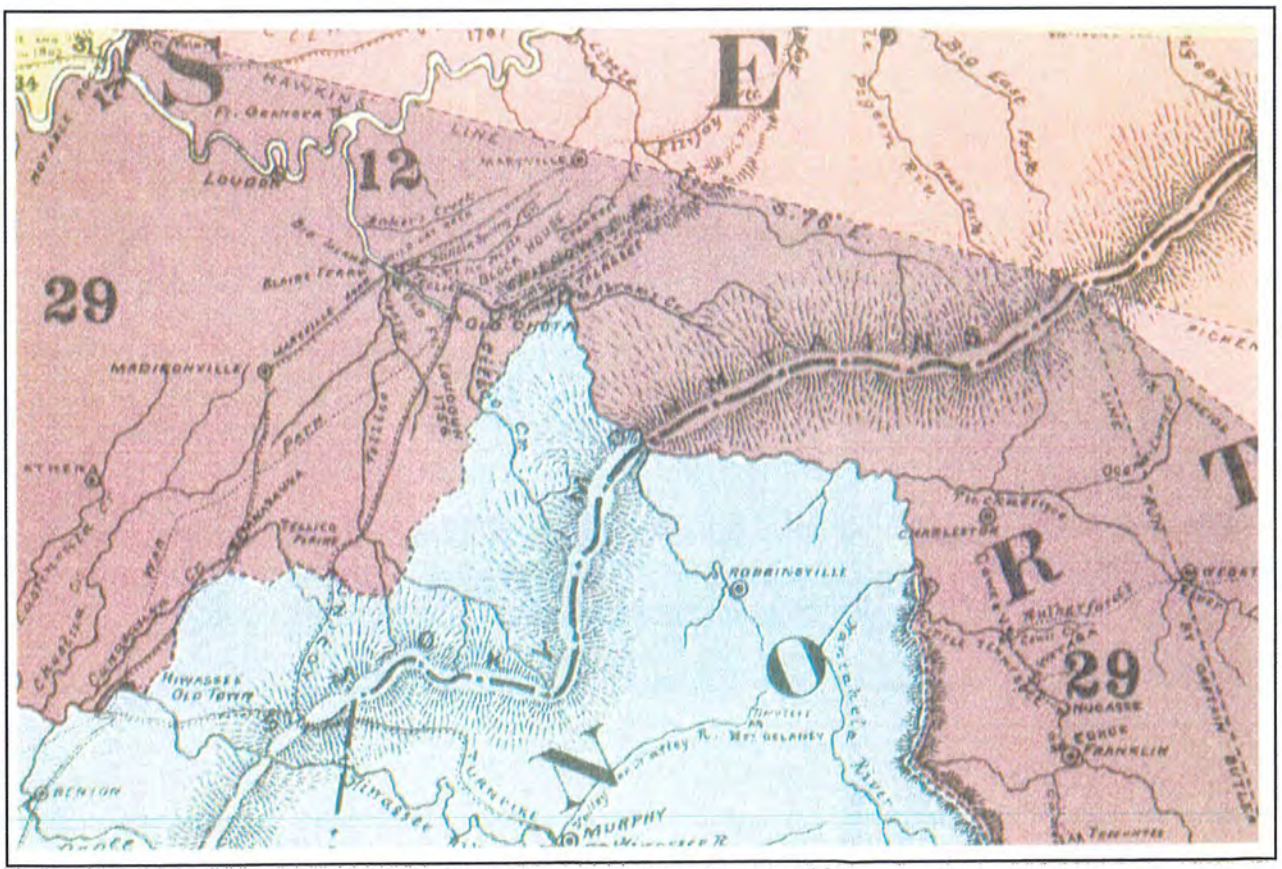


Figure 4.2. Cherokee land cessions in the study area vicinity (Royce 1884).

[or Big Bear] may have been the father of Yonaguska [Yoon-ne-gis-kah, or Drowning Bear] who was granted a reserve a few miles upriver at Kituhwa, and who played a major role in Cherokee efforts to retain control of the Kituhwa area in the 1820s [Brett Riggs, personal communication 2003; Riggs et al. 1998:3.27–3.29]).

Yonah's (Big Bear's) reservation was on either side of the Tuckasegee River near the mouth of Deep Creek, within the present boundaries of Bryson City (Douthat 1993:49; Riggs 1988:89–90), and was one of a series of contiguous reservations extending up the Deep Creek valley; other adjacent reservations partly within the study area include those of Backwater, the Heirs of Too-lee-noos-tah, Ool-lah-not-tee, and Johnston (Douthat 1993:20, 21, 55; Riggs 1988:89–91). Parch Corn Flour's reservation was to the southwest, along Alarka Creek at its confluence with the Little Tennessee (Douthat 1993:11; Riggs 1988:89; Webb et al. 1993:108). Finally, Jack's reservation was in the future Jackson Line community at the intersection of U.S. 19 and alternate 19, in the extreme southeastern corner of the study area (Riggs 1988:89). Other reservations in the area were claimed but not deeded, including one at Econettlee, an island in the Little Tennessee River near the mouth of Calhoun Branch (Riggs and Greene i.p.; Brett Riggs, personal communication 2003).

The Cherokee occupation of most of western North Carolina was to continue only a few more years past 1819. Despite the promises contained in the treaties, the great majority, if not all, of the Cherokee reservists lost their lands to settlers within a few years. Most remaining Cherokee land claims in North Carolina were abolished with the signing of the Treaty of New Echota in 1835, which set in motion the forced removal of most of the remaining Cherokees to lands in the Arkansas Territory (Mooney 1900:123–133; Thomason 2003). The cruelty of this march, known as the Trail of Tears, has been well documented.

Despite the treaty and the Removal, an estimated 1,100 Cherokees remained in their former lands. Approximately 700 Cherokees living around Quallatown (near the confluence of the Oconaluftee River and Soco Creek) were allowed to remain, including some of the citizen Cherokees who had been granted (and subsequently lost) reservations some years earlier (Finger 1984:29; Riggs 1988:19). After the death of Chief Yonagusta in 1839, that group had been increasingly assisted by William H. Thomas, a white merchant who was Yonagusta's adopted son. Thomas worked on the Cherokees' behalf for the next 40 years, acquiring land for both individual Cherokees and the tribe. Thomas eventually acquired some 73,000 acres for these communities, mostly within the present-day Qualla Boundary. Other Cherokees remained in the vicinity of Cheoah (along Buffalo Creek in present-day Graham County), having been allowed to stay primarily due to the difficulty in removing them along poor roads (Duggan 1998). Still other Cherokees remained due to their assistance to the U.S. Army in the Tsali affair (see below), while a final group consisted of those that had evaded the Army, escaped during the Removal, or, like Junaluska, returned from Arkansas soon afterwards.

Removal-Era Cherokee Occupations

The most detailed information on nineteenth-century Cherokee populations in the study area dates to the Removal period, although even then the area was poorly documented compared to areas to the south. In 1837–1838 the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers surveyed the Cherokee lands in North Carolina covered by the Treaty of New Echota, recording the locations of Cherokee houses, fields, and other improvements (Riggs 1996, 1999). The detailed surveyors' notebooks that are useful in locating Cherokee settlements elsewhere in southwestern North Carolina are lacking for most of the study area (except for the Nantahala drainage), however, and the only map showing structures along this part of the Little Tennessee and most of the rest of the study area is the large-scale composite map by Williams (1838) (Figure 4.3). That map depicts up to 34 structures in the study area, as well as "Stekoah Town" at the site of modern Stecoah. Although most, if not all, of the 15 or so structures shown by Williams on the north

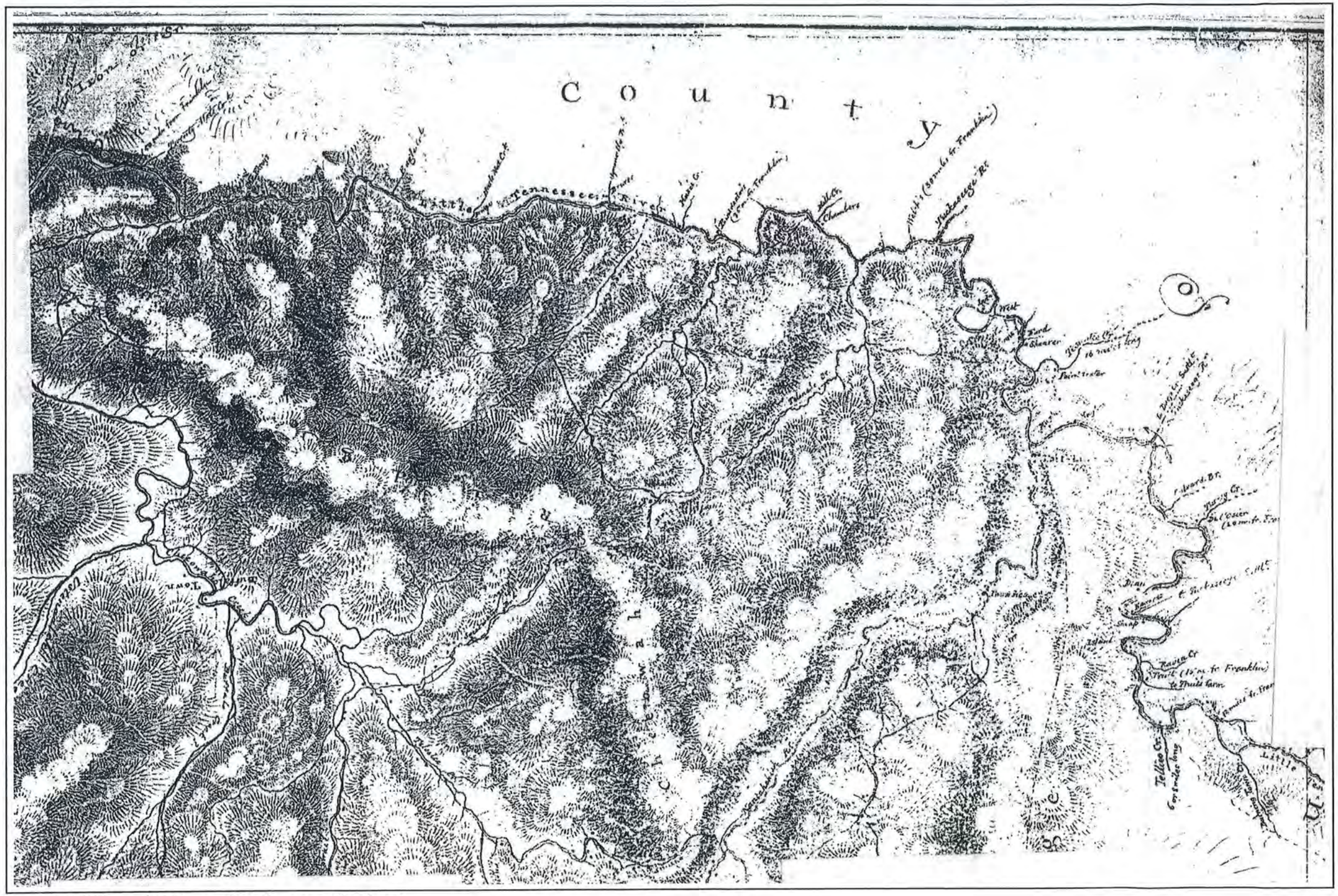


Figure 4.3. Williams (1838) map of southern part of study area.

bank of the Little Tennessee (which had already been ceded and was not intensively mapped) probably were occupied by Euro-American settlers (see below), most of the remaining 19 structures were likely Cherokee homesteads. These included a group of at least three structures along the Nantahala River below its confluence with the Little Tennessee (along with others to the south, outside the study area) and a group of at least four houses along Stekoah Creek. Other homesteads were located along the Little Tennessee River below its confluence with the Tuckasegee as well as along the lower reaches of Alarka Creek.

Many Cherokee structures are likely not indicated on the 1838 map, however, and the 1835 census and 1836–37 property valuations indicate a somewhat larger population in the area. As summarized by Riggs (1996:73):

> The 1835 census of Stecoa indicates twelve Cherokee families comprising a total of 77 individuals. The Buckahannon (Kulkeene) household included nine Anglo-Cherokee *metis*, the remainder of the community members were fullbloods. Welch and Jarrett [who conducted the property valuations] valued 13 properties in Stecoa, including 11 homesteads. These properties comprised 20 houses and cabins, three hothouses, eight corn cribs, five stables, a shop house, 120 acres of farmland, and 267 fruit trees ... . Several of the Stecoa properties were particularly well developed, with hewn log residential structures valued at more than $20.00 and larger (>10 ac) tracts of farmland. Smith, the Federal census taker, observed that the Stecoa farms were enclosed by the best fencing that he had seen in the Cherokee Nation (United States War Department 1835). Post-removal spoilation claims of former Stecoa residents indicate that the community included a blacksmith shop and several water operated pounding mills (Cherokee Claims Papers 1838–1842). The nature of these improvements suggests that Stecoa was more westernized in character than most nearby Cherokee communities. This is congruent with the presence of a Christian preacher (Arch) and congregation in the community (Jones 1837).

The census and valuations also identify two to three residents in the Tuskeegee Creek area (west of Stecoah Creek), and several others at Yellow Town, along Panther Creek between Stecoah Creek and the Nantahala. Another group of families apparently lived in Yalaga (Alarka), on the west bank of the Little Tennessee between the mouths of the Nantahala and Tuckasegee, where they cultivated small patches of riverbottom land (Riggs 1996:75; Riggs and Greene i.p.). The property evaluations indicate that at least eight families were present in that area, occupying small log cabins and farming a total of 38 acres (Riggs and Shumate 2003a:5).

The forced removal of the Cherokees from North Carolina began in June of 1838, with the arrest and concentration of most of the remaining Cherokees in six removal forts and stockades across the area that had been relinquished by the 1835 Treaty of New Echota. The northernmost of the removal forts was Fort Lindsay, which was at the future site of Almond on the east side of the Nantahala a short distance below its confluence with the Little Tennessee (Riggs 1996:75; Riggs and Greene i.p.). The Cherokees from Yalaga and elsewhere in the study area were probably first taken from their homes and moved to Fort Lindsay, where they were held for a short period before being transported to Fort Butler in Murphy, probably along a route that ran along the Nantaheelee Road to the southwest, through a gap in Long Ridge to its intersection with the Athens and Franklin Stage Road (Thomason 2003:E36; Riggs and Shumate 2003a:6). From Murphy they were moved to camps at Fort Cass in Tennessee before their final removal to the Arkansas Territory (Riggs and Shumate 2003a:6).

Besides the stockade at Fort Lindsay, a smaller stockade or "guardhouse" may have been located at Welch's, on the north bank of the river a short distance downstream from the Tuckasegee confluence. This may have been one of a number of smaller holding facilities present throughout the Removal area (Duggan 1998:30–31), and if present was probably used to temporarily hold newly-arrested Cherokees prior to their transfer to Fort Lindsay or movement out of the area. (There are no contemporary accounts

of this stockade, and it is possible that later references to it actually refer to the facility at Fort Lindsay [Brett Riggs, personal communication 2003]). The Welch homestead was to figure prominently in the arrest, escape, re-arrest, and execution of members of the Tsali family in October–November 1838. Various accounts of this episode, and its relationship to the remaining Cherokee presence in the East, have reverberated for almost two centuries (e.g., Finger 1979, 1984:22–28, 1991:116–117; King and Evans 1979, Kutsche 1963; Lanman 1847, Mooney 1900). Although many of the details of the story are uncertain, its general outline is relatively clear.

Prior to the removal, Tsali lived with his family along a small tributary on the east side of the Nantahala River, a few miles south of the present study area. During the summer of 1838, he and his family fled along with other Nantahala-area Cherokees into the mountains to avoid deportation and removal. This strategy was initially successful, and government troops were ordered out of the area in late June, when General Scott considered the removal to be essentially complete. In early August Scott learned that a number of fugitives remained in the mountains, however, and ordered troops back into the area to search for them. Tsali and 12 members of his family were captured by some of these soldiers near the mouth of the Tuckasegee on October 30, and over the next two days were being transported out of the area (possibly along the Little Tennessee Turnpike) by the troops. On the night of November 1 (according to Arthur [1914:577] near the mouth of Paine's [Payne] Branch, a few miles east of the present site of Fontana Dam), the Cherokees rebelled against their captors, killing at least two of the soldiers. Tsali and his family then fled into the uplands north of the Tuckasegee. On November 7 General Scott ordered Colonel William S. Foster and the 4th Infantry to search for and punish the fugitives, and Foster and his troops set up camp at the Welch homestead on November 12 (King and Evans 1979:198–199). (The Welch location is termed *Camp Scott* in letters of the time. This was a temporary designation, however, and the *Camp Scott* at Welch's is not to be confused with the *Camp Scott* formerly located at the town of Aquone, where the State Road crossed the Nantahala some distance to the southeast.)

The troops searched for the fugitives over the next week. Three of the Cherokees were recaptured (possibly near the mouth of Forney Creek [Arthur 1914:578]) on or shortly after November 19, and were brought to Welch's for an inquiry. The three captives (Tsali's sons Nantahala George [Chutequutlutlih], Nantahala Jake [Canantutlaga or Ridge], and Lowan [Lauinnih]) were identified by witnesses, including Joseph Welch and William H. Thomas, and on November 23 were executed near the Welch home by other Cherokees under the leadership of Euchella, a former neighbor of Tsali who had assisted in their capture (King and Evans 1979). The three executed Cherokees were buried at Welch's, probably west of the family homestead in an area between Buckeye Branch and Poplar Pole Branch later known as "Buckeye Flats" (Parris 1986). Tsali himself was captured a few days later on Deep Creek, and was executed "near Big Bear's reserve" (the present site of Bryson City) on November 25 (King and Evans 1979).

TVA records suggest that in the 1940s the graves of Tsali's sons were located on the southwest side of the railroad tracks on TVA Acquisition Tract FR-127, and formed the nucleus of a small cemetery named after drowning victim William Cook, who was buried nearby. (No graves are shown at this location on earlier land acquisition maps by the KPC [1914] or NP&L [1932]). The Fontana Project cemetery records on file at NARA contain Grave Removal Permits for the graves of Little Charlie, Longridge, and Lawana, who are described as Cherokee Indians who died in 1838. The permits specify that the graves had been staked and provide for their relocation to the Old Mission Cemetery in Cherokee, but it is not clear from the available records that the proposed disinterment and reinterment actually occurred.

Post-Removal Cherokee Occupations

As discussed above, some 1,100 Cherokees managed to stay in North Carolina after Removal (Finger 1984:29). Those who were officially allowed to remain included the Citizen Cherokees residing in the Oconaluftee area and members of Euchella's band, who had been exempted from removal due to their

help in aiding in the arrest and execution of Tsali and the other fugitives. A number of other Cherokees remained in isolated areas in southwestern North Carolina and southeastern Tennessee. A sizeable Cherokee population remained southwest of the study area near the former Buffalo Town, and later became the nucleus of the Snowbird Cherokees (Duggan 1998:51; Neely 1991). Many of these Cherokees occupied land that was bought on their behalf by W.H. Thomas and other sympathetic whites (as Cherokees and other non-whites were not allowed to own land in the state until 1866); many of those tracts were later incorporated into the modern tribal reservation. Other Cherokees who had evaded removal likely lived on tracts owned by whites, as may have occurred on land owned by the Siler family on the south bank of the Little Tennessee within the study area (Riggs and Shumate 2003a:6).

One mid-to-late nineteenth century Cherokee settlement, Pretty Woman's Town, may have been located on Deep Creek north of Bryson City (Duggan 1998; Duncan and Riggs 2003:75; Brett Riggs, personal communication 2003), and some 30 Cherokees were living on Deep Creek in 1850 (Duncan and Riggs 2003:75). Another concentration of Cherokee settlements was present in the former Alarka area as early as the 1840s, and is clearly documented near Almond and Judson along the lower Nantahala in the late nineteenth century (Duggan 1998, 2002:57; Finger 1984:123). Many of these so-called Nantahala Cherokees had ties with outlying settlements, including one some distance to the west in the Ducktown Basin of East Tennessee (Duggan 1998). An 1898 tribal census lists the names of 82 individuals from 17 families residing in the area; most of whom "were kin or former neighbors of the Ducktown Basin Cherokees" (Duggan 1998:263–266).

Many of the Cherokees were apparently gone from this area by the early 1900s, with some moving to the newly purchased 3200-acre tract near Ela (northeast of Bryson City) (Duggan 1998:268). At least a small enclave remained in the study area, however. The KPC (1914) and NP&L (1932) acquisition maps indicate that four tracts (totaling about 668 acres) in the area were tribally-owned as late as 1932, including future TVA Acquisition Tracts FR-221, 227, 410, and 864. Three of the four tracts were sold by the tribe between 1932 and 1943. By 1943 the only remaining tribal property in the area was located on Mouse Branch (a tributary of the Little Tennessee west of Judson near the village of Japan), and consisted of the 116-acre Tract FR-864, which was acquired directly from the "U.S.A. Cherokee Indian Reservation" by the TVA. Other nearby tracts were owned by individual Cherokees, including members of the Chickalala (Chicklelee) and other families (Taylor 2001:88–90; TVA 1943). Other material evidence of Cherokee occupation remaining in the 1940s included a cemetery located on FR-864, two adjacent cemeteries (one associated with the Cat [Catt] family) in the uplands east of Almond on Tract FR-410, and an (apparently) isolated grave in the uplands across the river and northwest of Almond.

Besides these settlements, there is also anecdotal evidence of other Cherokee occupations in the study area into at least the mid-1800s, including at several locations in the Hazel Creek drainage (Oliver (1989:3, 2002:2–4, 2003:5–6). Additional documentary and oral history research would likely reveal a more extensive mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century Cherokee presence in the study area (including on the North Shore) than is readily apparent. Finally, many Cherokees married into Euro-American families, and their ethnic heritage was not always readily acknowledged (Oliver 2003:106).

The mid-nineteenth through twentieth century social and political history of the Eastern Band has been described in detail by Finger (1984, 1991), Hill (1997), Mooney (1900), and others, and needs only be recapped here. The Cherokees' rights to the lands bought by Thomas were confirmed by a federal court decision in 1874, providing some measure of security to the local population. In 1889, the Cherokees in North Carolina were officially incorporated under state law as the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (Finger 1984). Most Cherokees continued to practice a farming economy throughout the nineteenth century, although hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plant foods were also important subsistence activities. Logging became an important source of jobs for a time beginning in the late 1800s, although most logging jobs were gone by the early 1930s. Although the Cherokee population has increasingly become outwardly acculturated since the growth of the modern tourist industry beginning in the 1930s, it

has preserved a distinct cultural and ethnic identity through the retention of the Cherokee language and aspects of both day-to-day and ceremonial life (Riggs et al. 1997:19).

EURO-AMERICAN OCCUPATION

Early to Mid-Nineteenth Century Euro-American Settlement

Although a few traders were present by the late eighteenth century, the intensive Euro-American settlement of the study area began in the early 1820s, shortly after the Cherokee cession of lands north and east of the Little Tennessee River. Some of these early settlers occupied parcels surveyed by Elihu Chambers and others under the direction of Robert Love, and which are shown on Love's 1820 map (Figure 4.4). That map depicts a number of surveyed tracts along Alarka Creek and the Tuckasegee and Little Tennessee rivers, including two at the rivers' confluence. (The map does not extend west along the Little Tennessee from the confluence.) Several of these tracts were apparently settled in the 1820s, and by 1832 Joseph Welch had continued the Little Tennessee Turnpike west along the north bank of the river (Oliver 1999, 2003). The MacRae-Brazier map of 1833 depicts the Turnpike Road running up the Little Tennessee, crossing the Tuckasegee just above the confluence, and then extending west along the north bank of the Little Tennessee. A single house (presumably Welch's, see below) is indicated on the north bank of the river at the confluence.

The 1838 U.S. Army map (Williams 1838) is the first known map to show multiple structures in the study area (see Figure 4.3). That map depicts up to 34 structures in the study area, including about 15 on the north bank of the Little Tennessee that were probably occupied by Euro-American settlers. The map (and a contemporary map by Thomas [1838]) also provides the first comprehensive data on stream names in the area. Proceeding west from the river's confluence, the map shows "Welch's" on the east side of an unnamed drainage (probably Poplar Pole Branch). Two structures labeled "Chambers" are located east of Mill Creek (later Chambers Creek). Further to the west, Pointdexter's (marked "35 mi. fr. Franklin") is shown across and downriver from the mouth of Stecoah Creek. Two unnamed structures are shown near Haze's (probably what was later known as Hubbard Mill or Pilkey) Creek, and two or three structures (one marked "Brewer") are shown at the mouth of what was later called Calhoun (or Chesquah) Branch. A bridge is shown at the mouth of Hazelnut (later Hazel) Creek; Eagle Creek is depicted and labeled but with no associated structures. An unnamed structure is shown near the mouth of what is apparently Paine's Branch, and "McElroy's" is shown some distance downriver, at the western edge of the study area. Working south from the Little Tennessee/Tuckasegee confluence, other early Euro-American landowners included a second Pointdexter; two other illegible names are also indicated along the north bank of the Little Tennessee east of its confluence with the Nantahala (Williams 1838). The map does not provide detail upriver along the Tuckasegee, as the government had already acquired both banks of the river in that area.

No systematic attempt has been made to research all of these individuals, but some information concerning a few of them is readily available. One of the most noted early settlers in the area was Joseph Welch, who settled between Welch Branch and Chambers Creek sometime about 1828 (Holland 2001:15; Oliver 2003:100–104). As mentioned above, Welch was instrumental in developing the western portion of the Little Tennessee Turnpike, which was built in the early 1830s and extended down the north (right) bank of the Little Tennessee from its confluence with the Tuckasegee into Tennessee. Although Welch was forced to declare bankruptcy due to the financial failure of the turnpike, he was able to keep his land. The upkeep of the turnpike was apparently taken over by Macon County, and it ceased to be a toll road (MacRae-Brazier 1833; Oliver 1999, 2002:11–12, 2003:100–103; Williams 1838). As discussed above, a small stockade at the Welch homestead may have been used to temporarily hold Cherokee prisoners during the 1838 Removal, and Colonel Foster and his 4th Infantry hunting Tsali and other escaped Cherokees were headquartered at Welch's for a time in November 1838 (King and Evans 1979:198–199). Three of the Cherokees involved in the Tsali episode were brought to Welch's after their

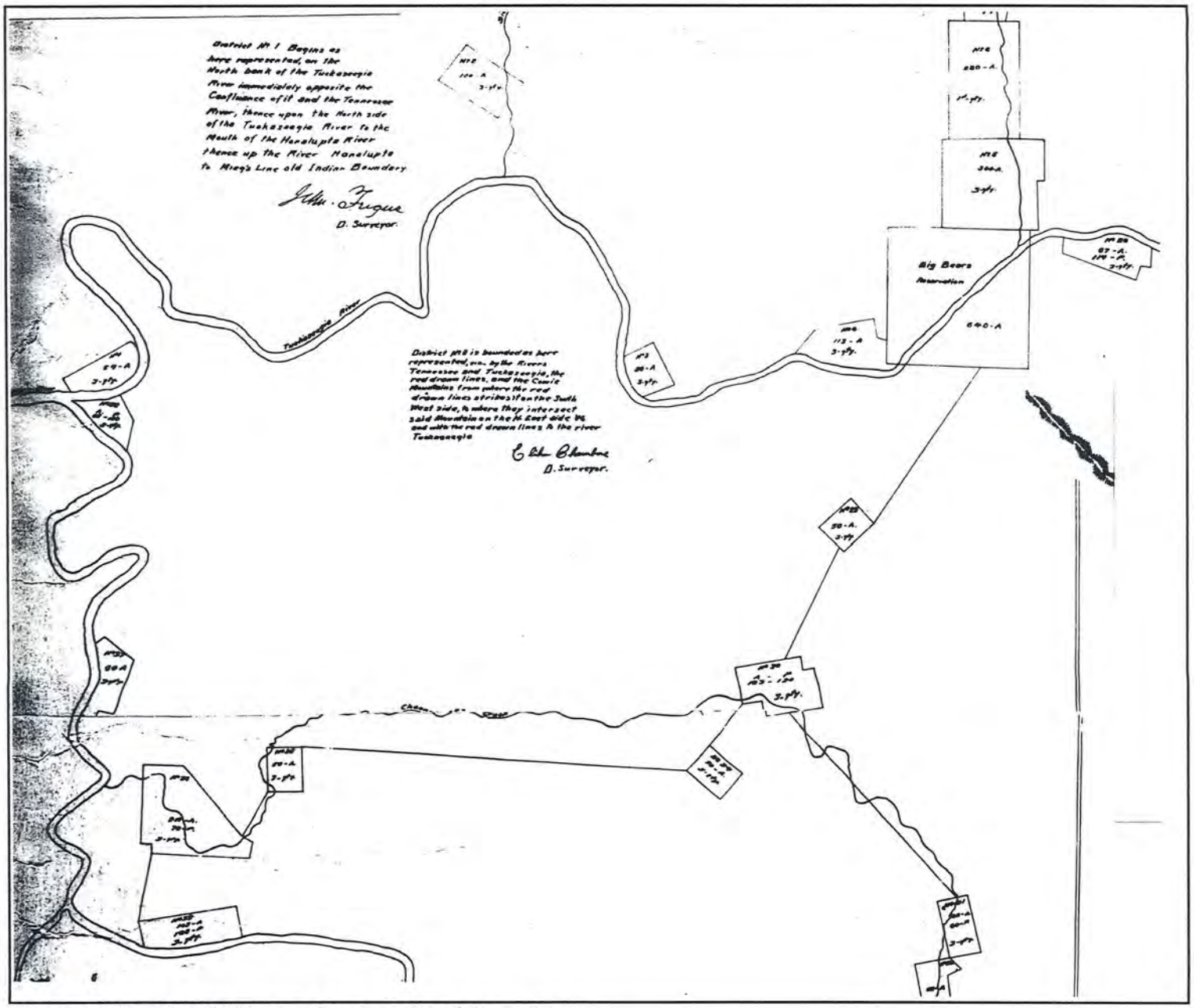


Figure 4.4. Love's (1820) map of eastern part of the study area.

capture, and Welch was one of three witnesses against them prior to their execution on November 23. A few days earlier, Welch had also been a signatory on the petition to Colonel Foster requesting permission for Euchella and his band to remain in the area (Finger 1979:13). Joseph Welch and his wife Catherine had at least eight children, the youngest of which (A. Burton Welch) inherited the family homestead. Although NP&L acquired much land in the area for a proposed reservoir in the 1920s and 1930s, the Welch family continued to live in the Bushnell area until the development of Fontana Lake in the 1940s (Macon 1988:308).

The Chambers family were residents on nearby Chambers Creek by the early 1820s, and perhaps as early as 1808 (Oliver 2003:105). Although Philip Chambers apparently established the earliest family homestead near the mouth of the creek, the later homes of his son John and grandson Philip were further to the north, along the North and West forks of the stream. The Elihu Chambers who was a surveyor with Robert Love was apparently a brother of the elder Philip Chambers, and he and his brothers James and Joseph were also early landowners in the area (Chambers 1988; Chambers et al. 1988). No data have been gathered on the Pointdexter family, although four Poindexters (sic) were among those who signed the 1838 petition to Colonel Foster concerning the Euchella band.

Other accounts provide additional information on the early Euro-American settlement. The general pattern of settlement apparently pushed downriver along the Little Tennessee. The earlier settlers occupied the best bottomland along the Tuckasegee and Little Tennessee east of Hazel Creek; later settlers were forced to acquire land further down the river and up the creeks (Oliver 1989:4–5; cf. Lambert 1958a). When Arnold Henry Guyot came to map the Smoky Mountains about 1858, he encountered settlers not only along the river valleys but also on creek bottoms and coves far back into the mountains. Most of these early inhabitants were of Scots, Scots-Irish, or English ancestry (Sharpe 1954:19). The early Euro-American inhabitants of the area were primarily subsistence farmers, with some supplementing their incomes by raising and selling livestock and through small-scale mercantile establishments. The better-off settlers farmed the richer and more easily cultivated soils found on the floodplains and in the larger coves, and raised such crops as corn, wheat, rye, and oats. Cattle and hogs were also raised and for many years were given free rein. Much of the corn was used as fodder for the cattle, hogs, and work animals, although some was ground into meal for local consumption.

While most settlement proceeded downriver, some of the earliest settlers in Hazel Creek came across the mountains from Tennessee. Moses and Catherine Proctor followed an old Indian trail from Cades Cove across the Pinnacle and through Possum Hollow, and established a homestead at the present site of Proctor Cemetery about 1830. Another early family from Cades Cove, that of Samuel and Elizabeth Cable, settled downstream on Cable Branch by 1835. At least four families were residing in Hazel Creek by 1860, but settlement density in the area did not increase substantially until after the Civil War (Oliver 1989:8–12).

Many men from local communities joined Thomas' Legion or other regiments during the Civil War, but there were few engagements in the study area. The most important of these occurred in February 1864, when the Union 14th Illinois Calvary moved across the mountains from Cades Cove, across "the upper, unsettled section of Hazel Creek, and took the trail to the top of Welch Ridge and down Chambers Creek to the tollroad" along the Little Tennessee (Oliver 1993:34). On February 2, the Union forces attacked a group of up to 300 Cherokees and other Legion members camped near the mouth of Deep Creek. After considerable fighting the troops returned to Tennessee, taking with them several prisoners (Crow 1982: 58–59; Finger 1984:94–96; Oliver 2003:36). A second Civil War episode occurred in 1865 near the mouth of the Tuckasegee, where three reported horse thieves (George Williams, Bart Williams, and Jeff Deavers) were overtaken by their victim and other pursuers "not far from the house of A.B. Welch on the (Little) Tennessee River." The three were reportedly executed for their crime on January 10, 1865, and

buried along the Old State Road (formerly the Little Tennessee River Turnpike) near the site. Their graves were moved to the U.S. Military Cemetery in Knoxville in the 1890s (Baker 2003).

The years following the Civil War saw a continuation of the pre-war pattern of subsistence agriculture and small-scale livestock raising; there were few opportunities for wage-labor in most of the area until the 1880s, when the earliest logging operations began. In 1879, a total of 9,554 acres in Swain County were in corn, wheat, rye, and oats. An additional 160 acres were in minor crops, including hay, sweet potatoes, and tobacco. Fruit trees also became significant contributors to local subsistence about this time, and by 1889 almost 20,000 apple or peach trees were present (Perkins and Gettys 1947:12). Other settlers lived farther back in the mountains, in the narrower coves and valleys far up smaller tributaries. These occupants lived relatively isolated lives, making a living off small subsistence plots and having relatively little contact with the larger settlements (Lambert 1958a:425; Shumate et al. 1996:32; Zeigler and Grosscup 1883).

Late Nineteenth Century Through Twentieth Century Euro-American Settlement

Swain County was formed from adjacent parts of Jackson and Macon counties in 1871, with the county seat established at the new settlement of Charleston (later Bryson City) (Corbitt 1950:202). The county's population was 3,784 in 1880, but reached 6,577 in 1890, 8,401 in 1900, and 10,403 in 1910 (Table 4.1). The population was predominantly "native white," with percentages ranging from a low of 85.5 percent in 1880 and 1890 to a high of 92.4 percent in 1920. Between 6.5 percent (1920) and 11.5 percent (1880) of the population was described as "Indian." African-Americans made up a distinct minority during the period, ranging from a high of 3.4 percent in 1890 to a low of 0.9 percent in 1920. Finally, a very small percentage of the population (less than 0.5 percent) was described as "non-native white" (Black 1928:14–15).

Adjacent Graham County was formed in 1872 from Cherokee County, and the county seat was established at Robbinsville (Corbitt 1950:107–108). Robbinsville developed around a trading post first established by Thomas Cooper and William H. Thomas in the early 1840s near the site of Fort Montgomery (one of the six Removal forts); earlier names of the settlement included Cheoah Valley and Fort Montgomery (Sheffey 1992:2; Thomason 2003:E35). As in Swain County, the lack of adequate transportation routes hindered development of the area. For many years the Tatham Gap Road, which had been constructed by the Army in 1838 to facilitate removal of the Cherokees from the Cheoah Valley, remained the major route to nearby Andrews. A road to Topton and the Murphy Branch Railroad was opened in the early 1900s, however, and greatly facilitated access to the area (Sheffey 1992:2).

The late nineteenth century saw increasing settlement, as well as the earliest development of the logging and mining industries (see below). The extension of the railroad to Bryson City in 1884 increased access to previously unavailable markets in the eastern part of the state and spurred the development of logging (Sharpe 1954:21). Although there were no recorded logging operations in Swain County in 1880, by 1890 twelve such establishments were present, with a total production valued at $85,226. This figure grew to 41 operations with a production of $156,990 in 1900; by 1920 the number of operations had shrunk to 22, but total production value had risen to $2,001,208 (Black 1928). Major logging operations developed in Swain County during this period included those at Forney Creek (Harris-Woodbury Company [pre-1906], Norwood Lumber Company [1906–1925]), Hazel Creek (W.M. Ritter Lumber Company [1903–1926]), and Eagle Creek (Montvale Lumber Company [1904–1920s]) (Lambert 1958b, 1961; Pierce 2003). Logging in Graham County began in the 1880s with work on Santeetlah, West Buffalo, and Snowbird creeks; as elsewhere, the earliest logging utilized splash dams. More substantial operations were organized in the early 1900s, including those of the Whiting Manufacturing Company, which was based at Judson in Swain County but logged most of eastern Graham County. Other major operations in Graham County included those of the Kanawha Hardwood Lumber Company, the Babcock Lumber and Land Company, and the Bemis Hardwood Lumber Company (Nothstein 1972).

Table 4.1. Population Statistics for Graham and Swain Counties, 1880–1950.

Location	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Graham County								
Robbinsville Township	1774	1723	2368					
Cheoah Township				2579	2446	3527	4057	4875
*Robbinsville Town**				*122*	*119*	*345*	*399*	*515*
Stecoah Township	561	972	1216	1498	1405	1399	1463	941
Yellow Creek Township		618	759	672	1021	915	898	1070
Total	2335	3313	4343	4749	4872	5841	6418	6886
Swain County								
Charleston Township	1352	2669	3202	3780	4405	5294	8030	8329
*Bryson Town**			*417*	*612*	*882*	*1806*	*1612*	*1499*
*Whittier Town (Swain county only)**				*156*				
*Whittier Town (Swain/Jackson counties)**					*261*			
Forney Creek Township	562	926	1350	2324	3491	1960	1463	13
Nantahala Township	1003	1615	2199	2749	2603	2502	2684	1579
*Almond Town**				*98*	*146*		*613*	
Oconaluftee Township	867	1367	1650	1550	2725	1812		
Total	3784	6577	8401	10403	13224	11568	12177	9921

* Town figures are included in township totals.

References: USBC (1895, 1901, 1913, 1921–1922, 1932, 1943, 1952).

A 1916 article in the Bryson City Times (Latshaw 1916) provides an interesting picture of Swain County in the early years of the twentieth century. At that time 33,647 acres, or 9.7 percent of the county's total area, were under cultivation. A total of 1,383 farms were present, with an average area in cultivation of 24.3 acres. The county generally ranked low among North Carolina counties in most measures of farm production and was below the state average in corn, wheat, pork, and poultry production per capita. The estimated value of farm crops grew considerably throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, from an estimated $73,527 in 1880 to $667,956 in 1920 (Black 1928:43).

The prosperity brought by the lumber companies was short-lived. Most of the companies left the area in the mid-1920s (Black 1928:16), and the local decline in prosperity was only exacerbated by the onset of the Great Depression. Conditions generally failed to improve throughout the 1930s. A 1939 newspaper article stated that over 80 percent of the families in Swain County were eligible for government assistance, but reported that gains were being made in combating illiteracy and malnutrition (Anonymous 1939a).

One factor hindering development of Swain County was the removal of sizable amounts of land from the tax base in the 1920s–1940s. Between 1929 and 1934, the North Carolina Park Commission acquired 169,414 acres, or about half the land in the county, for GSMNP; this was in addition to other land that had been acquired for the Cherokee Indian Reservation in 1924. A further 58,000 acres were taken by the TVA for the Fontana project in the early 1940s. The removal of this land from the tax base was a major economic blow to the county, already hit hard by the collapse of the timber industry (Fleming 1958). Ultimately, however, the development of the Park and of Fontana Lake increased tourism, providing a new source of income. As early as 1932, Bryson City and the surrounding mountains were being promoted as a tourist center (Anonymous 1932a; Bennett 1932). By the 1950s, the flourishing tourism business was beginning to ameliorate the hardships caused by the land acquisitions (Fleming 1958; Paul 1950), although tensions over the loss of land remained.

NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY TRANSPORTATION NETWORKS

The availability of transportation routes played a major role in the settlement, growth, and eventual depopulation of the North Shore region, and is the principal factor driving the present study. Consequently, an understanding of the transportation history of the area is vital to interpreting the settlement history of the area and the nature of the North Shore Road controversy.

A number of trails likely traversed the study area at the beginning of the historic period, including a route extending from Hazel Creek over Ekaneetlee [Egwanulti] Gap to Cades Cove (ATC 1973:6-33); this was likely the route taken into the area by the Proctors and some other early settlers of Hazel Creek. The earliest improved road in the area was the Little Tennessee Turnpike, which by 1833 had been constructed down the east bank of the Little Tennessee to its confluence with the Tuckasegee, across the Tuckasegee to Welch's, and then down the river towards Tennessee (MacRae-Brazier 1833; Oliver 1999). This remained the principal road through the area for most of the nineteenth century, and was supplemented by a network of trails. By 1882 the road had been extended east along the north bank of the Tuckasegee to Charleston (later Bryson City), and a road had been built west from Judson (the later Judson–Japan road) along the south bank of the Little Tennessee as far west as Panther Creek (Kerr 1882). (The road west along the Tuckasegee from Charleston is not shown on the 1886 Cowee quadrangle [USGS 1886], which depicts a road running northwest from Bryson City into the upper Lands Creek drainage).

The Southern Railroad reached Bryson City in 1884 (although the route is depicted on the 1882 map), and from there extended west along the north bank of the Tuckasegee as far as Bushnell, where it turned south, crossed the Tuckasegee, and followed first the Little Tennessee and then the Nantahala to the

south towards Murphy (Holland 2001:75; USGS 1882). The railroad was not extended west from Bushnell until the early 1900s, when the Carolina and Tennessee Southern Railroad was built to the Montvale Lumber Company town of Fontana, at the mouth of Eagle Creek. That point marked the furthest extension of the main line to the west, although the Kitchen Lumber Company built a three to four mile extension to Kitchenville (a short distance below the Fontana Dam site) in the 1920s (Holland 2001:87).

By the early 1890s several other roads were present in the area, including roads up Forney, Hazel, and Eagle creeks, and a route extending along Alarka Creek west to Judson, Wolf Creek, and the Stecoah Creek drainage (USGS 1892b). By 1906 the road network south of the Little Tennessee had been extended to include routes connecting Stecoah Creek with Sawyer and Tuskeegee creeks and the Little Tennessee River across from Wayside and Dorsey (Figure 4.5). North of the river, other roads ran up Hazel Creek to well above Proctor, and some distance up Forney Creek and Welch Branch. No road is shown up Eagle Creek at that time (USGS 1906). Subsequent years saw considerable expansion of the railroad network in the study area, as the Montvale, Ritter, Whiting, and Norwood companies began extensive logging operations. Most of the logging railroads did not carry passenger traffic, although the Ritter line (the Smoky Mountain Railway) did carry passengers up Hazel Creek to Proctor. The rail lines up the creeks were generally removed when the lumber companies left, although the spur line continued to extend as far west as Fontana.

The next major road improvement in the area took place in 1926, when

> the Forney Creek Road District of Swain County floated two bond issues totaling $700,000 to finance the construction of [North Carolina] Highway 288 ... to replace the old Joseph Welch river turnpike and the Carolina and Tennessee Southern Railroad that would be flooded by Alcoa's [then-proposed] reservoir. Highway 288 connected Bryson City and U.S. Highway 129 at Deals Gap. Even through it provided access to Tennessee and beyond, the winding, mountainside, unpaved road was mainly used by local traffic [Holland 2001:186].

TVA described NC 288 in the early 1940s as "an extremely narrow, winding mountain road, totally unsuitable for heavy hauling and personnel traffic" (cited in Holland 2001:138), and as "a narrow unpaved road with very low standards of alinement [sic] and grade" (TVA 1950:499). NC 288 is shown on a 1930 North Carolina County Road Survey as a hard-surfaced road running the length of the county; a similar road (NC 10) led southwest from Bryson City, west along Alarka Creek to Almond, and then south to Wesser, while NC 286 ran south from NC 10 across Alarka Creek and down the east side of the Little Tennessee (USBPR 1930; Webb et al. 1993) (Figure 4.6). These are the only hard surfaced roads depicted by the Atlas in the study area (although NC 288 was never paved). Most of the other roads in the area, which generally led up drainages such as Noland, Forney, and Hazel creeks, are shown as graded or (generally unimproved) Class B or C County Highways (USBPR 1930).

Although NC 288 had been designed to be above the pool of the Alcoa's proposed reservoir (which would have been impounded by a 200-foot dam at the future Fontana dam site), most of the road was to be inundated by the TVA's proposed 480-foot high dam. TVA concluded that the estimated $1,200,000 required to relocate the road using comparable construction standards was more than the value of the land served, and

> the War Production Board had indicated that reconstruction of the road was not of sufficient importance to justify the expenditure of materials and manpower required for the work during the war. [Consequently], TVA proposed an alternate solution that would cost only $1,075,000 and would result in advantages to the mutual benefit of all concerned" [Holland 2001:187].

That solution, of course, was the acquisition of the North Shore area and its subsequent inclusion in GSMNP.

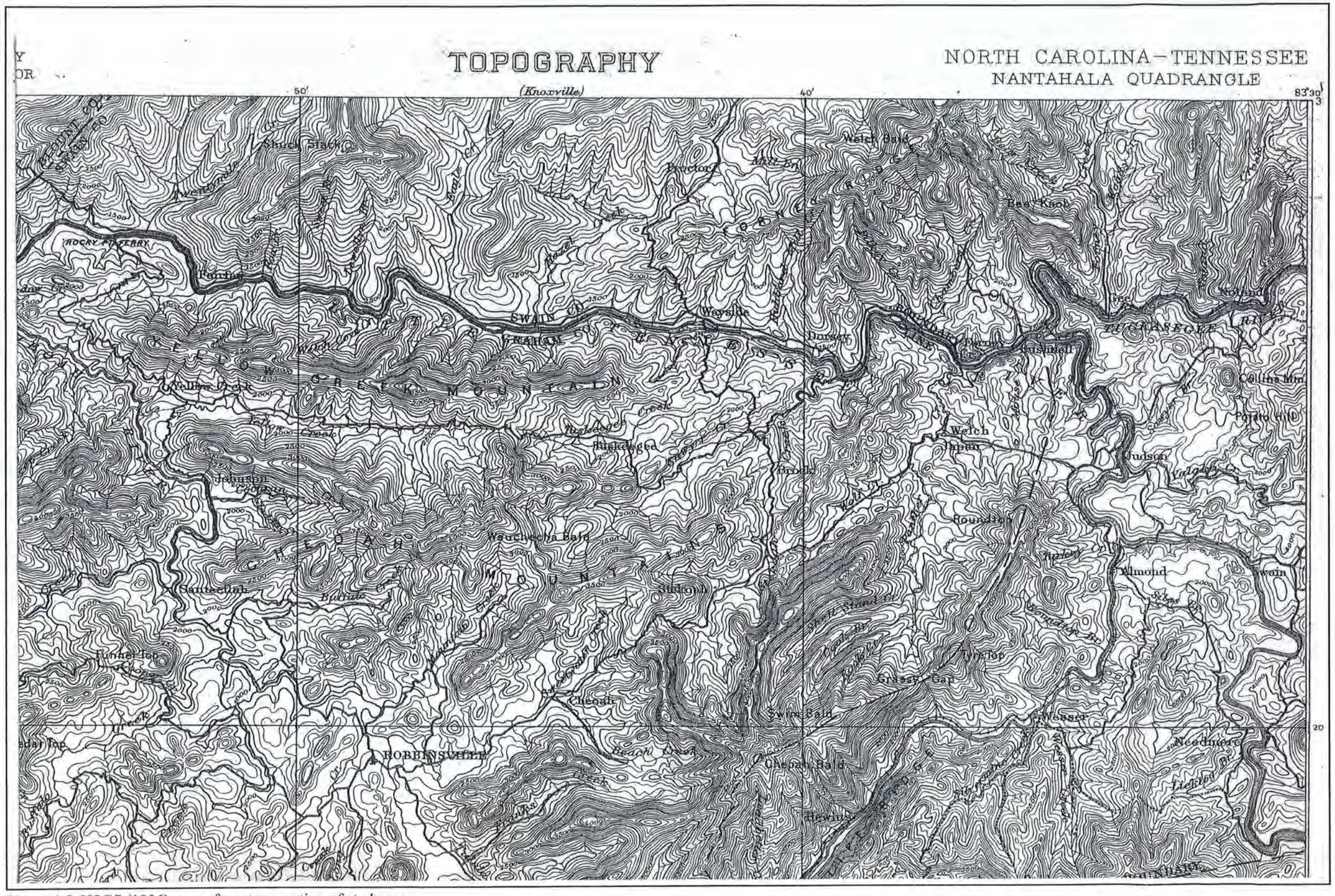


Figure 4.5. USGS (1906) map of western portion of study area.

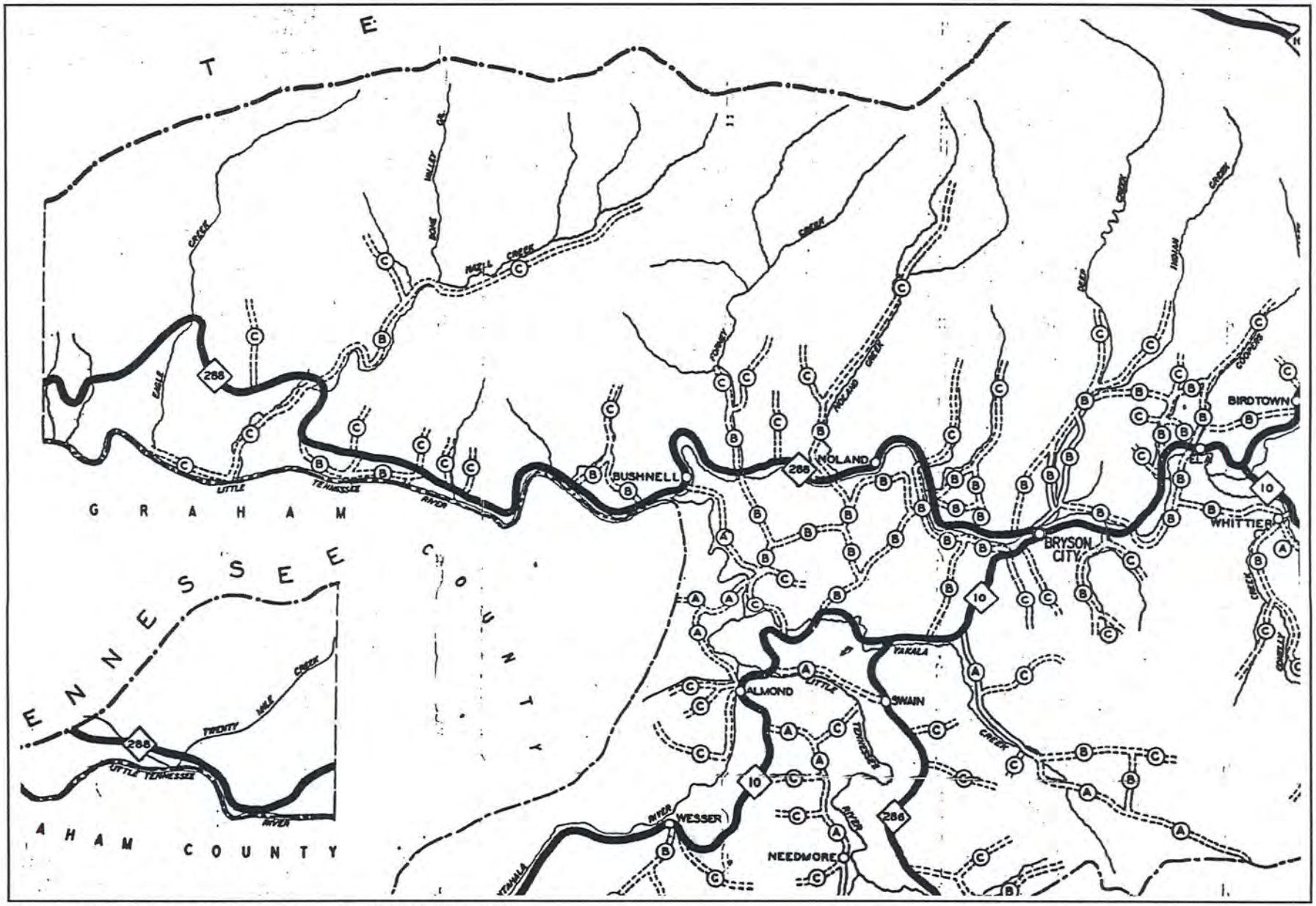


Figure 4.6. Roads in the study area in 1930 (USBPR 1930).

NC 288 was not the only transportation route to be affected by reservoir construction. As discussed below, routes into Cable and Poison coves on the south shore west of Tuskeegee Creek were also inundated, resulting in the acquisition of those areas by the TVA (and their subsequent transfer to Nantahala National Forest). Parts of NC 10 (US 19) were also flooded, and a portion of that road was relocated as well. Finally, the reservoir construction also submerged "24 miles of the Murphy line of the Southern Railway between Bryson City and Wesser" along with the Carolina and Tennessee Southern Railroad between Bushnell and Fontana. The Murphy Branch was relocated along a higher route, while the route from Bushnell to Fontana was not rebuilt (TVA 1950:503–507).

The final stages of major road construction in the area postdate Fontana Lake. As discussed in Chapter 1, small sections of the proposed replacement of NC 288 were constructed between 1948 and 1972, but no new construction has occurred since that date. On the south side of Fontana Lake, NC Highway 28 was built connecting Bryson City to Stecoah, Fontana Village and Robbinsville in the early 1950s (Taylor 2001:129–130). More recent road construction in the area included the upgrading of US 19 in the 1980s, and the ongoing widening of portions of NC 28 to a four-lane roadway.

THE LOGGING ERA IN THE NORTH SHORE ROAD EIS STUDY AREA

Some of the largest and most important lumber mills in western North Carolina operated on the North Shore and elsewhere in Swain and Graham counties, and logging is an important part of the history of the study area. The logging era in the study area began in the 1880s, and continued through the 1940s (although most major operations ended in the 1920s). Although timber extraction always had been a part of historic settlements along the Little Tennessee and adjacent rivers, it originally related to personal uses (such as for houses, barns, and fences) rather than commercial purposes. Until the Civil War, most families used lumber for home use supplemented by the occasional sale of lumber to local sawmills (Eller 1982:86). By 1880, timber supplies in northern forests had become greatly diminished and the industry turned to the Southern Appalachians as a new source (Eller 1982:87; Van Noppen and Van Noppen 1973:294). The resulting timber boom devastated the forests of the region, and ultimately helped to inspire both the development of the National Forest system and that of GSMNP (Eller 1982:87).

Lambert (1958b, 1961) defines two broad periods in the history of regional logging, beginning with an initial stage (1800–1900) of selective cutting in which water transported most logs, and labor consisted of seasonal workers (often comprised of farmers cutting logs as supplemental income during non-harvest seasons). While local landowners and tenants conducted most of the earliest timbering, by the mid-1860s large lumber companies had formed to take advantage of the vast timber resources. Transportation remained a problem, however, and severely restricted lumber operations in the mountains.

The early lumber companies often relied on legal agreements with landowners to harvest timber, rather than outright land purchase. For example, in 1885 J.F. Loomis and Xenaphon Wheeler entered an agreement with J.C. Gunter of Graham County whereby Loomis and Wheeler paid $115.05 for the right to harvest 318 hardwood trees and 46 pine trees on Gunter's land (Holland 2001:62). Interestingly, the trees remained until 1888, when Gunter himself was contracted to remove the trees and deliver them within two years to a Chattanooga lumber company (Holland 2001:63).

By the late 1880s and 1890s, lumber companies begun to buy or lease large tracts of land and to step up lumber production. Some of the earliest commercial lumber companies to operate in the study area were Taylor and Crate, Loomis and Wheeler, and W.C. Heyser and Company, all of which worked along Hazel Creek (Holland 2001:59), and the Bushnells of Ohio, who built "extensive mills" and booms near the confluence of the Tuckasegee and Little Tennessee rivers (Arthur 1914:514). Taylor and Crate (of Buffalo, New York) may have been the first large-scale commercial lumber company to operate in the study area, and worked in the Hazel Creek area from 1892 to 1898 (Oliver 1989:55). The firm harvested

large stands of poplar, ash and cucumber tree along Hazel Creek, using teams of oxen to drag (or "skid") the logs to the water. A series of splash dams was used to move the logs down the creek to the Little Tennessee River, each opening successively to provide a continuous flood of water down to the river. Men would line the banks of the creek as the logs floated by, pushing the logs away from rocks and standing trees. The operations were dangerous, and at least three men died working on the Hazel Creek splash dams (Oliver 1989:57). By 1898, Taylor and Crate had harvested all the easily accessible lumber from the area they controlled, having cut over one million board feet (Oliver 1989:57). Commercial timber harvesting halted in the Hazel Creek drainage until 1902, when the Ritter Lumber Company arrived.

The second stage of logging (beginning about 1900) involved a series of land and land rights purchases by large timber companies, which were often based in northern states (Lambert 1961:355). These transactions encompassed hundreds of thousands of acres of primary forest, and covered much of western North Carolina. The large-scale operations of these companies relied on fewer, larger mills located along major streams, and used newly created railroad lines for transport. The Southern Branch of the Western North Carolina Railroad reached Murphy in 1890, connecting to the Georgia and North Carolina Railroad (which had reached Murphy in 1888) and completing the path across the Appalachian Mountains. The access to markets provided by these railroad lines had a tremendous impact on timber operations, as did the developing technologies of the logging railroad and mechanized, steam-powered skidders. The ability to access the very top reaches of the mountains while using new mechanical methods allowed the lumber companies to harvest all commercially viable trees and bring them to the mills in tremendous quantities at ever-increasing speeds.

Another important factor in regional logging was the establishment of a lumber by-products industry. Large lumber companies would sell previously unusable wood (such as acidwood and pulpwood) to tanneries and pulp mills. One such pulp mill was the Champion Fibre Company mill, which was established at Canton, North Carolina in 1908 (Lambert 1961:354). While the by-product industry helped lumber companies better utilize their timber resources, their non-sustainable logging methods led to the wholesale destruction of vast areas of the Appalachian forests.

By the mid-1920s, most of the available timber in the region had been harvested. One by one, the lumber companies finished logging their lands and closed up their operations (Holland 2001:104). Mills and plants were disassembled, and land was sold. Some of the lumbermen and their families remained in the former company towns (e.g., Fontana and Proctor), but others followed the lumber companies to other areas, including the Pacific Northwest (Holland 2001:105). An estimated 2,000,000,000 board feet of lumber were harvested from the Smoky Mountains by the time large-scale logging had ended (Williams 2002:250). The mountains were left a very different place than 30 or 40 years before, largely clear-cut of timber and with eroded and fire-ravaged mountainsides and silted and polluted waterways. Of the over 500,000 acres now contained with GSMNP, more than two-thirds had been cut or burned in less than fifty years (Oliver 1989:70).

Like much of the rest of the Appalachians, Swain and Graham counties experienced a timber boom in the first decades of the twentieth century. Some of the largest timber companies in western North Carolina were located in the study area, including the W.M. Ritter Lumber Company on Hazel Creek, the Montvale Lumber Company on Eagle Creek, the Norwood Lumber Company on Forney Creek, and the Whiting Manufacturing Company on the Graham County side of the Little Tennessee River (Lambert 1958b; Holland 2001:79) (Table 4.2). In addition to these four major companies, numerous smaller companies also worked in the area. While a thorough description of each of these operations is beyond the scope of this report, the following paragraphs provide information on the four principal firms.

W.M. Ritter Lumber Company

The W.M. Ritter Lumber Company was the creation of William M. Ritter, who was born in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania in 1864 and began working as a lumberman as a young man. At the age of 26, he had taken $1,700 in capital and opened his first sawmill in West Virginia; within a decade he owned 18 mills (Brown 2000:52). By 1900, Ritter's company was working in West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, and North Carolina, and the company eventually owned at least 28 mills throughout the Appalachians (Ritter 1940).

After scouting the Little Tennessee Valley, Ritter chose to concentrate on the Hazel Creek area, which contained:

> "the largest poplar trees" and the "best" oak and basswood in his experience ... [T]he watershed was "nearly a completely virgin stand of timber." Granville Calhoun estimated that there was 210,000,000 feet of timber standing in 1906. In 1913, W.M. Ritter's estimate was about 140,000,000 feet, half of which was chestnut and hemlock and about thirty percent poplar and oak [Lambert 1958b:41].

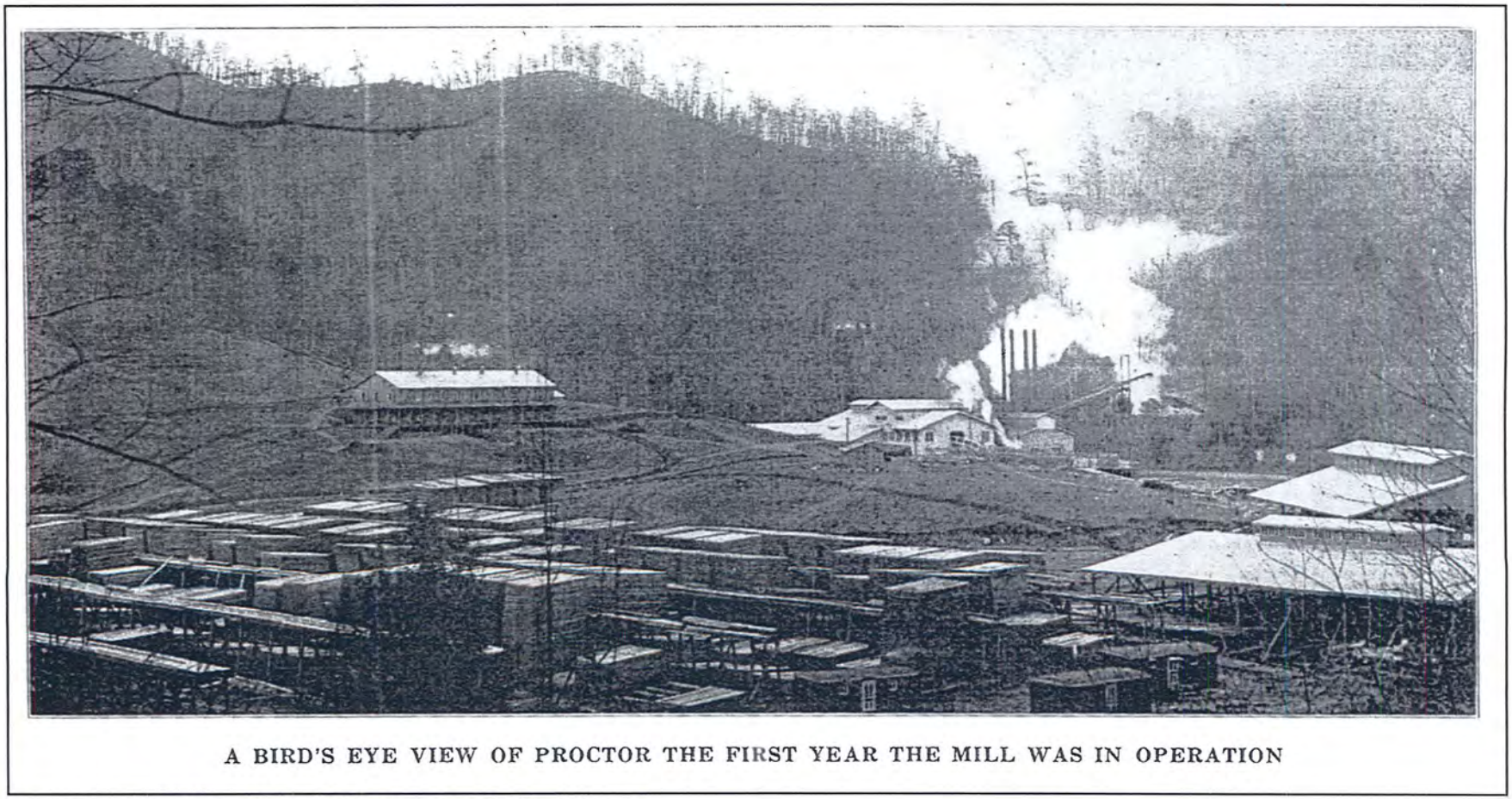
After buying or acquiring rights to the land, Ritter began a complex series of dealings. First, he and others convinced the Southern Railway Company to build a line from Bushnell past the mouth of Hazel Creek, and worked to buy up timber rights and survey land for a logging railroad up the creek. A railroad spur then was constructed from the small community at the creek mouth (called Ritter) north to Proctor, where a band mill, log pond, and other support structures were built (Figure 4.7). Local workers were hired, and logging and lumber production began in 1910 (Oliver 1989:59–60).

The Ritter Lumber operations involved a huge output of money and energy. The company's rail line extended from the depot at Ritter ten miles up Hazel Creek past Proctor to Medlin (Oliver 1989:60; Smoky Mountain Railway 1916); from Medlin it continued to various logging camps, changing location as forested areas were cleared of timber. A great variety of people and goods traveled up and down the railroad; logs came down the mountains to the band mill, and passengers, household goods, food, and visitors (once even a small circus) went back and forth along the line (Oliver 1989:61) (Figure 4.8). Temporary and semi-permanent camps were constructed, including a long-term camp at Buckeye Gap, about two miles below the mountain crest in the Proctor Creek watershed (Oliver 1989:63). The Proctor Creek camp included bunkhouses for the men and a boarding house, which could seat 35 men. The temporary camps followed the cutting, and were created to allow the lumbermen a place to live without having to descend the mountain each day. The loggers in these camps lived in "set-offs" or "railhouses," which were small, rough-boarded structures that arrived on logging cars for temporary set-up (Oliver 1989:62). The railhouses included not just bunkhouses and a kitchen, but also included small set-offs for the foremen and their families, a commissary and a movable post office. When the camp was dismantled, the buildings were picked up by the mechanical loaders, placed onto the logging cars, and transported to the next camp location.

Due to his business acumen and access to vast amounts of capital, Ritter was able to efficiently log all but the highest peaks in the Hazel Creek watershed. Logging began on the south side of the creek, working north to within two miles of Silers Bald before moving to the north side of the creek and proceeding back downstream. The loggers ended near the village of Ritter in 1928. (Oliver 1989:61). The Ritter Lumber Company harvested between 166 and 201 million board feet of lumber in only 18 years, probably paying no more than $700,000 dollars for the timber rights (Lambert 1958b:42; Oliver 1989:67).

Table 4.2. Lumber Operations in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area.

Company	Location	Date	Assoc. Town(s)	Primary Species	Production	Principal References	Notes
Eversole Lumber Company	Noland Creek	1880s–1890s	Noland?	Hardwoods, hemlock	Unknown	Lambert 1958b:37	
Harris-Woodbury Lumber Company	Noland Creek	1905–1908	Noland	Poplar, oak, chestnut, and spruce	9,000,000 to 10,000,000 board feet	Lambert 1958b:38; Parris 1968b; Oliver 1989:55	Land later purchased by Champion Fibre Company
Norwood Lumber Company	Forney Creek	1910–1926?	Forney	Hardwoods, spruce	Unknown	Cole 1996; Lambert 1958b	Later changed name to Blackwood Lumber Company
Bushnell family	Little Tennessee/ Tuckasegee confluence	1880s?	Bushnell	Unknown	Unknown	Arthur 1914:514	Operated "extensive mills" and log booms until destroyed by flood
Taylor and Crate	Hazel Creek	1892–1898	None	Poplar, ash, and cucumber tree	1,000,000 board feet	Parris 1968b; Oliver 1989:55	Splash dams on Hazel Creek
Loomis and Wheeler	Hazel Creek	1890s?	None?	Unknown	Unknown	Holland 2001:59; Lambert 1958b:40	
W.C. Heiser	Hazel Creek	1890s?	None?	Unknown	Unknown	Holland 2001:59; Lambert 1958b:40	
Black Mountain Timber Company	Hazel Creek	early 1900s	None?	Unknown	Unknown	Lambert 1958b:40	
W.M. Ritter Lumber Company	Hazel Creek	1910–1928	Proctor, Ritter	Chestnut, poplar, hemlock, oak, maple	166,000,000 board feet	Holland 2001; Lambert 1958b:40-42; Oliver 1989; W.M. Ritter 1922–1928	
Paul Crisp	Hazel Creek	1930s	None?	Unknown	Unknown	Parris 1960	Granville Calhoun account
Strikeleather Lumber Company	Hazel Creek	1928?	None?	Unknown	Unknown; may have never operated	Oliver 1998b	
Unknown	Eagle Creek	Unknown	None	Poplar	600,000 board feet	Lambert 1958b:42	Mill located 6 mi. up creek
Montvale Lumber Company	Eagle Creek	1909–1925	Fontana	Hardwoods	100,000,000 board feet	Lambert 1958b:42–45; Oliver 1989:70	
Kitchen Lumber Company	Twentymile Creek	1921–1926	Kitchenville, Fontana	Unknown	Unknown	Holland 2001:87–88; Lambert 1958b:45–46	
Thompson-Canby Lumber Company	Graham County	pre-1906	None?	Unknown	Unknown	Anonymous 1908a	Owned "14,000 acres and two small circular mills"
Buchanan Lumber Company	Graham County	unk–1906	Judson	Oak, poplar, chestnut, basswood, hemlock, birch, buckeye, ash and beech	Unknown	Anonymous 1908a, 1908b	
Whiting Manufacturing Company	Graham County	1906–1920s	Judson	Unknown	Unknown	Anonymous 1908a, 1908b; Holland 2001:38; Brown 2000:50	



A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF PROCTOR THE FIRST YEAR THE MILL WAS IN OPERATION

Figure 4.7. W.M. Ritter Lumber Company band mill at Proctor.

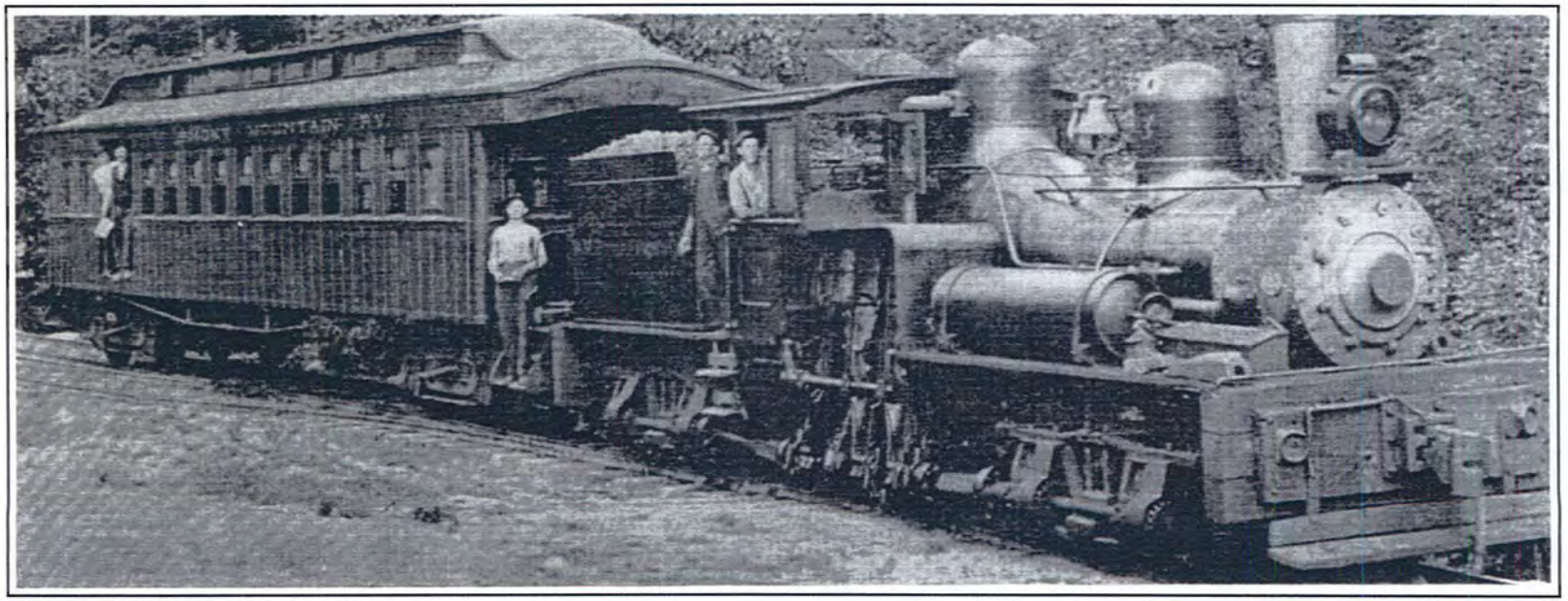


Figure 4.8. Smoky Mountain Railway train at Hazel Creek.

> More sound wormy chestnut was cut than any other hardwood. A great deal of hemlock was logged, but most of it was shaky and was shipped to the Champion Fibre Company mill at Canton for pulp. A few large poplars were found which measured eight and nine feet in diameter, and some of them were so large that they were simply squared off to forty-four inches. Red Oak and maple of high quality were plentiful [Lambert 1958b:41].

Two types of logging took place on Ritter land; horse team logging during the early years and later, mechanical logging. For horse team logging, the teamsters readied their teams of horses and ascended the mountain to the logging area (Ritter used Percherons because they were faster than oxen) (Oliver 1989:66). Loggers cut down the choicest trees with large crosscut saws, with some saws 8 or 10 ft in length. The logs were then cut into smaller sections before the teams dragged or "skidded" the logs within range of the loaders that loaded the logs onto railroad cars for transport to the sawmill. Mechanical logging by Ritter started in 1913 (Lambert 1958b:41). That process involved the use of skidders: coal-fired machines that moved cables up and down the mountain to which the logs were attached and dragged to the loaders. Skidders maximized the efficiency of the system, and allowed the lumbermen to more readily clear-cut the forest and move the logs to the railroad for transportation to the band mill.

Once the logs arrived at the sawmill, they were thrown into the millpond for washing and then hauled up the jack ladder into the band mill. Clarence O. Vance (1988:28) described the process at the Proctor mill as follows:

> The pond man, Preacher Thurman Medford who knew his logs, walked on a floating raft carrying a long pole with spikes in the end and would pull the logs one by one to the "jack slip" that hauled them up into the mill. The saw[y]er with his levers, the block-setter and the dogger on the carriage would run them through the band saw. From there the lumber went through the edger, the trim saws and onto the "chains" where it was graded, tallied, sorted, and placed on green lumber trucks. Then it was taken down the lumber docks and stacked for drying.

The double band mill at Proctor was capable of producing 70,000 board feet of lumber per day. The operation also had a planing mill and a drying kiln for processing finer grades of lumber. Ritter specialized in high quality flooring, particularly for parquet floors (Lambert 1958b:40; Oliver 1989:68).

The Ritter company employed hundreds of men and women. Some were directly involved in logging, such as the lumbermen, railroad, skidder, and loader men, while others worked as boarding house managers, cooks, office workers, merchants, carpenters, land agents, and schoolteachers. The village of Ritter, at the mouth of Hazel Creek, consisted of a railroad depot and a few houses. The main company town was built at Proctor, about three miles up Hazel Creek. When the Ritter Lumber Company first arrived on Hazel Creek, Proctor was a small town composed of a few houses, a store and a post office (Oliver 1989:71). By the time Ritter finished modifying it for use as the company town, Proctor contained over 1,000 people and a large commissary with a post office, company offices, storage buildings, a barber shop, a depot, a community center with a theater and pool hall, three schoolhouses, a Baptist church, and numerous houses (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). The Ritter company provided medical service, housing and food for all of its employees, and even published a company-wide magazine called *The Hardwood Bark* (Figure 4.11). The employees also formed a baseball team and had tennis matches, movie nights and a literary club for entertainment (Holland 2001:90–91).

The company was a progressive one for its day, and Ritter was remembered as:

> a benevolent employer who genuinely cared about the people who worked for him. ... Ritter provided the school and church buildings, as well as a community building. Ritter hired a company doctor to deliver babies, assist the sick, and tend to injured workers; single men paid one dollar a

Figure 4.9. Proctor residents on Calico Street.

Figure 4.10. Proctor School.

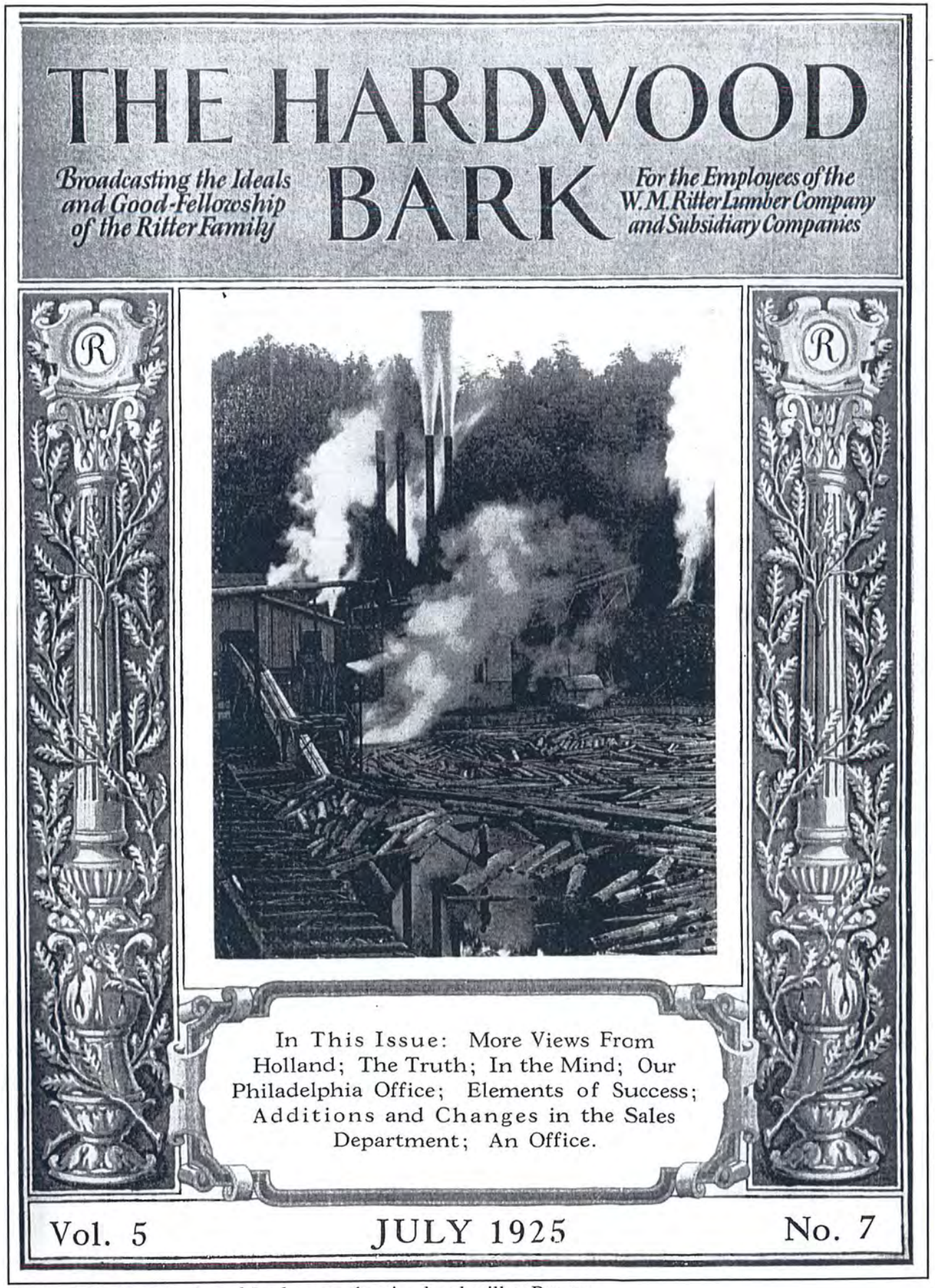


Figure 4.11. *The Hardwood Bark* cover showing band mill at Proctor.

> month for his services and families paid just fifty cents more. Each Ritter-owned home at Proctor had a fenced garden, and the company provided land for residents to range cattle and hogs. Board sidewalks built by Ritter lined the unlit streets of Proctor. Mail came on a Ritter-owned Smoky Mountain Railroad [sic] train each afternoon around five o'clock, and residents gathered at the Ritter commissary to collect it ... [Taylor 2001:29].

Ritter was considerate of his upper-level employees as well, as was shown in 1925 when he placed 12,500 shares of W.M. Ritter Lumber Company stock (with a par value of $100.00 per share) into a trust for the benefit of 124 associates, including 94 "officers and employees of Mr. Ritter's companies, located in twelve different states, and three of them in Liverpool, England." The action was noted and praised by none other than President Calvin Coolidge, who commented that "such acts of generosity cannot help but lead to better co-operation and understanding between the employers and employees" (Anonymous 1925:6).

The Hardwood Bark certainly played a part in promulgating the company ethos of production and company loyalty (Taylor 2001:30–31). The magazine mixed production statistics with often-humorous vignettes and photographs of life on Hazel Creek and at other company towns (see Figures 4.12–4.14). For example, the January 1923 issue contained several paragraphs describing how crews rose to the occasion to produce six cars of "4/4 Pin Work Holes No Defect Chestnut, S2S to 7/8" to fill an order, surfacing 95,630 feet of high-quality lumber in only one-and-a-half 11-hour days. Not to be outdone by the surfacer crew's performance, the strip flooring crew retaliated a few days later by producing 18,074 feet of 91 percent select and better oak flooring. In contrast, the next month's issue provides over two columns of community information, including an account of the production of the play *The Little Clodhopper* at the Community Building.

Life in the woods and at the mill could certainly be dangerous, and several Ritter employees filed successful personal injury lawsuits against the company over injuries caused by defective machinery or other factors (Taylor 2001:30). Beyond dangerous working conditions, a more substantial criticism of Ritter and the other lumber companies concerns the medium- and long-term environmental and economic consequences of the rapid, indiscriminant cutting and the transformation of the local economy from one of relative self-subsistence to one of wage labor. The Ritter era was a prosperous one for most residents on Hazel Creek, however, and the average worker or area resident probably had few regrets (Oliver 1989:86; Taylor 2001:30–32). By the late 1920s Ritter had exhausted the watershed's timber reserves. The company dismantled the band mill and associated buildings and left Hazel Creek in 1928, leaving behind a changed environment, community, and economy (Oliver 1989:87–88). Although some limited logging may have continued to be carried out in the drainage by Paul Crisp and others (Parris 1960), the era of large-scale logging on Hazel Creek was over.

Montvale Lumber Company

The Montvale Lumber Company operated on Eagle Creek, the next major drainage west of Hazel Creek. R.E. Wood, a lumber baron from Baltimore and the largest lumber dealer on the East Coast, began scouting for and cutting timber in the area in the early 1900s, having paid $200,000 for timber rights on 27,000 acres in the Eagle Creek watershed in 1904–1905 (Oliver 1989:69; Eller 1982:106; Lambert 1958b:42–43). By 1909, lumber operations had begun, with logging starting on the Lone Branch of Pinnacle Creek, on the east side of Eagle Creek approximately 3.5 miles north of the company village of Fontana (Lambert 1958b:43).

Montvale built a narrow gauge railroad approximately 14 miles up Eagle Creek from the Southern Railroad line at Fontana (Lambert 1958b:43). Spur lines ran into the coves in order to retrieve the logs, resulting in the construction of over 28 miles of railroad tracks during the Montvale operations (Lambert 1958b:43). Most of the timber removal on Eagle Creek involved logging with horse or ox teams.

VIEWS FROM HAZEL CREEK

1. A bunch of the boys, including Ed Craddock's hound, on a Sunday morning.
2. Hazel Creek Boarding House.
3. Back row, left to right: "Dinty" Moore, "Hardwood Bark" Correspondent who grades parquetry in his spare time; Hencie Potts, tier and box puncher.

Front row, left to right: Charlie Neal, machinist; Dan Lewis, filer; Norman Edwards, grader; Roy Crisp, puncher; Ben Cable, end matcher; and W. C. Bearden, supply man, who divides his time between sitting on the safety valve of our expense account and wrecking stills and good "licker."

Figure 4.12. "Views from Hazel Creek."

IN HAZEL CREEK WOODS

1. D. M. Cuthbertson, Woods Superintendent, and J. W. Fisher, Mill Superintendent, both of whom ought to know better than to try to PUSH over one of Hazel Creek's finest.

2. Here they are again, no doubt resting from their exertions, and sitting on a nice stick along with Dillard Hall, Cutting Foreman.

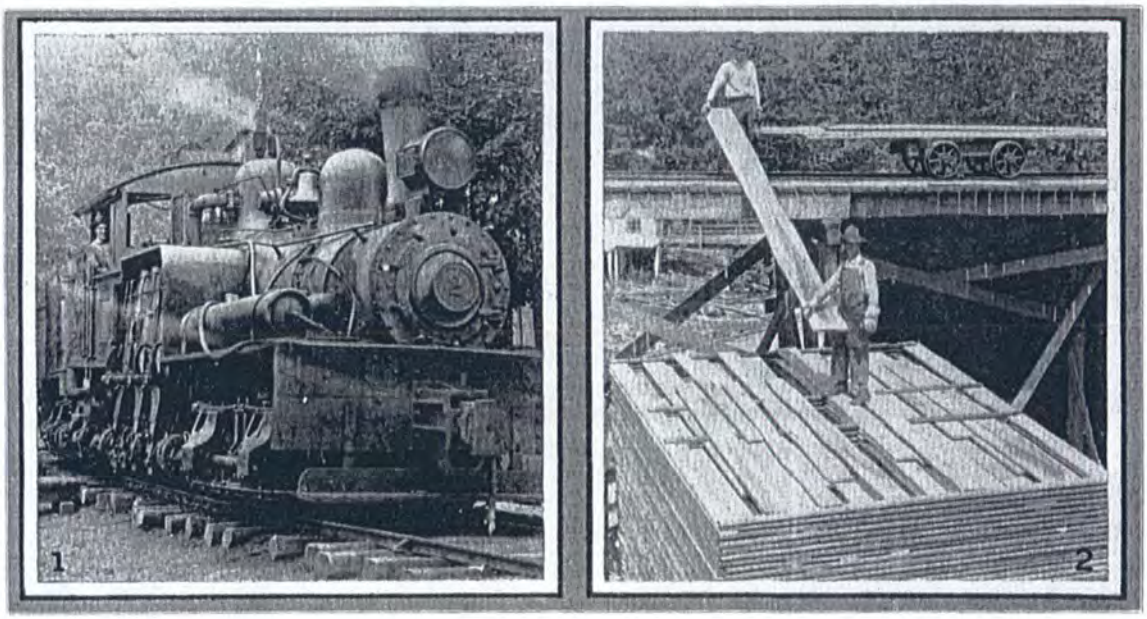
3. Dillard Hall on top of the log, with Jim Nicholas and Bill Proctor riding the saw.

4. Hazel Creek skidder in action, with A. Crowder in charge.

5. No, this is not the location of a still. It is an abandoned copper mine where we are now logging, with D. M. Cuthbertson in the foreground.

Figure 4.13. "In Hazel Creek Woods."

SOME OF THE HAZEL CREEK PLANING MILL CREW
It wasn't till we saw this picture that we realized what a good looking bunch we are.



1. The Smoky Mountain Limited, with C. N. Crowder in the chair. C. H. Wilson, the usual custodian, is shown in the picture on page 21. These two men have to their credit thirteen and nineteen years of service respectively. Sojourners in our midst need have no apprehension about getting in or out so long as such experienced hands as those of Crowder and Wilson have control of the throttle.
2. John Frazier, Stacker, and Nandus Fouts, Tripper, putting away some of Jim Hackney's forty thousand a day.

Figure 4.14. "Some of the Hazel Creek Planing Mill Crew."

Typically, logs were cut, dragged by the cattle teams to the railroad, and loaded onto cars with a mechanical loader. Lambert (1958b:43) mentions other methods as well, including the use of skidders to pull logs up to higher elevations and "ballhooting" (rolling or sliding the logs down cleared paths) from high ridges. Montvale also experimented with using tractors instead of teams, but this did not appear to be either economically or logistically feasible (Lambert 1958b:43).

The Montvale mill and support structures were at the village of Fontana, at the mouth of Eagle Creek. The original operations included a 6-foot Clark band mill, which was replaced by an 8-foot mill in 1912 (Lambert 1958b:43). Brown (2000:53) estimates that the mill could produce at least 50,000 board feet each day, and utilized at least 21 different varieties of trees. Fontana started as a tent village in the early years, but was transformed into a more permanent settlement beginning in 1907 (Oliver 1989:69). The town included the mill, a commissary, large clubhouse and hotel, a school, a church, and workers' housing (Lambert 1958b:43; Oliver 1989:69) (Figure 4.15). Montvale had a baseball team, and organized the "Montvale Coronet Band" in 1912 (Oliver 1989:70) (Figure 4.16). At least two logging camps were located farther up Eagle Creek, including one seven miles up the creek (past the copper mine) and one at Lost Cove, the final area logged by Montvale (Oliver 1989:70; Lambert 1958b:44).

According to Lambert (1958b:44–45):

> The policy of the company was to cut hardwoods which were fourteen inches in diameter and above, although near the railroad they were taken as small as ten inches.
>
> A great deal of timber was left on some of the less accessible slopes. One witness tells of fine poplar left in the head of Ekaneetlee Creek because of the distance it would have to be hauled. G.L. Wood, in charge of the operation, later claimed that during the chestnut bark season a shortage of labor caused them to leave some good hardwoods. ...
>
> G.L. Wood estimated that in fifteen and one-half years of operation the Montvale Lumber Company removed about 100,000,000 feet of timber. The original mill cut about 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 feet per year, while the larger one that replaced it consumed 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 feet.

By 1925, the timber reserves of the Eagle Creek watershed had been depleted. Fortunately for the company, high–grade copper ore had been discovered on Montvale's land, and the company had begun work at the Fontana Mine by the mid-1920s. Although the sawmill and associated buildings at Fontana were dismantled, the town was converted to support the mining operations with little effort or expenditure (see discussion of the Fontana Mine, below).

Norwood Lumber Company

The Norwood Lumber Company bought 17,000 acres of timberland in the Forney Creek watershed from the Harris-Woodbury Company (which was working on Noland Creek) in 1906, and began logging the property in 1910 (Lambert 1961:360). Norwood employed at least 400 men (Figure 4.17), and built 10 miles of railway extending up Forney Creek to an inclined railroad and thence to Clingmans Dome and Andrews Bald (Brown 2000:51; Poole 1995:185–186). The company town was located at the mouth of Forney Creek, and was called Forney. The Norwood band mill produced an estimated 50,000 board feet per day from 12 varieties of trees (Brown 2000:53). At least three camps were located to the north on Forney Creek, including Slab Camp, Board Camp, and Monteith Camp (Poole 1995:186).

Although the early Norwood operations focused on hardwoods for flooring (Cole 1996:63), the company:

> operated in spruce during the First World War, and at one time was estimated to have some 30,000,000 feet of spruce on the stump and to be cutting it at the rate of 40,000 feet per day. ...

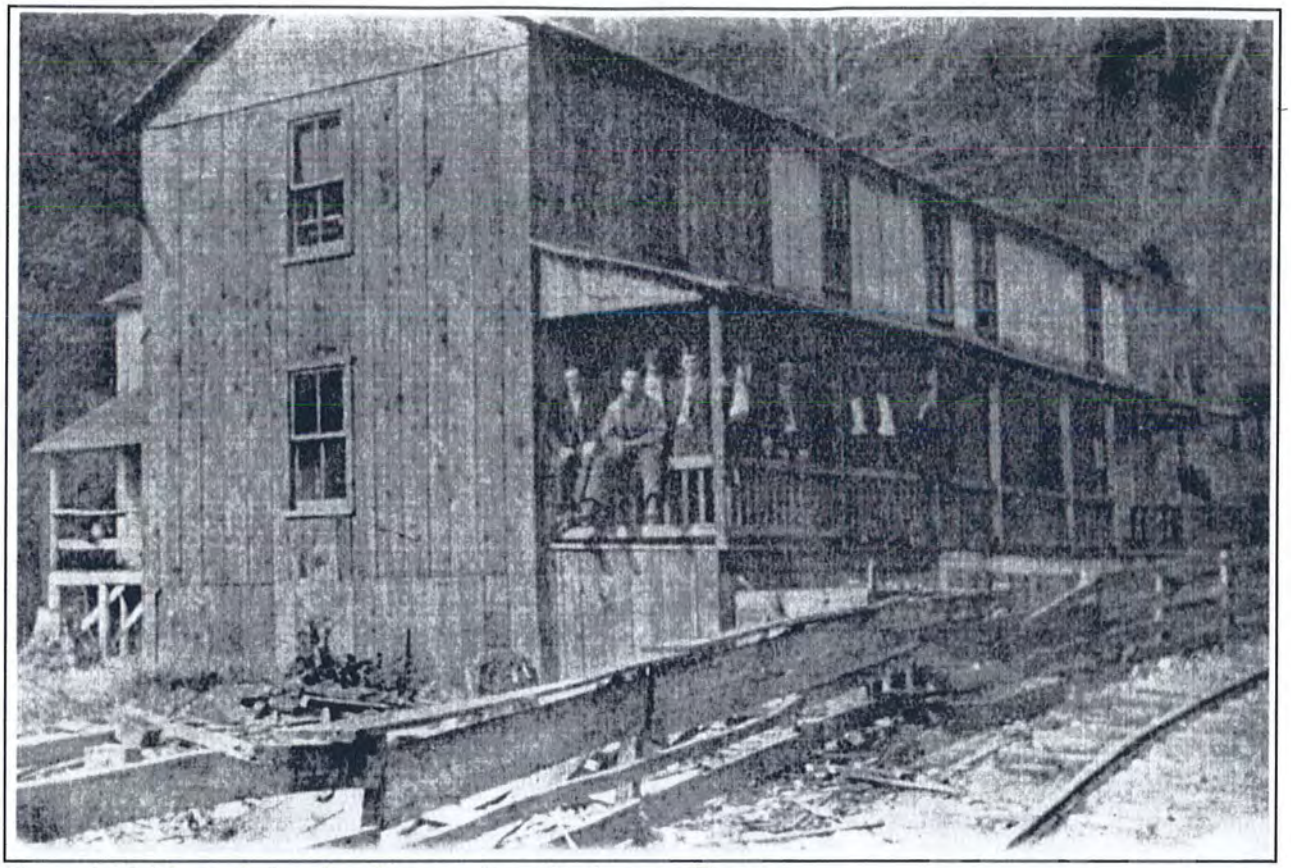


Figure 4.15. Montvale Lumber Company boarding house at Fontana.

Figure 4.16. Montvale Coronet Band.

Figure 4.17. Norwood Lumber Company skidder crew.

> After the war it was estimated that the average cut of spruce per acre had been about 15,000 feet [Lambert 1958b:39].

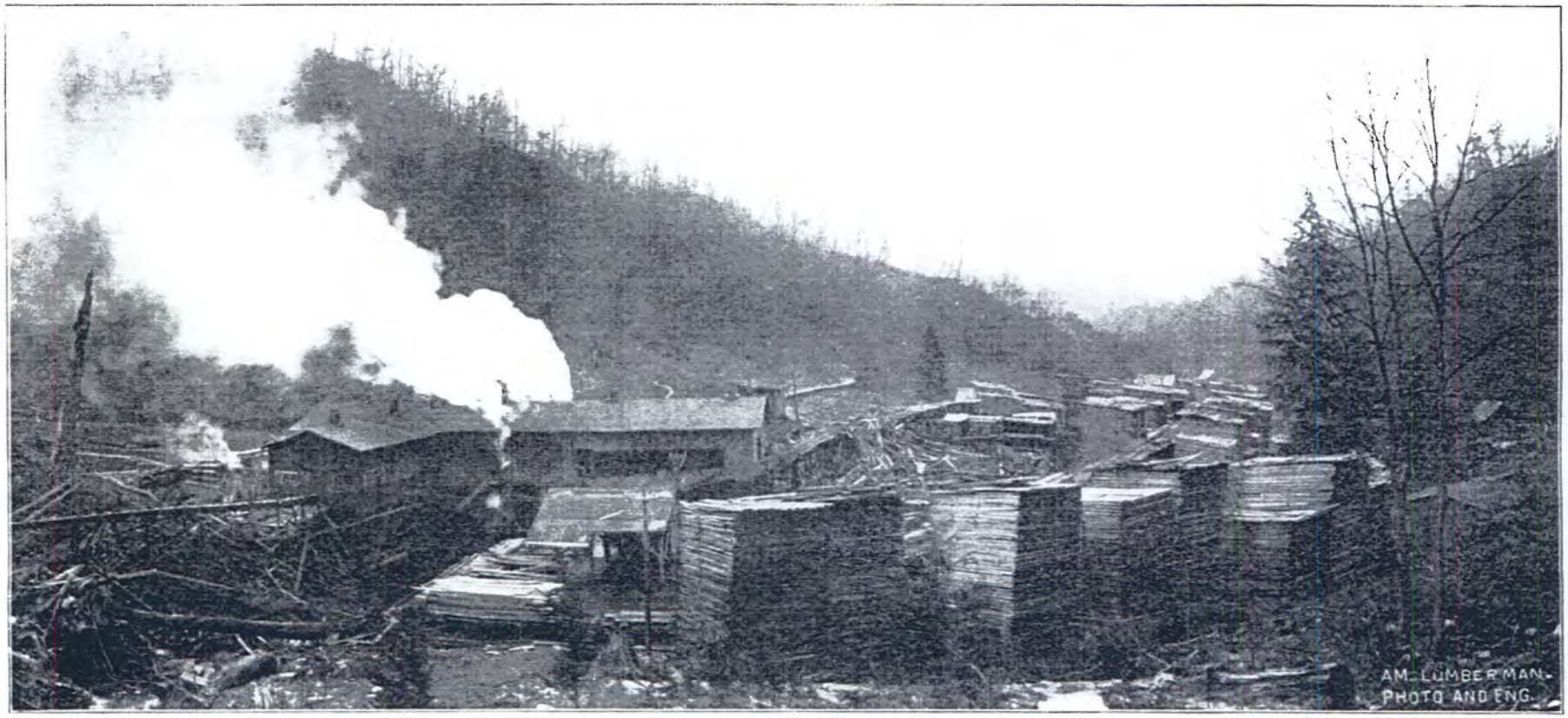
Norwood's operations had a major setback (probably about 1925), when a "fire swept through the dry kiln and mill at Forney, destroying the entire complex" (Cole 1996:64; Poole 1995:188). Accounts differ as to whether the company ever rebuilt. While the 1928 *Southern Lumberman's Directory of American Sawmills and Planing Mills* reported that Norwood had a band sawmill, edger, trimmer, dry kiln, and electric light plant, and was cutting ash, basswood, beech, birch, buckeye, cherry, chestnut, hemlock, maple, oak, poplar, and spruce (Brown 2000:53–54), other accounts state that most operations ceased after the fire (Cole 1996:64). Whatever the case, it is clear that by the late 1920s the mill was moved to East LaPorte (in Jackson County), where the firm operated as the Blackwood Lumber Company (Cole 1996:64; Lambert 1958b:39).

When the Forney Creek watershed was cruised prior to acquisition for GSMNP, it had been almost completely clear-cut. A 1928 valuation reported that only 12,300,000 board feet of lumber remained, with a value of $104,000 (Rhodes and Monteith 1928; Rotha 1928). The report stated that the 17,000-acre property also contained about 1,000 acres of orchard and farmlands with 1,200 apple trees, and that 1,500 acres had been burned from railroad spark fires (Rotha 1928).

Whiting Manufacturing Company

The Whiting Manufacturing Company, a Philadelphia firm owned by brothers Frank R. and William S. Whiting, was based at Judson, a small town on the Little Tennessee River just above Alarka Creek (Anonymous 1908a, 1908b; Lovin and Ingram 1972:118). The Whitings had entered the lumber business in the 1890s, and in 1903 organized the Whiting Manufacturing Company. The firm acquired an interest in the Buchanan Lumber Company in 1906 (Figure 4.18), and a 1908 *American Lumberman* article gives a good picture of Whiting's new holdings in the area:

> The Buchanan Lumber Company had a mill on Panther creek, located on what is known as the Murphy Branch of the Southern railway, about seven miles from Judson, in Graham county, North Carolina. ...
>
> Prior to the taking over of the Buchanan Lumber Company's stock by the Messr. Whiting, that concern bought the property of the Thompson-Canby Lumber Company, securing by this purchase 14,000 acres of timber land and two small circular mills ... . Since the Whiting brothers bought the Buchanan Lumber Company they have succeeded in adding to its holdings about 1,500 acres of very fine timber land ... estimated to contain approximately 100,000,000 feet. It is a fine, even growth of timber; the trees are large and tall, growing in the valleys or on the hillsides as straight as ship masts. The average tree will produce about four and a half 16-foot logs, and the cut from each acre of land is probably in excess of 7,000 feet. ...
>
> The saw mill on Panther creek is a 7-foot Clark band mill, Prescott carriage with steam set works. ... The company now has under consideration the advisability of putting in two or more modern dry kilns and these probably will be installed at a very early date. ... A dam has been thrown across Panther creek at the mill and a very convenient and commodious log pond secured in this way. It provides storage room for about 1,000,000 feet of logs and this supply enables the company to keep its mill going should there be a temporary breakdown out in the woods.
>
> The company owns the entire mill and town site and has erected for its employees suitable homes which are let at a moderate rental. The company also operates a commissary which carries a $5,000 stock and does annually about $50,000 worth of business. The stock consists of general merchandise such as is required to meet the needs of the workers. ...



PANORAMIC VIEW OF BAND SAW MILL PLANT AND PART OF YARD OF THE BUCHANAN LUMBER COMPANY, JUDSON, SWAIN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA.

Figure 4.18. Buchanan Lumber Company mill near Judson.

> The yard has been divided up, the stock carried ranging from 4,000,000 to 4,750,000 feet. ... This stock covers the entire product of the mill, including oak, poplar, chestnut, basswood, hemlock, birch, buckeye, ash and beech. ...
>
> The work at Panther creek, both at the mill and in the woods, is under the supervision of W.R. Johnston ... . The company gives employment to about 125 men [Anonymous 1908a].

The story goes on to relate that about 4,000 acres of the 15,000 acres in the Judson vicinity had been cut over. The Whitings had just purchased another 14,497 acres in the Snowbird area of Graham and Cherokee counties, adding considerably to their holdings (Anonymous 1908b).

In the early 1910s, the Whiting Company began construction of a double band mill, a planing mill, and dry kilns at Judson, and had plans to employ at least 400 men (Brown 2000:50). Whiting extended narrow gauge rail lines up many of the drainages along the Nantahala and Little Tennessee rivers, including Panther Creek, Fox Branch and Welch Cove. Whiting typically skidded logs to the railroad using horses or ox teams where they were transferred onto cars and taken to the band mill at Judson (Nothstein 1972:93–94).

The company also built a depot just below Judson, aptly named "Whiting." In a 1912 description of their passenger rail stops, Southern Railway (1912:39) referred to the Whiting depot and Judson area as containing "important and rapidly developing lumber plants" and mentioned that the nearby forests "have scarcely been touched" and would develop the area as a populous and important part of Swain County. The firm eventually logged much of eastern Graham County, but by 1928 had ceased operations in the area (Brown 2000:159).

MINING IN THE NORTH SHORE AREA

Along with the logging industry, mining was one of the two major extractive industries to affect the environment and economy of western North Carolina in the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries. Although some small-scale mining occurred in the region during the first half of the nineteenth century, large-scale operations were not feasible until the railroads arrived in the late 1800s (Eller 1982:4). By the end of the nineteenth century, better transportation, a larger labor pool, and more advanced mining equipment and methods made western North Carolina an increasingly appealing locale for mining operations. The history of mining in the study area reflects these regional trends. Commercial mining operations began on the North Shore about 1889, and continued intermittently until 1944.

A wide variety of mineral resources (including copper, feldspar, mica, limestone, talc, kyanite, and crushed stone) have been mined in Swain and Graham counties (Bennett 1932; Shipman 1924:285; Stuckey 1965:385, 419, 453, 457), but the mining operations in the study area focused on copper. Parts of the area are included within a large copper belt that runs from Ducktown in southeastern Tennessee north to Floyd County, Virginia, and is the largest copper-producing ore body in the South (Bryson 1930:22; Espenshade 1963:I3). Several major copper mines or districts are located along this ore body, including the Toncrae Mine and Gossan Lead district of southwest Virginia and the Ducktown district of southeastern Tennessee (Espenshade 1963:I4). Three primary mines and/or districts lie along the ore body in North Carolina: the Ore Knob mine in Ashe County, the Cullowhee mine in Jackson County, and the Swain County district. The Swain County district includes two primary mines, Hazel Creek (the Everett or Adams mine) and Fontana, as well as a number of mining prospects (Table 4.3).

The Hazel Creek Mine

The Hazel Creek Mine was located on the Little Fork of Sugar Fork Creek, a tributary of Hazel Creek about six miles north of Proctor (Espenshade 1963:I30). The ore deposit is composed of a group of

Table 4.3. Mines and Prospects in and Adjacent to the North Shore Road EIS Study Area.

Mine/Prospect Name	Location	Date	Mineral(s)	Explored by	Mining Extent	In Study Area	Principal Reference(s)	Notes
Eagle Creek Drainage								
Phil Myers Prospect	Ekowah (Ecoah) Branch	Pre-1907	Copper	Phil Myers	Unknown	Yes	Laney 1907	Probably subsumed in later Fontana Mine
Fontana Mine	Ecoah Branch	1920s-1944	Copper, Gold, Silver	Montvale Lumber Company; Fontana Mining Company; North Carolina Exploration Company	Extensive	Yes	Emmons 1942, 1943a, 1943b; Espenshade 1963; Holland 2001; Mead 1930; O'Brien 1972; Oliver 1989	
Cook Prospect	On Eagle Creek	Pre-1907	Copper	Cook?	Unknown	Yes?	Laney 1907	
Fontana 1 Prospect	1.25 mi southwest of Fontana Mine	1920s+	Copper	Montvale Lumber or Fontana Mining	Shallow pit mine	Yes	Espenshade 1963	
Fontana 2 Prospect	0.75 mi northeast of Fontana Mine	1920s+	Copper	Montvale Lumber or Fontana Mining	Half dozen shallow pits and trenches	Yes	Espenshade 1963	
Fontana 3 Prospect	0.25 mi northeast of Fontana Mine	1920s+	Copper	Montvale Lumber or Fontana Mining	15 ft. deep adit	Yes	Espenshade 1963	15 ft. long adit
Fontana 4 Prospect	0.9 mi northeast of Fontana Mine	1920s+	Copper	Montvale Lumber or Fontana Mining	Unknown	Yes	Espenshade 1963	Reported by informant, but not located by Espenshade
Hazel Creek Drainage								
Old Calhoun Prospect	On Briar Knob	Pre-1907	Copper	Calhoun?	Unknown	No?	Laney 1907	Probably at Briar Knob along
Calhoun Prospect	1.5 mi up Bone Valley, near split with Big Flats Branch	1920s	Copper	Ducktown Chemical and Iron Company: Granville Calhoun	20 ft. long trench	Yes	Espenshade 1963	
Adams-Everett Mine	Little Fork of Sugar Fork	1889-1901; 1929-1930; 1942-1944	Copper	W. S. Adams; Ducktown Chemical and Iron Company; North Carolina Mining Company	Extensive	Yes	Behre n.d.; Emmons 1944b; Espenshade et al. 1943; Fox et al. 1944; Holland 2001; Oliver 1989; Rankin and Hunter 1942	
Westfeldt Prospect	0.5 mi northeast of Hazel Creek Mine, near Haw Gap Branch	ca. 1900	Copper	Westfeldt	5 adits and 2 shafts, main shaft 110 ft. down w/drift	Yes	Espenshade 1963	
Locust Gap Prospect	Raven Den	Unknown	Copper	Calhoun	Shallow pit	No	Espenshade 1963	Within 0.5 mi of study area
Silers Bald/Forney Ridge Area								
Siler's Meadow Prospect	Meadow near Siler's Bald	Pre-1907	Copper	Unknown	Unknown	No	Laney 1907	
Matt Crisp Prospect	Near Silers Bald	Pre-1907	Copper	Crisp?	Unknown	No	Bryson 1928	
Silers Bald 1 Prospect	On SE end of meadow	Ca. 1905	Copper	G. Calhoun and others	Shallow pit	No	Espenshade 1963	Probably same as Silers Meadow Prospect
Silers Bald 2 Prospect	500 ft. south of summit, on headwaters of Jonas Creek	Ca. 1905	Copper	G. Calhoun and others	Shallow opencut and 2 tunnels	No	Calhoun 1929; Espenshade 1963	Possibly same as Matt Crisp Prospect
Forney Mine	Unspecified	Unknown	Copper	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Bryson 1930, 1937	Probably same as Silers Meadow Prospect
Other North Shore Areas								
Goldmine Branch	Tributary to Tuckasegee east of Forney Creek	Ca. 1900	Gold	Unknown	Placer gold reportedly recovered by panning	Yes	Mohr 1975	Mohr reports account of gold panning ca. 1900
Welch Prospect	Guardhouse Mountain on Welch Property near Bushnell?	Pre-1928	Copper, Gold, Silver	Unknown	Tunnel extending about 45 feet to northwest	Yes	Anonymous 1960; Mohr 1975; Robinson et al. 1979	First visited by Emmons in 1928
Forney Prospect	North side Tuckasegee .95 miles east	Unknown	Copper	Unknown	No workings known	Yes	Emmons 1944; Mohr 1975	Sampled by Emmons
Noland Prospect	Northeast of Noland Creek at NC 288 Bridge	Unknown	Copper, Gold, Silver	Unknown	No workings known	Yes	Emmons 1944; Mohr 1975	Sampled by Emmons
Epps Springs Prospect	0.2 miles east of Epps Spring	Unknown	Copper	Unknown	No workings known	Yes	Emmons 1944; Mohr 1975	Sampled by Emmons
Welch Lead Mine	Bone Valley Area?	1920s	Lead	Dilly Welch	Shallow pit	Yes?	Oliver 1989	Existence Unproven
Fontana Quarry	North Bank of Little Tennessee River below Fontana Dam	1942-1944	Aggregate (quartz, schist)	TVA	Quarry	Yes	Moneymaker 1941; Ross 1943	Material used for dam construction
Other South Shore in Study Area						Yes		
Thomason Prospect	North of Alarka Creek, one-half mile upstream of Grassy Branch Bridge	1860s?,	Lead	Unknown; C.E. and W.D. Thomason	Unknown	Yes	Thomason 1943 and related correspondence	Supposedly a 12-inch wide vein; used for bullets during "Federal War"
Hyde Prospect	North of Little Tennessee River southeast of Shear Knob	Pre-1907	Kaolin	Hyde	Pits, cuts, and tunnels over 500 foot area	Yes	Bayley 1922, 1925; Keith 1907; Mohr 1975; Watts 1914	
Unnamed Beryl Exposure	Within Little Tennessee River channel south of Hyde Prospect	Unknown	Beryl	Unknown	125-foot long exposure containing beryl crystals	Yes	Mohr 1975	No known large-scale exploitation
Spencer Property	North Bank of Little Tennessee River south of McHan Knob	Unknown	Metaquartzite	TVA	Unknown	Yes	Mohr 1975	Metaquartzite potentially useful in glass manufacture

curved massive sulfide lenses that overlap one another. The lenses generally measure between 60 and 200 ft in length (most are under 100 ft), average 3 ft in thickness, and plunge at angles of 35 to 50 degrees (Espenshade 1963:I1, I32). The Hazel Creek deposit contains both massive sulphide ore as well as disseminated ore. The massive sulphide ore contains between 3 percent and 3.5 percent copper and zinc, while the disseminated ore contains between 1 and 2 percent combined copper and zinc (Espenshade 1963:I1). The Hazel Creek copper ores have also yielded small amounts of gold and silver but only as a byproduct of copper production (Robinson et al. 1993:26).

Although at least three prospectors may have found copper in the Hazel Creek drainage prior to the Civil War (Oliver 1989:49–50), mining began as a result of Jacob Fonslow "Fonzie" Hall's discovery of copper about 1883, on land belonging to Ep Everett along the Little Fork of the Sugar Fork. By 1889, W.S. Adams, a New York mining developer, had purchased the land from Everett and began operations (Holland 2001:46; Oliver 1989:48–49). Known as the Adams or Everett Mine, the mine produced copper through trenches, open cuts, and short adits or drifts (underground tunnels) (Espenshade 1963:I30). Pratt (1904:22) reported that a single drift from the Everett Mine had produced about 20 tons of tenorite (black oxide of copper), and estimated that between 8,000 and 9,000 tons of ore were removed from the mine during the early development of the strike. The mine was equipped with four Rand drills, compressors, engines, boilers and many other tools "necessary ... for the employment of 125 men" (Pratt 1904:22). "About a half–dozen dwelling houses, a bunk house, a cookhouse, shops and a powder house were constructed" (Holland 2001:47), and "plans were made to install an electric plant and smelters ... at Medlin at the mouth of Sugar Fork Creek" (Oliver 1989:49) (Figures 4.19 and 4.20)

By 1901, however, Adams had become involved in a land dispute with George Westfeldt, a New Orleans property developer who owned land adjacent to the Hazel Creek mine and who had developed his own prospect containing five adits, two shafts and at least one drift (Espenshade 1963:I35) (see below). Convinced that Adams was trespassing on his property, Westfeldt brought suit for illegal mining and prospecting on his lands (Arthur 1914:413–414; Holland 2001:48). Although Pratt (1904:21) optimistically noted that the smelter at Hazel Creek would "undoubtedly be completed as soon as the lawsuit is settled," the litigation was not settled for over 20 years. Finally, in 1927 the heirs of Adams and Westfeldt reached a compromise whereby the Adams heirs controlled the mine, but the Westfeldt heirs retained a large interest in the business (Holland 2001:49). Work resumed on the property in 1929, when the Ducktown Chemical and Iron Company leased the property and began to explore the copper deposit by diamond drilling (Espenshade 1963:I30). The company drilled 36 holes to a total depth of 2,900 ft (Espenshade 1963:I30; Espenshade et al. 1943). Bryson (1930:23) reported that the explorations seemed favorable, but work apparently had ceased by 1930 (Stuckey 1965:285).

Large-scale mining on Hazel Creek did not resume until late 1942, when the North Carolina Mining Company reopened the mine to supply the war effort. The company confined its activities to a series of drifts and general mining on the earlier levels established by Adams (Espenshade 1963:I31, Plate 3), but by 1943 began shipping large quantities of primary and secondary ore directly to commercial smelters. Over 248,000 lb of copper were reportedly shipped that year, and by early 1944 a small concentrating mill, ball mill, rake classifier and four flotation cells had been set up at the mine. From April to November of that year, the mill treated 2,615 tons of ore, and produced 167,106 lbs of copper (Espenshade 1963:I31). Unfortunately for the mining company, the TVA acquired the property in 1944, and access to the mine was cut off by the creation of Fontana Lake. Although mining ceased, the Hazel Creek ore body is estimated to still contain at least 14,000 short tons of high-grade ore and over 30,000 short tons of low-grade ore (Espenshade 1963:I34).

Figure 4.19. Adams Mine village.

Figure 4.20. Structures and settling tanks at Adams Mine.

The Fontana Mine

The Fontana Mine was located on the Ecoah Branch of Eagle Creek, about two miles upriver from its confluence with the Little Tennessee River. The mine exploited a large, pod-shaped ore body that runs at a 45-degree angle, is 450 ft in length and averages 10 ft in thickness (Espenshade 1963:I1). The ore contains an average of 7.37 percent copper and 2.11 percent zinc, with 0.0072 ounces of gold per ton and 0.385 ounces of silver per ton (Espenshade 1963:I24).

The circumstances of this deposit's discovery are unclear, but it is likely that Laney's (1907:76) reference to the Phil Myers diggings on Ekowah Branch relates to early mining at the site. Prospectors working for the Montvale Lumber Company began mining at Fontana in the early 1920s (Holland 2001:50). Drane and Stuckey (1925:25) reported the Montvale Lumber Company shipped about four carloads of copper ore for smelting in 1923, and in the same year the *Bryson City Times* noted that with the opening of the Fontana Mine "valuable deposits of mineral will be found under the surface ... that will add materially to the wealth of our county" (Taylor 2001:27). By 1926, Montvale had surface-mined approximately 2,000 tons of ore (Espenshade 1963:I27). In May of that same year, Dr. J.F. Riter joined with investors to form the Fontana Mining Corporation, a subsidiary of Ducktown Chemical and Iron Company, and leased the mine from the lumber company (Holland 2001:50; Oliver 1989:52). Between 1926 and 1931, the Fontana Mine yielded almost 300,000 short tons of ore producing over 33,000,000 pounds of copper (Espenshade 1963:I28).

One of the first steps taken by Montvale was the construction of housing and support buildings (Holland 2001:52). A narrow gauge railroad spur was built from the mine to the logging railroad on Eagle Creek, and the mining camp developed along those railroad lines. The buildings included about 24 structures: a kitchen/boardinghouse, two bunk houses, four small family houses, three supervisor houses, a school/church/theater building, two water reservoirs, the mine office, two storage buildings for explosives, a barn, two machine shops, and a steam plant, loading dock, boiler house, carbide house, and compressor house (Holland 2001:51; Livingston n.d.) (Figures 4.21 and 4.22). At the mine entrance were a head frame, a main shaft hoist and an incline railway hoist. A blacksmith shop and its vent shaft was located on the mine's first level, allowing the blacksmith to sharpen and repair tools without requiring the miners to bring them to the surface (Holland 2001:54). By the opening years of the 1930s, at least 300 men lived and worked at the mine, but the number decreased to 50 when the Depression began to affect operations (Holland 2001:55).

The Fontana Mining Corporation successfully operated the mine until 1931, when it was sold to the North Carolina Exploration Corporation, an affiliate of the Tennessee Copper and Chemical Corporation (later called Cities Services Realty Corporation) (O'Brien 1972:4). The mine continued to produce large quantities of high quality ore, totaling over 285,000 short tons of ore and over 38,000,000 pounds of copper between 1931 and 1944 (Espenshade 1963:I28). Although the pre-1926 efforts were confined mainly to surface prospecting, the Fontana Mine was eventually a large, deep vertical mine that extended 1,700 ft along the 2,500 ft plunge of the ore deposit. Twenty levels were sunk at vertical intervals ranging from 31 to 155 ft, with a number of drill holes placed to explore the ore body (Espenshade 1963:I27; O'Brien 1972:15). By 1931, the main shaft had reached the fifteenth level (1,500 ft deep), with overhand and underhand stoping (i.e. loosening of ore either overhead or underfoot within a drift) on all but level 15. A cut-and-fill method of excavation was used below level 14. By 1935, the mine reached level 17 at 1,682 ft below the surface, and by 1942 it reached level 20 (at just over 1,700 ft deep). After 1942, all mining took place above level 11, since water had been allowed to flood the lower levels due to lack of shippable ore below level 20 (Espenshade 1963:I27; O'Brien 1972:8).

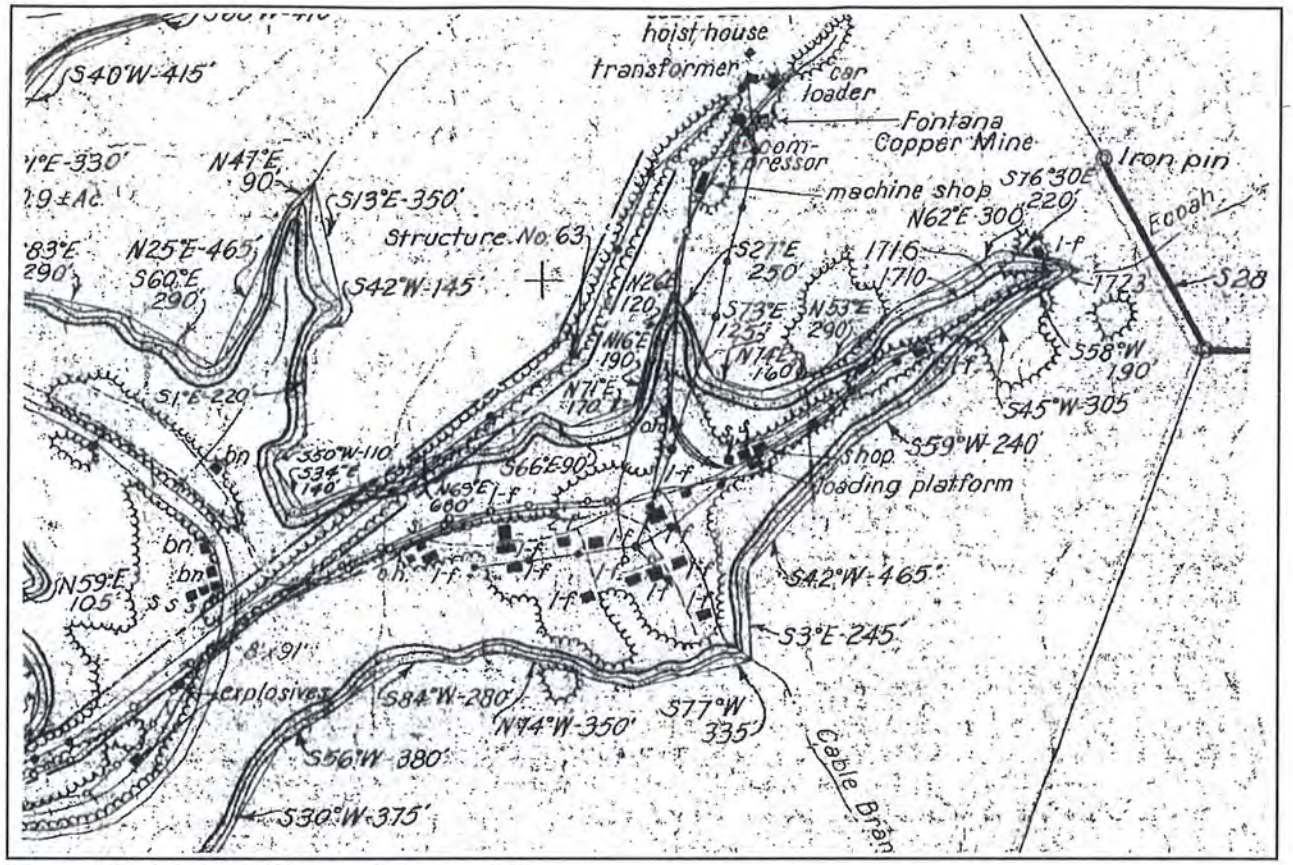


Figure 4.21. TVA (1943) map of Fontana Mine.

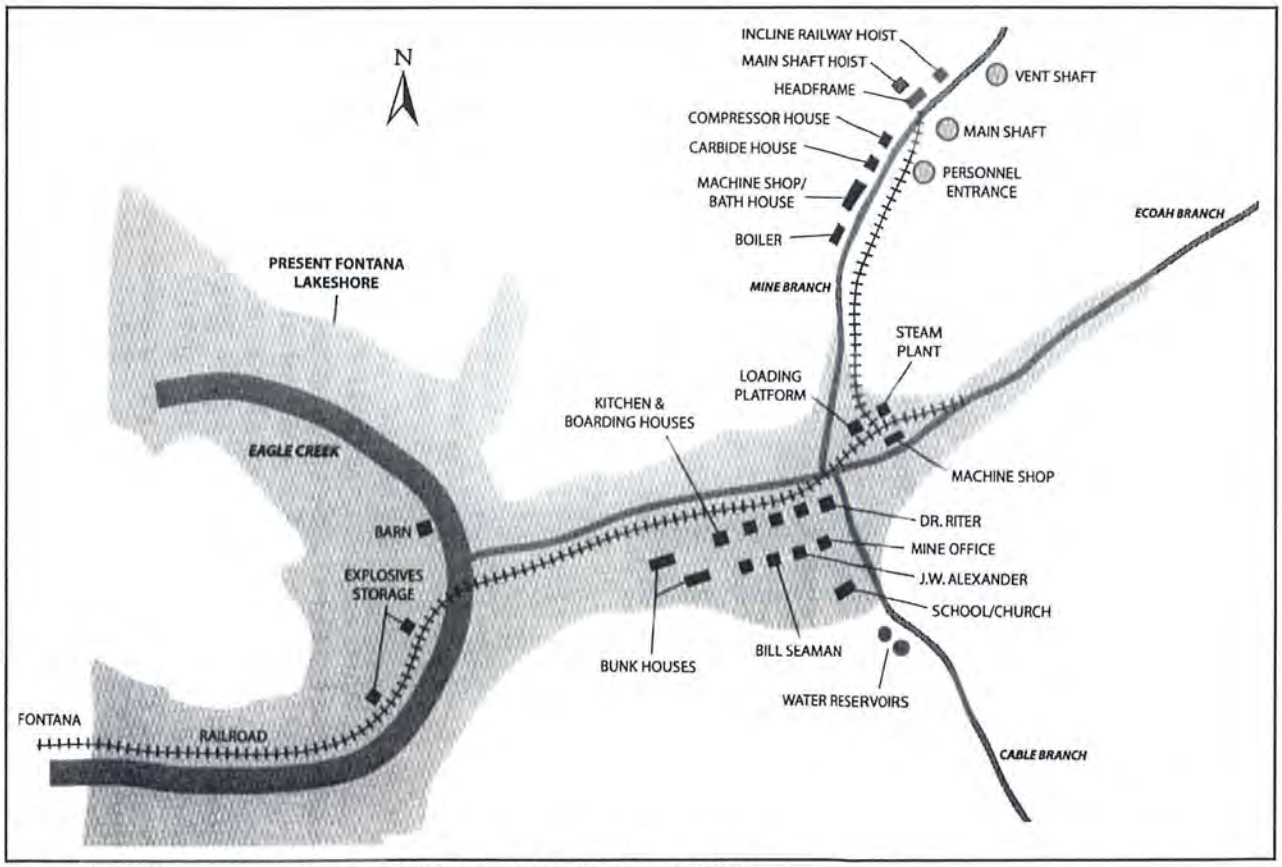


Figure 4.22. Reconstructed map of Fontana Mine (Holland 2001).

By the early 1940s it was clear that the imminent construction of Fontana Dam would greatly impact the mining operations. Although there was considerable discussion regarding the feasibility of continued mining beneath the lake after its construction (e.g., Emmons 1942), mining operations ceased in 1944. Much of the mine complex was flooded, but the TVA allowed Cities Services Realty Corporation to retain ownership of a large parcel of surrounding land (Holland 2001:57). In the early 1970s, it was determined that based on the small remaining ore body and probable lack of additional ore bodies, any mining of the Fontana ore reserves would operate at a substantial loss (O'Brien 1972:22). Phillip Stewart, Chief of Land Acquisition for the NPS, felt that since the reopening of the mine was not economically feasible and that allowing the company to retain title would adversely affect GSMNP, the NPS should buy the land and add it to the Park. In 1983, the NPS purchased the Fontana Mine property for approximately one million dollars (Holland 2001:57).

Other Mines and Prospects

A number of other copper prospects also exist in and adjacent to the study area, primarily in the Hazel, Eagle, and Forney creek drainages. The Westfeldt prospect on Hazel Creek (east of and across a drainage divide from the Hazel Creek Mine) was particularly extensive, containing five adits, two shafts and at least one drift at the bottom of the main shaft (Espenshade 1963:I35). Unfortunately for the owners, the Westfeldt copper ore tested too low for commercial production (Espenshade calculated a rough copper content of 0.19 percent to 0.56 percent) (Espenshade 1963:I35). When Fox visited the site in the early 1940s he observed "an old shaft filled with water, a mine dump of 200+/- cubic yards of weathered rock, and a few pieces of abandoned mine equipment." Fox et al. (1944:13) concluded that "it is difficult to deny that the Westerfeldt [sic] has some possibilities," and recommended that the TVA pay the owner up to $10,000 as compensation for its "possibilities and probabilities."

Other prospects in the Hazel Creek drainage included the "old Calhoun diggings" on Briar Knob (Bryson 1928:13; Laney 1907:76), the Locust Gap prospect, and the Calhoun prospect in Bone Valley, which included a 20-foot long trench (Espenshade 1963). Other prospects in the Eagle Creek area included the Cook prospect (Laney 1907:76) and at least four prospects that were opened near the Fontana Mine by its operators (Espenshade 1963).

A third group of at least two copper prospects was located near Silers Bald at the head of Forney Creek. One of these, the Silers Meadow Prospect, was opened by Granville Calhoun about 1904 (Calhoun 1929:6). This may be the prospect referred to by Laney (1907:76) as near Silers Meadow. In addition, Bryson (1928:13) also mentions the "Matt Crisp" diggings near Silers Bald, which were reportedly "immediately above the little cabin at which the prospectors stopped while working at these diggings." One of these prospects may have been the "Forney" mine referenced by Bryson (1930:28, 1937:34) in later summaries. Most of these prospects, like the Whiting and Kitchen prospects south of the Little Tennessee and southwest of the study area (Espenshade 1963), appear to have been shallow pit and opencut trenches excavated to explore the chalcopyrite ore within sandstone, the parent material.

Also in the Forney Creek area was the Welch Prospect, a small copper, gold, and silver prospect located north of NC 288 about "1¼ miles below Bushnell" (Emmons 1944:6). This prospect consisted of a 45-foot long tunnel that was "driven approximately at the level of the river road." This is almost certainly the same mine referred to in a local account (Anonymous 1964) that describes "a mine at the bottom of a flattopped mountain which contained a huge hole from which hot air rushed," clearly a reference to Guardhouse Mountain on the Welch Property. Rock samples taken by Emmons (1944:5) returned small quantities of copper and silver and a trace amount of gold. Emmons (1944) also sampled three other prospects along NC 288 to the east, which he termed the Forney, Noland, and Epps Springs prospects. At least one of these, Forney, was reportedly considered a gold prospect, but it not clear that meaningful attempts were ever made to explore any of the three locations. Emmons' (1944:5) samples produced

small amounts of copper from all three prospects; small amounts of silver were reported from the Noland prospect, and trace amounts of gold were present at all three locations. Also in the vicinity is Goldmine Branch, a small tributary of the Tuckasegee. Mohr (1975:2) reported that placer gold was recovered from this stream about 1900, and that one local resident reported that a "great uncle once panned enough gold in 1½ days work to pay his taxes and buy some coffee and salt." This area was the focus of considerable local attention during construction of the partial North Shore Road in 1968, when local residents "asked the Park Service if they could pick up rock from the excavation. The agency refused the request, stating that there was never a goldmine in the area" (NPS 1996).

There are also other reported accounts of gold being found both as nuggets and in vein quartz in the study area, and small amounts of gold, silver, and zinc were recovered from the Hazel Creek and Fontana mines (Espenshade et al. 1963; Holland 2001:55). Similarly, members of the Hall family are reported to have gathered gold nuggets in the Hazel Creek vicinity (Oliver 1989:54). Laney (1907:73) was certainly alert to the possibility of gold during his examination of the area's copper deposits. He visited two quartz veins reported to be gold-bearing, but "careful examination of both of these in the field disclosed but little evidence in favor of the report" (Laney 1907:78).

Lead also has been reported from the study area. Fidelia "Dilly" Welch reportedly exploited a small lead deposit near Bone Valley in the 1920s (Oliver 1989:53), and in 1943 the TVA investigated accounts of a lead deposit north of Alarka Creek in the southeastern part of the study area (Thomason 1943). Neither account has been substantiated, however.

Other mineral resources have also been exploited or prospected in the area. Kaolin was apparently mined at the Hyde Prospect south of Shear Knob at the southeastern edge of the study area, and deposits of metaquartzite have also investigated nearby (Mohr 1975). A beryl deposit is also present in the bed of the Little Tennessee River in the same general area, although it has apparently not been commercially exploited. Finally, in the early 1940s the TVA quarried quartz and schist for use as aggregate for dam construction at a large quarry on the north bank of the Little Tennessee a short distance downstream of Fontana Dam (Moneymaker 1941; Ross 1943).

HISTORIC PERIOD SETTLEMENTS IN THE STUDY AREA

Information on the distribution of late nineteenth and early twentieth century settlements in the study area is provided by early 60-minute USGS topographic quadrangles (USGS 1886, 1892a, 1892b, 1906, 1913) and other maps (e.g., Kephart n.d.; NCGS 1906). Although many of these do not depict structures, together they provide a picture of the overall settlement pattern in the area. Other information on this period comes from some of the many articles and books on local history, and from the 1913–1915 KPC maps. Considerably more detailed data are available on settlements dating to the 1930s and 1940s, including information from planimetric and topographic maps as well as from the extensive documentation compiled as part of land acquisition, first for GSMNP and later by NP&L and the TVA for the Fontana Project. The TVA land acquisition maps and accompanying records are especially rich in detail concerning individual structures and properties (see Chapter 2). Finally, the 1920s through 1940s are within the reach of living memory, and detailed data concerning families and individuals are provided in the wealth of local history publications, many of which include first-hand accounts of life in the area (e.g., Britt 1987; Ferguson 1993; Kirkland 2000; Posey 1990; Trull 1986).

The 1904 Nantahala and 1913 Cowee topographic maps show 17 named settlements in the area, including those (from east to west along the north side of the Tuckasegee/Little Tennessee) at Bryson, Noland, Gee, Bushnell, Forney Creek (Chambers Creek, see below), Dorsey, Wayside, Proctor, and Fairfax; settlements on the south side of the river include Judson, Almond, Swain, Welch, Japan, Brock, Stekoah, and Tuskeegee. Other early settlements included Epps Springs, Collinwood, Ecola, and Medlin (see Figure 4.5). No settlements are shown in the study area on adjacent portions of the 1892 Knoxville

and 1893 Mt. Guyot quadrangles. Many of these communities survived into the mid-twentieth century, although almost all met their demise with the coming of the Fontana Project. The following discussion presents a brief history of these and other local communities. Since most of the available information dates to the 1930s and 1940s, the discussion concentrates on the latter years of occupation.

North Shore Towns and Communities

Bryson City and Vicinity. The principal settlement in the study area (and in all of Swain and Graham counties) in the 1930s and 1940s was Bryson City, situated on an expanse of Tuckasegee River bottoms and adjacent uplands near the mouth of Deep Creek (Figure 4.23). Bryson City had its origins in the village of Charleston, which was established in 1871 when Swain County was formed from parts of Macon and Jackson counties. Charleston developed out of a small settlement known as Bear Springs, which had acquired its name from Yonah (Big Bear), a Cherokee who was granted a 640-acre tract surrounding his homestead in 1819 (Beck 1988) (see above). The property passed to a series of non-Cherokee owners beginning in the mid-1820s (Beck 1988:9; Jenkins 1988:21; Thomasson 1965:5–7). A post office was established at Charleston in 1872; the town was renamed Bryson or Bryson City in 1889 to honor Colonel Thad Dillard Bryson, a Confederate veteran who had acquired much of Big Bear's former reserve from the Shular family in 1868 (Bryson 1987:95; Corbitt 1950:2; Stroupe 1996:3-258, 3-259).

Bryson City soon developed into a regional market center, and was to provide a "jumping-off point for the timber industry's entry into the economy of southwestern North Carolina" (Taylor 2001:9). By 1930 it had a population of about 1,800, or about 15 percent of that of Swain County (Anonymous 1932; USBC 1932; Works Progress Administration [WPA] 1939:443). The WPA guide to North Carolina considered it noteworthy for its proximity to the Cherokee reservation, the presence of a woodworking plant (Carolina Wood Turning), and its roles as a "headquarters of copper and feldspar operations" and as a "shipping point for purebred stock" (WPA 1939:443).

By the 1920s the town was also developing into a resort location, and local businessmen were becoming interested in the possibilities to be offered by the proposed GSMNP. Bryson City resident (and regional booster) Kelly Bennett (1932) described Bryson City in the early 1930s in glowing terms:

> Bryson City, on the Southern railway, North Carolina Highways 10, 107, 286 and 288 and U.S. No. 19, having a population of 1,800, is the only town west of Asheville to double its population in the last ten years. ... The town is situated in a bowl-shaped basin, through which runs the Tuckasegee River. On terraces surrounding the business district are the central high school and many homes from which charming views spread in all directions. Immediately back of the terraces rise steep and lofty mountains, all forestclad to their summits.
>
> Bryson City is fast becoming a tourist resort. It has an equable climate through the year. There are charming drives over good roads, golf course[s], good fishing, and the primeval forest of the Smokies comes to within six miles of the town, the park boundary within two miles.

In the same year, the *Asheville Citizen-Times* reported:

> Bryson City, with its modern hotels, inns, and business houses, is the tourist and business center [of Swain County], as well as the seat of governmental activities. It has the Marianna Black Library, and also the private library of the late Horace Kephart, famous for his study and writings relating to the Southern highlands, and his efforts in behalf of the establishment of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Among the industrial enterprises is a wood turning company of some size [Anonymous 1932].

As Taylor (2001:51–53) and others have noted, Bryson City's attempts to market itself as the gateway or entrance to GSMNP were hampered by competition with other towns such as Waynesville, and by the

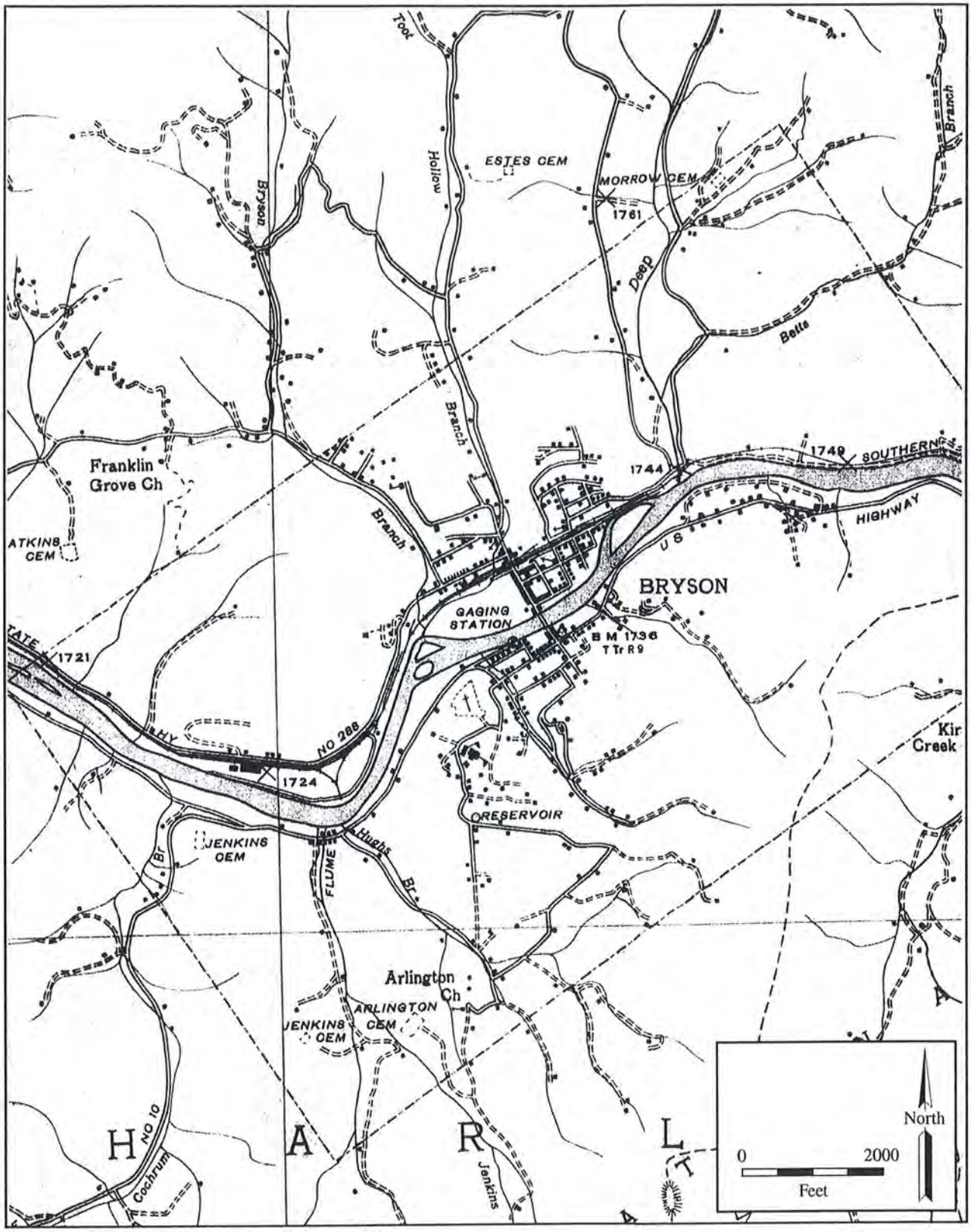


Figure 4.23. Bryson City and vicinity in 1936.

unfortunate fact that local highways did not provide ready access to the Park. Similarly, the development of Fontana Dam did not bring defense industries or other industrial facilities to the area, as some had hoped (Taylor 2001:75). For the past 60 years Bryson City has continued to market itself as a vacation destination (e.g., Sharpe 1954), and has lived in an uneasy relationship with the adjacent national park (Holland 2001:199–201; Taylor 2001:139–140).

Epps Springs. The community of Epps Springs was located at the mouth of Canebreak Branch, about six river miles downstream from Bryson City. A post office was situated there from 1888–1890 and again from 1908–1918 before being discontinued (Stroupe 1996:3-260). The community reportedly developed in the late 1800s around a "chalybeate" (iron-impregnated) spring, and included "one or two cabins" (Arthur 1914:507) and possibly a hotel (David Monteith, personal communication 2003); by the 1930s the hotel was gone, and the community consisted of the Epps Springs school and a number of residences distributed up the branch. Although very little of the Epps Creek community was to be inundated by Fontana Lake, TVA acquired the entire Canebreak Branch and adjacent Peachtree Creek drainages, and the land passed into GSMNP as part of the Fontana Addition (Shumate and Evans Shumate 1996:56–57).

Noland Creek. The mouth of Noland Creek is about two river miles downstream from Epps Springs and eight river miles downstream from Bryson City. Logging apparently began on Noland Creek as early as the 1880s, when

> the Eversole Lumber Company cut hardwoods well up the main creek. They used cattle and a slide to get the logs down to a circular mill at the mouth of the creek on the Southern Railway. The mill blew up in the late 1890s, but its boiler was replaced. This company also peeled hemlock bark. [Lambert 1958b:37].

A subsequent operation by the Harris-Woodbury Lumber Company from 1905–1908 extended as far up as Bald Creek (well outside the present study area, and about three miles southeast of Clingmans Dome), where a portable mill was constructed. A flume was also constructed on the main creek, and selected trees (primarily poplars, oaks, and chestnuts) were removed from about 3,000 acres (Lambert 1958b:38).

The Noland post office was established at Noland Creek in 1900, and was active until 1925 (Stroupe 1996:3-262). The 1936 planimetric map (USGS 1936c) illustrates a dispersed community that extended several miles up Noland Creek with few clusters of homes (Figure 4.24). It included two schools: the Noland Creek School on Bearpen Branch about 2.5 miles up the creek, and the Mill Creek School, another three miles up the creek near the Park boundary. (The present northern study area boundary on Noland Creek is at approximately the earlier GSMNP boundary). Although much of the land along the creek and its tributaries was owned by small landowners (or by NP&L), a 4,365-acre tract incorporating much of the watershed was owned by Philip G. Rust. Rust was a Delaware resident who maintained the land as a private retreat and preserve, complete with:

> four wardens who took responsibility for fire protection as well as animal welfare. He actively encouraged the preservation and propagation of wild animal species and maintained a trout-stocking program. He operated a weather station and a fish hatchery, as well as a thirty-mile network of trails connecting to those of the park. A private electric plant provided electricity to the house, nursery, garages, and barns [Taylor 2001:119].

Rust initially challenged the TVA's legal right to take his property for the Fontana Project, but finally settled for an almost $100,000 settlement in 1945 (Taylor 2001:119–120).

Forney Creek. Forney (or Forney's) Creek is a large stream that joined the Tuckasegee about three river miles downstream from Noland Creek and the same distance east of the Tuckasegee/Little Tennessee confluence. Although the creek was reportedly named for a Jacob Forney who settled the area as early as

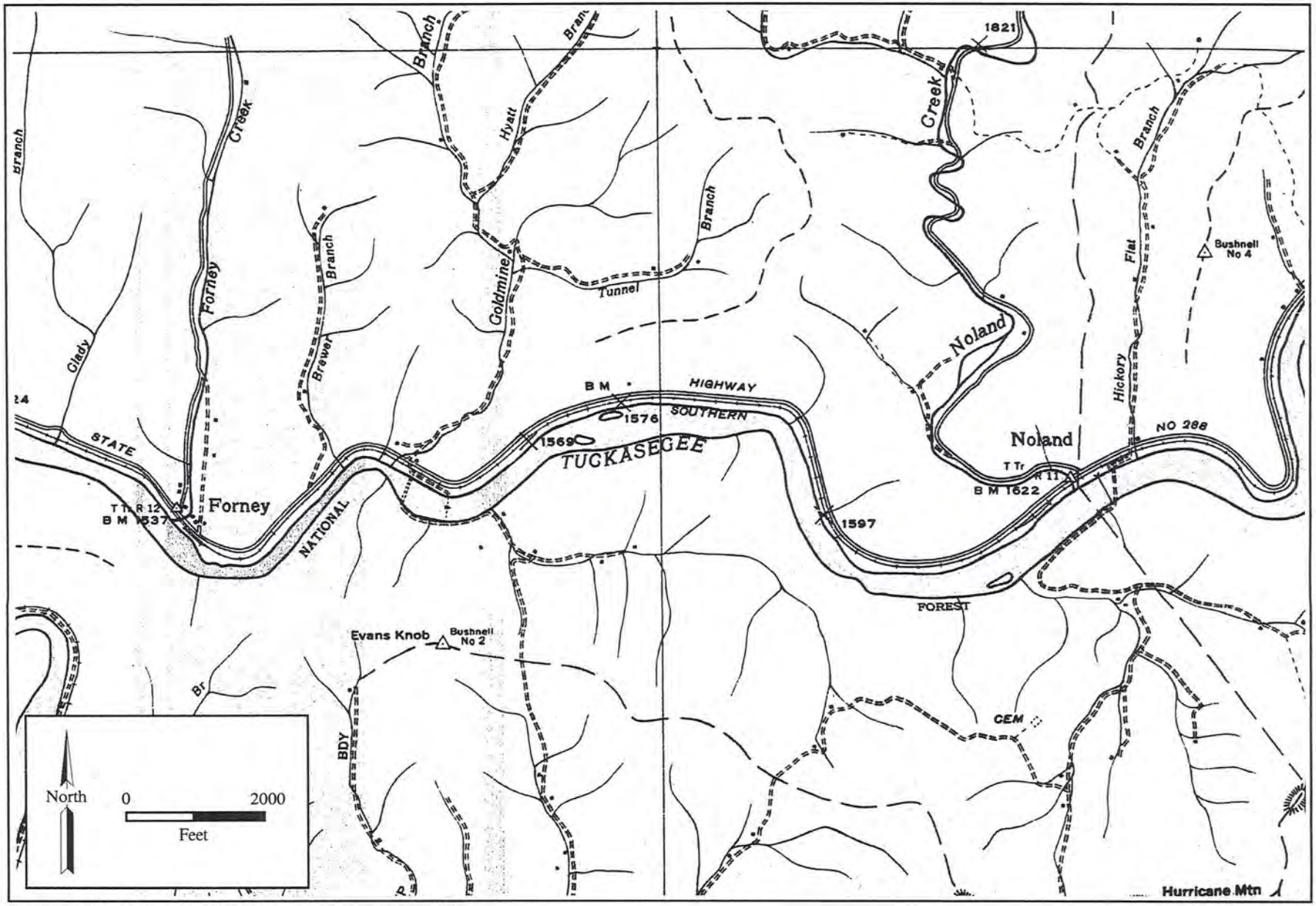


Figure 4.24. Noland and Forney creeks area in 1936.

1750 (Coggins 1999:65), it is unlikely that any Euro-Americans were resident in the area at that early date. The community was referred to as a "new settlement" when a Baptist Church was established on the creek about 1872, suggesting that settlement in any density did not begin until after the Civil War (Cole 1996). A post office was first established (as Gee) at Forney Creek in 1902. Its name was changed to Forney in 1908, and postal service to the location was discontinued 1937 (Stroupe 1996:3-260). (The post office of Forney Creek, which was active from 1877 to 1903, was located some distance downriver at Chambers Creek [USGS 1904]).

Although limited logging occurred in the drainage prior to 1900, intensive operations did not begin until 1910, shortly after the Norwood Lumber Company bought a 17,000-acre tract from the Harris-Woodbury firm. The Norwood Company logged the watershed extensively, removing large quantities of hardwoods and spruce from the headwaters of the stream (Cole 1996; Lambert 1958b:39). Up to 1,000 or more people reportedly lived in the area during the 1910s and 1920s, but the population dropped dramatically after Norwood left the area about 1928 (Cole 1996:60) (see above). Unlike the nearby Noland Creek watershed, much of the Forney Creek watershed was acquired for GSMNP shortly thereafter (Figure 4.25).

The pre-GSMNP topographic maps (USGS 1931a, 1931b) show few structures in the drainage, probably reflecting the fact that much of it had been logged. The 1936 planimetric map (USGS 1936c) shows a small community of about eight structures near the mouth of Forney Creek, which constituted the mid-1930s community of Forney. Most of the parcels along the creek were owned by NP&L, but others included a school lot (but no school), the Forney Creek Baptist Church, and parcels owned by the Cole and Monteith families (TVA 1943). According to a TVA study,

> At Forney ... there are stark reminders of former lumber industries. Still standing are a large clubhouse, grocery store, and many residences built by the lumber companies. ... Traces of concrete foundations may be seen where a large band mill [stood] [Ketchen 1944:2].

A CCC camp (NP-9) was established at Forney Creek in 1933 and operated until 1936; the location was also used intermittently as a side camp from 1936–1938. The camp was located in a large hollow at the mouth of Bee Gum Branch, near the northern boundary of the study area (Oliver 1998a:93, 295; Pyle 1979:8, 24).

Bushnell. The town of Bushnell was situated on the north bank of the Little Tennessee River at its confluence with the Tuskeegee (Figures 4.26 and 4.27). The settlement developed shortly after 1879, when the Western North Carolina Railroad (later part of the Southern Railway) reached the area (Holland 2001:75; Ketchen 1944:1); the railroad was not extended west from Bushnell until large-scale logging developed down river in the early 1900s. The town apparently received its name from the Bushnell family of Ohio, who reportedly conducted logging operations in the area for a time in the 1880s (Arthur 1914:514; Oliver 2000). A post office was established at Bushnell in May 1886 (Stroupe 1996:3-258), and the town was incorporated in 1901 (Taylor 2001:9). The town's population reportedly grew to over 1,000 in the early 1900s, when it became a "break-in-bulk point" where goods were transferred from the railroad's main line (which continued south along the Little Tennessee), first to local roads, and later to the Fontana spur (Taylor 2001:9). (The town is never enumerated separately in the census, however, and it is likely that this figure [like that for Forney Creek, above] includes the population from the surrounding region.) In 1912 Bushnell was described in railroad promotional literature as follows:

> For several notable reasons this little town gives promise of remarkable development. It is the starting point of a new branch of the SOUTHERN RAILWAY which is designed to connect this section of Western North Carolina directly with Knoxville, Tennessee. The county surrounding the town is devoted largely to fruit growing and it is in the very heart of the finest apple growing

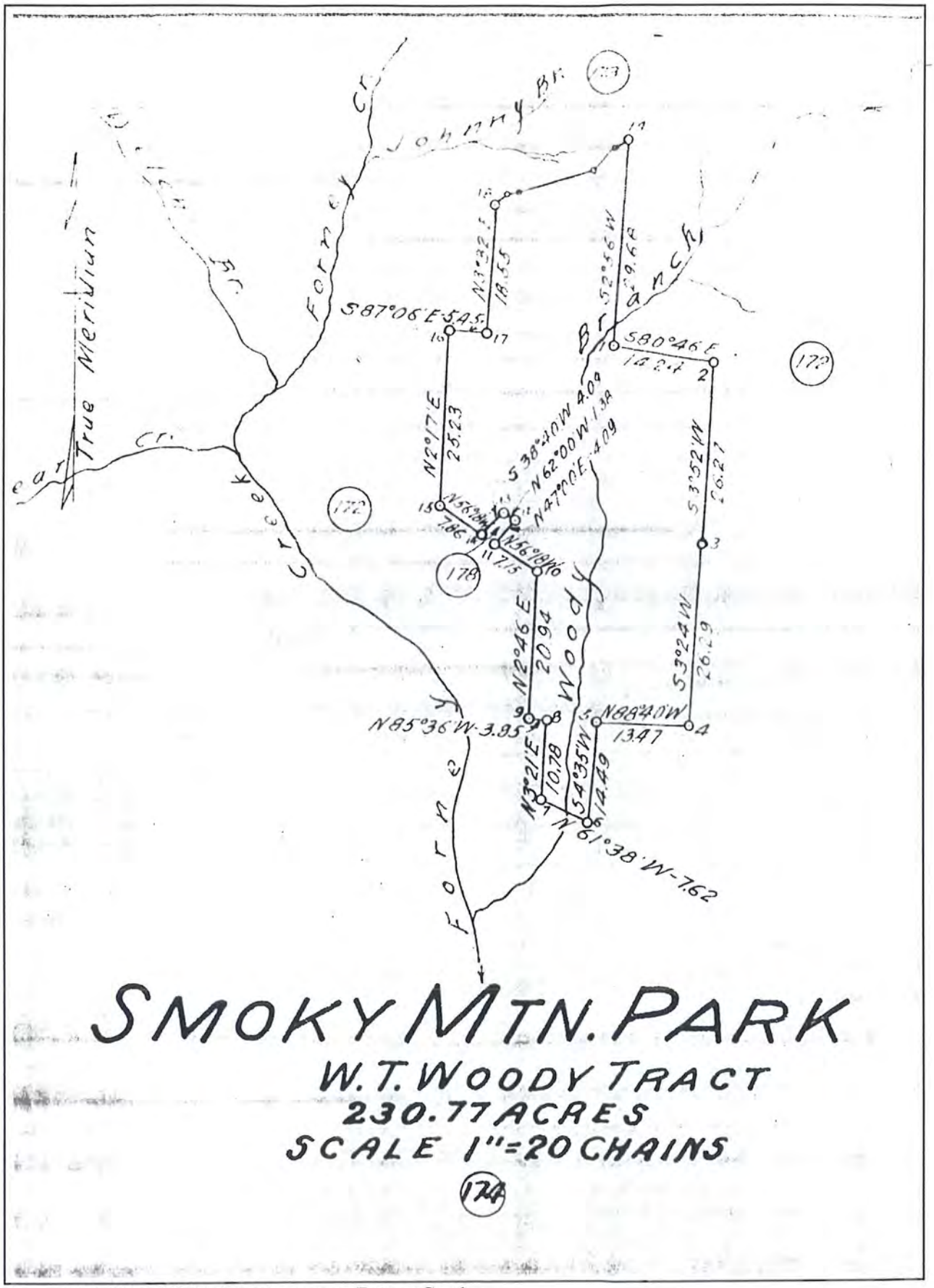


Figure 4.25. Plat of W.T. Woody tract on Forney Creek.

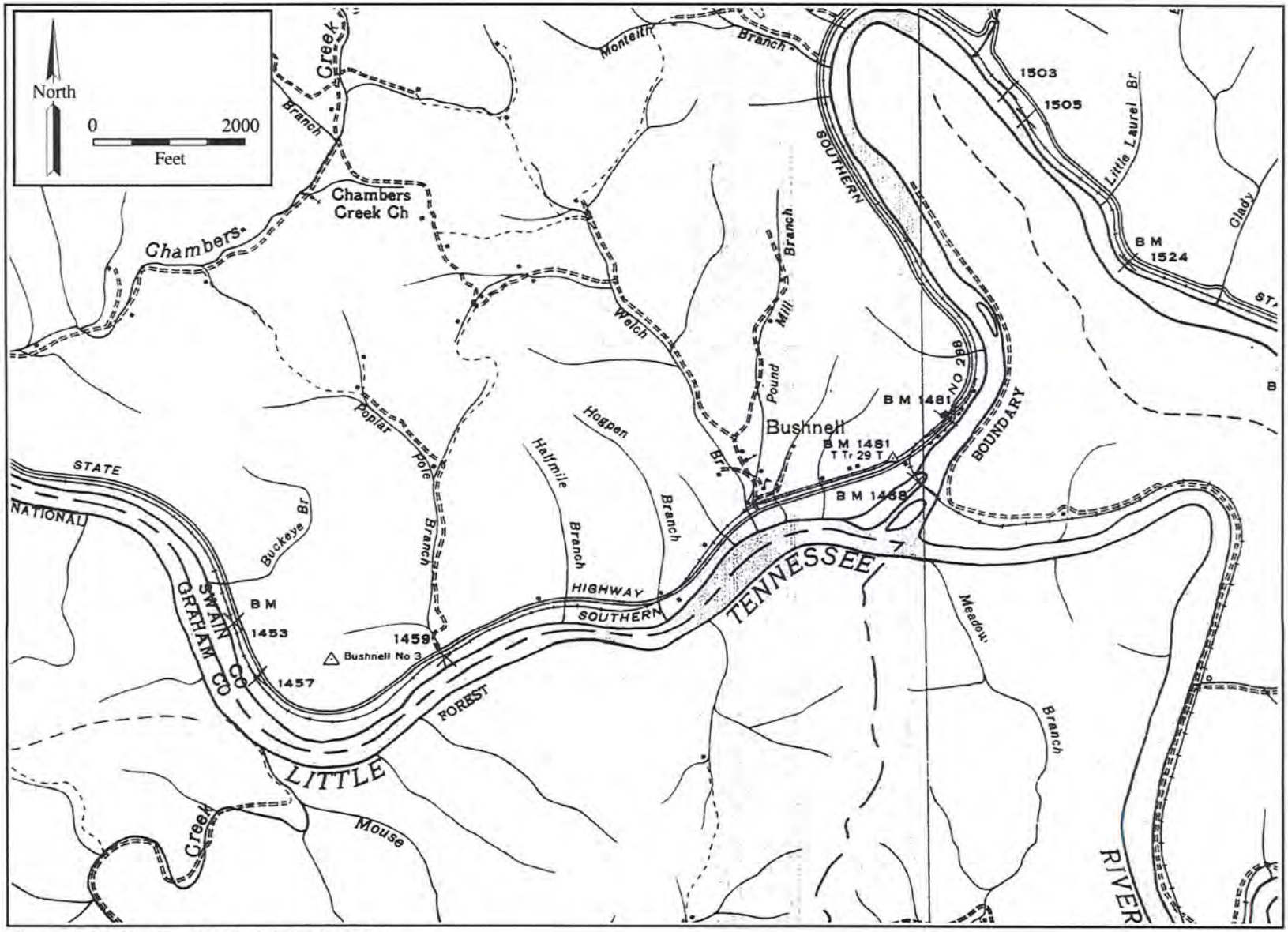


Figure 4.26. Bushnell and vicinity in 1936.

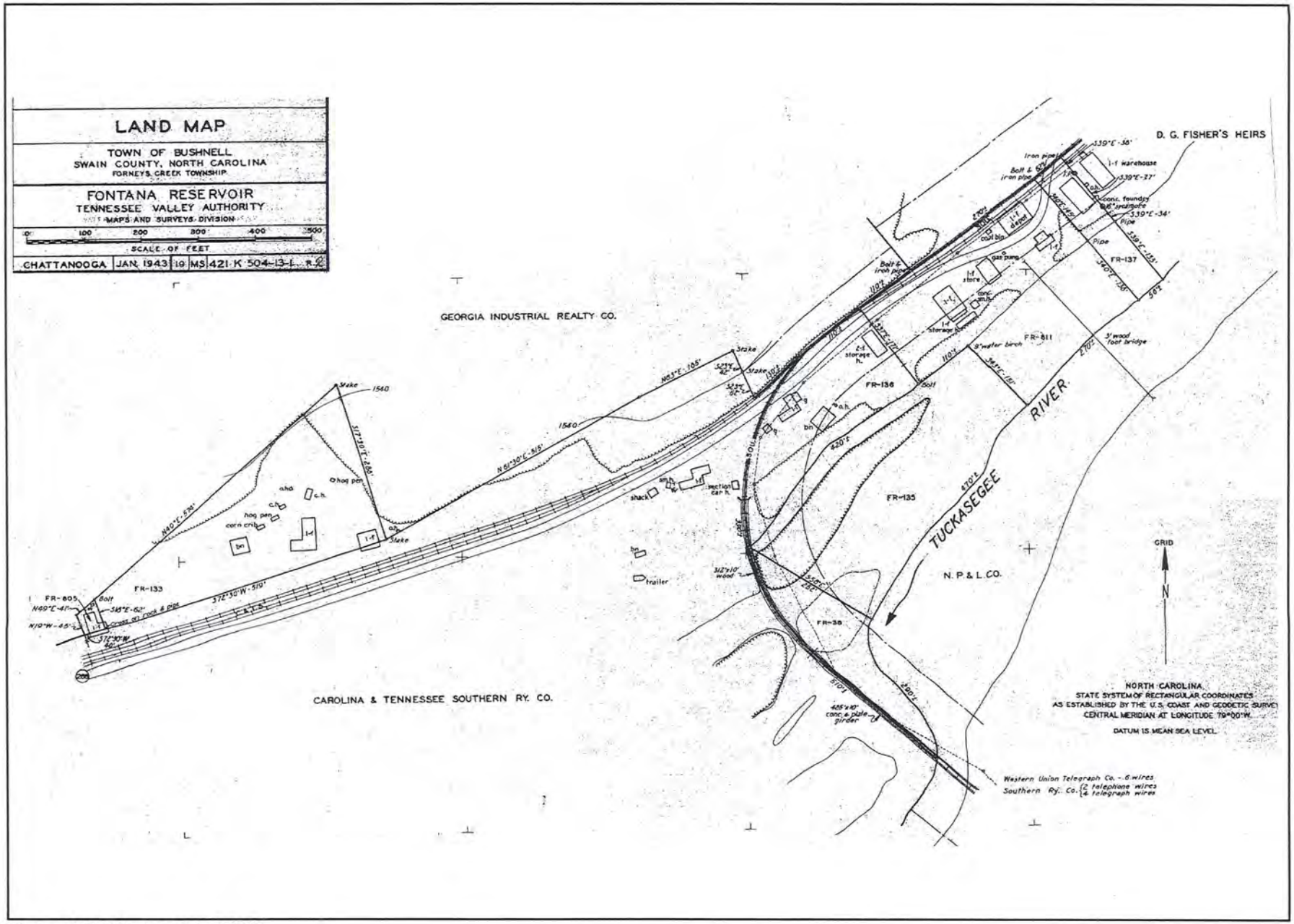


Figure 4.27. Bushnell in 1943

> region in Western North Carolina. The scenery in this vicinity is rugged, picturesque and beautiful [Southern Railway Company 1912:39].

Bushnell lost its importance with the demise of the local lumber industry, and by 1939 its population had shrunk to about 75 (WPA 1939:443; Taylor 2001:57). By that time much of the land in the vicinity (and extending downriver) had been acquired by NP&L for its proposed reservoir, a plan that was to soon be supplanted by the TVA's Fontana Project.

Planimetric and land acquisition maps from the 1930s and 1940s depict a small settlement of less than 20 homes and other structures dispersed along about a mile of NC 288 and up Welch Branch (USGS 1936c; TVA 1943) (Figure 4.28). A school is shown near the mouth of the stream, and a church (the Bushnell Baptist Church) is a short distance up the drainage to the north. A suspension bridge and railroad bridge extended south across the Tuckasegee just above the confluence, providing access to Judson and other settlements to the south along the east bank of the Little Tennessee River (Oliver 1998a:10, 21) (Figure 4.29).

A community report developed for the Fontana Project provides a description of Bushnell in the early 1940s:

> Bushnell proper is on a narrow bench where the Tuckasegee River flows into the Little Tennessee River. This bench is on the 1600' contour and is the widest level area in the entire community. It is from 250 to 300 yards wide at Bushnell and continues in both directions along the river for a total distance of 0.6 mile, gradually narrowing until the formidable mountains reach the river banks. Tumbling down the steep mountains from the Great Smokies to the river are numerous streams ... over the years, narrow shelves have been washed out in some sections along the river affording sufficient space upon which men have settled, farmed, and reared their families. ...
>
> At the present time Bushnell has two grocery stores which furnish families in the eastern and central parts of the community with their immediate needs. In the western portion of the community there are two stores, one dating back to 1863, and east of Bushnell there are also two small stores. However, Bryson City is the chief trade center, and it is to this town that the farmers journey each Saturday to trade and visit. ...
>
> The majority of the farmers ... raise little foodstuff for the market, consuming most of it themselves. Corn is one of the principal crops, but some cash is derived from the sale of livestock. Potatoes, too, are one of the cash crops for a few of the farmers. More money is obtained from the sale of jack pine and pulpwood then from the sale of any other crop [Ketchen 1944:1–4].

As summarized by the report:

> This [the larger community] is one of the few communities affected by the construction program of the Tennessee Valley Authority which will be completely obliterated by the formation of the lake – the roads will be inundated; the school and church buildings will be torn down; and all the families will move to new locations outside the community [Ketchen 1944:5].

Chambers Creek. Chambers Creek was about 2.5 river (and road) miles downstream from the Little Tennessee/Tuckasegee confluence and Bushnell. No town was ever organized at this location, but the creek and surrounding area constituted a distinct settlement. A post office operated in the vicinity under the name of Forney's Creek from 1873 to 1906, when the name was changed to Chambers; the Chambers post office continued to 1931, when it was closed (Stroupe 1996:3-258, 3-259). Early settlers in the area included members of the Chambers, Welch, and Sawyer families, some of whom were resident in the drainage by the 1830s or earlier; later settlers included many members of the Anthony, Crisp, Chambers, Kir(k)land, and McClure families (Chambers et al. 1988:23–24).

Figure 4.28. The hotel at Bushnell.

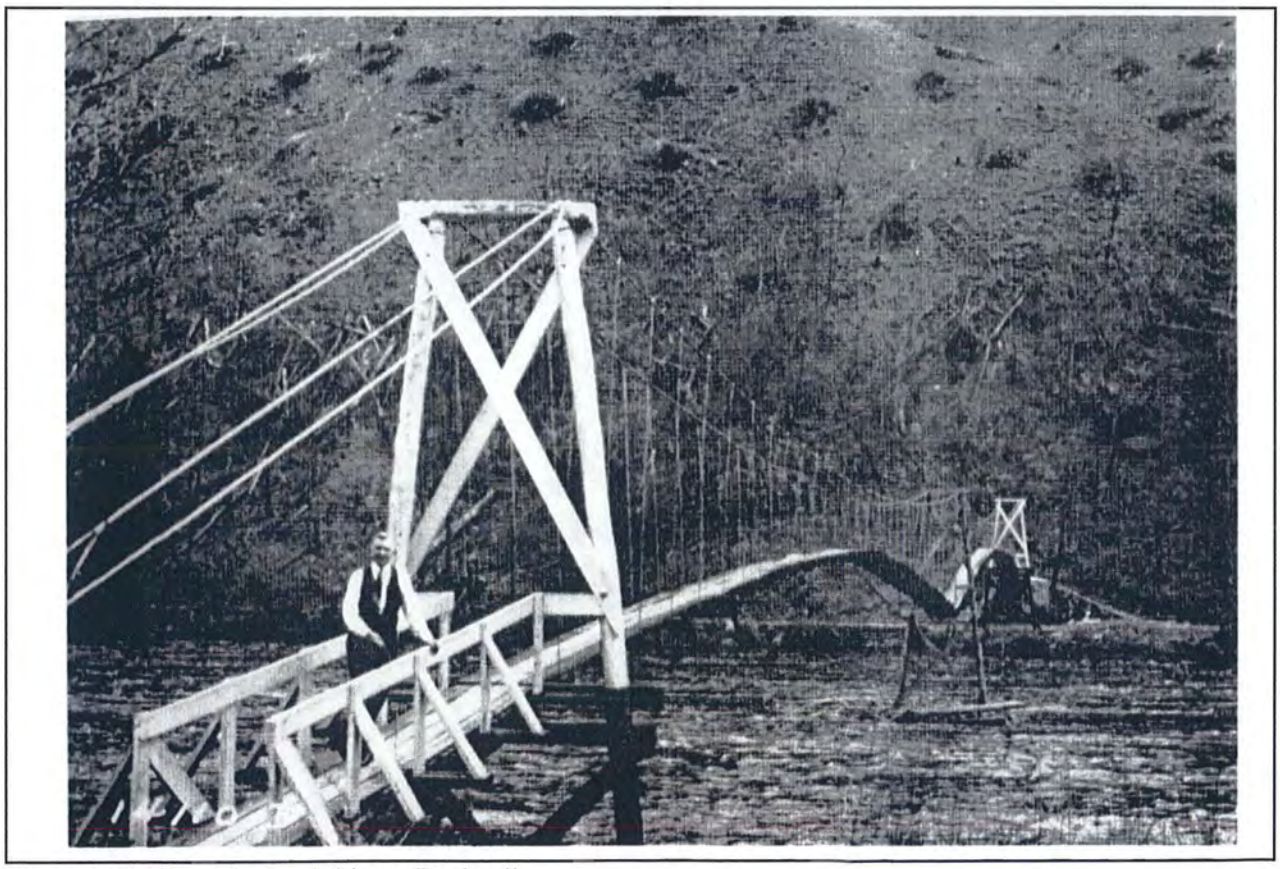


Figure 4.29. The swinging bridge at Bushnell.

A hand-drawn map compiled by former residents shows the location of 42 homes along Chambers Creek, adjacent Kirkland Creek, and the upper portion of Welch Branch in the 1930s and 1940s, as well as two mills and the Chambers Creek Church (Chambers et al. 1988:23–24; see also Oliver 1998a:539). A similar pattern is shown on the early planimetric and topographic quadrangles (USGS 1936c, 1936e, 1941c) and on the TVA land acquisition maps (TVA 1943) (Figure 4.30). Although several parcels along the creek had been acquired by NP&L, others remained in private ownership until their acquisition by the TVA.

Collinwood and Ecola. The communities of Collinwood and Ecola are depicted on the planimetric map (USGS 1936c) at the mouth of Chambers Creek and a few miles downstream, between Kirkland and Pilkey creeks. Both were rail stops (Poole 1995:185; Southern Railway 1914:44), but never had post offices and were apparently not significant communities. According to the TVA, these settlements were two of the "tiny settlement[s] or neighborhood[s] composed chiefly of relatives" in the Bushnell area (Ketchen 1944:2).

Pilkey Creek (Hubbard and Dorsey). Pilkey Creek is a sizable drainage located downstream from Kirkland Branch, and is separated from Hazel Creek to the west by Welch Ridge (Figure 4.31). Two community names are shown on the planimetric quadrangle in this vicinity, Hubbard at the mouth of Pilkey Creek (which was formerly known as Hubbard Mill Creek) and Dorsey at the mouth of a small drainage less than one-half mile downriver (USGS 1936e). A post office was located at Dorsey from 1890 to 1940, when it was discontinued (Stroupe 1996:3-259). The quadrangle and land acquisition maps (TVA 1943) depict scattered structures distributed up Pilkey Creek, including a store with gas pumps and the abandoned Dorsey School.

Wayside/Marcus. The community of Wayside was situated near the mouth of Calhoun Branch, a little more than a mile downstream from Dorsey and about three miles upriver from the mouth of Hazel Creek. The area was apparently known as Wayside while a post office was operated there from 1880–1922 (Stroupe 1996:3-262), but is designated Marcus (after early settler Alfonzo Marcus [Oliver 1989:119; Parris 1982]) on the 1936 planimetric map (USGS 1936e). Marcus is shown as a small cluster of structures (including a store) on either side of Storehouse Branch on the TVA acquisition map, which corresponds well with an undated photograph printed in Oliver (1998a:243). The entire community of Marcus was owned by NP&L at the time of its acquisition by the TVA (TVA 1943).

Hazel Creek. Hazel Creek is the largest drainage on the North Shore, and was the site of several distinct communities, including Ritter, Proctor, and Medlin. The following discussion proceeds south to north up the creek, and is drawn primarily from published histories by Oliver (1989) and Holland (2001), an unpublished map by Kephart (n.d.), and maps by NCGS (1906), USGS (1931a, 1935, 1936e, 1940b, 1941c) and the TVA (1941, 1943). A wide variety of other primary and secondary sources are also available concerning life on Hazel Creek, including detailed information on the logging and mining industries in the area.

The settlement of Hazel Creek began about 1830, and in slightly over 100 years progressed from early, low-density pioneer settlement, through periods of increasing settlement density, early logging and mining, intensive railroad logging, post-logging depopulation, and dam construction (Oliver 1989). This account provides information on all of these periods, but of necessity emphasizes the better-documented logging and post logging eras.

Ritter. The southernmost community on Hazel Creek was Ritter, which was a railroad stop established by the W.M. Ritter Lumber Company after the railroad was extended past the mouth of Hazel Creek about 1907 (Oliver 1989:60). By 1910 the Ritter railroad (a common carrier named the Smoky Mountain Railway Company) extended up the creek past Proctor and Medlin to the active cutting areas. Although

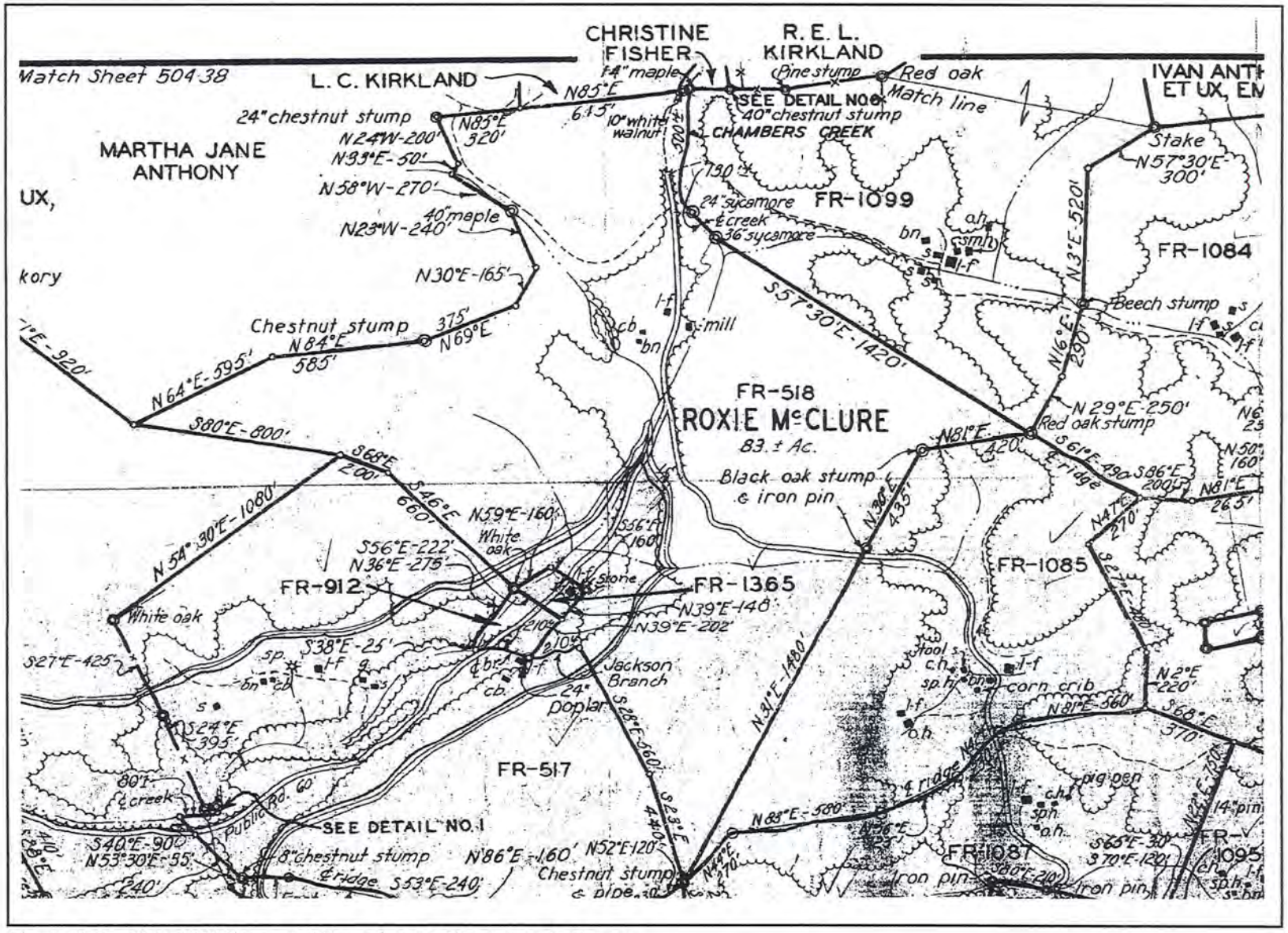


Figure 4.30. TVA (1943) map of farms in the Chambers Creek area.

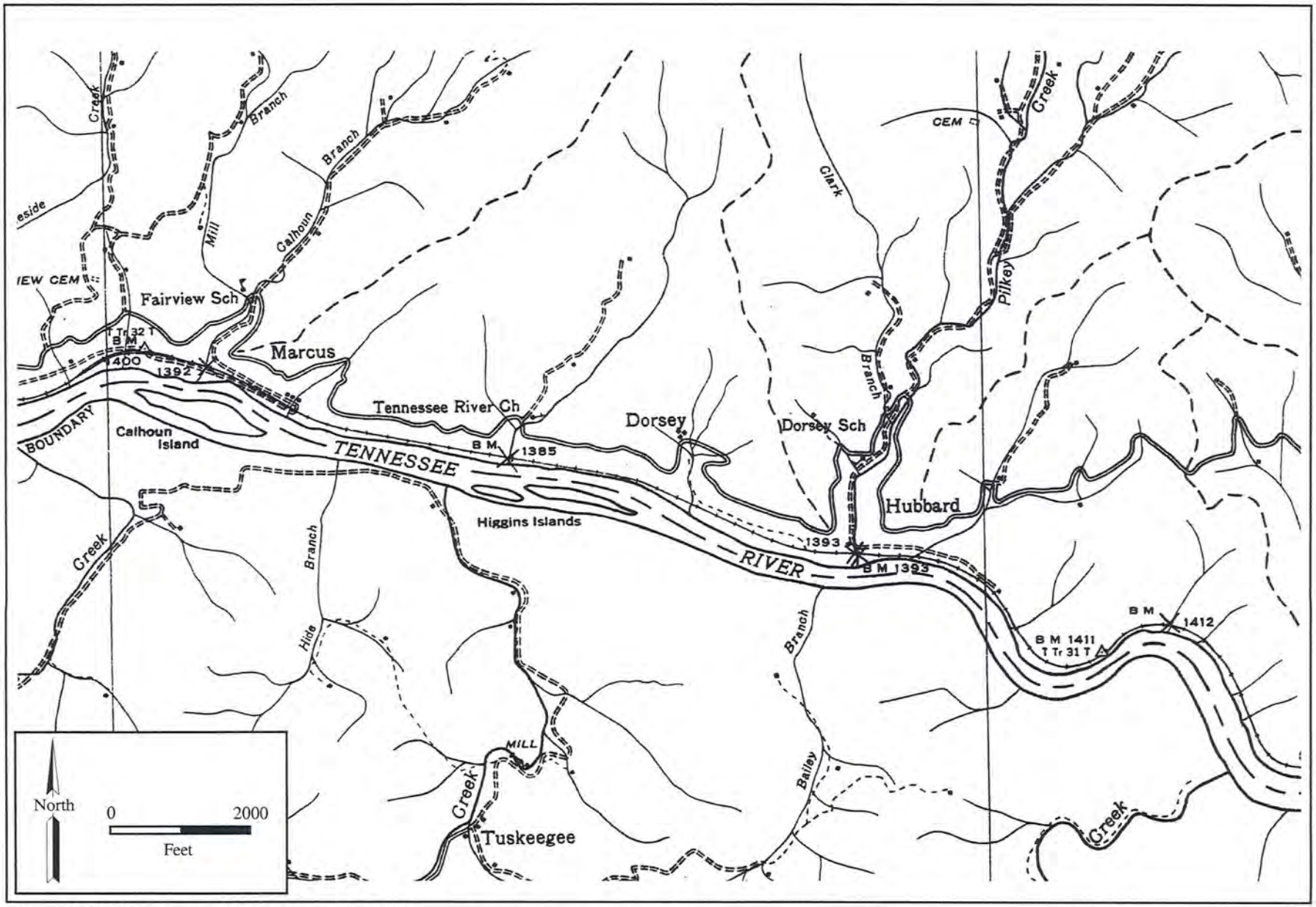


Figure 4.31. Dorsey and Hubbard area in 1936.

the Ritter Company and the Smoky Mountain Railway were gone by the late 1920s, the Ritter stop remained a key transit point, and the place where Hazel Creek residents would catch the train east.

The 1935 quadrangle (USGS 1935) shows only four structures at the settlement, but the subsequent TVA land acquisition maps depict over 25 "shacks" there, along with houses, trailers, a tent, a barn, and a store (TVA 1943) (Figure 4.32). Much of this housing was occupied by workers on the Fontana Project (TVA 1950:474). Part of the town was owned by NP&L; most of the surrounding area was owned by the heirs of J.E. (Jack) Coburn, who had arrived on Hazel Creek with the first of the lumber companies in the late 1800s. Coburn accumulated extensive land holdings over the next decades, and by the 1920s owned several thousand acres in the area. Coburn sold many of his land and timber rights to Ritter, and acted as its agent in other transactions (Oliver 1989:68).

Although several small clusters of shacks were located along NC 288 (which ran up both sides of the creek a few miles) in 1943, the next major concentration of settlement moving up the creek was at Cable Branch, a little more than a mile upstream from the creek's mouth. The Cable family had settled Cable Branch about 1835 (Oliver 1989:5). In the early 1940s the small community contained the Cable Branch Church as well as several homes and other buildings; a cluster of shacks near the mouth of the branch probably served Fontana Project workers. Although much of the land along the branch was owned by Coburn, the Cable family still retained several parcels in the area. About one-half mile above Cable Branch was a bridge where NC 288 crossed the creek; this was the site of a store and other buildings on property owned in 1943 by L.C. Calhoun.

Proctor. The town of Proctor was located about two miles further north, a short distance above the mouth of Sheehan Branch and Possum Hollow. The settlement and later town of Proctor developed in the vicinity of the homestead of Moses Proctor, who had moved to Hazel Creek from Cades Cove and settled on a hillside overlooking Sheehan Branch by about 1830 (Oliver 2003:5). Sheehan Branch, its tributaries, and the nearby section of Hazel Creek were subsequently occupied by numerous members of the Proctor and allied families (including a branch of the Welch family) (Oliver 1989, 2003). Settlement gradually increased, and a post office was opened at Proctor in 1886 (Stroupe 1996:3-262). Kephart's (n.d.) map of the Proctor area in 1906 shows a mill and schoolhouse there, as well as dispersed homes belonging to members of the Welch, Bradshaw, and other families up Sheehan Branch (Figure 4.33).

Small-scale commercial logging was begun in the Hazel Creek drainage as early as 1892 by the Taylor and Crate Company, which used splash dams to transport logs down the creek to the Little Tennessee, where they were made into rafts that were transported down river to Chattanooga (Oliver 1989:55–57; Parris 1968b). Large-scale logging began with the arrival of the W.M. Ritter Lumber Company in the early 1900s (see above). Ritter purchased outright or acquired timber rights to most of the Hazel Creek drainage, and began logging it in earnest in 1910. A railroad was constructed up the drainage, and a large band mill and associated facilities were built in a large bend of Hazel Creek above Sheehan Branch. This became the nucleus of the logging town of Proctor, which thrived until the logging operations ceased in 1928. In its heyday in the 1920s, Proctor was a bustling town of over 1,000, and included a depot, community building and theatre, store, commissary, cake and ice cream shop, church, school club house, boarding house, and photo shop in addition to lumber company offices and numerous houses arranged along Calico and Struttin' streets (Figure 4.34). Electric power was provided by a steam generator at the band mill. A ball field was located in the floodplain near the present site of the Proctor Campground, adjacent to the switching yard. Another complex of structures was located at Franklintown, near the mouth of Possum Hollow. Upstream, the mill complex included dry kilns and numerous ancillary structures in addition to the band mill (Figure 4.35). Further upstream was North Proctor, a small community that was largely occupied by African-Americans (Oliver 1989:71–86; Williams 1995:155–156).

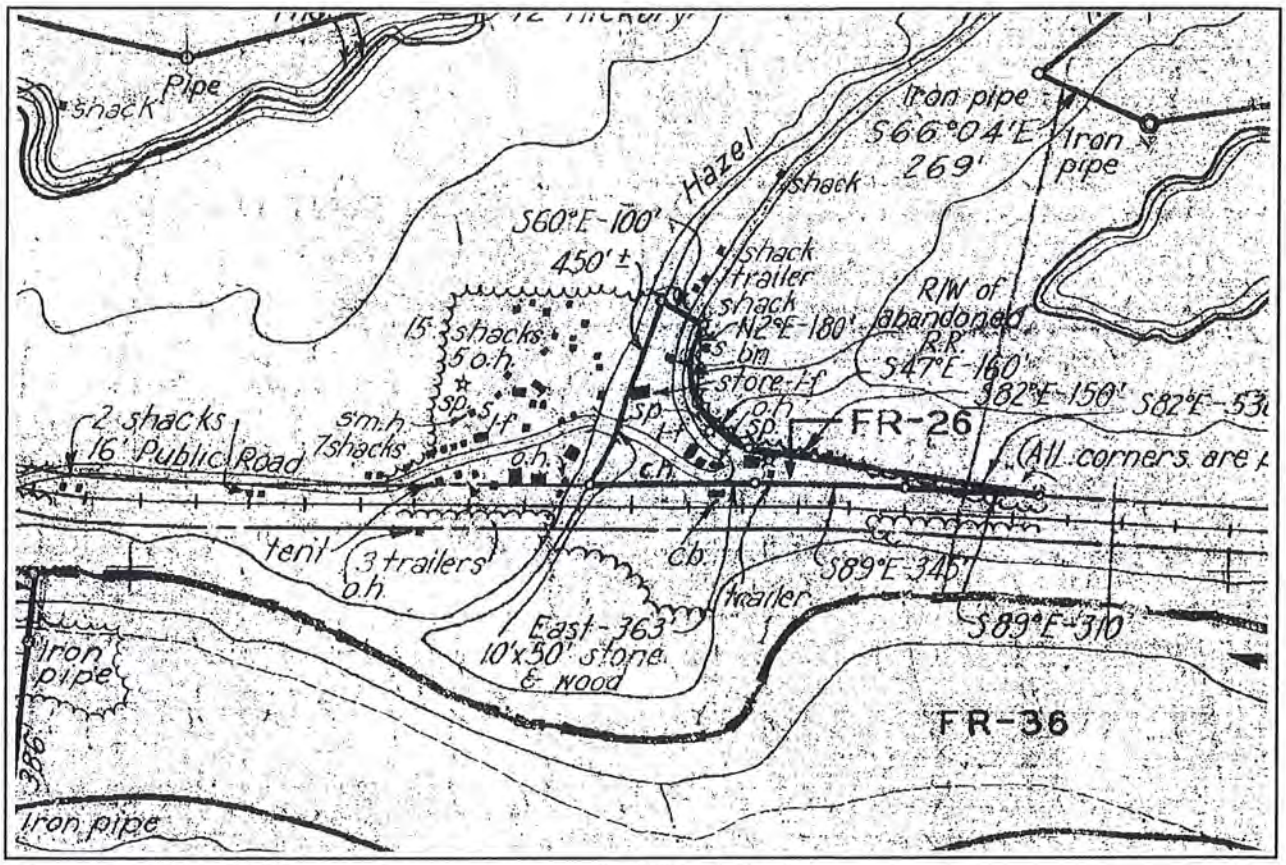


Figure 4.32. TVA (1943) map of structures at mouth of Hazel Creek.

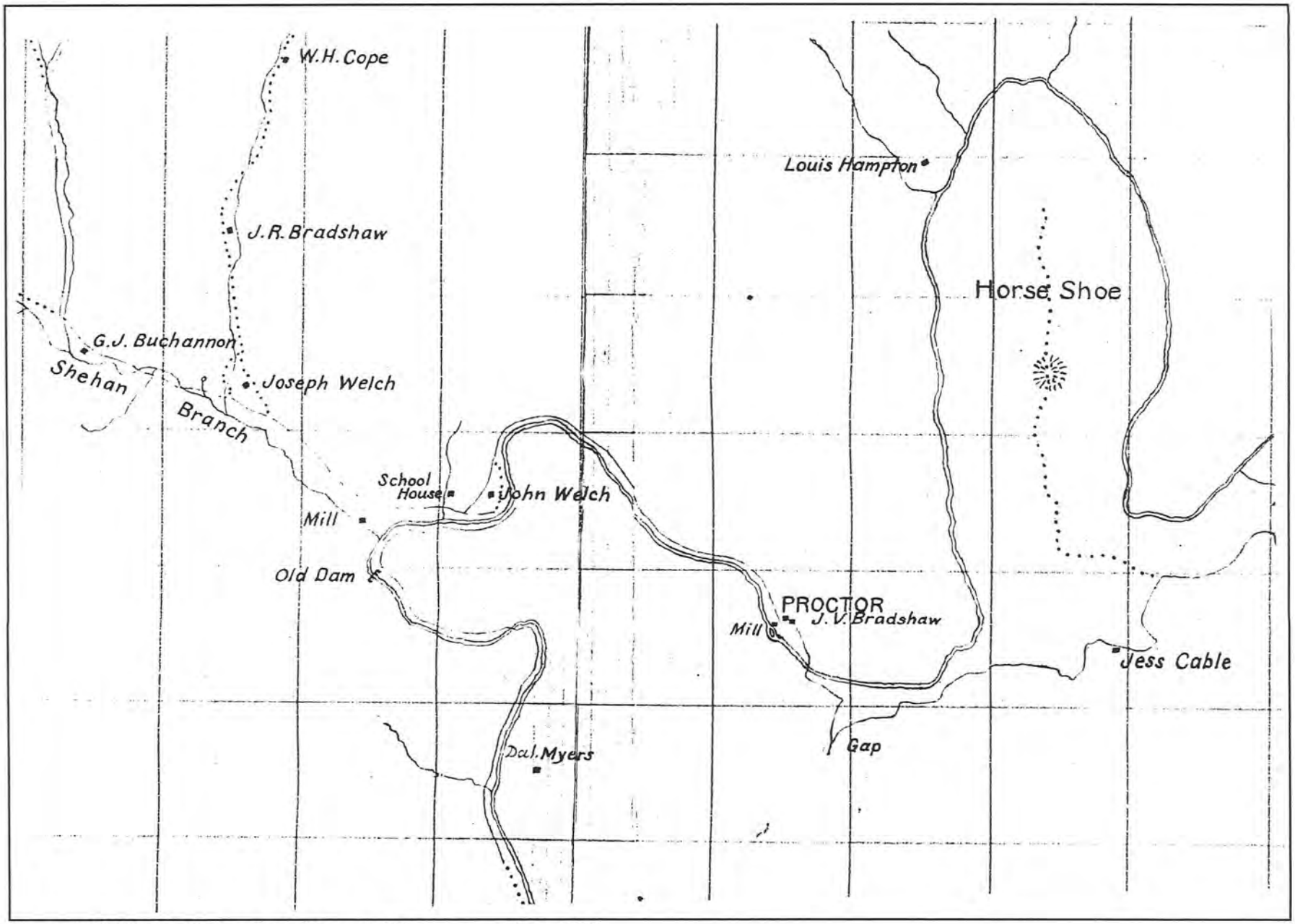


Figure 4.33. Horace Kephart's (n.d.) map of Proctor area about 1906.

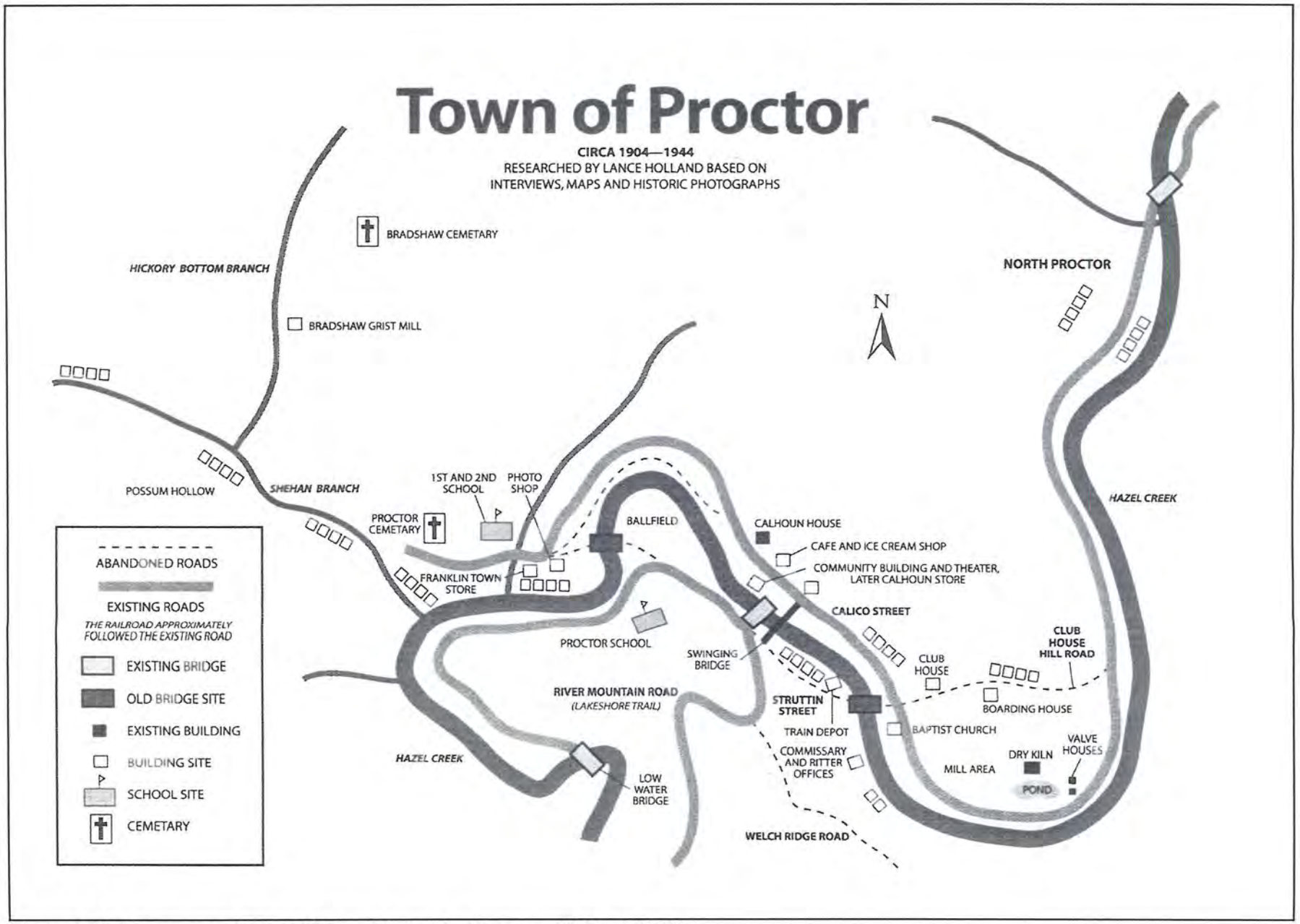


Figure 4.34. Reconstructed map of Proctor during the Ritter era (Holland 2001).

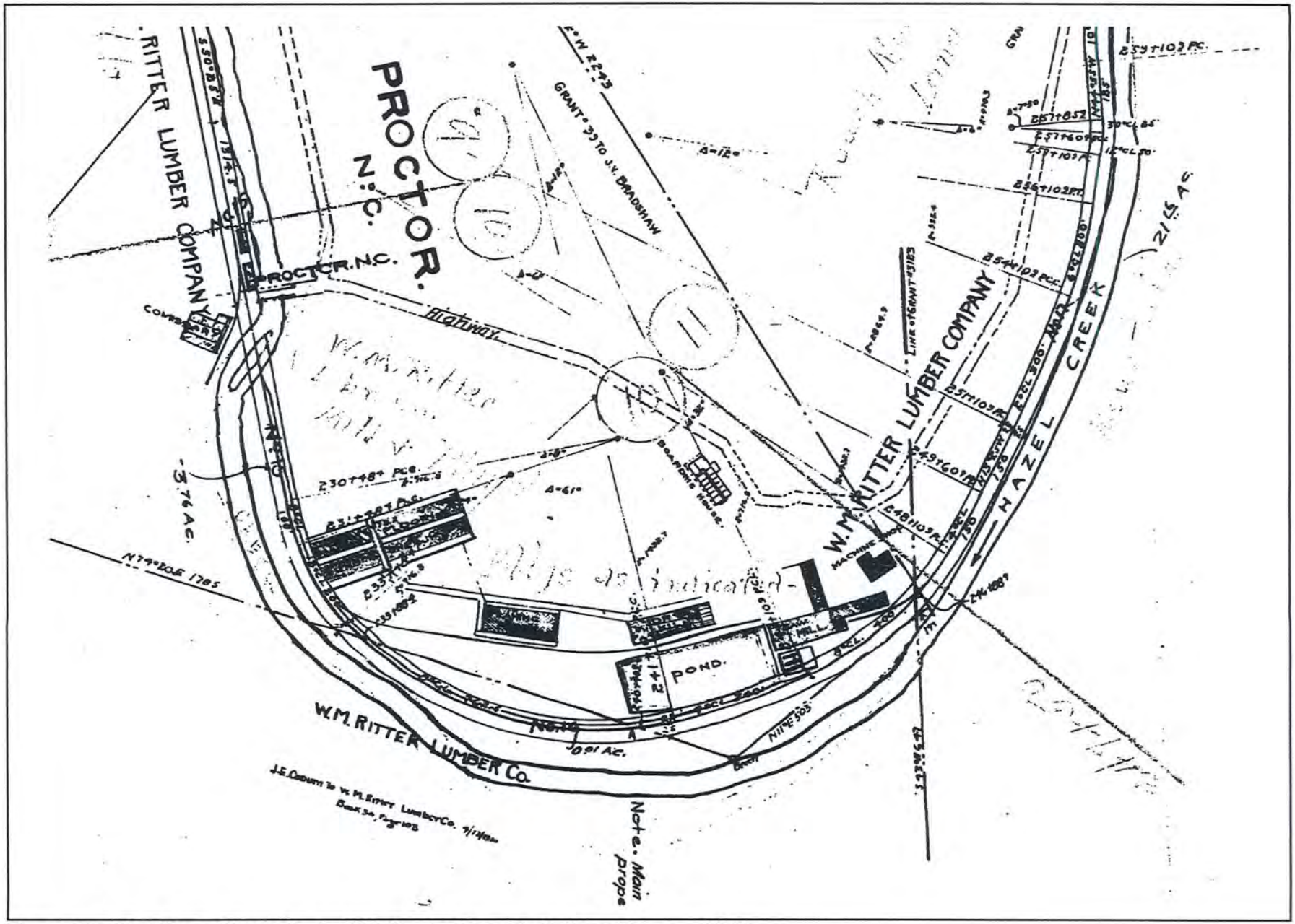


Figure 4.35. The Ritter mill complex in 1916 (Smoky Mountain Railway Company 1916).

The Ritter Company logged first the south and then the north side of Hazel Creek, and employed an estimated 450 workers (Oliver 1989:61; Sharp 1944:4). Many of those spent most of their time in the lumber camps, and were served by the Coburn (or Coeburn) post office, a mobile facility. Open from 1912 to 1925; it reportedly moved 17 times during that period (Oliver 1989:64; Parris 1960; Stroupe 1996:3-259).

Proctor thrived in the 1910s and early 1920s, but logging operations began to slow by the mid-1920s. *The Hardwood Bark* reported that the Ritter band mill was "sawed out" by March 1926, although the planing mill continued operations until August. By December 1926, the magazine reported that

> all but six piles of lumber are gone from the yard at Hazel Creek. The dimension and lath stock is also almost gone. Most of the pile bottoms and docks are about torn down to furnish wood for the boiler house.

The company removed the railroad and many buildings before leaving town, but left the generating plant to be operated by the remaining residents (Oliver 1989:87) (Figures 4.36–4.38). Most of the Ritter holdings were sold, many to J.K. Strikeleather (see below). The March 1926 issue of *The Hardwood Bark* had reported:

> Since the purchase of this property by a realty company in Asheville, North Carolina, we understand that Proctor will be known as the "Smoky Mountain Tourist City" after the W. M. Ritter Lumber Company has completed operations.

The town of Proctor survived until 1944 as a shadow of its former self (Oliver 1989:87–90), although it was never the backward, impoverished settlement depicted by the TVA in its Proctor Community report (Sharp 1944) (cf. Williams 1995:157; Taylor 2001:84–85). As summarized by Oliver (1989:88),

> The company, arriving in 1903, had changed the economy from one of trade and barter to a cash base. No one wanted to or could return to the old 19th century subsistence level, and that was no longer possible anyway. Sufficient cash from a steady income and what it could buy had become too appealing as a way of life; the good old days are usually better in memory than in reality. The growth of the Eagle Creek copper mine helped somewhat so that many people who wanted employment could find it. Some men, however, could not bear to go down into the mine tunnels, and they cut acid and pulp wood, farmed, dug sang, found other ways to make a living, or left the creek to go where work was more plentiful.

Although the phone system and railroad had been removed, the local residents kept the power generating plant going using waterpower. The movie theatre and pool hall closed, however, as after a while did the boarding house (Oliver 1989:88). A CCC camp (Camp NP-23) was established at the former mill site in Proctor from 1939 to 1942, although the property was not then part of the Park (Pyle 1979:12, 38).

As discussed elsewhere in this report, in the early 1940s the residents of Proctor learned that the town site and surrounding area was to be acquired by the TVA as part of the Fontana Project.

> The three year period from 1941 to 1944 was a bitter-sweet time for the residents of Hazel Creek and the surrounding area. For the first time since 1928, when Ritter left, there were sufficient jobs for everyone who wanted one. The Eagle Creek copper mine was running three full shifts, the Adams mine had reopened at long last, and TVA needed several thousand workers. The bitter part came when everyone realized that they would have to sell their land and move, for when the lake was filled they would have no road to the outside world [Oliver 1989:92].

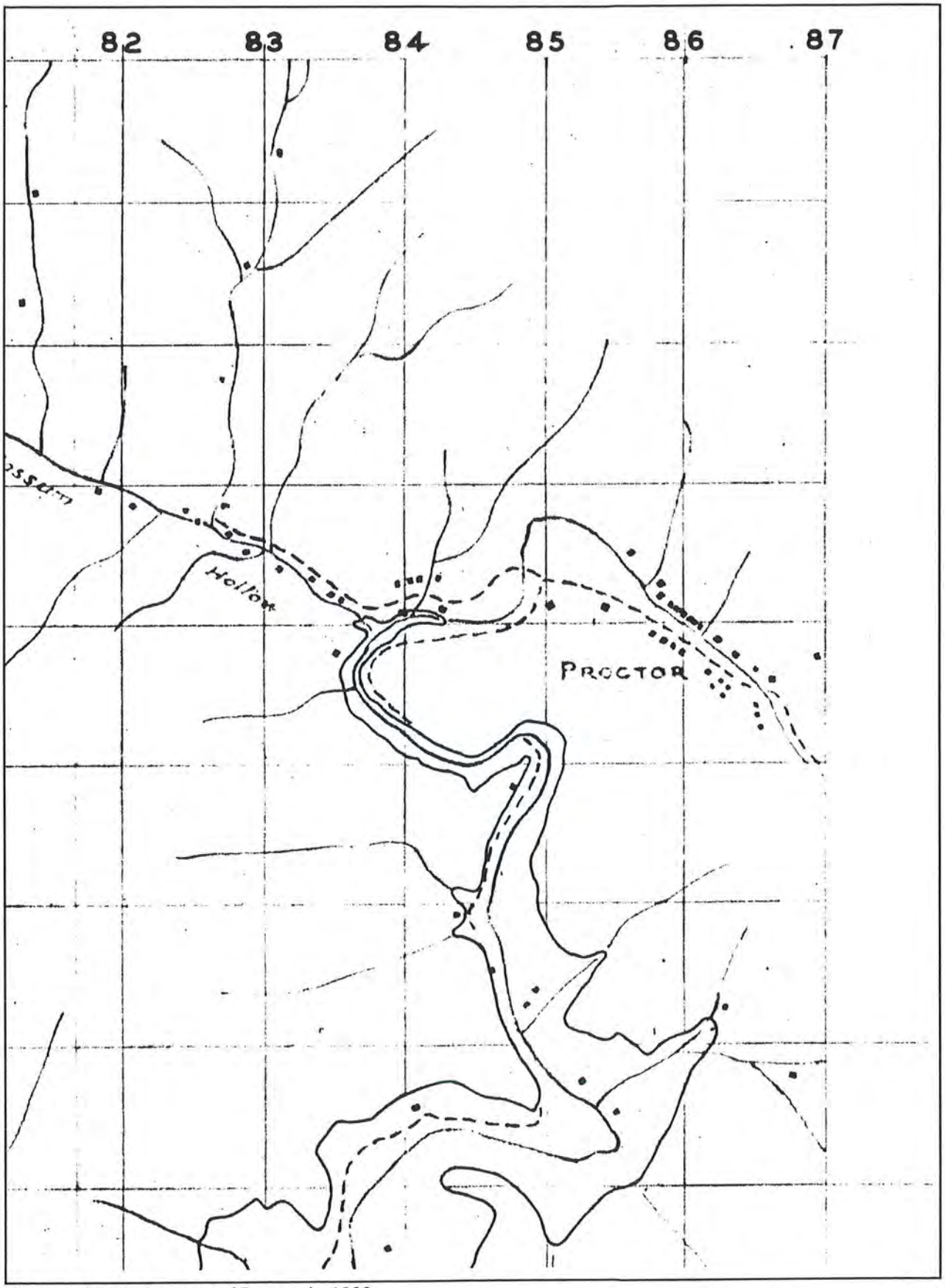


Figure 4.36. NP&L map of Proctor in 1932.

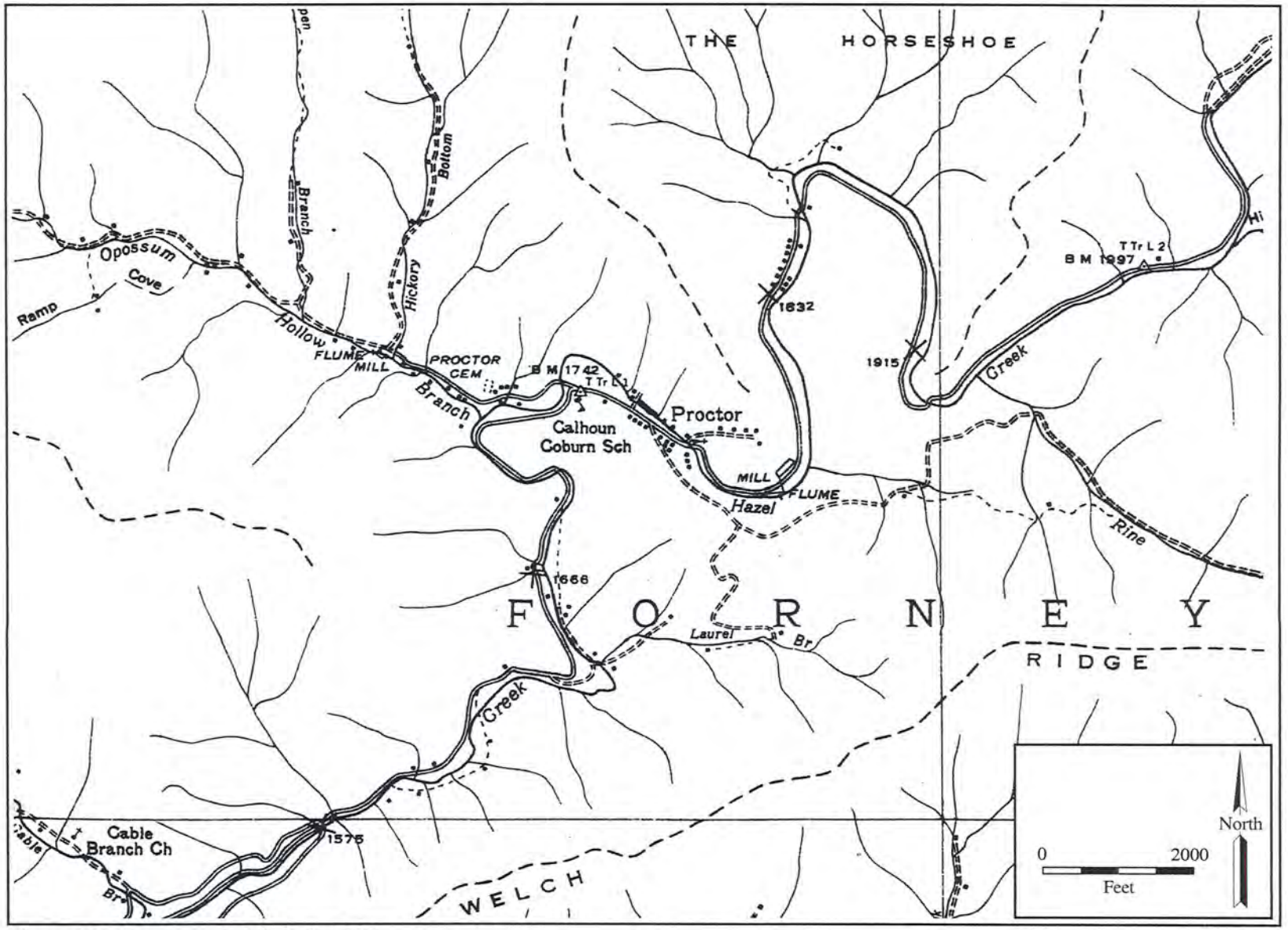


Figure 4.37. Proctor and vicinity in 1936.

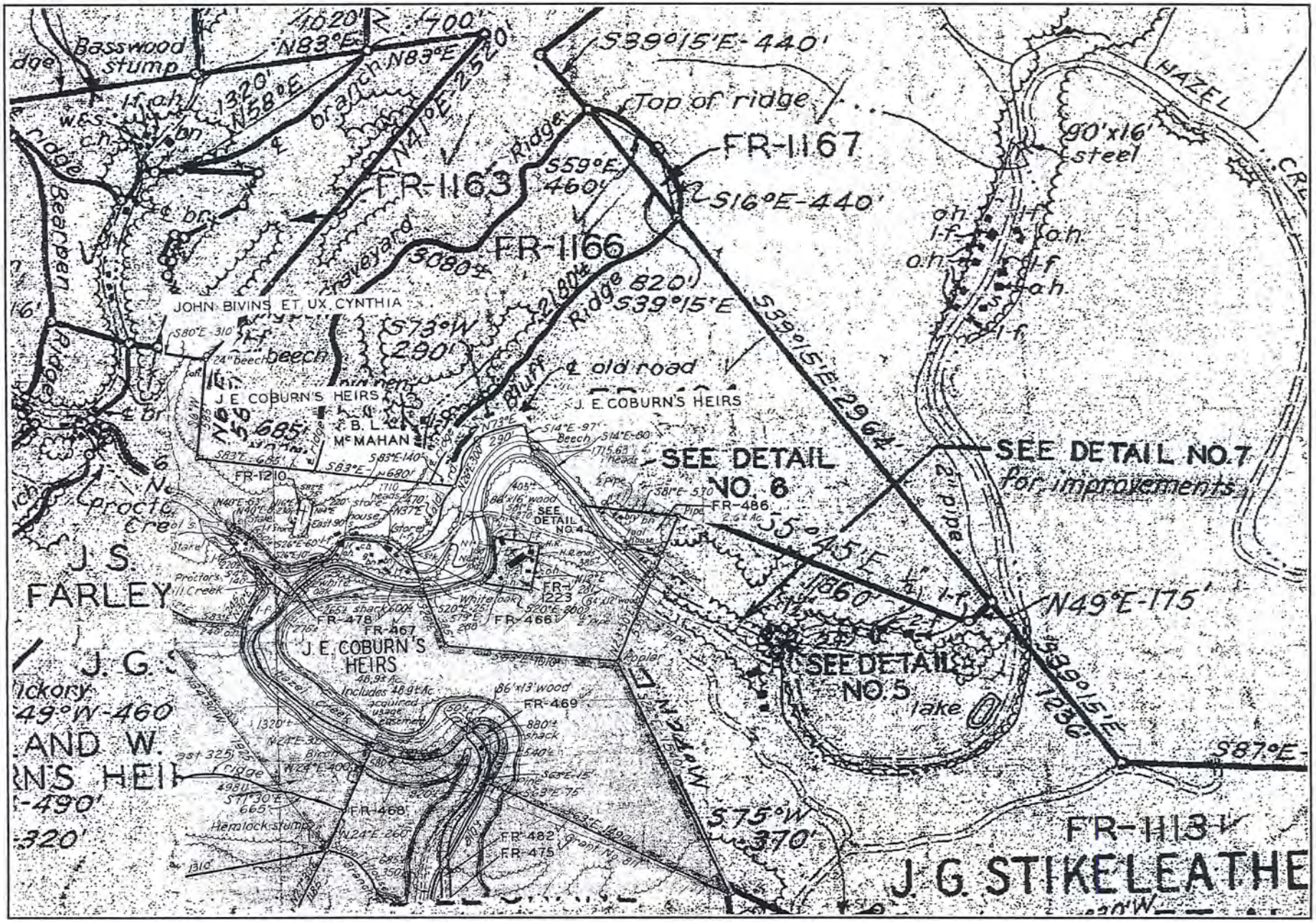


Figure 4.38. Proctor and vicinity in 1943 (TVA 1943).

Medlin. The next significant settlement up Hazel Creek was Medlin, which was located at the confluence of the Sugar Fork (or Haw Creek) and the main stem of Hazel Creek, several miles northeast of Proctor. The settlement acquired its name from early settler Marion Medlin, who established a store there in the late 1800s (Anonymous 1984a). A post office was opened at Medlin (under the name Bone) in 1885; its name was changed to Medlin in 1887 (Stroupe 1996:3-258, 3-261). In the early 1900s, Medlin was the site of the residence and store of Granville Calhoun, as well as a handful of other buildings. To the northwest of Medlin, up the Little Fork of the Sugar Fork, was the Adams Mine, which was operated discontinuously from the late 1880s until the 1940s (see above). The Medlin post office was discontinued in 1920 (Stroupe 1996:3-261), but a small community serving as the offices of the Hazel Creek Mine (Holland 2001:48) was present there when the TVA mapped it in 1942.

Medlin and Hazel Creek were to acquire a degree of literary fame due to their association with Horace Kephart, an outdoorsman and former librarian from St. Louis who came to the Smokies in 1904 seeking the "Back of Beyond" (Kephart 1976:29). After spending a short time near Dillsboro northeast of Bryson City, Kephart moved to the Medlin area at the end of October 1904, and soon settled into an unoccupied house at the former Adams Mine on the Little Fork of Sugar Creek, about two miles northwest of Medlin (Ellison 1976:xxx).

> I picked out the upper settlement of Hazel Creek, far up under the lee of those Smoky Mountains ... . On the edge of this settlement, scant two miles from the post-office of Medlin, there was a copper mine, long disused on account of litigation, and I got permission to occupy one of its abandoned cabins.
>
> A mountain settlement consists of all who get their mail at the same place. Ours was made up of forty-two households (about two hundred souls) scattered over an area eight miles long by two wide. ... Fifteen homes had no wagon road, and could be reached by no vehicle other than a narrow sled.
>
> Medlin itself comprised two little stores built of rough planks and bearing no signs, a corn mill, and four dwellings. A mile and a half away was the log schoolhouse, which, once or twice a month, served also as church. Scattered about the settlement were several tiny tubmills for grinding corn, some of them mere open sheds with a capacity of about a bushel a day. Most of the dwellings were built of logs. Two or three, only, were weatherboarded frame houses and attained the dignity of a story and a half [Kephart 1976:30–31].

Kephart's home on the Little Fork served as his base during over two years of rambling over Hazel Creek and the adjacent mountains. Many of his adventures were recorded in a series of magazine articles that later became the basis for an illustrated volume entitled *Our Southern Highlanders* (1976; originally 1913), his account of life in the "Back of Beyond." The book contained dramatic vignettes of life on Hazel Creek and in the Smokies, including accounts of encounters with blockaders (moonshiners) and of a bear hunt (probably based at the Hall herder's cabin on the divide at the head of Chestnut Ridge). Kephart left Hazel Creek for Bryson City in 1907, and in later years became a major proponent of a national park in the Smokies (Casada 1988; Ellison 1976). In addition to *Our Southern Highlanders*, aspects of his life on Hazel Creek and elsewhere in the vicinity were featured in a variety of other publications, including *Camping and Woodcraft* (1988) and *Camp Cookery* (1931). Kephart died in an automobile accident in 1931, leaving behind his literary legacy and a somewhat tangled reputation (e.g., Alley 1941:472–497; Carden 2002; Casada 1988; Ellison 1976; Gore 1987; Oliver 1989:83b–85; McDade n.d.; Middleton 1999; David Monteith, personal communication 2003).

The Sugar Fork area also played a role in another literary work, Grace Lumpkin's 1932 novel *To Make My Bread* (Lumpkin 1995), which was the basis for a popular Depression-era play titled *Let Freedom Ring* (Bein 1936). The book

> revolves around a family of Appalachian mountaineers–small farmers, hunters, and moonshiners–driven by economic conditions to the milltown and transformed into millhands, strikers, and rebels against the established order [Sowinska 1995].

While this novel is known for its account of the Gastonia (North Carolina) textile strike of 1929, the early part of the book is set on the Sugar Fork and in other areas along Hazel Creek, and features such place names as Possum Hollow and Thunderhead. Lumpkin gained her knowledge of life in the area first-hand, having spent about three months there in 1923, during which she lived at the Club House at Proctor while making occasional visits to families in outlying areas (Oliver 1989:85–86, 1991).

A short distance up Hazel Creek from Medlin is Bone Valley, which received its name from the large quantity of cattle who died nearby during a major blizzard sometime in the early 1880s. As of about 1906, the valley was occupied by members of the Hall, Proctor, Cable, and other families (Kephart n.d.). Bone Valley School house was located on Hazel Creek near its confluence with Bone Valley Creek, and served members of the local community as well as those located further up Hazel Creek, including the Calhoun, Cook, and Hall families.

By the 1940s, most of the upper reaches of Hazel Creek were owned by J.G. (Jim) Strikeleather et al., with most other sizeable tracts in the possession of the Hazel Creek Land Company and the heirs of J.E. Coburn. Strikeleather was "an Asheville developer who had served as both highway commissioner and park booster" (Taylor 2001:50). He had purchased several thousand acres of former Ritter land and formed the Strikeleather Lumber Company with the apparent intent of logging the upper reaches of Bone Valley, but upon realizing the recreational potential of the area joined with Judge Smathers of Waynesville to form the Hazel Creek Fishing and Outing Club (Gasque 1948:20–27; Holland 2001:202; Oliver 1989:88, 1998b). Strikeleather's holdings included the former mill site at Proctor and most of Hazel Creek upstream, much in two large tracts totaling almost 6,500 acres. Strikeleather built two lodges or clubhouses as well as cabins, and attracted anglers from across the east. Contemporary accounts describe a fisherman's paradise that was patrolled by rangers and only occasionally invaded by interloping children from Proctor (Gasque 1948:24–26).

A similar hunting lodge was established in 1940 further up Bone Valley by the Kress family (of department store fame), and incorporated a log cabin built by Crate Hall in 1892 (Gordon 1973; Holland 2001:202; Oliver 1989:88; Parris 1978). Along with the Calhoun House at Proctor, the Hall Cabin is one of the two surviving domestic structures remaining in the North Shore area of GSMNP (see Chapter 5). (This Hall Cabin is not the herder's cabin described by Kephart [1976], however.)

In recent years, Hazel Creek primarily has been known as a trout stream, for its ties to Horace Kephart, and for its role in the ongoing North Shore Road controversy. The stream has been featured in books, articles, poems (e.g., Laney 1986; Oliver 1986), songs (Brown 2003; Gore 1987), and a videotape (Appalachian History Series 1995), and most recently has appeared in a dramatic monologue titled *Birdell*, in which an 86-year-old mountain woman tells of her life on Hazel Creek prior to the Fontana Project (Carden n.d.).

Eagle Creek and Fontana. The Eagle Creek drainage meets the Little Tennessee River about two miles west of Hazel Creek. Although Eagle Creek, like Hazel Creek, is one of the major drainages on the North Shore, it had a rather different settlement history (and has received considerably less historical and literary attention). Eagle Creek was sparsely settled during the nineteenth century. When Zeigler and Grosscup (1883:145) went up the creek in the early 1880s, they encountered:

> a narrow trail wind[ing] on the wild banks along its waters. At its mouth we turned from the Little Tennessee, and for ten miles pursued this trail without passing a house.

Only about seven families lived on Eagle Creek at the turn of the twentieth century, but the situation changed rapidly when the Montvale Lumber Company began operating in the area a few years later (Oliver 1992). The principal settlement on Eagle Creek was the original village of Fontana, a tent camp established (first as McLin) along lower Eagle Creek in 1906 by Montvale (Holland 2001:203; Lambert 1958b:42–46; Stroupe 1996:3-260, 3-262). The initial camp was soon replaced by what has been termed "the second Fontana," which was located at the confluence of the creek and the river (Figure 4.39). Fontana was a typical lumber town, and included a band mill, commissary, hotel, and houses (Holland 2001:203–204). This version of Fontana thrived until the late 1920s, when Montvale ceased operations. Unlike other areas nearby, industry did not leave Eagle Creek along with the lumber industry. In 1931 Montvale sold the town of Fontana to the North Carolina Exploration Company, which had succeeded the Fontana Mining Company as operators of the Fontana Mine (Holland 2001:204).

Copper mining on Eagle Creek began in 1926, when the Fontana Mining Company leased a site on a small tributary to Ecoah Branch (itself a tributary on the east side of Eagle Creek) and began operations. The ore from the Fontana Mine was brought by rail to an ore dump at the Carolina and Tennessee Southern Railway tracks at Fontana, from which it was shipped to a smelter in Tennessee for processing (Holland 2001:54–55). The mine was serviced by a small village located on either side of Ecoah Branch, which included bunkhouses, boarding houses, a doctor's office, machine shop, and other buildings. Although mining on Eagle Creek ceased in 1944, the owner of the mine (then the Cities Services Realty Corporation) was allowed to retain a 2,343-acre tract surrounding the mine. The tract was finally incorporated into GSMNP in 1983 (Holland 2001:56–57).

Fontana appears as a settlement of only 10–12 structures on the 1935 planimetric map (USGS 1935), although the 1943 land acquisition maps show a slightly greater settlement density. Although Fontana Project Construction Camp No. 1 was later to be built at the mouth of a small cove only a few thousand feet downstream (see below), the Eagle Creek drainage apparently never saw the growth of shack housing that occurred in the lower reaches of Hazel Creek, presumably because the land remained in the hands of the North Carolina Exploration Company. The town of Fontana met its end about 1943, when it was bought for $50.00 by a local resident who dismantled the structures and shipped the lumber to Hazelwood (in Haywood County) by rail (Holland 2001:189; Oliver 1993:114–115).

One noted twentieth-century resident of Eagle Creek was Quill Rose (1841–1912), who lived and made whiskey above Camp Ten Branch, a short distance outside the study area (Murless and Stallings 1973:209–210). Rose acquired notoriety as early as the 1880s, when he and his brother Jake were featured in a travel book titled *The Heart of the Alleghenies* (Zeigler and Grosscup 1883:145–165). In later years Rose was an acquaintance of Horace Kephart, and appeared by name in *Our Southern Highlanders* (Oliver 1998a:204, 211, 2002:15).

Fairfax. The community of Fairfax was located at the mouth of a small cove on the north side of the Little Tennessee about four river miles downstream from Eagle Creek. A post office was present at Fairfax from 1878 to 1912 (Stroupe 1996:3-260). By the 1930s only a single structure was located at the mouth of the cove, although the New Fairfax school was about 1.5 miles further east along NC 288. Numerous structures are shown in this area on the TVA (1943) land acquisition map, however, and may have been part of a community known as Tipton Camp (see below).

Kitchenville. The Kitchen Lumber Company built the town of Kitchenville in the Fairfax area about 1921 in order to facilitate logging on Twenty Mile Creek downriver. Since the construction of Cheoah Lake in 1919 had eliminated road access to Twenty Mile Creek, the company built a town and band mill at Kitchenville, and connected it to the railroad terminus at Fontana with a standard gauge railroad. A sternwheeler steamboat named *Vivian* was used to transport logs from Twenty Mile Creek to Kitchenville, where they were sawn into lumber that was shipped out to the east via rail (Holland

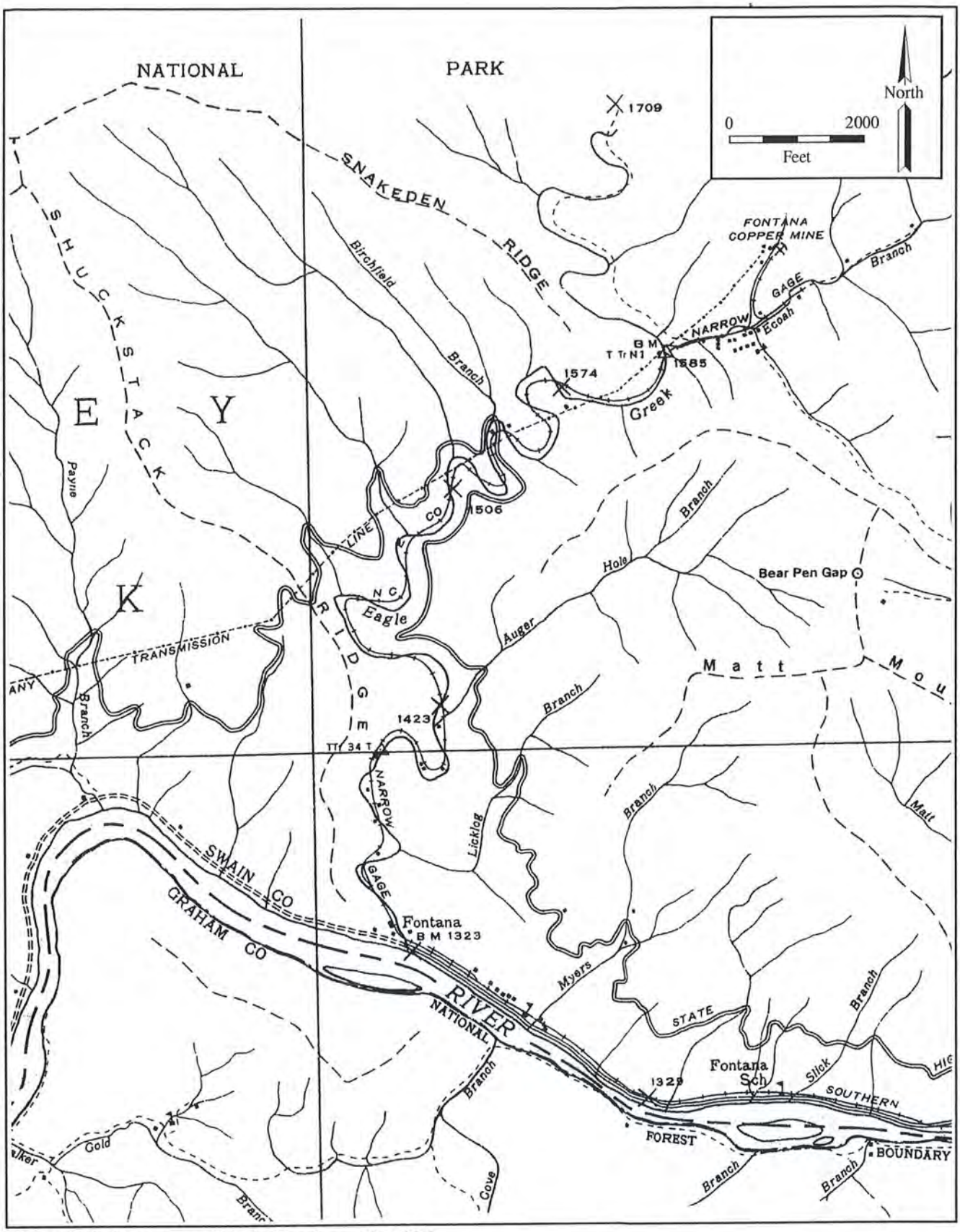


Figure 4.39. Fontana and Eagle Creek area in 1935.

2001:87–88, 135). No trace of Kitchenville is evident on the 1935 map (USGS 1935), and the company had apparently ceased cutting in the area by 1926.

Tipton Camp. A small community called Tipton Camp was located below the Fontana dam site in the early 1940s, apparently on property leased (possibly from the Carolina Aluminum Company) by a man named Tipton, possibly along NC 288 above Fairfax. When acquired by the TVA, this and nearby Coburn properties contained "extensive shack developments," including over 70 structures (TVA 1950:201, 485).

> It was the first instance where TVA owned and leased for occupancy substandard housing of this character. An adequate potable water supply, sanitary privies, and means for fire protection were made available, but the camp lacked other community facilities and the erection of additional shacks was not permitted [TVA 1950:201].

South Shore Towns and Communities

Judson. The town of Judson was situated on either side of the Little Tennessee River, about two and a half miles southeast of Bushnell and about two miles north of Almond (Figures 4.40 and 4.41). Most buildings in Judson were on the east bank of the river, which was connected by a bridge to the Southern Railway, which ran along the west bank. Judson was a small farming community that flourished briefly during the 1910s and 1920s when the Whiting Manufacturing Company (which was to log much of eastern Graham County) built a band mill and facilities nearby (Brown 2000:50; Millsaps and Millsaps 1992:8). A post office had been opened in 1886, and operated until it was discontinued in 1944 (Stroupe 1996:3-261). Earlier operations in the area by the Buchanan Lumber Company had been centered on Panther Creek some distance to the west, and probably had not greatly affected Judson itself (Anonymous 1908a).

A 1929 map was made shortly after Whiting left the area, and shows about 25 residences (primarily on the east side of the river), along with Baptist and Methodist Episcopal churches, a school, a post office, four stores, and both freight and passenger depots. The 1936 planimetric map (USGS 1936c) shows slightly fewer structures within one-half mile of the town center. A former resident describes Judson in 1943 as having four stores and a sawmill on the east side of the river, with a post office, garage, mill, store, and barber shop on the west (Greene n.d.; cf. Oliver 1998a:484) (Figure 4.42). The Judson Elementary School was on a hill above the depot (west of the river), in a former hotel building dating to the Whiting era. The 1943 TVA land acquisition map indicates that many town lots in Judson had been purchased by NP&L since 1929, and that several no longer held structures. The town retained a sense of community, however, and TVA researcher Arnold Hyde praised the residents of Judson and nearby Almond for their attempts to "keep community spirit alive" and for showing the initiative to build small hydroelectric plants (Hyde 1944b:2–4).

Judson in 1943 has been described as a community of about 600 people (Greene n.d.). That figure compares well with the recorded population of nearby Almond in 1940, and both figures clearly include population from the surrounding countryside (see Table 4.1). TVA records suggest that Judson and Almond supported 143 families in 1940 (Brown 2000:156).

Whiting. The rail stop of Whiting was located a few hundred yards north of Judson along the Murphy Branch of the Southern Railway. Although described by the Southern Railway (1912) as a place of great promise, Whiting is not depicted on the KPC (1914) or NP&L (1932) acquisition maps, the 1936 planimetric map (USGS 1936c), or the TVA (1943) land acquisition maps.

Almond. The town of Almond was on the east bank of the Nantahala River, about two miles south of Judson and immediately south of the confluence of the Nantahala and Little Tennessee. Like Judson,

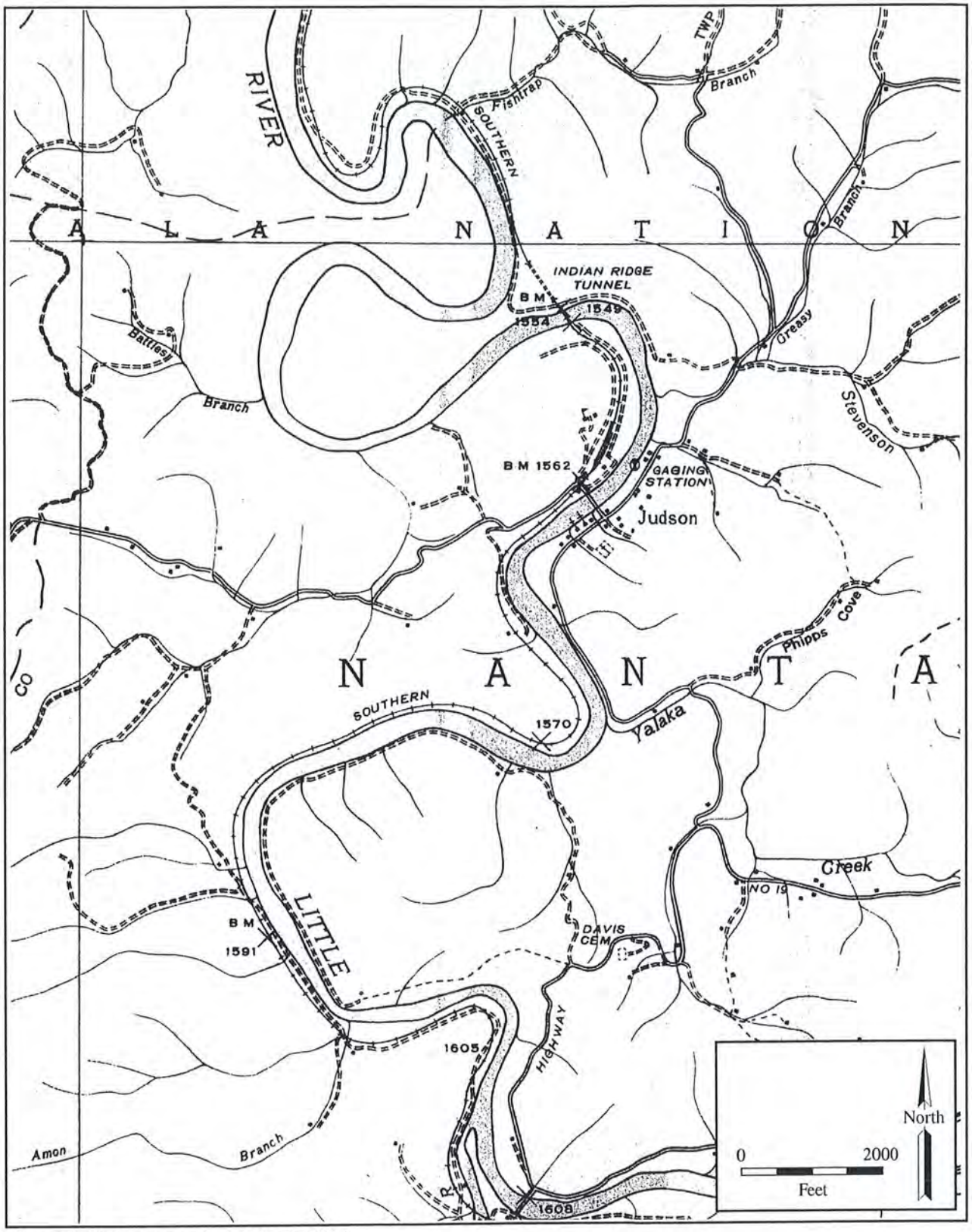


Figure 4.40. Judson and vicinity in 1936.

Figure 4.41. Judson (view to northeast).

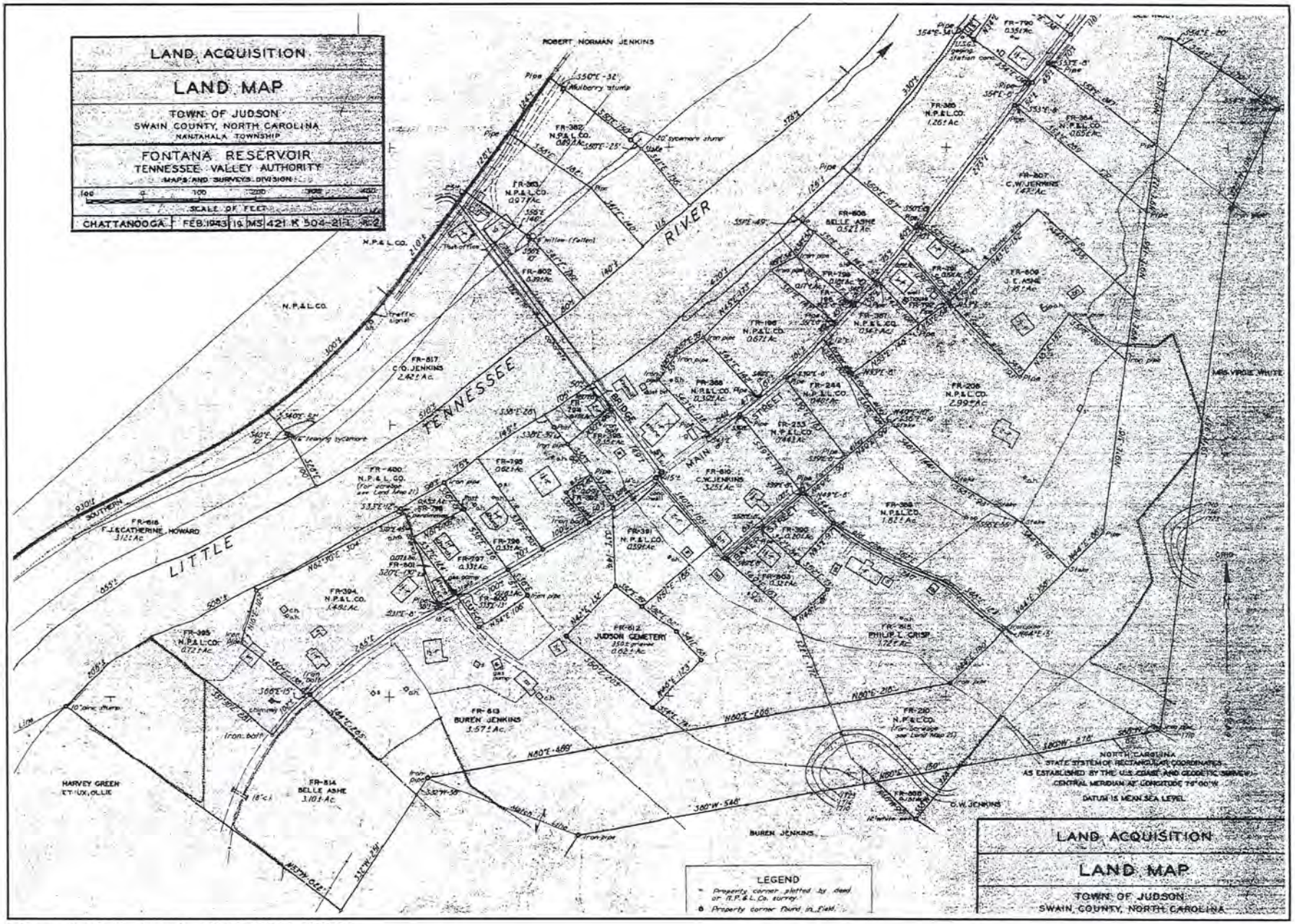


Figure 4.42. Judson in 1943 (TVA 1943).

Almond was primarily an agricultural community. A post office was established at Almond (as Sophia) in 1886; it was renamed Nantehala (sic) in 1889 before becoming Almond in 1892 (Stroupe 1996:3-258, 3-262, 3-263). Almond was incorporated in 1905, and in 1912 the Southern Railway described it as the "location of what, in the future, promises to be really important lumbering and mining operations" (Southern Railway 1912:38). The town's population reached 146 in 1920, but dwindled thereafter as many residents sold their properties to NP&L and moved away (Hyde 1944b:2–4). The 1940 census reported a population of 613 for Almond, which likely included residents of nearby Judson and outlying communities.

A 1915 KPC map suggests that buildings were concentrated along the bottomlands along the Nantahala River; higher areas to the east had been subdivided but apparently did not contain structures (Figure 4.43). A few structures were present in that area by 1929, and a new high school had been built on the hill overlooking the river (probably on the former site of Fort Lindsey). As at Judson, the 1943 land acquisition maps show many vacant lots owned by NP&L, but depicts the post office, depot, and Almond Baptist Church along with three school buildings. A concrete bridge carried NC Highway 10 across the Little Tennessee River to the north, while highway and railroad bridges crossed the Nantahala River to the west.

The Almond area was part-time home to writer Olive Tilford Dargan from 1906–1944, and the town appeared (as Beebread) in her novels *Call Home the Heart* (Burke 1932) and *A Stone Came Rolling* (Burke 1935), both written under the pseudonym of Fielding Burke. Dargan had acquired land on Round Top (along the Swain/Graham County line west of Almond, and within the study area) as early as 1906, and lived in a succession of homes there and in Almond for almost 40 years. In addition to her novels, which discussed the plight of a mountain woman forced to leave her home for "the horror of the industrial promised land" (Neufield 2001:276), Dargan featured Almond in a 1941 story collection called *From My Highest Hill: Carolina Mountain Folks* (Dargan 1941), a reworking of her earlier work *Highland Annals* (Dargan 1925) that also included photographs by Bayard Wootten. Dargan owned two parcels of land (TVA Acquisition Parcels FR-828 and FR-836) across the Little Tennessee from Almond until their acquisition by the TVA in 1944, and sold the remainder of her property in the Round Top area the same year (Neufield 2001).

Swain. The community of Swain appears on the 1906 map on the northeast bank of the Little Tennessee, almost due east of Almond near the present US 19 river crossing (USGS 1906). Little is known about this community, but a post office was first established in the area (under the name Nantahala) in 1873. The name was changed to Swain in 1889, and the office was discontinued in 1915 (Stroupe 1996:3-262, 3-263). By 1943 most of the land in the area was owned by NP&L (TVA 1943).

Japan. The small community of Japan (pronounced *Jay-pan*) was situated at the confluence of Wolf Creek and Panther Branch, about one and one-half miles up Panther Creek from its confluence with the Little Tennessee. The community first acquired a post office in 1881 under the name of Welch, which was changed to Homestead in 1892 and to Japan in 1903 (Stroupe 1996:2-60, 2-62). The name Japan apparently derived from a variety of wild clover that grew in the vicinity (Anonymous 1984b; Wikle 1988:29). By the early 1900s the community contained a post office, school, store, church, and several houses, and "served as a supply source for the surrounding countryside which included a lumbering business" (Wikle 1988:29), presumably the Buchanan/Whiting operations on Panther Creek discussed by the *American Lumberman* (Anonymous 1908a) (see above). The 1936 map depicts only a handful of houses and the Panther Creek Church within one-half mile of the stream confluence, although the post office reportedly served about 30 families (Brewer and Brewer 1975:258). An undated photograph illustrated by Oliver (1998a:370) depicts the Mashburn mill and store at Japan, apparently during reservoir clearing operations in the early 1940s.

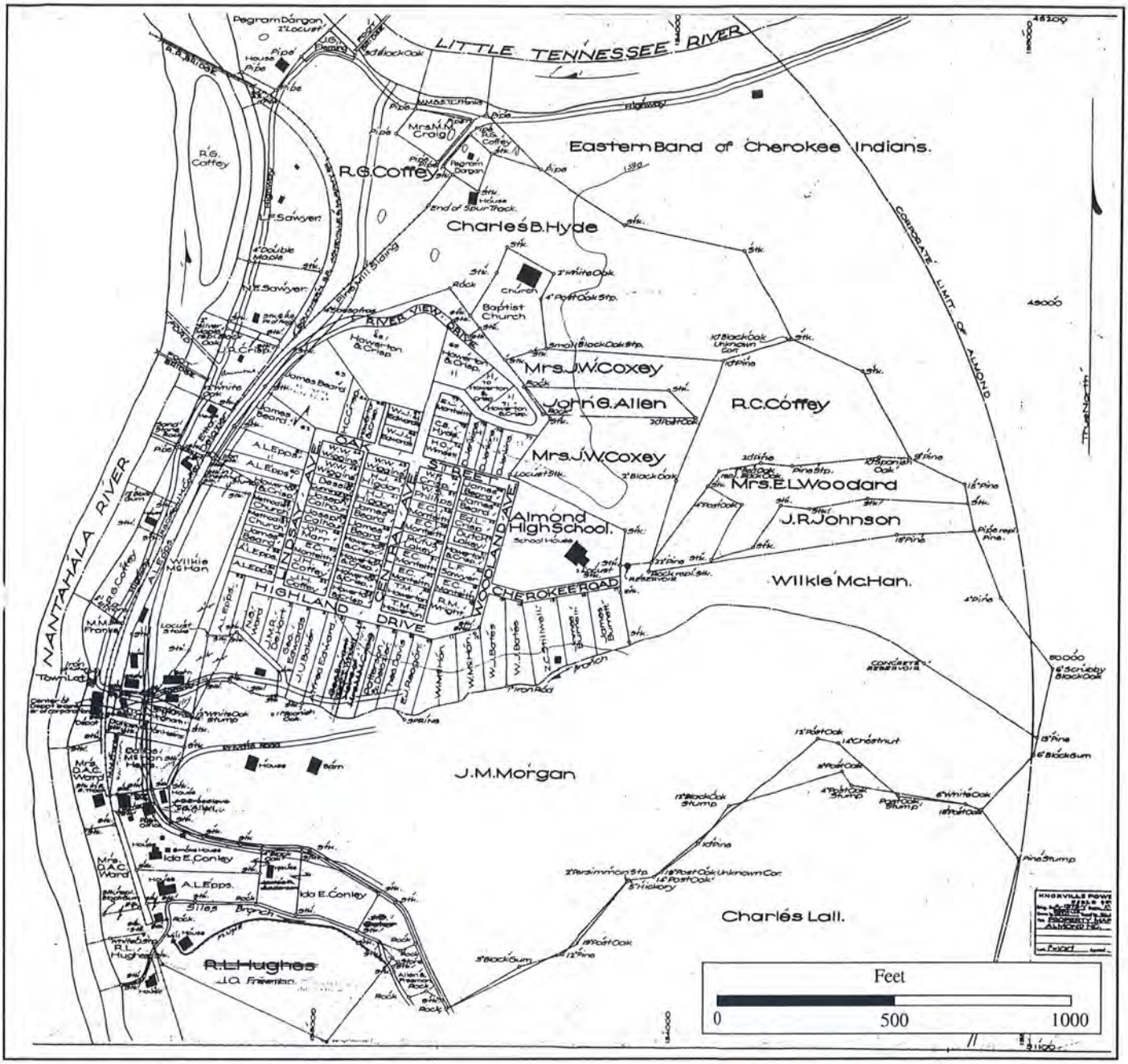


Figure 4.43. KPC (1915) map of Almond.

With the advent of World War II, Japan gained a degree of notoriety due to its name, and there was considerable discussion of renaming the community MacArthur (Wikle 1988:29). The name was never changed, however, and the community died as Japan (Anonymous 1984; Brewer and Brewer 1975:258; Wikle 1988:29).

Brock and Sawyer Creek Area. Brock was a small community along Sawyer Creek south of its confluence with Stecoah Creek, near where present-day NC 28 crosses Sawyer Creek. A post office was established at Brock in 1903, but was discontinued in 1931 (Stroupe 1996:2-60). The 1936 map (USGS 1936e) depicts scattered houses and two mills in the vicinity. Brock lay outside the reservoir pool and acquisition limits for Fontana Reservoir, and most of the community site remains in private ownership.

Stecoah, Hidetown, and Stecoah Creek Area. The town of Stecoah is located on and adjacent to a large expanse of bottomland along Stecoah Creek, at its confluence with Dry Creek and Carver and Edwards branches, and about six miles upstream from its confluence with the Little Tennessee River (Figure 4.44). This was the former site of the Removal-era Cherokee settlement of Stekoah Town, and Euro-American settlement of the area apparently began almost immediately after 1838. Early settlers in the Stecoah Creek area included members of the Crisp, Cody, Taylor, Gunter, Jenkins, Lovin, and Medlin families (Anonymous 1972:62):

> Along the road to Robbinsville, for fifteen miles, the predominating family is Crisp. It is Crisp who lives in the valley, on the mountain side, in the woods, by the mill, on the bank of Yellow Creek, and in numerous unseen cabins up the coves [Zeigler and Grosscup 1883:104].

A post office was established at Stecoah in 1874, and was discontinued in 1958 (Stroupe 1996:2-61). Stecoah was relatively isolated from Robbinsville, the county seat, until a connector was built to NC 10 at Judson in 1927 (Hyde 1944b:2–3).

With the exception of Bryson City, Stecoah was the largest community in the study area to escape inundation by Fontana Lake, although the area was included in the TVA's economic studies for the reservoir. The 1936 map (USGS 1936d) depicts a dispersed community (including nearby Hidetown) containing a mill, church, and school. The Stecoah community (which subsumed Japan, Tuskeegee, Sawyer's Creek, and Stecoah) received considerable criticism from Arnold Hyde, the TVA researcher, who described "homes in poor condition," lacking running water and with pigs running "loose around the house," which he attributed to the "reluctance of the mountaineer to make modern improvement and develop a cooperative community spirit" (such as Hyde had reported for the Almond and Judson communities) (Hyde 1944b:2–3). The Stecoah community was described further as:

> strictly dependent on agriculture despite the fact that the income received from agricultural sources is small. Practically all families grow vegetables for home use. A large part of the cash income from the farm is derived from wood products; however, the cost and distance involved in getting these goods to market cuts the profit to a minimum. The average income of the farm family in 1941 was $409.43. A part of this was earned from public works projects and various odd jobs during the non-farm season [Hyde 1944b:4].

Hyde concluded that:

> The Stecoah Community as a whole will not be seriously affected by the creation of Fontana Lake. Over 90 percent of the land lying below contour is not suitable for agricultural purposes. The flooding of the land would have little, if any, effect on the lumber and pulp wood industry. All accessible timbered land has been cut over. ...
>
> The community will suffer a net loss of thirty families. ...

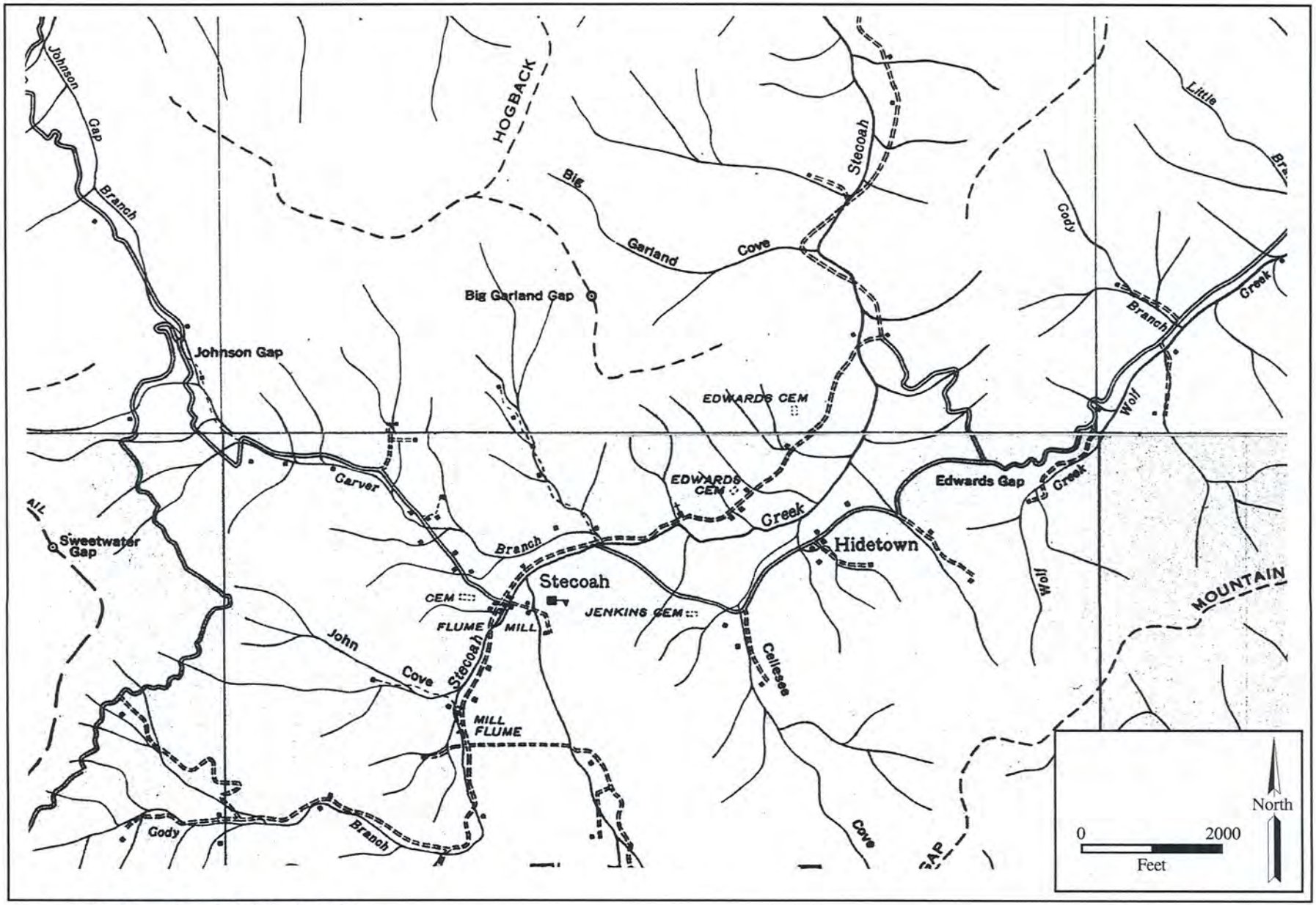


Figure 4.44. Stecoah and vicinity in 1936.

> The changes brought about by the program of the Authority have offered new opportunities to dissatisfied families, who realize the futility of the struggle with proverty [sic] in their present environment. The individual not only will be freed from restricted circumstances, but the community as a whole will profit by the advantages afforded by the creation of Fontana Lake. With proper leadership and guidance, Graham County with its ideal climate, scenic attractions, and opportunities for the sportsman should become one of the leading tourist resorts of the Smoky Mountain Region [Hyde 1944b:4–5].

Tuskeegee Creek. Tuskeegee Creek enters the Little Tennessee River about two miles downstream from Stecoah Creek, and the two drainages are only from one to two miles apart for much of their lengths. In the 1930s communities along the creeks were connected by a paved road that followed the general route of modern NC 28 across Chestnut Log Gap. Early settlers in the Tuskeegee area included members of the Breedlove, Cable, Crisp, Dean, Garland, Golden, Guge, Higdon, and Jenkins families, and Tuskeegee was reportedly a bustling community in the early 1900s (Millsaps and Millsaps 1992:7). A post office operated at Tuskeegee from 1903 to 1954 (Stroupe 1996:2-62).

The 1936 planimetric map (USGS 1936e) indicates the dispersed village of Tuskeegee, consisting of a few houses and a nearby mill, centered along Tuskeegee Creek about one mile south of its confluence with the Little Tennessee. Due to the steepness of the local terrain, most of this area was above the reservoir pool and was not acquired by the TVA. The present-day community of Tuskeegee is mapped a few miles up the creek, at its intersection with NC 28 (USGS 1961/87b).

Two adjacent islands in the Little Tennessee are designated "Higgins Islands" on the planimetric map (USGS 1936e), and no structures are shown on the islands or nearby. The TVA land acquisition survey found that one island (covering 2.17-acres) had been divided into 34 lots, however, and termed it the W.C. Collins et al. subdivision. The 34 lots ranged in size from 0.03 to about 0.40 acres, and had at least 26 different owners. No structures are depicted on the map, however (TVA 1943). A nearby mainland tract of about 3.04 acres was designated the J.R. Orr and W.C. Collins subdivision, and had been divided into 43 parcels measuring as small as 0.002 acres (5 x 15 feet). The only other apparent subdivided tracts in the study area were located about two miles downriver (also on the Graham County side); those two contiguous tracts (the F.M. Carringer and G.T. Millsaps subdivision and the J.D. and G.B. Orr subdivision) contained five and 42 tracts respectively, which were owned by a variety of owners and measured as small as 0.03 acres. As with the other two subdivisions, no structures are shown on these tracts. The histories of these four subdivisions have not been researched, and their significance is not clear.

Cable Cove. Cable Cove is a moderate-sized cove on the south bank of the Little Tennessee River, about three miles west of Tuskeegee Creek. The cove is drained by Powell Branch, and constituted a small but distinct community in the 1940s. Although the 1,400-acre cove was not to be inundated by Fontana Lake, it was ultimately included in the acquisition area in order to save the $46,000 that would be required to restore the limited road access that would be lost to lake construction (Taylor 2001:120). According to the TVA, the principal routes in and out of the cove consisted of

> a river crossing made by skiff, about three-quarters of a mile downstream from the mouth of the branch, and a poor public road which followed the south bank of the river downstream from a point near the crossing. Other means of access were winding paths over the ridges [TVA 1950:476–477].

At the time of acquisition, Cable Cove supported about 15 houses, along with a school and the Powell Church. Most of the land was owned by members of the Cable, Phillips, Jenkins, and Sherril families, although some had been retained by the Whiting Manufacturing Company. The land, along with land in

nearby Poison Branch to the east, was purchased by the TVA and eventually transferred to Nantahala National Forest (TVA 1950:476–477).

Welch Cove. Welch Cove is located on Welch Branch, less than a mile south of the Little Tennessee River and two miles southwest of Fontana Dam. The cove was settled by members of the Welch and Gunter families shortly after the Civil War, but never acquired a substantial population.

> Although the Whiting Manufacturing Company had constructed and operated a logging railroad around the cove for a few years in the 1920s, it remained quite remote. When TVA surveyors arrived in 1940 to change the cove forever, only six families lived there – half the houses were log cabins and a rutted wagon road led to the outside world [Holland 2001:38].

Welch Cove was to acquire a much more substantial population in the 1940s, when it became the site of Fontana Village (Holland 2001:145–148; TVA 1950) (see below).

GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

Along with the subsequent Fontana Project, the development of GSMNP was one of two major federal actions that were to greatly affect the early twentieth century communities in the study area. The idea for a national park in western North Carolina originated in the late 1800s (Taylor 2001:38), and gained momentum in the early 1920s with the recognition (on the part of preservationists) of the environmental degradation caused by large-scale logging and (on the part of businessman and government officials) of the economic potential of such a park (Pierce 2000; Taylor 2001:38). After considerable debate and lobbying (which included the provision of copies of *Our Southern Highlanders* to members of a NPS committee charged with evaluating proposed park sites), the Swanson-McKellar Bill authorizing a park in the Smokies was approved by Congress in 1925. The proposed park boundary was outlined by NPS associate director Arno Cammerer. The resulting "Cammerer Line" included some 704,000 acres and extended south to the Little Tennessee and Tuckasegee rivers, thus including the entire North Shore (as well as most of the town of Bryson City) (Campbell 1960; Frome 1994; Pierce 2000; Taylor 2001:41–48; USGS 1926). The purchase boundary was subsequently moved further north to exclude most of the Eagle and Hazel creek watersheds and other areas owned by Alcoa and the W.M. Ritter Lumber Company. Perhaps ironically, the area along the Little Tennessee was considered expendable, as most of it had been logged (Taylor 2001:49). The irregular boundary along the southern part of the park created numerous administrative headaches, however, and as late as 1940 the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association was attempting to find a way to bring those areas into the park (Campbell 1960:130–132). This was to be accomplished a few years later as a byproduct of the TVA's Fontana Project.

As established in the 1930s, GSMNP included the upper slopes of Thunderhead Mountain, Silers Bald, and other peaks along the mountain crest, parts of the upper Hazel Creek and Eagle Creek drainages, and most of the Forney Creek drainage (Figure 4.45). The parcels acquired within the present study area included those owned by lumber companies (e.g., Montvale Lumber Company and Norwood Lumber Company), speculators and developers (e.g., J.G. Strikeleather et al., Coburn, and Westfeldt), and what were apparently more typical local residents (e.g., W.T. Woody and S.W. Monteith). Due to the nature of their ownership and the fact that many parcels had been logged, these tracts apparently contained fewer structures and improvements that were present in many other parts of the park. For example, a 1935 CCC survey of structures remaining on park lands in the Forney Creek district found only 12 structures, including two grist mills (the Woody and Cook mills), one frame house (that of Tip Sanford) and a group of log and frame cabins that had been built primarily by the CCC or the Norwood Lumber Company. Like most structures elsewhere in the new park, these were soon to be torn down or burned (Brown 2000:119; Pierce 2000:177).

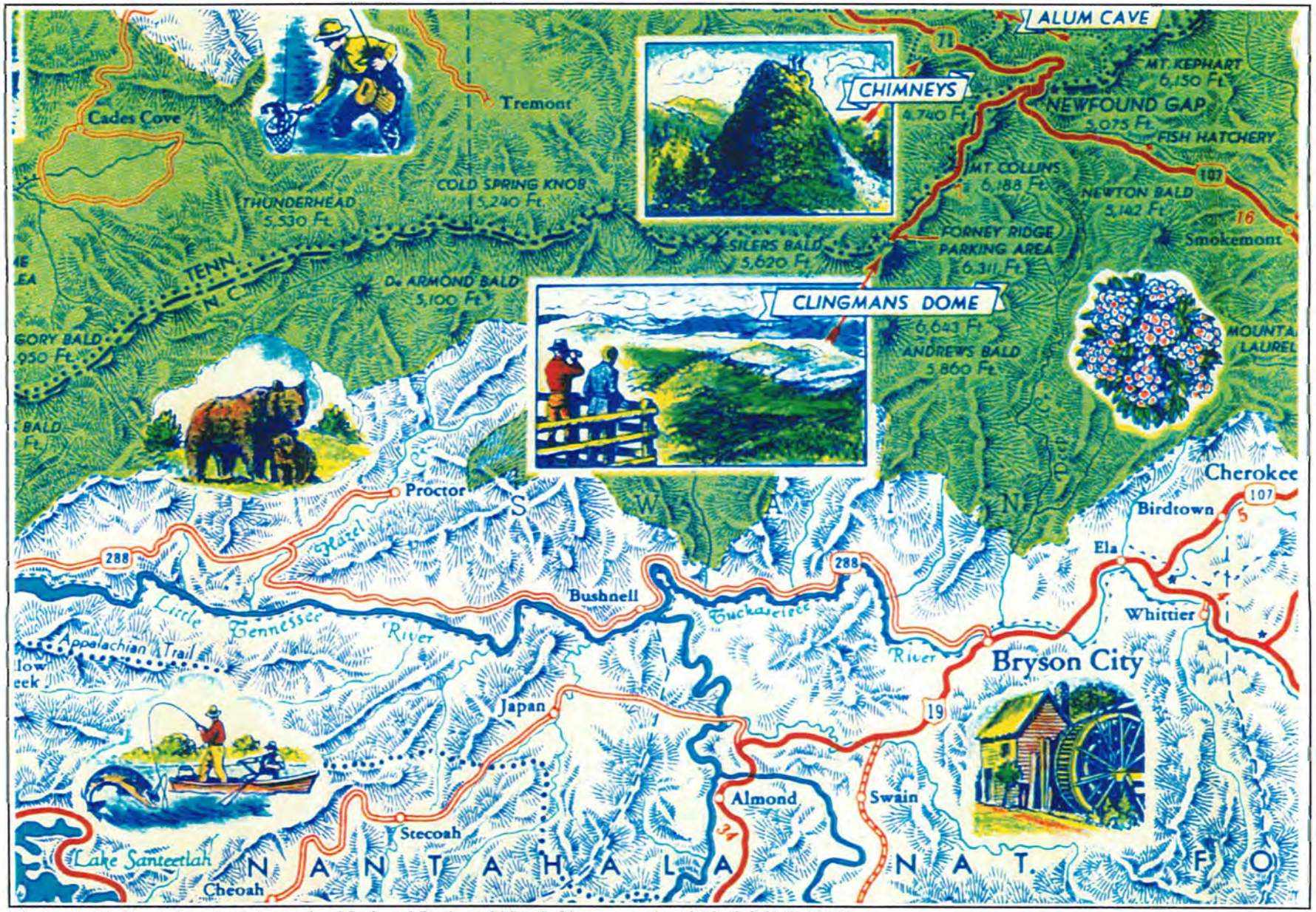


Figure 4.45. Great Smoky Mountains National Park and North Shore area in 1938 (SOCNJ 1938).

At least 22 CCC camps were established in or adjacent to GSMNP during the 1930s, including two in the present study area. Camp NP-9 was located in a large hollow at the mouth of Bee Gum Branch, on the east side of Forney Creek within GSMNP and near the northern boundary of the study area. That camp was established in 1933 and maintained until 1936; the location was also used intermittently as a side camp from 1936–1938 (Jolley 2001:19; Oliver 1998a:93, 295; Pyle 1979:8, 24). A second camp (NP-23) was located at the former mill site in Proctor from 1939–1942, although the property was not then part of GSMNP. The CCC workers there built and maintained roads and bridges and cleared fire trails, and several married local women and became part of the community (Jolley 2001:19; Oliver 1989:90, 1998a:99, 124; Pyle 1979:12, 38).

THE FONTANA PROJECT

The Fontana Project had its beginnings about 1910, when Alcoa begin purchasing tracts for potential reservoirs and hydroelectric facilities along the Little Tennessee River and its tributaries between Maryville, Tennessee (where its plant was located) and as far upstream as Bryson City (Taylor 2001:34). As early as 1913 the KPC (an Alcoa subsidiary) was mapping the proposed reservoir. By 1928 Alcoa had built Cheoah and Santeetlah dams downstream, and had plans for two smaller dams (including a 200-foot high dam at the Fontana site) in the study area (Taylor 2001:34); those plans were subsequently replaced by plans for a 400- to 450-foot high dam at the current Fontana site (Bennett 1932; Taylor 2001:60). The new project was surveyed by NP&L (also an Alcoa subsidiary) in 1932.

TVA became interested in constructing a dam in the area for flood control and power generation soon after its creation in 1933, and by 1934 had opened negotiations with Alcoa to take over development of the project. The TVA chairman, Arthur Morgan, saw Alcoa's potential control of the Little Tennessee watershed as highly threatening to the new agency, and the agency and the company were to negotiate and battle in the press and Congress for much of the 1930s. Although talks broke down temporarily in 1936, increasing international tensions coupled with concern over Alcoa's potential control of the nation's aluminum production capability during wartime eventually led to an October 1940 agreement by which Alcoa would develop the project but operate it according to TVA guidelines. This agreement fell apart over issues relating to the long-term ownership of the facility (the agreement had allowed the government the power to take over the facility after 50 years if it so desired), but under increasing pressure Alcoa agreed in June 1941 to sell the site to the TVA in return for a guaranteed power supply (Brown 2000:147–150; Morgan 1974:104–117; Taylor 2001:67–72; TVA 1950:1–2). Congress authorized the Fontana Project in December of 1941, and construction was initiated in January of 1942. Reservoir filling began in November of 1944, and the first power was generated on 20 January 1945 (TVA 1950:47).

Construction of the Fontana Project was a tremendous effort, and was described by one carpenter as "one hell of a big job of work" (Holland 2001:141) (Figure 4.46). The 480-foot high, 2,662-foot long dam required over 2,813,000 cubic yards of concrete, which incorporated aggregate from a quarry on GSMNP land downstream (Brown 2000:152; Holland 2001:175–176; Moneymaker 1941). Thousands of workers were employed on the project, including the 6,337 who were hired in the first year alone. Although many workers were "unemployed white and Cherokee men from all over western North Carolina, Tennessee, and northern Georgia," others included some 89 residents of Almond and Judson and 697 African-Americans (Brown 2000:151, 160). In addition to building the dam, the workers quarried rock; built roads, dormitories, and ancillary structures; cleared the reservoir; and moved cemeteries (TVA 1950).

The influx of workers posed an immediate housing problem, which was partially remedied by the construction of Fontana Village in Welch Cove, a short distance southwest of the dam site. The village included dormitories, schools, and a shopping center, drug store, post office, bank, hospital, beauty parlor, barbershop, and museum (in the Gunter cabin) (Holland 2001:155–158; TVA 1950:193–236;

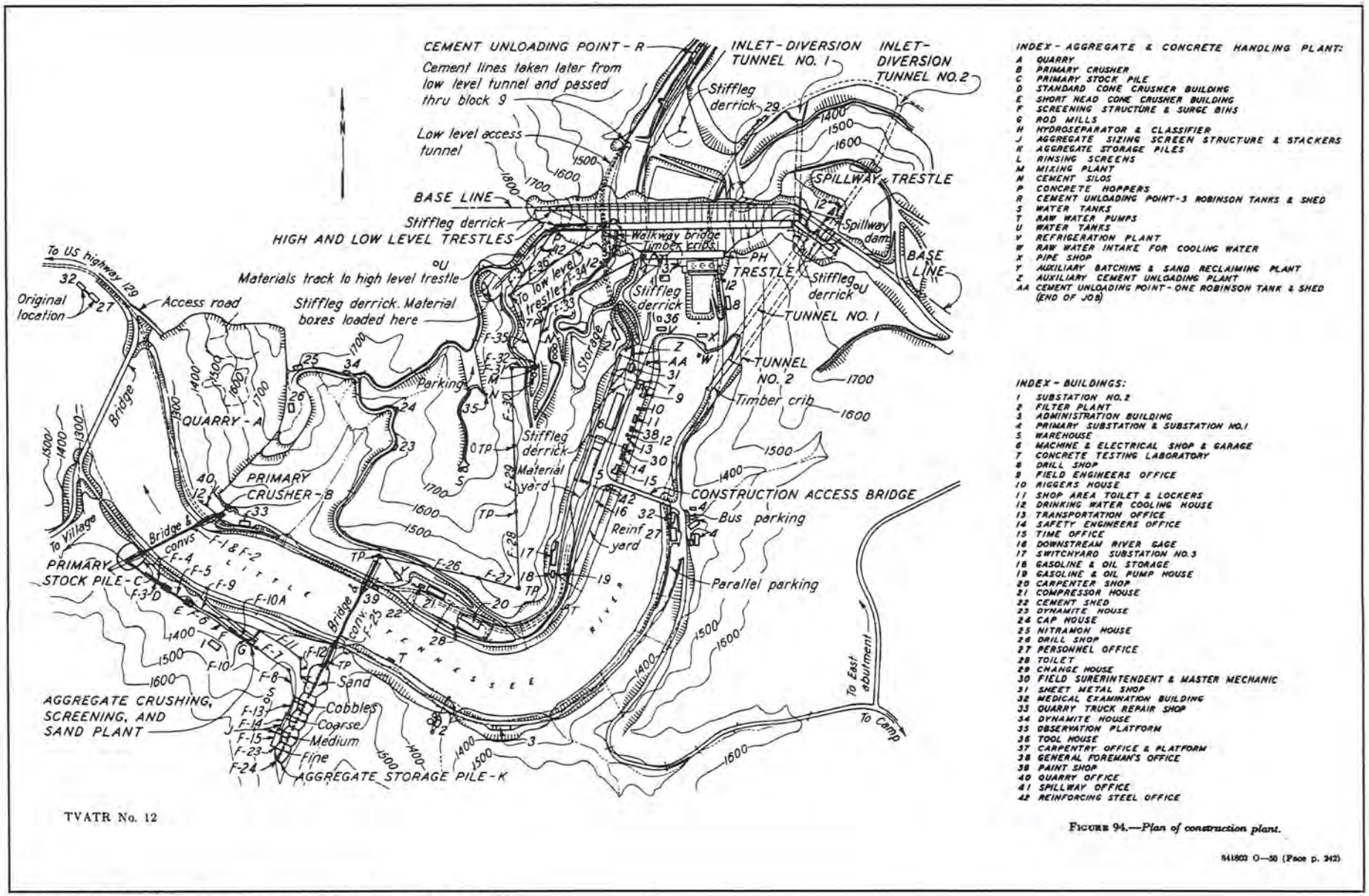


Figure 4.46. Fontana Dam construction area (TVA 1950).

Young 1983:23) (Figure 4.47). Other facilities included a construction camp, which was built in Gold Branch Cove about 0.75 miles south of the dam, and tent camps in Bee Cove to the east (Tent Camp 2) and in the mouth of a narrow cove across the river (Tent Camp 1). Many workers poured into the area prior to the completion of these facilities, however, and rented or otherwise occupied

> almost any empty building available. On Hazel Creek alone, "transients," as their employer called them, rented thirty-five trailers, thirty-five shacks, and five tents on Nantahala Power Company land. In Bushnell, they occupied a deserted gas station and an unused warehouse. Almost immediately, TVA's Population Readjustment Division began to receive complaints from the North Carolina state health officer about the lack of sanitary facilities and the "grave danger of epidemics" posed by the makeshift settlements. In response, the agency sponsored a Shack Development Control Program to funnel the "transients" into the village and prevent families from settling "permanently" in the shacks [Brown 2000:152].

The Fontana Project resulted in the inundation of approximately 10,670 acres of land, including parts of the Little Tennessee, Nantahala, and Tuckasegee rivers and their tributaries. The project also resulted in the relocation of about 1,320 families, 600 of which had been residents of the area before construction began (Hunt 1945:Table 1). In total, 1,486 tracts covering 68,291 acres were purchased. Most of those were in private ownership, but 422, or almost 30 percent, had been previously obtained by NP&L in connection with previous reservoir proposals (TVA 1950:477–479, 486).

Many of the long-term residents of the area lived on the farmsteads that were scattered across the reservoir area. These farm families occupied log, box, or wood-frame houses (Figures 4.48–4.50), which were generally surrounded by outbuildings such as barns, sheds, and springhouses. Other families lived in towns such as Bushnell, Almond, Judson or Proctor, sometimes occupying relatively elaborate houses and operating stores or other businesses (Figures 4.51–4.53). In addition to residences, these communities also included schools, churches, and depots (Figures 4.54–4.55), as well as cemeteries, some of which were moved by the TVA.

The land acquisition process began in early 1942, and by the end of 1943 most of the parcels needed for the project had been acquired. The tracts outside the dam area were not subject to surrender of possession until 31 December 1943, however, and that date was later extended until 1 November 1944 as a result of changes in construction schedules (TVA 1950:478). Due to wartime shortages of construction materials, most structures in the area were torn down and salvaged by residents or others (Parris 1968a; Holland 2001:189; Oliver 1993:114–115). TVA officials felt that "the percent of buildings and materials salvaged by former owners and their permittees exceed the salvage operations in any other reservoir to date" (Hunt 1945:5); records and eyewitness accounts state that truckloads of lumber left Proctor and other areas as long as the roads were uncovered (Anonymous n.d.:3; Oliver 1989:92; Elbert Stillwell, personal communication 1993) (Figure 4.56). Other homes and buildings were burned by the TVA, including the Franklin store and warehouse at Proctor (Oliver 1989:92–93).

There were not many places in the immediate vicinity for families to move:

> Very little land left was available for agricultural relocation. This was particularly true in Swain County. There was little or no industrial activity to absorb any surplus labor and population. It was noticed that there was some crowding back above pool elevation in Graham County and a limited number of locations in the east end of Swain County. However, the largest percentage of the families moving from the purchase area moved east toward and beyond Asheville, many as far as the foothills of the Blue Ridge, and a few to the Piedmont Section. A few families who lived in the lower end of the reservoir moved to Tennessee, principally to Blount and Monroe counties [Hunt 1945:6].

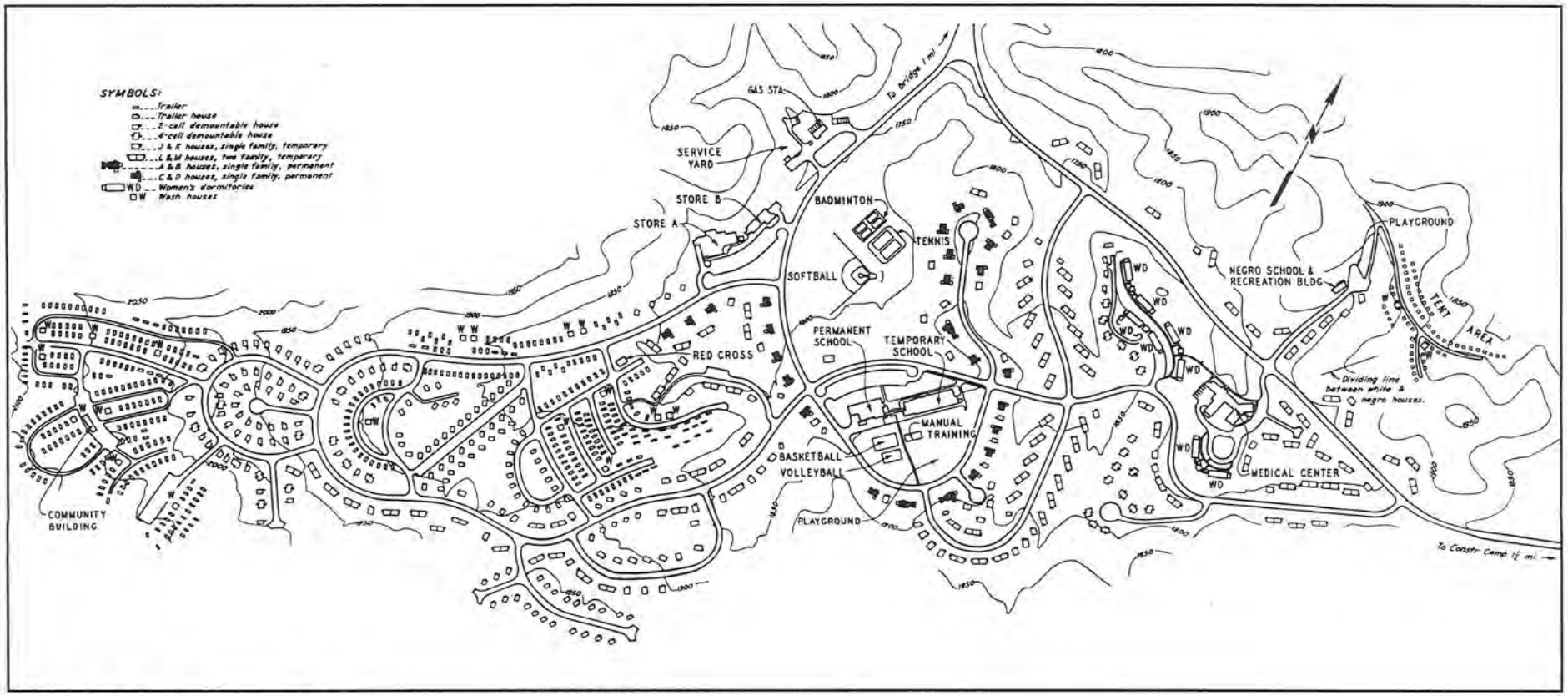


Figure 4.47. Fontana Village during construction era (TVA 1950).

Figure 4.48. Log house in Fontana acqusition area.

Figure 4.49. Box house in Fontana acquisition area.

Figure 4.50. Frame house in Fontana acqusition area.

Figure 4.51. Frame house in Fontana acquisition area.

Figure 4.52. Monteith Store on Forney Creek.

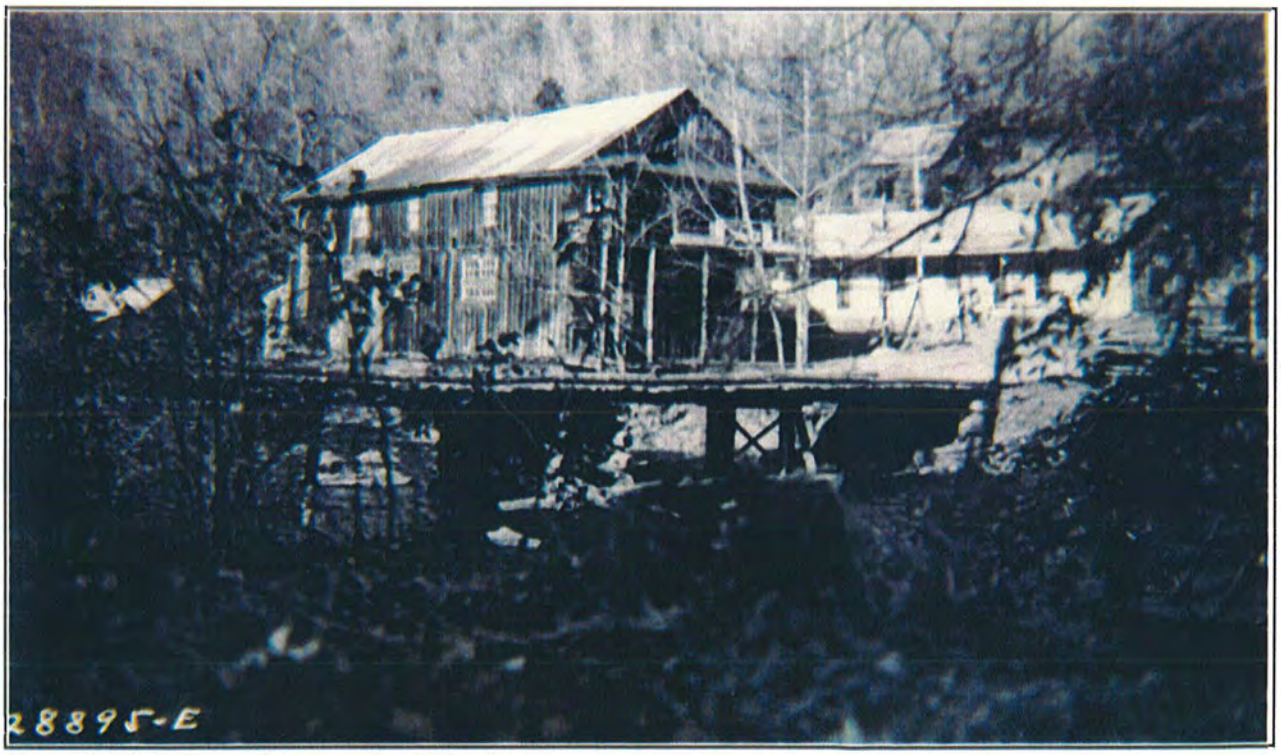


Figure 4.53. Calhoun Store on Hazel Creek.

Figure 4.54. Chambers Creek Church.

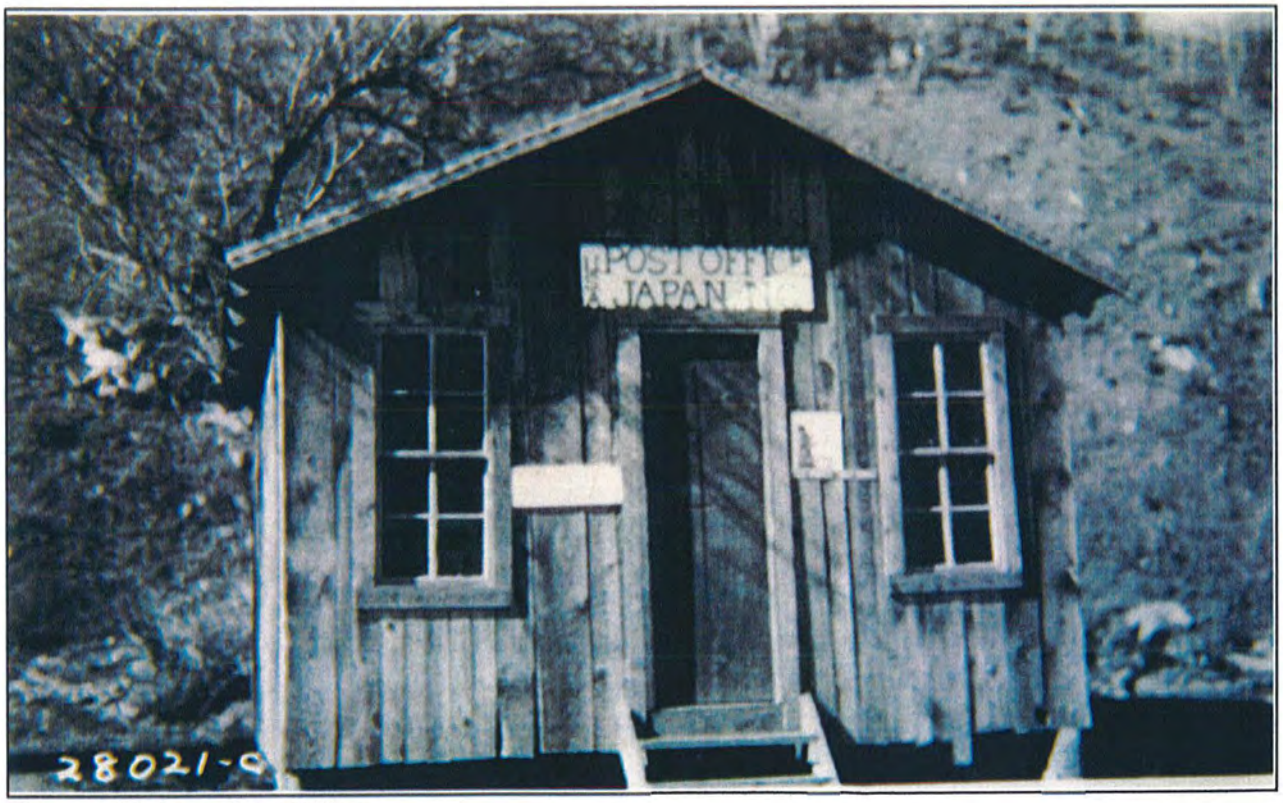


Figure 4.55. Japan Post Office.

Figure 4.56. Water rising at Forney Creek Bridge.

The average cost paid by the TVA was $37.76 per acre, which was one of the lowest for any TVA reservoir, and reflected the mountainous character of the previously logged areas that remained after Alcoa's earlier purchase of much of the bottomlands along the rivers (Anonymous n.d.:1; TVA 1950:479). Portions of several highways and secondary roads (including NC 288 and NC 10/US 19), as well as 24 miles of the Southern Railway line between Bryson City and Wesser, were inundated by the project, necessitating their relocation outside of the reservoir pool (TVA 1950:499–507). Finally, a total of 1,047 graves were removed from cemeteries that were to be inundated or for which road access was to be cut off by the project (TVA 1950:509).

Most of the 68,291 acres acquired by the TVA for the Fontana Project were not inundated, but consisted of areas (including the North Shore and Cable Cove) for which access was to be cut off by lake construction (TVA 1950:453). As discussed in Chapter 1, some 44,000 acres in the North Shore area were deeded to GSMNP as part of the 1943 agreement. Other parcels were transferred to the Department of Agriculture and became part of Nantahala National Forest, including Cable Cove and other areas along the south side of the lake.

NANTAHALA NATIONAL FOREST

Nantahala National Forest began as the Nantahala Purchase Unit, which was one of the 11 original national forest purchase units established in the Southern Appalachians. The Nantahala Purchase Unit had an initial purchase boundary of 595,419 acres, and in 1920 was combined with the short-lived Savannah Purchase Unit to form Nantahala National Forest. (A substantial part of the future GSMNP was included within the nearby Smoky Mountains Purchase Unit, but that unit was never activated). Early acquisitions for the Nantahala Purchase Unit included uncleared and cutover lands of the Macon Lumber Company (Mastran and Lowerre 1983:23–25).

When the TVA decided to acquire Cable Cove, Poison Cove, and other "severed properties" on the south and east banks of the Little Tennessee, the decision was quickly made to transfer those lands to Nantahala National Forest, which already owned portions of Cable Cove as well as adjacent upland areas. About 2,500 of the estimated 4,500 acres acquired above pool on the south side of the reservoir were transferred to the USFS by 1950 (TVA 1950:44), including:

> isolated lands and farm fragments in an overall area which extends along the south side of the reservoir from the eastern limits of the dam site reservation to a point on the west side of the Nantahala River and about three-fourths of a mile upstream from its confluence with the Little Tennessee River [TVA 1950:477].

RECENT HISTORY AND CURRENT LAND USE

The recent history of the study area is largely one of federal agency decisions regarding land use. As discussed above, most of the North Shore area is part of GSMNP. Although several attempts to designate most of this area as wilderness have not been successful (in part due to local opposition), GSMNP currently manages most of the area in accordance with NPS wilderness policies. Public vehicular access is limited to the constructed sections of Lake View Road northwest of Bryson City and northeast of Fontana Dam; both sections of the road have parking areas where visitors can access hiking and horse trails into the Park. There are a total of 22 backcountry campsites and trails within the GSMNP part of the study area, along with gated administrative roads along Hazel Creek Trail, Forney Creek Trail, and Noland Creek Trail.

Since the 1970s GSMNP has been maintaining cemeteries in the North Shore area and providing periodic access to them for family members and others. Cemetery visitors are transported across the lake by boat

on a weekend schedule during the summer months, and then are driven to the vicinity of each cemetery via bus or other NPS vehicles (Anonymous 1978; Cable 1978; Chandler 1986; Gerber 1987; Holland 2001:193–194; Taylor 2001:141–142).

TVA maintains jurisdiction over Fontana Lake and areas surrounding Fontana Dam. TVA's management of the area is guided by its mandate to consider the effects of power-generation on land reclamation, public recreational use, economic development and wildlife preservation. TVA maintains a visitor's center, Appalachian Trail shelter, marina, and other facilities at Fontana Dam (TVA 2003); the agency also owns Fontana Village, which since 1946 has been operated as a resort by successive leaseholders (Holland 2001:205–219).

Nantahala National Forest controls most of the southern shore of Fontana Lake. USFS recreational facilities within the study area include Tsali Campground, boat ramps at Lemmons Branch and Cable Cove, and several boat docks and floating moorages that are operated under Special Use permits. An extensive network of unimproved roads on USFS lands supports forest management and timber sales.

Another major recreational feature in the study area is the Appalachian National Scenic Trail, the north-south hiking trail from Maine to Georgia that was established beginning in 1922 (ATC 1973:2-1). By 1935–36 the route had been marked across the Little Tennessee River at Tapoco, west of the current study area. From that point it proceeded northeast to Deals Gap, and then east along the mountain crest along the North Carolina-Tennessee line, over Parsons and Gregory balds north of the study area (ATC 1973:6-39; Broome 2001:6–7). This part of the trail was rerouted in 1946–47, when the trail was moved to cross Fontana Dam and then run north to Shuckstack and out of the study area (ATC 1973:6-39). The current route up Shuckstack is a graded trail built by the NPS in 1963 (ATC 1973:6-40).

South of the river, the earlier trail route ran east along Yellow Creek to High Top, east through Cable Gap, and east and then south to Stecoah Gap. From there it proceeded southeast to Cheoah Bald before turning east through Grassy Gap, crossing the Nantahala River at Wesser, and proceeding south towards Georgia (USGS 1935, 1936d, 1940e). The present-day trail proceeds southeast from Fontana Dam, joins the older route at High Top, and generally follows the older route southeast from that point. Two segments of the current trail are within the study area, an approximately 6-mile section extending about 3.25 miles north and 2.75 miles south of Fontana Dam, and a 2000-foot section west of NC 143 through Sweetwater Gap, about a mile north of Stecoah Gap.

Other parts of the study area are privately owned, including inholdings in Nantahala National Forest south of Fontana Lake and the eastern portion of the study area around Bryson City. Bryson City is the county seat of Swain County; land use in downtown Bryson City is predominantly commercial. Most other residential and commercial development in the study area is situated linearly along the highways and other roads on non-federal lands; one significant exception is Fontana Lake Estates, a gated community being developed on the former Davis Cemetery Tract between Alarka Creek and the Little Tennessee River. Other privately owned lands in the study area are in cultivation, while a variety of additional recreational opportunities have been developed by Swain County and Bryson City along the Tuckasegee River.

5. CULTURAL RESOURCES IN THE STUDY AREA

This section summarizes previous cultural resource investigations in this part of western North Carolina, and presents data on the known and potential cultural resources of the 121,000-acre study area. The intent of this discussion is to provide information on the types of resources and issues that may be encountered during subsequent survey and evaluation studies for the North Shore Road EIS. While the discussion includes information on the NRHP status of known resources as well as suggestions concerning the potential significance of other individual and types of resources, it does not provide evaluations of any previously unassessed resources. Such resources are discussed here as "unassessed" or "potentially NRHP-eligible" (see Chapter 2).

PREVIOUS CULTURAL RESOURCE INVESTIGATIONS

Western North Carolina has been the subject of archaeological research for over a century, and most trends in the history of North American archaeology are reflected in the region. As early as the 1880s, workers from the Valentine Museum in Richmond investigated several mound sites in the region, including the Sawnooke Mound (Nununyi) on the Oconaluftee River north of Cherokee (Valentine n.d.) and others in Swain, Haywood, Jackson, and Cherokee counties (Dickens 1976:7). The museum's work was primarily oriented toward recovering artifacts, although in some cases the resulting data have been useful in addressing present-day research questions (e.g., Dickens 1976:91). Also in the 1880s, researchers from the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology excavated sites in Buncombe and Henderson counties as part of their investigations into the origin of the "Mound Builders" (Thomas 1894). That research was instrumental in demonstrating that the mounds in western North Carolina and elsewhere had in fact been built by American Indians and were not the products of a mysterious, vanished race.

Early twentieth century work in western North Carolina continued to focus on mound explorations. Between 1915 and 1919, George Heye and associates excavated at the Garden Creek site in Haywood County and at other nearby sites (Harrington 1922; Heye 1919; Heye et al. 1918). Although that work was designed to gather artifacts for Heye's Museum of the American Indian in New York, it did provide some data on the antiquity of the Cherokees in the region (Dickens 1976:7–8). Subsequent work in 1933 and 1934 by the Smithsonian Institution at the Peachtree Mound and Village in Cherokee County was also designed to investigate the relationship between the Cherokees and prehistoric cultures in the area (Setzler and Jennings 1941). Also in the 1930s, George MacPherson (1936a, 1936b) and Hiram Wilburn conducted surveys of numerous sites in GSMNP. Although many of their data were to be incorporated into later research (Bass 1975), at the time their work had little impact on the understanding of the region's prehistory.

The 1940s and 1950s witnessed relatively little research in the Appalachian Summit region. Plans to excavate sites in the area using WPA crews, as had been done elsewhere in the Southeast, were terminated with the outbreak of World War II, and no archaeological excavations were conducted as part of the Fontana Project or other TVA or NP&L reservoir construction in the region (Lyon 1996). Intensive, systematic work in the Appalachian Summit region did not begin until 1964, when the University of North Carolina instituted the Cherokee Archaeological Project. This project, which lasted until 1971, included large-scale surveys and salvage excavations, as well as intensive investigations of late prehistoric and historic Cherokee sites (Purrington 1983:98–99; Ward 1979; Ward and Davis 1999:17–18). Data from this project, reported in several theses, dissertations, and other publications (e.g., Dickens 1976; Egloff 1967; Keel 1976), provide much of the background information on the Appalachian Summit region.

Beginning in the 1970s, new federal cultural resource legislation and management procedures resulted in an increasing number of archaeological projects in the Swain County area. Many of the early CRM (Cultural Resource Management) projects were conducted in the eastern part of the county, including surveys by Baker (1979) on the Qualla Boundary and Purrington (1976) on Connelly Creek, a tributary of the Tuckasegee River. The latter work led to the investigation of the Slipoff Branch site, a small Middle Archaic period Morrow Mountain component in an upland setting (Purrington 1981). Other, more recent work in Swain County has included data recovery excavations near Ela (Wetmore 1990) and survey and testing at the Kituhwa site (Riggs et al. 1998; Riggs and Shumate 2003b), a short distance upriver from Bryson City. A number of survey, testing, and data recovery projects have also been conducted on the Qualla Boundary (Greene 1996, 1998; Riggs et al. 1997). Several survey and testing projects have also been conducted on GSMNP lands near Cherokee, including a series of investigations along the Raven Fork River for a sewer project and proposed land exchange (Webb 1999, 2001, 2002). Major recent projects outside the study area in Graham County include surveys of Cheoah, Santeetlah, and Calderwood reservoirs for the Tapoco relicensing project (Joy 2002a, 2003).

Several projects have been conducted in the study area over the past two decades. The most significant of these were a series of survey, testing, and data recovery efforts on the Davis Cemetery Tract, a land exchange parcel situated between Alarka Creek and the Little Tennessee River in Fontana Lake (Shumate 1994; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996; Shumate and Kimball 1996, 1997, 1998, 2001a, 2001b; Shumate et al. 1996; Webb et al. 1993). Most recently, data recovery work at three sites on that tract has documented well-preserved remains representing significant Middle Archaic, Late Archaic and Historic Cherokee occupations. Other nearby projects have included a shoreline survey (Shumate et al. 1996) and work in the Lemmons Branch area to the southwest, which included data recovery excavations at an apparent post-Removal Cherokee site (Riggs and Shumate 2003a).

Very limited work has been conducted on GSMNP lands in the study area, although some sites have been recorded by surveys conducted for proposed trail relocation and maintenance projects. No archaeological work was conducted in association with construction of the extant sections of Lake View Road, as that work was completed or underway when the NHPA was passed in 1966. Several sites in the study area are included in Bass' (1975) synthetic study of sites in the Park, but no excavations were conducted as part of that work. The most substantial NPS work near the study area was Murphy et al.'s (1976) survey for a proposed extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway to Deep Creek. That study identified a number of sites along Deep Creek and elsewhere along the proposed route towards Cherokee, and resulted in a recommendation that a group of 18 prehistoric and historic sites be included in a proposed NRHP District. That recommendation was never acted upon, however, and the proposed road extension was never constructed.

A number of survey projects have been conducted on Nantahala National Forest land on the south shore of Fontana Lake, including work in Poison Cove (Noel and Snedeker 1998) and elsewhere (e.g., Ashcraft et al. 1994; Bassett and Snedeker 1998, 2000, 2001; Dyson and Snedeker 1994; Noel and Snedeker 1999). These projects have identified a number of prehistoric and historic period sites, but have not led to data recovery excavations. Other work outside USFS lands in the southern and eastern part of the study areas has included survey along the Deep Creek drainage (Rogers 1985), work at the West Elementary School Site for Swain County (Wetmore and Rogers 1988a, 1988b); and a number of surveys for road projects (e.g., Garrow 1981; Joy 1992; Padgett 1982, 1990).

In addition to archaeological research, limited architectural surveys have also been conducted in the study area. The most systematic architectural work was a reconnaissance level survey of Swain and Graham counties by Williams (1998), which documented 44 properties in Swain County and 25 in Graham. Within GSMNP, NRHP documentation or other studies have been completed for the Hall Cabin (Gordon 1973) and the Calhoun House (Miri 1997). No structures within the study area are included in the proposed GSMNP Park Development District, which is limited to the vicinity of Newfound Gap,

Clingmans Dome, and Little River/Laurel Creek roads (Blythe n.d.). HABS/HAER (Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record) documentation has been prepared for the existing segments of Lake View Drive (the North Shore Road), but its NRHP eligibility has not been assessed (NPS 1996). Outside GSMNP and within the study area, several structures have been listed on the NRHP (see below). Elsewhere, the NRHP-eligibility of the Santeetlah hydroelectric development has been assessed by Thomason (2002) as part of the Tapoco project.

Several studies have inventoried cemeteries in Swain and Graham counties, beginning with work conducted by the TVA as part of its cemetery relocation program (e.g., TVA 1948). More recent inventories of Swain County cemeteries have been conducted by Hunter (1996) and by the SCGHA (2000); a similar inventory of cemeteries in Graham County has been published by Millsaps and Millsaps (1992). In addition, ongoing efforts are being made to further document cemeteries in the North Shore area and elsewhere in GSMNP (Erik Kreusch, personal communication 2003; Gail Walker, personal communication 2003).

A few other types of cultural resources studies have also been conducted in the area. Parts of the study area have been included in thematic studies being carried out as part of ongoing research concerning the Trail of Tears (Riggs and Greene i.p.; Thomason 2003a), although no fieldwork has been conducted to date in the study area. Portions of the area are also included in ongoing attempts by the EBCI THPO to identify historic-period Cherokee grave sites. Other THPO-sponsored studies in the region include attempts to identify canebreaks and other natural resources traditionally used by the Cherokees, but those studies have not extended into the study area (Lee Clauss, personal communication 2003).

KNOWN AND POTENTIAL CULTURAL RESOURCES IN THE STUDY AREA

These and other previous studies have identified about 381 cultural resources in the study area, including 250 officially recorded archaeological sites, 44 historic structures and above-ground resources, and 87 cemeteries. Other resources are known to be present, and the intensity of the survey coverages and the adequacy of the resulting inventories vary greatly with the type of resource. For example, the previous studies probably have identified most of the historic period cemeteries and potentially NRHP-eligible standing structures in the area, due to the relative visibility and high degree of community awareness of these types of resources. The studies certainly have identified a much smaller percentage of the archaeological sites in the area, however, and no systematic studies of some other resource types (i.e., Traditional Cultural Properties) have yet been undertaken.

Archaeological Sites

Systematic attempts to inventory and evaluate archaeological sites have only been conducted over an estimated 3.0 percent of the study area, with the most extensive surveys covering the 1,350-acre Davis Cemetery tract (Webb et al. 1993), and 770-acre (Noel and Snedeker 1998), 606-acre (including some areas outside the study area) (Ashcraft et al. 1994), and 260-acre (Noel and Snedeker 1999) tracts in Nantahala National Forest. Those four projects covered less than 2,800 acres, or about 2.3 percent of the present study area, but recorded 129 sites, or 51.6 percent of the 250 recorded sites. Another 23 sites, or 9.2 percent of the total, were recorded by a survey of an estimated 250 acres of exposed lake shoreline surrounding the Davis Cemetery Tract (Shumate et al 1996). That work represents the only systematic survey of the Fontana Lake shoreline, and as a result archaeological sites are dramatically underrepresented at Fontana in comparison to other TVA reservoirs (Ahlman et al. 2003:Table 3.1-01). Finally, no large-scale intensive surveys have been conducted on GSMNP or on privately owned lands within the study area.

The 250 recorded sites are primarily prehistoric in age, with about 195 (78.0 percent) containing prehistoric components (Tables 5.1–5.2). The data are incomplete and difficult to summarize, but it is

Table 5.1. Archaeological Sites in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area.

NC State No.	GRSM No.	Bass No.	County	USGS Quadrangle	Jurisdiction	Component(s)	NRHP Status	Reference (other than Site Form)
Recorded Sites								
31GH005	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Archaic, Woodland	Not Eligible	None
31GH006	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Archaic, Woodland	Not Eligible	None
31GH018	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Archaic, Woodland, Pisgah	Not Eligible	None
31GH019	n/a	n/a	Graham	Hewitt	USFS	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Middle Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH020	n/a	n/a	Graham	Hewitt	USFS	Prehistoric: Late Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH021	n/a	n/a	Graham	Hewitt	USFS	Prehistoric: Archaic, Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH022	n/a	n/a	Graham	Hewitt	USFS	Prehistoric: Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH023	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH074	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Early Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH083	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	None
31GH084	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	None
31GH085	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	None
31GH180	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Unknown	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH182	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Unknown	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH183	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Unknown	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH236	n/a	n/a	Graham	Hewitt	USFS	Unknown	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH237	n/a	n/a	Graham	Hewitt	USFS	Unknown	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH238	n/a	n/a	Graham	Hewitt	USFS	Unknown	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH255**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Historic	Not Eligible	Bassett and Snedeker 2001
31GH266	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Unknown	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31GH268	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	None
31GH269	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Unknown	Not Eligible	None
31GH270**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH271	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH272	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH273**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH274	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH275**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH280**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH281	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH282/282**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic; Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH283/283**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH284	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH285	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee/Noland Ck	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH286	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH287	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH288	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH289/289**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH290	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH291**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH292	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH293	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH294	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH295/295**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: 19th to 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31GH302/302**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Early Woodland; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH303	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH304	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH305/305**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Woodland; Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH306	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH307**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH308/308**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH309	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH310/310**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Early Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH311	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH312/312**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH313	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH314	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH315	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH316	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH317	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH318	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH319	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH320	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH321	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH322/322**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Early Archaic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH323	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH324	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH325/325**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH326**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH327	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH328	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH329	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998

Table 5.1. Archaeological Sites in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area (continued).

NC State No.	GRSM No.	Bass No.	County	USGS Quadrangle	Jurisdiction	Component(s)	NRHP Status	Reference (other than Site Form)
31GH330	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH331	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH332	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH333	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH334	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH335	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH336	n/a	n/a	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	Prehistoric: Late Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH337/337**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH338	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH339	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH340	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH341	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH342	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH343	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH344	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH345/345**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH346/346**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Late Archaic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH347	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH348/348**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH349/349**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH350	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH351**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH389	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31GH390**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Historic: Early 19th to mid 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH391	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH392	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Woodland	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH393	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH394	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH395	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH396**	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH397	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Bassett and Snedeker 1998
31GH398	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1998
31GH408	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Bassett and Snedeker 1998
31GH409	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Bassett and Snedeker 1998
31GH410	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Bassett and Snedeker 1998
31GH431	n/a	n/a	Graham	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Mitchell 2002
31GH432	n/a	n/a	Graham	Tuskeegee	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	None
31SW011	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Mississippian; Historic Amerindian	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW012	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Prehistoric: Woodland	Not Eligible	Rogers 1985
31SW022	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Prehistoric: Woodland	Not Eligible	Rogers 1985
31SW023	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Rogers 1985
31SW026	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	USFS	Prehistoric: Late Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW035	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW036	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW037	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW050	None	None	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW053	GRSM 74	31SW3	Swain	Fontana Dam	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Early Archaic, Middle Archaic, Early Woodland, Middle Woodland, Late Woodland, Pisgah	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW055	GRSM 75	31SW5	Swain	Fontana Dam	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Archaic, Woodland, Pisgah	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW056	GRSM 77	31SW6	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Early Archaic, Middle Archaic, Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW057	GRSM 78	31SW7	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Late Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW058	GRSM 135	31SW8	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW059	GRSM 136	31SW9	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Early Archaic, Middle Archaic, Late Archaic, Early Woodland, Middle Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW061	GRSM 96	31SW11	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Early Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW062	GRSM 84	31SW12	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW063A	GRSM 85	31SW13	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Early Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW063B	GRSM 85	31SW13	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Early Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW064	GRSM 86	31SW14	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Early Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW066	GRSM 88	31SW16	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Late Archaic, Early Woodland, Middle Woodland, Pisgah	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW097	GRSM 140	31SW50	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Early Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW100	GRSM 144	31SW53	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Middle Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW145	None	None	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW150	None	None	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Woodland, Pisgah	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW151	None	None	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Late Archaic, Early Woodland, Middle Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW152	None	None	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW159	n/a	n/a	Swain	Wesser	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW168	GRSM 80	31SW98	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW169	GRSM 93	31SW99	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW170	GRSM 81	31SW100	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Early Woodland, Middle Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW171	GRSM 82	31SW101	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975

Table 5.1. Archaeological Sites in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area (continued).

NC State No.	GRSM No.	Bass No.	County	USGS Quadrangle	Jurisdiction	Component(s)	NRHP Status	Reference (other than Site Form)
31SW173	GRSM 95	31SW103	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW174	GRSM 145	31SW104/11	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Early Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW176	GRSM 99	31SW106	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW177	GRSM 100	31SW107	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW178	GRSM 101	31SW108	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW179	GRSM 102	31SW109	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW180	GRSM 83	31SW110	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW185	n/a	n/a	Swain	Wesser	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	None?
31SW187	None	31SW78	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Archaic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW188	None	31SW79	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Late Woodland, Middle Woodland	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW189	None	31SW80	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian; Historic Amerindian	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Bass 1975
31SW192**	None	None	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW215	n/a	n/a	Swain	Wesser	USFS	Prehistoric: Middle Woodland	Not Eligible	None?
31SW216	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	Other	None listed	Not Eligible	Wetmore and Rogers 1988a, 1988b
31SW218	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	USFS	Prehistoric; Historic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Dyson et al. 1994
31SW219	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW222	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW242/242**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Historic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31SW243	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None?
31SW244	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Snedeker et al. 1993
31SW245	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Late Archaic, Terminal Archaic, Woodland	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW250**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW251	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Late Archaic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW252	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW253**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW254**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW255**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate 1994
31SW256**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate 1994
31SW257**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW258	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW259	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Late Archaic, Late Prehistoric	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate 1994
31SW260**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW261	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Mississippian; Historic: Mid 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW262	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW263	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Late Archaic, Pisgah	Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996; Shumate and Kimball 1996
31SW264**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Late 19th to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW265	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Late Archaic	Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996; Shumate and Kimball 2001a
31SW266**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate 1994
31SW267	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW268	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW269**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate 1994
31SW270	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW271**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate 1994
31SW272	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW273/273**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Late Prehistoric; Historic: Early Qualla Phase, late 19th to 20th century	Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996; Shumate and Kimball 1997, 1998, 2001b
31SW274**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW275	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993
31SW276**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS-Other	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Webb et al. 1993; Shumate and Evans-Shumate 1996
31SW278	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31SW279	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31SW280	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31SW281/281**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Middle Woodland; Historic: 19th to 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31SW282**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31SW283**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31SW284	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Ashcraft et al. 1994
31SW288**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW289**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW290**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW291**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW292**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW293**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW294/294**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Archaic; Historic 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW295**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW296**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW297/297**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Early Archaic, Middle Archaic; Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW298/298**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Middle Woodland, Mississippian; Historic Amerindian; Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW299/299**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Late Archaic; Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996

Table 5.1. Archaeological Sites in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area (continued).

NC State No.	GRSM No.	Bass No.	County	USGS Quadrangle	Jurisdiction	Component(s)	NRHP Status	Reference (other than Site Form)
31SW300/300**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Late Archaic; Historic Cherokee (Qualla); Historic: Mid 19th to mid 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW301	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Archaic; Historic: Late 19th to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW302/302**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Archaic; Historic 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW303	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Middle Woodland, Late Woodland; Historic Amerindian	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW304**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW305/305**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic, Late Archaic, Middle Woodland; Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW306**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW307/307**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Middle Woodland; Historic: 19th to 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW308**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW309**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: Early to mid 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW310**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Not Eligible	Shumate et al. 1996
31SW322**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW323	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW324	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW325/325**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: 20th century	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW326	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW327	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW328	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW329	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW330	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW331/331**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: Late 19th to early 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW332	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW333	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW334**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW335	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Noel and Snedeker 1999
31SW336/336**	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW338	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW339	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW340**	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW341/341**	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW342**	None	None	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW343**	None	None	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW344**	None	None	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
31SW362	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Prehistoric: Archaic	Not Eligible	Shumate and Evans-Shumate 2000
31SW365**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic: Historic Cherokee	Eligible	Shumate and Evans-Shumate 2000; Riggs and Shumate 2002
31SW366**	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Historic: 19th to 20th century Cherokee cemetery	Eligible	Dyson 2002
31SW367	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Bassett and Snedeker 2001
31SW368	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Lithic	Not Eligible	Bassett and Snedeker 2001
31SW382/382**	None	None	Swain	Fontana Dam	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic; Historic: 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Joy 2002
31SW388	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	Prehistoric: Middle Archaic	Not Eligible	Dyson and Snedeker 2000
31SW389	None	None	Swain	Bryson City	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
None	GRSM 97	None	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Reported But Unrecorded Sites								
Bruno	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Chambers Rock	n/a	n/a	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	Historic?	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	Chambers et al. 1998; Oliver 1996
Unrecorded 1	None?	None?	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 2	None?	None?	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 3	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 4	n/a	n/a	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 5	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 6	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 7	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 8	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 9	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 10	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 11	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 12	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 13	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Prehistoric: Lithic	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None
Unrecorded 14	None	None	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	Historic: 19th to 20th century	Unassessed/Potentially Eligible	None

Table 5.2. Summary Data on Archaeological Sites Recorded in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area.

Ownership	GSMNP				USFS				TVA				Other				Total			
	N	U	E	T	N	U	E	T	N	U	E	T	N	U	E	T	N	U	E	T
Prehistoric		40		40	93	18	2	113	1			1	2	1		3	96	59	2	157
Historic Cherokee		1		1			1	1			1	1				0	0	1	2	3
Historic Euro-American		5		5	21	5		26	13			13				0	34	10	0	44
Multicomponent P/HC		1		1				0	1			1				0	1	1	0	2
Multicomponent P/HEA		3		3	8	14		22	7			7				0	15	17	0	32
Multicomponent HC/HEA				0				0				0				0	0	0	0	0
Multicomponent P/HC/HEA				0			1	1	1	1		2				0	1	1	1	3
Unknown				0	1	7		8				0	1			1	2	7	0	9
Total	0	50	0	50	123	44	4	171	23	1	1	25	3	1	0	4	149	96	5	250

N - Not eligible
U - Unassessed
E - Eligible
T - Total

P - Prehistoric
HC - Historic Cherokee
HEA - Historic Euro-American

clear that most of the prehistoric sites contain Archaic or unidentified lithic components; only about 45 (18.0 percent) of the 250 sites are known to have Woodland or other ceramic components. Another eight sites (3.2 percent) are recorded as having Historic Cherokee components, although Cherokee components may also be present on a few sites that are recorded as Mississippian. Historic Euro-American components are present on about 79 (31.6 percent) of the recorded sites, with most if not all of those components dating to the late-nineteenth century or later. The ages and cultural affiliations of another nine sites (3.6 percent) are unknown. An additional 16 sites are known in the study area but have not been officially recorded; those include 11 prehistoric and five historic period sites.

A total of 149 (59.6 percent) of the recorded sites have been determined ineligible for the NRHP, and the eligibility of another 96 sites (38.4 percent) has not been assessed. (All sites within GSMNP are considered unassessed and potentially eligible, although a few were described as ineligible based on preliminary fieldwork in the 1970s). These unassessed sites are considered potentially eligible for the NRHP under Criteria A and/or D. The five sites (2.0 percent) that have been determined NRHP-eligible include one (31SW265) dating to the Middle and Late Archaic periods (Shumate and Evans Shumate 1996:208–228; Shumate and Kimball 2001a), one (31SW263) that contains Archaic and Pisgah (Mississippian) materials (Shumate and Evans Shumate 1996:176–191; Shumate and Kimball 1996), one (31SW273/273**) containing an early Historic Cherokee component (as well as earlier prehistoric and later Euro-American components) (Shumate and Evans Shumate 1996:229–249; Shumate and Kimball 1997, 1998, 2001b), and one (31SW365**) that appears to represent a mid-nineteenth century Cherokee homestead (Riggs and Shumate 2003a). Data recovery excavations have been conducted at all four of those sites, although only one (31SW365**) has been completely reported. A fifth NRHP-eligible site (31SW366**) is a nineteenth to twentieth century Historic Cherokee cemetery.

Most of the prehistoric sites appear to be habitation sites. There are no officially recorded lithic quarries in the study area, although a soapstone quarry has been reported in the Welch Cove/Fontana Village area (Rodney Snedeker, personal communication 2003) and others could exist at source areas near Soapstone Gap in GSMNP. One rock art site is known to be present (but officially unrecorded) in the study area (Figure 5.1); that site is beneath the full pool of Fontana Lake in the Bushnell area, and probably dates to the historic period (Oliver 1996; Scott Ashcraft, personal communication 2003). Similarly, at least one fish trap is known to have been present near Fishtrap Branch along the Little Tennessee near the former town of Judson (Justice 2002), but has not been recorded as an archaeological site.

Most of the historic period sites appear to date to the late nineteenth century or later, and most appear to represent domestic occupations. With the exception of 31SW365**, the nineteenth century Historic Cherokee and early to mid-nineteenth century Euro-American occupations in the area are essentially unrepresented among the recorded sites. The later Euro-American domestic occupations are also substantially underrepresented, even though the locations of many such sites are easily discernable (e.g., Figure 5.2). In addition, none of the known logging or mining related sites (e.g., Figures 5.3 and 5.4) on the North Shore have been officially recorded. A single transportation-related site (part of the former NC 10) has been recorded and assessed (and determined ineligible) on the Davis Cemetery Tract (Webb et al. 1993:91–93; Shumate 1994:98–104).

The locations of known archaeological site locations in the study area are shown in Figure 5.5. In addition to these data, information on likely historic period site locations has been gathered from historic maps and other sources (Chambers et al. 1988; Espenshade 1963; Kephart n.d.; Pyle 1979; Riggs 1988; Robinson et al. 1992; TVA 1941; USGS 1886, 1892a, 1892b, 1906, 1913; 1926, 1931a, 1931b, 1935, 1936a, 1936b, 1936c, 1936d, 1936e, 1940a, 1940b, 1940c, 1940d, 1940e, 1941a, 1941b, 1941c; Williams 1838), and the locations of these potential sites are shown in Figure 5.6. These combined sources provide potential locations for 1,716 historic sites, each of which represents the mapped locations of a structure or other facility known to have been present in the area between 1838 and the early 1940s. (Even this

Figure 5.1. Rock carving near Bushnell.

Figure 5.2. Standing chimney at Chambers Creek campsite.

Figure 5.3. Storage house at Fontana Mine.

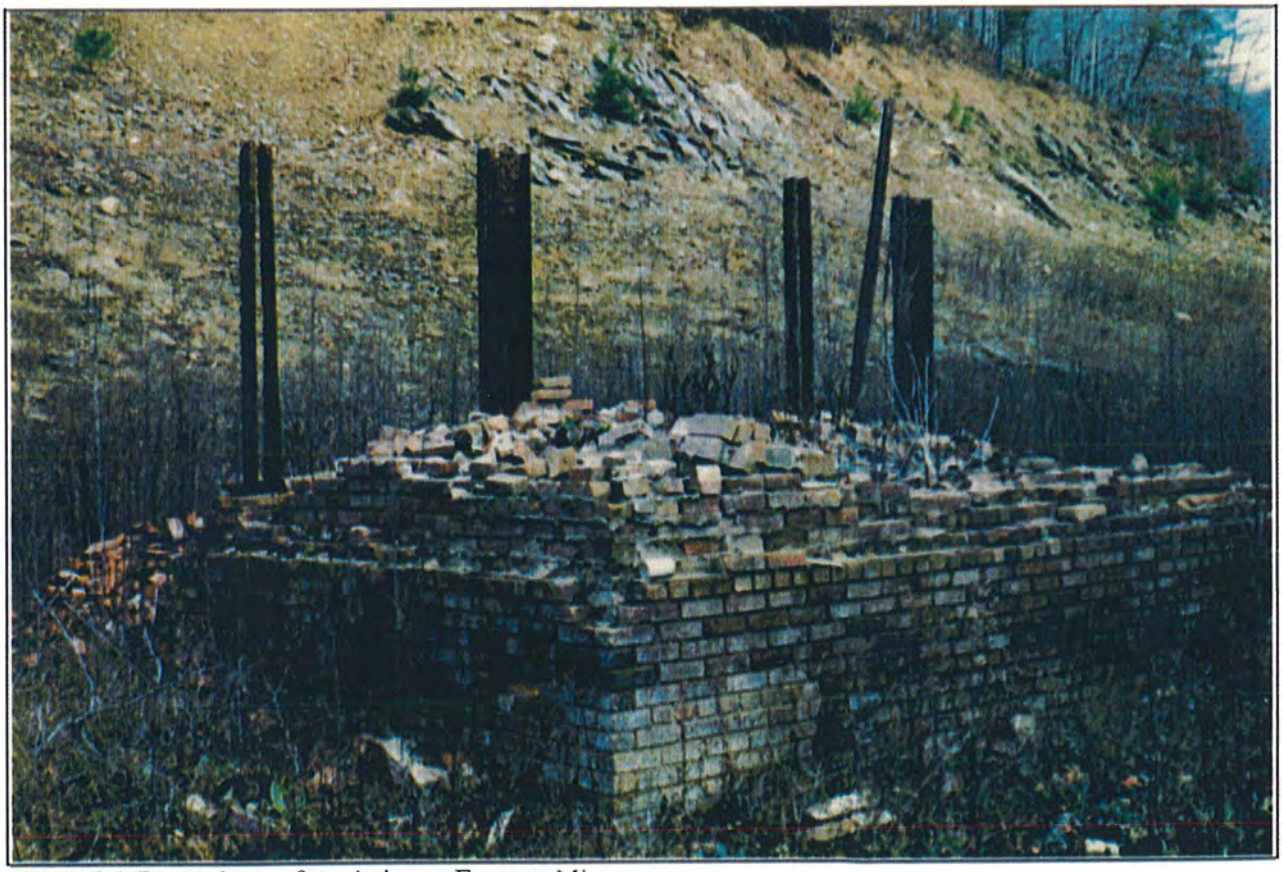
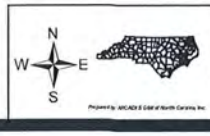


Figure 5.4. Power house foundation at Fontana Mine.

PROTECTED RESOURCE LOCATIONAL DATA - NOT FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION

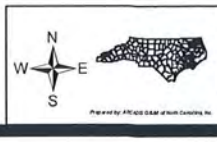


ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE NORTH SHORE ROAD EIS STUDY AREA

NORTH SHORE ROAD CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT
SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

Figure 5.5

PROTECTED RESOURCE LOCATIONAL DATA - NOT FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION



POTENTIAL HISTORIC PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
IN THE STUDY AREA
NORTH SHORE ROAD CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT
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Figure
5.6
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total underestimates the number of possible historic site locations, however. The locations of some former structures in the Bryson City area are not shown due to the difficulty in correlating them with current structures, and the figure does not show former roads or other linear features as well as facilities associated with Fontana Dam construction. Finally, of course, no data are available on the locations of many pre-twentieth century historic structures.)

Each of these former structures is potentially now an archaeological site, and could be eligible for the NRHP under Criteria A and/or D. This is true even of those potential sites that are now inundated by Fontana Lake. While many of those sites are certainly severely eroded, others may be preserved due to their topographical situations, and could contain intact artifact concentrations, subsurface features, or structural remains. In particular, a number of early to mid-nineteenth century Cherokee homesteads have been identified and determined NRHP-eligible in previous studies in Fontana, Hiwassee, and Nantahala lakes (Benyshek 2003; Riggs 1996, 1999; Riggs and Shumate 2003a), and in some cases have been successfully excavated despite over 50 years of inundation.

This information has two major implications for future archaeological research in the study area. First, the combined data indicate that prehistoric Native American, Historic Cherokee, and historic Euro-American sites are probably abundant in the study area and provide some information as to their likely locations. Second, however, it is clear that most of the study area has not been adequately surveyed for archaeological resources. Outside such limited areas as the Davis Cemetery Tract and smaller areas on Nantahala National Forest (e.g., Poison Cove), the recorded site data are not sufficient for use in identifying project alternatives or evaluating their likely effects on archaeological resources. The lack of systematic data on prehistoric Native American and Historic Cherokee sites is particularly troubling, as the locations of most of those sites cannot be predicted from historic maps. In order to identify likely locations of these site types, it is necessary to consider other regional studies and predictive models.

A number of recent studies have provided predictions concerning the likely locations of prehistoric and Historic Cherokee sites in the region. Davis (1990:257–262) summarized site distributional data in the lower Little Tennessee Valley, and documented extensive Archaic use of both upland and lowland zones as well as increasing intensity of use of alluvial terraces during the Late Archaic and Woodland periods. Recent work in GSMNP has documented a previously unsuspected high density of upland prehistoric sites (Erik Kreusch, personal communication 2003; Yu 2001), and work on the Ravensford Tract has shown that intact Early to Middle Archaic sites may be located beneath alluvial and colluvial deposits on fans and along valley margins, while larger Late Archaic and Woodland sites are present on the alluvial terraces (Webb 2002). Other regional projects (e.g., Ashcraft et al. 1994:22) have documented relatively low frequencies of occupation of rugged uplands immediately adjacent to major drainages (as are present south of the Little Tennessee River), probably because such locations were not advantageous for exploiting either the alluvial landforms below or the upland coves, saddles, gaps, and benches further from the river. Archival and field studies have also provided information on the locations of Historic Cherokee farmsteads, which are usually situated on colluvial fans or benches, generally adjacent to water sources, and frequently on the north or northwestern sides of valleys (Riggs 1996). Finally, of course, considerable map and anecdotal data on the factors affecting later historic Euro-American land use are available for the study area and elsewhere, although those data have not been synthesized.

Based on these types of information, Joy (2002b, 2003) has developed (and to some degree tested) a model of site location for Santeetlah Reservoir, southwest of the present study area. The final Santeetlah predictive model used landform, slope, distance to water, and distance to a stream confluence to identify high, moderate, or low probability zones for site occurrence (Joy 2003:15). Reduced to its essentials, that model identified moderate to high probability zones for site occurrence as those located within 300 m of water and possessing less than 15 percent slope. The final model successfully placed 100 percent of 250 identified prehistoric, Historic Cherokee, or Historic Euro-American components in the Santeetlah area

within the moderate to high probability zones. As noted in the study, however, the model is probably not a good predictor of some specialized site types (such as quarries or rock shelters). A similar 15 to 20 percent slope cut-off for likely site occurrence is also used as a rule-of-thumb for surveys on both USFS and GSMNP lands in western North Carolina (Erik Kreusch, personal communication 2003; Rodney Snedeker, personal communication 2003), and has also been employed on surveys of private lands in the region (e.g., Idol 2001).

Working from these models, it is reasonable to assume that archaeological sites in the present study area will be found almost exclusively in areas of 15 percent or less slope, and that the slope variable (supplemented by the data on known and potential site locations) can be used to identify those parts of the study area that have a moderate to high potential for containing archaeological sites. In order to operationalize this assumption, areas of 15 percent or less slope have been identified based on 10-m (horizontal) interval Digital Elevation Models (DEMs) of the area obtained from the USGS (as discussed in Chapter 2). This information has been supplemented with data on all known site locations, as well as data on known former historic period structure locations derived from nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth century maps.

The resulting maps of the study area are provided as Figures 5.7–5.8. Figure 5.7 presents the data on known and potential archaeological sites as well as those areas of 15 percent or less slope (as well as locations of areas for which slope data are presently lacking). As might be expected, there is an excellent correlation between the known and potential site locations and areas of low to moderate slope. Finally, Figure 5.8 presents the same data with the exclusion of ineligible sites, which need not be considered in identifying and evaluating project alternatives.

In addition to providing information on likely site locations, previous studies (e.g., Riggs 1996; Webb 2002) and preliminary project work (Leigh 2003) also provide some insight into appropriate survey methods, especially those that may be necessary to locate particular types of low-visibility sites or sites in alluvial or colluvial contexts.

Historic Structures and Other Above-Ground Resources

There are four NRHP-listed structures in the study area, including one in GSMNP and three in private or public ownership in Bryson City (Table 5.3). The NRHP-listed structure in GSMNP is the Hall (Hall/Kress) Cabin, a 17 x 24-foot poplar log structure that was built by Crate Hall in Bone Valley in 1892 (Figure 5.9). It was incorporated into a hunting lodge complex built by the Kress family about 1940, but survived when the larger structure burned (Gordon 1973; Holland 2001:202; Oliver 1989:88; Parris 1978). (As noted above, this Hall Cabin is not the herder's cabin described by Kephart [1976]).

NRHP-listed structures elsewhere in the study area include the Frye-Randolph house, Fryemont Inn, and the old Swain County Courthouse, all in Bryson City. The Frye-Randolph house and Fryemont Inn are adjacent buildings built about 1895 and 1923, respectively, and were listed in the NRHP in 1982 (Southern and Sumner 1982; Bisher et al. 1999:381). The nearby Swain County Courthouse is a two-story Neo-Classical structure built in 1908, and was listed in the NRHP in 1979 (NC SHPO 2001).

At least 40 other structures, structural complexes, or similar aboveground resources in the study area have been recorded to some degree by previous researchers or during the preliminary work for this study. Since these have not been formally evaluated, they are considered potentially NRHP-eligible (generally under Criteria A and/or C) for the purpose of this study. These include a number of structures identified by Williams (1998), Bisher et al. (1999), and others, a few of which have been documented in detail and officially placed on the state study list (e.g., the Calhoun Hotel in Bryson City and the Bryson City Down Town Historic District). Others have not been recorded in detail, but have been noted as worthy of

PROTECTED RESOURCE LOCATIONAL DATA - NOT FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION

KNOWN SITE LOCATIONS AND AREAS
OF 15 PERCENT OR LESS SLOPE IN THE STUDY AREA

NORTH SHORE ROAD CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT
SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

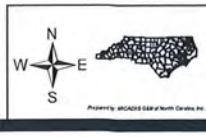
0 0.5 1 2 3 Miles

1 inch equals 3.00 miles (5.1 km)

Source: North Carolina State Preservation Office (SHPO).

Figure
5.7

PROTECTED RESOURCE LOCATIONAL DATA - NOT FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION



KNOWN AND POTENTIAL SITE LOCATIONS AND AREAS OF 15 PERCENT OR LESS SLOPE IN THE STUDY AREA

NORTH SHORE ROAD CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT
SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

Figure 5.8

Table 5.3. NRHP-Eligible and -Potentially Eligible Structures and Aboveground Resources in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area.

Number	Structure Name	County	USGS Quadrangle	Jurisdiction	NRHP Status
GH003	Jenkins Barn	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	Unassessed
GH004	Sawyer Boxed House	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	Unassessed
GH005	Cabe Boxed House	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	Unassessed
GH006	Sawyer Creek Church	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	Unassessed
GH007	Barn	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	Unassessed
GH008	House	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	Unassessed
GH024	Stecoah Grocery	Graham	Hewitt	Other	Unassessed
GH025	Stecoah School	Graham	Hewitt	Other	Unassessed
GH026	Stecoah Baptist Church	Graham	Hewitt	Other	Unassessed
GH029	Tobacco Barn	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	Unassessed
GH023	Stile House	Graham	Hewitt (location uncertain)	Other	Unassessed
GH028	Barn	Graham	uncertain	Other	Unassessed
GH033	Jesse Crisp House	Graham	Hewitt (location uncertain)	Other	Unassessed
GH035	Joseph Edwards House	Graham	Hewitt (location uncertain)	Other	Unassessed
GH045/GH057	Walker Cabin	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	Unassessed
GH058	Fontana Dam and Powerhouse	Graham	Fontana Dam	TVA	Unassessed
GH059	Gunter House (Fontana Village)	Graham	Fontana Dam	TVA	Unassessed
GH061	Fontana Village	Graham	Fontana Dam	TVA	Unassessed
SW001	Hall/Kress Cabin	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn.	GSMNP	NRHP listed
SW004	Swain County Courthouse	Swain	Bryson City	Other	NRHP listed
SW005	Fryemont Inn	Swain	Bryson City	Other	NRHP listed
SW006	Frye-Randolph House	Swain	Bryson City	Other	NRHP listed
SW009	Presbyterian Church	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW010	William Estes Log House	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW016	Lake View Drive (North Shore Road)	Swain	Bryson City, Noland Creek	GSMNP, Other	Unassessed
SW056	Log Barn	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW060	Bryson City Depot	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW061	Bryson City Elementary School	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW062	Clampitt Hardware Store	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW064	DeHart Store	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW070	Mill	Swain	Bryson City (location uncertain)	Other	Unassessed
SW079	Other Bryson City Commercial Buildings	Swain	Bryson City (location uncertain)	Other	Unassessed
SW074	Millard Reeves House	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW077	Sossamon House	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW078	Store	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW080	Tuckasegee River Bridge	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW083	Bryson City Historic District	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
SW115	Calhoun Hotel	Swain	Bryson City	Other	Unassessed
None	Calhoun House/Hazel Creek Ranger St.	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Unassessed
None	Westfeldt Prospect/Prospecting Hoist	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn.	GSMNP	Unassessed
None	Fontana Mine	Swain	Fontana Dam	GSMNP	Unassessed
None	Hazel Creek Mine	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn.	GSMNP	Unassessed
None	Ritter Lumber Structures (Proctor)	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	Unassessed
None	NC 288 Remnants	Swain	Tuskeegee, Fontana Dam	GSMNP	Unassessed

further study. A few of these resources are discussed individually below. Within GSMNP, the Calhoun House (Figure 5.10) is a frame house that was built in 1928 at the close of the Ritter Lumber Company era and was occupied by Granville and Lily Calhoun until 1944; it was later used as the Hazel Creek Ranger Station (Oliver 1998). Although "not especially handsome and not an example of Ritter construction, [it] was large enough" and appropriately situated to be preserved for Park use after 1944 (Oliver 1989:93). A 1997 NPS condition assessment (Miri 1997) described the structure as follows:

> The exterior part of the original building is covered with shiplap weather boards. The wood structure sits on the cellar walls and the stone and wood piers. The perimeter of the crawl space is covered with river rock walls. ...
>
> The addition to the building was constructed about 1966 with gable roof, two rooms, and a bathroom ... .
>
> Each room in the original building, except the kitchen, has a brick fireplace with brick firebox. The front porch consists of six tree trunk columns with two staircases.

The condition assessment recommended removal of a 1966 addition to restore the structure's "character and originality" as well as stabilization or reconstruction of the river rock wall and other protective measures, and those changes were completed between 1997 and 2000 (Erik Kreusch, personal communication 2003).

Not to be confused with the Calhoun House, the Calhoun Hotel in Bryson City was built about 1925 and purchased by Granville Calhoun in 1946. It is a brick foursquare structure, played a part in the early development of tourism in Bryson City, and served as a meeting place for community leaders and others during the planning and construction of Fontana Dam and the organization of the Cherokee Historical Association. The Bryson City Down Town Historic District covers about 25 acres of the town's commercial district, including such notable structures as the former Bennett Drug Store and the Old Pillar Building. (Some of these structures have also been recorded separately, and are listed individually on Table 5.3).

The NRHP-eligibility of Fontana Dam and its affiliated structures has not been assessed, although these structures are considered potentially NRHP-eligible under Criterion A and possibly Criterion C (cf. Thomason 2003b). The dam is a straight-crested, concrete gravity structure, and according to Jackson (1988:180) "occupies a particularly beautiful spot in the Smoky Mountains. In fact, historian Carl Condit considers the dam 'a perfect symbol of man and nature in harmony.'" Similarly, Bisher et al. (1999:395–397) describe the dam's "simple grandeur" and the architectural presence of the powerhouse and visitor's center.

Fontana Village has functioned as a resort community since shortly after completion of the dam, but "retains a number of the community facilities and houses built by the TVA in the early 1940s. These structures have attracted scholarly attention for their importance in the history of manufactured housing" (Bisher et al. 1999:397–398), and include a variety of "permanent," "temporary," "demountable," and trailer houses. The potential significance of Fontana Village as a historic district remains to be assessed, but it is likely that at least some of the remaining structures (if not the entire complex) are eligible under Criteria A or C. The village also includes the ca. 1875 Gunter house, a two-room log house of half-dovetailed construction (Bisher et al. 1999:398); it might be eligible under Criterion A and/or C, and could also have associated archaeological resources (Criterion D).

A few other standing structures or objects within GSMNP must also be considered potentially NRHP-eligible, including extant shafts, hoists, boilers, support structures, and other features associated with the

Figure 5.9. Hall Cabin in Bone Valley.

Figure 5.10. Calhoun House at Proctor.

Figure 5.11. Fontana Mine shaft.

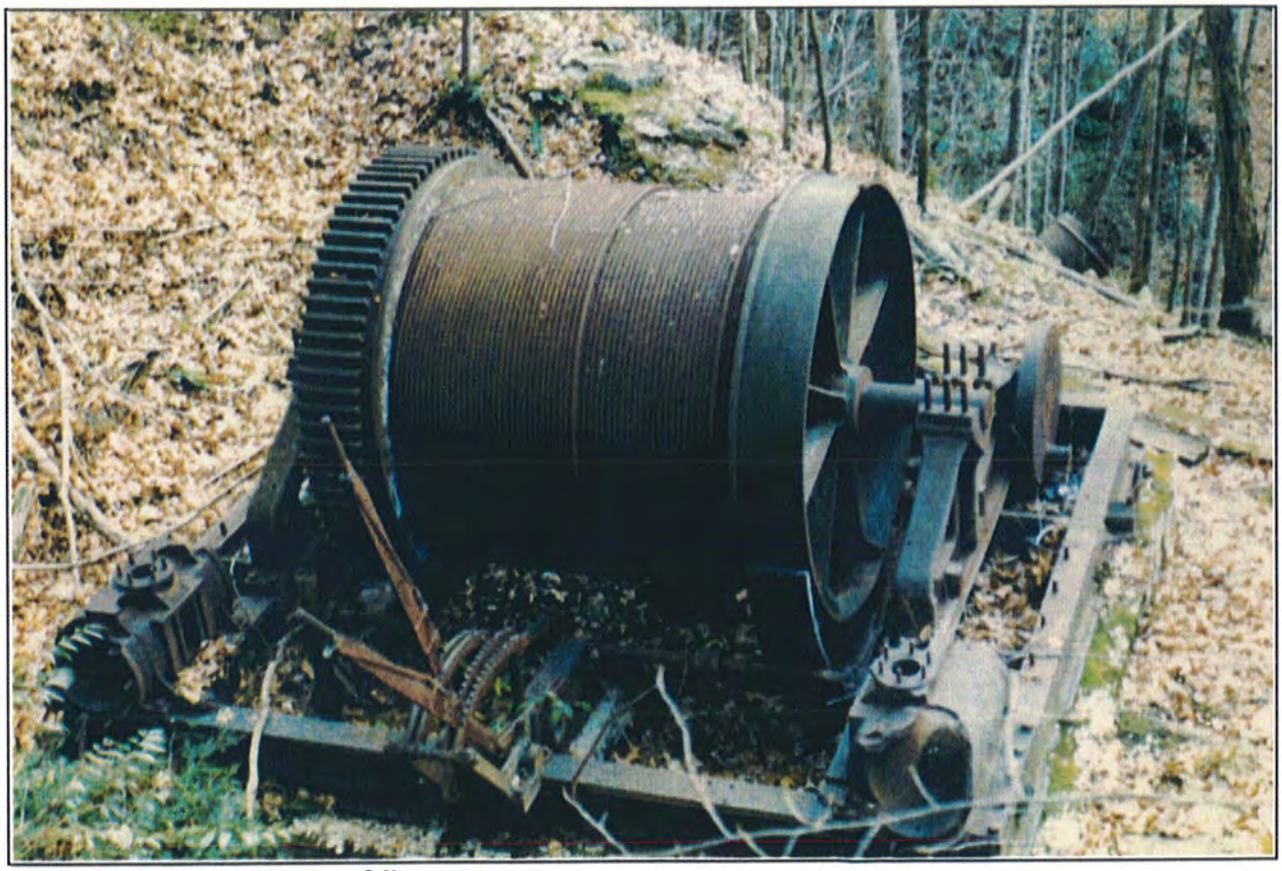


Figure 5.12. Winch at Fontana Mine.

Fontana and Hazel Creek mines and the Westfeldt and other prospects (Figures 5.11 and 5.12). Those features, along with associated ruins and archaeological deposits, should be assessed as a potentially NRHP-eligible historic mining district (under Criteria A and D) as outlined by Noble and Spude (1997). The NRHP-eligibility of the standing dry kilns, pump houses, stream gauge, and other structural features at the Ritter mill site in Proctor should also be assessed under Criteria A and D, preferably along with associated ruins and archaeological deposits as part of a potential Proctor historic district (Figures 5.13 and 5.14).

There is only one recorded NRHP-eligible or potentially NRHP-eligible bridge in the study area; that structure is a 1899 through-truss railroad bridge over the Tuckasegee River at Bryson City, and was relocated to its present site from a Nantahala River crossing in 1944 prior to construction of Fontana Lake (Bisher et al. 1999:381). The last potentially significant bridge in the GSMNP part of the study area was removed in 1992 (Anonymous 1992; Hunter 1986; Scott 1991; Tommy Thompson, personal communication 2003), and the extant bridges over Hazel Creek and other park streams are relatively recent. It is possible that some bridges elsewhere in the study area (such as the 1944 Southern Railway Bridge over the Little Tennessee River near Almond [TVA 1950:505]) might eventually be considered significant due to their historic associations (Criterion A) or structural characteristics (Criterion C), however, and the significance of all such structures should be assessed if they are potentially to be impacted by project alternatives.

Road segments merit some attention as aboveground resources or as archaeological sites. The constructed portion of Lake View Road was recorded as a potential historic resource by Williams (1998) and has been documented to HABS/HAER standards by the NPS (1996). While most segments of the road presently do not meet the NRHP criteria consideration concerning age (having been constructed primarily in the early 1960s), the completed segments should nonetheless be evaluated for their potential significance under Criterion A for their association with the history of GSMNP and the North Shore Road controversy. Surviving segments of NC 288 along the North Shore must be considered potentially eligible under Criterion A for similar reasons (Figures 5.15 and 5.16). Other surviving nineteenth to mid-twentieth century road segments or other transportation features (such as railroad grades, trestle remnants, or tunnels) in GSMNP, beneath Fontana Lake (Figure 5.17), and elsewhere in the study area should also be evaluated if they are to be potentially affected by project alternatives, as has previously been done for a segment of NC 10 (Webb et al. 1993:91–93; Shumate 1994:98–104). Finally, the NRHP-eligibility of the short section of road built during World War II by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in the Pinnacle Creek area (in the Eagle Creek drainage) (NPS 1996:5; Oliver 1989:90; Taylor 2001:128) should also be evaluated if it is to be potentially affected by project alternatives.

The potential significance of twentieth century hiking trails (and any older trails that can be identified) should also be considered during the EIS process. There are no known CCC-built hiking trails or shelters in GSMNP within the study area (David Chapman, personal communication 2003). The historic significance of the Appalachian Trail through the area should be assessed if it is to be potentially affected by project alternatives (apart from any consideration it may be due as a National Scenic Trail), however, and at least one segment of the Appalachian Trail (in New Jersey) has previously been determined eligible for the NRHP (NRHP E.O. 11593, 2 October 1978). As discussed above, two segments of the trail are within the study area, an approximately 6-mile section extending about 3.25 miles north and 2.75 miles south of Fontana Dam, and a 2,000-foot section west of NC 143 through Sweetwater Gap. Most of this mileage dates to 1946 or later; only the Sweetwater Gap segment appears to follow or closely parallel a pre-1946 route (ATC 1973:8-14). Even these later trail segments potentially could be NRHP-eligible, however, and should be evaluated. There apparently are no potentially significant Appalachian Trail shelters within the study area. The nearest potentially historic trail structure in the study area is the log lean-to shelter at Cable Gap (about 400 m southwest of the study area), which was built in 1939 by

Figure 5.13. W.M. Ritter Lumber Company dry kilns at Proctor.

Figure 5.14. Pump or valve house at Proctor.

Figure 5.15. Former NC 288 on North Shore.

Figure 5.16. Abandoned car on North Shore.

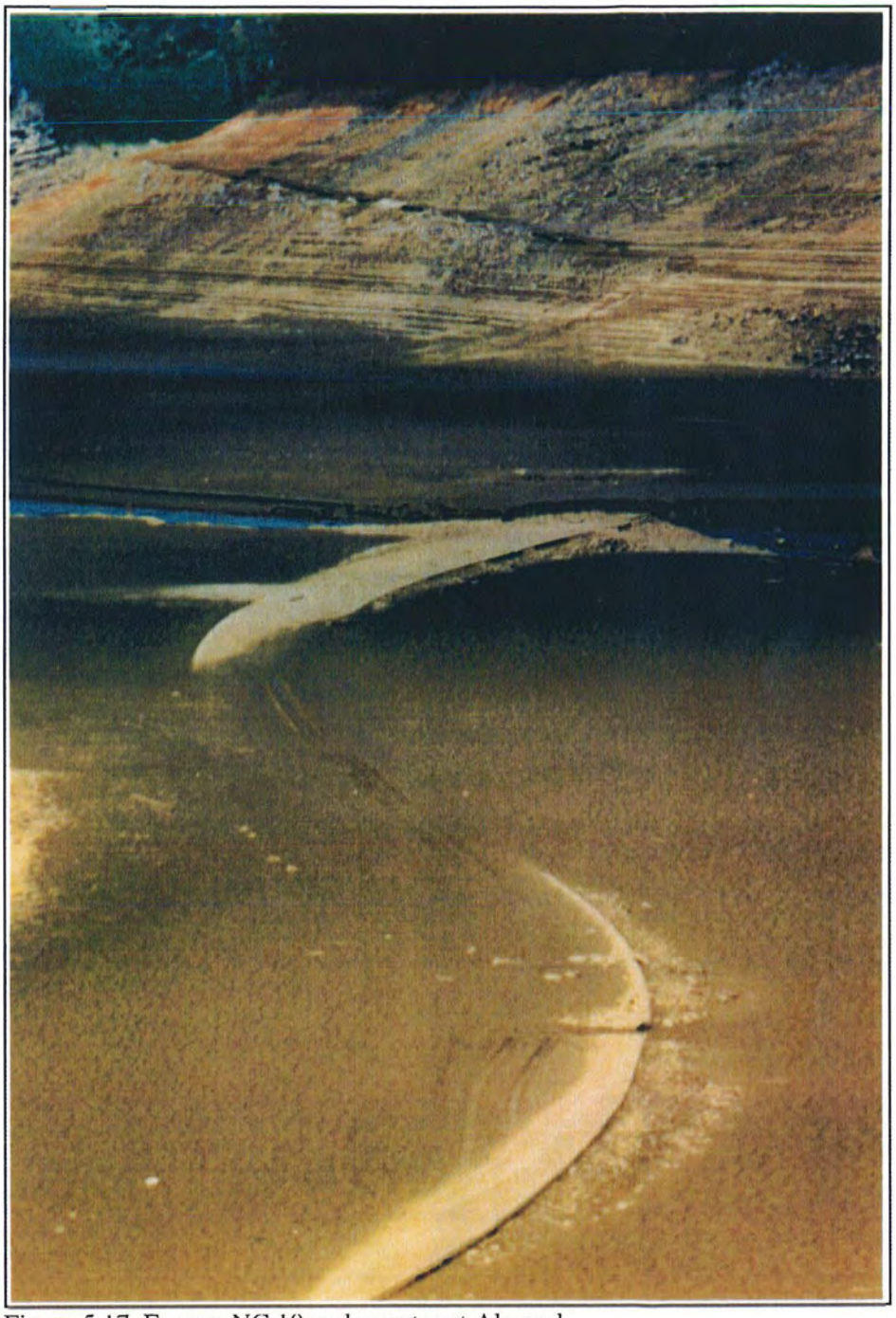


Figure 5.17. Former NC 10 under water at Almond.

the CCC under the direction of Nantahala National Forest (ATC 1973:8-11; Morgan Sommerville, personal communication 2003).

Finally, there is the potential for historic tree carvings (arboglyphs) in the study area, as have been documented elsewhere in the region (Erik Kreusch, personal communication 2003). If present, such carvings could be NRHP-eligible under Criterion A. At least one (presumably historic period) rock carving is known in the area; that resource is discussed above as an archaeological site.

The distribution of known NRHP-eligible and -potentially eligible structures and other aboveground resources in the study area is shown in Figure 5.18. As might be expected, those structures are concentrated in the Bryson City area and along historic roadways.

Cemeteries

Cemeteries and other burial sites represent a unique class of cultural resource. Although cemeteries are generally not considered eligible for the NRHP, in some cases they have been determined NRHP-eligible or listed in the NRHP either as part of larger districts or because of other associations as noted in the *Criteria Considerations* (Potter and Boland 1992) (see Chapter 2). In addition, the special importance of cemeteries as spiritual places is widely recognized, and they are protected by such federal and state statutes as ARPA (graves over 100 years old), NAGPRA (Native American graves on federal land), and North Carolina General Statutes 65 (*Cemeteries*) and 70.3 (*The Unmarked Human Burial and Skeletal Remains Protection Act*). (A similar ordinance applies to cemeteries on EBCI tribal lands, but no such lands are contained within the study area).

There are at least 87 known or reported cemeteries in the study area, including 22 known and two possible cemeteries within GSMNP and 63 known cemeteries outside the Park (Table 5.4). The total includes many cemeteries affected by the Fontana Project, but does not include 10 former cemeteries from which all graves were reportedly moved by the TVA (or an eleventh former cemetery site that was destroyed by dam construction). The size and condition of these cemeteries vary considerably. Some are active, while others are inactive but actively maintained by GSMNP and/or descendants of those interred (Anonymous 1978; Chandler 1986; Holland 2001:193–194) (Figure 5.19). A few of the 87 cemeteries are known only from map references, and some locations have been plotted based on written descriptions and not field checked.

Some of the cemeteries in the study area, especially those on the North Shore, could be NRHP-eligible due to their importance to local communities and/or their association with the North Shore Road controversy (Criterion A; see discussion below), their association with important individuals (Criterion B), the presence of distinctive grave markers or other features (Criterion C), or even their data potential (Criterion D) (cf. Potter and Boland 1992). One Cherokee cemetery (the Cat or Catt cemetery) east of Almond has been determined NRHP-eligible as an archaeological site (31SW366**). The 10 former cemetery locations from which the TVA reportedly moved all graves may also merit consideration, primarily due to the potential presence of remaining graves or grave markers, as at the former Judson Cemetery (Figure 5.20).

Finally, it is evident that the approximately 9,000 known graves at these known and potential cemeteries (Figure 21) do not represent all the individuals who were buried in these cemeteries or elsewhere in the study area since the early 1800s. In particular, nineteenth century graves are likely underrepresented among the recorded interments, and it is likely that many early historic period Cherokee, Euro-American, or African-American interments exist only as unmarked graves in recorded or unrecorded cemeteries. Other locations, such as a potential twentieth century cemetery on Eagle Creek, could contain individuals who died in outlying camps during the logging era (Oliver 1992). Finally, it is certain that many

PROTECTED RESOURCE LOCATIONAL DATA - NOT FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION

HISTORIC STRUCTURES AND OTHER ABOVEGROUND RESOURCES IN THE STUDY AREA

NORTH SHORE ROAD CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT
SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

Figure 5.18

Table 5.4. Known and Reported Cemeteries in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area.

Project No.	Cemetery Name	Fontana No.	County	USGS Quadrangle	Jurisdiction	Interments					Reference
						Oldest Known	Original	Moved	Remaining	As of	
CEM 001	Indian #2	27	Graham	Noland Creek	TVA	1888*	13	13	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 002	Edwards	28	Graham	Noland Creek	TVA	1877*	5	5	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 003	Yellow Branch	32, R-24	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1892	36	0	36	1944	TVA Records
CEM 004	Thompson	33	Graham	Fontana Dam	TVA	1922*	1	1	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 005	Unnamed	37	Graham	Tuskeegee	TVA	None*	1	1	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 006	Hogue	40	Graham	Tuskeegee	TVA	None	2	0	2	1944	TVA Records
CEM 007	Cable Cove	51	Graham	Fontana Dam	USFS	1905	38	0	38	1944	TVA Records
CEM 008	Panther Creek Church	29, R-2	Graham	Noland Creek/ Tuskeegee	Other	1868	n/a	n/a	573	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 009	Guge		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1871	n/a	n/a	221	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 010	Blankenship		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1909	n/a	n/a	43	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 012	Sawyers Creek		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1901	n/a	n/a	83	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 014	Guy Cable		Graham	Hewitt	Other	1978	n/a	n/a	1	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 015	Greene		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1916	n/a	n/a	24	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 016	Welch Cove		Graham	Fontana Dam	Other	1884	n/a	n/a	56	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 018	Upper Sawyers Creek		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1901	n/a	n/a	23	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 019	Johnson		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1909	n/a	n/a	23	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 021	Randolph		Graham	Hewitt	Other	1876	n/a	n/a	42	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 022	Adam Cable		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1910	n/a	n/a	45	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 023	Holder	31	Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1937	n/a	n/a	13	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 024	Stecoah-Jenkins		Graham	Hewitt	Other	1901	n/a	n/a	125	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 025	Hazie Brown		Graham	Hewitt	Other	1877	n/a	n/a	188	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 026	Breedlove		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1929	n/a	n/a	41	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 027	Edwards		Graham	Tuskeegee	Other	1890	n/a	n/a	17	1984	Millsaps and Millsaps 1992
CEM 039	Calhoun		Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	No Data	n/a	n/a	2	1993	Anonymous 1993
CEM 040	Payne		Swain	Fontana Dam	GSMNP	No Data	n/a	n/a	118	1993	Anonymous 1993
CEM 041	Orr		Swain	Fontana Dam	GSMNP	1900	n/a	n/a	11	1993	Anonymous 1993
CEM 042	Hoyle	49	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	1885	4	0	4	1944	TVA Records
CEM 043	Woody Public	10	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	1878*	146	61	85	1944	TVA Records
CEM 046	McClure Private	12	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	1894*	23	10	13	1944	TVA Records
CEM 047	Stiles	38	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	1917	6	0	6	1944	TVA Records
CEM 048	Conner (Hickory Flats)	34	Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	1921	14	0	14	1944	TVA Records
CEM 049	Posey Private	R-18	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	No Data	n/a	n/a	5	1944	TVA Records
CEM 050	Welch	35	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1910	15	0	15	1944	TVA Records
CEM 051	Anthony**		Swain	Noland Creek	GSMNP	N/A	0	0	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 053	Montieth/Noland Public	11	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	1880*	256	256	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 054	Proctor	20	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1864*	198	6	192	1944	TVA Records
CEM 055	Cable #2/Cable Branch	24	Swain	Fontana Dam	GSMNP	1912*	27	2	25	1944	TVA Records
CEM 056	Bone Valley	22	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1885	82	0	82	1944	TVA Records
CEM 057	Hall	23	Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	1900	n/a	n/a	18	1993	Anonymous 1993
CEM 058	Higdon	21	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1913	17	0	17	1944	TVA Records
CEM 059	Wilson/McCampbell Gap		Swain	Thunderhead Mtn	GSMNP	None	n/a	n/a	5	1993	Anonymous 1993
CEM 060	Cable #1/Maggie Cable	19	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1882	155	0	155	1944	TVA Records
CEM 061	Fairview	18, R-22?	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1868*	74	2	72	1944	TVA Records
CEM 062	Pilkey	15	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1900*	42	1	41	1944	TVA Records
CEM 063	Mitchell	16	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1912	5	0	5	1944	TVA Records
CEM 064	Nelems/Cook/Mill Branch	17	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1877	2	0	2	1944	TVA Records
CEM 067	Tabor	1	Swain	Wesser	Other	1936	n/a	n/a	4	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 068	Round Hill	4, R-14	Swain	Noland Creek	Other	1902	n/a	n/a	124	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 069	Ashe Private #1/Jenkins	5	Swain	Noland Creek	Other	1892	14	0	14	1944	TVA Records
CEM 070	Ashe Private #2	6	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	1926*	2	2	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 071	Judson Public	7	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	1859*†	365	365	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 072	Delozier Public	8	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	1886*	40	40	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 073	Laurel Branch	9	Swain	Bryson City	Other	1912	n/a	n/a	172	1998	SCGHS 2000

Table 5.4. Known and Reported Cemeteries in the North Shore Road EIS Study Area (continued).

Project No.	Cemetery Name	Fontana No.	County	USGS Quadrangle	Jurisdiction	Interments					Reference
						Oldest Known	Original	Moved	Remaining	As of	
CEM 074	Hyde Public	13	Swain	Tuskeegee	TVA	1863*	100	100	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 075	Dorsey Public	14	Swain	Tuskeegee	TVA	1858*	171	170	1	1944	TVA Records
CEM 076	Cat (Indian Cemetery #1)	25	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	1903	n/a	n/a	47	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 077	Welch #2	39	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	1900	3	0	3	1944	TVA Records
CEM 078	Wm. Constant	42	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	1838	1	0	1	1944	TVA Records
CEM 079	Davis Public	2, R-13	Swain	Noland Creek	Other	1908*	111	8	103	1944	TVA Records
CEM 080	Sawyer Private	3, R-12	Swain	Noland Creek	Other	1910	n/a	n/a	104	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 081	Estes Private	R-10	Swain	Bryson City	Other	1906	n/a	n/a	58	1997	SCGHS 2000
CEM 083	Watkins Public	R-17	Swain	Bryson City	Other	1886	n/a	n/a	592	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 084	Jackson Line/DeHart	R-19	Swain	Bryson City	Other	1830	n/a	n/a	770	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 085	Cold Springs	R-30	Swain	Bryson City	Other	1896	n/a	n/a	32	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 086	Arlington		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1851	n/a	n/a	214	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 087	Lauada	R-4/R-7	Swain	Wesser /Noland Creek	Other	1885	n/a	n/a	1232	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 091	Swain Memorial	R-20	Swain	Bryson City	Other	1902	n/a	n/a	1457	1997	SCGHS 2000
CEM 092	Morrow		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1906	n/a	n/a	83	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 093	Randall		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1886	n/a	n/a	140	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 094	Jenkins		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1858	n/a	n/a	86	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 095	Jenkins		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1910	n/a	n/a	51	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 097	Bryson City	R-4	Swain	Bryson City	Other	1835	n/a	n/a	818	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 098	Blankenship		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1853	n/a	n/a	49	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 099	Unknown		Swain	Bryson City	Other	No Data	n/a	n/a	No Data	No Data	USGS 1961/87a
CEM 105	Sawmill Hill Church		Swain	Wesser	Other	1881	n/a	n/a	4	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 115	Unknown		Swain	Wesser	Other	No Data	n/a	n/a	No Data	No Data	USGS 1961/87c
CEM 116	Unknown***		Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	No Data	n/a	n/a	No Data	No Data	GSMNP map (n.d.)
CEM 117	Bradshaw	50	Swain	Tuskeegee	GSMNP	1891	17	0	17	1944	TVA Records
CEM 119	Ball		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1969	n/a	n/a	4	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 120	Buckner		Swain	Bryson City	Other	None	n/a	n/a	22	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 121	Herron		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1950	n/a	n/a	16	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 122	Sherrill		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1911	n/a	n/a	1	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 123	Snyder		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1949	n/a	n/a	3	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 127	Allen Otter	41	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	No Data	1	0	1	1944	TVA Records
CEM 128	Green	44	Swain	Noland Creek	USFS	1928	6	0	6	1944	TVA Records
CEM 129	Dockery	45	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	1866	2	0	2	1944	TVA Records
CEM 130	Cook	36	Swain	Noland Creek	TVA	1838*	4	4	0	1944	TVA Records
CEM 131	Burns		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1862	n/a	n/a	115	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 132	Freeman		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1961	n/a	n/a	7	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 133	Reeves		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1901	n/a	n/a	20	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 134	John Brendle		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1895	n/a	n/a	1	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 135	Cunningham		Swain	Bryson City	Other	1998	n/a	n/a	1	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 136	Swain County Home		Swain	Bryson City	Other	No Data	n/a	n/a	14	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 137	Johnson		Swain	Wesser	Other	1938	n/a	n/a	4	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 138	Indian Cemetery #2		Swain	Noland Creek	Other	No Data	n/a	n/a	14	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 139	Kirkland		Swain	Wesser	Other	No Data	n/a	n/a	No Data	1998	SCGHS 2000
CEM 140	Montieth		Swain	Wesser	Other	1885	n/a	n/a	54	1998	SCGHS 2000

* Prior to grave removal.

** The Anthony Cemetery was mapped by TVA immediately adjacent to the McClure Cemetery (CEM 046). TVA recorded no graves in this cemetery, although a plat map shows a grave within its boundaries. In this report, this cemetery is considered a potential cemetery in GSMNP.

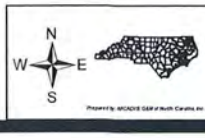
***This is one of two cemeteries considered a potential cemetery in GSMNP.

† A gravestone dated 1811 is still present at Judson (see Figure 5.20) but TVA records indicate that the actual interment date for the individual was apparently 1910/1911.

Figure 5.19. Woody Cemetery in Forney Creek area.

Figure 5.20. Grave marker at former Judson Cemetery.

PROTECTED RESOURCE LOCATIONAL DATA - NOT FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION



CEMETERIES IN THE STUDY AREA

NORTH SHORE ROAD CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT
SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

Source: Anonymous 1981; Milnage and Milnage 1992; Swain County Genealogical and Historical Society (SCGHS) 2000

Figure
5.21
Page 147

prehistoric Native American or early Historic Cherokee graves are present, but unrecorded, in the study area. Each of these graves merits the same protection afforded to marked cemeteries by state and federal laws.

The locations of the 87 known or suspected cemeteries are shown in Figure 5.21, above. As might be expected, there is a general correlation between their locations and those areas with dense historic period settlement.

Traditional Cultural Properties

Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) are defined as places that are associated with the cultural practices or beliefs of a living community. Such properties can be determined eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A 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 1992). Although TCPs are often thought of as Native American "sacred sites," they can also be traditional resource procurement areas (locations at which groups traditionally gathered foodstuffs, medicinal plants, or other materials) or sacred or secular locations important to other ethnic groups.

Since TCPs by their definition are of special importance to a community, information on their locations and significance may not be published or otherwise widely disseminated and is frequently restricted to elders, religious leaders or other specific segments of the community. Consequently, identifying TCPs is often a difficult process, and may require extensive and intensive consultation with the communities involved (King 2003). For this stage of the present study, attempts to identify TCPs in the study area have been limited to the examination of published sources and initial consultations with the EBCI THPO.

The principal published source containing information on places of special importance to the Cherokees of western North Carolina is Mooney's *Myths of the Cherokee*, first published in 1900. Only three such places identified by Mooney (1900) are located (or once were located) in the study area. Although those places have either been inundated by Fontana Lake or destroyed by railroad construction and are not likely to merit consideration as part of this project, Mooney's descriptions are presented below.

> Datsi yi – "Datsi place," just above Eagle Creek, on Little Tennessee River, between Graham and Swain counties. So called from a traditional water monster of that name, said to have lived in a deep hole in the stream [Mooney 1900:405].
>
> Dida skasti yi: "Where they were afraid of each other," a spot on the east side of the Little Tennessee River, near the mouth of Alarka Creek, in Swain County. A ball game once arranged to take place there, before the Removal, between rival teams from Qualla and Valleytown, was abandoned on account of the mutual fear of the two parties [Mooney 1900:406].
>
> Tsula sinun yi: "Where the footprint is," on Tuckasegee River, about a mile above Deep Creek, in Swain County. From a rock now blasted out to make way for the railroad, on which were impressions said to have been the footprints of the giant Tsul kalu and a deer [Mooney 1900:410].

Other places in the study area that might be of special importance to Cherokee populations could include sites of spiritual importance, those associated with important events in Cherokee history, such as the Tsali episode during Removal, or other recorded or traditional locations of Cherokee habitations or activities. Two such locations near the study area are Clingmans Dome, on the mountain crest a few miles to the north, and Kituhwa, a mound site and former village (and NRHP-listed property) on the Tuckasegee east of Bryson City (Bisher et al. 1999:381–382; Duncan and Riggs 2003:72–73, 77; Mooney 1900:250, 264, 321–322, 396; Riggs et al. 1998; Riggs and Shumate 2003b). Although direct impacts to these properties from the present project are extremely unlikely, any potential indirect or cumulative impacts that might affect these properties as a result of the project must be considered as part

of the EIS process. Consultation with the EBCI regarding TCPs is ongoing, and any further identification of Cherokee TCPs within the project must await the results of those discussions.

There is also potential for TCPs associated with the later historic period occupation of the area. In particular, some cemeteries on the North Shore were clearly invested with special importance prior to the depopulation of the area in the 1940s (Oliver 1989:89). The Decoration Days described by Oliver for the pre-1944 period were revived in the late 1970s by former residents and their descendants, and have clearly played a major role in maintaining group identity among former area residents (Anonymous 1978; Cable 1998; Cantrell 2000; Chandler 1986; Holland 2001:193–194; Rohr 2003; Taylor 2001:141–142; Williams 2002).

At least two other known locations may merit consideration as TCPs. The first is the "hot pit" at Guardhouse Mountain, on the former Welch property east of Chambers Creek. The hot pit was apparently an opening in the ground that emitted smoke or steam, described by one former resident as "warm but never hot" (Parris 1962, 1986). The opening was fenced off by the Welch family to keep children and cattle from falling into it. The nature of this phenomenon is unknown, as is its precise location (David Monteith, personal communication 2003). Although no special traditions are known to be attached to this location, its potential significance should be assessed if it is likely to be affected by one or more project alternatives. A second location that may merit evaluation is the "Elephant Rock," a large rock situated on the banks of Hazel Creek below Proctor. This rock was apparently a favorite diving location during the former occupation, and is a noted landmark and destination for former residents on return trips to the area.

Other Cultural Resources

Another potential type of cultural resource is the Cultural Landscape, which is defined as:

> a geographic area, including both natural and cultural resources, associated with a historic event, activity, or person. The National Park Service recognizes four cultural landscape categories: historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, historic sites, and ethnographic landscapes [NPS 1998:87].

Although historic designed landscapes and historic sites (which in this sense are associated with important events, activities, and persons [NPS 1998:88]) are unlikely to be present in the study area, the potential for historic vernacular landscapes and ethnographic landscapes must be considered. As defined by the NPS (1998:87), "historic vernacular landscapes illustrate peoples' values and attitudes towards the land and reflect patterns of settlement, use, and development over time." One particular type of historic vernacular landscape is the Rural Historic Landscape, which consists of:

> a geographical area that historically has been used by people, or shaped or modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features [McClelland et al. 1999].

Such landscapes could potentially be NRHP-eligible under Criteria A, B, C, or D, but are probably most frequently considered eligible under Criterion A.

No previous attempts have been made to identify Rural Historic Landscapes within the study area. It is unlikely that any areas within GSMNP or Nantahala National Forest would meet the definition and registration requirements, however, due to the extensive reforestation (and in some cases, other landscape changes) that has occurred since they were occupied. Landscape features within these areas are probably best treated as archaeological sites, or as part of potential NRHP districts constructed primarily around archaeological resources. There is some potential for Rural Historic Landscapes in other parts of the

study area to have maintained their traditional character, however, and the potential for this type of resource should be assessed if such areas are potentially to be affected by project activities.

Ethnographic landscapes are "associated with contemporary groups and typically are used or valued in traditional ways" (NPS 1998:78). Given the history of the study area, there is some potential for ethnographic landscapes associated with both Cherokee and Euro-American populations in the area. Similarly, it may be necessary to consider the potential presence and significance of other types of ethnographic resources in or adjacent to the study area (NPS 1998:157–168).

Finally, the potential for other types of non-traditional NRHP districts in the area should also be considered. Such districts could include a variety of structures, archaeological sites, or other resources associated with a particular individual, such as Horace Kephart, or with a historical event or process, such as logging on Hazel Creek, the construction of Fontana Dam, or even the North Shore controversy itself. Any such proposed district should be evaluated against the NRHP requirements, as well as the guidelines presented by Townsend et al. (1993).

6. SUMMARY

The North Shore Road EIS study area covers about 121,000 acres of Swain and Graham counties, and includes most of the TVA's Fontana Lake as well as sizeable areas of GSMNP, Nantahala National Forest, and adjacent private holdings. This area has witnessed Native American occupation for at least the past 10,000 years, including several hundred years of Historic Cherokee presence. Although most Cherokees were forcibly removed from the area in 1838, others remained and formed the nucleus of the present-day Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Euro-Americans began to enter the area in numbers in the 1820s, living first in dispersed settlements, some of which developed into such communities as Bryson City, Bushnell, Proctor, Almond, and Judson. The relatively self-sufficient farming/herding/hunting lifestyles of the nineteenth century began to change with the arrival of the railroad and the beginning of logging and mining operations in the 1880s and 1890s, and were modified greatly with the commencement of large-scale railroad logging operations by about 1910. Lumber companies such as Ritter, Norwood, Whiting, and Montvale logged extensive parts of the study area before ceasing local operations in the late 1920s.

By the time the lumber companies left, Alcoa had developed plans for a reservoir along the Little Tennessee River and had begun buying up bottomland in the area. Also in the late 1920s, the North Carolina Park Commission began acquiring parts of the study area for GSMNP, which was formally established in 1934. TVA took control of the proposed Alcoa reservoir in 1941, and eventually purchased (or acquired through condemnation) 68,291 acres in the Fontana Project area (TVA 1950:478). Many communities along the rivers were inundated by Fontana Lake when it was completed in 1944. The town of Proctor and large sections of the North Shore were to be left without road access as a result of reservoir construction, and consequently the TVA acquired some 44,000 acres on the North Shore rather than build a new road under war-time economic conditions. This land subsequently passed to GSMNP under a four-party agreement that was executed in 1943, and which provided for construction of a road across the North Shore as soon as funding was available. Road construction occurred intermittently from the late-1940s through the 1960s, but by 1972 construction had ceased due to funding, engineering, and environmental concerns. The past 30 years have been marked by continued debate over the future of the road, including competing proposals for road construction, and for wilderness designation and an accompanying settlement to Swain County (see Chapter 1).

While the recorded history of this area spans less than 200 years, parts of that period are extremely well documented. In particular, the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth century history of the North Shore has been documented and discussed to a degree that is unmatched most other places in the region. A large number of primary and secondary records and accounts of life are available, as are synthetic studies that address the significance of this area and the North Shore Road controversy in the context of GSMNP and Appalachia. The historical coverage is uneven, however, and data are comparatively scanty for the early historic period occupations and for much of the southern part of the study area.

Cultural resource studies have not kept pace with these historical studies, however. Although considerable information is available concerning cemeteries and historic structures in the study area, only an estimated 3.0 percent of the study area has been intensively surveyed for archaeological sites. In particular, no large-scale intensive surveys have been conducted on the 53,600 acres of GSMNP in the study area. Consequently, attempts to determine the likely locations and densities of sites in the study area must rely on a combination of existing information and predictions based on topographic and historical data. The resulting data are considered useful in the preliminary identification of project alternatives, but will eventually need to be supplemented by intensive field inventory and evaluation studies should the project proceed.

The combined data on known and potential cultural resource locations within the study area are shown in Figure 6.1. This figure includes a total of 1,968 resources, including 97 of 101 NRHP-eligible or -potentially eligible archaeological sites (locations of four are not positively known), 16 other reported site locations, 38 of 44 structures and other aboveground resources (locations of six are not positively known), 97 cemeteries or former cemeteries, and 1,716 former historic structure, mine, or other resource locations derived from historic maps. Even this figure certainly considerably underestimates the number of potentially significant cultural resources in the study area, however, and it is necessary to supplement these data with predictive statements concerning the locations of areas of moderate to high probability for site occurrence. In Figure 6.2 these data are combined with information on areas of 15 percent or less slope to provide a map of archaeologically sensitive areas within the study area.

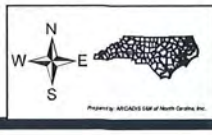
PROTECTED RESOURCE LOCATIONAL DATA - NOT FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION

KNOWN AND POTENTIAL CULTURAL RESOURCES IN THE STUDY AREA

NORTH SHORE ROAD CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT
SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

Figure 6.1

PROTECTED RESOURCE LOCATIONAL DATA - NOT FOR PUBLIC DISSEMINATION



KNOWN AND POTENTIAL CULTURAL RESOURCES AND AREAS OF 15 PERCENT OR LESS SLOPE IN THE STUDY AREA
NORTH SHORE ROAD CULTURAL RESOURCES EXISTING CONDITIONS REPORT
SWAIN AND GRAHAM COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

Figure 6.2

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