

TOWARD THE PRESERVATION OF RURAL, CULTURAL, HISTORIC  
LANDSCAPES: A METHOD FOR EVALUATING NINETEENTH CENTURY  
BLUE RIDGE FARMS

by

Nan Fullerton Kegley

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APPROVED:

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Myron K. Bircher, Chairman

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Linda A. Irvine

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Mary B. Kegley

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(ABSTRACT)

The research hypothesis of this study states that a systematic and operational method for evaluating rural, cultural, historic landscapes, particularly at the regional level, simply does not exist.

The purpose of this study was two-fold: first, to prove, through an informal survey of landscape architecture firms involved in historic preservation and preservation organizations, that the hypothesis was true, and secondly, to develop a method for evaluating a specific kind of rural, cultural, historic landscape -- nineteenth century farms in the Blue Ridge Belt.

The overriding objective in developing the method for evaluating nineteenth century Blue Ridge farms was to make the evaluation criteria as operational as possible, and, therefore, create a method which would be accessible to the non-professional. The criteria used to evaluate the farms was based on studies done of farms documented in the archives of

the Shenandoah National Park in Luray, Virginia, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, and the Historic Landmarks Commission in Richmond, Virginia. The method was designed so that every farm evaluated by means of the checksheet can be scored based on the degree to which it represents a typical nineteenth century Blue Ridge farm.

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## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

### RESEARCH QUESTION

Landscape preservation has traditionally been thought of in limited terms of garden preservation. Today, however, there is a growing movement in landscape architecture, history, and cultural geography toward the preservation of cultural landscapes: landscapes which represent the way in which certain groups of people have responded over the years to the need to impose human uses on the land (Melnick, 1981). These professions have begun to look at all landscapes, particularly ordinary, rural landscapes, or what John Stilgoe calls "common landscapes," as symbolic expressions of cultural values, social behavior and individual actions and, therefore, "special" enough to be preserved (Meinig, 1979; Stilgoe, 1981). Similarly, in recent years, the historic preservation movement in the United States has shifted from its traditional role of preserving significant buildings to a focus on whole landscapes or historic districts, including significant, commonplace and vernacular forms of architecture and land use. The National Trust's National Register of Historic Places lists four criteria used to evaluate rural, historic districts, two of which apply to "common", rural, historic districts, or those landscapes which are decidedly not associated with a particular moment in American history, a specific series of events, or a significant person or persons in America's past.

Despite this new movement, historic landscape preservation is faced with a number of problems both in terms of public awareness and awareness within the profession of landscape architecture itself. These problems are outlined by Lisa A. Kunst and Patricia M. O'Donnell in their article, "Historic Landscape Preservation Deserves a Broader Scale" (Kunst and O'Donnell, 1981). First, preservation in the United States has had a predominantly structural-architectural focus, and, consequently, attention has been drawn in that direction. Secondly, most Americans do not consider the landscape around them to be something "preservable," because it changes over time. Professionally, historic landscape preservation has not yet accumulated sufficient history, examples, or a conceptual framework that is widely shared among landscape architects. In addition, preservation requires research, and this takes the landscape architect into the "guarded turf" of historians and cultural geographers. Lastly, the narrow perception of this area as simply garden preservation has created a myth that the role of the landscape architect in preservation is the reinstatement of a former design, prohibiting design creativity.

The problems which appear the most pressing at the professional level and which were the impetus for this study, are lack of authoritative research, and the lack of a widely shared conceptual framework for landscape preservation, particularly, a methodology for evaluating cultural, historic landscapes.

Many volumes have been written regarding the theory and composition of various architectural styles. A book exists for virtually every recog-

nized formal architectural style, and more recently, many historians have started anew for vernacular architecture such as mills, diners, gas stations, and mobile homes. The same documentary and analytical resources do not exist for landscape architecture. Aside from John Stilgoe, Y-Fu-Tuan and J.B. Jackson, we have little to go on for the interpretation of vernacular or "common," cultural landscapes. Without a "data bank" of research with which to interpret historic landscapes, how are we, as landscape architects, to determine the cultural and historical significance of a landscape? More importantly, how are federal, state, and local officials, who are faced with these kinds of questions daily, to decide?

The lack of authoritative research leads to a second problem at the professional level -- the lack of a conceptual framework, especially a methodology for evaluating rural, cultural, historic landscapes. As early as 1963, J.B. Jackson said that the problem bedeviling the landscape preservation movement is the lack of well-developed and generally accepted basic principles for the evaluation of landscapes: "We have got to find new criteria for the worth of a human landscape" (Jackson, 1963). In 1981, Lisa A. Kunst and Patricia M. O'Donnell stated, "Explicit criteria for determining the importance of landscape for preservation simply do not exist" (Kunst and O'Donnell, 1981). Although Kunst and O'Donnell claim to have developed a method by which to evaluate historic landscapes, they have in fact simply categorized the various kinds of historic landscapes and their respective management strategies. Deborah Nevins, President of the landscape chapter, Society of Architectural Historians,

sums it up. "Everything is very ad hoc in the field of landscape preservation. I know personally of few who have a methodology" (personal correspondence, 1983). The purpose of this study is to address the questions of research and evaluation of historic, cultural landscapes.

I propose to develop a methodology for evaluating a specific kind of common, rural landscape, namely farmsteads, at the local level, in an attempt to answer the question, "How do Blue Ridge farmsteads reflect the way particular cultural groups have significantly responded to their environment?" It is my hope that this thesis will contribute to the field of landscape architecture both new research and a systematic method for evaluating farmsteads which may be used for future comparative and interpretive studies.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

A critical look at the literature from 1969 to 1980 will reveal a number of classification systems rather than interpretation and evaluation methods -- what Ian Firth, landscape architecture professor at the University of Georgia, describes as "a well-known academic side step." David Streatfield was one of the first landscape architects to develop categories for analyzing the historic garden in the United States. John Stewart and Susan Buggey, in their article, "The Case for Commemoration of Historic Landscapes and Gardens," use Streatfield's categories for evaluating Canadian historic landscapes (Stewart and Buggey, 1975).

Streatfield's criteria are as follows. 1. A garden which is a work of art, the product of a distinct and creative mind.

Here Stewart and Bugey cite an interesting and rather atypical example: the Lanarck Place or Motherwell Homestead in Abernethy, Saskatchewan.

Although the homestead was designed by W.R. Motherwell, a man well-known for his prairie style landscape design, it was not chosen solely because it had a famous designer associated with it (as we would suspect).

Motherwell Homestead was deemed worthy of preservation because it was one of the earliest examples of comprehensive farm planning. The farmstead was sited in terms of topography and accessibility, shelterbelts and windbreaks were established to deflect and direct wind and control snow deposition, and the wells were located to allow for filtration and to avoid seepage from the barnyard and outhouses. These are standard procedures today, but were very experimental at the turn of the century.

2. A garden which is not a distinct creation in the above sense, but which possesses in a pronounced form the characteristic qualities of the period which produced it.

3. A landscape or garden designed by an important designer or theorist.

4. Grounds which were associated with a national figure or which have been the scene of great events.

5. A garden containing a collection of plants of outstanding botanic importance.

6. A landscape or garden which is of outstanding regional ecological significance.

In their article, Stewart and Buggey define the term historic garden as "an architectural and horticultural composition of interest to the public from the historical and artistic point of view." This definition was originally adopted by the joint committee of the International Council of Monuments and Sites and the International Federation of Landscape Architects at the Historic Garden Symposium as late as 1971.

In 1970, the Historic American Building Survey, HABS, formed by the federal government, widened its focus to include an environmental context in recording, "the relation of buildings to each other, and the placement, character, and design of features, such as fences, landscapes, street furnishings and thoroughfares" (Kunst and O'Donnell, 1981). It was not until six years later, however, in his article entitled, "Preservation Requires Tact, Modesty, and Honesty Among Designers," that an architectural historian by the name of James Marston Fitch developed a model that enlarged the specturm of the historic landscape beyond mere garden description (Kunst and O'Donnell, 1981). Fitch proposed five catagories of landscapes: (1) natural undisturbed landscapes; (2) public botanical gardens; (3) ornamental landscapes; (4) private "pleasure gardens"; and, (5) working historical farms. (Fitch, 1976) These categories helped to identify potential historic landscapes, but did not help to evaluate them in terms of protection or preservation.

That same year, J.B. Jackson separated "preservable landscapes" into two broad categories: (1) landscapes as works of art; and, (2) historical, functional landscapes. That Jackson should suggest that some sites be

preserved for the purpose of viewing, is ironic due to his statement in a 1964 Landscape article: "Of all reasons for preserving a fragment of the landscape...the aesthetic is surely the poorest one. And the fact that many still think it the best reason of all derives from a point of view which should be discarded as fast as possible" (Jackson, 1964). These two categories, though much broader in scope than Streatfield's and Fitch's, are no more helpful in developing a procedure for evaluating the historical significance of a landscape.

The following year, in 1977, J. St. Bodfan Gruffydd published a book entitled, Protecting Historic Landscapes: Gardens and Parks, in which he broke the preservable landscape into two mutually exclusive categories: (1) the natural and archeological landscape; and, (2) the park and garden landscape (Gruffydd, 1977). Again, these categories provide no methods for the practitioner. Historic landscape preservation was no further along in terms of identification and evaluation methods for practical application than it had been nearly ten years ago.

Up until 1982, the only explicit criteria for evaluating the "built environment" remained the criteria which had been established for buildings; however, these definitions and procedures were not readily transferable to historic landscape preservation (Kunst and O'Donnell, 1981). In October, 1982, Robert Melnick, a landscape architecture professor at the University of Oregon working for the National Park Service, presented an innovative methodology for evaluating rural, historic districts as defined by the National Register. In his methodology, Melnick

attempts to answer the questions, "In what ways have particular cultural and regional groups significantly responded to their environment?" and "What does a cultural landscape mean to those whose history it represents?"

Melnick's methodology is similar to the procedure used to evaluate historic structures in that it begins with the selection of criteria, proceeds to the application of those criteria to the landscape, and then determines the relative significance of the landscape based on the type and number of criteria which are met (Kalman, 1979). The major categories of criteria for whole cultural landscapes are the following: integrity, associative value, interpretive value, continuity and compatability. Within each of these categories there are more detailed criteria which, when viewed as a set, allow for a summary under each category. For example, the evaluation would not ask questions about integrity, but would ask questions about intrusions, encroachments, deletions and neglect. The summary of these answers would lead to a determination of relative integrity. A similar procedure is then used for each component of the cultural landscape. There are thirteen components in all.

1. Overall cultural landscape organization
2. General land use categories
3. Specific land use categories
4. Relationship of built form to major natural elements
5. Circulation networks and patterns
6. Boundary-controlling elements
7. Site arrangements

8. Vegetation patterns related to human land use
9. Building types and functions
10. Materials and construction techniques
11. Small scale elements
12. Cemeteries
13. Views

Each of these components is evaluated in terms of significance, integrity, associative value, interpretive value, and contribution. These criteria, once applied to the site, are used to determine the overall significance of the landscape. The major difference between the evaluation of cultural landscapes and the evaluation of historic structures is that the landscape is first evaluated in its entirety, and then each component of the landscape is evaluated both in terms of its contribution to the whole and its significance in and of itself. The relationships between the components are of greater importance to the evaluation of a rural, cultural landscape than the components themselves because they define and characterize the landscape as a whole, but both contribute to the overall significance.

The question of "significance" is perhaps the most crucial criteria in evaluating cultural landscapes. Melnick breaks the term down into three different yet convergent levels: national, regional and local. These three do not determine the absolute significance of the landscape, however, because they are all essentially of equal value. The utilitarian idea of a landscape being more significant because it is more intimately significant to a greater number of people does not hold in the case of

landscape preservation. Melnick argues that national significance, for example, is no more important or valuable than regional or local significance. In fact, Melnick suggests that, given the choice, local significance is probably the most important due to the close tie with the people or cultural group which lives there. In view of the "draw," Melnick suggests another way of determining significance based on the evaluation of the landscape. He suggests three scenerios: a landscape may be significant in terms of a complete entity or whole, the interrelationship between two or more components, or the nature of the components themselves. Although Melnick insists that the landscape as a whole is the most important aspect of a cultural, historic site, he refuses to rank or weigh these three kinds of overall significance. This is one of the drawbacks with Melnick's methodology. Due to the limited amount of community dollars appropriated for preservation, it is necessary to prioritize projects in order to insure that the most important, most "meaningful", landscapes are saved. Melnick does suggest that the significance of the landscape as a whole should have the greatest impact upon future management decisions.

Today, the National Trust's Register of Historic Places categorizes buildings, sites, objects, and districts, with no explicit landscape criteria. Most landscapes listed on the National Register are there because of an association with a building, monument or district. Only a few are listed primarily for their historic landscape value. Its conceptual framework for preserving rural, historic districts is sound and may be used as the basis for preserving cultural landscapes. The frame-

work, which includes identification, evaluation and management, will be described in detail in Chapter Three. Briefly, every historic district must be able to be defined by its physical components; recorded through photographs, plans, and written description; summarized clearly in a statement of significance; located geographically; and defined by boundaries which can be delineated and justified. The statement of significance is determined by means of a five-step evaluation process. The process entails, (1) Definition of the resource category (district, site, building, object or structure); (2) Establishment of the context for evaluation, history, architecture, archeology, engineering or culture); (3) Determination of the type of significance (A, B, C, or D); (4) Determination of the integrity according to seven measures (location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association); and, (5) Application of various criteria consideration.

Although the conceptual framework for the preservation of historic districts is sound, problems arise in the evaluation methodology, particularly with determining the type of significance, and determining the "integrity" according to seven measures. The National Register's criteria for determining the type of significance and the integrity of landscapes are not readily transferable to individual, historic, cultural landscapes. They are neither straightforward nor practically applicable to cultural landscapes. As a result, the evaluation process is not widely used at the local and regional level.

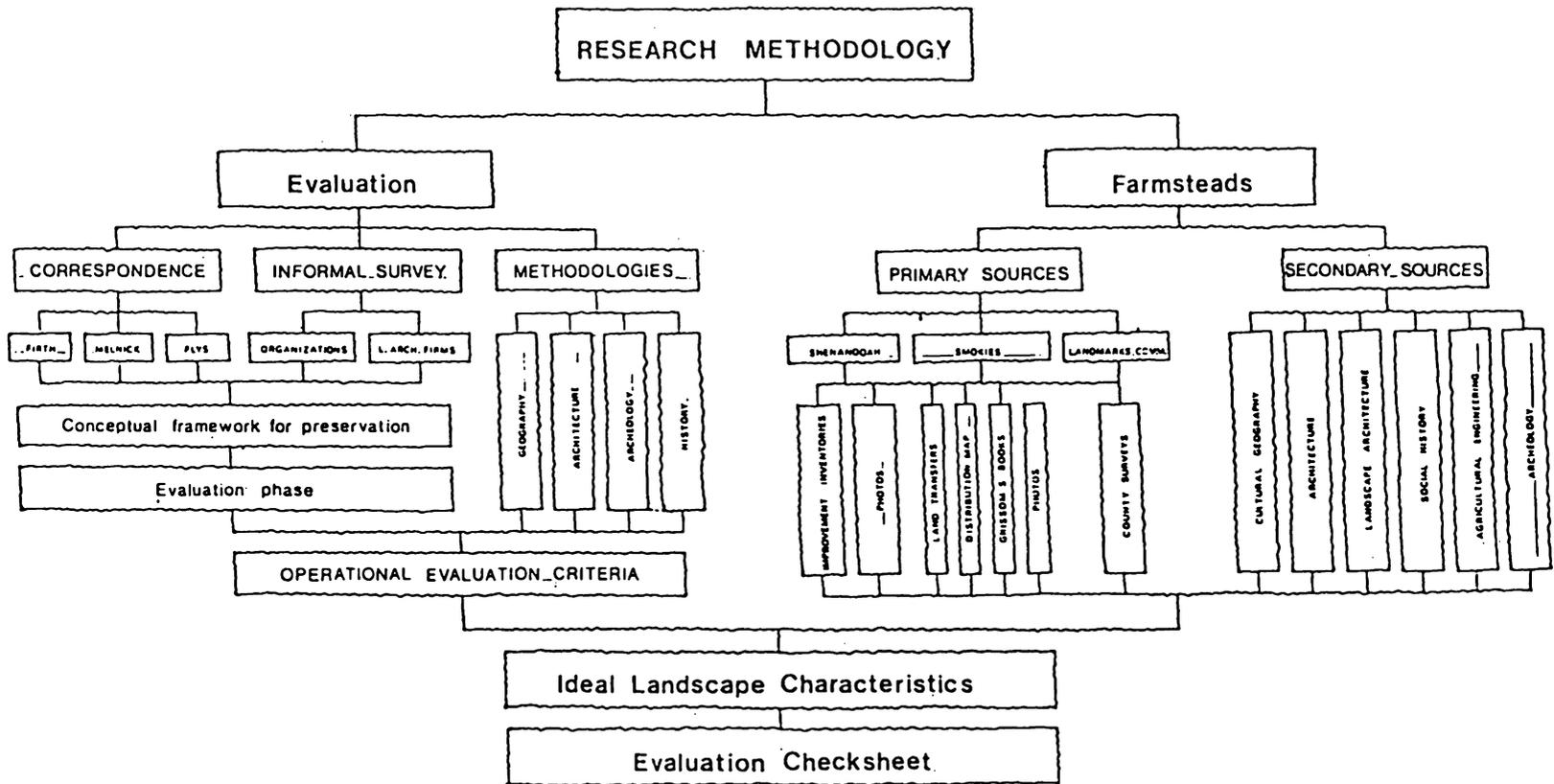


Figure 1. Methodology Flow Chart

## METHODOLOGY

Two different types of information was collected in this study. The first was evaluation or evaluation methodologies, and the second was Appalachian history, the Blue Ridge Belt, Blue Ridge farmsteads, and cultural farmsteads in general. It was crucial to collect both types of information in order to synthesize this information into an evaluation methodology created specifically for Blue Ridge farmsteads.

The collection of information on evaluation methodologies was a three-fold process. The first step was personal correspondence with three of the "top names" in cultural, historic landscape preservation; namely, Robert Z. Melnick, associate professor in the department of landscape architecture at the University of Oregon; Everett L. Fly of Fly Associates, Inc., Dallas, Texas; and Ian Firth, landscape architecture professor at The University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. Through these letters, the thesis proposal was described, and advice, criticism, and information on the "state-of-the-art" in the field of landscape preservation requested. These three professionals, along with being the most currently published in the field, were recommended as "experts" by various members of the Virginia Tech faculty.

The second step, simultaneous with the first, was an informal survey on the evaluation methods, if any, which are presently being used in organ-

izations and landscape architecture firms involved in preservation projects. The list of organizations involved in preservation work was taken from the Preservation Press publication entitled, Where to Look: A Guide to Preservation Information. The list of landscape architecture firms was generated from a listing of the ASLA's Historic Preservation Committee and a review of award winning preservation projects as published in Landscape Architecture magazine. The survey form for organizations and firms was slightly different, however, both addressed similar questions. Copies of each type of survey form, as well as a sample cover letter are incorporated in the Appendix.

The third step involved researching the evaluation methodologies used in related fields. Fields which are interested in cultural, historic landscapes are represented in The Alliance for Historic Landscape Preservation. These disciplines include cultural geography, architecture, archeology, and history.

Based on the results of steps one and two, the personal correspondence and the informal survey, a conceptual framework of the entire landscape preservation process was generated. This was necessary to identify and isolate the evaluation stage. Once the evaluation stage was isolated, an evaluation methodology for rural, cultural, historic landscapes was developed based on steps one, two and three above. The criteria collected from the various evaluation methodologies was sorted into those which pertain or could pertain to rural, cultural, historic landscapes and those that did not. The underlying principles of different evaluation methods

were similar and, in fact, those that transcended professional "boundaries" were found to be the most important. Each principle was then judged on the basis of its potential applicability -- how readily and consistently it could be applied to properties by landscape architects and local decision-makers. The governing factor was that the criteria be operational.

After developing an evaluation methodology, an evaluation "checksheet" for evaluating Blue Ridge farmsteads was designed. First, however, information on farmsteads was gathered. This data was collected while awaiting the survey results, since both evaluation and farmstead information was necessary before designing the checksheet.

The study of farmsteads consisted of collecting information from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included the improvement inventories of mountain land and black and white photographs of material folk culture located at the headquarters of the Shenandoah National Park; and the land transfers, log and frame distribution maps, black and white photos and Grossman field books at the headquarters of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Samples of the improvement inventories, land transfers and Grossman field books are shown in the Appendix. These two parks, the former in northern Virginia with its headquarters in Luray, Virginia, and the latter in Tennessee and North Carolina with its headquarters in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, are located at the northeastern and southwestern extremes of the Blue Ridge Belt.

The problems with the park records were numerous. A problem plaguing both parks was that most inventories and acquisition cards were done as late as 1931. In the Shenandoah improvement inventories, the age of the primary dwelling was estimated, thus giving some idea of the age of the farm, but in the Smoky land transfers, it was not. This made it difficult to date the farms in that area and their various structures. However, it is well known that there were no settlements in the Smokies until 1800, and both park records keepers were convinced that very little had changed in the parks from the nineteenth century up until the time the parks were established.

Another problem arose in terms of studying and comparing land use. The improvement inventories from the Shenandoah National Park were by far the most helpful in this respect. There was a file, complete with inventory, for every family living on Park land at its establishment -- well over twelve full file drawers. These inventories broke up each parcel of land into several types: cove, slope, ridge, grazing (woodland and field), cultivated or tillable, orchard and field restocking. The definition of this last type is unclear, but may mean fields temporarily left fallow. Occasionally there were diagrams accompanying these descriptions which showed how the parcel was divided and located the dwelling, roads, and streams. These sketches, at a scale of one inch equals twenty chains, proved invaluable. The land transfers in the Smokies, however, had no such system. They were simply index cards, filed by county, which stated the owner, total number of acres, acres in cultivation, acres in timber, and the amount for which the parcel sold. There were no accompanying

maps. In addition, the improvement inventories often described the location of the farm in terms of hollow, ridge, gap or cove, while the land transfers simply gave the district and county. This made it difficult to compare these results with those of Gene Wilhelm, who had studied settlement patterns in terms of these natural features. Both the inventories and transfers described the size and species of orchard, and the kinds of fencing used on the property.

Finally, there was insufficient data regarding cluster arrangements on the farms, particularly in the Smokies. In the improvement inventories a great deal of time was spent recording the size and material of every structure on each farm, especially the dwelling and barn, but, again, in the land transfers it was not. The dwelling and barn were measured in the Smokies, but the other structures were simply described as "out-buildings." Fortunately, Great Smoky Mountains park historian, Ed Trout, had collected some statistics on the sizes and construction of dwellings, barns, and outbuildings from Grossman's books and was gracious enough to share some of that information with me. These little books were written by structural architect Charles Grossman, head of the cultural preservation program in the early days of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. They were fascinating not so much for their technical information but for their asides, for example, "Had dinner here of sweet potatoes, green beans, sourmilk, wheatcoffee and bee cake," and, "He is a good man and would like a job."

The system used in this study for selecting sites was fairly random. In Luray, five files were pulled for each of the eight counties which fall within the Shenandoah National Park. These counties include Shenandoah, Page, Rappahannock, Warren, Rockingham, Green, Augusta, and Madison Counties. Of these tracts, three were without any improvements and discarded, leaving thirty-seven samples total. In Gatlinburg, where information was much more sparse and consequently faster to collect, twenty-five land transfers were pulled for each of the three Tennessee counties which fall within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. These counties are Blount, Sevier and Cocke Counties. There were seventy-five samples total. Unfortunately, the Smoky Mountains Park headquarters did not have the information regarding land transfers in North Carolina, nor did the records keeper, Kitty Manscill, know where these records were. The information gathered from the two parks was then consolidated into comparative tables based on the format used by Glenn T. Trewartha in his study, "Some Regional Characteristics of American Farmsteads."

Perhaps the most compelling portrait of the mountain people was painted in the letters, nearly disintegrated now, found in the Shenandoah files written from the land owners to the Park Service. These mountain people, barely literate, were willing to do anything to keep their land. Always as polite as possible, these families, often the women, would write and ask if they could not give their opinion of the worth of their land which had been appraised by the Park solely in terms of harvestable timber. They would write and ask if they could please plant a garden this spring, even though they would be leaving (forced off their land) next fall. Mind

you, that was how these people stayed alive! It is little wonder that the mountain people and their descendents still feel bitter toward the Park Service.

The greatest disappointment in the information found in the national parks was the lack of documentation concerning farmstead layouts. As these buildings "melted down," as one field worker phrased it, no attempt was made to describe or diagram their relationships to one another or to the farmstead in general. The one exception was the home of the Walker sisters in the Smokies. Even Wilhelm in his detailed studies of the Shenandoah National Park virtually ignored this aspect of mountain settlement.

In order to study the mountain-ridge section occurring in the Blue Ridge Belt between these two parks, an attempt was made to gather information from the Blue Ridge Parkway. The Parkway has what chief landscape architect Bob Hope calls, "Development Plans". These plans, drawn in the late 20's and early 30's at a scale of 1" = 100', show the footprints of every building existing in and around what was then the proposed Blue Ridge Parkway. They also show, to some extent, adjacent farmlands -- shape, size and location of crops fields, orchards, etc. These plans, in and of themselves, would not have been much help, but the intent was to use them in conjunction with ethnic settlement pattern maps of the Blue Ridge, if available. William Tishler used such maps prepared by the rural sociology department at the University of Wisconsin while designing the master plan for Old World Wisconsin, a cultural farmstead museum near

Eagle, Wisconsin. With the ethnic settlement pattern maps of Wisconsin, Tishler was able to locate large, contiguous, rural areas dominated by a single ethnic group. These areas were then examined in the field to identify the best extant farmsteads, and, with a data matrix of informational needs, each complex of buildings was measured, photographed, and analyzed for relevant site planning data (Tishler, 1978).

Unfortunately, neither the time nor money was available to conduct a study similar to Tishler's. The goal was to use the ethnic settlement pattern maps together with the Blue Ridge Parkway's Development Plans to locate German, Scotch-Irish and English farmsteads in the Blue Ridge Mountains and analyze their overall organization, boundary demarcations and circulation networks. Unfortunately, after discussing this approach with Dr. Balweg, chairman of the Rural Sociology Department at Virginia Tech, it was deemed impossible. To Dr. Balweg's knowledge, no such ethnic settlement maps had ever been done for Virginia, and although they could be done for several counties based on current census data, there was a good chance that over a period of 100 years some ethnic groups had moved out while others had moved in. There were other problems inherent in the process as well, such as discerning the function of one building from another (you would not know the corn crib from the smokehouse); assuming that a cluster of buildings is a farm when in fact its a commercial development such as a mill complex; and not knowing when the farms were built or what and when changes had occurred. These problems prompted the decision to abandon the method.

As an alternative method of studying the area between the two parks, it was decided to go through the files of Loudoun, Fauquier, Albemarle, Nelson, Amherst, Bedford, Franklin, Floyd, Carroll, Grayson and Partick Counties at the Historic Landmarks Commission in Richmond, Virginia. This proved moderately successful, although the surveys done for the Commission were somewhat inconsistent. Due to the fact that the Landmarks Commission has run out of money for its county-by-county survey of pre-Civil War structures, information is generated on a volunteer basis. This leads to several problems. Albemarle County had several hundred surveys, most extremely thorough, done by architecture students at the University of Virginia. Grayson County, on the other hand, had ten or fifteen very sketchy surveys done by a handful of people, none of them professionals. In all cases, the focus was on the dwelling, not the outbuildings or arrangement of outbuildings, and in most cases the dwellings were somewhat "pretentious" or uncommon for the period. There was never any topography or description of physiographic conditions given, and in only one case was fencing or vegetation marked. Often the drawings had no scale.

Despite these drawbacks, five files with the word "farm" in their titles were pulled for each of the eleven counties in the Blue Ridge Belt of Virginia which occurred outside of the Shenandoah National Park. Many counties, such as Grayson, Patrick, Carroll, and Floyd had no farm files whatsoever, leaving a total of only thirty-three files. Unlike the Smoky Mountains land acquisitions, buildings were always dated, and those which did have plans of farmstead layouts not only showed the relationships of

building to building but of the specific rooms of the dwelling to the other buildings. This was vital while studying cluster arrangements.

Once all of the primary and secondary information on farmsteads was collected, the evaluation "checksheet" for Blue Ridge farmsteads was designed. This sheet, only 10-15 pages, was divided into several different sections by Melnick's components (structures, boundary demarcations, etc.). It was decided that there would undoubtedly be some "yes/no" type of questions, some short answer, and, possibly, some essay questions with accompanying diagrams, plans or descriptions. An attempt was made to avoid the latter so that the overall significance of the landscape being evaluated could simply be calculated based on the number of "yes" answers. For example, one question may be, does the house have a chimney at one gable end? If so, is the chimney in or close to its original condition? If the answer to both questions is yes, than that would be two points; one yes answer, one point.

Not all the questions were weighed the same. It was determined that scoring would be an ordinal ranking of the questions based on how critical that particular component is to the overall significance of the landscape. Overall organization, for example, would be worth more than circulation networks. The landscape must be understandable or "legible" to the public at all costs. Therefore, any landscape below a certain score, say 60%, would "fail". Those above 60% will be considered worthy of preservation, the urgency with which they should be managed being commensurate with their score.

Ideally, this checksheet could be used in the field by non-experts to readily determine the overall significance of a farmstead and identify those farms worthy of preservation. If there is ever any doubt and/or if funds are available, an expert in the preservation field should be consulted before destroying or removing any component of a farmstead.

## JUSTIFICATION

Landscape preservation was chosen as a thesis topic because in today's world, modern man, in the midst of electronic media, computers and floppy disks, has virtually no sense of who controls the primary aspects of his existence (Hindle, 1981). More than ever, there is a need for him to understand both his past and his present reality, and one effective means of achieving an understanding is through preservation: objects, or "material culture," we can touch and feel. The experience which material culture provides itself is unquantifiable, but it offers people impressions and understanding totally different from that which they get from written history. Harold Stramstad, Director of the Chicago Historical Society, calls it "raw experience" (Stramstad, 1978).

The focus of the study is on the evaluation phase of the preservation process for two reasons. First, landscapes must be evaluated. We can not possibly save everything because we lack both the money and the space. More importantly, we would not want to save everything old because it perverts the true meaning of history. As David Lowenthal explains, we do need reminders of our heritage in our landscape, but the minute we

begin to consciously appreciate the past, we set in motion forces that alter it (Lowenthal, 1979). Secondly, there exists no practical methodology for evaluating rural, cultural, historic landscapes, particularly farmsteads. Melnick has begun to design such a methodology, however, it is written to be applied at the national level and to all kinds of rural, historic landscapes, and is not as effective at the local or regional level as a methodology designed for a specific region and landscape type. Such a methodology could facilitate future decisions both by landscape architects and local decision-makers regarding the preservation of culturally significant landscapes.

Blue Ridge farmsteads were chosen to be evaluated solely on their cultural and historical significance because while the economic benefits of preservation and restoration, and the aesthetic diversity which these historic landscapes bring to the built environment are both well known, the impact of these landscapes on people's perceptions of the past is not. Brooke Hindle, in his article, "How Much is a Piece of the True Cross Worth?" explains that historical material culture (architecture, landscapes or artifacts), neither confirms nor denies historical myths, but tends to confirm whatever the moment says by providing a three-dimensional reality which people can touch, feel and hold on to. In this way, common perceptions of the past are perpetuated. According to Hindle, what we chose to preserve and not to preserve ultimately provides a foundation for reordering reality, and a sense of cohesion among people with common perceptions of the past (Hindle, 1981). It is obvious, therefore, that these "relic landscapes," as John Jakle calls them, deserve to be managed,

not only because they are in short supply in the United States and cannot be reproduced, but because they reinforce or restructure our sense of history and ourselves.

The cultural and historic significance of farmsteads, specifically, was chosen because it was felt that the small, family farm is the quinessential common, rural landscape, and, as such, constitutes what J.B. Jackson refers to as the "prototype" of how man has ordered his larger world (Jackson, 1964).

The methodology will be applied at a regional level, to Blue Ridge Belt, on the advise of Robert Melnick and Mr. and Mrs. Fly, all of whom felt I could make the greatest contribution to the landscape preservation movement and to the universal "data bank," by researching, in depth, a specific regional landscape phenomena. This enables the development of a detailed and specific evaluation methodology, potentially as easy as a check list, which makes the system accessible to non-practitioners, as well as landscape architects.

Finally, the Blue Ridge Belt, composed of the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains, for pinpointed for several reasons. The most important reason is that the settlements which developed in the Blue Ridge Belt during the initial migration period (1730-1800) are types that were adhered to by the pioneers as they settled other parts of the southern Appalachians later in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This is especially true of those regions which have a similar linear physiography:

the Allegheny Mountains of West Virginia and the Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky-Tennessee (Wilhelm, 1978). While individual components of these settlement types, such as barns and smaller outbuildings, may not have remained consistent over time and space, the patterns of settlement, much more difficult to change, became prototypes for the rest of the Appalachians (Wilhelm, 1978).

## CHAPTER II. THE PRESERVATION PROCESS

According to Melnick, any complete conceptual framework for historic landscape preservation must ultimately address the following concerns: How can a cultural, historic landscape be identified? How can it be evaluated? and How should it be managed (Melnick, 1981). I have added three additional steps, documentation, interpretation, and case studies, distilled out of the myriad of contradictory information offered on the subject, in order to make the process more complete and comprehensible. Figure 2, composed of information assimilated from personal correspondence with Melnick, Ian Firth, professor of landscape architecture at the University of Georgia, and Mr. and Mrs. Evert Fly, landscape architects from Dallas, Texas, is a schematic representation of the preservation process. It is by no means complete, but provides the context for the questions addressed in this study.

### IDENTIFICATION

The means of identifying cultural, historic landscape varies dramatically from profession to profession, and even within the profession of landscape architecture itself. John Stilgoe, for example, believes that all landscapes have historic interest and can be identified to varying degrees with a culture. Therefore, all landscapes are cultural, historic landscapes (Stilgoe, 1981). Robert Melnick, on the other hand, breaks down landscapes into two broad categories: Natural and cultural. Natural

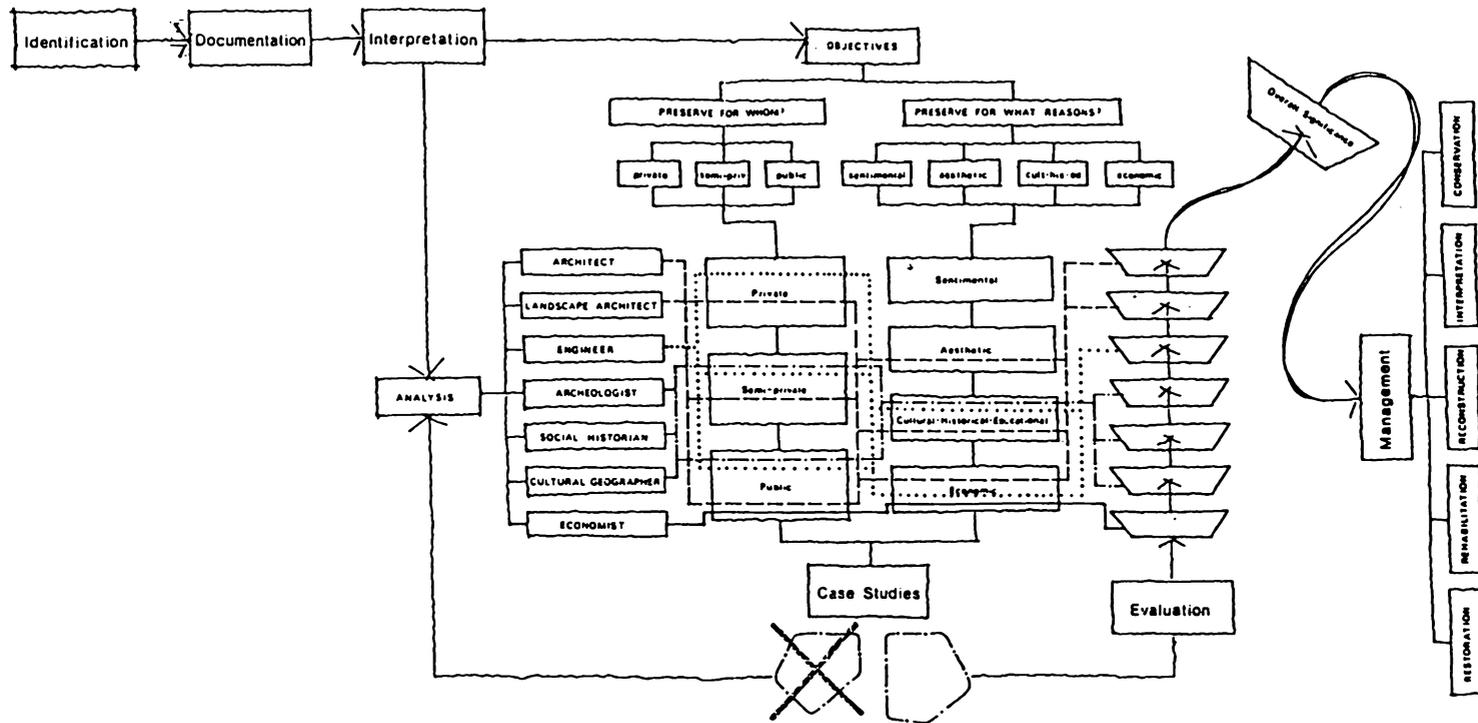


Figure 2. Conceptual Framework for Historic Landscape Preservation

landscapes are those areas which, although protected or managed through human decisions, are basically in their natural state, or preserved or maintained in a state which replicates or supports natural ecological systems as closely as possible (Melnick, 1981). Cultural landscapes are areas which clearly represent or reflect the patterns of settlement or use of the landscape over a long time, as well as the evolution of cultural values, norms and attitudes towards the land (Melnick, 1981). As such, according to Melnick, cultural landscapes have several general characteristics. First, cultural landscapes have evolved from or exhibit remnants of earlier known human settlement patterns or land-use practices for that area. As a result, they represent a continuum of land-use that spans many generations. Secondly, these practices and patterns, which often stem from years of experimentation, grow out of the continual re-adjustment of human aims and hopes in light of environmental forces. Therefore, they exhibit, either conspicuously or subtly, long-held values of their area or culture. Thirdly, because the cultural landscape is derived through years of evolutionary change, it exhibits "structure." It has overall organizational pattern which reflects the longstanding relationship between human influences and the natural landscape. Finally, because cultural landscapes display human impact, they exhibit many different types of physical elements, both natural and imposed, such as fencing patterns (Melnick, 1981). An additional characteristic of cultural landscapes is the fact that they exhibit "perceptual qualities" such as "unity" and "vividness." These terms refer to the landscape's cohesiveness -- whether or not, through form and space, the landscape

exhibits a wholeness as a single unit, and to what degree it can be understood by the viewer (Melnick, 1981).

Visual analysis as such does not seem to be an integral part of most evaluations, unless, of course the landscape is being planned for the potential visitor. Melnick himself admits, "Visual assessment, while appropriate in a variety of forums, has tended not to address significant cultural issues of human use and alteration of the landscape" (Melnick, 1982). Some visual concerns such as the physical condition of the buildings and fences may be important. However, their pictorial virtues or "scenic value" are not. Moreover, while any form of evaluation runs the risk of being subjective, visual analysis almost guarantees it. Ian Firth, a landscape architecture professor at the University of Georgia, goes so far as to argue that even the architecture of a cultural landscape is just an outer shell, and therefore of no importance in any form of evaluation. What is critical, Firth argues, is only its "structure", that pattern which reflects the relationship between man and nature (Firth, personal correspondence, 1984).

Unfortunately, Melnick's definition of cultural landscapes, though much more discriminating than Stilgoe's, assumes that the cultural significance of the landscape has been established at the outset. Theoretically, there is no way of knowing which landscapes reflect the settlement patterns and values of a culture before the landscape has been documented, interpreted and evaluated. Whether or not and to what degree a landscape represents a continuum of land-use that spans many gener-

ations, reflects earlier settlement patterns and subsequently long-held values of an area or culture, exhibits "structure", and contains different types of physical elements, ultimately determines the overall significance of the landscape and should be used not for identification purposes but as evaluation criteria. In addition, Melnick defines "historic landscapes" as a type of cultural landscape which may be strongly associated with a particular person, event or period of historical significance (Melnick, 1981). Although it is important that cultural, historic landscapes represent or reflect use of the landscape over time the association with a particular person, event, or period of historical significance not only presupposes its historical significance, but completely contradicts the notion of "common landscapes."

The definition which will be used throughout the remainder of this text is a combination of Melnick's and Stilgoe's definitions, and encompasses virtually all historic landscapes. Cultural, historic landscapes are simply those landscapes which represent or reflect man's patterns of settlement or use over a long time. Long time is defined as a minimum of fifty years in accordance with the National Register criteria. "Rural," as defined by Kirk Stone in his article, "The Development of a Focus for the Geography of Settlement," may be considered those areas where people attach themselves to the land for the purposes of primary production (Glass, 1971). One of the primary production activities Stone includes in his rural category is agriculture.

The most important part of the identification process is actually defining the boundaries of a historic, cultural landscape. A Guide to Delineating the Edges of Historic Districts published by the National Trust, is a good source of information on the subject. The Green Springs study done by Earth Design Associates, Casanova, Virginia, is an excellent example of using bedrock, topography, soils association, vegetative cover, and visual unity to delineate and reinforce cultural, historic landscape boundaries.

## DOCUMENTATION

The documentation of historic, cultural landscapes is simply recording what is there. Questions arise, however, as to the best means of recording something as large and difficult to "capture" as a landscape. Landscapes may be recorded through the use of standard photographs, sketches, and remote sensing mechanisms, such as aerial photography (available through U.S.G.S. maps) or X-ray analysis. The advantages of remote sensing techniques are speed, relatively low cost for surveys of large areas, detection of features not readily visible at ground level, and access to remote areas (Tishler, 1979-80). Documents such as plat maps may also be used to supplement the record.

The landscape must also be documented as it was during its historic period -- the period of history from which it derives its significance. This may be done using archival sources such as historic maps and photos, oral histories, and business and family records. Cindy Gilbert's "Ebey's

Landing Study," and the University of Georgia's "Cumberland Island Study," are good examples of thorough documentation.

## INTERPRETATION

The interpretation of historic, cultural landscapes is one of the most difficult parts of the preservation process. Although Melnick uses "interpretation" and "evaluation" interchangeably, they are in fact two separate steps. Interpretation does not imply judgment, merely analysis, while evaluation does. It is essential to analyze the information accumulated during documentation in order to understand the meaning of a site. For example, what does a picket fence, enclosing an area roughly 20' x 20' directly behind a farmhouse, signify? An herb garden? A poultry yard?

According to Ian Firth and the Flys, an indispensable method for unraveling the meaning of any historic, cultural landscape is the interdisciplinary approach (Personal correspondence). Landscape architecture firms, such as Edward D. Stone and Associates, in fact, often act as a prime consultants for preservation projects, coordinating the efforts of planners, engineers, architects, historians, and archeologists. One must ask, for example, how would a social historian interpret this landscape? A cultural geographer? An agricultural engineer? A photographer?

The disciplines involved in the interpretation, as well as the evaluation and management processes, ultimately depend on for whom and for what

purpose the landscape is to be preserved. Therefore, one of the most important steps in interpreting landscapes lies in clearly defining the reasons for preserving the site, or preservation objectives. Namely, preserve for whom? (An individual? A semi-private corporation? The general public?) and, preserve for what purpose? (Purely sentimental? Aesthetic? Educational? Economical? If so, at the "micro" level, as a direct money-making venture, or at the "macro" level, as a means of revitalizing downtown, bringing in new business, and thus increasing the tax base? Cultural? or Historic? If so, at the local level? the regional level? or the national level?) Simply put, a different end constitutes a different means. For example, if the owner of a piece of property wants to preserve a picturesque flower garden for sentimental reasons, no interpretation or evaluation processes are needed. If the Blue Ridge Parkway wants to preserve a meadow in order to secure a view through to the mountains, a landscape architect with a background in visual assessment should be asked to interpret the site. If the town fathers want to save an old park for both economic and historic reasons, an economist, a landscape architect, and a historian may be asked to interpret the site. If the National Park Service wants to preserve a number of farmsteads for cultural and historic reasons, a cultural geographer, a landscape architect, an architect, an agricultural engineer, a social historian, and an archeologist should all be asked to interpret the site. The relationships among the preservation objectives and the various disciplines is shown in the morphological array in the center of the diagram. A landscape architect, for example, may be consulted at the private, semi-private, or public level, for aesthetic, economic, or cultural, historic and edu-

cational purposes. In the rare cases where the owner of historic property is not sure of his objectives, but wishes to analyze the site, and, based on the results, determine its best use, analysis of the site may actually precede the establishment of preservation objectives. In either case, if representatives from various disciplines are not available, time must be spent researching the respective literature which pertains to the type of landscape being interpreted.

## CASE STUDIES

Once the interpretations from each of these disciplines have been recorded, the premises regarding the site should be "tested" by means of several case studies before employing them as a reliable data base. Suppose, for example, the picket fence enclosing a 20' x 20' space behind the farmhouse appears to be an herb garden, and an herb garden, in such a location, seems atypical of the culture represented by the remainder of the farm. Subsequent case studies may confirm or deny the herb garden theory. If subsequent case studies deny the herb garden theory, either that it was actually an herb garden, or that it was atypical of the culture, the site or parts of the site should be reinterpreted before evaluation. Once an herb garden theory is confirmed, that aspect of the farmstead may be evaluated both in and of itself and in terms of its contribution to the overall significance of the farmstead.

## EVALUATION

Like interpretation, the evaluation of cultural, historic landscapes depends on the preservation objectives. Only representatives from those disciplines interested in the particular aspects of preservation enumerated before interpretation are asked to evaluate the site based on its significance relative to similar landscapes from the same historic period. Each discipline has its unique system for evaluation, but the underlying principles are similar. For example, to study an unusual structure on a farmstead an historian might use a version of E. McClung Fleming's artifact study model. Fleming in an article entitled, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model" (Fleming, 1980). Fleming's methodology involves a five-fold classification of the basic properties of the artifact (history, material, construction, design, and function) and a set of four operations to be performed on these properties (identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation). Cross-matrixing the properties and the operations, allows Fleming to determine what Melnick would call the overall significance of an artifact. The five basic properties provide a formula for including and interrelation all the significant facts about an artifact. The four operations to be performed on the five properties yield a factual description of the artifact, a set of judgments based on comparisons with other examples of its kind, the relationship of the artifact to its culture, and the meaning and significance of the artifact in relation to our own culture (Fleming, 1980). Fleming stresses both "product analysis," a method of determining the ways in which the culture leaves its mark on a particular artifact, and "con-

tent analysis," a method of determining the ways in which a particular artifact reflects its culture -- an interesting distinction in the relationship between an artifact and its culture. A cultural geographer, on the other hand, may use the techniques developed by Fred B. Kniffen in his influential study, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion"; an architect, the techniques associated with the evaluation of historic buildings.

The overall evaluation for the site is the sum of each representative's evaluation. Citing from the examples above, the visual quality of a farmstead, rich in culture and history, may mean nothing to a local historical society which intends to preserve the farm for its cultural and historical significance. Subsequently, a poor visual assessment based on tests conducted by a landscape architect is meaningless and has absolutely no bearing on the site's overall significance. The overall significance is simply the sum of the evaluations based on the interpretations of the cultural geographer, the architect, the landscape architect, the archeologist, the agricultural engineer, and the social historian. In short, the significance of a landscape is a "rating," relative to similar landscapes of the same historic period, based on whether or not, in what ways, and to what degree, the site meets the requirements of a specific preservation objective, whether that be sentimental, aesthetical, cultural, historical, economical, or educational. If the site is to be preserved for cultural and historic reasons, as in the case of the farmstead, the landscape must be evaluated solely in terms of whether or not, in what ways, and to what degree it represents a particular culture and period of history or historic "theme".

## MANAGEMENT

Landscape preservation may be defined as the process of stabilizing, rebuilding, maintaining or improving the condition and specific qualities of an historic landscape so that the landscape is protected and the design intent fulfilled. According to Kunst and O'Donnell, the preservation of historic landscapes involves five management strategies: Restoration, rehabilitation, reconstruction, interpretation, and conservation. Their definitions of these terms are as follows. RESTORATION connotes return of a site to its original appearance during a selected period. Strict authenticity of overall form and detail requires extensive research and funding. REHABILITATION returns an historic landscape to useful condition, generally bringing it to a state of good repair and possibly including some adaptation. The degree of authenticity is secondary. RECONSTRUCTION applies to the reproduction of a complete landscape setting which may not be on an original site. It starts from the ground up. Evidence of former conditions is gathered from documents, photographs, sites and other resources. Authenticity depends on the research base and funding available. INTERPRETATION can be defined as basic retention of the original landscape form with the integration to accommodate new uses, needs, and contemporary conditions. It involves research of the original design intent and use. The design should reinforce historic integrity while integrating a contemporary site program. Lastly, CONSERVATION is a passive process of preservation. It protects an historic landscape from loss or the infringement of incongruent uses. Basically, it is stewardship of a site. Depending on the preservation objectives, one,

or more typically, a combination of these strategies may be used. If the site is to be preserved for educational purposes, as in the case of most landscapes which accompany National Trust historic structures, it may simply be interpreted., eg. concentrating on a particular point in time, having it reflect several periods simultaneously, or having it stand as a document of the totality of its past. Decisions concerning the maintenance, restoration, rehabilitation, etc. ultimately depend on the interpretation technique. If the site is to stand as a document of the totality of its past, for example, no restoration is undertaken, only conservation procedures.

This study addresses the evaluation component of the preservation process. I propose to develop a methodology for evaluating Blue Ridge farmsteads for the express purpose of preserving them for their cultural and locally historic significance. This methodology will be based primarily on the evaluation systems currently being used by the National Park Service for evaluating historic districts. As stated earlier, the overall significance of a cultural, historic landscape is the sum of the evaluations based on the interpretations of each discipline involved in the preservation of the landscape. In the case of a farmstead, those disciplines would include a cultural geographer, architect, landscape architect, agricultural engineer, archeologist, and social historian. It is obvious that very few local and regional governments have the funds to hire professionals from each of these disciplines in order to interpret and evaluate these farmsteads. It is my hope that I shall be able to assimilate the critical information from each discipline and create a

comprehensive and effective methodology for evaluating Blue Ridge farms which can be implemented at a local and regional level, regardless of the scale of the project. This methodology may be used at the local and regional level by decision-makers. The thesis itself, which in some sense documents the process of creating a methodology, may be used at the national level by landscape architects to develop regionally specific methodologies for applying the criteria to other kinds of rural, historic landscapes.

### CHAPTER III. THE NATIONAL REGISTER'S EVALUATION CRITERIA

In order to determine what kind, whether or not, and to what degree evaluation systems were being used in the preservation of historic landscapes, an informal survey was mailed at the start of this research project to 125 landscape architecture offices and organizations involved in landscape preservation work. Of those offices and organizations which replied, only 11% directly applied the National Register's criteria for evaluation, or in most cases their own simplified version of the process; 17% did not apply National Register criteria directly, but considered only those landscapes associated with historic structures listed on the National Register worthy of preservation. Thirty-three percent knew of or used no methodology for evaluation, 53% of which said that the significance of the landscapes had been "pre-determined" by clients or local historical societies. Thirteen percent had developed their own methodology, and 2% described management procedures, thus attesting to the fact they used no evaluation process per se.

Based on this informal survey, it seems that what is needed, rather than an entirely new and unique evaluation process, is a methodology for actually applying the National Register's general evaluation criteria for rural, cultural historic districts to specific local and regional historic landscapes. Flexibility must be built into any methodology for evaluating landscapes since they are, by nature, much less amenable to rigorous application of "standards" than historic structures. However,

the closer we can get to developing an efficient and effective methodology which may be used and understood by local and regional decision makers, the more widespread and successful the preservation of common, "relic" landscapes will be.

The most important thing to remember about almost all evaluation systems is that whatever it is that is being evaluated, be it a historic structure or a cultural landscape, is ultimately evaluated based on how close it comes or, conversely, how far it deviates from some ideal. The National Register's evaluation system is no exception. Based on the context provided by historical research of the theme the types of properties expected, the ways in which properties can represent the theme, and the most important ways integrity applies, one may generate a list of ideal characteristics or components that a property should have in order to be a good representative of its theme. The list, used to determine the significance of a landscape, may be developed before actually identifying specific properties through field research. When generated, the list may be used over and over again, and constantly adjusted and refined as knowledge increases. The primary goal of this study is to generate such a list for Blue Ridge farmsteads.

Once a list of ideal characteristics has been developed, it is possible to examine any specific property to determine whether it has those characteristics. According to the Department of the Interior, unless the district clearly possesses all of the ideal characteristics, the property is ineligible for listing on the Register. The purpose of this study,

however, is not to decide whether or not a property is eligible for the National Register, but rather to help local and regional decision-makers prioritize their preservation projects. Therefore, properties will not be evaluated simply in terms of being "eligible" or "ineligible" , but will have varying degrees of eligibility based on which and how many of the ideal characteristics the property exhibits. The more characteristics the property exhibits, the better it represents the theme.

## CONTEXT

In order to qualify for the National Register, a district or landscape must be significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering or culture. The district must represent a significant theme or pattern in the history, architecture, archeology, engineering or culture of a locality, a state or nation, and it must possess characteristics that make it a good representative of that theme or pattern (NPS, 1982). The first and most important step in determining any district's significance is to study its physiographic context, as defined by such factors as topography, predominant vegetation, and water resources; its ecological context -- hydrology, soils, vegetation patterns and biotic communities, and its historical context. These studies contribute to the understanding of the landscape by helping to define the district and the raw materials available to the culture groups responsible for the development and modification of the cultural landscape. Moreover, the context helps identify the effect of broad patterns of our history, such as historic settlement, industrialization, changing transportation technology and the spread of

a specific style or architecture over a particular area or locality in which a property is located. The historical context also identifies the contributions of the locality or region to history in general (Melnick, 1984). In short, these studies set the stage for all formal evaluation decisions.

## THEME

A theme is actually a kind of topic or heading based on the physiographic, ecological and historical context described in the section above. The theme helps to narrow and define the area of concern regarding the landscape. It will generally focus on a particular period of time and defined geographical area. An example of a historic theme is the development of cotton mills in the Piedmont of North Carolina in the twentieth century (NPS, 1982). A theme may be represented by various types of properties, such as the theme of Civil War military activity in northern Virginia, or it may be defined so that it is represented by a single type of property, such as county courthouses in Georgia, 1777-1932 (NPS, 1982). Regardless of the types of properties associated with a theme, it must be important in American history as demonstrated by scholarly research. When a theme can be identified but its historic importance cannot be assessed, properties associated with the theme cannot be considered for listing in the National Register (NPS, 1982).

## SIGNIFICANCE

Once the types of properties within a theme have been identified, it is possible to determine how each type can represent the theme based on specific historic associations, architectural or engineering values, or information potential (NPS, 1982). These are written as Criteria A, B, C, and D in the "National Register Criteria for Evaluation". A rural, historic district must meet one or more of these four specific criteria. For complete descriptions of these criteria see the National Park Service's pamphlet, "How To Apply the National Register's Criteria for Evaluation."

These criteria limit the ways in which a landscape may represent a significant theme. In most cases, a landscape's significance will be based on an association with a historical movement or series of developments (Criterion A), rather than an individual person of significance (Criterion B) (Melnick, 1984). This is necessarily true of "common landscapes". Similarly, while characteristics of type, period or method of construction may be important, landscapes will rarely possess the work of a master or possess high artistic value (Criterion C). They might also represent a significant or distinguishable entity even though the components, taken individually, may lack distinction (Criterion C). Seldom do they yield historic information unavailable elsewhere (Criterion D).

The level of significance -- local, state, or national, as well as the kind of significance must also be determined. "Local" indicates a ge-

ographical or cultural area within a state, such as a community, town, city, county or other area not defined by specific political boundaries (NPS, 1982). "State" refers to any one of the fifty states, American Samoa, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, or the Virgin Islands (NPS, 1982). "National" refers to the United States and its territories as a whole. Nationally significant properties listed in the National Register are the historical units of the National Park System and those properties that have been designated National Historic Landmarks. The National Historic Landmarks criteria are the standards for nationally significant properties (NPS, 1982).

## INTEGRITY

Once the ways that a district can represent a theme have been identified, it is possible to determine the most important ways in which integrity applies to the properties. Integrity is based on the fundamental question of whether or not the rural, historic district retains the essential character from its historic period. Integrity applies to properties in seven ways: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. As with other National Register properties, rural, historic districts must display at least two of these attributes. For complete definitions of these seven attributes see, "How to Apply the National Register's Criteria for Evaluation."

While significance determines to what extent a property represents a theme, integrity is based on the fundamental question of whether or not the rural, historic district retains the essential character from its historic period. "It is not enough to be 'scenic', Melnick writes, "the landscape must clearly indicate and be in accord with its historic character" (Melnick, 1984). Historic character is based on the recognition that the landscape features may have changed since the primary historic period and that is not necessarily reflected in historic material objects but rather in the composite impact of these objects. In this way, integrity may occur between the two possible extremes of complete preservation of the landscape in its historic form and content, where no change is apparent, and substantial change, where historic patterns no longer exist (NPS, 1982).

The integrity of a site is not based on a well-researched set of ideal characteristics but on a comparison of what is known of the landscape during its historic period (NPS, 1982). By overlaying maps of the landscape from its primary historic period or periods and its present condition, the nature and quality of change that has occurred is visible. In many instances, according to Melnick, it will be the quality of change -- deletions from and intrusions into the property, as well as the quantity of change that is important (Melnick, 1982). Also, features that imbricate through successive historic eras can be identified as those which exhibit continuity of use and therefore carry greater historic significance. This is especially critical when determining the significance and integrity of landscapes with more than one historic date or

period (Gilbert and Niedwieesa, 1985). Finally, if the eligibility of a property is determined by the degree to which it represents a specific historical pattern, then evidence and proof of that pattern must not only be visible and correct (significance), but be close enough to its original form to be understandable both from a historic perspective and a contemporary one (integrity).

## COMPONENTS

Significance and integrity, while the basis for placing any property on the National Register, change their meaning somewhat when applied to cultural landscapes. The reason is that cultural landscapes are dynamic. From a strictly historic perspective, there may be elements of a farmstead, altered beyond recognition, removed or intruded upon by other non-historic features, that no longer retain significance or integrity as defined by National Register. Yet this landscape may still be significant and retain its integrity because no one element or group of elements is the primary defining feature of any landscape. It is critical to look at a large number of factors in order to understand the landscape.

Melnick has chosen what he considers to be the ten most critical factors and named them "components", and it is through these components that we learn to "read" the landscape. The ten components are as follows:

1. Overall patterns of landscape spatial organization
2. Land-use: Categories and Activities
3. Response to Natural Features

4. Circulation Networks
5. Boundary Demarcations
6. Vegetation Related to Land Use
7. Cluster Arrangement
8. Structure: Type, Function, Materials, Construction
9. Small-Scale Elements
10. Historical Views

It is important that each component be understood in and of itself and in its relationship to other components and the total landscape. Together with the context, these components provide the raw material for determining a property's significance and integrity, and it is here, as well as in the context, that we must solicit the help of several different disciplines. For example, the cultural geographer may analyze overall organizational patterns, response to natural features, circulation networks and boundary demarcations; the landscape architect, vegetation, cluster arrangements, and historical views; the architect, structures; and the archeologist, small-scale elements. The following definitions are taken from, "Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System" (Melnick, 1982).

#### **OVERALL PATTERNS OF LANDSCAPE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION**

This term refers to the large-scale relationships among major material components, predominant landforms, and natural features. This landscape organization may be reflected in road systems, field patterns, distance

between farmsteads, proximity to water sources and orientation of structures to sun and wind. All cultural landscapes, at a large scale, exhibit patterns of settlement, and while the details of the patterns may change over time, the patterns themselves usually remain the same.

## LAND-USE: CATEGORIES AND ACTIVITIES

Land-uses are the major human forces and processes that form, shape and organize rural, historic districts. Land-use categories and activities, such as recreation and industry, may vary within any one rural, historic district. These categories, in turn, may vary from traditional practices to innovation adaptations. Changes in the type or style of the land use within a district may reflect changes in technology, climate, and economic conditions, as well as previous successes and failures. It is important to analyze the spectrum of land-uses, from past to present, in order to understand the complex manner in which different people have used and continue to use the land they occupy.

## RESPONSE TO NATURAL FEATURES

Major natural features in a region, such as mountains, prairies, rivers, lakes, forests, and grasslands, influence both location and organization of components of the cultural landscape. The way in which man responds to surrounding natural features either through the placement, details, or form of the district may reveal traditions of land-use and lifestyle inherent in a particular culture. For example, major natural features

may frequently influence the orientation of structures and building complexes.

## CIRCULATION NETWORKS

Circulation networks facilitate movement from one point to another or within a general area, although they differ in complexity, purpose and scale. Networks may be internal to a rural historic district, such as livestock trails and footpaths, or they may connect that landscape to the surrounding region, such as roads and railways.

## BOUNDARY DEMARCATIONS

Boundary demarcations distinguish and define areas of control and use within a rural, historic district, as well as internal divisions in smaller segments of the landscape. They may be natural, such as rivers, or "man-made", such as fences, walls, planted tree lines, and hedge rows. Boundaries should be studied in order to better understand land ownership patterns, land use changes, and the impact of developing technologies, such as fencing materials.

## VEGETATION RELATED TO LAND USE

While many material components of the cultural landscape change over time, vegetation is by far the most dynamic and often the most resilient (such as the inevitable clump of daffodils at a former house site). Various

types of vegetation, regardless of whether or not it is indigenous, naturalized or introduced, maintain a direct relationship to long-established land use patterns. These include trees or shrubs planted for ornamental purposes, as well as trees which have grown along fence lines. The governing factor in identifying this component of the rural, historic district is the determination that the vegetation has been planted, controlled, influenced or modified by human activities, either intentionally or unintentionally.

## **CLUSTER ARRANGEMENT**

Cluster arrangement is the placement of elements within a discrete landscape setting, such as a farmstead, ranch, or mining complex. The arrangement of elements, including buildings, fences or paths, may reveal information about the historical and continuing use of the cluster. The definition of a specific cluster is based upon the concentration of associated elements related to land-use.

## **STRUCTURES: TYPE, FUNCTION, MATERIALS, AND CONSTRUCTION**

Any and all structures should be identified and recorded according to their function, materials, and construction techniques. The methods by which structures have been built, and the materials used are often repeated with minor variations throughout a cultural landscape. Therefore, structures may be good indicators of cultural tenacity, external influ-

ences, and economic fluctuations. In addition, residences may suggest family size and relationships, and population densities.

## **SMALL-SCALE ELEMENTS**

Small-scale elements are important aspects of the cultural landscape. They may be unique to an area or region, such as a fence type, but also commonly repeated throughout a rural, historic district. While these elements are often semi-permanent, such as a cattle guard, they may also be temporal or seasonal, such as bales of hay. These elements often occur in isolated settings, and when analyzing rural, historic districts is important to note that what are now small-scale elements, may simply be isolated remnants of a larger component.

## **HISTORICAL VIEWS AND OTHER PERCEPTUAL QUALITIES**

Historical views are not the way we see the landscape today, but rather the ways the inhabitants would have seen the surrounding land from various points on the property. These views should be identified in documentary evidence and in the landscape itself when appropriate. Other significant perceptual qualities, such as smells and sounds, should also be identified.

These ten components form the foundation for any evaluation of rural, historic landscape. It is their composite result which differentiates one landscape from another (NPS, 1982). In the following chapter, these

components will be analyzed in terms of of the three cultural groups --  
the Scotch-Irish, German and English, which settled in the Blue Ridge.

## CHAPTER IV. NINETEENTH CENTURY BLUE RIDGE FARMS

### CONTEXT

#### PHYSIOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

The study area, the Blue Ridge Belt, is the easternmost part of the southern Appalachian Mountains, or what is commonly referred to as the Southern Highlands. The Southern Highlands extend from New York to Alabama, with the boundary lines corresponding with the boundaries of natural divisions; on the east with the face of the Blue Ridge Mountains, which in turn defines the western margin of the Piedmont Plateau; on the south with the upper limits of the Coastal Plain, on the west with the western escarpment of the Allegheny-Cumberland Plateau. The northern line, the Mason-Dixon line, is for the most part political (Campbell, 1969).

According to Campbell, three parallel belts make up the Southern Highlands, each lying lengthwise northeast to southwest and characterized by the predominance of either mountains, valleys or plateaus. The outstanding feature of the easternmost belt or Blue Ridge Belt is the Blue Ridge Mountain Range. The western belt is known as the Alleghany-Cumberland or Appalachian Plateau, and between these two belts lays the Greater Appalachian Valley (Campbell, 1969). Campbell and others quickly point out that the term "valley" is misleading since the floor of the

Greater Appalachian Valley reaches an altitude of 2700 feet above sea level. The whole Southern Highlands region, therefore, is an upland region with a great central zone of depression and not simply two separate mountain areas with a valley between (Campbell, 1969). Consequently, most cultural geographers use the term "Upland South."

The Blue Ridge Belt begins in Maryland where it varies in width from 10-16 miles. It starts to expand near the headwaters of the Roanoke River and eventually reaches a maximum width of 70 miles and a maximum height at Mt. Mitchell in the Black Mountains of 6711 feet. From North Carolina it passes southward into Georgia where it becomes irregular and, after nearly 100 miles, is absorbed into the Piedmont Plateau. The Belt reoccurs in Alabama for 50 miles in the Talladega Mountains (Campbell, 1969). Figure 3, taken from The Southern Highlander and His Homeland shows the counties included in the Blue Ridge Belt.

The belt is technically composed of many mountain ranges, however, the two largest ranges are the Blue Ridge and the Great Smoky Mountains. The Blue Ridge Range proper rises from an altitude of over 3000 feet at the northeastern corner of the Belt to almost 6000 feet in Grandfather Mountain, North Carolina. The range acts as the main divide between waters flowing into the Atlantic and into the Gulf of Mexico. The Yadkin, Catawba, and Broad are among the streams that flow east to the Atlantic, creating the high cascades and deep gorges so typical of the Blue Ridge. The descent to the west is much more gradual. The New, Watauga, Nolichucky, French Broad, Big Pigeon, Little Tennessee, Hiwassee, and



Figure 3. The Southern Highland Region

Ocoee Rivers flow through the mountains, into the Valley, and eventually to the Mississippi and Gulf (Campbell, 1969).

The Great Smoky Mountains or Smokies at the northwest mountain boundary of the Belt are higher than the Blue Ridge Mountains, averaging approximately 5000 feet, and more rugged on both the eastern and western slopes. Though "built" 125 million years before the Rockies, the Smokies are still younger than the Blue Ridge Mountains. According to Campbell, the Smokies rose so gradually on the western edge of the Blue Ridge that they enabled the rivers to keep their early westward direction (Campbell, 1969).

The whole plateau section lying between the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains is cut by ridges and cross-ridges which have no uniform direction but form the divide between the main stream basins (Campbell, 1969). The main ridges in this area are the Yellow, Black, Newfound, Pisgah, Cowee, Nantahala, Cheoah, Tusquitee and Balsam. The Blue Ridge Parkway uses the last of these, the Balsams, to connect the Blue Ridge Mountains with the Smokies.

Despite the physiological differences in the three belts which constitute the Southern Highlands, architectural historian Dell Upton has written that the architecture and material culture in the Blue Ridge is very similar, if not identical, to that in the Valley (Upton, 1977). This makes sense in terms of settlement patterns, however, the topography and soils inherent in the mountains were such that there had to have been some adjustments made, if not in the architecture and material culture itself,

then in the way it was used and arranged. Therefore, the evaluation methodology established for the Blue Ridge Belt, though seemingly applicable to the entire Southern Highlands region including the Greater Appalachian Valley, may actually be more appropriate for the mountainous Allegheny-Cumberland Belt and similar physiographic areas such as the Ozarks.

## ECOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The geology, soil, climate, vegetation, and wildlife in the Blue Ridge Belt vary somewhat from one area to another. For example, the Smokies have what are called "balds" -- a vegetational enigma so named because they lack trees. However, for the purposes of this study, unless otherwise noted, these differences are negligible. The entire Belt has what may be termed a mountain ecology.

The Virginia Geological Survey describes the Blue Ridge as underlain by a complex mass of Pre-Cambrian gneisses, schists, basaltic flows, intrusive granites and other crystalline rocks (Gordon, 1968). What this means is that the rounded mountains of the Blue Ridge consist basically of very old igneous and metamorphic rocks, which occur as uplands, and younger sedimentary and metamorphic rocks, such as limestone and shale, which form low hills and valleys in a narrow zone along the Valley to the west (Lawrence and Gross, 1984). The soils of the Blue Ridge Mountains, and the other ranges as well, depend on the hardness and mineral content of these underlying rocks in addition to the rate of erosion and local veg-

etation at any given site. The richest soils develop in the coves and hollows, where moisture and the materials that have eroded off the hillsides collect. Trees and plants grow abundantly, adding a steady supply of organic matter and making these areas the most productive in the Belt (Lawrence and Gross, 1984). Consequently, hollows and coves were not only the first sites settled in the mountains, they were the most populated, prosperous and long-lived.

The climate of the mountains varies considerably due to the length and relief of the ranges. The seasons tend to contrast greatly in the amounts and kinds of precipitation, in the number of sunny and cloudy days, and in the extent and intensity of heat and cold (Lawrence and Gross, 1984).

Mountain vegetation may be broken down into six categories, each corresponding with a specific ecosystem. Cove Hardwood Forests occur at low and middle altitudes in shelter situations where there is a considerable depth of soil. The dominant trees are yellow buckeye, basswood, yellow poplar, eastern hemlock, white ash, sugar maple, yellow birch, American beech, black cherry, northern red oak, and, formerly, American chestnut. The chestnut fungus, first introduced to North America in 1904, arrived in the mountains around 1925. By 1938, more than 85% of the chestnuts were dead or dying (Murlless and Stallings, 1973).

Closed Oak Forests like cove hardwood forests, typically occur at low and middle altitudes, however, they will tolerate intermediate to dry slopes which many cove hardwood species will not. These forests are dominated

by four kinds of oaks -- white, chestnut, northern red and black; three hickories -- pignut, red and mockernut, and red maple, sweet birch, sourwood, yellow poplar, black gum and black locust. The American chestnut was a very important component of this forest. Small trees and shrubs, such as flowering dogwood, witch hazel, mountain laurel, rosebay rhododendron, smooth hydrangea, flame azalea, and pale sweet shrub, are often present, as well as a wide variety of vines and herbaceous plants (Murlless and Stallings, 1973).

Eastern hemlock is the dominant species in Hemlock Forests which occur along streams, cool coves, and lower slopes up to an altitude of 3500-4000 feet. These forests also occur on exposed slopes and ridges at middle altitudes and up to almost 5000 feet, where they often stop abruptly. Associated with hemlock forests are red and sugar maple, American beech, yellow and sweet birches, black and pin cherry, American holly and yellow poplar. In the Smokies, both rosebay and catawba rhododendron are common shrubs in hemlock forests; rosebay is the dominant understory shrub along streams and catawba occurs in heath balds on higher exposed ridges (Murlless and Stallings, 1973). Other shrubs in this forest include drooping leucothoe, smooth hydrangea, scarlet elder, thornless blackberry, mountain laurel and hobblebush.

The Northern Hardwood Forest is composed primarily of yellow birch, American beech, yellow buckeye, sugar maple, black cherry and eastern hemlock. These forests occur primarily above 4500 feet, however, sugar maple, black cherry and hemlock reach their uppermost limits at or near

5000 feet and American beech and yellow buckeye at or before 6000 feet, leaving only yellow birch and occasionally pin cherry and mountain maple at the summits of the higher mountains where normally spruce and fir dominate (Murlless and Stallings, 1973). Shrubs in the northern hardwood forest are similar to those in eastern hemlock forests, with an even greater variety of herbaceous plants.

Open Oak and Pine Stands usually occur on dry, exposed slopes and ridges where the terrain is rocky. Four kinds of oak (white, chestnut, black, and scarlet) and four kinds of pine (table-mountain, pitch, Virginia and eastern white) dominate. Pines are the most plentiful on the driest sites. Typically the trees do not form a closed canopy and the shrub layer, usually dominated by mountain laurel, may be quite dense. In addition to those shrubs which occur in the closed oak forest, huckleberries and blueberries abound.

Finally, Spruce and Fir Forests occur along high ridges. They stand as relics of the Canadian forest type that covered this area during the last Ice Age (Lawrence and Gross, 1984). Above 6000 feet, the only trees occasionally associated with the red spruce and Fraser fir are yellow birch, pin cherry, American mountain ash, and mountain maple. The growth of these trees usually becomes so dense that shrubs and other plants may be practically absent over large areas (Murlless and Stallings, 1973).

The wide variety of vegetation is conducive to a number of animal species. The most famous is the black bear, and, in years past, bison, elk, wolf,

otter, fisher and mountain lion. Still living are the red squirrel or "boomer" and woodchuck in grassy areas and in open coves, white-tailed deer, wild turkey, skunk, opossum, flying squirrel, racoon, fox, bobcat, snakes, birds, and in the Smokies, much to the chagrin of park rangers, the European wild boar (Murlless and Stallings, 1973).

## HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

In his Letters From an American Farmer, first published in 1782, J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, as cited by Joseph Glass, observed that his fellow settlers, "are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race, now called Americans, have (sic) arisen" (Glass, 1971). Twentieth century historians concur. The history of the Blue Ridge is a history of migration and amalgamation. It is here that two major streams, the Pennsylvania Germans and Scotch-Irish, and the Tidewater English met, intermingled, and developed a new cultural pattern that eventually diffused across the mountains and through the West -- a pattern most call wholly American.

According to Michael Frome, author of Strangers in High Places: The Story of the Great Smoky Mountains, the first ripple of the main tide toward the Southern Highlands "fretted" the surface of the British Isles long before actual settlement began. In 1607, the same year as the landing at Jamestown, a horde of Scottish lowlanders crossed the Irish Sea to occupy the forfeited estates of the rebellious earls of Northern Ireland (Frome, 1966). These mixed people, mostly Scottish with some English and

French-Huguenot, became the Scotch-Irish (Frome, 1966). Most historians agree that the Scotch-Irish were highly independent, quick-tempered Presbyterians who despised both the Church of Rome and the Church of England. They found little peace in Ireland and soon began to emigrate to America in what has been called "one of the most significant movements of people known in history" (Kegley, 1932). This tide of Protestant emigration was aided by the artificial poverty induced by the deliberate destruction of the woolen manufacture, followed by the virtual expulsion without compensation of farmers and landholders from lands that their labor and other expenditures had made valuable (Glasgow, 1936).

Although the Scotch-Irish undoubtedly came in the greatest numbers, they were not the only people migrating to America. Extravagant stories of this new and fertile land also drew thousands of immigrants from other countries, particularly Germans from Palatinate. From the 1720 to 1776, 600,000 Scotch-Irish and 110,000 Germans came to America (Campbell, 1969). The majority of these immigrants were directed to the great central port of Philadelphia, or what Campbell calls the first "reservoir" of immigrants (Campbell, 1969).

There is much speculation as to why these newcomers pressed on to the frontier. The lands lying at the eastern end of Pennsylvania were probably well-settled and there was an abundance of cheap land farther west. In addition, the movement was encouraged by colonial authorities with such acts as the 1701 "Act for Better Strengthening the Frontiers and Discovering the Approaches of the Enemy." This act offered tracts of land from

10,000 to 30,000 acres with the understanding that within two years there would be one able-bodied and well-armed man and one fort for every 500 acres. A subsequent act in 1705 offered 50 acres free to anyone who would settle in the "up-country" (Leyburn, 1962). Other speculations include a "distaste" for authority (anyone who was in trouble with the law or disapproved of governing policies had the chance to escape to a virtually ungoverned wilderness); the high price of consumer goods; and, disputed boundaries (Wilhelm, 1975). Whatever the reason, early immigrants followed the lower courses of the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, ascended their tributaries, and pre-empted the better lands in the Greater Appalachian Valley (Campbell, 1969). As more and more landed in Philadelphia, Germans and Scotch-Irish alike pushed on along the Valley -- literally a kind of pathway walled between highlands to the east and west, through Maryland and what is now West Virginia, and entered the Valley of Virginia around 1730 (Leyburn, 1962).

Campbell's examination of the river system helps to explain what happened next. As settlers continued southward up the Valley they were moving up the headwaters of the Shenandoah River. Interlocking with the headwaters of the Shenandoah are those of the James River, and, just beyond, the Roanoke River (Campbell, 1969). Beyond the Roanoke River, ridges over 3000 feet high separate the waters of the Roanoke from those of the New River flowing northwest to the Ohio and appear to terminate the Valley (Campbell, 1969). When settlers reached the James around 1740 they had two choices, either turn southwestward and proceed through the narrower arm of the Valley toward the Appalachian range, or head southeast and

follow the James and Roanoke diagonally across the Valley and out through the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Carolina Piedmont (Leyburn, 1962). The disadvantages of the first alternative were numerous, the most threatening being that the country to the west was unexplored. Secondly, the constricted limits of the Valley could not support enough farmers to justify effective civil institutions and settlers realized that future generations would have to look elsewhere for farmland (Leyburn, 1962). Finally, word spread that land in North Carolina was available in hundreds of thousands of acres, and the first reports on soil, peaceful Indians, and civil and religious liberties were favorable (Leyburn, 1962). Consequently, in 1740, most of the Germans and Scotch-Irish who had not settled in the Valley chose the southeasterly path. Movement was rapid, for in 1730 the Valley of Virginia had few inhabitants and by 1750 it was well populated (Campbell, 1969). This stream through the Blue Ridge and into the Carolina Piedmont formed what Campbell calls the second reservoir of immigrants. This reservoir was fed not only from the north but also from the south by later and lesser transatlantic migration through ports in Charleston and Wilmington (Campbell, 1969).

A second movement which reached the mountains around 1760 began in Tidewater Virginia and Maryland among the former indentured servants and yeomen farmers who had lost their place with the introduction of slavery (Frome, 1966). For reasons similar to those which induced the Scotch-Irish and Germans from Pennsylvania, the Tidewater English had begun to move westward to the frontier lands of central and western Piedmont (Gordon, 1968). This area as well as the coastal settlements had been

dominated by industrious freedom-minded farmers, but when Britain directed that all tobacco crops be marketed through English ports and taxed there, it was obvious that a profit could be insured only by employing the cheapest kind of labor -- the African slave (Frome, 1966). As the English tobacco plantation system began to replace the small-farm economy of the Pennsylvania Germans and Scotch-Irish, original settlers together with servants who had earned their freedom were forced to reestablish themselves. Many crossed the Piedmont and entered the foothills of the Blue Ridge. This is why, for example, the Pennsylvania Germans and Scotch-Irish remained as the principal culture groups in Patrick, Floyd and the western part of Franklin County, Virginia, while the Tidewater English came to dominate Pittsylvania, Henry and the eastern part of Franklin County (Gordon, 1968). Interestingly, the Germans and Scotch-Irish farmers rarely became sharecroppers on tobacco farms. Gordon cites Walter Kollmorgen in his article entitled, "A Reconnaissance of Some Cultural Agricultural Islands in the South," who maintains that "such a tenure and class structure was utterly unthinkable to them" (Gordon, 1968).

These movements originating from the Valley of Virginia and from Tidewater Virginia and Maryland brought the first major influx of people up to and through the Blue Ridge Belt. Campbell argues, however, that there were few settlements actually in the mountain-ridge section until the last decade of the eighteenth century and none in large numbers until after 1800 (Campbell, 1969). Generally, the accessible valleys were settled first together with the land along the main routes of travel (Campbell,

1969). This was not always true, however, and much depended on the cessions, at different periods, of lands held by the Indians. The last treaty of the Colonial period that affected the Highlands was July 20, 1777, when a tract of 6064 square miles, much of which is now part of the Great Smoky Mountains, was given over by the Cherokee Indians (Campbell, 1969). Some mountain areas were available earlier than some valley areas, and, of course, there were always squatters -- those who did not wait for cessions. Squatters rights consisted of either "taking up land," which meant building a pole shack and raising a crop, usually corn, on a pre-determined number of acres, or "blazing a claim," which was established by deadening a few trees along boundaries of the claim (Wilhelm, 1978). Although many squatters bought their land as they gained affluence, some never did. As James Logan wrote to John Penn in 1727, "Both German and Scotch-Irish frequently sit down on any spot of vacant land they can find without asking any questions. Both groups pretend that they will buy, not one in twenty has anything to pay with" (Wilhelm, 1975).

The motives for settling in the mountain-ridge section of the Blue Ridge Belt are unclear. Most say it evolved naturally. As families increased, each rapidly succeeding generation pushed their clearings farther and farther up creeks and minor valleys, away from the land already under cultivation by older members of the family. There was some movement back to the mountains by families who had passed through going west and who then turned back, for various reasons, and took up land in the Blue Ridge (Campbell, 1969). War bounties to soldiers often took the form of land grants, typically in areas just opened up by Indian treaties. Finally,

the discovery of salt springs may have allured settlers into the mountains. The settlers descendents themselves say it was primarily for health reasons -- higher and better drained ground was considered free of fever; plus, the natural resources of game, timber and water; the kinfolk system (which supposedly guaranteed friendly neighbors); and a general love of the mountains (Wilhelm, 1975).

Even as late as the mid-nineteenth century large numbers of immigrants continued to travel along mountain trails and passes. The conditions prompting these migrations appear to have been religious, social and economic. Perhaps the most compelling was the decline in prices of cotton and tobacco which spurred a new westward migration from the southern states. In Ireland, the failure of the potato crop in 1845-6 and consequent famine made emigration compulsory for the great number of people who relied for their subsistence almost entirely on the potato. This emigration of the Celtic-Irish, an entirely different culture than that of the Scotch-Irish, lasted seven years. From 1845-1852 more than one and a half million Celtic-Irish people immigrated to America (Glasgow, 1936). While most found occupations in cities, some made their way into the mountains. Lastly, the mountain trails were used for transporting merchandise and moving large droves of stock -- horses, cattle and hogs, from west to east (Campbell, 1969). It was during this period, from approximately 1830-1850, that the mountain country, left to itself to provide its own roads, began to be shut off from the rest of the world (Campbell, 1969).

The question of mountain isolation, a phenomenon once taken for granted, is now a hotly debated issue. If the mountain people were indeed isolated, and for some historians like F.B. Kegley even the term "mountain people" is a "wholly unfair" distinction, they were so for cultural rather than physiographic reasons and not until the Civil War (Wilhelm, 1977). Moreover, most historians now believe that the cultural "lag" was by choice, not fate or poverty.

Opportunities for contact with and learning about the ways of the neighboring world have not been lacking; it is simply that these people prefer their way of life because it is theirs and because they hate and despise change, however detestable their way may seem to others. The economic motive, the desire for gain, is not absent from their minds and motivations, but it is entirely subordinated to the dominating aim of preserving their way of life. This conservative state of mind applies, first of all, to the place of residence, then to the kind of housing and type of occupation (Gottmann, 1955).

Ironically, many of these people who put the mountains -- their home and its "sense of place," above any and all material possessions, were displaced for the establishment of the Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains National Parks.

Roddy Moore, director of the Blue Ridge Institute in Ferrum, Virginia, has done extensive studies in the personal property inventories up and down the Blue Ridge and argues that there was no cultural lag. There were poor in the mountains just as there were poor in the Valley. Likewise, his studies have shown many mountain families who owned silver and mirrors -- possessions of wealth expected only of families in the Valley (Moore, phone conversation, 1984). F.B. Kegley, author of Kegley's Virginia Frontier, seems to have reached the same conclusion fifty years ago.

In this country, as in every other, there are poor valleys as well as rich ones, and poor families of every name. The people with less means than their more fortunate relatives gravitate toward cheaper land and find themselves on the fringe of the valley civilization, however, there is no fixed line where the valley stops and the mountains begin (Kegley, 1932).

Regardless of whether or not the mountains were indeed isolated or somehow different from the Valley and the Piedmont, the fact remains that the Civil War brought unprecedented changes. Up until the war, the mountain people stayed in touch with the "urban" society beyond the mouth of the hollow via what Wilhelm calls "cultural carriers." Internal cultural carriers were the mountain laborers -- drovers, fruit pickers and handymen, who travelled to the lowland communities for days, weeks or months each year. External cultural carriers included circuit preachers, teachers, tax collectors, doctors, lawyers, mailmen, and peddlers. The new ideas, techniques and material culture introduced by these carriers were sifted, discarded or accepted by the mountain group (Wilhelm, 1977). Change was regulated at will.

The Civil War, however, brought massive and uncontrollable changes -- the introduction of the portable sawmill and the rapid depletion of mountain forests; the coming of the railroad; the severe decline in Blue Ridge turnpike trade and commerce; the introduction of chemical processes of tanning and development of large-scale textile processes in the Shenandoah Valley; the disappearance of wild game and the chestnut in the mountains; and, finally, industrialization and new urban growth on the Piedmont and in the Shenandoah Valley. These changes dried up most local

sources of income such as local mills and tanyards, hand-split shingles, woven fabrics, moonshining and chestnuts. Public education in the late nineteenth century; public works such as the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1920's and 30's; mass media, especially mail order catalogs, and rural electrification and radio in the 1930's, all changed what had been a relatively simple economic system to a money economy and increased the material wants of the mountain people (Wilhelm, 1977).

During this time, while loggers were clear-cutting virgin hardwood stands in the mountains, the national park movement was gaining momentum throughout the United States. In order to preserve what was left of this unique natural environment and to meet the great demand for a national park east of the Mississippi, two parks were established: The Shenandoah and the Great Smoky Mountains National Parks. Although the populations had been dwindling in these mountains for years, nearly 2500 people still lived on the lands acquired by the Commonwealth of Virginia for the Shenandoah National Park (Lawrence and Gross, 1984). The Smokies had nearly four times that many.

## COMPONENTS

In the following descriptions of the components found on nineteenth century Blue Ridge farms, one word comes to mind: acculturation. In order to understand cultural landscapes, as Melnick says, we must learn to "read" them, and in reading Blue Ridge landscapes it is absolutely fundamental to recognize the mutual influence of the different cultures in-

volved. Joseph Glass, in his Ph.D. dissertation entitled, "Pennsylvania Culture Region," describes acculturation as follows.

When people with a common cultural background constitute the only migrants to a previously unoccupied locality, their development of that locality will be based primarily upon attitudes, knowledge, and skills acquired in the motherland. In the absence of outsiders with different beliefs and techniques, the practices of an individual will be reinforced by other individuals and the entire group. The resulting way of life will be a more or less faithful reproduction of their homeland model. Similarly, when people with diverse cultural backgrounds migrate to a previously uninhabited place they also will utilize their various talents in its development. In this case, however, no individual's actions will be reinforced by activities of the entire group due to the presence of others in the group who do things differently. As cultural cross-currents become clear, alternatives will present themselves. The results could range from conflict, out of which the superior people achieve absolute dominance, to some form of idea exchange, adoption of alternatives, and assimilation of diverse elements into a different way of life that does not reproduce any of its antecedents faithfully (Glass, 1977).

This latter course of acculturation is exactly what happened in the Valley and to an even greater extent in the mountains. The result was a culture more American than German, Scotch-Irish or English. Undoubtedly, the synthesis of these cultures proceeded slowly. Lucy Kincanon, a Roanoke historian, writes that the Scotch-Irish were the first to settle in the Roanoke area and that these settlements were "leap-frogged" by the Pennsylvania Germans who came along after them (Kincanon, 1972). At first, therefore, there was no apparent mingling of ideas. Glass maintains that although some facets of acculturation were recognizable by the time of the Revolutionary War, the formative processes probably continued until the advent of factory production (Glass, 1977). This makes the new culture much more visible in the mountains, which were settled later than the Valley after the process was well underway, than anywhere else in the

Southern Highlands. By the time it reached the mountains in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, many of its features were already viewed with the sanctity of tradition and faithfully maintained or reproduced by succeeding generations.

The idea of acculturation is demonstrated in the history of the German bank barn, or more accurately, forebay barn. Each culture brought its own barn from the motherland to America, but in time, most of these types passed out of use. Only one, selected from others because of its suitability to America, remained to become almost universal -- the German forebay barn. Fred Kniffen writes that the Pennsylvania Germans were saved from extinction by their contribution of the forebay barn and by their log construction methods, both of which were adopted and disseminated by the Scotch-Irish (Kniffen, 1965). Interestingly, log construction was widespread in the mountains, but according to deed research and National Park photos, the forebay barn was not. The reason for this is unclear, but it may be that the small farms, rocky soil and limited crop production in the Blue Ridge Belt did not justify such a massive and expensive barn.

Another development accredited to acculturation is the single-family, owner-operated farm (Sauer, 1941). The basis of agricultural life was no longer the village or manor of the motherland, but the independent farm. This development is the purpose behind the new Museum of American Frontier Culture located in the Valley at Staunton, Virginia. The goal of the Museum, according to chairman Walter Heyer, is to trace the

settlers migration from England, northern Ireland, and Germany to America and show the "melting" of these cultures to form the unique American way of life. The open-air museum, modelled after those in Europe, will contain one English, one Scotch-Irish, one German, and one Appalachian farmstead. The museum committee was looking for an Appalachian farm dating from 1820-1870, even though the three European farms being dismantled in their homeland and shipped to America date from a much earlier time period. Of interest to this study is the fact that the museum chose to represent this period, rather than the eighteenth century when immigrants first settled the Valley, because of the amount of material and documentation available for historic interpretation. The museum's search for an Appalachian farmstead which would contain building characteristics indicative of the three European cultures was extremely helpful in light of this study as well. These three characteristics were the Pennsylvania German forebay barn (German), the two story log house with a stone end chimney (Scotch-Irish), and steeply pitched roofs on the house, barn and outbuildings (English). Just last month the museum found an Appalachian farm in Botetourt County -- the Barger/Riddlebarger place, with all three of these features.

## OVERALL PATTERNS OF LANDSCAPE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

In order to understand the patterns of landscape organization in the mountains it is important to remember that the northern section of the Blue Ridge Belt, what is now the Shenandoah National Park, was settled approximately seventy years earlier than the southwestern section or what

is now the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Pioneers entered the gaps and hollows of the Blue Ridge Mountains around 1730, whereas the first white man entered Cades Cove in the Smokies in 1800 (Wilhelm, 1978; Hall, 1937). However, like other aspects of cultural heritage, settlement forms, once established, become the "natural" pattern and are accepted as a matter of course. The forms which developed in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia in the early 1730's are types that were adhered to by the pioneers as they settled other parts of the Blue Ridge Belt. This became clear when comparing Gene Wilhelm's studies of settlement forms in the Blue Ridge Mountains with the log and frame distribution maps of the Smokies done by the Park Service in the early 1920's. The forms are nearly identical, particularly the cove and hollow settlements, however, the relative number of each settlement type varies considerably. There are far more cove settlements in the Smokies, for example, than in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Unfortunately, the initial strategy of studying the settlement patterns along the Blue Ridge Parkway, the strip connecting these two parks, proved unsuccessful. Undoubtedly, the same forms would have appeared throughout the Blue Ridge Belt.

Five distinctly different types of settlement developed in the Blue Ridge Mountains between 1730 and 1800, the initial settlement period. Wilhelm calls these types gap, hollow, cove, ridge, and meadow (Wilhelm, 1978). Looking closely at these sites, it is obvious that the early settlers were not necessarily in search of the richest land available along the migration route, but rather the particular type of land they were accustomed to in the motherland. Similar topography, hydrology, climate and soil

would allow them to continue familiar farming practices using tools and crops brought from home. The Scotch-Irish immigrants, accustomed to rugged country, generally did not settle in the relatively flat, fertile foothills of the mountains but continued on up into the upper hollows and ridges. The Germans, in search of black walnut and rich limestone soil, chose the mouths of hollows and coves. Initially, they shunned the upper hollows solely because they were the seats of Scotch-Irish settlements (Wilhelm, 1975).

### **Gap Settlement Type**

A gap is a v-shaped notch or break in the main ridge or mountain chain. The Blue Ridge Mountains run northeast to southwest whereas gaps cut east-west through the main ridge. Geologists call them "wind gaps" because they funnel wind. Actually these formations are former water gaps that have been "pirated" of their streams or left dry because of uplift to the mountains (Wilhelm, 1975). The climate is harsh in gaps compared to the lowlands due to higher elevations and wind, while the soil is infertile Porter's loam and quite shallow. The natural vegetation is closed-oak forest.

Chronologically, the gap and hollow settlements were formed at approximately the same time, around 1730 (Wilhelm, 1978). Indians made a deep impression upon parts of the mountains landscape, and although woodland Indians used the mountains primarily as a ground for hunting, fishing, gathering and chipping, they cleared the forestland at the base of the

mountains for agriculture. These clearings, called Indian old fields, often occurred in gaps and at the mouths of hollows and were the first sites chosen for settlement.

The common settlement pattern in gaps and hollows was not marked by the isolated homestead, as is so typically portrayed, but by forms that more closely resemble a blending of the tightly knit rural farmsteads of Ulster and Germany (Wilhelm, 1978). This pattern makes sense in terms of the initial settlers, particularly the Scotch-Irish. The Scotch-Irish, who had family and friends already settled in the nearby Shenandoah Valley, often came in units of two to three families and settled close to each other for mutual assistance and protection. These settlements evolved into a strictly linear pattern. Figure 4, taken from Wilhelm's article entitled, "Folk Settlements in the Blue Ridge Mountains," shows the linear nature of a schematic gap settlement. Due to their location, gap settlements acted as vital contact and relay stations in trade, transportation and communication between the Shenandoah Valley and the Piedmont-Tidewater areas of Virginia, and socioeconomic "nerve centers" for the immediate mountain district (Wilhelm, 1978).

### **Hollow Settlement Type**

The mountains consist of strong, resistant rock like granite, granodiorite and gneiss which form the central ridge and lesser ridges extending from it. Valleys between these spurs are called hollows. These hollows, around which much of mountain folklore revolves, run east-west. Their

protected nature provides a more moderate climate than gaps and because of this sheltered condition, they also tend to be richer in wildlife, both numbers and species. Headwall erosion, avalanching, and sliding debris in torrential rains, cause continual erosion and create a fertile alluvial soil at the mouths of hollows which makes them the most common good natural sites available in the mountains. Hillsides flanking valleys in upper hollows have shallow, rockier, and therefore, much less fertile soil than at the mouth. Hollows have permanent water supplies, which together with the soil, made them more attractive to subsistence farmers. Finally, hollows have perhaps the widest assortment of vegetation of any other mountain site. Bottomlands and channelways of lower and mid-hollows are generally dominated by northern hardwood forests, with cooler, eastern slopes in hemlock forest. Steeper, rockier upper hollows tend to be dominated by closed oak forests.

Like gaps, loose clusters of two to three homesteads was the typical settlement form at the mouths of hollows during the first years of occupation. The hollows along the eastern side of the Blue Ridge were settled slightly later than those along the west. English descendants rather than German and Scotch-Irish began to drift into the eastern hollows in the 1750's (Wilhelm, 1975). According to Wilhelm, the naming of physiographic features in the Blue Ridge reflects the varied origins of the first settlers. Names for streams, "run" and "creek," for example, are Scotch-Irish terms found on the west side of the ridge, but uncommon on the east side. Similarly, "branch," "fork," and "brook," English terms, are found on the east or Piedmont side of the ridge but not on the west

(Wilhelm, 1975). This does not explain, however, why an Elizabethan dialect was and may still be found in almost all hollows of the Blue Ridge, including those first settled by the Scotch-Irish and German (Gordon, 1968).

These first hollow settlers beyond the reach of law and order developed their own set of rules, especially for squatters (Wilhelm, 1978). If a pioneer wanted to settle within the same hollow as an already established squatter, he had to move above or beyond the first homestead or buy the land rights from the first owner. This common practice led to the dispersed, but not isolated, linear hollow settlement pattern (Wilhelm, 1978). Settlement started at the mouth of the hollow and progressed along local streams to the head of the hollow. Each farmstead was approximately one-half to one mile apart. Depending on the size of the hollow and the influx of settlers, this process could take several years or several generations. By the time the Park Service acquired the land for the Shenandoah National Park, most hollows were full, with those families living at the head seemingly destitute. The garden plots in these upper hollows were often less than 20 feet wide by 30 feet long (Wilhelm, 1978). Figure 4 shows a typical linear hollow settlement pattern. The same type of linear hollow settlement pattern was visible in a map drawn from memory by Miss Lucinda Ogle of several hollows in the Great Smoky Mountains. As in the Blue Ridge Mountains, schools, churches, mills and stores were located at the mouth of the hollow with dirt roads connecting hollow settlements to each other and to the nearest gap.

The linear arrangement is by far the most common type of hollow pattern, however, two of the hollows in the Shenandoah National Park, Bacon and Nicholson, were settled in what Wilhelm calls a "fan-shaped" pattern (Wilhelm, 1978). These fan-shaped hollows originated at or near the headwalls of the hollow first then progressed sideways to neighboring tributaries. The settlement finally jumped downslope to the major confluence area of the main river and its tributaries, leaving vacant land in between (Wilhelm, 1978). The farms within each tributary cluster were only 500 feet apart, while the distance between clusters averaged one mile. The distance between the highest settlement cluster at the headwaters of the river and the settlement at the major confluence as approximately three miles. The reason for this unique pattern is unclear, though it could have to do with the fact that in at least one of these hollows all the land was owned by one man, Aaron Nicholson. Since the headwall was the baseline for this settlement, Nicholson's children and grandchildren were forced up onto rocky infertile slopes rather than higher into the hollow. The diagram below shows a schematic interpretation of a fan-shaped hollow. No fan-shaped hollows were evident in the Smokies. The disadvantages of this settlement pattern may have been such that it was not carried down the Blue Ridge Belt.

### **Cove Settlement Type**

Coves are relatively smooth-floored, oval-shaped valleys that rarely exceed 10 square miles in area. They are usually surrounded by high mountains with a narrow drainage outlet occurring at the lower end. Often this

outlet is the only natural route in and out. The surrounding mountains afford coves maximum protection from the elements, therefore, the climate and exposure is less extreme than in hollows and gaps. The average elevation is approximately that of mid-hollows, however they lack the variety of vegetation which occurs on the eastern slopes of lower and mid-hollows. Most of the vegetation in coves was cleared by settlers in the early nineteenth century, although cove hardwood and closed oak forests still grow on surrounding slopes. Coves are underlain by limestone and shale and possess fertile loam soil with the highest fertility of any settlement type. It is not surprising, therefore, that of the five coves Wilhelm studied in the Shenandoah National Park, all were occupied by settlers of German descent (Wilhelm. 1978).

The coves in the northern Blue Ridge Mountains were settled by squatters in the 1740s. Initial settlers labored in field agriculture, however, the major drawback of these areas -- the relative lack of water, forced later generations to turn to cattle raising. Cattle would be grazed in the high meadows and balds in the summer and driven back to the coves in the fall. In the Blue Ridge Mountains and in the Smokies, where coves were a prominent form, the settlement pattern is an oval. This pattern was due primarily to the configuration of the land, though Wilhelm argues it may have antecedents in the "Runddorfer" or German "round village" (Wilhelm 1978). The farmsteads were clustered near the outlet of the cove and lined the perimeter of the basin. Inside the farmsteads, a dirt road, once a trail, wound around the basin. Cades Cove, a settlement in the Smokies left intact by the National Park Service, also has two dirt roads

or "lanes" cutting through the center of the basin. Sparks Lane, a north-south lane, was part of a family-to-family road system that evolved by the 1840s. Hyatt Lane, almost in the dead center of the cove, crossed the cove and joined Cades Cove Road or Rich Mountain Road, an old Indian trail and a direct road out of the cove from the south side. In Steele's Cove, Wilhelm's example from the Blue Ridge Mountains, streams run along its perimeter. In Cades Cove, however, Abram's Creek runs east-west through its very center. Figure 4 shows a schematic cove settlement.

### **Ridge Settlement Type**

The ridge settlement type is the most rugged of the five settlement types. Ridges, as Wilhelm describes them, are "long, narrow fingers, perpendicular to the main mountain chain and characterized by large rock outcroppings and steep slopes" (Wilhelm, 1975). Due to the erosion of slopes, the soil is shallow and rocky, and there is very little flat, fertile land. The climate is harsh because of the elevation and extreme exposure, and the vegetation -- open-oak forest, is sparse. Unlike cove settlements where wildlife abounds, the severe natural conditions of ridges limit both the numbers and species of animals.

Ridge settlements were uncommon late developments in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Once the best mountain land in gaps, hollows and coves was taken by the late eighteenth century, latecomers into the mountains were forced to settle high upon the ridges. Initial settlers of Tanner's Ridge in the Blue Ridge Mountains located their homesteads below and aside the

ridge crest, which in time produced a linear settlement pattern (Wilhelm, 1978). Dwellings were less than 500 feet apart. Figure 4 shows a schematic representation of a typical ridge settlement. Rugged steep trails, later dirt roads, connected ridge settlements to hollows around them.

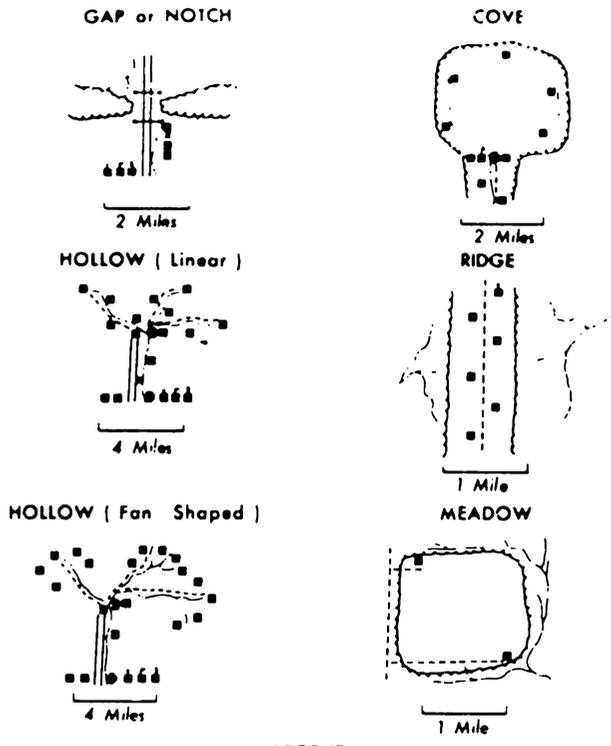
Ridge settlements appear to be rare in the lower portion of the Blue Ridge Belt. In the Smokies, settlers only built permanent homes up to 2500 feet on the Tennessee side and 3500 feet on the North Carolina side (Ed Trout, Park Historian). The altitude at the foot of the Smokies is 1200 feet on the Tennessee side and 2500 feet on the North Carolina side, representing only a 1000-1300 foot change in altitude, therefore, it may mean that the later settlers in the Smokies avoided ridgetops for permanent homes. This could easily have been possible. Whereas four or five generations filled the Blue Ridge Mountains before the coming of the Park, only two or three generations populated the Smokies - leaving ample room for late settlers in coves and hollows.

### **Meadow Settlement Type**

A meadow is defined as a grassy clearing surrounded by forest on segments of flat to low slope on high mountain ridges (Wilhelm, 1975). The high elevation causes harsh winds, high precipitation and lack of vegetation. Deer and, formerly, elk were attracted to the herbacious vegetation and the forest edge, but there are relatively few animals except in summer.

Meadow settlement was the last among the mountain settlement types. The families which did settle in the meadows around 1800 acted as tenant farmers and drovers for lowland livestock (Wilhelm, 1978). Livestock from the lowland was driven into the mountains to graze for the summer. This practice may have had its origins in the rundale system of Ireland. This system required that cattle be moved to upland summer "booleys" so that the yard surrounding the farmhouse had the chance to reseed themselves (Evans, 1957). Wilhelm found little information on either the structures or the inhabitants of the meadows, though most structures seemed to be built at the forest edge. Figure 4 shows hypothetical building locations in a meadow settlement.

The Smokies have a natural phenomenon similar to the meadows of the Blue Ridge called "balds". These balds, so called because they lack trees, are of two types: the heath bald, dominated by shrubs such as mountain laurel, blueberry and rhododendron, and the grass bald, primarily covered by grasses and sedges. Grassy balds, like meadows, were used as high pastures and grazed by settlers' cattle. Small huts, but no large farms, were established there for herders (Murlless and Stallings, 1973). Like meadows, too, the origins of balds is unclear. It is believed that, at least in grass balds, fire has been a major factor along with grazing. Whatever the explanation, it must take into account the fact that several balds and meadows are part of Indian tradition, and therefore have existed a long time (Murlless and Stallings, 1973).



- LEGEND**
- |   |                 |       |                      |
|---|-----------------|-------|----------------------|
| ■ | Inn or Ordinary | ●     | Water - Powered Mill |
| ■ | Dwelling        | —     | Toll Gate            |
| ⊕ | Church          | ==    | Dirt Road            |
| ⊕ | School          | - - - | Trail                |
| ⊕ | General Store   | ~     | Perennial Stream     |

Period Represented : 1790 - 1975  
 Source : Field Data 1964 - 1975

Figure 4. Schematic Diagrams of Five Settlement Types

## LAND USE: CATEGORIES AND ACTIVITIES

The land use category for 19th century Blue Ridge farmsteads is simple enough: farming. The land use activities, however, are somewhat more complicated. The distribution and kinds of activities which took place in these farmsteads can be traced to a number of sources. At the start of his book Common Landscapes of America, 1580-1849, John Stilgoe describes the early models for American farms in terms of "landschaft", or the German work meaning landscape - a collection of dwellings and other structures crowded together within a circle of pasture, meadow, planting fields, and surrounded by unimproved forest or marsh (Stilgoe, 1981). The cluster of structures and spaces in the center of what may be thought of as concentric circles of various land use activities, was called a "stead", and considered a stay against the confusion and catastrophe of the outside world (Stilgoe, 1981). Steads varied in form across central and western Europe, but the essential pattern remained the same. This is the stead from which we get the word farmstead, and will be studied in greater detail in the section entitled, "Cluster Arrangements". The remainder of the "landschaft", the fields surrounding the stead also varied from region to region, partly as a function of agriculture and partly as a result of cultural decisions (Stilgoe, 1981). This area will be addressed in the section, "Response to Natural Features".

The Blue Ridge form of landschaft most resembles that of the openfield system of England and Ireland. This seems to be the agricultural organization which was clung to despite thousands of enclosure acts, and sub-

sequently carried to the New World by European immigrants (Ernle, 1912). This form, also called the "infield-outfield" system in Ulster, derived from spacial economics as did most landschaft forms. The garden was typically closest to the house and both house and garden were fenced. The infield, a ring of fields and orchards which was worked less intensively than the garden, surrounded the fenced-in dwelling and garden and was kept in cultivation year after year. The outfield, which lay outside the infield, was rough pastureland, sections of which were temporarily reclaimed and then left to rest for long periods. (Wilhelm, 1978). Beyond the outfield lay the hardwood forest.

In the Blue Ridge, as in Ireland, the infield was under stubble, pastured and manured by grazing stock during the winter months in order to keep the area productive (Wilhelm, 1978). During summer months when crops were growing in the infield, livestock was allowed to roam in the outfield and the forest beyond, or was taken to the high meadows to graze. If a mountain family became more prosperous it would clear more of the outfield and incorporate the land into the infield (Wilhelm, 1978). Infields examined in one hollow of the Blue Ridge averaged 10 acres. Interesting this same figure, 10-12 acres, was given as the ideal German crop field size by Schuricht in his book, The German Element in Virginia (Schuricht, 1898). Outfields averaged 20 acres (Wilhelm, 1978). Figure 5, from Wilhelm's article entitled, "Folk Settlements in the Blue Ridge Mountains," is a schematic diagram of the infield-outfield agricultural system.

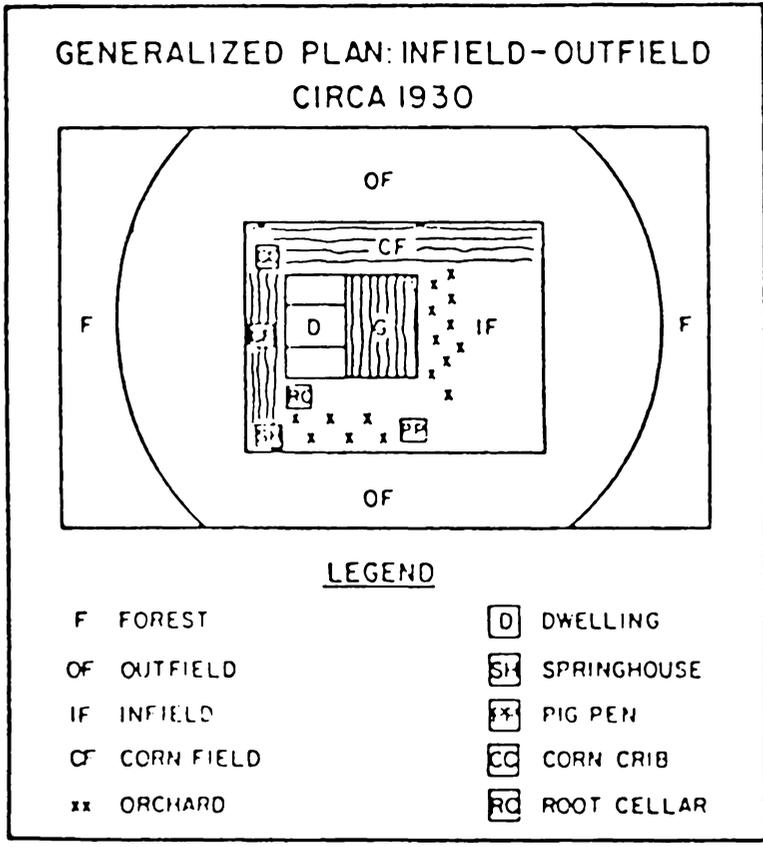


Figure 5. Infield-Outfield Agricultural System

It was difficult to discern the size of infields and outfields in the Blue Ridge and the Smokies based on the information available at the Park libraries. The improvement inventories at the Shenandoah National Park headquarters were the most helpful in terms of breaking down the total acreage, but even the inventory categories did not correspond with the infield or outfield per se. The inventory categories were cove, slope, ridge, orchard, grazing, tillable, and and, finally, field restocking, which may be comparable to those sections of the outfield left to rest. Fifty-two percent of the total acreage, was classified as slope; 30 percent as ridge, 4 percent as grazing, either woodland or field; 3 percent as tillable, 11 percent as cove, 9 percent as field restocking, and less than one percent as orchard. These percentages clearly show how little land the mountain settler actually had to cultivate. It would be interesting to compare these statistics with those of the Shenandoah Valley at approximately the same time. The total acreage of gap, hollow, ridge, and cove farmsteads ranged from three acres in Fisher's gap owned by the Laraloba Mining and Development Company and leased to Wiley Card to 19,344 acres along the west side of the Blue Ridge owned by John A. Alexander. Alexander's 19,344 acre tract was highly unusual, especially in view of the fact it was primarily ridge land. It was the only tract over 500 acres and represents two percent of the samples. Thirty percent of the 37 samples had 50-100 acre tracts, 19 percent had 0-20 acres and 19 percent had 100-175 acres, 14 percent had 20-50 acres, 11 percent had 175-250 acres, and five percent had 250-500 acres. The most common farm size in the Blue Ridge Mountains based on these samples, therefore, appears to have been 175 acres or less.

The results in the Smokies appear to be quite similar. Thirty-four percent of the 77 samples had 50-100 acre tracts, 27 percent had 20-50 acres, 17 percent had 100-175 acres, 10 percent had 0-20 acres, seven percent had 250-500 acres and five percent had 175-250 acres. Again, well over three-quarters of the farms appear to have had 175 acres or less. Unlike the the Alexander property in the Blue Ridge Mountains, no samples in the Smokies had more than 500 acres. Table 1 below shows the relationship of nineteenth century farm areas in the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains.

## RESPONSE TO NATURAL FEATURES

Variations in soil and topography along with other local circumstances ensure that no farm had or has perfectly concentric zones of cultivation. In the Blue Ridge, much depended on the slope and sources of water. Wilhelm found that of all five settlement types, the linear hollow sites most resembled those of the traditional infield-outfield system of Ulster, perhaps because the rocky conditions at these sites are much like that of Ireland. Each settlement type, however, had a unique pattern of land use which adapted the infield-outfield system to specific conditions and limitations. The relationships of these natural features to early Blue Ridge Mountain farms are as follows.

Table 1. Farm Areas in the Blue Ridge Belt

Acres	# of Farms in Shenandoah	Percentage of Total	# of Farms in Smokies	Percentage of Total
0-20	7	19	8	10
20-50	5	14	21	27
50-100	11	30	26	34
100-175	7	19	13	17
175-250	4	11	4	5
250-500	2	5	5	7
Over 500	1	2	0	0

## Gaps

Gaps were composed primarily of commercial buildings. These buildings such as inns, stores, and mills generally faced the turnpike which ran through the middle of the gap. Innkeeping may have been more lucrative than farming, however, from the six inventories of what appear to be gap farmsteads in the Blue Ridge Mountains, farming conditions look favorable. Of the total 555 acres, only 6 percent was slope -- far below the mountain average of 52 percent; 79 percent, on the other hand, was grazing, primarily field rather than woodland grazing; three percent was cultivated, one percent was field restocking, and, curiously, less than one percent was in orchard. The farthest distance to a paved road or nearest shipping point was only 4 miles, the average being 10-15 miles for all farms sampled within the Park.

The acreage of each farm ranged from 3 to 216 acres, and all but one was totally enclosed with rail and wire fence -- a sign of some means. One farm fronting Lee Highway, had only 16 acres of slope and 44 acres of grazing. There was no orchard or indication of crops in cultivation. The dwelling was the largest in the study with 608 sq. ft. and 10 rooms, and the outbuildings included a livery stable, something rare in the mountains. These clues indicate that this particular site may have been an inn much like those in Thornton's Gap, rather than a farm.

## Hollows

**Linear Hollows:** Linear hollows, such as Weakly Hollow in the Blue Ridge, had three different types of farm arrangements corresponding with the lower, mid and upper sections of the hollow. According to the eight hollow farmstead inventories in the Blue Ridge Mountains, hollow farms have 27 percent more slope land than gaps - a total of 44 percent, 16 percent cultivated land, 24 percent grazing, 10 percent field restocking and 4.5 percent orchard. These statistics may be somewhat distorted, however, due to the fact that four out of the eight samples were upper hollow settlements.

**Lower Hollow:** According to Wilhelm, in the lower hollows where linear hollow settlement would have begun, log houses were constructed on natural terraces near the "flat" or bottomland along the stream (Wilhelm, 1978). Log barns and smaller outbuildings were strung out in linear fashion either on the flat or on the natural terrace or both. The fields were on the alluvial flat adjacent to the stream, where the soil was richest and the sun fullest, and usually close to the barn. Typically the orchards, fields, outbuildings, and dwelling-garden complex were enclosed by split-rail and paling fences.

**Mid-Hollow:** In the mid-section of hollows where the valley was narrower, slopes steeper and soil generally poorer and thinner, the yield and variety of crops was greatly reduced. This was often manifested in poorer living conditions. Houses were built on the narrower alluvial flat, while

barns, outbuildings and fields were above them on the slopes (Wilhelm, 1978). This way the house, not the crops, took up the best land. The mountain settler seemed to have believed in what Wilhelm calls the "let it roll to us" philosophy. Orienting the farm complex top to bottom required less effort in hauling crops to the barn and house. According to Joseph Hall, a park service collaborator assigned to collect and record Smoky Mountain dialect, much of the humor of the mountain settler was concerned with the steepness of his hills. One popular saying in the 1920's was that some mountaineers had to tie their pumpkins to stakes driven into the slope so that they would not endanger the lives people passing below (Hall, 1937). These sayings about hillside farming carried over into other activities as well. Many a mountain family is said to have gotten its firewood by throwing it down the chimney (Hall, 1937). Like lower hollows, split rail fences enclosed the fields, orchards, outbuildings and dwelling-garden complex.

The major difference between the mid- and lower hollow was the position of the dwelling in relationship to the infield. In the mid-hollow the outbuildings were upslope or behind the dwelling because the cornfield was smaller than the one in the lower hollow. Consequently, a second cornfield developed upslope and behind the dwelling but still within the infield (Wilhelm, 1978). In both the mid and lower hollows, the outfield and forest land were further upslope. Gardens characteristically adjoined houses throughout the hollow (Wilhelm, 1975).

Upper Hollow: The land use pattern altered in the upper reaches of linear hollows due to the steepness of the slopes and scarcity of bottomland. The house was on the steepest slope above the outbuildings and garden plots. Figure 6 shows the land use patterns in lower, mid and upper hollow sections of linear hollows in the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Often the steep slopes in the upper hollows were terraced for cultivation. This was true not only in the Blue Ridge Mountains but in the Smokies and in Patrick County, Virginia as well. Robert Samuel Slate, Claudville, Virginia, describes terracing in Patrick County this way:

Now over here in Asbury they, had rock walls put across the field, and there was just a wide flats you know, and it'd wash a gully down through there if they didn't do nothing. And they'd start to putting rock in there and build a wall, and they said it'd fill up to the top of the rock, they'd made the wall higher. And it might be ten or twenty rows wide from one rock wall to another one and, I've saw them, and talked to, oh it was an old man Pete Slate. I don't know a-kin he was to me not much, but he said that, uh, his daddy started them rock walls, and as their land washed away, said they kept building them higher. And down, now they'd be, I don't know where -- I ain't seen them in a long while but they'd be high, they was high the last time I seen them but it was level from one rock was up to the bottom of the next one. Some good land. Yeah, and they'd take them and, uh, they'd plant grapevines in them rock walls, and they'd let them (chuckles) hang on the walls. They's doing pretty nice farming then. Nicer than now in a way that was (Slate, tapes #3, #4, Patrick County Oral History Project).

In the Shenandoah, the terraces averaged 50 feet long and 15 feet wide, and had parallel stone walls approximately 4 feet high (Wilhelm, 1978). The walls were planted with mountain laurel and azalea, slipped in near the base among the stones in order to strengthen the wall and retard erosion. This technique closely resembled the traditional hedged-ditch

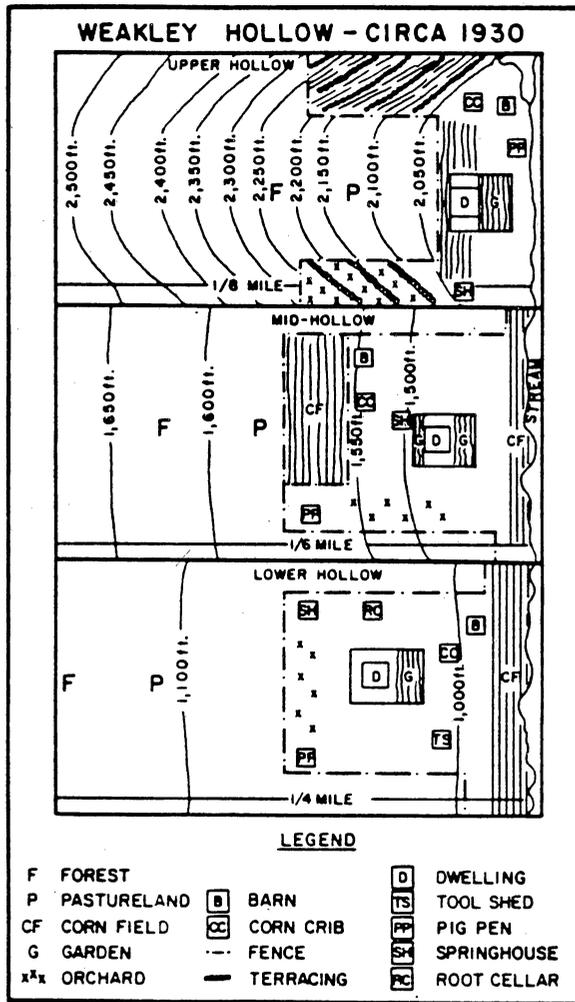


Figure 6. Lower, Mid and Upper Hollow Land Use Patterns in the Blue Ridge Mountains

of Ulster and may have been brought to the mountains by the Scotch-Irish (Evans, 1957).

**Fan-Shaped Hollows:** The uncommon, fan-shaped hollows had altogether different farm arrangements. Communal pastureland or outfield surrounded each settlement cluster, and field crops grew in long strips on the fertile alluvial flats parallel to the streams farther downslope near the dwellings (Wilhelm, 1978). Some fruit trees were planted in gardens adjoining the dwellings but the main orchard adjoined the long fields farther up the side slopes. Figure 7 shows the land use patterns of the fan-shaped Nicholson Hollow on the Blue Ridge Mountains.

### **Coves**

There were no improvement inventories for coves in the Shenandoah. According to Wilhelm, dwellings, barns, and smaller outbuildings always faced the road or the middle of the cove (Wilhelm, 1978). Each farmstead was made up of a front pasture with the dwelling and outbuildings oriented in a haphazard line from the road to the edge of the cove. Though farms were generally larger in coves than in the other settlement types, all structures were purposely placed close together to provide more pastureland.

## UPPER NICHOLSON HOLLOW CIRCA 1930

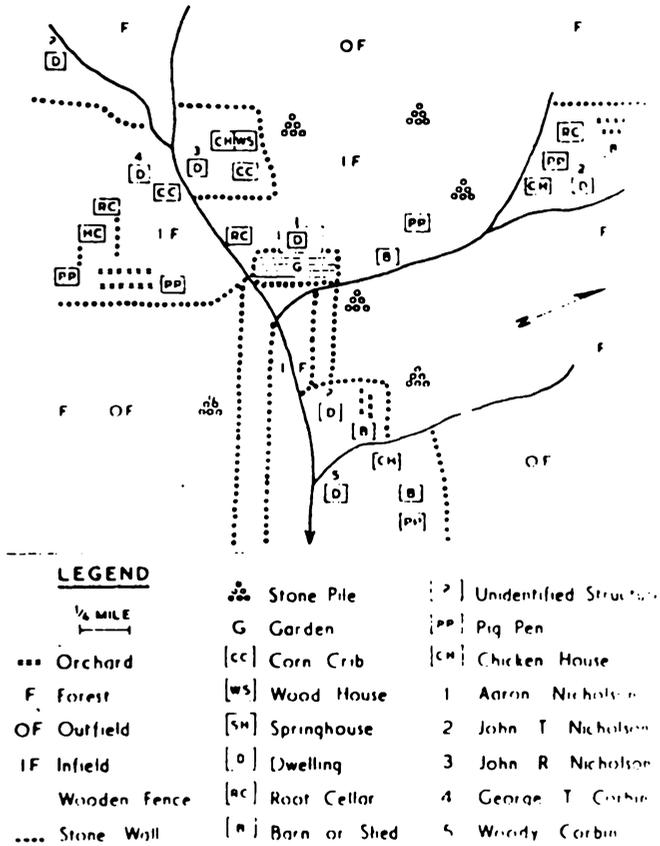


Figure 7. Land Use in Fan-Shaped Nicholson Hollow

## Ridges

In the eight ridge farmsteads studied, acreage was extremely large, however, 41 percent of the land was unusable "ridge" land, 53 percent was slope, 3 percent was grazing, 1 percent cultivated and 4 percent field restocking. Undoubtedly this was some of the poorest land in the mountains. Ridge farmers were paid only \$10-\$15 per acre compared with \$20-\$25 per acre in hollow land and \$50-\$60 per acre for cove land. Along the ridges, dwellings were in a direct line with each other. Barns and smaller outbuildings were strung along the steep slope below the house, and small gardens were planted next to the house on the east side of the structure, protected from westerly winds (Wilhelm, 1978).

## Meadows

Again, there were no improvement inventories for meadow settlements in the Blue Ridge. The scanty information Wilhelm collected on meadow settlements shows three dwellings in Big Meadows. These dwellings faced the interior of the meadow, and only the original cabin had any outbuildings. Paling fences enclosed two of the dwellings with gardens. A small dispersed apple orchard was located south of the newest of these dwellings.

## CIRCULATION NETWORKS

Circulation networks was one of the most difficult components to research because so few people have felt it worthy enough to record. At a large scale, there were transverse mountain roads and a turnpike system, many of which ran along old Indian trails throughout the mountain-ridge section of the Blue Ridge Belt. This was especially true in the Blue Ridge Mountains which are not nearly as rugged or high as the Smokies. Averaging only 4-10 miles across, it would take a healthy person on foot less than a day to hike from one side of the ridge to the other (Wilhelm, 1977). In over half of the improvement inventory samples taken in the Shenandoah, the proximity to the nearest shipping point -- meaning a fairly large town such as Luray, Culpeper, or Elkton, was under 10 miles. All but three or 91 percent were under 25 miles. Unfortunately, no such information was available in the Smokies. The settlements closest to these shipping points were typically gap settlements, then hollow and cove, and finally, ridge and meadow. Even the relatively isolated ridges and meadow settlements, however, had road and trail connections with hollow and gap settlements nearby. This appears to be true in the Smokies as well. Crude mountain trails and dirt roads led out of many hollows to turnpikes and linear gap settlements. These turnpikes, in turn, connected the entire mountain district with nearby Valley and Piedmont communities.

The roads inherent in each settlement type were linear for gap, ridges and most hollows, and circular for coves and meadows. Very little is known of farm lanes radiating off these roads. In Pennsylvania German

farms, the farm lanes led directly into the farmyard adjacent to the barn (Long, 1972). This appears to be true of most farms found in the samples at the Historic Landmarks Commission. In all cases, the structures of the farm complex were entirely on one side of the main route. There was not one case in which the buildings "spilled" over to the other side. They did, however, typically occur on both sides of the farm lane. In the 21 samples where the farm lane was evident, over 80 percent had the farmhouse and barn on opposite sides of the lanes, though never directly opposite each other. This relationship was not discernible in the sketches done for the improvement inventories in the Shenandoah since only the dwelling and not the barn was marked. What was apparent from these sketches, however, was the fact that the farm lane ran either directly through the middle of the property, often cutting grazing fields in half, or, less often, along one boundary of the property, particularly if the boundary was defined by a creek.

In several samples taken from the Landmark Commission, there was a "service alley" running between the house and the kitchen -- a separate building, and slaves quarters. This is atypical of most mountain farms, however, and reflects the biasness of the Landmark files. Most mountain settlers did not own slaves for both economic and philosophical reasons, and only 11 percent of the Shenandoah samples had separate kitchens. Undoubtedly, there would have been some configuration of paths running from the house to each of the outbuildings concerned with domestic chores, such as the smokehouse, springhouse and chickenhouse, wood shed and applehouse; paths from the barn to each of the outbuildings related di-

rectly to farming such as sheds and hog corncribs, and a prominent path leading from the house to the barn. The only road capable of handling a wagon, however, would probably have been the farm lane. In both the Shenandoah and the Landmark Commission samples, there are several instances of small log bridges crossing streams which run through the property.

## BOUNDARY DEMARCATIONS

Most of the farms sampled in the Blue Ridge Mountains were bounded by streams, ridges and other natural features. Farms, therefore, were never perfectly square as they were in the midwest. Typically the parcels were partially fenced. If the entire tract was fenced, it was unusual enough for field workers to make a special note on the improvement inventory. The idea of fencing was something relatively new to most mountain settlers. Many of the early German settlers were completely unfamiliar with the wooden fence as an enclosure. Large numbers of Europeans who emigrated from the Rhineland regions lived under feudal control and since land holdings were large, there was little or no necessity for this kind of enclosure (Long, 1972). Under the frontier conditions of the mountains as well, unfenced land was considered proper pasturage for livestock, and a body of custom developed under which the farmer was required to protect his crops (Mather and Hart, 1954). In the late 1800s, however, the "no-fence law" was passed. Contrary to the implication of its name, the law, based on English Common Law, required the construction of fences by each landowner so that his stock might be confined to his own property. This

came about due to the fact that as settlements grew, the cost of fencing crops began to exceed to cost of fencing stock (Mather and Hart, 1954). One woman in the Smokies is said to have professed that the "No-Fence Law was the first thing that ruint this country" (Hall, 1937).

For the pioneer settler in the mountains, fencing proved to be a minor problem. The stones, brush and trees cleared from his fields could be heaped into an effective barrier against the cattle permitted to wander freely in the surrounding woods. It was not uncommon to see piles of stone cleared from crop fields around the farm as late as the 20th century. These piles were, in fact, a kind of trademark of hollow and ridge farm sites. When these rude barricades deteriorated, permanent fences were constructed of the most abundant material -- wood. In the Blue Ridge Belt the most common early fence type was the "worm" fence of split chestnut. Built with a minimum of labor after the rails were split, the worm or snake fence was used primarily to retain smaller animals such as sheep and pigs.

The successor of the worm fence which was extremely popular by the nineteenth century was the "stake and rider" fence. Like the worm fence it was built in zig-zag courses but with thinner timber and started closer to the ground. Like the worm fence too, stake and rider fences took a considerable amount of timber, about 800 post and rails per acre, and wasted alot of farming land, approximately 3 1/2 feet on each side of the boundary line, due to its configuration (Long, 1972). They were generally 7 or 8 rails high, 4 1/2-5 feet off the ground, with the lower rail not

more than 9 inches off the ground. The end of the lowest rail at each section rested on a flat stone known as a rest stone. Not uncommonly, the entire fence was built on a low brick wall, and large stones placed on top of the rails to hold them in place. Rails were alternately laid on top of one another at right angles. Panels were supported with two shorter rails, 6 or 7 feet long and half the length of the rails, which were set at an angle to form an "X". Then two additional rails were laid in the notch of the angle. The top rail, usually rounded and heavy, rested as a binder in each fork. The second or "rider" rail was generally light, one end riding in the notch of one angle and the other end of the rail resting beneath the angle of the stake at the other end (Long, 1972). This rider rail served primarily to keep animals from getting their heads between the rails and throwing the fence over. Most stake and rider fences were used to retain horses and cattle.

There were two interesting variations of the stake and rider fence in the photo collection at the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. One was a stake and rider with the parallel stakes in a line rather than with the more typical alternating pairs of stakes offset. This formed a straight, rather than zig-zag fence. The second was a "post and rider" fence in which one post is used in place of two stakes and the rails fastened to the post with wire and staples. Post and rail fences, although more timber and labor intensive, often replaced the stake-and-rider fence in the gaps and mouths of hollows. These fences were more substantial and required less space and timber for construction. However, holes approximately two feet deep and one foot wide were required every 10 feet for

posts. This was extremely tedious in rocky subsoil and, therefore, post and rail fences did not appear to be as popular as they were in the Valley. There was one unusual variation of this fence type in the Smokies. Andy Brackin's garden fence was four horizontal rails of split chestnut nailed to posts with pickets of split chestnut nailed to the rails.

The picket fence, more ornate than the stake and rider, usually surrounded the house and garden. The garden picket fence is as ubiquitous in the mountains as the log cabin, and the variations are both delightful and endless. A particularly interesting example was on the Mary Birchfield place at the lower north end of Cades Cove in the Smokies. Here was literally a "woven" fence, using two strands of wire at the top and two strands of wire at the bottom for the warp and pickets as the woof. The loom used in making this type of fence was found in Cades Cove and is among the artifacts collected for the museum.

## VEGETATION RELATED TO LAND USE

Securing an adequate food supply was a primary concern among the mountain people. Corn was the main crop and dietary item but it was supplemented by a wide variety of foods. A vegetable garden located immediately behind the house, contained "everything" - "all the vegetables usually found in a garden and the some" (Madden, 1977). An herb garden was also located in the garden plot and contained a wide variety of medicinal herbs and teas. Sweet potatoes and late Irish potatoes were often grown behind the apple house where they were stored for the winter, and, of course, few

farms were without an orchard. Typically, there were few ornamental shrubs and trees, but a wide variety of annuals and perennials.

Gardens were located at the rear or side of the dwelling, frequently close to the kitchen and nearly always on the warm, west or south side, of the house. There is very little information concerning the size of mountain gardens. The garden documented on the Walker sister's home in the Smokies was approximately 40 by 60 feet, but had been doubled to that size in the early 1900s. The entire plot was fenced with hemlock palings (Madden, 1977). No garden was without a fence.

The earliest settlers undoubtedly brought with them the seeds of the most common vegetables from their homeland. These included cabbage, onions, turnips, Irish potatoes and sweet potatoes. Within a short time was added beets, radishes, carrots, cucumbers, corn, beans, squash, pumpkins and melons. Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes and turnips were stored in the fall for winter use. If there was not apple house or cellar, farmers dug a hole in the ground, four by four feet or six by six feet--whatever size they needed. In the hole they put the vegetables in layers of straw or leaves, then put planks across the top and mounded dirt over it. One side was fixed to open in winter to take out vegetables as they were needed (Wood, 1985). Similarly, cabbage was kept by digging a trench approximately a foot wide and deep. The vegetable was pulled up root and all, and placed head down in the trench. Dirt was then mounded around the roots so that water would drain away from them (Wood, 1985).

The herb garden, located within garden plot, contained horseradish, boneset catnip, Indian turnip, peppermint, thyme, tansy, hoarhound, camomile, mustard, rosemary, lemon balm, and a number of herbs used for sweats, salves, poultices, seasoning and medicine. The Andy Bennett place in the Smokies even had a three-sided, flat roof shed with open lattice on all three sides next to the garden for the sole purpose of growing gensing. Wild gensing, which was extremely difficult to cultivate, brought high prices in the neighboring urban areas where it was shipped to the orient.

Orchards for home use were planted on nearly every mountain farm. They were often sited on the warmer side of the house to help cool and shade in the summer and act as a windbreak in the winter (Long, 1972). Some sources say that only a few fruit trees were planted and that the mountain farmer was never much of an orchardist, but findings in the Park's records prove otherwise (Department of Interior Pamphlet on the Johnson Farm, Blue Ridge Parkway, Virginia). Over half or 51 percent of the farms in the Blue Ridge Mountains were reported as having orchards. These orchards always had apple trees, and not just a few, but an average of close to 111 trees. The farms with apples often had peach and cherry trees as well, with an average of 75 peach and 12 cherry trees. Much less common were pear, quince, walnut and chestnut. In the Smokies, 80 percent of the farms were reported as having apple orchards. These orchards averaged 107 apple trees with very few peach, fewer plum, and no cherry or pear trees. The higher percentage of apple orchards in the Smokies may account for the relatively large number of applehouses--19 in the Smokies compared

to one in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Apples, like potatoes and cabbage, were put away for the winter. Those farms without applehouses built rail pens about eight by eight feet or 10 by 10 feet to store apples. These pens were filled with leaves from the woods and the apples were poured in the middle and covered with more leaves to keep until spring (Wood, 1985).

Not only were apples and other fruit trees prolific, but most mountain farmers, though not technically "orchardists", took great pride in their orchards and grew award-winning fruit. John Walker, the Walker sister's father, for example, had apple, peach, plum, pear and cherry trees. His apple orchard alone contained at least twenty varieties, including red Milamg, Limber Twigs, Ben Davis, Roman Beauties, Red Junes, Abrahams, Buckingham, Shockleys, and Sour Johns (Madden, 1972).

Ornamental trees, especially evergreens, were kept to a minimum. This could have been because the effort required to clear tracts of virgin forest cultivated some kind of hostility to trees, or perhaps simply because an open space in the forest giving a clear view to the sky was the most attractive and desirable setting for the house. Early settlers also thought that trees near the house favored the dreaded malarial fever and this may have lingered in the minds of the mountain people (Long, 1972). Whatever the reason, there were few ornamental trees on mountain farms. Evergreen shrubs seem to be unpopular too. Only boxwood and yucca were planted with any consistency. More common were deciduous and herbaceous flowering shrubs. The "indicator plants" for a Smoky Mountain farmstead,

according to park historian Ed Trout, are boxwood, yucca, daffodils or "Easter flowers", rose bushes, and walnuts. Lilac, snowball bushes, rose-of-Sharon, and hydrangea were also popular shrubs. Mountain women seemed to have a knack at growing and propagating these shrubs. As one woman said of here grandmother Dottie;

Her boxwoods were the envy of all. She could break a twig off and root it every time. Many times I saw her take a little bouquet of roses, stick it in the dirt, and soon a little rose bush would start to grow. I watched a hornets nest rose grow way into the top of a locust tree, then I saw a red and white rose bush spread all over the shingled roof of the springhouse (Belcher, 1985).

There was no grass or lawn as we know it. The yards were bare and swept smooth (Ed Trout, conversation). This was done primarily to keep out snakes and rodents. However, flower gardens together with clumps of annuals and perennials carpeted the grounds surrounding the house. In the flower gardens grew such favorites as dahlias, daffodils, lilies, narcissus, sunflowers, bleeding heart, hollyhocks and chrysanthemum. Often gardens had pathways through the middle which led to the spring or an outbuilding or in one case, the family cemetery. Along with the flower garden and yard, flowers could be found in every imaginable container and tub on the front porch, steps, and along walks. A common plant for tubs set in full sun was "cow's tongue" cactus (Belcher, 1985).

Climbing vines, especially grapes, were also a favorite of the mountain people. Blue concord and fox grape often grew up the house and around the windows. Often there were grape arbors which shaded the back porch from the summer sun or ran down paths leading from the kitchen door to

the barn or other outbuildings (Long, 1972). *Vinca minor*, periwinkle or "cemetery vine", and *wysteria* were two other favorites. Interestingly, kudzu vine was used frequently in the Smokies, not so much by farmers but by loggers. When a timber company came into the mountains, they would clear-cut an area for loggers' houses. These houses -- early mobile homes, were square wooden structures with pyramidal roofs and an eye bolt at the top. When one area was logged, booms would pick the houses up by hooking the bolt and move them to the next site. Since there was no shade on these temporary sites, and loggers would only stay several months, they needed something which would shade the houses quickly and not require a large investment. The answer was kudzu. Unlike the wild European boar, park rangers in the Smokies have managed to keep this pest somewhat under control.

An unusual method of combatting insects has also left its mark in the Smokies. According to Ms. Sutton, families burned the underbrush every year to keep out insects. "I've helped set fire and fight fire too. We never did see a beetle." This law against this burning along with the "No-Fence Law" she felt ruined the country (Hall, 1937).

## CLUSTER ARRANGEMENT

Although the terms "farm" and "farmstead" are often used interchangeably, they are technically two different things. The farm includes everything--crops fields, woodlots and farmstead, whereas the farmstead itself contains the concentration of farm buildings and serves as the

farm's operating center. According to the classification outlined by the French geographers, Albert Demangeon, European farmsteads fall into two main types: those built in one block and those with a yard or court (Tishler, 1978). The latter is much more typical of the Blue Ridge Belt and the American landscape in general. John Stilgoe writes that this pattern, a rough rectangle made by buildings and fences, extended from the Danube to the British Isles (Stilgoe, 1982).

The house comprised one edge of the enclosure, a small stable and cow-house formed another. Sometimes a granary and smaller structures like dovecotes completed the third side, and several tiny dwellings, the cottages of laborers, engaged by the households, completed the enclosure on prosperous holdings. Walls or fences usually closed any intervening openings. A stead might be imposing, carefully made of stone or heavy timber and including a number of cottages adjacent to the house, or it might be tiny. But within its walls lay the yard, the "hof", the "cour", the focus of agricultural activity other planting, and just beyond lay the kitchen garden and perhaps several fruit trees (Stilgoe, 1982).

One model for the Blue Ridge farmstead may have originally been the form of estate of the landed "firihers" or freeman of Germany. In these estates, the dwellings were placed back from the roads with lanes leading to them and the house and barn were built around a court or sometimes two courts, the "vorhof" or front yard and the "hinterhof" or backyard (Long, 1972). This farm evolved into the Pennsylvania German farmstead where the front yard became simply the yard and the back yard became the farmyard. The yard included the area immediately surrounding the farmhouse, the garden, and in later years, the lawn. The farmyard included the area around the barn and outbuildings which were used to house the animals, crops and equipment. Within this area was a smaller enclosure immediately in front of the barn stable and enclosed by a stone wall

called the barnyard (Long, 1972). These farmsteads were located on any part of the farm, but normally within a few hundred yards of the roadway and connected to it by a lane (Glass, 1971).

On almost all farms the farmhouse or primary dwelling and barn dominated the farmstead. In the Shenandoah, all the farms sampled had at least one dwelling, eight percent had two, and eight percent had three. Two percent had one barn, while 14 percent had no barns, and 14 percent had two or more barns. In the Smokies, the results are amazingly similar. All the farms had at least one dwelling, six percent had two, and four percent had three. Seventy-one percent had the barn, 17 percent had no barns, and 12 percent had two or more barns. A single house and a single barn seems to have been the norm, therefore.

In the 18 Landmark's Commission samples, 88 percent of the samples which indicated the house and barn and their relationship to the main road showed the house was in front of or closer to the road than the barn. Joseph Glass found this true of Pennsylvania German farmsteads as well (Glass, 1971). The exception to this seems to be in lower and upper hollow settlements where, according to Wilhelm, the barn was closer to the road or on the downhill side of the house. This made sense in terms of the lower hollows, where cropfields ran along the stream near the road, and in upper hollows, where land immediately behind the house was too steep to build upon, and consequently terraced for cropfields.

In his research on the Pennsylvania Culture Region, Joseph Glass also discovered that more often than not, the house and the barn were on the same elevation and less than 50 yards apart (Glass, 1971). This was impossible to tell from the commission surveys, however, since neither topography nor scale were given. Interestingly, in the samples which indicated the layout of the house, 85 percent had kitchens which faced to the barn or, conversely, barns which could be seen from the kitchen. Glass, using the ridge lines of the house and barn as reference lines, showed that the most common relationship between these two major buildings was parallel. The next most common relationship was perpendicular, then end-to-end, and finally diagonal (Glass, 1971). Although the diagonal or askew relationship was easy to detect in the commission surveys, the others were not due to the lack of ridge lines. When we assume the ridge line is parallel with the longer dimension of these structures, it appears as though Glass' conclusions may apply to Blue Ridge Belt farmsteads as well. Forty-five percent were parallel, 36 percent were perpendicular, 0 percent were end-to-end, and a high 18 percent were diagonal. This last figure could be due to the fact that some of these barns apparently replaced earlier barns that had burned, or, in several cases, were parallel with a curve in the road, rather than with the house which sat on the straightaway. The latter was particularly true of unusually linear farmsteads.

Generally speaking, most of the farmsteads in the Blue Ridge seem to have been laid out with a rectangular frame of reference relative to the road. However, the principal factors influencing the ultimate orientation of

the house and barn appear to have been both the road and topography. In the case of gap, ridge, and cove settlements, the farmhouse seems to have been situated on one of the reference lines that paralleled the road, while in hollow settlements the house, though still parallel to the road, was placed in the center of the rectangle. In ridge and cove settlements, barns appeared to have been placed along the same line as the farmhouse or on the remaining one that paralleled it, while in hollow settlements the barn was placed on the line which lay perpendicular to the roadway line. Despite these generalities, mountain farmsteads were rarely if ever, perfectly rectangular. In fact, Wilbur Zelinsky in study, "Where the South Begins: The Northern Limit of the CIS-Appalachian South in Terms of Settlement Landscape," describes one southern Appalachian settlement trait as "the patternless, spatial arrangement of farmsteads and unlimited proliferation thereon of barns, sheds and other structures" (Zelinsky, 1951). The other trait is the deliberate discouragement of lawns around lower class homes (Zelinsky, 1951).

While the house and barn were basic to the nineteenth century Blue Ridge farm, the survival of smaller outbuildings was based upon the persistence of their functional capabilities. Those which continued to perform the same functions were preserved as were those which were adapted or altered to new functions. Those which ceased to be functional, fell to ruin and eventually ceased to exist. The absence of a woodshed or concrib, however, does not mean that it was present and has disappeared. It may never have existed on a particular farm. The table below shows the kinds of outbuildings and their frequency in the 33 farms sampled in the

Shenandoah. Chicken or henhouses (42 percent) seem to be the most common, followed by corncribs or cornhouses (30 percent), smoke or meathouses (39 percent) and springhouses (24 percent). This was not the case in the Smokies, where Grossman's field books accounted for 37 corncribs, 30 smokehouses, 19 springhouses and 10 chickenhouses. Despite the difference in sequence, these four outbuildings still ranked among the most common. Other outbuildings which appeared in the Landmark Commission Surveys were icehouses and weaving houses. There were no signs of either of these in the Shenandoah or the Smokies. Again, this could reflect the biased nature of these surveys. Both types of outbuildings seem somewhat expendable. Milk and butter, for example, could simply be kept cool in the cold mountain springs, and the loom was often relegated upstairs in the house, or, in the case of the Walker sisters, outside on the porch.

There has been little research done to date on the arrangement of outbuildings within the farmstead, and, disappointingly, the findings in the national parks and landmarks commission provided little help. Trewartha, in his study of regional characteristics of American farmstead, cleverly sent grid paper and instructions to 160 high school teachers of vocational agricultural all over the country and let high school students do the legwork. Unfortunately, the farms were chosen according to regions and the regions were based on the type of farming: cotton, wheat, range livestock, corn and livestock, and fluid milk. None of these regions included the Blue Ridge Belt or any of its counties.

William Tishler maintains that while some groups brought to America their traditional Old World methods of arranging these structures, the majority of 19th century farmsteads were influenced by the new conditions, trends, and styles of America (Tishler, 1978). To a certain extent, this was undoubtedly true. Pioneer settlers were on their own. While they clung to old-country lore, such as siting farmhouses "right with the earth" -- parallel to vaguely understood lines of force that directed good health and prosperity, they were forced to innovate (Stilgoe, 1982). Tishler accredits some of these changes to the influence of farming literature, which often incorporated principles from early landscape architects like Andrew Jackson Downing and Robert Morris Copeland (Tishler, 1978). Although this theory is worthy of study, the effects of this literature on Blue Ridge farmsteads was probably negligible. Mountain farmers were dedicated to tradition not change.

The only thing that can be said with certainty about the arrangement of outbuildings in of mountain farmsteads is that their spatial relationships depended on the specific function that they served and how often they were used -- daily, seasonally, or sporadically. If the components in question were primarily associated with the family's home life, they would be oriented toward the house. These included woodsheds, springhouses, smokehouses, chickenhouses, applehouses, and summer kitchens. If the components were primarily associated with the family's farming activities, they would be oriented toward the barn. These included hogpens, granaries, sheephouses, corncribs, wagonsheds, and feedhouses. Those components which were involved in day-to-day activ-

ities throughout the year were located close to either the house or barn with which their functions were affiliated as were those which were used daily during certain seasons only. Those features which were used irregularly were located the farthest away. Family cemeteries, for example, were rarely located with the farmstead itself. Often they were located beyond a knoll, out of sight from the house, or hidden some distance away in a clump of trees. Figure 8, taken from David Madden's book, Mountain Home: The Walker Family Homestead, shows the layout of the Walker sister's farmstead in the Smokies as Madden and the Park Service found it in the early 1900's.

Other factors which may have helped determine the site of these components were the prevailing wind and rain drainage (Sloane, 1955). Often, it has been written, farmhouses are located to the windward side of buildings housing animals in order to help escape barnyard odors. This theory did not hold up using the Landmarks Commission farm lay-outs and assuming a northwesterly wind. Local topography, however, could easily shift the prevailing wind direction at any given site.

## STRUCTURES

According to John Stilgoe, architects were out of place in rural America (Stilgoe, 1982). Structures were kept simple and familiar, and simplicity and familiarity were perpetuated in house and barn raisings. Builders frowned on novel designs not only because the raisings took more time but because they proved dangerous. "Raising subassemblies imperiled all

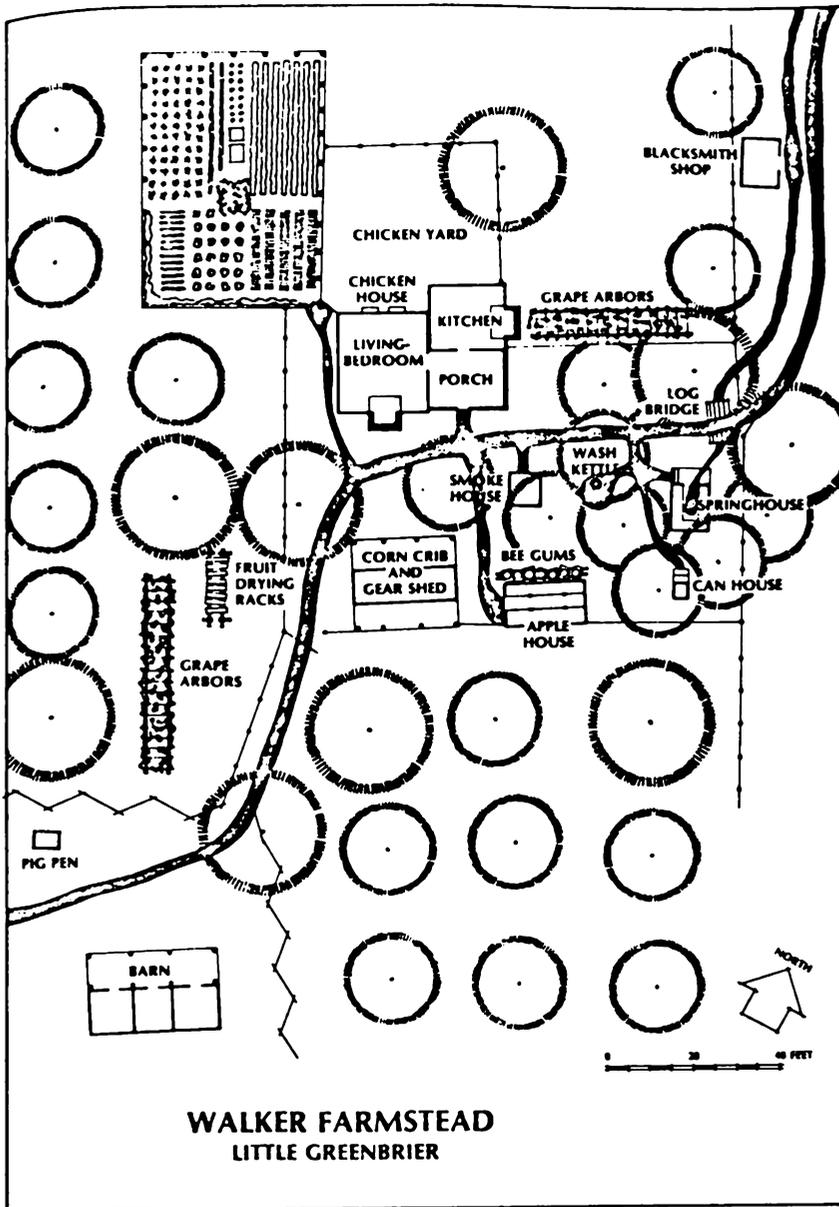


Figure 8. Walker Family Farmstead

helpers even when everyone understood them perfectly," Stilgoe writes. "Raising a strange frame tempted fate" (Stilgoe, 1982). Thus, frames and building forms became standardized by the early 18th century, and were kept standardized, at least in the mountains, up until the late 19th century. Unlike today, if one's house and barn were like his neighbors' structures, so much the better. His uniformity displayed his solid social position in the community, and his willingness to abide by what Stilgoe calls the "unspoken architectural and social ground rules" (Stilgoe, 1982). This was not as true of the smaller outbuildings on the farm. While the dimensions and proportions of the houses and barns showed a great deal of similarity in the National Parks, particularly the Smokies, the other structures did not. This is probably due to the fact that these structures were small enough to be built by the owner himself, without neighborly help, and therefore allowed him greater flexibility in design.

## **Farmhouses**

Dell Upton, in the script from his presentation at Ferrum College entitled, "Architecture Beyond the Blue Ridge", writes that immigrants into the mountains brought with them two distinct architectural traditions. The first was the English and Scotch-Irish which Upton lumps together under the name of Anglo-American. Scotch-Irish settlers from Pennsylvania and English settlers from east of the Blue Ridge brought with them Americanized versions of the smaller houses of these common traditions. They included single-cell or one-room houses with gable roofs, and end chimneys. If the houses were square, they had one or two openings

on each of the principle facades, and if they were longer than they were deep, three openings with a central entry (Upton, 1977). Traditionally, they were one or one-and-a-half stories high. The English called them "English cabins", and they were essentially the Southern Mountain cabin found throughout the Blue Ridge Belt in the 19th century (Glassie, 1968).

The Scotch-Irish and English also brought with them a larger, rectangular, one or one-and-a-half story house with two rooms (Upton, 1977). In the Tidewater, they are called hall and parlor houses. In the mountains they have simply been called rectangular houses. Traditionally, in England, the house had three rooms, but the plan was reduced to only two rooms for either purposes of symmetry or owing to a change in social arrangements of farmers and farm laborers (Upton, 1977) The large room or hall was the main living, and often the cooking and sleeping room, while the smaller room or parlor was giving over to sleeping or storage. When the small room was heated, you had the double-end chimney hall and parlor house typical of Tidewater. When it was not, you had what has been called by Glassie and others the rectangular cabin without the second chimney (Upton, 1977; Glassie, 1968). Upton emphasizes the fact that the hall and parlor and rectangular cabin are alternate versions of the same plan and therefore both Anglo-American while Glassie credits the rectangular cabin to German influences (Upton, 1977; Glassie, 1968).

A third plan, the I-house, was also Anglo-American. I-houses were two stories, one room deep and two or more rooms long. Like the hall and parlor house, the I-house usually had two gable end chimneys. Although

sometimes built of brick, they were usually of wood and hefty limestone chimneys at each end and a two story porch on the front. In these I-houses, three and five front openings were typical. An odd number of bays allowed the door to be centered. The three and five front opening farmhouses seems to have been a "well-developed" import from England (Glass, 1971).

These three basic plans, together with "ell", "tee", and kitchen and porch additions, account for many of the houses found in the Blue Ridge Belt. However, Germans were entering the mountains at about the same time as the Scotch-Irish, and their architectural traditions undoubtedly influenced the structures of Blue Ridge Belt as well.

German houses in their traditional form were one and a half or two stories tall with central chimneys. On one side of the chimney was a narrow "kuche" or kitchen which normally ran from the front to the back of the building. The entrance doors were here, one opposite the other (Upton, 1977). On the other side of the chimney was a larger, squarish "stube" or parlor or stove room (Upton, 1977). Often there was a third, smaller room or "kammer" at the back of the stube. It was always partitioned off with vertical boards and usually only seven or eight feet deep (McCleary, 1983). This room could be for sleeping and/or storage. The attic, used for storing grains at harvest time, was an important area in German houses, as was the cellar, used for storing foodstuffs. Full length porches or piazzas were often original features on one or both sides of the house.

There were very few examples of traditional German houses in the mountains because as the two cultures began to mix, the Germans began to adapt the visual form of their houses to English modes. According to Kniffen, the off-center, central chimney was the first tradition to go as Germans moved their chimneys to the gable ends (Kniffen, 1965). Glass confirms this in his study of the Pennsylvania Culture Region (Glass, 1971).

Edwin Brumbaugh indicates in his article, "Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans", however, that central chimneys could be found on Pennsylvania German houses as late as 1902 (Gordon, 1968). This could explain why Gordon, in his study of the upland south and lowland south cultural regions discovered that 86 percent of the I-houses with central chimneys occurred in the western part of Floyd and Patrick Counties, Virginia -- the upland region, while the distribution of I-houses with exterior end chimneys showed an opposite pattern, occurring only in the eastern parts of Floyd and Patrick Counties (Gordon, 1968). The Germans, it has been noted, were the predominant culture of the western part of these counties, and the Tidewater English, the predominant culture of the eastern part.

In order to make the houses look even more English -- or better, more modern, sometimes the Germans altered the fenestration or increased the number of bays. This often resulted in an even number of bays, usually four, which, in order to make the facade look symmetrical, lead to what Zelinsky calls "double-doorway houses" (Zelinsky, 1951). Gordon, again,

found an unusually high concentration of these houses in the western or upland section of his field study area (Gordon, 1968).

Gradually, the German cellar went (though there was one in an early log house in the Shenandoah and several mentioned in Grissom's fieldbooks), replaced by two new outbuildings -- the meathouse and the springhouse. Like the old cellar, the springhouse had a spring or stream in it for cooling and water supply purposes. Most mountain springhouses were also located over a spring or stream, thus betraying their German origins. English Tidewater dairies were always dry. (Upton, 1977) Eventually, the granary disappeared, particularly in the story-and-a-half houses, and the upstairs was finished as a bedroom. Finally, the interior room use changed. The kitchen, no longer the kuche, has been moved to an ell. The kuche became the main setting room, and the two other ground floor rooms became a dining or parlor and bedroom (Upton, 1977). By the mid-nineteenth century, traditional German houses were no longer built. Upton is quick to point out, however, that the change was not one sided. The greatest contribution that German culture made to English architecture in general, and mountain architecture specifically was log construction and bank siting.

According to Henry Glassie, foremost authority on southern cabins, the rectangular type of southern log cabin was the most common mountain dwelling throughout the nineteenth century. It was typically a single construction unit less than two stories high with a gable roof (Glassie, 1968). The ceiling of the first floor was three to four logs below the

top of the walls -- a German tradition allowing more space upstairs in the loft for grain storage and because property was only taxed on the space under the ceiling. The roof was made of shake or split shingles nailed into roofing boards over the rafters and the gable ends were vertical boards or overlapping horizontal weatherboards. The logs themselves were hew and joined at the corners of the unit with either V-notching, which predominated in Virginia, or half-dovetailing, which predominated in Tennessee and North Carolina (Glassie, 1968). The interstices between the logs were either chinked, which meant wedging pieces of wood between the logs, or daubed, throwing soft mud or clay between the logs, or more typically, a combination of both. Occasionally, the interstices were covered with boards or finished off with a layer of lime plaster (Glassie, 1968). The external chimney, usually made of stone, was in the center of one gable end and the fireplace was "big enough to hold logs four to five feet long" (Slate, tape #1. Patrick County Oral History Project). The interior walls were white washed or papered with newspaper, and the stairs to the loft were usually in one corner like late medieval stairs (Glassie, 1968). The loft was unheated, but there was generally only one window, shuttered at night in the corner by the fireplace. Ed Trout, park historian at the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, said this was known as the "Granny Window", as the grandmother of the house could usually be found sitting in a rocker by the fire and staring out this window (Trout, conversation). The most common addition to the cabin was a shed or lean-to with a fireplace or flue built on the rear of the house and used as a kitchen.

Glassie's cabin was undoubtedly the primary, if not the only, house type in the Blue Ridge Belt in the early to mid-nineteenth century. This was tentatively confirmed in the 1815 tax tickets from Grayson County, Virginia. However, by the time the field workers began recording the structures in the National Parks, changes were taking place, and several of Upton's more elaborate house types, such as the I-house, were being built. These changes were probably the result of the Civil War and subsequent inventions such as the portable saw mill. This may mean that the figures found in the improvement inventories and Grossman's field books have little bearing on the 19th century. However, most likely these changes had begun creeping into the mountains by the mid to late nineteenth century and are worthy of note.

In the Shenandoah improvement inventories as many as 40 percent of the houses were frame, while 40 percent were log and 20 percent were a combination of log and frame. Interestingly, 67 percent of these units were rectangular, 23 percent were "ell" shaped, seven percent were square and three percent were "tee" shaped. Forty-one percent had an area between 300-450 square feet, with log structures (404 square feet) averaging less than frame structures (572 square feet). Over half of the dwellings, 57 percent, were one-and-a-half stories high. The 34 percent which were two stories high were frame. Four rooms seemed to be the most common, with 34 percent, followed by two rooms at 20 percent. Most of the two, three and four room houses were log, while the five, six seven, eight and nine room houses were frame. The one exception was a nine-room, one-and-a-half story log house built in 1856. The most common roofing material on all

the dwellings was shingle, followed closely by metal, then paper, a combination of shingle and paper, and finally galvanized iron. The foundations were either solid rock or pillars. Sixty-one percent of the walls were "ceiled" or panelled with wood, 35 percent were exposed log, and four percent were papered. Eighty-two percent of the dwellings had more than one flue or chimney and stone flues outnumbered brick flues about three to one. Almost half of the dwellings had porches, at least one, and 14 percent had two or more. Three houses had cellars, one house was painted, and one had no windows. This information is contained in the Table 2 below.

In the Smokies, much less detail was available on the dwellings. Fifty-two percent of the houses were frame, only 13 percent log and three percent a combination of log and frame. A curious phenomenon called the "box" house made up 29 percent of the houses, while combination box and frame makes up the remaining three percent. Apparently a box house was not a frame house. It was built using two, 2' X 12's formed into a "V" at each corner. Wall boards were then nailed vertically from the boards connecting one "V" to another (Trout, conversation). Hall has this to say about them, "As one traveled in the Smokies in 1937 he found few mountain homes alike, except the old one-room log cabins and the newer flimsy 'boxed' houses" (Hall, 1937). These box or boxed houses, as Hall called them, were typically three rooms and account for the fact that nearly 38 percent of the dwelling in the samples taken from the land transfers had three rooms. Due to the fact that these houses are definitely twentieth century, they were eventually eliminated from the sam-

Table 2. Nineteenth Century Farmhouses in the Blue Ridge Mountains

Size of House					
Number of Rooms	Percentage of Total	Number of Stories	Percentage of Total	Area in Sq. Ft.	Percentage of Total
1	0	1	9	0-150	0
2	20	1.5	57	150-300	28
3	9	2	34	300-450	41
4	34			450-600	13
5	17			600-750	10
6	3			750 and over	
7	3				
8	9				
9	3				
10 or more	3				

House Type			
Type	Percentage of Total	Appendages and Additions	Percentage of Total
Square	7	"Lean-to" kitchens	17%
Rectangular	67	Porches (1)	34%
"Ell"	23	(2)	14%
"Tee"	3		

Construction									
Exterior Material	Percentage of Total	Roof Material	Percentage of Total	Foundation Construction	Percentage of Total	Wall Finish	Percentage of Total	Flues	Percentage of Total
Log	40	Shingle	37	Solid	56	Log	35	Number:	
Frame	40	Metal	31	Post	0	Papered	4	0	0
Log and Frame	20	Paper	14	Pillar	44	"Ceiled"		1	18
		Iron	6			or panelled	61	1 or more	82
		Shingle and paper	12					Kind:	
								Brick	
								Stone	

pling. Consequently, the most common number of rooms was four at 29 percent, followed by three at 22 percent, five at 18 percent, and two at 15 percent -- not unlike the results found in the Shenandoah. Unlike the Shenandoah, however, no dwelling had over eight rooms. Fifty-three percent of the structures had an area between 300-450 square feet with an average area of 381 square feet -- significantly less than the Shenandoah. This could be due to the fact that Grissom only recorded the sizes of log structures in the Park, though this was not clear. The most frequent dimension was 18' X 20', followed by 16' X 18'. In fact, 66 percent of the dwellings recorded by Grissom had one dimension of eighteen feet. The information concerning the farmhouses in the Smokies is given in Table 3 below.

All that can be said of these statistics for certain is that although the rectangular log cabin seems to have predominated in the Blue Ridge Belt during most of the nineteenth century, frame structures began appearing by the late nineteenth century. These structures tended to be larger in area, have more rooms, and be a half story higher than log structures. Consequently, as Hall said, by 1937 there were few mountain homes alike.

There was the run-down shack of an old bachelor or 'widderman' (widower), and the modest but trim cabin of a young couple just beginning to make their way in the world, and the large, comfortable, two-story house in fertile bottomlands of a prosperous farm family. This was no 'tobacco road' country. Intermixed amidst the lush greenery were dwellings of the poor and some well-to-do mountaineers, and all stages in between, and built accordingly" (Hall, 1937).

Table 3. Nineteenth Century Farmhouses in the Great Smoky Mountains

Size of House				Construction	
Number of Rooms	Percentage of Total	Area in Sq. Ft.	Percentage of Total	Exterior Material	Percentage of Total
1	0	0-150	3%	log	20%
2	15%	150-300	24%	frame	76%
3	22%	300-450	53%	log + frame	4%
4	29%	450-600	14%		
5	18%	600-750	5%		
6	7%	750 + over			
7	5%				
8	4%				
9	0				
10 or more	0				

## Barns

Almost every farm had a barn, and not infrequently more than one. In the Shenandoah, 57 percent of the barns were log, 40 percent were frame and three percent were log and frame. Seventy-six percent had shingle roofs, 10 percent paper, 6 percent board, and 4 percent each, metal and galvanized iron. The most common area seemed to be between 250-500 square feet, not unlike the dwelling unit, though smaller barns of 0-250 square feet were almost as common. Ten barns in the Shenandoah samples had one shed or more attached, and only one barn was painted. This information is summarized in Table 4 below.

Although much has been made of the Pennsylvania or German bank barn in the Southern Highlands, there was only evidence of one such barn in the Shenandoah and Smokies. Grissom, in one of his shortest entries, writes, "Lush Caldwell at Messer Fork: 4 stalls, 2 cribs. Built on slope and very interesting. Corners mitered. Faces SE." There is no mention of a forebay, but the fact that it is banked and faces southeast, as most German barns do, hints that it may be a variation of the Pennsylvania bank or forebay barn. Similarly, Gordon in his study of the upland and lowland, however, found only six bank barns in the Blue Ridge or upland portion of his study area (Gordon, 1968).

The more common barn, according to Grissom's field notes seems to have been the transverse crib barn. This barn began as a pair of double-crib barns facing each other. Eventually, a roof was put over two structures

Table 4. Nineteenth Century Barns in the Blue Ridge Mountains

Size of Barn		Construction			
Area in Sq. Ft.	Percentage of Total	Exterior Material	Percentage of Total	Roof Material	Percentage of Total
0-250	28%	log	57%	shingle	76%
250-500	39%	frame	40%	metal	4%
500-750	13%	log and frame	3%	paper	10%
750-1000	10%			galvanized iron	4%
1000 + over	10%			board	6%

and the result was a four-crib barn (Glassie, 1968). As it was built, it developed its own symmetry and often one of the two passageways was blocked off to provide additional stabling. According to Glassie, this type of barn originated in the Tennessee Valley because farmers apparently did not know the Pennsylvania or German bank barn. The barn type was then carried northward with broad and intense distribution throughout the Southern Appalachians (Glassie, 1968). One barn, belonging to Ira McGee, "one of the finest, largest, and best condition seen", had four pens or cribs, two were 6'2" and two were 8'8". The logs, hewn poplar, averaged 12", and the corners were "doved". Chinks, as in most mountain barns, were left open, the loft was framed with hewn timbers, mortised and tenoned, and the gable were weatherboarded. The barn was built by Ira in approximately 1870. The McGee barn was large compared to the other barns in Grissom's field books. The drives in the McGee barn were 19'10" and 10'0", whereas most were between 6 and 12 feet, just wide enough for a wagon. Pens, on the other hand, were typically bigger than 6 or 8 feet; 10' X 10' was a common pen size. Often barns had deep overhangs, 10-12 feet, on one or both sides of the barn and ends. These were supported by locust posts and used to protect livestock and keep feed dry, much like the forebay was used in the German bank barn.

One other barn type, the tobacco barn, comes to mind when discussing barns of the Southern Appalachians. Like the bank barn, however, there was no indication of any barns specifically built for curing tobacco, either in the Shenandoah or Smokies. Gordon found flue-cured tobacco barns only

in the Piedmont, or lowland, and none in the Blue Ridge, or upland part of his study area (Gordon, 1968).

### **Outbuildings**

Unlike the house and barn, small outbuildings required little if any neighborly help to erect and maintain. Therefore, they exhibited more personal innovation and idiosyncrasies than either of these structures. (Stilgoe, 1982). As has been noted, not every farmstead contained each kind of outbuilding, but mountain farmers were diversified and needed a variety of small structures because they engaged in such a wide range of activities. Table 5 below shows the type and number of outbuildings found in the Shenandoah samples.

Table 5. Nineteenth Century Farm Outbuildings in the Blue Ridge Mountains

	Total Number of Units	Number of Farms Reporting of Units		
		1 Units	2 Units	3 Units
Hogpen	4	4		
Henhouse (Chickenhouse)	30	20	2	2
Corncrib	13	6	2	1
Smokehouse	13	13		
Kitchen	4	4		
Springhouse	8	8		
Graveyard (Cemetery)	2	2		
Dog house	1	1		
Workshop (Toolhouse)	4	4		
Wagonshed	1	1		
Applehouse	1	1		
Sheephouse	1	1		
Old church	1	1		
Garage	4	4		
Cellar	1	1		
Feedhouse	1	1		
Granary	4	4		

The chicken or henhouse, seemingly one the most prevalent outbuildings, ranged from 49 square feet (7' X 7') to 256 square feet (16' X 16'), however, 8' X 10', was the most common size. Most henhouses were six feet tall and most had shingled roofs. There were an equal number of log and frame structures in the Shenandoah samples, but no combination log and frame structures.

The corncrib or cornhouse, typically log with a shingled roof, ranged from 72 square feet (6' X 12') to 304 square (16' X 19') and was as high as 8 to 10 feet. Stilgoe claims that a four foot width was standard for corncribs as early as 1800. This was due to the fact that cribs wider than four feet produced rotten corn because the ears heaped in the middle fail to dry properly (Stilgoe, 1982). However, there was not one crib in the Shenandoah with a width less than six feet. The two cribs recorded in the Smokies, 3' X 7' and 4' X 10', may have been built after the width became standardized. The Walker sister's corncrib in the Smokies, a single center crib with two side sheds, measured 24'7-1/2' X 19'8-1/2" (Madden, 1977). The crib itself, however, was set on field stone piers laid dry and only two-and-a-half feet wide. All corncribs were raised a foot or more off the ground to keep out rats and mice. The walls were hewn log with half-dovetail notching and roof was shingled. Access to the crib was by means of a small door at the narrow west end, which, Stilgoe contends, had also become standardized by the mid-nineteenth century (Stilgoe, 1982).

The smokehouse or meathouse, which in the Shenandoah tended to be frame with shingle or paper roof, ranged from 81 square feet (9' X 9') to 300 square feet (15' X 20'). The most common size seemed to be 10' X 12' with a height ranging from 7 to 10 feet. This was true of the Smokies as well. Occasionally, smokehouses were built into a bank so that the lower portion could be used for storing food. One frame smokehouse in the Shenandoah was built with a concrete cellar beneath, however, this was rare and probably twentieth century. Smokehouses and other outbuildings as well, often had a roof extension of as much as 7 feet over the door to the building. This was primarily for weather protection.

Springhouses, the smallest of the more common outbuildings, ranged from 42 square feet (6' X 7') to 176 square feet (11' X 16'). They tended to be new frame structures with shingled roofs. The Walker sister's springhouse, however, was log, 7'10-3/4" X 9'7", on a stone foundation. The roof, originally shingle, overhung the front wall approximately four feet (Madden, 1977). Originally, the pit in which milk and butter were kept was stone lined with cold spring water running through it (Madden, 1977). Often these pits were built for different depths of water. At one end, the pit or box was only about an inch deep for a butter stand to sit in. This graduated to another depth for small jars and yet another which was deep enough for large jars and the churn to sit in for cold milk (Wood, 1985). In addition to the pit, there were two shelves extending across the interior rear wall. These shelves were probably for salted meat (Madden, 1977).

The hogpen or pigpen was much less common than anticipated, perhaps because of the infamous "bear-proof pig pen". This may not mean that only the people with pens kept pigs, however. Most pigs were turned out into the forest to fatten on chestnut and acorn mast. Even after the No-Fence Law, people seldom fenced their pigs. Pens were usually built to facilitate catching the pigs, as they would be fed corn at regular intervals there. However, some Smoky settlers simply blew a horn to call up their pigs (Smoky Mountains Photo Collection).

One structure that was not present which would be expected in the mountains, was the outhouse. The reason for this is unclear, but the Walker sisters, when asked by the men in the family if they would not like one, said that people would see it and know what it was for and that this would cause them great embarrassment (Madden, 1977). In the Walker household, the women used the woods below the house, and the men used the woods above the house (Madden, 1977).

## **SMALL-SCALE ELEMENTS**

Perhaps the most common small-scale element found on nearly every mountain farmstead was the bee gum. While some farms had complete apiaries, most simply had rows of bee gums -- colonies of bees kept in hollow sections of trunk from black gum trees.

Another common small scale element was the scaffold. Most families had several scaffolds in their yards on which they dried fruit, beans, corn

and even duck and chicken feathers for stuffing pillows. One family in the Shenandoah used a large rock in the front yard for drying apples. The top of the rock was fenced with a picket fence secured to the ground by four posts. When the family had no scaffolds, or the scaffolds were full, it was not unusual to see the roof covered with apple slices.

Less conspicuous household elements included ash-hoppers for making soap from lye and grease, tar kilns, charcoal-making pits, wooden cane mills for making table syrup or sorghum and, of course, the infamous stills. Large-scale liquor making, however, did not begin in the mountains until World War I (Hall, 1935). There were also several photographs from both the Shenandoah and the Smokies showing gourd birdhouses, and what appeared to be children's playhouses.

The most prominent agricultural element was undoubtedly the haystack. After the hay was cut and stacked, a split rail fence was placed around the stacks and the cattle was turned out into the meadows to graze. During the winter these fences were removed. Fodder stacks were also common. Corn stalks were topped and these tops were stacked for winter use. Cattle was allowed to graze on the lower leaves and shucks.

Lick logs, lick troughs and salt lick rocks were used for herding which once flourished in the high meadows and balds. In salt logs, salt was placed in notches cut into the logs. This way the salt was not wasted as it would have been if placed on the ground. Similarly, a lick trough was a hollowed out log bench on four legs for salt, and salt lick rocks

had holes in which the salt was placed (Photo collection, Great Smoky Mountains).

## HISTORIC VIEWS AND OTHER PERCEPTUAL QUALITIES

There is very little written or documented on historic views and other perceptual qualities. In a typical farmstead arrangement, the barnyard is positioned so that it can be seen from the house. Normally there was a full view of the barn and barnyard, although in a few instances only a portion of it could be observed. According to the Landmarks Commission samples, the barn is usually most visible from the kitchen. This makes sense due to the greater likelihood of this room being continuously occupied throughout the day by some member of the household. Another theory of house placement relative to the barn is that the house was placed up-wind from the odors emanating from the barn. This theory, however, could not be substantiated due to the lack of information concerning local wind direction.

Family cemeteries seem to have been the one element consistently placed outside the farmstead proper and out of sight from the house. These cemetery plots, frequently square and protected with a stone wall or rail fence, were usually located on a high spot on the farm, in a meadow, near a wooded area in a corner of a field, in a clump of trees or any appropriate out of the way place.

## CHAPTER V. EVALUATION CRITERIA FOR BLUE RIDGE FARMS

### SIGNIFICANCE

Criterion A of the National Register criteria for evaluation states that rural historic districts or landscapes may be eligible for the National Register if they are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of your history. More importantly, criterion A also recognizes properties associated with general, repeated activities such as the development of historically important land use practices by a cultural group over several decades. The small, single-family, owner-operated family farm which developed in the mountains as a result of the coming together of three cultures -- the German, Scotch-Irish and English, could potentially be such a property. Ideally, the farm would demonstrate the landscape spatial organization and response to natural features inherent in gap, hollow, cove, ridge or meadow settlement patterns, as well as illustrate the infield-outfield system of land-use, particularly in hollow sites, and vegetation related to land use such as apple orchards and dirt yards.

Criterion C states that rural historic districts may be eligible for the National Register if they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type period or method of construction or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

Those Blue Ridge farms which clearly represent the type and method of construction in the 19th century are those which demonstrate the ideal structures, boundary demarcations, vegetation related to land (planting details), cluster arrangement and small-scale elements. For example, they can be characterized briefly as Anglo-American and Scotch-Irish and English vernacular architecture strongly favored by Germanic technology and aesthetics. The characteristic house type was a rectangular, 300-450 square feet, four room structure, one-and-a-half to two stories high, with the two-story, central-passage "I" house at the upper end of the scale. Most early to mid-19th century houses were built of log with "V" or dovetail notching, on solid rock foundations and had shingle roofs, while some late-19th century were frame or log with frame additions with metal roofs. Many large houses had added or original ells or rear "lean-to" extensions containing kitchens. The interior was ceiled or panelled. Often houses, both large and small, had porches. Most had two flues or chimneys, typically stone.

A Blue Ridge farm may represent a significant and distinguishable identity whose components may lack individual distinction, if, for example, the outbuildings lack sufficient important information to be considered eligible, but the mere number of outbuildings and their relationship to each other and to the house are such that it supplies information on cluster arrangements. The Bargler/Riddlebarger farm, now owned by the Museum for American Frontier Culture is a good example. While some experts argue that most of the outbuildings appear to be twentieth century, the fact

that there are thirteen of them on their original sites justifies the farm's significance.

The Blue Ridge Belt farm, an amalgamation of three European cultures, and an important symbol of westward expansion in the nineteenth century, may be eligible for the Register at the local or state level. Locally such a mountain farm would help in the understanding of the history of the area by illuminating the impact of these three cultures on land use and settlement patterns. This is equally important at the state level. However, a Blue Ridge farm is significant only in terms of the other known properties associated with nineteenth century westward expansion throughout the locality or state. This includes extant properties as well as those which previously existed. Individual Blue Ridge farms are probably not eligible for national significance despite the fact that the Blue Ridge Belt is located partially in several states. One reason for this is that other known nineteenth century farms have been preserved in the Great Smoky Mountain National Park.

## INTEGRITY

Location is the place where the series of historic events took place.

For Blue Ridge farms it is the particular place or exact site where the farm was originally laid out. Based on response to natural features, this could be in a gap, hollow, cove, ridge or meadow settlement. It can be assumed that a Blue Ridge farm retains integrity of location as long as it is located in the place of its origin.

Design is the composition of elements that comprise the form, plan, space, structure and style of a district. For Blue Ridge farms, design concerns more than simply the individual buildings or structures located within the boundaries. It also concerns spatial relationships among all component, the layout of circulation networks, and planting design details. Structures, cluster arrangement, circulation network, and vegetation related to land use can be used in assessing the integrity of design.

Setting is the physical environment of an historic district. Whereas location refers to a particular place where a district was built, setting illustrates the character of the place. For Blue Ridge farms, the surroundings and the way in which the farm is positioned or sited is an integral part of the setting, illustrating not only conditions or causal relationships, but also concepts of nature, traditional farming methods by cultural groups, and, to a certain extent, aesthetic preferences. Overall landscape spatial organization, historic views and boundary demarcations should be used in analyzing integrity of setting.

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited in a particular pattern or configuration to form a district, site, building, structure or object in a particular period in the past. In Blue Ridge farms, the choice and combination of materials provides information not so much about the preferences of the mountain people but about the availability of particular types of materials and technologies. The presence of certain materials indigenous to the Blue Ridge Belt such as chestnut and enormous poplar trees, lead to traditions in the use of these

materials, and thereby added a "sense of place" to the farms. According to Melnick, the integrity of materials ultimately determines whether or not an authentic historic resource still exists (Melnick, 1984). Structures, vegetation related to land use, and small scale elements may be assessed for the integrity of materials that each element has maintained.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory. On Blue Ridge farms, workmanship is expressed in vernacular methods of construction and plain finishes, though these may be based on common traditions or innovative techniques. The former is more common in house and barn construction -- projects that typically required neighborly help, while the latter is more common in outbuilding construction. Fence construction, construction of small scale elements, and planting details, also reflect the workmanship of the mountain culture; therefore, structures, boundary demarcations, and small-scale elements, and vegetation related to land use can help to determine the integrity of workmanship.

Feeling is the quality a historic district has in evoking the aesthetic or historic sense of a past period of time. On Blue Ridge farms the sense of time past and sense of place depends upon the presence of physical characteristics such as the house, barn and some of the outbuildings, fence, paths and vegetation. The appropriate setting is particularly important. In fact, the assessment of a farm's integrity can be substantially based on how strong the farm's integrity is in the other six categories (Melnick, 1984). According to Melnick, integrity of feeling

alone is never sufficient to support listing on the National Register because it is dependent upon the perception of each individual (Melnick, 1984).

Association is the direct link between a district and an event or practices, method or entity for which the district is significant. If a farm has integrity of association then it is the place where the events or land use practices, methods or entity occurred and is still sufficiently intact to convey that relationship. Overall spatial organization, response to natural features and land use can be used to determine integrity of association. The ways in which a property represents the theme determines which of these seven kinds of integrity are important.

Nineteenth century Blue Ridge farms may be significant under Criterion A, if they are associated with general, repeated activities such as the traditional land use practices of the mountain people, and Criterion C, if they embody the distinctive characteristics of nineteenth century Appalachian construction types and methods or if they represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction. If a farm obtains its significance due to the fact it represents traditional mountain land-use practices, integrity of location, setting, association, design and feeling are more important than integrity of materials and workmanship. Conversely, if a farm obtains its significance because it illustrates a particular vernacular architecture or method of construction, integrity of materials, workmanship and design take precedence over location, setting and feeling. Finally, if a farm

obtains its significance because it represents a distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction, integrity of design, feeling, and association are much more critical than integrity of location, setting, materials and workmanship. An attempt has been made to reflect the types of significance and integrity, and their relationship, in the type, sequence and number of questions in the evaluation checklist which follows.

No property has to qualify for more than one criterion in order to be eligible for the National Register. The scoring should be such that in those properties or farms where cultural land-use practices are thought to be important from the outset (Criterion A), the total points accumulated under landscape spatial organization; response to natural features; land use, particularly the infield-outfield system; and, vegetation related to land use should carry greater weight than those points accumulated under circulation networks, boundary demarcations, cluster arrangement, structures, small-scale elements, and historical views.

Conversely, if a farm is initially thought to clearly represent the type and method of construction or design characteristic of the nineteenth century (Criterion C), the total points accumulated under structures; boundary demarcations; vegetation related to land use; cluster arrangement; and small-scale elements should carry more weight than those points accumulated under landscape spatial organization; response to natural features; land use; circulation networks; and historical views. In each

of these cases, Criterion A and the first part of Criterion C, the score may be adjusted as the user sees fit.

Finally, if a farm is thought to represent a significant and distinguishable identity whose components lack individual distinction (Criterion C), or if there are no preconceived ideas as to why the farm may be significant, all components should be weighed equally. This will probably be the case for most farms being evaluated. If so, the final "score" of the farm is simply the sum of the questions which have been answered. Those farms scoring 60 points or below are probably not worthy of preservation, while those with scores above 60 may be worthy of preservation. Those with scores close to 100 require immediate attention.

# CHECKSHEET

## Overall Patterns of Landscape Spatial Organization (10 points)

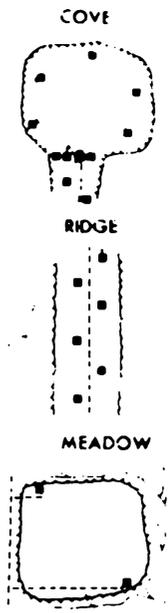
1. There are five basic settlement types in the Blue Ridge Belt: gap, hollow, cove, ridge, and meadow. The physical attributes, settlement pattern, and schematic diagram for each type are summarized below. Does your farm appear to fit into one of these types?

Yes  (10)

No  (0)

Type	Physical Attributes	Pattern	Schematic Diagram
Gap	V-shaped notch in main ridge; streams form narrow, linear valley approaches on either side of gap crest.	Linear form: about 1/2 mile long.	GAP or NOICH 
Hollow	Long, narrow valley between two mountain ridges; immature streams, steep gradient; little land in upper and mid-sections; "amphitheater head."	Two forms: 1) linear and common type; settled bottom to top; from mouth to headwall followed dendritic stream pattern; clustered to dispersed farm arrangement, typically one-half to one mile apart.	HOLLOW ( Linear ) 
		2) Fan-shaped type; rare; originated near headwall; top to bottom orientation agglomerated in semi-circular fashion; each cluster one-half mile apart.	HOLLOW ( Fan Shaped ) 

Cove	Smooth-floored, oval-shaped valley surrounded by mountains; narrow drainage outlet at one end.	Oval-shape with farms around perimeter; farms dispersed, but clustered near outlet.
Ridge	Backbone of mountain; large rock out-croppings and steep slopes.	Linear dispersed pattern; dwellings usually less than 500 feet apart.
Meadow (Bald)	A broad clearing of gentle to rolling relief on mountain top.	Dispersed to solitary type around perimeter.



**Land-Use Categories and Activities (10 points)**

2. (a) Was farming the primary land-use category on your farm?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

(b) Is it still?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

3. (a) How many acres did your farm average throughout the 19th century?

Under 175 acres?  (.50)

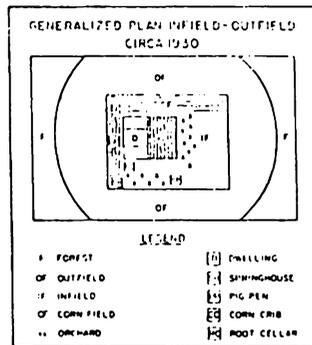
Over 175 acres?  (0)

(b) Has the acreage remained basically unchanged?

Yes  (.50)

No  (0)

4. Typically, the areas of different land-use activities on a 19th century Blue Ridge farm, such as the garden, orchard(s), cropfields, pastureland, and woodlot, were arranged in a fashion which resembled the "openfield" or "Infield-outfield" agricultural system of Ireland. The garden was closest to the dwelling, and both the house and garden were fenced. The orchard(s) and intensely worked cropfields were just beyond the house and garden in the infield, rough pastureland lay beyond the infield in the outfield, and just beyond the outfield lay the forest or woodlot. The diagram below shows a generalized plan of the infield-outfield system.



(a) Is there any evidence that your farm may have been arranged in such a manner?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, has the system remained intact?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Has the acreage of the house and garden remained basically the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) The infield?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(e) The outfield?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(f) The woodlot or forest land?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

### Response to Natural Features (10 points)

5. Variations in soil, topography and hydrology determined the unique land-use pattern of every 19th century Blue Ridge farm. These patterns correspond in part with the five basic settlement types outlined in question one.

Type	Land-Use Types	Land-Use Patterns
Gap	High percentage in field grazing or pastureland. Relatively low percentage of land in slope, crops field restocking and orchard.	Little agriculture; primarily commercial enterprise based on mountain travel. Structures lined up along main road.
Hollow (Linear)	Nearly half of farm in slope with remaining half in pastureland, crops field restocking and orchard.	Predominantly agricultural. Infield-outfield system. Lower hollow: houses on natural terraces near flat or bottomland along stream. Barns and smaller outbuildings strung out in linear fashion either on flat or natural terrace or both. Crop fields on alluvial flat adjacent to stream. Mid-hollow: houses on narrower alluvial flat with barns, outbuildings and fields above them on slopes. Upper hollow: houses on steepest slope above outbuildings and garden plots. Steep slopes terraced for cultivation.
(Fan-Shaped)	Unknown	Predominantly agricultural. Infield-outfield system unclear. Communal pastureland surrounds each settlement cluster. Crop fields, gardens and orchards in long strips on alluvial flats parallel to stream downslope from houses.

Coves	Unknown	Mostly agricultural. Houses, barns, and smaller outbuildings always face middle of cove. Crop fields and gardens along perimeter; middle of cove for grazing.
Ridge	Well over three-quarters of the land in unusable ridge land and slope, leaving a very small amount in field restocking, grazing, crops and orchards.	Agriculture, hunting and collecting. Houses in direct line along road, with barns and smaller outbuildings strung along steep slope below house. Small gardens on east side of houses. Agriculturally, orchards and gardens important.
Meadow (Bald)	Unknown	Pastoral economy with some fruit trees. Houses along perimeter face interior of meadow.

(a) Did your farm correspond with the "responses" or land-use types and patterns based on the correct settlement type determined in question 1?

Completely        \_\_\_ (5)  
Somewhat         \_\_\_ (2.5)  
Not at all        \_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, have the types remained the same with the pattern intact?

Yes        \_\_\_ (5)  
Slightly Altered?   \_\_\_ (2.5)  
Altered beyond recognition?   \_\_\_ (0)

#### Circulation Networks (10 points)

6. (a) Were the farm structures entirely on one side of the "main" road throughout the 19th century?

Yes        \_\_\_ (1)  
No         \_\_\_ (0)

(b) If they were, are they still?

Yes        \_\_\_ (1)  
No         \_\_\_ (0)

7. (a) Were the house and barn on opposite sides of the farm lane throughout the 19th century?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If they were, are they still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

8. (a) Has the location of the "main" road changed since the 19th century?

Completely \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

(b) Has the surface material changed?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

9. (a) Has the location of the farm lane(s) changed since the 19th century?

Completely \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

(b) Has the surface material changed?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

10. To what degree have the "outfield" paths changed? For example, cropland to cropland or cropland to pasture:

Completely \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

11. To what degree have the "infield" or farmstead paths changed? For example, house to barn, house to outbuilding, or outbuilding to outbuilding?

Completely \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

12. To what degree have the house and garden paths changed?

Completely \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
Somewhat \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

13. How many of the original paths in questions 10-12 above have totally disappeared?

All \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
Some \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
None \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

14. (a) How many of the existing paths are 20th century?

All \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
Some \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
None \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

(b) If some or all, how would you rate the overall effect of the 20th century additions?

Intrusive \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
Somewhat Intrusive \_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
Unintrusive \_\_\_\_\_ (2)

#### Boundary Demarcations (10 points)

15. (a) Was your farm bounded, either partially or entirely, by natural features such as streams and ridges?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If yes, is it still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

16. (a) Was the farm partially or entirely fenced?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If yes, is it still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) If not, is it now?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

17. What were the original fence types?

Worm	_____	(.50)
Stake-and-rider	_____	(.50)
Post-and-rider	_____	(.25)
Picket	_____	(.50)
Wire	_____	(0)
Stone	_____	(.25)
Other	_____	(0)

18. (a) Were the house and garden fenced?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, was the fence a form of picket fence?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Does the original fence, picket or otherwise, still exist in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

19. (a) What percentage of the existing fencing is 20th century?

75-100%	_____	(0)
50-75%	_____	(.50)
0-50%	_____	(1)

(b) If under 50%, what percentage has replaced the original fencing?

75-100%	_____	(1)
50-75%	_____	(.50)
0-50%	_____	(0)

(c) Have the majority of the replacements been with the same kind of fencing?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) The same material?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

20. What percentage of the original fencing has been removed but not replaced?

75-100%            \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
50-75%             \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
0-50%               \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

**Vegetation Related to Land Use (10 points)**

21. (a) Did the farm have a vegetable garden?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, does it still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Was it originally outside the kitchen door?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.30)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) Is it in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(e) Is it approximately the same size?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.10)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

22. (a) Did the farm have an herb garden?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, does it still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Was it originally located in the vegetable garden?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.30)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) Is it in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(e) Is it approximately the same size?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.10)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

23. (a) Was there an apple orchard(s) on the property?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, is there still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Is the orchard(s) in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) Is it approximately the same size?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.15)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(e) Are there any other kinds of orchards, original to the 19th century, which still exist on the property?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

24. (a) How would you describe the house in regard to surrounding trees during most the the 19th century?

Enclosed \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

Partially Enclosed \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

Bare of Trees \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

(b) If it was bare of trees or only partially enclosed, is it still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Do any of the original trees remain?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

25. (a) Was there a wide variety of evergreen shrubs? (More than three species?)

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

(b) Did the species include boxwood and/or yucca?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Do any of the original evergreen shrubs remain on their original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

26. (a) Was there a wide variety of deciduous, or herbaceous flowering shrubs, such as lilac and hydrangea?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) Do any of these shrubs remain in their original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

27. (a) Was there a wide variety of flowering bulbs, such as daffodils and lilies?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) Do any divisions of these bulbs remain?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

28. (a) Was the lawn originally bare of grass?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) Is it still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.10)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

29. (a) Was there a specific flower garden for annuals and perennials?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, is there still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Is the flower garden in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.15)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) Is it approximately the same size?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.05)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

30. (a) Were there any cultivated climbing vines, such as grape and vinca?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) Do any or parts of these original vines remain?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

31. Is there any indication that underbrush in the forest surrounding the farmstead was burned annually to keep out insects?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

**Cluster Arrangements (10 points)**

32. (a) Was the farmstead laid out with a rectangular frame of reference relative to the "main road."

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) Has it maintained that frame of reference with the addition of new structures?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

33. (a) Was there originally just one house and one barn on the farm, in addition to the smaller outbuildings?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, is there still?

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_ (0)

34. (a) Was the house in front of or closer to the "main" road than the barn?

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If not, was the farm one of the lower or upper hollow settlement types described in "Response to Natural Features?"

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_ (0)

35. (a) Did the kitchen of the house face the barn, or more simply, could you see the barn from the kitchen?

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, can you still?

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_ (0)

36. (a) Could the relationship between the ridge line of the house and the ridge line of the barn best be described as:

Parallel \_\_\_\_ (1)

Perpendicular \_\_\_\_ (.75)

End-to-end \_\_\_\_ (.50)

Diagonal \_\_\_\_ (.25)

37. Did the farmstead contain one or more of the following:

Chickenhouse \_\_\_\_ (.50)

Corncrib \_\_\_\_ (.50)

Smokehouse \_\_\_\_ (.50)

Springhouse \_\_\_\_ (.50)

38. (a) Was the arrangement of these and other outbuildings based on the specific function they served. In other words, were those structures associated with the family's home life oriented toward the house and those associated with the family's farming activities oriented toward the barn?

Completely \_\_\_\_ (1)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_ (.50)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If somewhat or completely, has the addition of 20th century components continued in the same vein?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

39. (a) Was the arrangement of outbuildings based on how often they were used? In other words, were those structures involved in day-to-day activities throughout the year or seasonally located close to either the house or the barn with which their functions were affiliated, while those used irregularly were located farthest away?

Completely \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If somewhat or completely, has the addition of 20th century components continued in this vein?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

#### Structures (10 points)

40. (a) Was there a farmhouse on the farm during the 19th century?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.50)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, has it remained unaltered?

Completely \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) If somewhat or completely, is it in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (.0)

41. (a) How many rooms did the house have at the end of the 19th century?

One \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

Two \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)

Three \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)

Four \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)

Five \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)

Six \_\_\_\_\_ (.05)

Seven \_\_\_\_\_ (.05)

Eight \_\_\_\_\_ (.05)  
Nine \_\_\_\_\_ (.03)  
Ten and  
Over \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

(b) Has the number of rooms remained the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Has the size of the rooms remained the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) Has the function of the rooms remained the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

42. (a) How many stories did the house have at the end of the 19th century?

1 \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
1-1/2 \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
2 \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Over 2 \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) Has the number of stories remained the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

43. (a) What was the area of the house in square feet with additions, excluding porches, at the end of the 19th century?

0-150 \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)  
150-300 \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
300-450 \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
450-600 \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
600-750 \_\_\_\_\_ (.05)  
750 and over \_\_\_\_\_ (.03)

(b) Has the area remained basically the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

44. (a) What was the basic shape of the house?

Square \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Rectangular \_\_\_\_\_ (.25)  
"Ell" \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
"Tee" \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

(b) Has the original shape, despite additions, remained the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

45. (a) Did the house have a porch?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

(b) More than one porch?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

(c) If so, does it still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) Is the porch in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

46. (a) Did the house have a lean-to addition?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

(b) If so, does it still?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Was it used as a kitchen?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

47. (a) What was the exterior construction material of the house at the end of the 19th century?

Log \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)

Frame \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)

Log and frame \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) Has the material(s) remained the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) If log, or log and frame, how were the timbers joined at the corners?

"V" notched            \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Half-dovetailed        \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Other                    \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) How were the interstices treated?

Chinked or daubed            \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Both chinked and daubed      \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Covered with boards          \_\_\_\_\_ (.05)  
Covered with lime plaster     \_\_\_\_\_ (.03)  
Left open or untreated        \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

(e) Has the original treatment of the interstices remained intact?

Yes    \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
No     \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(f) Was the exterior originally painted?

Yes    \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
No     \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

(g) If not, is it now?

Yes    \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
No     \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)

48. (a) What was the roofing material on the house at the end of the 19th century?

Shingle                    \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Metal                      \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Paper                      \_\_\_\_\_ (.05)  
Galvanized iron            \_\_\_\_\_ (.02)  
Shingle and paper         \_\_\_\_\_ (.03)

(b) Has the material remained the same?

Yes    \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
No     \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

49. (a) What was the original rock foundation construction?

Solid    \_\_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Post     \_\_\_\_\_ (0)  
Pillar    \_\_\_\_\_ (.06)

(b) Have the material and construction techniques remained the same?

Yes  (.06)  
No  (0)

50. What were the total number of flues or chimneys by the end of the 19th century?

0  (0)  
1  (.06)  
More than 1  (.12)

51. What was the flue(s) or chimney(s) made of?

Brick  (.06)  
Stone  (.12)  
Other  (0)

52. (a) Where was the chimney(s) located?

Exterior (gable end)  (.12)  
Interior (center of house)  (.03)

(b) If located on the gable end, was it centered?

Yes  (.06)  
No  (0)

(c) Was there a small first floor window or "granny window" on one or both sides?

Yes  (.03)  
No  (0)

53. Has the chimney(s) remained intact?

Yes  (.12)  
No  (0)

54. Have 20th century chimneys been added?

Yes  (0)  
No  (.06)

55. (a) What was the interior wall finish?

Log  (.06)  
Papered  (.02)  
"Ceiled" or panelled  (.12)

(b) Has the finish remained the same?

Yes  (.06)

- No \_\_\_\_ (0)
56. (a) Were there interior stairs?
- Yes \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
No \_\_\_\_ (0)
- (b) If so, were they in one corner?
- Yes \_\_\_\_ (.02)  
No \_\_\_\_ (0)
- (c) Have they remained intact in their original locations?
- Yes \_\_\_\_ (.02)  
No \_\_\_\_ (0)
57. (a) How would you rate the overall quality of the original workmanship on the house?
- Excellent \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Above average \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Average \_\_\_\_ (.02)  
Below Average \_\_\_\_ (0)
- (b) If above average or excellent, have subsequent additions maintained this standard?
- Yes \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
No \_\_\_\_ (0)
58. How would you rate the overall physical condition of the house?
- Excellent \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Good \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Fair \_\_\_\_ (.02)  
Poor \_\_\_\_ (0)
59. (a) Was there a barn on the farm during the 19th century?
- Yes \_\_\_\_ (.50)  
No \_\_\_\_ (0)
- (b) If so, has it remained unaltered?
- Completely \_\_\_\_ (.25)  
Somewhat \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Not at all \_\_\_\_ (0)
- (c) If somewhat or completely, is it in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
No \_\_\_\_ (0)

60. (a) What was the area of the barn in square feet, excluding sheds, at the end of the 19th century?

0-250 \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
250-500 \_\_\_\_ (.25)  
500-750 \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
750-1000 \_\_\_\_ (.02)  
1000 and over \_\_\_\_ (.02)

(b) Has the area remained basically the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
No \_\_\_\_ (0)

61. What kind of barn was it?

Pennsylvania German bank or forebay barn \_\_\_\_ (0)  
Transverse crib barn \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Flue-cured tobacco barn \_\_\_\_ (0)

62. (a) What was the exterior construction material of the barn at the end of the 19th century?

Log \_\_\_\_ (.12)  
Frame \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Log and frame \_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) Has the material(s) remained the same?

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
No \_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) If log, or log and frame, how were the timbers joined at the corners?

"V" notched \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Half-dovetailed \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Other \_\_\_\_ (0)

(d) How were the interstices treated?

Chinked or daubed \_\_\_\_ (.06)  
Both chinked and daubed \_\_\_\_ (.02)  
Covered with boards \_\_\_\_ (.03)  
Covered with lime plaster \_\_\_\_ (0)  
Left open or untreated \_\_\_\_ (.12)

(e) Has the original treatment of the interstices remained intact?

Yes \_\_\_ (.06)

No \_\_\_ (0)

(f) Was the exterior originally painted?

Yes \_\_\_ (0)

No \_\_\_ (.02)

(g) If not, is it now?

Yes \_\_\_ (0)

No \_\_\_ (.02)

63. (a) What was the roof material on the barn at the end of the 19th century?

Shingle \_\_\_ (.12)

Metal \_\_\_ (.02)

Paper \_\_\_ (.05)

Galvanized Iron \_\_\_ (.02)

Board \_\_\_ (.03)

(b) Has the material remained the same?

Yes \_\_\_ (.12)

No \_\_\_ (0)

64. (a) How would you rate the overall quality of the original workmanship on the barn?

Excellent \_\_\_ (.12)

Above average \_\_\_ (.06)

Average \_\_\_ (.02)

Below average \_\_\_ (0)

(b) If above average or excellent, have subsequent additions maintained this standard?

Yes \_\_\_ (.12)

No \_\_\_ (0)

65. How would you rate the overall physical condition of the barn?

Excellent \_\_\_ (.12)

Good \_\_\_ (.06)

Fair \_\_\_ (.02)

Poor \_\_\_ (0)

66. (a) Was there a chickenhouse on the farm during the 19th century?

Yes \_\_\_ (.12)

No \_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, has it remained unaltered?

Completely \_\_\_\_ (.06)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_ (.02)

Not at all \_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) If somewhat or completely, is it in its original location?

Yes \_\_\_\_ (.06)

No \_\_\_\_ (0)

67. How would you rate the overall quality of the original workmanship on the chickenhouse?

Excellent \_\_\_\_ (.06)

Above average \_\_\_\_ (.03)

Average \_\_\_\_ (.02)

Below average \_\_\_\_ (0)

68. How would you rate the overall physical condition of the chickenhouse?

Excellent \_\_\_\_ (.06)

Good \_\_\_\_ (.03)

Fair \_\_\_\_ (.02)

Poor \_\_\_\_ (0)

69. Please mark through the number, location, intactness, quality of workmanship and physical condition for each of the remaining the 19th century outbuildings. (Scoring is identical to questions 66-68 above).

Name	Number	Intactness	Original Location	Workmanship	Condition
Corncrib	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair
				Below Ave.	Poor
Smokehouse	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair
				Below Ave.	Poor
Springhouse	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair

				Below Ave.	Poor
Hogpen	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair
				Below Ave.	Poor
Workshop	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair
				Below Ave.	Poor
Granary	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair
				Below Ave.	Poor
Applehouse	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair
				Below Ave.	Poor
Kitchen	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair
				Below Ave.	Poor
Other	1	Completely	Yes	Excellent	Excellent
	2	Somewhat	No	Above Ave.	Good
	3 & more	Not at all		Average	Fair
				Below Ave.	Poor

### Small-Scale Elements (10 points)

70. (a) Were there bee gums on the farm during the 19th century?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

(b) If so, are there still?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

(c) Are they intact?

Completely  (.50)

Somewhat  (.25)

No at all  (0)

71. (a) Were there scaffolds used for drying fruit, beans, corn and feathers on the farm during the 19th century?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

(b) If so, are there still?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

(c) Are they intact?

Completely  (.50)

Somewhat  (.25)

Not at all  (0)

72. (a) Were there any and fodder stacks surrounding the farmstead during the 19th century?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

(b) If so, are hay and corn still being harvested in a similar manner?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

73. (a) Is there any evidence of herding activities such as lick logs, lick troughs or salt lick rocks?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

(b) If so, are they still intact?

Completely  (.50)

Somewhat  (.25)

Not at all  (0)

74. (a) Are there any other small-scale elements, such as ash hoppers, tar kilns, and wooden cane mills, which existed on the farm during the 19th century and are still evident today?

Yes  (1)

No  (0)

(b) If so, are they generally intact?

Completely  (.50)

Somewhat  (.25)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

**Historic Views and Other Perceptual Qualities (10 points)**

75. (a) Was there a family cemetery on the farm during the 19th century?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (5)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(b) If so, was it located outside the farmstead and out of sight from the house?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ (2)

No \_\_\_\_\_ (0)

(c) Has the cemetery remained intact?

Completely \_\_\_\_\_ (3)

Somewhat \_\_\_\_\_ (2)

Not at all \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

## CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

Originally, it was the intention of this study to try out the evaluation checklist on a nineteenth century farm in Grayson County, Virginia. However, due to the lack of time it was decided that an explanation of how to apply the checklist, rather than actually applying, it would suffice.

Referring back to Chapter II, The Preservation Process, the first thing that needs to be done when using the checklist is to thoroughly document the site. This may be done using standard photographs, sketches, and remote sensing mechanisms, such as aerial photography or X-ray analysis. Just as important, the site must also be documented as it was during its historic period -- the nineteenth century. This may be done using archival sources, such as historic maps and photos; oral histories; and business and family records. Overlaying historic maps and current maps will provide some sense of the degree to which the site has maintained its integrity, for example, what are the twentieth century intrusions and nineteenth century deletions; what structures have been moved; which paths and roads realigned? Once the farm, both past and present, has been thoroughly researched and documented, the checklist may be used. The checklist may be most effective, however, if used in conjunction with Chapter 4 of this study.

There are several problems inherent with the checksheet from the outset. One problem is that it does not provide for anomalies. The Aaron Nicholson house in Nicholson Hollow, for example, had solid stone gable end walls. This feature, along with the overall size of the house, lends a certain quality which would lead one to believe that, indeed, Aaron Nicholson was "King of Nicholson Hollow." This realization, in turn, helps to explain the unusual fan-shaped settlement pattern of the hollow. However, the checksheet has nothing about solid stone gable end walls under the farmhouse section or about their possible relationship to the family's "superiority," or date and type of settlement. In such cases, the anomalies may be just as important and enlightening as the "typical nineteenth century farm." The safest thing to do in the case of such anomalies is to discuss them with local historians or professionals in order to determine their significance.

Secondly, the time frame or period of significance -- the nineteenth century, spans 100 years! If the farm was built early in the century, a great number of changes could have taken place by the late 1800's. The question arises then, do you take the area of the house, for example, as it was when the structure was first built, as it was during most of the nineteenth century, or as it was at the end of the nineteenth century? When the Park statistics were used for comparison purposes, the checksheet specifies at the end of the nineteenth century, since this is closer to the time the Park information was gathered. Otherwise, the checksheet specifies during most of the nineteenth century. One interesting approach to this questions is that taken by the Museum of American Frontier Culture

in Staunton, Virginia. They chose to interpret the farms in the museum in terms of the way they existed between 1820-1870 solely because that is the period from which they have found the most information concerning the farms, not necessarily because it was the farms' period of significance. This has caused a number of local historical groups to question the name of the museum, since the Valley of Virginia is actually considered to have been the "frontier" 100 years earlier.

Finally, there is the problem of trying to take something as nebulous as unity and hamony -- a sense of "one-ness," and vividness -- "memorability," and phrase it into a yes/no type question. This is quite alot to be said for these kinds of "gut" feelings, regardless of the fact they may vary significantly from viewer to viewer, but due to its nature, the checksheet does little to accomodate them.

In spite of these drawbacks, the checksheet has merit by the mere fact that it is operational. Twenty people, regardless of whether or not they are professionals in any preservation related field, can use the checksheet on the same farm and come up with identical scores, provided their documentation is correct. An interesting study would then be to compare these evaluation results with those done strictly according to National Register procedures.

This thesis has been more than a lesson in preservation. It has been a lesson in humanity. As landscape architects, we can understand and appreciate the uniqueness of the mountain people, their "world view," their

love of the mountains, and their land ethic. Like the plight of the Cherokee 100 years earlier, there are many who still question whether it was right to force such an unusual and highly sensitive people off of their land. Curiously, this same question was raised at a recent planning meeting for the proposed Roanoke River Parkway. With small family farms already in peril, is it right to force their abandonment in order to build a zoo full of African animals?

The fact remains, as Walter Heyer, Chairman of the Museum of American Frontier Culture, says, "We are very quickly losing a large portion of our history" (Heyer, lecture to the Roanoke Historic Society, 1986). The sites that the museum found in the Historic Landmarks Commission Survey that were in good shape ten years ago, were gone when the committee went to find them last year. The time to preserve these relics of rural America is now.

APPENDIX A. SAMPLE COVER LETTER FOR CULTURAL, HISTORIC  
LANDSCAPE SURVEY.



A LAND-GRANT UNIVERSITY

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

*Architecture and Urban Studies*

*Blacksburg, Virginia 24061*

March 28, 1984

Lynchburg Board of Historic Review  
c/o Division of Planning  
P.O. Box 60  
Lynchburg, VA 24505

Gentlemen:

I am a third year graduate student in the landscape architecture program at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia, and have begun work on my graduate thesis which deals with the preservation of cultural, historic landscapes. My research question is simply: How can rural, cultural, historic landscapes be evaluated in order to determine whether or not they are worth preserving?

As you may already know, there is a specific procedure, designed by the Department of the Interior, which is used to evaluate historic structures. It seems, however, that explicit criteria for determining the importance of landscape for preservation simply do not exist. Undoubtedly, cultural landscapes, such as farmsteads and streetscapes, are continually evaluated and judged, either consciously or unconsciously, in terms of their importance as historic features. As part of my thesis, I am trying to find out what methods or procedures, if any, both explicit and implicit, are presently being used in the profession of landscape architecture to evaluate historic landscapes. In order to analyze these methods, I would greatly appreciate you answering the questions on the enclosed survey, and returning them as soon as possible in the self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Thank you so much for your help. Please enclose any references which you think may be of help in understanding your particular procedures. I would be interested in knowing if there are other organizations for which you feel this survey would be appropriate. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Nan Fullerton

APPENDIX B. SAMPLE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE SURVEY FOR LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE FIRMS.

CULTURAL, HISTORIC LANDSCAPE SURVEY

Respondent's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

I. Is your firm involved in the preservation of cultural (man-made), historic landscapes? \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)

II. Are the cultural, historic landscapes with which you are involved predetermined? (By predetermined, I mean, are the particular landscapes decided on by another party, eg. clients, and simply "handed" to you for further study) \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)

A. If the historic landscapes are predetermined by your clients, what is typically the basis for preservation?

B. If the historic landscapes are not predetermined, has your firm developed its own procedure or methodology for identifying and determining the significance of cultural, historic landscapes? \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)

1. If so, would you please describe the methodology.

2. If not, how do you decide which cultural, historic landscapes are worthy of preservation?

III. If you are not directly involved in preservation work, do you know of any firms which have developed a methodology to evaluate historic landscapes? \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no) If so, please list them below.

Please feel free to make any additional comments on the back.

APPENDIX C. SAMPLE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE SURVEY FOR  
PRESERVATION ORGANIZATIONS.

CULTURAL, HISTORIC LANDSCAPE SURVEY

Respondent's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

1. Is your organization involved in the preservation of:
  - a. Cultural (man-made), historic landscapes? \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)
  - b. Historic structures? \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)
  - c. Both historic landscapes and structures? \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)
  
2. Are the cultural, historic landscapes with which you are involved predetermined? (By predetermined, I mean, are the particular landscapes decided on by another party and simply "handed" to you for further study) \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)
  
3. If the historic landscapes are not predetermined, has your organization developed its own methodology for determining the significance and preservation potential of cultural, historic landscapes, or does it rely on an existing methodology? \_\_\_\_\_ (own methodology/existing methodology)
  
4. Would you please describe the methodology or procedure.
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
5. If you are also involved in architectural preservation, is the procedure you described above, the same procedure used for evaluating historic structures? \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no)
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
6. If you are not directly involved in preservation work, do you know of any organizations which use a methodology to evaluate historic landscapes? \_\_\_\_\_ (yes/no) If so, please list them below.

Please feel free to make any additional comments on the back.



APPENDIX E. SAMPLE LAND TRANSFER FROM THE GREAT SMOKY  
MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>ACRES</u>	
J.R. OLIVER	BUSHNELL, H. C.	BLOUNT	116.6	(3)

LOCATION: 16th Dist. Blount Co.

*Deed No 387*

DESCRIPTION: 30 acres of fair cultivated land and 86.6 acres in timber of various kinds; apple and plum bearing trees in fair condition; rock and wire fencing; 2-room log house; 3 other bldgs; barn, wellhouse. Improvements \$500.00

PRICE: OWNER'S AND JONES' \$3000.00

APPROVED FOR PURCHASE BY COMMISSION 7/8/29

DEED AND CHECK RELEASED 9/26/29

DEED RECORDED AND RETURNED 10/4/29

DEED DELIVERED TO STATE 12/7/29

TURNED OVER TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT 2/8/30

APPENDIX F. SAMPLE PAGE FROM CHARLES GROSSMAN'S FIELD BOOK  
NUMBER FOUR.

Coggins Branch Cook Place Co. Ark	Coggins Branch 7/19/35 Will Messer (Upper Place) Co. Ark
<p>① Fair C A. Log House - 1 1/2 story. 9 logs high, poplar, average 12" to 18". Size 18' x 21'. Porch 2 sides, chamfered porch posts, puncheon porch floor. Porch frame addition on rear puncheon floor. Cabin - puncheon floor, sided with sided boards. Stairway to 2nd floor. 2nd floor matched boards. - Built about 40 yrs ago (Mr. Hanna 76 yrs old)</p>	<p>① Fair S A. Log House - Built by Will's Messer. about 30 yrs ago 1 1/2 story. 8 logs poplar logs 4' x 6" 5 logs 1st story. 3 logs 2nd story. 2 porches, original rafters of porch beam with show heels 2 original doors. finest chimney. Roof lics from perfect. Board floor, no floor in left at present. Ceiled in inside with long sided boards. Condition Good. 13' x 15' porch on floor. Cat hole. 12' x 12' rafter.</p>
<p>② B. Log Barn - 2 cribs 15' x 15'. length 36'. driveway between cribs left overhang 7'-6" each side. 4 posts each side of barn support left. logs, poplar &amp; oak logs, round plates &amp; posts, height to eaves 15'-2". 6 logs 2'-0" tall cribs. 5 logs 6'-0" left. Sided board floor in left. Original shed on south end. Log troughs, original doors. Roof gone, rest of barn good. Logs beam, corners matched mitered. Driveway between pens ceiled with vertical sided boards in front &amp; horizontal sided boards in back.</p>	<p>B. Log Barn. Old door with wooden spring latch. (only) C. Apple House. 1st story stone. 2nd story Log. Excellent condition. Size 15'-8" x 19'-5" chestnut logs. 5 high average. Board roof. Boards 2x long 20" to weather pole rafters. Chinked with chise filled split sided or sized pieces 3"-4" thick, and mud. Overhang of 6" x 2" in the end. Mr. Hanna, Jim Woody, Tom Hanna &amp; Will Bennett carried up the corners. Mr. Hanna now 76 yrs old. Mr. Tom Hanna</p>
<p>First cabin 1849 this is date of 1st deed. Tom Hanna &amp; Jim Woody carried 2 of corners (Mr. Hanna) Built about 30 yrs ago by Will's Messer Hanna</p>	<p>Jim Woody M. O. Hanna</p>

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