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Ethnographic Overview and Assesment

New River Gorge National River and

Gauley River National Recreation area

ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

New River Gorge National River and
Gauley River National Recreation Area

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KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

KEY FINDINGS

This ethnographic overview and assessment of the New River Gorge National River and the Gauley River National Recreation Area describes the local cultural and historical context for the national rivers. Our study team has documented ways in which the presence of the national rivers affects local communities and shapes their cultural concerns, and we have identified kinds of ethnographic resources within the parks that are significant to the lifeways and identities of traditionally associated communities. We have also presented specific examples, though there are undoubtedly many specific sites and resources that did not come to our attention during the period of this investigation (March 2004–July 2005). Members of the communities we engaged include people whose collective history is attached to landscapes that extend into the boundaries of the parks. This history is embraced by people who lived and worked within the boundaries of the park, but now live outside of the boundaries, as well as by people who continue to live within the boundaries of the park, and by their descendants who reside outside the park boundaries. While this history is intertwined with the history of industrialization, and associated with the landscapes of railroads and coal towns, in the broader sweep of history the most enduring relationship is with the landscape itself. Descendants of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans who settled in the region during different periods have learned to participate in the landscape in traditional ways that predate industry and have been modified over the generations.

The research for this project involved the following principal tasks:

1. Compiling an annotated bibliography of relevant ethnographic and historical scholarship.
2. Collecting and tabulating census data for the region from 1860–2000.
3. Reviewing transcriptions of interviews from four previous documentation projects.
4. Observing and photographing modes of landscape participation throughout the entire region of the Gauley and New Rivers, including fishing, hunting,

gardening, religious observances, cemetery customs, boating, swimming, and home-making.

5. Conducting open-ended, ethnographic interviews with approximately 60 community consultants.
6. Identifying ethnographic resources profiled in historical and ethnographic archives and scholarship.

Out of this collection and assessment of existing resources we have developed an overview of the historical process that has shaped the landscape and communities in and around the National Rivers, and we have identified gaps in historical and ethnographic research. We supplemented this research through conversations and in-depth interviews with close to a hundred local residents. Our interviews and observations provide a sense of how people in the region engage its history to shape collective identity in relation to the landscapes surrounding the rivers.

Our findings suggest that many people living in most communities in and around the New River Gorge National River and the Gauley River National Recreational Area meet the Park Service's criteria for traditionally associated peoples. An ongoing effort to maintain land-based family and community ties is a distinctive feature of life in and around the National River from Summersville to Gauley Bridge, and from Hawk's Nest to Hinton. We found that the landscapes of the parks, as they are historically connected to surrounding landscapes, support the collective memory on which community members rely for cultural and economic survival.

The landscape that mediates family and community relationships is the particular landscape of the mixed mesophytic forest and associated watersheds. "Mixed mesophytic" is the name that botanist E. Lucy Braun gave to the hardwood forest system that overlays the coal-bearing plateaus stretching from northern Alabama to southeastern Ohio and southwestern Pennsylvania. Never glaciated, this region has given rise to the world's most biologically diverse temperate zone hardwood system. It is likely that this landscape forms one of the most intact exemplars of a community forest and watershed to be found in North America. The mixed mesophytic forest of the Central Appalachian plateaus is already widely recognized as a globally significant resource. The knowledge of how to participate in this landscape is expressed through a host of practices that appear to have antecedents in distinct waves of settlement and land use,

including Native American practices dating from 16th and 17th century contact between European and Native American peoples, Scotch-Irish, German, and African American patterns of settlement and agriculture dating from the period of frontier settlement (1700–1880); the industrial period (1880–1960); the post-industrial pre-park period (1960–1980); and the present era of the National Rivers.

Our principal finding is that the ethnographic resource which is vital to both cultural and natural conservation in the parks and in the region in general is the landscape of the mixed mesophytic watershed in tandem with the collective memory that animates and is animated by this landscape. While the historical and archival record implies the presence of a community forest, little systematic attention has been paid to it by the park or by scholars.

To understand the mixed mesophytic community forest in its historical and contemporary contexts, we conducted close to sixty tape recorded interviews, four times the number anticipated in the scope of work. We found that:

1. There are people living in the Gauley and New River basins whose ecological memories and sensitivities could be drawn upon in order to frame a plan for regenerating and protecting the mixed mesophytic forest and associated landscapes and collective memory.
2. Participation in this landscape, conditioned by local knowledge that is generations deep, is the basis for continued ethnogenesis in this region.
3. While there are local venues for sharing cultural and ecological information about the status of the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed, there is presently little, if any, venue at the regional level (i.e. the New and Gauley River basins).
4. By expanding some of its existing initiatives and developing its themes, the park could play a leading role in developing a regional program for regenerating and monitoring the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed as a global biocultural resource.

Regenerating and protecting the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed in consultation with the collective memory available in the region could be a very powerful and effective strategy for cultural conservation as a means of ameliorating the effects of global climate change. What follows is a brief summary of recommendations for management and further research.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Management

- Constitute the Mixed Mesophytic Community Forest and Watershed as a Ground for Civic Engagement

Finding ways to engage with traditionally associated people around the task of regenerating, monitoring, and tending the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed as a landscape that is the expression and medium for community life is critical to the management of this resource, and therefore fundamental to the purpose for which the park was created. In this plan, the collective memory of traditionally associated peoples about the mixed mesophytic watershed would not simply be documented and stored in the park archive. Rather the landscape itself would continue to function as a living archive. While the park would continue to regulate the use of land and resources within its boundaries, it could exercise leadership in restoring the mixed mesophytic watershed by engaging (and employing) people inside and outside the park boundaries in the propagation of mixed mesophytic species and in the cleaning up of invasives.

Further Research, Programs, and Educational Products

- In Consultation with Traditionally Associated Communities, Develop Programs for Educating Park Visitors about the Biocultural Underpinnings and Global Significance of the Mixed Mesophytic Watersheds of New River and Central Appalachia.

Local residents comprise a knowledgeable constituency for the mixed mesophytic watershed in ways that most visitors to the park do not and cannot. The collective memory that circulates in talk and practice and the reservoir of deep affection for the environment that many of our consultants expressed are resources on which the park could build a program of ongoing research and public education.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The Purpose of the Ethnographic Study

This Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of the New River Gorge and Gauley River National Recreation Area is intended to bring key information about traditional cultural knowledge and uses of park resources, along with the concerns of groups traditionally associated with the national rivers, to the attention of NPS managers, interpreters, and the public. Key findings and recommendations will be integrated into the revised General Management Plan. Ethnography can help identify ways to engage the local landscape and its population in the process of renewing and transforming regional identity. The New and Gauley Rivers participate in a landscape that served for thousands of years as commons, first for Native Americans, who negotiated use rights with each other, and then for European settlers, who regulated this commons within a corn-woodland-pastureland system. During the industrial period, from 1880–1960, residents of surrounding farms, towns, and coal and lumber camps continued to rely, through a social compact with absentee owners, on the resources of forest and watershed (excluding commercial timber and minerals). There may be few, if any, other regions in the United States where such vast parcels of land have been so absolutely controlled by so few private absentee owners.

An unintended and perhaps ironic consequence of this absentee ownership has been the persistence of a remarkably intact community forest system in the southern West Virginia coalfields. This landscape and its communities have withstood and adapted to several centuries of radical social and economic change. Because the New and Gauley Rivers are located within this system, the park's policies impact the system of community forestry in the surrounding counties (Summers, Nicholas, Fayette, and Raleigh). This system has persisted not only through the design of the powerful landholders and industrialists who held and controlled the region's resources through the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries for their own purposes, but through the persistence of vernacular ways of knowing, speaking, and being in the landscape. This vernacular is resilient, opportunistic, and creative, and can thrive as long as there are social institutions with "long-range purpose" (Zukin 1992: 240) grounding communities within an unfolding history with a deep past

and the prospect of a shared future. The social institution with long-range purpose in this region is the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed system. Conserving such a system requires an integrated approach to natural and cultural resources, which the Park Service has tended to manage as though they are separable (Howell 1994).

Integrating approaches to resource conservation begins with changing ways of seeing and thinking that are very entrenched in official practice. Ethnography seeks to identify alternative ways of seeing and thinking about the world, which can change our ways of engaging with it. Ethnography begins with the insight that the world produced and reproduced through daily interaction is not neatly divisible into such categories as culture, nature, and economics; that, in fact, all ways of categorizing the world are culturally constructed, and can therefore be culturally reconstructed. As the sociologist Werner Sombart put it:

> No forest exists as an objectively prescribed environment. There exists only forester-, hunter-, botanist-, walker-, nature enthusiast-, woodgatherer-, berry picker-, and a fairy tale forest in which Hansel and Gretel lose their way (von Uexkull 1982).

Like the forest that Sombart writes about, the space of the park property anchors constituencies with very different perspectives on the landscape and its history. The task of ethnography is not to authenticate the perspectives of some constituencies at the expense of others, but to bring constituencies with different perspectives into dialogue. In southern West Virginia, two forests have been in competition since the beginning of the nineteenth century: a community forest and a commodity forest. Like the images that we see when we shift our perspectives on three-dimensional postcards, these forests are never shown simultaneously to the national public. Rather, they are kept separate through what Tara McPherson calls “lenticular logic,” which strategically shows one view or another in relation to different audiences (McPherson, 2003). To protect its ethnographic resources, the park needs to bring the community and commodity forests into dialogue.

The park service has developed several concepts that encourage this rethinking of the environment, among them the concepts of *traditionally associated peoples* and *ethnographic resources.* In section 5.3.5.3 of the National Park Service’s guidelines on Cultural Resource

Management, we find the following definitions for ethnographic resources and traditionally associated peoples.

> "Park ethnographic resources are the cultural and natural features of a park that are of traditional significance to traditionally associated peoples. These people are the contemporary park neighbors and ethnic or occupational communities that have been associated with a park for two or more generations (40 years), and whose interests in the park's resources began prior to the park's establishment."
>
> "Traditionally associated peoples generally differ as a group from other park visitors in that they typically assign significance to ethnographic resources – places closely linked with their own sense of purpose, existence as a community, and development as ethnically distinctive peoples." (from NPS Guidelines on Cultural Resource Management).

The communities in and around NERI and GARI are susceptible to these definitions, but in ways that require clarification. These definitions, and the use of ethnographic research to identify traditionally associated peoples and ethnographic resources, were developed out of the park service's anthropology programs, which themselves have grown out of ethnography with Native American groups with a stake in parklands and resources mostly in the American West. The New and Gauley Rivers allow us to test the applicability of this model to non-native American communities without independent sovereignty, but with a strong sense of identity and purpose that is renewed through particular ways of engaging the resources in and around the parks.

This report explores the questions: is there a "people" that is traditionally associated with the parks? If so, does this group see itself as a group? Can its historical formation be accounted for in relation to the landscape of the parks? If so, on what resources does the group rely for social and cultural renewal? Are any of these found within the parks? If so, what opportunities do these present for managing park landscapes?

The remainder of the overview will 1) identify and characterize the archival resources for understanding the historical formation of traditionally associated communities surrounding the parks; 2) describe the historical process and outline formative stages in the history of the communities; 3) identify gaps in the research; and 4) bring the archive of historical records into dialogue with the collective memory that animates the archive of the landscape. The second and third sections of this report describe the ways in which community members engage the resources

of the New and Gauley rivers. The concluding section describes the opportunity represented by the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed as a focus for management and civic engagement, and frames the recommendations that follow.

Engaging the Living Archive

We use the term "archive" here to refer not only to the body of documentary materials distributed in local, state, and federal repositories, but in the living practices and expressions of communities that help us to glimpse the history of the New and Gauley Rivers. This body of materials is scattered throughout numerous repositories both public and private, and its contours are profiled in a growing collection of published historical studies. The archive is not static. Even as historians may be combing the major repositories at the University of West Virginia in Morgantown, the State Archive in Charleston, the Eastern Regional Coal Archives in Bluefield, the archives at Marshall University in Huntington, the state archives at Richmond, the National Archives and the Library of Congress in Washington, local and family historians are assembling genealogies, collecting historic photographs, newspaper clippings and ephemera, and cleaning up and documenting cemeteries. These kinds of collections would be well worth locating and inventorying while their collectors are still alive.

Specific historical and ethnographic information on the communities along the Gauley and the New River is dispersed in deeds, wills, maps, depositions, and inventories in courthouses in Fayette, Summers, Nicholas, and Raleigh Counties in West Virginia, and in Montgomery County in Virginia. We were not able to visit every repository. We found historic maps at the State Archive, the Library of Congress, the University of West Virginia at Morgantown, the Fayette County Courthouse, the Montgomery County Courthouse, the Virginia State Library, and in numerous published histories. Many repositories have placed maps online during the course of this project. The U.S. Census records, available on microfilm at the West Virginia State Archive, would yield a great deal of information, but should be consulted with specific places, periods, and questions in mind.

The published historical resources that we consulted included the Bureau of Census published reports on occupations and agricultural production, the state Gazetteer, Sims index to Land Grants in West Virginia, William Marshall's 1880 census of West Virginia, Nellie Yantis's

genealogy of 18th century Virginia, Krebs' geological survey of West Virginia, frontier histories by Kegley, Doddridge, Rice, and Summers, and historical travel accounts including Adair's *History of the American Indians*, the diaries of George Washington, and the annals of southwestern Virginia compiled and published by Lewis Summers. The county histories by Jim Wood (Raleigh), John Cavalier (Fayette), and Sanders' *New River Heritage* have amassed much information from primary sources on early settlers and their descendants. David Hackett Fisher's *Albion's Seed*, while problematic, is valuable for the great deal of information he has culled from 18th and 19th century sources on the Scotch Irish and Cavalier migrations, settlement, and lifeways. Otis Rice's history of the Allegheny frontier is also extremely insightful, thorough, and useful for gaining a historical overview of the region. The works of local history enthusiasts like Shirley Donnelly and Melody Bragg have been widely read by people in the communities around the New and Gauley River, to the extent that their written accounts are thoroughly woven into the historical discourse that circulates through the community and landscape. Similarly, the state-sponsored folklife magazine, *Goldenseal*, is widely read and appreciated by many who live in the region, and it regularly features the sorts of topics that the park could build into a program of documentation and archiving. Other useful resources include the proceedings of the New River Symposia (1982–1991), the journal *West Virginia History*, and *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

The coal and timber industry has generated a body of documentation that is also of ethnographic interest, including land histories lodged at the Division of Environmental Protection in Nitro, nineteenth-century industrial publications such as *The Virginias* and *Appalachian Trade Journal* and their contemporary counterparts, *The Coal Bell* and *Greenlands*. Biographies of coal industry officials, though written in the form of the panegyric (praise literature), contain useful information on the origins and beliefs of entrepreneurs in the region. Fred Toothman's *Great Coal Leaders of West Virginia* falls in this category, as does W.P. Tams' *The Smokeless Coal Fields of West Virginia: A Brief History*. Such literature is of special interest ethnographically because it conveys, from the perspective of industry, attitudes toward coalfield communities and the agrarian interests linked to the community forest and watershed that have persisted into the present.

The critical historiography of John Williams, David Whisnant, Sam Cook, David Allen Corbin, Paul Salstrom, Wilma Dunaway, Barbara Rasmussen, Altina Waller, Ronald Eller, and Ronald Lewis, ethnographic studies by Elizabeth Taylor, Kathleen Stewart, Benita Howell, Mary Hufford, Melinda Wagner, Michael Ann Williams and Rhoda Halperin, and the critical regionalism of Herbert Reid, Steven Fisher, and David Rouse have helped to establish a framework for thinking about history, culture, and issues of social class and landscape in the region, and the bearing on relationships to the parks. Each of these works offers an individualized field guide to an archive that wends through official repositories, private collections, personal experience, and engagement with communities in the region.

The portion of this vast archive that is perhaps most critical for the purpose of the park, the archive of the community forest and watershed, is accessible only through engagement with local community life. Fieldnotes and transcriptions of interviews offer many glimpses of this archive, which is really the mere footprint of that "immense intelligence" of which Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote: "We lie in the lap of an immense intelligence," to which John Dewey added, "But that intelligence is dormant, and its communications are broken, inarticulate, and faint, unless it possesses the community as its medium" (Dewey 1952). The question for ethnographers and park planners alike is how to enter into that medium. We will return to this question in the concluding section.

Figure 1. In the Cathedral Café, fieldworker Dana Hercbergs interviews Rick Bays about a map he is producing of all the historic towns and places along New River. (Unless otherwise indicated, all photos by Mary Hufford)

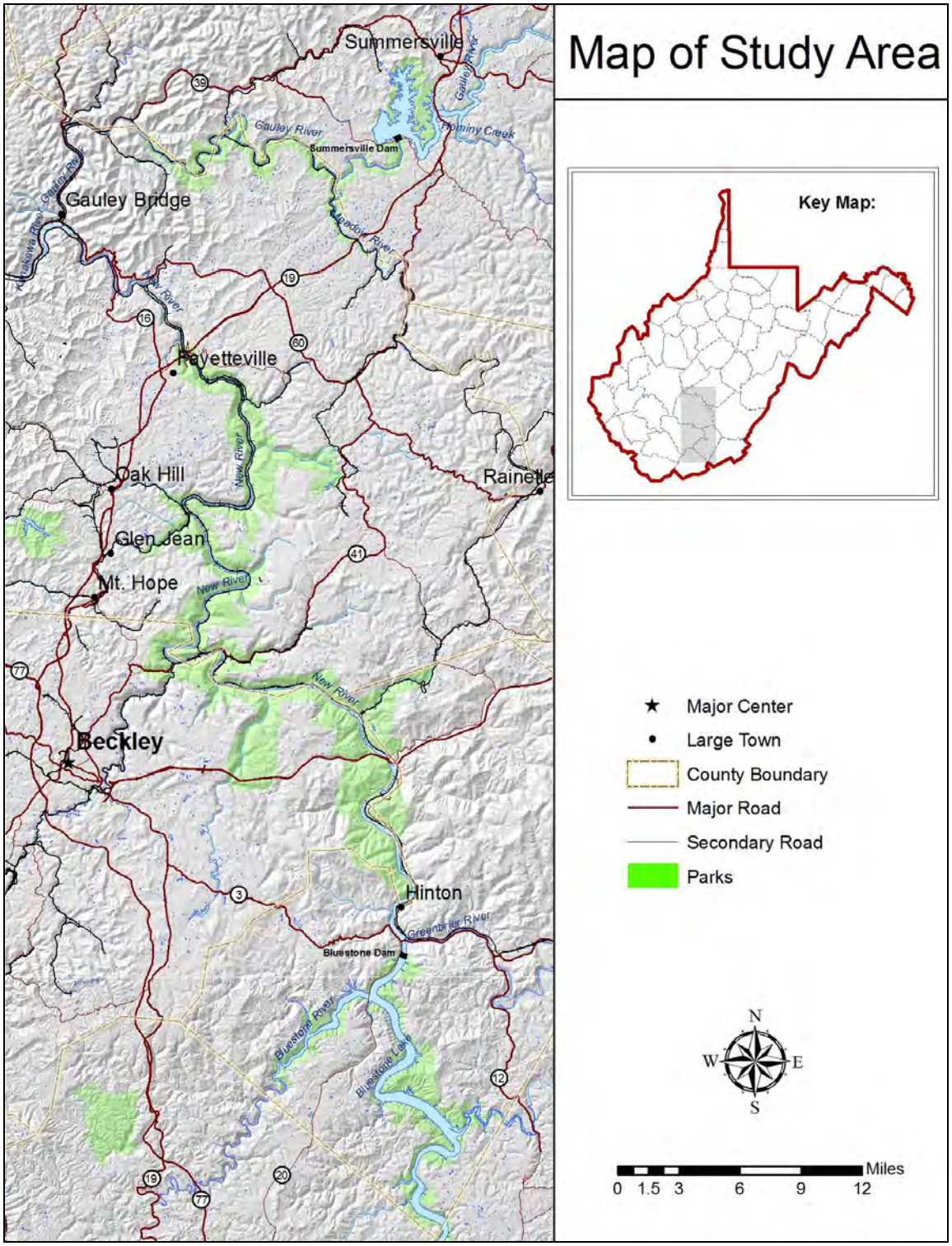


Figure 2. Map of study area. (Produced by Darryl Depencier for the Center for Folklore and Ethnography, University of Pennsylvania)

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK AND OVERVIEW

THE LANDSCAPES OF NERI AND GARI

Since the 18th century, the region surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers has played a key role in the formation and industrialization of the United States. However, the historiography of the past decade provides a framework for challenging the traditional account of Appalachia as a frontier won by Europeans and their descendants from the Indians, the French, and the Confederacy, setting the stage for a theater in which Captains of Industry then tamed the wilderness and its occupants in order to recover the raw materials needed to fuel the nation on its path of progress. Wilma Dunaway, in *The First American Frontier*, argues that the American myth of the frontier, with its romanticized views of pioneering life, colonial conquest, and industrial domination, obscures the role that the Appalachian region has played in the global economy since the seventeenth century, as well as the ways in which Appalachian history has been driven by interactions in an international marketplace. Drawing on Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory, she argues that since 1700, the history of the southern Appalachian region is a history of its systematic peripheralization in the emerging world economy.

Unfolding as a periphery, the Appalachian frontier formed a space for economic expansion on the margins of two other zones: a core and a semi-periphery. The position of core was initially fought over by England and France, with England emerging as dominant, following the French and Indian War. The semi-periphery was occupied by Spain, Portugal, and other European nations, as well as by the British colonies on the New England and mid-Atlantic seaboard. The history of New and Gauley Rivers provides, over a period of approximately two centuries, localized detail on the dynamics of the interactions among core, semi-periphery, and periphery, and the impacts of these interactions on the community forest system. The contribution of ethnography is to retrieve perspectives on the dynamic as they were, and are, conveyed from

multiple positions in American society, and to illuminate the role played by the National Parks in this world system.

A word is in order about how the continuing dynamic interactions of core, semi-periphery, and periphery play out in a global context. Competing for hegemony in the world market, France and England expanded into the Appalachian frontier, seeking resources for the accumulation of wealth and power. They competed for trading relationships with the Iroquois, Cherokee, Delaware, and others, who in turn competed with each other for the advantage in trading European goods for deer hides and other extracted resources such as ginseng and gold. The Six Nations' appropriation of southern West Virginia as its hunting ground in the early eighteenth century was a defining moment in that internal competition, as was its cession of that land to the colonists toward the end of the century. The semi-peripheries of the mid-Atlantic and New England regions extended the commodity chain as brokers and light manufactures (of, for example, iron, salt, tobacco, milled timber, bricks, homespun textiles, and liquor) in a bid to enter the core. As the core and semi-periphery expanded into the frontier, southern Appalachia, including southern West Virginia, "was incorporated as a peripheral fringe of the European colonies" (Dunaway 1997:11). Through these trading relationships, surplus value was transferred from the periphery to the semi-periphery and core. The system of extraction relied not only on the cultivation of dependence on European goods among Native Americans, but increasingly it relied on coerced labor in the peripheral zones, including slavery, indentured servitude, cash-cropping, and tenantry. The coercion of labor was enabled by the distribution of large parcels of land to absentee owners in the core and semi-peripheries. In present-day southern West Virginia, ninety-percent of the land is controlled by absentee companies. This pattern of landholding resulted early on in a large landless population, generating a ready pool of itinerant, seasonal labor for the larger plantations, farms, and extractive enterprises (coal and timber). The outcome of this dynamic for peripheral zones is an internally weak economy forced to rely on tourism amidst the continual degradation of an environment that is exploited beyond its capacity in order to feed the global market's insatiable appetite for raw materials.

The historical timeline in Appendix I, while not exhaustive, provides an overview of the interactions among core, semi-periphery, and periphery over the past 200 years. This section of

the report provides an overview of the exploration, settlement, and industrialization of the region surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers, which played a central role in that history.

Early Trail Systems

Connecting its tributaries with the Ohio River, via the Kanawha River, the New River defines a major two-way corridor along which flora, fauna, people, commodities and ideas have migrated from pre-historic times to the present day. In the network of trails used by Native Americans, as mapped by William E. Myer, the Ohio Prong of the Great Indian Warpath follows the New River. Myers' map, compiled from historic maps and journals, provides an overview of the routes that Europeans would follow into what is now southern West Virginia. Myer and others have concluded that the numerous archeological remains along these trails indicate ancient patterns of use, but that the most "were so old that the Indians of the period of 1750 appear not to have had even a tradition regarding them"[1] (1925: 754).

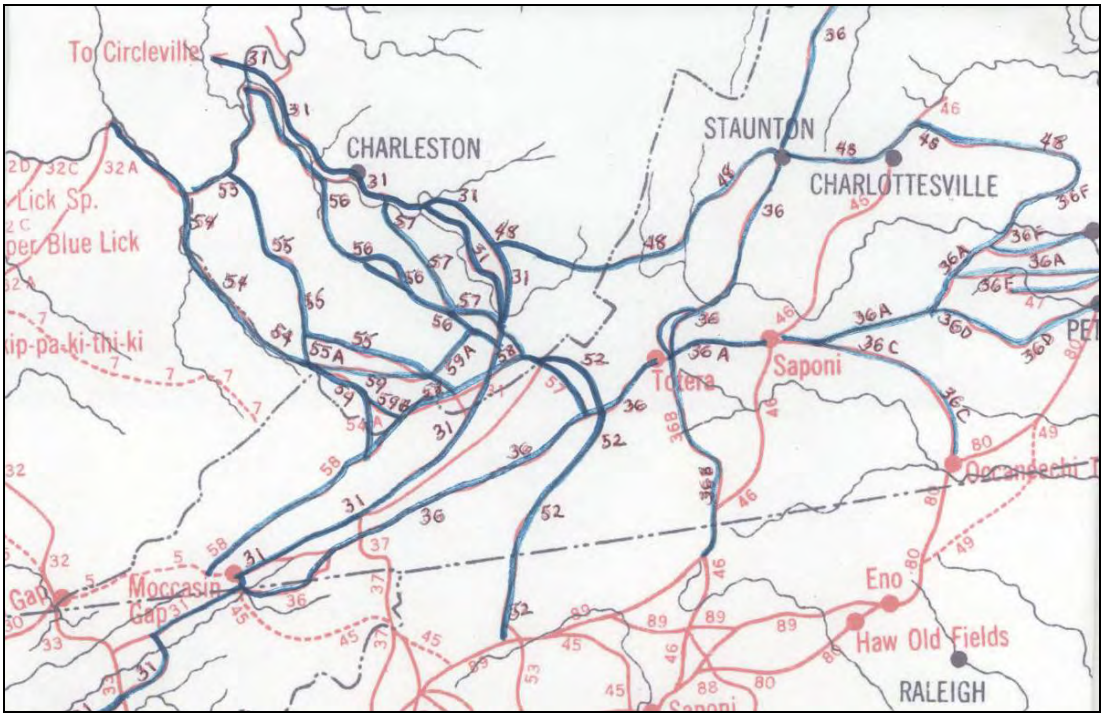


Figure 3. Detail from Myer's map of Indian Trails in the Southeast, with trails in the study area highlighted. Key to numbers in study area: 31) Great Indian War Path (Ohio Branch); 36) Great Indian War Path (Chesapeake Branch); 48) Pamunkey and New River Road; 52) New River and Southern Trail; 54) Big Sandy Trail; 55) Guyandot Trail; 56) Coal River Trail; 57) Paint Creek Trail; 58) New River and Cumberland Gap Trail; and 59) North Fork of Tug River. (Source: Myer 1925)

What Myer calls the Chesapeake prong of the Great Indian Warpath formed a major route of migration for Germans and Scotch-Irish who followed this route from Pennsylvania, through the Valley of the Virginias, and then branched off into the Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and present day West Virginia. This part of the New World does not begin to appear in detail on European maps until the 18th century. The first Europeans to enter the region were French and English explorers and traders, who were dependent on Native American guides for safe passage and orienteering. They were also guided by "long hunters," (or "hermit hunters") men from the colonies who would also go into the region on extended hunting trips, during which time they procured game and marketable goods such as furs and ginseng (Sanders I:8). The practice of long hunting not only provided a context for interactions with native groups, and ethnographic accounts such as the one offered by James Adair, but enabled hunters to identify places for further settlement.

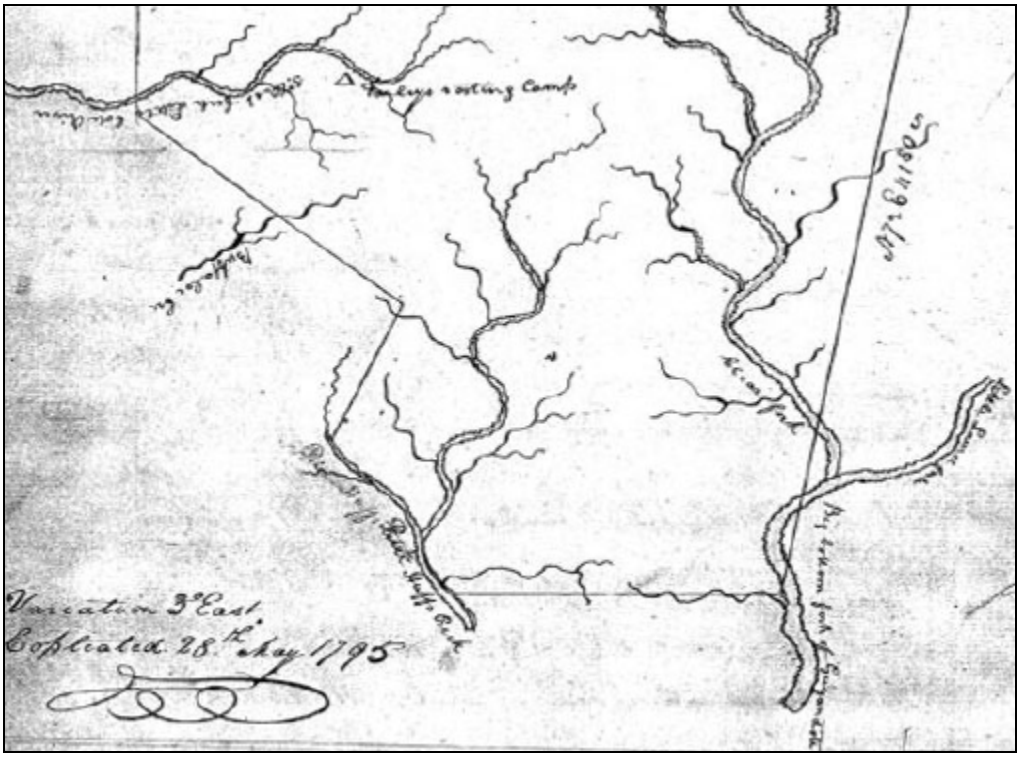


Figure 4. Survey made in 1795 by Edward Dillon, at the headwaters of the Big and Little Coal Rivers and the Guyandot, showing the location of "Farley's Rooting Camp," near the head of Buffalo Creek, where Boone, Logan and Wyoming County come together. (Source: Montgomery County Courthouse, Christiansburg, VA)

It is likely that unrecorded traders and long hunters had been venturing into the region since at least the early 18th century, well ahead of the explorers, who seem to have been well-informed regarding the terrain of the country, and who were following known trails (Solecki 1949: 334–36). These trails "followed lines of least resistance, avoiding rough and stony ground, briers, and close undergrowth such as is formed by laurel. They frequently followed buffalo paths as the easiest routes … where there were fewer and smaller streams to cross and where possible, the paths went through the lower gaps of mountain ranges. Johnston's *History of Middle New River Settlements* describes the trails used by Indians based in Ohio and the lower Kanawha Rivers:

> "These Indians with their prisoners passed down New River, crossing at the ford above the mouth of Bluestone thence across what is called White Oak Mountain, the northeastern extension of the Flat Top, by way of where Beckley, in Raleigh County, is now situated, the old Indian trail passes at what is now the junction of the principal streets of the town and on the head of Paint Creek and down to the Kanawha.
>
> "This trail up Paint Creek and either by Pipe Stem Knob or mouth of Big Bluestone was one of their frequently traveled ways to East River and New River settlements. Paint Creek took its name from several trees standing thereon painted by the Indians as one of their guides or landmarks on marauding expeditions into white settlements, and on their return they by marks on the trees would indicate the number of scalps taken." (Johnston 1908)

On one early map of the region, Paint Creek is called Yellow Creek. Another trail led up from Paint Creek, via Short Creek, "by way of Jarrolds Valley, going up Marsh Fork and Drews Creek, crossing Cherry Pond Mountain at Indian Gap to the head of Pond Fork. From thence it led to the waters of Guyandot River by way of Walnut Gap. Shards of flint found at the head of Drew's Creek suggests that this was a place where Indians made their arrowheads.

On the earliest maps of Indian Nations, the region appears strangely unclaimed, surrounded by Indian settlements, but not permanently occupied by any of them. On the map Lewis Evans published in 1755, the area now occupied by the New and Gauley National Rivers falls within "a vein of Mountains about 30 or 40 miles right across through which there is not yet

any occupied path in these parts." In his *History of Southwest Virginia*, Lewis Summers offers what has become the generally accepted explanation for this gap:

> "This vast park was filled with the finest game in great quantities, and, for more than one hundred years previous to its settlement by the Anglo-Saxon, it was jointly used, as if by common consent, as a hunting ground by the Cherokees, Shawnee and Six Nations, but the Cherokees were compelled to admit the superior title of the Six Nations to the sovereignty of the soil, which they did by frequent gifts of game killed within the territory." (1903:25)

Figure 5. Detail from Lewis Evans 1755 map denoting the Ouasito Mountains and adjunct areas drained by the Kanawha River as uninhabited. (Source: Library of Congress)

According to Robert Jay Dilger, missionaries reported that several thousand Hurons occupied what is now West Virginia in the 16th century. They were driven out in the early 17th century by the Iroquois Confederacy, which sought to use the area for a hunting ground in the spring and summer (Dilger 2003). Lewis Summers notes that sometime in the late 17th century, according to Cherokee tradition, the Cherokee drove out a group that lived in log cabins daubed with mud ("Xualans"), and that the region was principally used by the Cherokee (a Siouan group), and the Shawnee. Summers speculates that the rich resources of southwest Virginia were so vital

to both Cherokee and Shawnee that traditional hostilities were suspended among those who hunted and gathered in the region.

> "The tradition was that once of old there was a delegated assemblage of the chiefs of the Indian tribes for a conference with the Great Spirit, at which conference the Great Spirit detailed certain great calamities that had befallen them the paradise of Hogoheegee, which were traceable to the causes named above, and thereupon the Great Spirit ordered all their nations to remove beyond certain boundaries, out of the Eden, which the Great Spirit informed them was too easy of life for their content and happiness and their future security." (Summers 1903:25)

Though Summers calls it "nothing more than the common hunting ground of the Cherokee and the Shawnee" (1903:27), shared access to this Edenic buffer zone commanded by the Great Spirit was seen as the foundation for peace among traditional enemies. Although the Eastern Panhandle was opened for settlement as early as 1716 by Governor Alexander Spotswood, Cherokee and Shawnee claims to the region south and west remained in effect for much of the eighteenth century. In an effort to keep on good terms with the Shawnee and Cherokee, the British government issued the Proclamation of 1763, prohibiting settlement by British subjects west of the Alleghenies. This proclamation was overturned by the 1768 Treaty of Hard Labor, which extinguished Cherokee rights to all but the southwesternmost corner of present day West Virginia (Rice 1970:61–62; Summers 1903:97–102).

Charles Callender notes that the Shawnee were "an exceptionally fragmented people," who lived nomadically, and were found in Illinois, Ohio, Maryland, and along the Savannah River. In the second half of the 18th century they coalesced in southern Ohio, which may have been their precontact homeland (Callender 1978:622). During the precontact period, the Iroquois League drove the Shawnee out of the Ohio River Valley, conferring on them a subordinate status comparable to that of the Delaware. The Shawnee frequently clashed with other tribes in the southeast, and tried to bolster their standing by playing the French and English against each other. Among native peoples, the Shawnee were the most violently opposed to trans-Appalachian settlement, and waged attacks on settlers before, during, and after the Revolutionary War. In the histories of southern West Virginia counties, these attacks are recounted in great detail, and monuments to the pioneer families may be found along the Gauley and Bluestone Rivers. In the 19th century, a large group of Shawnee joined the Cherokee Nation.

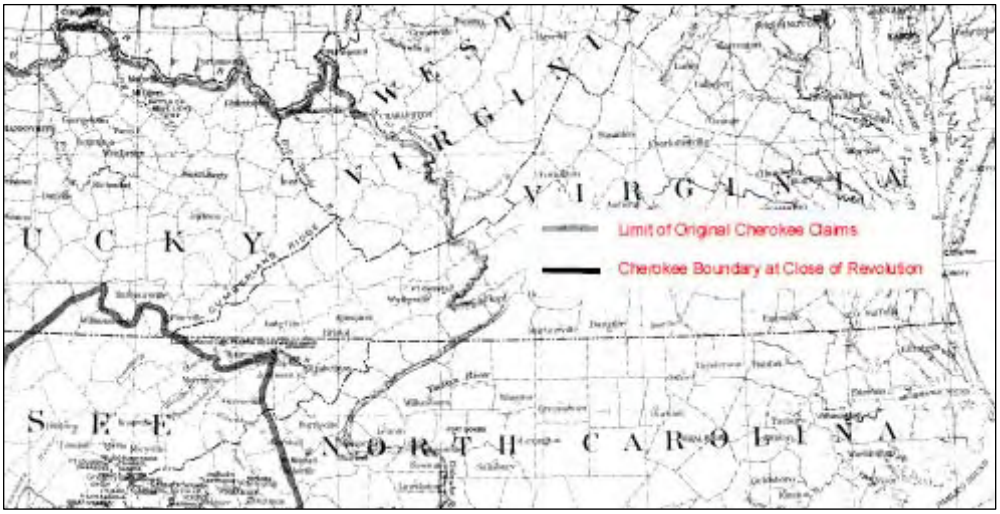


Figure 6. Detail from James Mooney's 1900 map of the Cherokee Country, showing extent of original Cherokee claim, bounded to the north and east by the New and Kanawha Rivers in present-day West Virginia, and the cession of claims in present-day West Virginia, Kentucky and North Carolina by 1776. (Source: Mooney 1900)

Mississippi and Cherokee Antecedents of Mountain Culture and Agriculture

> "Native American history – cultural and agricultural – which extends back thousands of years and into the present within the southern mountains, provides an essential reminder of the long time scales and deep prior contexts prefacing the colonial "beginnings" of the region." (Hatley 1991: 37)

James Mooney's map shows the expanse of Cherokee territory to a northeastern boundary formed by the New and Kanawha River. In 1770 the Treaty of Lochaber extinguished all rights of the Cherokee to land within present day West Virginia. But the persistence in oral tradition of claims that this region formed an unofficial refuge for displaced Cherokee invites us to examine the evidence for cultural continuity between the earliest Native Americans and present-day communities in the region. The first historical accounts of Native American life in the Appalachian south are provided by the four men who chronicled Hernando De Soto's travels in 1540. In his environmental history of the southern Appalachians, Donald Davis extrapolates a view of the environment and culture of the Fort Ancient peoples, floodplain cultivators of eastern Kentucky and West Virginia. Fort Ancient represented one of four mountain centers of Mississippian culture, which had, since about 700 A.D. been centered in Cahokia, on the Mississippi River, near present-day St. Louis, Missouri. "The Fort Ancient peoples of Kentucky

and West Virginia, who never achieved the level of social organization of other Mississippian culture groups, lived outside the influence of a single paramount chief, or cacique, and thus maintained a much more decentralized body politic" (Davis, 2000:23). Archeological and historical evidence of cultural continuity suggests that the Cherokee, who are said to be Iroquoian, encountered and appropriated Mississippian ways (Davis, 2000: 29).

Davis's environmental history brings to light the extent to which mountain ecologies and landscapes are the expression of hundreds of years of interaction among human and non-human players, as well as the dramatic effect that trade with European countries would have on mountain ecologies. To begin with, Mississippian agriculture was, as Davis notes:

> "[M]uch more than the tending of a handful of individual crops. More accurately it was a cultivation system embedded in a diverse and dynamic local ecology. Many edible foods grew in abandoned fields or along the disturbed edges of the upland forest. When in season, passion flower and morning glory roots as well as mulberry, wild cherry, and scuppernong or muscadine grape might be gathered in large quantities. Likewise, the Mississippians prepared nutmeats of all kinds, including chestnuts, black walnuts, butternuts, hazelnuts, beechnuts, and chinkapins." (Davis, 2000: 25)

Mississippian practices of animal husbandry appear to anticipate the present-day use of "mountain fiests" for treeing squirrels (see Figure 7). They appear to have captured and raised wild turkeys in large enclosures, cleared land for the cultivation of multiple varieties of corn, and harvested timber to build palisades and dwellings. They used fires for hunting and for insect control in the crops. They practiced "phlogiston," the annual burning of fields which both fertilized and preserved the clearings for crops, and to suppress competition for the river cane in the riparian lowlands which figured heavily in Mississippian life and culture. Such clearings also created habitat for shade-intolerant trees, such as the occasional pine forests that De Soto noted (Davis 2000: 29).

The Mississipians hunted mammals and birds, including deer, elk, black bear, squirrels, passenger pigeons, ducks, geese, sandhill cranes and whistling swans. From the rivers they took paddlefish, gar, sturgeons, quillback, eels, drum, minnows, redhorse suckers, bass, mussels, turtles, and catfish, using cane spears and wire traps. They also harvested and consumed hundreds of species of freshwater mussels.

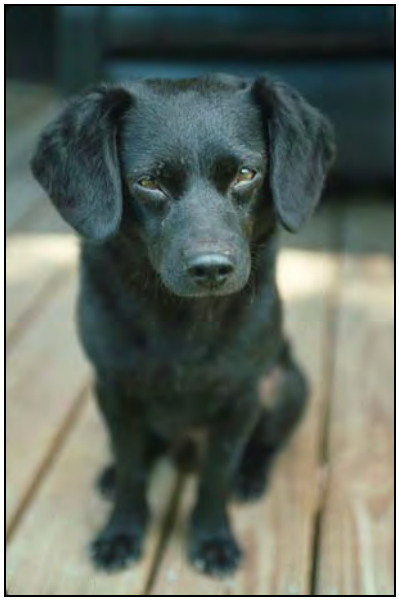


Figure 7. Chipper, a mountain feist, lived at the head of the Buffalo Fork of Rock Creek, in Raleigh County. He hunted squirrels for Ben Burnside. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

By 1630, less than a century after Spanish contact, the Mississippian culture had declined precipitously, due to Spanish incursions and the spread of diseases. The scholarly consensus is that the Cherokee express continuity with the Mississippian culture, and that the Shawnee are most likely descended from the Fort Ancient peoples in the Big Sandy and Kanawha River Valleys (Davis 2000:45). James Mooney records a detailed account of how the mounds were built, entitled, "the Mounds and the Constant Fire: the Old Sacred Things." It begins: "Some say that the mounds were built by another people. Others say they were built by the ancestors of the old Ani'-Kitu'hwagi for town-house foundations, so that the townhouses would be safe when freshets came" (Mooney 1900: 395).

Along with the disruption of Mississippian ways, the Spanish left a horticultural legacy that is still present in the vicinity of New River. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Spanish introduced Old World crops, livestock, and agricultural practices, as well as crops cultivated by Indians and African slaves in the Caribbean. Livestock included Iberian cattle, hogs, horses, mules, donkeys, burros, sheep, goats, and chickens. Crops introduced early on included peaches, sweet potatoes, cowpeas and watermelons. The Spanish assisted in the introduction of foods brought from Africa to feed the slaves, including yams, sorghum, okra, and castor beans. (Davis 2000: 46). All of these are presently grown in southern West Virginia. Both peaches and sweet

potatoes became major staples in Cherokee food production (Davis 2000: 48) and peach trees became a sign of a Cherokee landscape. Along the Coal River Trail, which followed the Coal River within the boundary of Cherokee territory (see Figure 6), the name of Peach Tree Creek is said to have been given by the first white settlers who came there and found peach trees growing (Hufford 1998: 148).

Davis notes also that the clearings left in the wake of the Mississippians provided an entrée for significant migrations of buffalo into the region in the 17th century. The movement of buffalo through the region would have aided in the renewal of clearings where they grazed and the maintenance of a trail system. The compaction of soils by buffalo and deer around mineral springs and salt licks created the conditions for ponds and lakes, such as the one at Mercer Springs.

In the mid-18th century the fur trade between Native Americans and the English and French intensified to the point that after three decades the population of large fur-bearing mammals was severely depleted. The most serious impact of the fur trade on forest and stream ecology was the decimation of the beaver population. Over many centuries, ponds impounded by beaver dams made of saplings had produced a system of floodplain meadows and wetlands, which supported populations of freshwater fish, reptiles, amphibians and water fowl. Davis writes that:

> "Beaver ponds and their network of channels and dams also helped prevent widespread flooding, equalizing stream flows during both spring freshets and summer droughts. In addition, this open habitat also provided feeding places for deer, bison, and elk, as meadow grasses and other plant species flourished in the moist alluvial soils of the creek and river bottoms surrounding each dam." (2000:69)

Ginseng was an important trade commodity, beginning in the early 1700s, when Joseph Lafiteau, a French Jesuit in Canada, recognized a plant used by the Iroquois to be the same as that which commanded high prices in China (Lafiteau 1718). According to Davis, the Chinese lost confidence in the Canadian product, due to its improper processing, and turned to the southern Appalachians where the Cherokee, who knew and used the plant medicinally, were willing to harvest and sell the root. To this day, the Central Appalachian region that was controlled by the Cherokee in the 18th century continues to supply more than half of the wild ginseng exported by

the United States. More than half of what is exported from West Virginia comes from the counties to the south and west of the New and Kanawha Rivers (Hufford 2003: 267).

With the depletion of deer, elk, and bison, the Cherokee began incorporating cattle and hogs into their system. Davis observes that the free-range grazing practiced on the frontier was first introduced by the Spanish in northern Florida, where it was adopted by the Florida Indians, from whom the Cherokee learned it. With the return of cattle year after year to the canebrakes that once dominated many river banks, river cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*) was eventually reduced to remnant patches along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts (Davis, 2000: 76–77; Bolgiano 1998: 45). Cane had been a valuable, multi-purpose resource for the Cherokee, who used it to build houses, and to make sleeping mats, bowls, and baskets.

The Cherokee, as James Adair notes in his ethnographic account published in 1775, were mountain people. Mountains and lowlands worked together in their system, integrated through waterways.

> "Their towns are always close to some river, or creek; as there the land is commonly very level and fertile, on account of the frequent washings off the mountains, and the moisture it receives from the waters, that run through their fields. And such a situation enables them to perform the ablutions, connected with their religious worship." (Adair 1775:226).

These "ablutions," known as "going to water," continue to be an important practice in Cherokee communities. Adair reports that forty years earlier the Cherokee were a populous nation with sixty four towns and villages. "According to the computations of the most intelligent old traders of that time, they amounted to upwards of sixty-thousand fighting men; a prodigious number to have so close on our settlements, defended by blue-topped ledges of inaccessible mountains." (Adair 1775:227)

Adair's writings give us a glimpse of the mixed-mesophytic community forest and watershed that the settlers appropriated. The Cherokee, Adair noted, had a striking relationship to the rivers, sources of spiritual and material sustenance:

> "They are also strongly attached to rivers, – all retaining the opinion of the ancients, that rivers are necessary to constitute a paradise. Not is it only ornamental, but likewise beneficial to them, on account of purifying themselves, and also for the services of common life – such as fishing, fowling, and killing of

> deer, which come in the warm season, to eat the saltish moss and grass, which grow on the rocks, and under the surface of the waters. Their rivers are generally very shallow, and pleasant to the eye; for the land being high, the waters have a quick descent; they seldom overflow their banks, unless when a heavy rain falls on a deep snow. – then, it is frightful to see the huge pieces of ice, mixed with a prodigious torrent of water, rolling down the high mountains, and over the steep craggy rocks, so impetuous, that nothing can resist their force. Two old traders saw an instance of this kind, which swept away great plantations of oaks and pines, that had their foundation as in the center of the earth." (Adair 1775: 228)

The community forest and watershed of the Cherokee supported a corn-woodland-pastureland economy that the European settlers moved into. Adair notes the prevalence of hogs, poultry, "and everything sufficient for the support of a reasonable life ... at the fall of the leaf, the woods are full of hickory-nuts, acorns, chestnuts, and the like; which occasions the Indian bacon to be more streaked, firm, and better tasted, than any we meet with in the English settlements" (Adair 1775: 230–31).

The implication of Cherokee knowledge and landscape practices were not lost on Adair:

> "The Cheerake country abounds with the best herbage, on the richer parts of the hills and mountains; and a great variety of valuable herbs is promiscuously scattered on the lower lands. It is remarkable, that none of our botanists should attempt making any experiments there, notwithstanding the place invited their attention, and the public had a right to expect so generous an undertaking from several of them; while at the same time, they would be recovering or renewing their health, at a far easier, cheaper, and safer rate, than coasting it to our northern colonies." (Adair 1775: 229)

While much of Adair's discussion is centered on the mountains of Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina, the region surrounding the present national rivers would have afforded the same amenities. On Hutchins' 1775 map of *The Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina*, the name "Ouasioto," a Shawnee term for deer, labels the mountains of the Cumberland Plateau, which are annotated:

> "The Ouasioto Mountains are between 50 to 60 miles wide at the Gap, where the War Path leads to the Cuttowa Country; these Mountains abound in Coal, Lime, and Free Stone; the Summits of them are generally covered with good Soil, and a variety of Timber; and the low or interval Lands are rich and remarkably well watered."

It was such land that George Washington set out to survey in 1770. His journals contain a running list of the forest species he saw from his canoe, especially those that indicated rich soil: beech, walnut, poplar, black oak, hickory, locust, cherry, sugar trees, ash, sycamore (one nearly forty five feet in diameter), Near the mouth of the Kanahwa River he received invaluable advice "on the Subject of Land" from Kiashuta, a Six Nation Indian Chief who told Washington about the rich soils located on level benches at the heads of the creeks. Kiashuta also told him what he would find if he followed the Kanawha River to its falls. He would find that the bottom on the west side continues "all the way to the Falls without the Interposition of Hills," that "the Bottoms on the East side of the River are also very good, but broken with Hills," and that "the river is easily passed with Canoes to the Falls which. Cannot be less than 100 Miles, but further it is not possible to go with them, and that there is but one ridge from thence to the Settlements upon the River above" (Fitzpatrick 1925: I, 431).

Near the falls of which Kiashuta spoke to George Washington in 1770, the New and Gauley River basins form the headwaters of the Kanawha River, or "Conoway" River as it appears on 16th and 17th century maps, a name for a group that the Seneca claimed to have vanquished from the region. The Ohio Branch of the Great Warrior Trail was used by the Shawnee to get to their hunting grounds along the Greenbrier River, where the "Settlements upon the River above" were encroaching. In these settlements were the ancestors, mostly Scotch Irish, English and Irish, of many who live in present-day southern West Virginia.

Exploration, Speculation, Warfare, and Settlement in the Colonial Period: 1641–1775

When Europeans came into the region in the 17th century, the New River was known to some Native Americans as "Mondongachate." The Upper New River, flowing through North Carolina and Virginia, was first encountered by English explorers Walter Austin, Rice Hoe, Joseph Johnson, and Walter Chiles in 1641. Because the river drained to the West, England saw this as an opportunity to expand its territory by claiming all the lands drained by this river. The following year, King Charles I commissioned William Berkeley, a young nobleman from the south of England to be the governor of Virginia. Over the next 35 years, as governor of a colony that included all of present-day West Virginia, Berkeley would draw on the sons of the Cavaliers, as those who were loyal to Charles I were called, to establish a ruling oligarchy of Tidewater

planters. Out of the resulting class system grew a key part of the semi-periphery that would transfer the wealth of the Allegheny frontier to England, along with the products of its plantations and iron works. Explorers from these colonies paved the way.

In 1671 Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam set off, along with their indentured servant Jack Neasam, and with funding from Abraham Wood of Amherst County, to explore the Woods River, as the New River was then called. The Appomatock Indians who accompanied them fed them on turkey, grapes, and deer. “Presently afterwards,” writes the journalist, “we had sight of a curious River like Apomatack River. Its course here was north, and so as we suppose runs west about a certain curious mountains we saw westward.… We understand the Mohecan Indians did here formerly live. It cannot be long since for we found corn stalks in the ground.” They had caught sight of Peter’s Falls, where the New River breaks through Peters’ Mountain near Pearisburg, Virginia. The journalist relates having to assuage the anxieties of the Mohecan Indians “who having intelligence of our coming were afraid it had been to fight them.” He also mentions hearing “that there were a great company of Indians that lived upon the great Water” (Summers 1929).

In 1674, Gabriel Arthur, a trading agent of Abraham Wood, was captured by Cherokee and taken to a Mohetan Village near present day Marmet, on the Kanawha River. In 1742, John Peter Salley became the first Englishman to cross the New River and follow the trail on its western side, eventually spotting the coal outcroppings for which Coal River is purportedly named. Other travelers of this time period allude to the signs of seasonal use by Indians. Christopher Gist relates staying in “old Indian cabins” during his 1750–1751 journey, during which he crossed the New River at Crump’s Bottom, following the Great Indian Warpath to that fording place (Solecki 1949: 338).

The outcomes of the explorations were not only diaries, but maps, and as we’ve seen, the earliest maps record observations about the lands themselves. In Virginia’s upper valley, the westernmost European settlers indicated on Evans’ map of 1755 were noted as those of Keeny, where the Greenbrier joins New River, and Samuel Stalnaker, on the Middle Fork of the Clinch River. In an account of his travels during the spring of 1750, the explorer Dr. Thomas Walker wrote that he met Samuel Stalnaker “on his way to the Cherokee Indians” (Walker 1888:42).

Westward expansion from here would bring the settlers into conflict with the Cherokee and the Shawnee for whom the region surrounding the present day parks served as a kind of hunting reserve even then. While long hunters, trappers, and traders from the settled portions of Virginia could continue to venture into this region, efforts to colonize it would be met with fierce and bloody resistance from the Shawnee.

Stalnaker and Keeny were the advance guard of the German and Scotch-Irish pioneers migrating south from Pennsylvania along the Great Indian War Path. Between 1683 and 1775, 100,000 German Protestants left Germany, fleeing from conscription, high taxes, war, and religious persecution. Germans who settled in Virginia, beginning in the 1730s, between Strasbourg and Harrison, and on the Piedmont, came from the mountainous region of southwest Germany. Though German was spoken by 28 percent of Virginians in 1790, by 1800, most spoke English.

Figure 8. Detail of study area from Adair's Map of North American Indians. (Source: Adair 1775)

Between 1715 and 1775, 250,000 people migrated from Ireland to the U.S. Many of the earliest immigrants from Ireland came from the North of Ireland, and were descended from Lowland Scotsmen who had been settled in Ulster by the British after 1603 in order to control the rebellious native Irish population. The Lowland Scots were historically well practiced in this buffering function, having lived between England and the Highland Gaels for centuries, and then having been settled on lands in Northern Ireland (Ulster) that had been confiscated from Irish Catholic Earls and given to British Protestant landlords, to whom they paid rent. Because of the relocation they were known as the "Scotch Irish." In 1717 thousands of the leases expired, and in the face of rackrenting, poor harvests, and the collapse of the woolen industry due to English price-fixing practices, they chose to emigrate. Those who set out for America entered at ports in New England and Philadelphia, where Provincial Secretary James Logan had invited them, thinking to position them between the colonies and the frontier. "At the time, we were apprehensive from the Northern Indians," he wrote in 1720. "I therefore thought it might be prudent to plant a settlement of such men as those who formerly had so bravely defended Londonderry and Iniskillen as a frontier, in case of any disturbance." But he was reluctant to issue them patents on the land, and later blamed them for making trouble with the Indians (Leyburn 1962: 191–92). Bypassing the fertile lands already taken by Germans, "they seemed to prefer slate hills, where there was an abundance of pure springs, and where the air of the hills and the rolling countryside may have reminded them of their native scene in Northern Ireland." Many places surrounding the headwaters of the Susquehanna River are named after places in Northern Ireland: Londonderry, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Eniskillen.

The Scotch Irish began moving from Pennsylvania down the Great Wagon Road into the Shenandoah Valley in the 1740s, where many of them bypassed the German settlements to settle in southwestern Virginia, where "western lands" of Tidewater planters were made available to those who would settle there and build forts to defend Virginia against the Indians. In 1755, the settlement of Draper's Meadows was attacked and massacred by Shawnee Indians.[2]

Meanwhile, three land companies, the Greenbrier, the Ohio, and the Loyal Company, were eager to begin settling tenants on the lands they had been granted by the English Crown, but were frustrated by the competition between England and France over good trade relations with

the Indians. During the French and Indian War (1755–1763) the British colonies signed several conciliatory treaties. In 1758, at the treaty of Easton, the Proprietors of Pennsylvania signed an agreement with the Six Nations to leave land west of the Alleghenies as Indian hunting grounds, not open to settlement. The Ohio, Greenbrier and Loyal Land Companies vehemently opposed the agreement, and transgressions against the treaty were not long in coming. In 1761 Archibald Clendenin settled two miles west of Lewisburg, and Frederick See and Felty Yocum settled not far from there on Muddy Creek. In 1763, the Ottowa attacked Detroit, the Shawnee and Delaware attacked Fort Pitt, and the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk destroyed the Clendenin, See, and Yocum homesteads. The ensuing proclamation of 1763 strictly prohibited further surveys on "Western Waters," including New River, but was overturned five years later by the Treaty of Fort Stanwyx, which extinguished the rights of the Six Nations to western (transallegheny) Virginia, and the Treaty of Hard Labor, which pushed the Cherokee boundary to the western edge of the New and Kanawha Rivers.

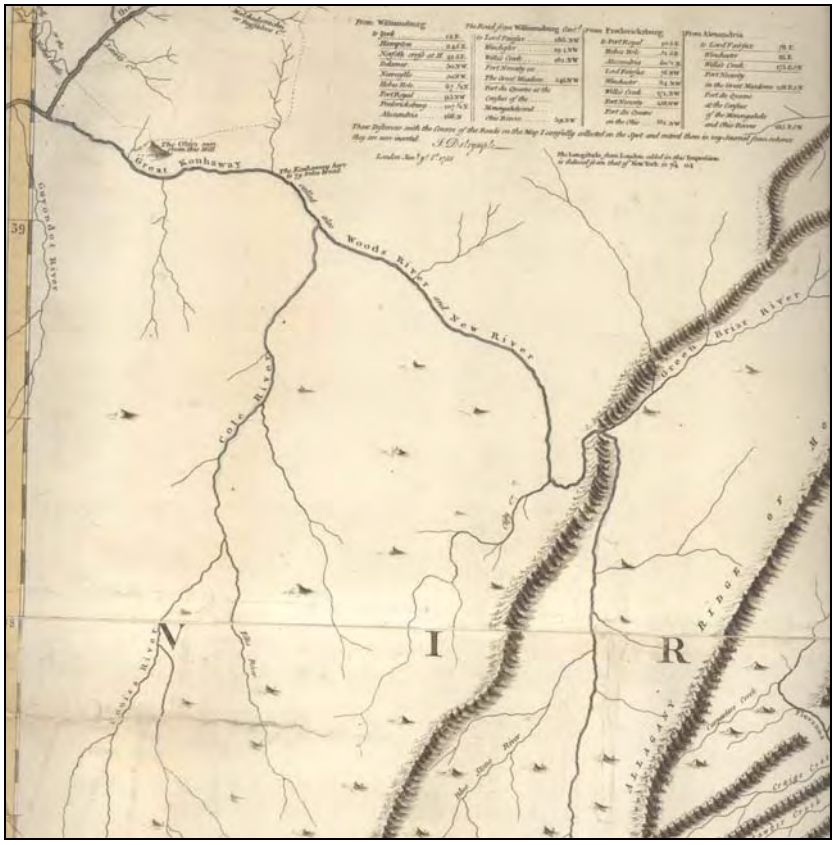


Figure 9. Detail from Fry & Jefferson Map, showing "Great Konhaway called also Woods River and New River." (Source: Library of Congress)

From 1769 to 1777, settlers, mostly Scotch Irish, poured into the valleys of the Greenbrier and Kanawha River tributaries. European settlement of the region proceeded through the 18th century along the New River from Draper's Meadow in present-day Pulaski County, Virginia, along the Middle New to where the Greenbrier and Bluestone Rivers empty into it just south of Hinton, in the vicinity of Crumps Bottom in present day Summers County. The Shawnee continued to conduct raids on the settlers, even after 1774, when the Shawnee were defeated at the Battle of Point Pleasant, at the confluence of the Ohio and Kanawha Rivers.

In the mountains the trails often led along the higher ground and ridges where the undergrowth was not so dense, and where there were fewer streams to cross." John P. Hale (in *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*) describes the path taken by Mary Ingle's captors from Crumps' Bottom, where they left New River, went up Bluestone over Flat Top Mountain to the head of Paint Creek and down to the Kanawha River. The trail did not hew closely to the New River, which was a formidable obstacle course of unfordable creeks and dangerous currents. .

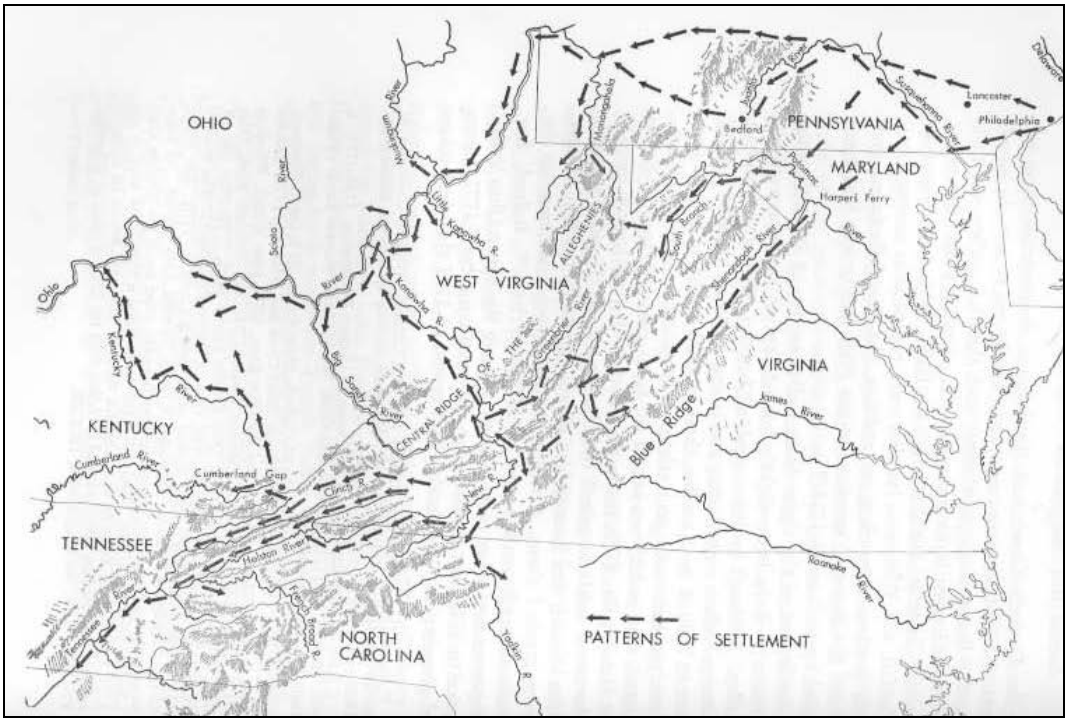


Figure 10. Routes taken by early settlers migrating from Pennsylvania into the southern mountains and the Ohio River Valley. (Source: Rice 1970)

Between 1769 and 1777 settlers – most of them Scotch-Irish – poured out of Virginia into the valleys of the Greenbrier and Kanawha Rivers, taking up residence in the broad fertile bottomlands. In 1773 Walter Kelly, the first European to settle in Fayette County, was killed in an Indian attack. The Shawnee, who had not been party to the treaties, continued to strike against settlers encroaching on their hunting grounds, even after Cornstalk's defeat at the Battle of Point Pleasant (1774). In 1775 Thomas Farley built Farley's Fort above Bull Falls and Warford Ferry, after Walter Kelly had been killed in Fayette County by Indians for trespassing (1773). As Farley was building his fort, Mitchell Clay was settling his family at Clover Bottom, also known as Shawnee Lake, near Spanishburg. Following Farley, Andrew Culbertson established a settlement at Culbertson's Bottom at the mouth of Indian Creek, the site of what is now known as Crump's Bottom.

Notorious assaults in the New and Gauley River basins included the murder of the children of Mitchell Clay (1783), at the headwaters of Bluestone River, and the daughters of Henry Morris (1792), near Lockwood, on Peter's Creek of the Gauley River. Morris planted a dogwood tree where he buried his children, which bloomed for nearly a century, and was then replaced by a marble headstone near the Fairview Baptist Church on Route 39 (Brown 1925: 29). This tragedy of peripheralized peoples set against each other by interests in the semi-periphery and the core is also commemorated by a sandstone statue that was raised in front of the Mercer County Courthouse in 1977. The work of sculptor Eric Dye, the figure shows a pioneer couple, Mitchell Clay and his wife Phoebe Belcher Clay, grieving over the death of their children Bartley and Tabitha in a Shawnee raid. Their son Ezekiel, according to the plaque at the statue's base, was taken to Chilicothe and burned at the stake. Clay's descendants in southern West Virginia number in the hundreds.

Figure 11. Statue of Mitchell and Phoebe Clay, grieving the death of their children in a Shawnee raid in 1783. Mercer County Courthouse.

Patterns in the Scotch-Irish Dispersion

In *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania,* Wayland Dunaway traces the dispersion of the Scotch-Irish out of Pennsylvania, from the headwaters of the Susquehanna toward headwaters throughout the southern mountains, over the course of several generations. This in itself is a mark of an interest in sustaining a sense of identity among people who share not only origins but destiny.

> "The movement from Pennsylvania … was unquestionably a controlling circumstance in the settlement of a large area in the Old Dominion. When this area had itself become thickly settled, it sent forth many of the second and third generations to share in the occupation of the South and West, although the original impulse came from Pennsylvania" (1944: 106).

Dunaway notes, however, that the settlement of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish in what is now West Virginia:

> "[W]as not altogether in line with the main southern movement, but proceeded under somewhat different conditions. As the settlements in the Shenandoah Valley thickened, pioneers began to cross the mountains into west Virginia and to people the region drained by the Southe Branch of the Potomac, while others occupied the valleys of the New, the Greenbrier, and the Kanawha. … In the New River region, settlement began somewhat later and received its initial impulse chiefly from the explorations of Christopher Gist, who traversed these wilds in 1750 and made a report which stimulated further emigration from the Valley of Virginia and from Pennsylvania. Among the pioneers was Andrew

> Culbertson of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, who located in the present county of Summers in 1753. Other Scotch-Irish settlers entered this region by way of the Greenbrier and the upper reaches of the James River" (1944: 107).

In 1745, James Patton, an Irishman, received a 100,000 acre land grant at the headwaters of the New, Holston, and Clinch Rivers. Settlement eventually proceeded from the vicinity of Pearisburg moving steadily down the New River and up its tributaries (Sanders I:61).

This eventually became a hearth area for the settlement of the New River area in present day West Virginia. The character of communities in and around the Parks is deeply influenced by New River's historic and economic relationships to communities upstream. As families expanded, descendants moved down the New River, and then up the Greenbrier and Bluestone, following migratory routes that were named after the families that created them. Sanders, for example, writes of the Lilly, Ellison, and Farley family migration routes along specific benches and streams (Sanders 1992). In this way the rivers closest to Virginia's present boundary with southern West Virginia were settled before families moved toward the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers along the New north of Hinton.

The Gorge itself has prompted unusual patterns of travel and settlement. In this region, Indian trails, which elsewhere follow rivers as the path of least resistance, veered onto the ridges of the Allegheny plateau between the Bluestone and Paint Creek in order to circumvent the Gorge. It is because of the gorge and the routes taken to get around it that the town of Beckley is distinguished as the only major city in West Virginia that is not directly on a river.

The settlers who came into the region represented different social sectors, including fur traders, long hunters, planters with slaves, yeoman farmers, pioneer farmers, and freed and escaped indentured servants and slaves. While life in the backcountry allowed for more upward mobility, particularly for those who settled on fertile bottomlands, people also brought with them the institutions and beliefs that would reproduce and transform class society in the mountains (Anderson-Green 1978:430–31). During the early period of European settlement, it was a shared purpose that gathered extended families into community with other extended families, as Anderson-Green observes of the first generation settlers of the New River Valley on the Virginia-North Carolina border:

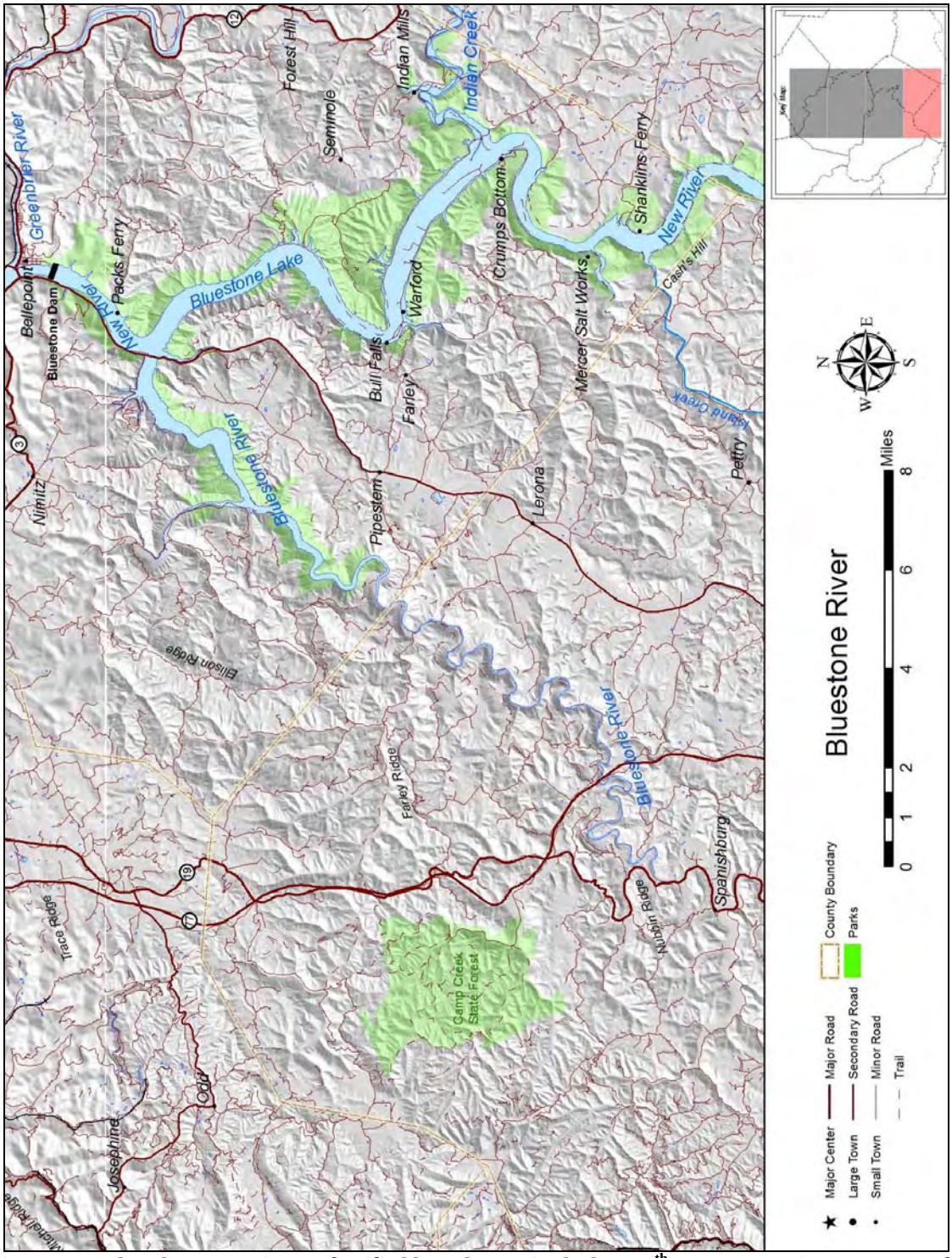


Figure 12. The Bluestone River, a fortified hearth area in the late 18th century, a primary source of 19th century settlement along the New, Coal, and Guyandot Rivers. (Produced by Darryl Depencier for the Center for Folklore and Ethnography, University of Pennsylvania)

> "The first-generation settlers were extended families of predominantly English and Scottish "plain folk" background, who had the determination to establish a solid, middle-class agricultural lifestyle. The families who entered this western Virginia-North Carolina area ranged from those whose progenitors had arrived on the coast of America over one hundred years earlier to those who had made the crossing themselves: all of these pioneers were intent on becoming independent landholders. Although some of the men who first penetrated into the New River region probably preferred a solitary wilderness existence, that type soon moved on West through the nearby Cumberland Gap. The ones who remained in the New River settlement were generally people characteristic of the yeoman world: Ephraim Osborne, Sr., fur trader; Ezekiel Young, indentured servant turned frontier hunter and homesteader; John Hashe, farmer; the Cox brothers, militia leaders during the Revolution" (1978:431).

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE: FOUNDATION NARRATIVES FROM THE INTERVIEWS AND ORAL HISTORIES

The first European settlers left their names on the streams, bottoms, knobs, ridges, and thousands of descendants who articulate their connection to this landscape through narratives of their ancestors. Contemporary telephone directories and maps of the region are saturated with the names of early settlers. Much of the most specific information about history and landscape circulates orally, through historical discourse (Briggs 1988). Foundation narratives are a distinct genre of historical discourse. These are stories passed down within families and communities about how a family or community came to be in southern West Virginia, about how land came into the hands of a particular family or community, and how its places were created and named. Often these narratives will identify specific sites as touchstones to family or community history. Of particular importance within this genre are place names and stories about how places got their names. In historical narratives told by people around Hinton, the place names of early settlements appear frequently: Bull Run, Crump's Bottom, Indian Creek, and Warford.

In foundation narratives, a key genre of historical discourse encountered in communities around the rivers, descendants relate themselves to the settlement of the land by associating the names of its features with ancestors and specific historical events, making the landscape and its names touchstones to family identity – accounting both for the naming of landscape and for their own presence here. Published local histories contain many of these foundation narratives, which are tied to features on the landscape. Sanders in particular is worth noting, for his use of

landscape elements, including cemeteries, place names, dams, trees, rocks and roads, as thresholds to family, regional and national history. Many of our consultants cited ancestors who settled there in the 18th century: "long hunters" like Sam Pack whose name lingers on the long creek that threads its way past Packs Branch and Pax into Paint Creek, "Indian fighters" like Thomas Farley and Mitchell Clay, Revolutionary War soldiers like William Richmond, or land grantees like Brooks who settled at the falls and creek on New River that bear his name, James Ellison, for whom Ellison Ridge is named, or Ballengee, a Frenchman who settled near Ballengee Knob on Keeney's Mountain, the Penningtons, who came in from Pennsylvania, Blumes who came from the lands of Count Zinzindorf in Germany in the 16th century, the Morrises who settled on Peter's Creek and many others. The early settlers took up land in the southern part of New River around the Greenbrier, and around the Gauley and Meadow Rivers before settlement commenced around the northern part of the New, beginning with Peter Bowyer at the mouth of Mann's Creek.

"There's a place called Paine's Mountain on Paint Creek," said Billy Aliff, of Oak Hill. "And that's where my grandfather Paine was raised, and that's why they called it Paine's Mountain, because it was the Paines lived up there."

Paul Fox, spinning out colonial and natural history in the machine shop at Dun Glen:

> "My family was already here before the mines. My family came here in 1803. Lived at Lansing. My fifth great grandfather is buried there at Lansing.… I'm pretty sure the Fox that came here from England was an indentured servant. I'm pretty sure they moved to this area to get away from the people that they'd been working for in the East, because it was a form of slavery, so they wanted to get as far away as they could. My 6th great grandfather's name was Samuel Fox, and he came to America as an indentured servant. And his son John moved to Lansing."

Harold Duncan, who grew up in Minden, tells how his ancestor, Bartley Pack, was a long hunter who canoed the New River in the 1700s. Cela Burge's ancestor was the Samuel Stalnaker who helped Thomas Walker get to the Cumberland Gap. Following the routes taken by 18th century German and Scotch Irish immigrants, the first Stalnaker to arrive from Germany traveled from Philadelphia into the Shenandoah Valley. After serving as Captain in the Revolutionary War he moved to southwestern corner of Virginia and survived as a trader and a scout. According to Dr. Thomas Walker's journal which is in the National Archives, he stayed at the cabin of Samuel

Stalnaker, who lived the furthest west that any white man had settled. Spencer Hill, a revolutionary war soldier, is buried at Belva, on Twenty Mile Creek. Teddy Farley, of Rock Creek, recounted the story of Farley's Fort, built by his ancestor. Sammy Plumley, who was born in 1930 at Glade, said that his ancestor, John Plumly, came from Plum Grove, England, in the 17th century. "Go up here on Plumley Mountain, to New Salem graveyard. There's a big old tombstone up there. John Plumley. He was supposed to be the first one in the county." The Plumley cemetery is now part of the park.

Ann McCutcheon: "Aunt Gertrude and I … found it difficult to understand why someone would leave that beautiful flat farmland of Shenandoah Valley and come into these hills. And there were lots of reasons that drove the families." She goes on to tell how German-speaking people were isolated and didn't want their sons serving in that war (the revolution). "They probably also felt more comfortable in the hills than they did on the flat land. And we know that feeling ourselves. We feel more comfortable in mountain country than we do in flat land."

Robin Crawford, a leader in the African American community in the Hinton area, pointed out that "lots of African Americans here are Native Americans." His family traces its lineage back to Tom Pack, the son of an "Indian Scout" who had a black family and a white family. "Tom Pack was my great-grandfather. He lived from 1796–1869. I think that Tom Pack was more Native American than African American."

Because it was illegal throughout the 19th century for Native Americans to own land, no one would officially claim to be Native American after the battle of Point Pleasant. No longer officially recognized as sovereign subjects in this area, those with Native American lineage had to suppress evidence of it, while codifying information about it within their family histories. To this day, codes for Native American lineage include terms like "Black Dutch," and "Black Irish." Therefore, the question of whether Cherokee families continued to live in the region following the treaties must be dealt with through oral tradition and the accounts that appears in some of the historical literature (see Figure 15).

An example appears in William Sanders' *A New River Heritage*. Sanders notes that the oldest families who settled the region's hearth at the confluence of the New and Bluestone Rivers

had intermarried extensively with Native Americans, and that these families had been somehow spared in the Indian Raids (Sanders 1994:222–24). The earliest traders in the region, whose names are now common throughout southern West Virginia, were known to have married Indian women. Indian women, Sanders argues, helped the first families "prevail in the wilderness at a time when women were most courageous to accompany their men in such a wild environment" (1994:223). Sanders mentions the presence of the remains of an Indian village and Indian graves in the vicinities of Island Creek, Crump's Bottom, and Warford, and he includes as further testimony a photograph of Serpeta Wiley Gore (1834–1919), sister of Rachel Caperton, and wife of Henderson French Gore. They had ten children. The persisting oral tradition concerning Native American lineage and land use in the region will be below (see "Perspectives on Native American History from the Interviews").

Figure 13. Serpeta Wiley Gore (1834–1919). (Source: Sanders 1994)

Such accounts display what Appalachianists Herbert Reid and Betsy Taylor term "cosmogenic agency:" the ongoing integration of communities into their landscapes through practices that posit and renew a sense of belonging to a particular place (Reid and Taylor 2003, Taylor 2002). Such practices include not only verbal lore – such as the telling of foundation

narratives, tracking of genealogical connections, recounting of origins of place names – but a set of practices that affirm a sense of belonging through participation in the system of the community forest and watershed, including gathering, hunting, fishing, camping, gardening, homemaking and the like, along with associated traditions of storytelling and talk that represent and reflect upon interactions with the community forest. We will return to these traditions throughout the report.

THE ENGROSSMENT: SETTLER VS. SPECULATOR CAPITALISM IN THE PRE-INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1790S–1870S

Southern West Virginia, including the region surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers, has been integrated into the world economic system in a series of stages. In the first stage, which Wilma Dunaway terms "Settler Capitalism," the region's resources and labor were engaged in the international fur trade, which included ginseng. Interactions with the Iroquois, Shawnee, and Cherokee were crucial to English and French explorers, traders, and long hunters who vetted this first phase that incorporated this region as a source of raw materials and labor for international trade. This phase cleared the way for the second phase of Settler Capitalism, wherein the settlers who displaced the Native Americans would generate the "agricultural and extractive raw materials for export to distant markets." The process of economic, political and cultural peripheralization has been driven by politicians and investors from the core (France, England, and then the cities on the Atlantic seaboard). The process entails a competitive struggle among those situated in the semi-periphery aspiring to enter the core, those in the periphery aspiring to enter the semi-periphery, or to maintain their status in the semi-periphery, and those struggling against deepening peripheralization. In the New and Gauley River region, we see the particularities of this struggle in the pre-industrial period of the 19th century. To secure control of resources, legislators at the core awarded vast parcels of land to themselves and to members of a merchant class in the eastern states. Much smaller parcels were awarded to soldiers who had served in the Revolutionary War. Land was also given to "Indian fighters" and settlers who would form a buffer between the colonies and the hostile Shawnees, but most of the land had been "engrossed" by the time they began settling the region around the New and Gauley Rivers. The struggle involved establishing clear titles to land, and garnering support from the Virginia legislature for road-building, postal service, court houses and other amenities. The most peripheralized in this

system were those whom Dunaway terms the "landless poor," who provided a pool of labor for large scale farmers. The ranks of the landless poor included freed and fugitive slaves, tenant farmers who rented land from distant landlords, and Native Americans who were barred from owning land.

The eagerness of pioneers to break through the boundaries set by treaties was in part an expression of the fierce competition between speculators seeking land to invest in and sell or rent at a profit, and settlers looking for a place of their own in which to raise their families. This struggle forms a backdrop against which mountain society took shape in the early 19th century. The settlers were moving into the region to take up residence following the Battle of Point Pleasant had their own ideas for economic growth and prosperity rooted in farming and trade via roads and waterways connecting them to markets in Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Some settlers who had access to the most fertile lands near to transportation were able to accumulate enough surpluses to become brokers, forming a local merchant class by the start of the Civil War.

Land Distribution in the Federalist Period

Revolutionary war soldiers were paid for their services in land. Many sold their lands, but some ventured into the west to settle them, including William Richmond, who settled in Sandstone around 1808, and James Sims, who is buried in a cemetery at Swiss. By the time Richmond and Sims began homesteading, most of the land had already been granted to members of the ruling aristocracy of eastern planters, legislators, and merchants such as Albert Gallatin, Henry Banks, DeWitt Clinton and others. Within the princely parcels given to absentee speculators were small holdings claimed by settlers, but these were rendered insecure by land policies such as the Land Office Act of 1779 that favored the absentee owners (Rasmussen 1994: 35). Appalachian historians term this period of land acquisition "the engrossment" because it encompassed the lands of settlers within larger properties. The engrossment laid the foundations for conflicts over land use in southern West Virginia and on the New and Gauley Rivers down to the present day. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the engrossment of the 18th century would enable an industrial economy to cannibalize an agricultural one (Dunaway 1995, Williams 1984, Rasmussen 1994).

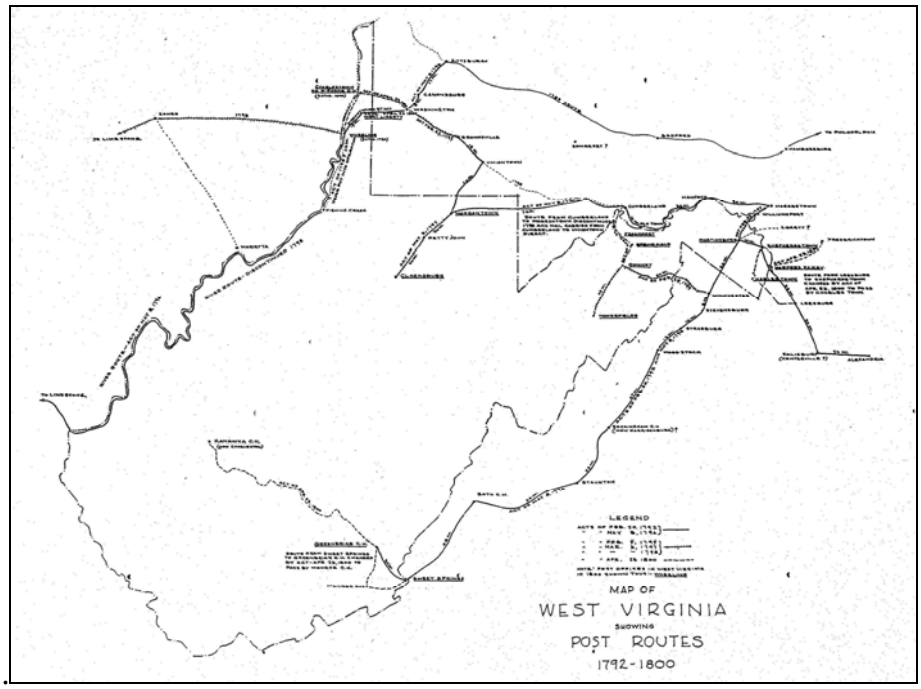


Figure 14. Postal Routes in West Virginia, 1792–1800, showing the line of travel along the New and Kanawha Rivers. (Source: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*)

The amount of land given to revolutionary war soldiers in payment for service, and to people who established "corn" or "tomahawk rights" (by clearing land and/or carving initials in a tree) was small in comparison to the land given to speculators, which was far beyond the reach of most settlers. Settlers who wanted to buy land found themselves outcompeted in a world market. Speculators wishing to cash in their assets preferred to sell to speculators in Europe, where they could get more money for the land. Because the land was locked up in the hands of a relative few, a large percentage of the population in West Virginia and throughout Appalachia remained landless and, therefore, difficult to track before the 1870 census. In West Virginia, for instance, between 1790 and 1810, 324,388.5 acres of land were owned by residents, while absentee owners held 4,525,153 acres, or 93 percent of the land (Dunaway 1995: 53). This percentage has remained stable over the past two centuries.

In the decades following the war of independence, corporations like the Ohio, Loyal, and Greenbrier land companies maneuvered to protect assets that had been awarded to them by the Crown. In addition, the state of Virginia sold large parcels of land very cheaply to speculators, many of them prominent citizens from Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.

Some of the speculators were businessmen, like Henry Banks, a Richmond merchant who was awarded some 47,000 acres along the New, Gauley, and Greenbrier Rivers in payment for the use of his ships during the war of Independence. Others were elected officials like Dewitt Clinton, Gideon Granger, and George Washington, who wrote in 1767: "Any person … who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it" (Williams 1984:14). As he surveyed and laid claim to 30,000 acres of prime bottomland on the Kanawha River, the father of our country worried in his journal that the presence of squatters, the "poor swarming with large families," would destroy the commercial value of his tracts. Between 1785 and 1797, the larger grants made by Virginia in the vicinity of New River (then Montgomery and Greenbrier Counties) included 25,050 acres of Loop Creek and the Waters of New River to Henry Banks (who also owned more than 170,000 acres in Greenbrier County), 163,000 acres to Robert Morris on the Greenbrier and the Gauley, 170,038 acres to Andrew Moore and John Beckley (Alfred Beckley's father, who was the first Librarian of Congress), 11,500 acres at the mouth of Meadow Creek to Samuel M. Hopkins, 50,000 acres of Loop Creek and Arbuckle Creek to Andrew Reid et al, 50,000 acres of Loop Creek and Pipe Creek to John Stewart et al, and 17,000 acres along the waters of New River to James Welch (Tessiatore 2003: 804–816). On the Gauley River, Jacob Skiles was awarded 40,000 acres in 1795, including 8,000 acres already claimed by settlers, and John Steele in that same year was given 28,572 acres, with 9,005 of those claimed by settlers. Many of these grants were impossibly large and overlapped, as Rasmussen puts it, "like shingles on a roof." Many settlers did not apply for grants until they had lived on the land for years. Henry Morris, for example, who settled on Peter's Creek in 1791, did not procure a grant until 1820. Though it was noted that portions of the engrossed lands were already being claimed and settled, surveys often did not match, and conflicts were common between claims filed at the county and state levels.

Some speculators acquired property with the intention of developing it in order to enhance its value. In the early 1820s, Abraham Vandal obtained property in present-day Fayetteville, then called "Vandalia." Benjamin Franklin and the Wharton brothers of Philadelphia became involved in a scheme to turn Vandalia into the fourteenth state. Other Philadelphia elites and their descendants would remain involved over the long duree, including the Parker-Foulkes family who hoped to establish a county seat near their Meadow River property (Rasmussen 1994).

Some speculators held onto their parcels for decades, waiting for the value to increase. Because they could get better prices from foreign investors, they preferred to sell to buyers in Europe than to settlers on the land. “Consequently,” writes Williams, “nearly half the region’s households remained landless in 1860.” (1995: 67) Some failed to pay taxes and forfeited their lands. Absentee landowners who held onto their lands employed elites within the region to collect their rents, and sell timber and real estate. Alfred Beckley, for example, brokered the extensive real estate of New Yorkers Gideon and Francis Granger, while the Parker-Foulkes family of Philadelphia entrusted their affairs on Meadow River to the Bayes family (McCreesh 1983).

Some householders were able to purchase their lands from absentee owners and at sheriff’s sales. From 1820 until the 1860s, the deed books are full of more modest grants (less than three hundred acres) to people who actually settled and farmed the region, built gristmills, churches, schools, and taverns. Their names, which fill the present telephone directories, have proliferated on the landscape as names for streams, settlements, hollows, ridges, and knobs: Scotch-Irish names such as Morris, McClung, McCutcheon, Hughes, Campbell, Craig, Dunbar, Foster, Keenan, Brown, Bell, and Neal; German names such as Amick, Buckner, Cottle, Cutlip, Copenhaver, Dotson, Breckenridge, Drennen, Halstead, Harday, Herold, Huffman, Nutter, Rader, Redden, Sebert, Skaggs, Snuffer, Stalnaker, Summers, Van Bibber and Vaughan; English names such as Alderson, Beckley, Brock, Bobitt, Boggs, Clay, Ellison, Gore, Hill, Mason, Meadows, Simms, Stephenson, Wiseman, and Walker; French names such as Ballengee, Bennett, Burdett, Dorsey, leMasters, Rippetoes; Welsh names such as Jones; and Irish names such as Sullivan.

Great Awakenings: Religious Freedom and Ethnogenesis in Transallegheny Virginia

Many of the Scotch Irish, Germans, and English from who migrated from Pennsylvania to settle in the counties surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers were motivated by the desire for the religious freedom that they had known in Pennsylvania. While tidewater and Piedmont Virginia did not tolerate divergence from the established Anglican church, it accepted religious dissent in the backcountry, under the provisions of the English Toleration Act of 1689. This acceptance helped to establish the buffer population protecting the plantations from attacks (Rice, 267–68).

Backcountry society was amenable to the Presbyterianism of the Scotch-Irish and to the German sects that included Dunkards—so-named for the practice of triune submersion in Baptism, "the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit" (Titon 1988)—Mennonites, Moravians, and the Church of the Brethren. The earliest practitioners worshipped in their homes. The dissident churches that dominated in the back country rejected Anglican forms of worship and hierarchy, emphasizing instead the personal and emotional character of salvation, the experience of grace and conversion as a form of baptism in the spirit, the centrality of biblical scripture, and forms of evangelical worship and experience (such as the call to preach the gospel). Such beliefs and practices, and the conviction that salvation is freely available to everyone without the mediation of a hierarchical institution were consistent with political values that were more egalitarian and democratic than those upheld by the oligarchical planters. The Great Awakenings of the 18th and 19th centuries found fertile ground here for the formation of new Methodist and Baptist congregations, and Nicholas County historian William Griffee Brown offers an illuminating reflection on this key moment in the formation of a southern West Virginia identity:

> "How quickly these Scotch-Irish Covenanters, German Mennonites, and English Episcopalians became Baptists and Methodists; how soon they adopted the same dress and modes of living; and how quickly they forgot race and language, because of common danger, common hardships, and common ambition to create a new way of life in this new world!" (Brown, 145)

The history of church formation is inscribed on the landscape in place names. The town of Alderson is named after John Alderson, who established the first Baptist Church in the region there on the Greenbrier River in 1777 (Wood 1994: 565–66). Sam Black Church is named for a Methodist circuit-riding minister who traveled around to congregations in Fayette County in the mid-19th century (Peters and Carden 1926: 656). The first Catholic Church in Raleigh County was St. Coleman's, located on land that Maurice Sullivan had purchased in 1855, (well in advance of the railroad construction in the region, as Wood notes (1994: 589). The proliferation of churches on the landscape and the continual emergence of new churches alongside churches that were built by pioneers attest to the continuing centrality of churches in community life, even as they index the role of churches in providing space for the continuing expression and negotiation of ethnic diversity. James Wood notes that in Raleigh County in 1936 a census on church membership yielded the following figures:

Total membership	**13,164**
Northern Baptist	2,029
Negro Baptist	3,383
Brethren	60
Church of Christ	27
Disciples of Christ	1,140
Jewish congregations	65
Methodist Episcopal	902
Methodist Protestant	2,041
Presbyterian	1,377
Episcopal	231
Roman Catholic	600
All others	1,309

Figure 15. Quinnimont Missionary Baptist Church, with sign welcoming Pastor Charles Gore, 1993. (Photo by Lyntha Scott Eiler)

The Development of Settler Capitalism

Early settlers included two distinctly different kinds of farmers: the settler or yeoman farmers, who homesteaded and held onto their land, and the pioneer farmers who farmed until the land wore out and then moved on to another patch of land. The absentee ownership of most of the land supported the use of large tracts of land as a "de facto commons." As Salstrom observes, "many residents of the mountains paid little heed to such land privatization and continued to make use of untended private tracts as though they remained public commons" (Salstrom 1997:223).

Historian Ron Eller identifies five kinds of settlement in Appalachia: gap, cove, hollow, ridge, and meadow. The dominant forms found in southern West Virginia were cove and hollow, and began with the selection of fertile lands near the mouth of a hollow. As the generations multiplied, descendants would gradually move upstream, and each hollow would become associated with particular families and clusters of families. Usually in this pattern, commercial establishments and institutions would be located at the mouths of hollows, a pattern evident along some of the tributaries of the New River, but on the plateau around the New River Gorge, settlements were located at the heads of the creeks, in Beckleyville, on Garden Ground Mountain, Irish Mountain, in Gatewood, Fayetteville, Ansted, and Clifftop, for example.

The streams were fed by springs that, as Brown put it, "gush … from almost every hillside." The clear springs had their source in shale, the chalybeate (mineral) springs had theirs in sandstone (Brown 1925). Salt seeps, such as one located along Indian Trail, were well-trampled by deer. Sanders notes that families expanding into the region located their new homesteads on benches, "where the bench springs made dwelling possible and where they harvested the first virgin timber and farmed the newground bench and hillside land, piling the rocks as they went" (Sanders).

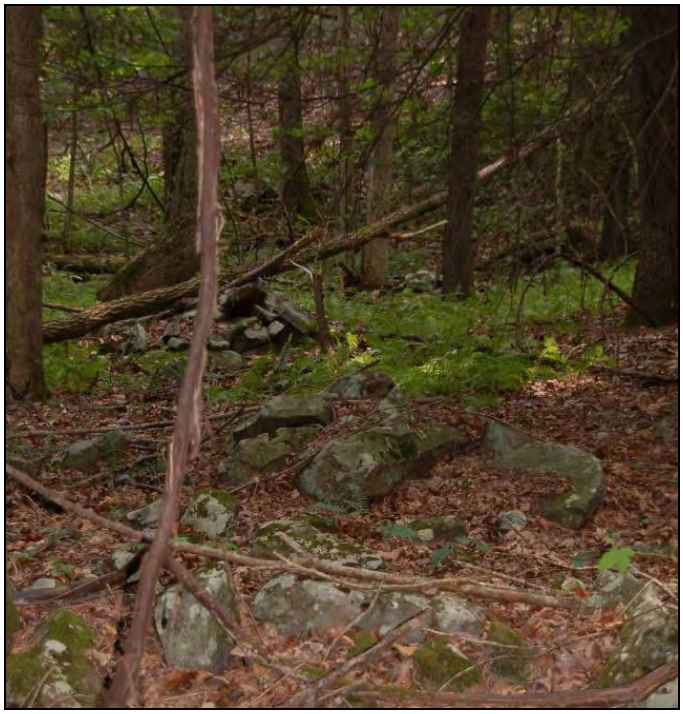


Figure 16. Rock piles like these, indicating former "newgrounds" where land was cultivated and then "let go," are ubiquitous in the mountains of southern West Virginia.

Figure 17. Yucca plants, referred to by some people as "ghost plants," are read as signs that a place was not only cultivated but inhabited.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, settler farmers built communities and developed an agricultural land-base, wherein they were able to provide for their own needs, and produce enough surplus to barter home-made crafts as well as produce for services and pool their labor for the work of raising barns and harvesting and putting up produce. As the state of Virginia authorized the construction of turnpikes, access to distant markets improved and farmers were able to sell livestock, grain, and other products in large quantities. They established gristmills, churches, schools, public houses, stores. Initially, church communities were served by itinerant preachers. As the population grew and the more desirable bottomlands filled up, clusters of extended families moved higher into the nearby mountains and then into the western counties of Boone, Wyoming, and Logan, or even farther away, into Ohio and the western states.

Between 1800 and 1850, a number of settlers and their families located near to New River as follows:

Ben Taylor, on Garden Ground, near present-day Glen Jean (known in the early period as Leblong)

William Richmond, in Richmond Falls, now Sandstone Falls

William Blake, near present-day Mount Hope

Peter Bowyer, in present day Fayetteville

John Spangler, Kincaid

Aaron Stockton, Glen Ferris

Richard Tyree, near present-day Clifftop

Abraham Vandal, Fayetteville

Jacob Smith, Quinnimont

Jacob Kelly, Robson

Alfred Beckley, Beckley

Charles Bibb, Gatewood

Philip Thurmond, Sanger

Griffins, Calebs, Livelys, Hutchinsons in Meadow Bridge

Irish railroad workers lived in two places that now bear the name Irish Mountain – one in the Richmond District, the other near Springdale. Foulkses from Philadelphia owned a large tract

on Meadow River, which they hired the Bayes family to manage. In the 1840s, Llewellyn Jones, a tobacco planter from Amherst County moved to Sanger, on Meadow Fork Creek, joining Thurmond and Bibb, who had also come from Amherst County.

The county histories by Brown, Sanders, Wood, and Peters and Carden provide complete lists of the early grantees and families who settled in the region, along with accounts of the establishment of churches, gristmills, schools, courthouses, post offices and other institutions, drawn from county records and federal census returns.

The Implications of Family Settlement Patterns for Ecological and Historical Memory in the Region

Wayland Dunaway's observation that West Virginia settlement took a slightly different turn is worth revisiting in the light of Paul Salstom's thesis of migratory patterns in Appalachia. Salstom's thesis points toward cultural implications of a difference that becomes more apparent in light of our research. Between the end of the war of Independence and 1850, when the first censuses were published by county, the population in the counties surrounding the Lower New River expanded through a continuing influx of settlers from the region that historian Paul Salstrom terms "Older Appalachia" (the Virginia Blue Ridge and Piedmont) through "Middle Appalachia" (North Carolina) into "Newer Appalachia" (West Virginia) (Salstrom 1995).

Salstrom's thesis offers a further context within which to view the delayed settlement of the Appalachian plateaus. Salstrom argues that these three Appalachias, which were settled, via Pennsylvania, by immigrants from Germany and the British Isles formed a succession of frontiers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As the first two subregions lost their frontier fluidity through maximal settlement, they found outlets for growing populations in the frontier regions to the west and southeast. Older Appalachia, the broad, fertile, lime-bedded valleys surrounding the Shenandoah, closed as a frontier between the 1770s and 1830s. Intermediate Appalachia, the mountains and valleys of North Carolina and Georgia, closed its frontiers during the period from 1830 to 1870. Newer Appalachia, the intensely dissected tablelands of the Cumberland and Allegheny Plateaus, officially closed as a frontier in the 1880s, but, as Salstrom points out, "displayed frontier characteristics at the end of the nineteenth century."

Throughout the 19th century, many of the settlers in the New River area seem to have come directly from Monroe and Greenbrier Counties, which Salstrom places in the area of Older Appalachia. Summers County was formed in part from Monroe County. Those who came in to the Gauley region came over the mountains from the South Branch of the Potomac (Brown 1925:23), while those who came to the Hinton area made their way down the New River (Sanders). This pattern was partly fueled by a persistent tradition of using the region for hunting and gathering, reminiscent of pre-contact Native American practice. Along with explorers like Gist and Washington who opened the region for settlement, were the long hunters, men who left their settlements for hunting and gathering expeditions during the summer months. These hunters came from adjacent counties, and developed relationships with the places in which their descendants eventually settled.

Well into the 19th century, a pattern persisted of using the region, as the Indians and long hunters had, for periods of hunting and gathering. The well-known example of Sewell and Marlin exemplifies a pattern that has persisted. John Cavalier relates that the community of Milburn took its name from a stream that was named for a ginseng hunter who camped along its bank for several months each year, bringing with him his family and several cows (Cavalier 1985:295). “Pen Knob” on Laurel Creek of Gauley is named after a pen where a man named Fitzwater trapped for bears and wolves in the late 18th century. Beard’s Fork is likewise supposed to be named for a man named Beard who regularly camped in a rock shelter near there while ginsenging and hunting. When, in the 1840s, Philip and Mary Thurmond came into the vicinity of Sanger, the creek running through their property was already named Arbuckle, for the brothers who had come there to hunt and gather, and built a cabin and stayed.

Many families, some of them with considerably more wealth, followed the long hunters to settle the region from the adjacent county of Monroe. In 1816, Richard Tyree moved his family from Lewisburg to settle along the Old State Road, east of Bowyer’s Ferry. Donnelly reported in 1966 that Tyree’s apple orchards were still standing.

In this pattern, there is no interim “middle Appalachia,” only the older and newer Appalachias, which are intimately related through a history of use. Cavalier mentions several people from Monroe County who came into the region to hunt and ginseng, and camped along

particular streams. This early use of the New River area as a long hunting region for counties in Older Appalachia, which later sent settlers into the region, replicates the general pattern of frontier settlement described for the previous century in Virginia. This longer historical association, and its persistence in memory, and the continuing practice of older traditions has contributed to the deep sense of place and remarkable ecological memory characteristic of this region. This strength is more obvious in the older farming areas around Summers and Nicholas County but is present in the mining districts of Fayette and Raleigh Counties as well.

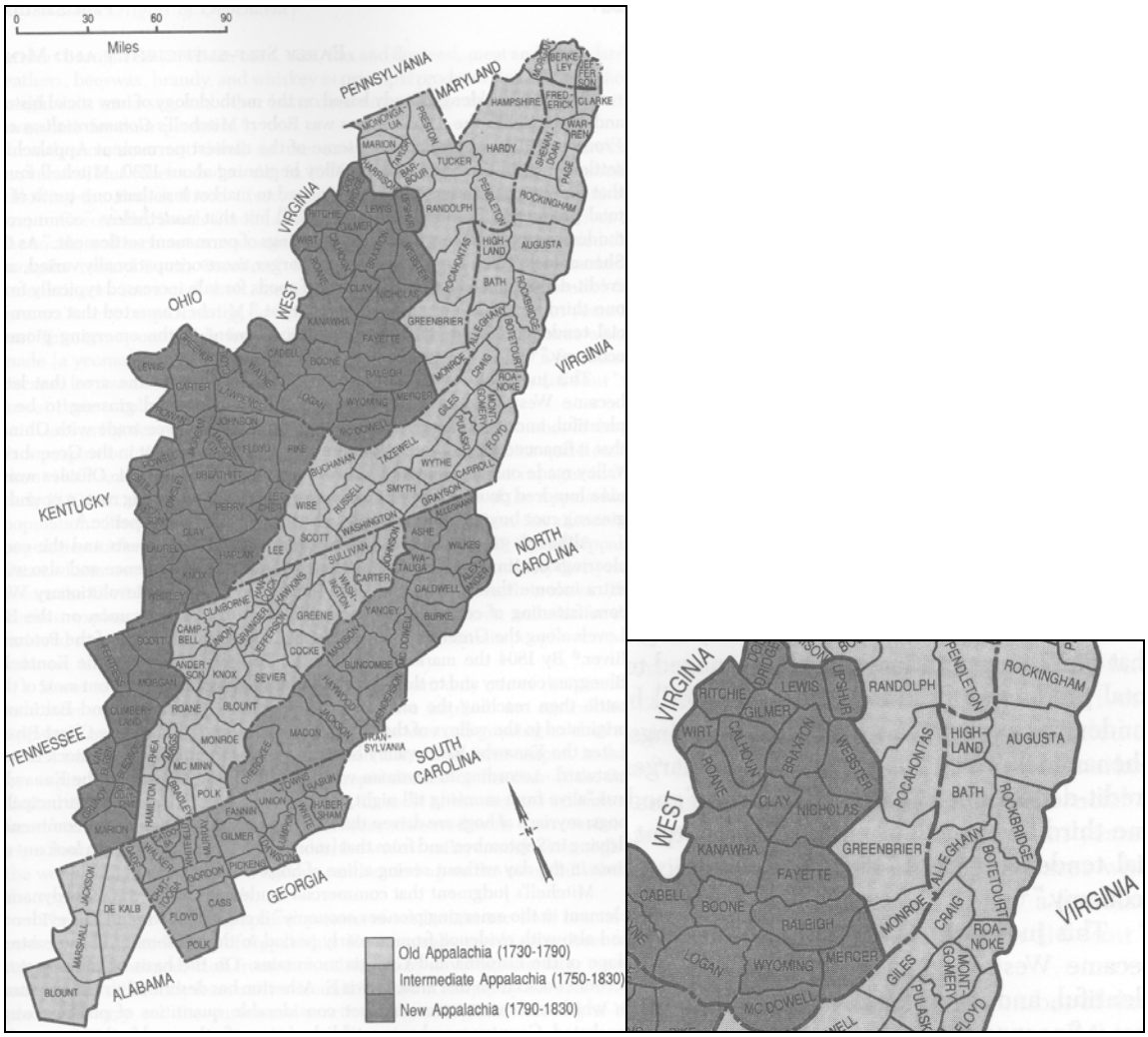


Figure 18. Paul Salstrom's Three Appalachias (left), with detail (right) showing proximity of counties in study area (New Appalachia) to counties in Old Appalachia. (Source: Salstrom 1991)

Integrating the Region into the National and Global Economy:
19th Century Routes

From the earliest days of independent nationhood, George Washington and other leaders were eager to find a route through the mountains to the Ohio River. Toward this end, under a joint resolution of both houses of the Virginia legislature, Marshall and Alexander surveyed the headwaters of the James and the Kanawha River in 1812. The dream of a canal that would link the James and Kanawha Rivers was only partly realized in the construction of a canal that linked the headwaters of the James with the Greenbrier, but ultimately realized in the railroad following the Civil War.

The region remained sparsely settled during the first half of the 19th century. The 1850 population for Raleigh County, for example, was 1,765, a density of 3.46 persons per square mile (Wood 112). The first settlers in the region settled the fertile river bottom areas along existing routes in present day Summers and Nicholas Counties, around the Greenbrier, Meadow, and Gauley Rivers. Many of them used a route known as the James River and Kanawha River Turnpike, now better known as "The Midland Trail," that connected Lexington to Montgomery's Ferry in the mid-18th century (Donnelly 1948:128). It would have provided a route to the Gauley River. In 1798 the state of Virginia officially opened as a wagon route called "The Koontz New Road" (Donnelly 1948:127). Several other roads were critical for settlement of the plateaus around the lower New River in the first half of the nineteenth century. One was the Old State Road, which swung off from that turnpike and followed Mann's Creek down to Bowyer's Ferry, passing through Vandalia (now Fayetteville) to Cotton Hill and then following the Kanawha on the south side. Another, completed in 1848, was the Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike, which connected the Giles Courthouse to Fayetteville, Oak Hill, Mount Hope, and Beckley. (Donnelly 128). Prior to this, in Raleigh County, a road called the Old Farley Trace, proceeded from the mouth of Bluestone, across White Oak Mountain to present day Beckley, and then north to Lower Loop Creek and to the town of Montgomery.

All of these routes helped pave the way for a modified replication of the Old Dominion, its social values and politics.

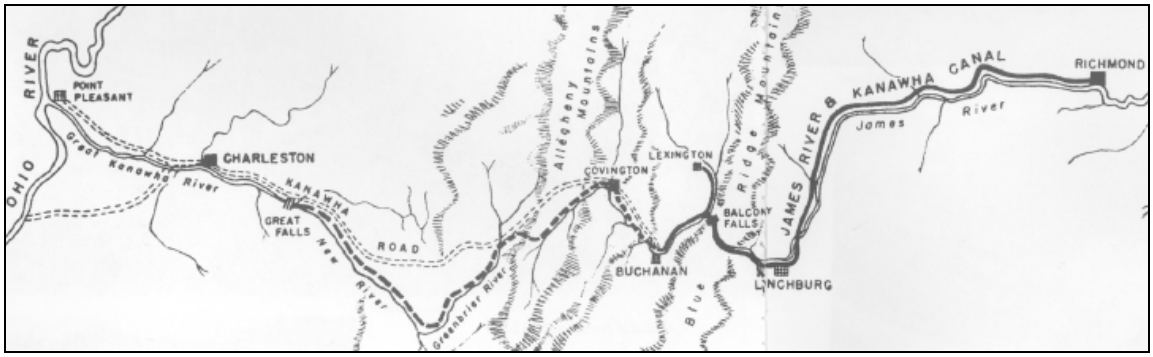


Figure 19. Plan for the proposed James and Kanawha River canal, which never was completed. (Source: National Trust for Historic Preservation)

Tuckahoes, Cohees, and the Incubation of West Virginia's Class Society

> "Western Virginia was dominated by an Appalachian version of the traditional Virginia oligarchy, an elite whose power was rooted in the economic circumstances of the mountains but also in the same inegalitarian constitutional features that sustained the plantation oligarchy of eastern Virginia." (Williams 1995:210).

The names on the list of settlers from 1800–1850 include those of descendents of Virginia tidewater planters into the Fayetteville region, via Amherst County, Virginia. The Joneses, Thurmonds, Bibbs, Higginbothams, and Imbodens (and, some speculate, the Beckleys) were descended from the earlier Cavaliers, loyal subjects of King Charles I who had migrated from the south of England in the 17th century (Fisher 1989). This group had encountered the Scots-Irish and German immigrants who had migrated south from Pennsylvania through the Shenandoah Valley, and a history of friction between the slave-owning planters and the yeoman farmers and herdsmen had already begun to unfold in the 18th century as a tension between the "tuckahoes" (English gentry planters) and "cohees" (Scots-Irish backwoodsmen) of Virginia (Seamon). The Cohees, wrote Fishwick, "hated the highhanded Tidewater slaveholders" (Fishwick 1959:40).

The first industry to draw the members of the Tidewater planting class into West Virginia in a significant way was the Great Kanawha salt industry, which developed dramatically after 1808 and peaked before the Civil War, in 1850 (Stealey 2003:1). The chemical and coal industries are rooted historically, socially, and politically in the industry that took shape in the

Kanawha Salines around the Great Buffalo Lick near present day Malden. In one of the great ironies of the state's history, coal mining began as a subsidiary to the salt industry when the reliance on cordwood for fuel produced a barren landscape. To spare the forest and save on the increasing costs of shipping cordwood from farther and farther away, the salt manufacturers converted their furnaces to bituminous coal (Stealey 2003:5). The salt industry relied mainly on slave labor:

> "Drawing on surplus slave labor from the Virginia Piedmont's declining tobacco economy, Kanawha salt producers created an African American society that was distinctive in the commonwealth and the Appalachian South." (Stealey 2003:10)

Stealey notes that in 1850, the salt industry and related activities employed nearly two-thirds of the 3,140 slaves in Kanawha County; 1600 of whom worked for only thirty-three Kanawha salt producers. Leased slaves were given more dangerous work than the slaves that were owned by the salt producers. (Stealey 2003:10). Slave labor helped to accumulate wealth that would later be invested in the coalfields by salt manufacturers like John Q. Dickenson, who for many years controlled the salt industry in the Valley. The salt manufacturers petitioned the Virginia legislature for navigation improvements on the Kanahwa, and for banking facilities, with little satisfaction. Preoccupied with a gathering crisis over slavery, the planters of eastern Virginia were slow in responding to the devotees of industrialization (Stealey 2003).

Fayette County also attracted descendants of Tidewater planters during the first half of the 19th century. Tuckahoes arrived in the vicinity of Oak Hill, bringing slaves, their knowledge of tobacco culture and their skill at managing plantation-style enterprises. Pressured out of Amherst County by tobacco's depletion of soil, the system of primogeniture, and the prospect of wealth on the frontier, the Tuckahoes and their descendants would extend the semi-periphery of the old Dominion into the frontier periphery. They would fight with Virginia in the Civil War, they would name their businesses, homes, and company towns for places in Amherst County, and, in the waning years of the 20th century their descendents would continue to celebrate and renew their Virginia origins through annual retreats in the mountains around Clifton Forge during deer season.

Figure 20. Capt. W.D. Thurmond, buried in Gethsemane Gardens, was born in Amherst County, Virginia.

Imported from Britain: A Class-based Culture of Deference and Condescension

The cavalier culture of deference and condescension persisted among the plantation gentry who came with slaves to manufacture salt, mine coal, and raise tobacco, and in the relationship between absentee landlords and tenants. This culture had been deliberately fostered in the 17th century by governors under the British Crown. Seeking to establish a ruling elite in Virginia, Governor William Berkeley enticed the younger sons of English gentry who would inherit nothing under the system of primogeniture to come to Virginia, where they could be rulers. This group from the south of England, formed of supporters of Charles I in the civil war, and known as "Cavaliers," would rule Virginia through the 18th century. Thomas Jefferson voiced his awareness of the very different interests of mountain farmers and Virginia's planter class observing that "19,000 men living below the falls of the rivers … give law to upwards of 30,000 living in another part of the country." (Rasmussen 1994:36).

Whom would they rule when they crossed into western Virginia? The culture of deference and condescension depended on a fixed and rigid hierarchy: beneath the dynastic families were the yeoman farmers, and beneath them, indentured servants and convicts, and at the bottom, eventually, slaves. In this culture, owning "western lands" was a necessary sign of status and privilege. Western lands would also provide a source of income, from tenants who would help shield them from the indigenous people they had displaced. In line with this reasoning, the

Virginia rulers would also permit the immigration of non-Anglican Protestants, Germans and Scotch Irish. An added benefit of owning western lands was that younger sons of Virginia's ruling elite, forced out of the nest through primogeniture, would be able to establish their own fiefdoms in the western lands. The immigration of elite tobacco planters from Amherst County, Virginia, into Fayette County, where they formed the communities of Sanger and Gatewood, in the decades leading up to the civil war seem to exemplify this pattern.

In the 1840s gentlemen from the planter class of Amherst County Virginia and surrounding counties began to settle around present day Oak Hill, bringing with them the appurtenances of wealth and class. Llewellyn Jones, whose slave hacked out the first road into Sanger, built his home not from logs but from bricks fashioned in a nearby field. Gethsemane Cemetery, at Sanger, forms a monument to some in this group, which included Thurmonds, Joneses, Gentries, Bibbs, Capertons, Higginbothams, Huddlestons, and Settles. Maps of the region are now riddled with their names and the names of places from antebellum Virginia. Boomer is named for John Boomer Huddleston, son of one of the three wealthiest families in antebellum Virginia. Caperton is named for George Henry Caperton of Amherst County. In 1843 a group of about a dozen families formed a Baptist congregation, naming their church the Fancy Hill Baptist Church, after the area of Amherst County they came from. The Star mining company founded in the early 1900s by the sons of Llewellyn Jones likewise memorialized a place in Amherst County. Lundale farm, also named after a place in Amherst (Toothman) has been officially recognized as a soil conservation district.

The Mixed-Mesophytic Community Forest and Watershed in a Pre-Industrial Settler Capitalist Society

> "Some think that coal is all we have and do not know that West Virginia can produce more and better bluegrass than the world-famed Kentucky." – George W. Summers, editor, *Charleston Daily Gazette* (1893:98)

The county histories usually devote a chapter to the forest, offering details of the conquest of the wilderness or celebrating the magnificence of the forest and lamenting its passage, depending on the author's perspective. Fitzpatrick, in his edition of George Washington's diaries, notes that Washington was unusual in his knowledge of the varieties of trees. William Griffee Brown, author of the Nicholas County history, is similarly a connoisseur of the mixed mesophytic

forest. He wrote in passionate protest of its wasting in 1925, and, like other county historians, passes along what he has gleaned from the memories of elders who recalled in detail the taking out of specific mammoth trees, and the skies dark with passenger pigeons on their annual migrations along the New River corridor. With evident pleasure, Brown lists "the most important native trees" shrubs, vines, and medicinal plants in general use:

> "Oaks, half dozen species, poplar, chestnut, maples, both sugar and soft, black and white walnut, beech, elm, linn, birch, hemlock, pine, spruce, cedar, cherry, ash, hickory, sycamore, locust, black gum, sweet gum, buckeye, and magnolia were the principle large trees; sassafrass, sourwood, dogwood, holly, service-berry, persimmon, mulberry, crabapple, ironwood, pawpaw and willow were smaller trees. Many shrubs as alder, witchhazel, hazelnut, chinquapin, haw, thornbush, elder, spicewood, sumac, chokecherry, red bud, rhododendron, mountain laurel, buckberry, mountain ash and huckleberry were found in the undergrowth. Wild grape vines festooned the trees and shrubs along the streams and on the hillsides. Virginia creeper, wreathing dead trees in the forest, glowed with crimson leaves in autumn. Native medical plants were numerous and in general use by the settlers: boneset, bloodroot, ginseng, calamus, dandelion, elecampane, everlasting, mullen, comfrey, goldenseal, ground-ivy, Indian physic, lobelia, May-apple, mountain tea, pennyroyal, horsemint, pipsisiway, red puccoon, sarsaparilla, snakeroot, spignet, witchhazel, elm bark, wormwood, and squaw vine were the principal" (Brown 1954: 176).

The county histories are interesting for the etiologies they provide on land forms. For instance, Sanders mentions that a lake near the salt furnace in Mercer County was created in part because cattle were salted there, and their hooves compacted the earth, enabling water to pool. Brown mentions that the rattlesnake population was kept down by the roaming of hogs through the forest as they grazed on mast. He reports that old world herbs that now proliferate in the region were brought by early settlers: catnip, peppermint, mullen, yarrow, ground ivy, bouncing bet, ragweed, Spanish needles and thistles (1925: 18). He relates that the red fox was brought from England by Virginia sportsmen. (Washington's diaries record his importation of red fox for the chase).

> "The streams were alive with fish," Brown notes. "Gauley River and its largest tributaries literally teemed with catfish, trout, eels, suckers, chubs, sunfish and minnows. Bass and pickerel were not brought into these waters until many years after the country was settled. Even the small branches were filled with trout, chubs, sunfish and minnows. Turtles, tortoises, frogs, toads, and lizards were found everywhere" (1925:19).

In a full-fledged fish story, Carden and Peters record a similar claim for New River:

> "In the early days New River abounded in all kinds of fish found in mountain streams and even today black bass and both kinds of catfish, blue and mud-cats, are caught in great numbers. The early settlers depended to a very great extent on the fish they caught from the river and mountain streams for their change of diet. As the country became more and more populated, many men devoted a great part of their time to fishing for the market. Among those who became noted, if not famous, was one "Dick" Peters, who lived for the whole of his long and adventurous life on the hill above Sewell overlooking New River and Manns Creek. It has been said of him that he could catch fish whether there were any in the stream or not. He sold fish to the railroad camps, when the Chesapeake and Ohio was being built, and later to the men who worked in mines at Sewell and surrounding works. He knew where the good fishing grounds were and had trot lines set at each during the fishing season. He took from New River the largest fish ever taken from that stream. From a line he had set just east of the station at Sewell he took several mud cats weighing sixty pounds. The story has been told that from a line just above the eastern end of the ovens at Sewell he took a mud-cat that weighed over one hundred and ten pounds. If this be an exaggeration, it cannot be very much of one, for it is well known that he caught and sold many tons of fish from New River and Manns Creek, the latter of which, then as now was full of mountain trout" (Peters and Carden 1926).

Community forestry and a host of other expressions bear the stamp of cross-cultural encounters between European settlers, Africans, and Native Americans in the 17th and 18th centuries. The indebtedness of European settlers to Indian knowledge of the land is often remarked upon. As we've seen in the brief excerpt from the Batts and Fallam journal, in the early period of exploration, Native American guides eased the way for the explorers. Settlers also learned life skills from the Native Americans, and hybrid Cherokee/European methods for survival emerged. The Scotch-Irish outfield system of farming and settlement, which they adapted to mountain conditions, drew upon the Indian method of deadening trees and planting the "three sisters" crops of corn, beans, and squash. The Scotch-Irish, writes E. Estyn Evans, "were not tied to a plot of earth by a regular system of crop-rotation or any tradition of fruit growing. The Indian methods of 'deadening' the woodlands served their purpose." (1992:81) He goes on to point out that the hunting and utilization of the forest "owed much to the Indians," and cites the often heard formula "plant corn when the dogwoods are in bloom" as another tradition borrowed from the Indians by the Scotch Irish. The present community forest harks back to a system of forest farming stabilized during this period. Featuring decades of forest fallowing between periods of cultivation, this system combined subsistence gardening with reliance on the resources of a diverse mixed mesophytic forest system.

It must be emphasized that although the mountain terrain discouraged the kind of plantation agriculture that would have profited from slavery, this was not a classless society. Wilma Dunaway argues that settler capitalist agriculture depended on the availability of "coerced labor" – including not only slaves, but freed slaves, mulattos, and Native Americans who were denied the right to own land. The salt industry, concentrated not only in Kanawha County (just below the confluence of NERI and GARI), but also in Mercer County relied on slaves rented from planters in Virginia counties. In the 1830 census, slaves were reported in all counties surrounding the park:

Greenbrier: 1,159 slaves; population 9,006

Kanawha: 1,117 slaves; population 9,326

Logan: 163 slaves; population 3,680

Monroe: 682 slaves; population 7,798

Nicholas: 121 slaves; population 3,346

Boorstin, Daniel J. ed. 1976 [1830]. Abstract of the Fifth Census. New York: Arno Press.

But there was also a mobile agricultural proletariat, Dunaway contends, drawn from those who rented from absentee landlords, or who simply moved onto lands without checking for titles, or who worked for and lived with landed farmers. The memorandum books of Alfred Beckley contain hundreds of entries detailing his transactions with tenants on the lands of John and Francis Granger from Canandaigua County in New York (Beckley).

Sanders provides a glimpse of where some of the laborers came from:

> "Early freed slaves and post-Civil War blacks formed … small communities around their churches and worked on the large plantations of that area. The practice of racial interbreeding was widespread: they carry the names of the largest landowners of the area. Many moved to the Beckley and Hinton-Talcott areas. A large portion of the black and white Gores moved to Boone County long ago." (I:227)

Local tradition also alludes to the presence of fugitive slaves, some of whom made their way down the Greenbrier River poling James River tobacco batteaus, which they turned into housing on reaching safety (Interview with Robin Crawford, Hinton). Thus, following the James and Kanawha River Branch of the Underground Railroad, some slaves made their way to freedom in Ohio, aided by Quakers living in Washington County.

Figure 21. Engraving of batteau men, shown running the rapids of New River. (Source: Harper's Weekly February 21, 1874)

At the same time, particularly in the coves and hollows of the Allegheny tablelands, the domestic economy of small farms and forest products relied principally on the work of family members, in families that were quite large. At this scale, culture, society, and economy were intertwined with and deeply embedded in land-use, with the primary cultural institution being extended kinship networks concentrated within hollows. While an elite class of landowners existed (many descended from the earliest farmers with access to good bottomland), in the context of dispersed homesteads the political tendency was toward egalitarianism and reciprocity rather than class hierarchy and privilege. Moreover, the concept of husbandry as a farmer's loving relationship to land that symbolizes God's loving relationship to his people, had, and continues to have, a spiritual resonance in mountain communities (Titon 1988).

Mountain farmers combined the resources of bottomland and tributary with those found higher up on the mountains, which were treated as commons on which neighbors could hunt and gather and graze their livestock. Mast from a wide variety of nut-trees – chestnuts, acorns, walnuts, and hickories – produced "some of the best grazing land in the South," according to historian Frank Owsley (Eller 1982:19). William Griffee Brown writes:

> "Cattle and sheep ranged the woodlands. Hogs fattened on 'mast' – chestnuts, acorns and beech-nuts, that carpeted the ground in the fall and winter. Fruits and vegetables were grown with little injury from insects and blight, and required no control by dusting and spraying." (Brown 1925:149)

So productive were these forests as fodder during this period that in 1880, before timbering eliminated the forest pasture, the southern mountain states yielded one and a half million head of hogs (Eller 1982:21). For them the roads provided access to markets back east, an outlet for cash crops and livestock. Salstrom tells us that the Midland Trail teemed in the fall with hogs being driven to distant markets. In an interview with Linda Lee, Dave Arnold mentioned that he heard that farmers from the Gauley basin used dogs to drive their turkeys to market along the James and Kanawha Turnpike. The roads also afforded an opportunity for farmers to sell produce to people passing through.

The deep unglaciated loam of the Allegheny hills and hollows supported a biologically diverse hardwood system that farmers drew upon to build their homesteads and families. Rot-resistant mountain locust was perfect for posts, chestnut for rails, in fences designed to keep livestock out of the garden rather than to fence them in. Women and children worked the kitchen gardens, while men cleared, plowed, and planted "newgrounds" on the rich benches for growing "heavy vegetables" – corn, beans, and squash. Indians told George Washington of the rich "glades" high up in the mountains, where the soil was even richer than the bottomland that Washington sought to acquire (Williams 1984). Place names like "Cottle Glades," "Lower Glades" on Glade Creek, and "McClung's Meadows" commemorate openings in the primeval forest that were receptive to cultivation (Brown 1954:17). Corn was (and still is) often planted together with beans, both to save space and to fix nitrogen. Small service industries developed in relation to farming and the cove and hollow topography, including gristmills and sawmills.

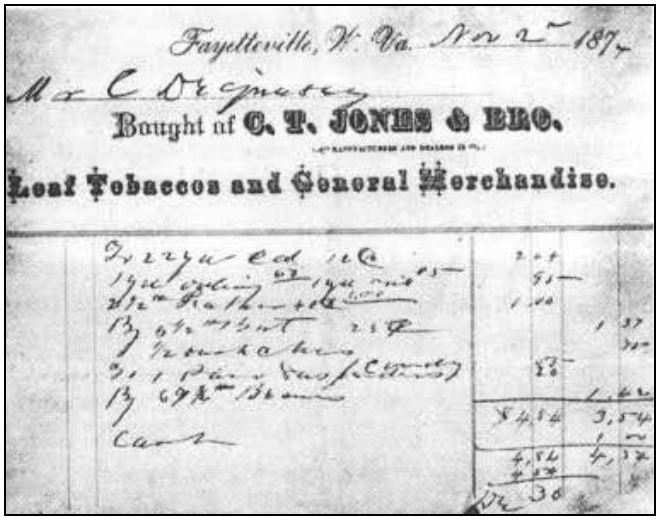
William Griffee Brown describes how the fences materialized the ideas governing corn-woodland-pastureland farming in the mountains:

> "In all these steps … there was a system. Grain fields and meadows were fenced to keep out depredatory animals, not to keep in the live stock of the owner. From the 'brush' fence, and the 'buck' fence (two rails held in place one above the other at each joining by four cross sticks), to the 'worm' rail fence that was required to be 'pig-tight,' 'horse-high,' and 'bull-strong,' even our fences might be called historical monuments, as the wire fences of today show the decrease of wood and the increase of mineral supplies. The methodical construction of the worm fence is worthy of mention. By a rule of unknown origin, the rails for the fence were eleven feet in length, and with about twelve inches of lap at the corners, forming an angle of about forty-five degree. A double panel of the fence was a rod. This gave a basis for calculating the area of the field. The rails were five or six inches in diameter and seven rails of the proper size made a legal

> fence. An old writer of the time said, 'I judge of the progress of a settlement by observing the fences.'" (Brown 1925: 128)

When the harvest was done, men, and sometimes families, would set off on camping expeditions to gather roots, including bloodroot (referred to by several of our consultants as "puccoon," an Indian term), golden seal (aka "yellow root"), may apple, wake robin (aka "stinking Benjamin"), and especially ginseng, which merchants would accept in exchange for goods that the farmers could not produce themselves. "In passing over the Mountains," George Washington wrote, "I met numbers of Persons and Pack horses going in with ginseng, and for salt and other articles at the Markets below" (Fitzpatrick 1925: II 289). They would stay under rock shelters, where they would find arrowheads and other relics of people who camped there thousands of years before. The forests of the region are known to support some 1,200 species of medicinal plant. Men and women would gather and use a wide variety of leaves, roots, bark, sap, flowers, and seeds for maintaining health and treating illness.

Brown notes that at this time, money was scarce and that farm products were bartered for necessities at the local stores in Kessler's Cross Lanes, Gauley Bridge, and Summersville. Storekeepers traded commodities for produce, livestock, furs, and ginseng, which they sent via their wagons to the Kanawha Valley. One man received enough cash for ginseng alone to buy a "negro woman and her child" (Brown 1925:161).


Fayetteville, W. Va. Nov 2 1874

Mr C D Ginsey

Bought of C. T. JONES & BRO.

Leaf Tobaccos and General Merchandise.

Figure 22. 1874 receipt showing acceptance of half a bushel of chestnuts in partial payment for merchandise. (Source: Donelly 1958)

The census figures for these decades attest to the productivity of an economic system that Salstrom describes as a partly monetized system of barter and borrow. This system persists into the present as "the livelihood of kin" (Halperin 1990). In this system:

> "[F]ull-time subsistence farmers practiced systems of economic relations based inside the region – based, indeed, in their own local neighborhoods—and their systems could operate more or less autonomously so long as the total landholdings among the participants continued to remain adequate to support competencies. Their systems were characterized by an incessant borrowing and bartering of both objects and labor. To participate usually required a small amount of money, but … lacking money raised only a minor obstacle…. The only serious obstacle … was that these subsistence-barter-and-borrow systems required the use of enough land to support competencies. But given adequate land (which grew more problematical for each new generation), Appalachian families practicing subsistence farming full time could stay virtually autonomous vis-à-vis economic forces beyond their localities." (Salstrom 1994:54)

This land and family based economic system continues into the present, functioning now as it did then, particularly within extended families.

The Productivity of the Mixed Mesophytic Community Forest

Agricultural products and manufactures routinely identified in the U.S. census returns indicate the early integration of the mixed mesophytic community forest into national and world economic systems. In addition to livestock fed on forest mast, there is maple sugar, maple molasses, ginseng and other roots, honey, and sawn lumber. The rich soils of the mixed mesophytic forest system should be counted as well among the inputs that made farming profitable, contributing to the reproduction of community life and identity.

In the census of Virginia for the year 1850, there were 226,875 working males in the state. The top occupation was farming (106,807), followed by laborers (46,989), who may represent Dunaway's category of the landless poor. There were 348 miners. Summers County did not yet exist, so we have included Monroe County, partly because Summers County would be created out of Monroe County, and partly because Monroe County, like Summers County, had very little in the way of minerals. Monroe County was therefore able to hold onto an agricultural base that was damaged by the coal industry in the other three counties, where the surplus values of soil were depleted by the pressures of a rapidly expanding labor force.

Table 1. Agricultural Economy – 1850 Census

County	Fayette	Monroe	Nicholas	Raleigh
Improved acreage	19,912	94,311	19,335	7,325
Unimproved acreage	116,293	174,890	132,349	43,178
Value of Farms	489,935	2,039,101	361,636	151,873
Value of Implements	16,055	61,233	12,939	5,981
Horses	999	3,354	940	444
Asses and Mules	5	44	5	1
Milk Cows	1,569	4,027	1,717	755
Working Oxen	174	211	197	30
Other Cattle	2,817	9,943	3,299	1,233
Wheat	8,414	51,436	6,209	2,803
Rye	1,718	6,881	3,318	1,567
Indian Corn	111,064	250,456	83,273	49,511
Oats	56,037	97,460	31,377	19,253
Tobacco (lbs)	170	4,017	2,670	0
Wool (lbs)	10,862	44,282	13,649	4,929
Peas & Beans	22	1,010	896	198
Irish potatoes	2,453	7,564	2,136	714
Sweet potatoes	1,591	2,098	1,761	435
Barley	0	209	0	0
Buckwheat	1,417	6,131	1,501	1,590
Orchard products $$	460	2,226	953	0
Wine (gallons)	0	73	0	0
Market Gardens $$	0	0	0	0
Butter (lbs)	56,409	175,254	41,976	31,289
Cheese (lbs)	260	8,602	2,507	0
Hay (tons)	950	6,073	2,001	279
Clover seed	270	317	4	8
Other grass seed	2	639	7	18
Hops (lbs)	0	12	81	0
Flax (lbs)	3,392	11,547	5,897	3,790
Flaxseed	648	1,458	253	37
Silk cocoons (lbs)	16	51	0	0
Maple sugar (lbs)	4,705	62,992	17,245	0
Molasses (gal)	45	2,030	421	0
Beeswax, honey (lbs)	7,062	4,255	4,255	6,117
Value homemade mfs	14,705	11,533	11,533	5,008
Sheep	6,529	21,789	7,501	2,845
Swine	7,269	14,307	7,368	4,416
Livestock value	107,069	387,030	108,723	49,625
Value of slaughtered	21,567	69,872	18,676	9,077

The figures are interesting for what they assume, which is that the monetized economic system is the only one of consequence, because it is the production of goods for sale that must be measured, not the production for domestic consumption. Apart from the production of maple sugar and honey and beeswax, prodigious by today's standards, the figures fail to register the harvest of non-timber forest products for barter, sale, or domestic use and the reliance on the forest for fodder for livestock and for dietary staples, including nuts, fruits and game, for humans. The productivity of the community forest and watershed is not considered, and is therefore invisible. We get a sense of the attitude governing this omission in the centennial inventory of the resources of West Virginia, written by Maury and Fontaine. Championing the point of view that market productivity is the only productivity that counts, they complain that:

> "Almost every condition requisite for the present full development of [West Virginia's] abundant resources is wanting. Her population is sparse, much of her land is still in the primeval forests, and her people have not confined their attention to special fields of labor and striven to perfect them. There has also been a great deficiency of capital and labor." (1876:62)

The report they give on crops, tree species and forest products in West Virginia conveys a sense of the distinctiveness of West Virginia forests, particularly in the southwestern counties, where they observe that white oak "attains magnificent proportions" and is especially abundant. Likewise Sassafrass grows larger west of the Alleghenies, "attaining in West Virginia their height of 70 or 80 feet," and of the tuliptree: "Nowhere does the Poplar attain greater dimensions than in West Virginia." The report also gives a foretaste of the impending clash between a pre-capitalist society embedded in the community forest and the business-minded capitalists prepared to maximize the returns on their investments, which is the measure of productivity. Of beekeeping in the mountains, Maury and Fontaine observe:

> "Although bees thrive almost without care in this State, honey raising has not formed in any quarter, one of the industrial pursuits. On most farms where bees are kept they receive little attention, and are provided only with the rudest hives. The principal stock comes from the wild swarms, and the young swarms frequently return to the woods." (1876:80)

Maury and Fontaine offer a similar observation about fruit:

> "Over the State in general, no great amount of fruit is raised for sale, on account of the lack of cheap and ready transportation. What surplus is disposed of, is mainly in the dried condition. But while the lack of markets prevents exportation, no people raise a greater abundance, or make a freer use of fruit in their household economy than West Virginians. In all the multitudinous modes of

> preserving and utilizing fruit, they excel. Every housewife lays up abundant stores of pickles, preserves, jams, fruit butters, besides drying, canning, and storing in bulk. In this respect they stand in strong contrast with the people of the Atlantic slope. A failure of the fruit crop is a misfortune to the West Virginian, but little less grave than that of the grain crop. While the people themselves, owing to the impress of Pennsylvania German tastes, make such large use of fruit, they are alive to the great benefits derived from a liberal feeding of it to stock. As a consequence, an orchard is everywhere an appendage to a well-ordered farm." (1876:81–82)

In 1893, George Summers noted that "Wild berries may be had for nearly six months in the year by following them from the warmer parts through cooler ones and up the mountains, where they ripen many months later than in the lower parts" (1893:102–03). The enthusiasm for wild fruits and even feral orchards, to which we will return, is still much in evidence in the region. "There is nothing that I can't can!" declared Donna Wills, an elderly woman living on Coal River during an interview conducted in 1994.

The 1870 census reported the amount of land in each county that was "unimproved woodland." The ratios of improved farmland acreage to unimproved woodland acreage were as follows:

Fayette: 36,410/5,658 (with a high yield of tobacco)

Monroe: 104,760/161,630

Nicholas: 24,455/122,120

Raleigh: 20,969/148,413

It is possible that what was inventoried as "unimproved woodland" was in fact land that was supporting livestock, game animals, and non-timber forest products for domestic and commercial use, stands of deadened timber in the first stage of "newground" clearance, or the soils of worn out "newgrounds" being replenished through the practice of forest fallowing (which took decades). How much of the "waste" land was actually land that was being processed through the forest fallowing cycle? The term "unimproved woodland" could be a way of denigrating subsistence-based lifeways by proving them to be unproductive and wasteful. In the gray literature of environmental review housed at the Division of Environmental Protection in Nitro, the same rhetoric routinely dismisses patches of community forest as "unmanaged forest."

Yet forest resources were managed from the perspective and needs of the corn-woodland-pastureland system. Trees that had domestic and market value were conserved. The timber of mountain locust and chestnuts, for example, was reserved for farm use. Brown reports the custom of tending "chestnut orchards," perhaps the antecedent of the chincapin grove still maintained in the 21st century on Highland Mountain.

What did the community forest contribute at that time? The large numbers of cattle and swine in all four counties were most likely raised on what economic geographer J. Russell Smith (a contemporary of Krebs) termed "tree crops," including mulberries, persimmons, chestnuts, honey locust, acorns, and paw-paws. "In the country where hog and hominy are the staples, the hogs are turned loose to turn a livelihood, and the farmer raises a little corn to keep himself, his family, and his stock until the next year's crop is ripe" (Summers, 1893:104).

Figure 23. Scale for Weighing Cattle, Dry Creek, WV.

Maury and Fontaine also identify seventy-six medicinal plants which were gathered for sale and domestic use, shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Medicinal Plants Gathered for in the 19th Century

Scientific Name	Common Name(s)
Achillea millefolium	milfoil, yarrow
Acorus calumus	sweet flag
Aletris farinosa	unicorn, cholic root
Alnus serrulata	smooth alder
Apocynum androsaemifolium	dogsbane
Archangelica atropurpurea	master root, masterwort, angelica
Artemisia absinthium	common wormwood
Aralia hispida	dwarf elder
Arisaema triphyllum	Indian turnip, fool's seng, jack-in-the-pulpit
Aristolochia serpentaria	Virginia snakeroot
Asarum Canadense	wild ginger
Asclepius cornuti	common milkweed
Asclepius incarnate	swamp milkweed
Asclepius tuberose	pleurisy root, butterfly weed
Baptisia tinctoria	wild indigo
Cassia Marylandica	wild senna
Ceonothus Americanus	New Jersey tea
Chimaphila umbellate	pipsissewa
Chinopodium botrys	Jerusalem oak
Comptonia asplenifolia	sweet fern
Cornus florida	Dogwood
Corydalis Formosa	turkey corn
Cypripedium parviflorum	small yellow ladies slipper
Cypripedium pubescens	large yellow ladies slipper
Datura stramonium	Jamestown weed, jimson weed
Daucus carota	wild carrot, Queen Anne's lace
Epigea repens	trailing arbutus
Eupatorium perfoliatum	Boneset
Galium aparine	goose grass, cleavers
Gaultheria procumbens	creeping wintergreen, teaberry
Gentiana puberula	gentian blue
Geranium maculatum	spotted crane's bill
Hepatica triloba	Liverwort
Hydrastis Canadensis	yellow root, goldenseal
Hammamelis Virginica	witch hazel
Juniperus Sabina	savin
Inula Helenium	elecampane
Symplocarpus foetidus	skunk cabbage
Juglans cinerea	Butternut, white walnut
Lappa officinalis	Burdock
Liatris spicata	button, snake root
Liriodendron tulipifera	poplar, tulip tree
Lobelia inflate	Indian tobacco
Lindera benzoin	spicewood
Marrubium vulgare	horehound
Mentha viridis	spearmint
Monarda punctata	horsemint
Nepeta glechoma	ground ivy
Nymphaea odorata	white water lily

Scientific Name	Common Name(s)
Conophilis Americana	beech drops
Aralia quinquefolia	Ginseng
Pinus strobes	white pine
Phytolaccha decandra	poke weed
Polygala Senega	Seneca snakeroot
Podophyllum peltatum	may apple
Prunus serotina	wild cherry
Ptelea trifoliate	Trefoil
Polygonatum biflorum	small Solomon's seal
Ranunculus bulboses	Crowfoot
Rumex crispus	curled dock
Rumex conglomeratus	narrow-leaved dock
Rubus villosus	blackberry
Salix alba	white willow
Sabbatia angularis	American centaury
Sassafrass officinale	sassafrass
Solanum dulcamera	bitter-sweet
Sambucus Canadensis	Elder
Sanguinaria Canadensis	blood root, red root, red puccoon
Taraxicum Dens Leonis	Dandelion
Vibernum opulus	high cranberry
Verbaseum thapsus	mullein
Veratrim viride	white hellebore
Veronica Virginica	culver's root
Zanthoxylum Americanum	prickly ash
Cimicifuga racemosa	black snake root, black cohosh, seng pointer
Lycopus Virginia	bugle weed

No note is made in the 19th century resource inventories of the resources of the streams and rivers that define the terrain and name the settlements. Yet the ethnographic and oral history interviews suggest that historically fishing has been an important activity. And Sanders observes that from the earliest times, the New River was a centerpiece for community life in Mercer, Monroe, and Summers Counties (Sanders 1994:188).

The Civil War, Statehood, and the Consolidation of Absentee Control of Land and Resources

As John Williams has argued, the traditional notion that West Virginia's statehood represents the liberation of an Appalachian smallholder democracy from the rule of an oligarchy based in the plantation districts of Tidewater Virginia" is untenable. Rather:

> "[A] western Virginia elite, having fought sectional battles with its counterpart in eastern Virginia for the better part of two generations, both opposed and survived the creation of West Virginia, fighting on with considerable success to preserve

> its leadership for a generation after 1863, at the expense both of the leaders who created the new state and of industrialists who asserted their own claim to leadership shortly after the Civil War." (Williams 1995:210–11)

If this is so, then the western elites, land attorneys, judges, military officers, well-educated men who were themselves descended from the ruling and merchant classes from Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New England, and Great Britain, were successful in adapting the politics of Virginia, as Williams argues, to the social and environmental conditions of the mountains. During the years leading up to the Civil War, their primary efforts involved resolving the massive welter of disputed land titles, getting Virginia to authorize and support transportation improvements, and to further the work of surveying the timber and mineral resources of western Virginia.

One way in which these efforts shaped the region surrounding the parks may be seen in the work of land attorneys John and Thomas Swann, brothers from Virginia who opened a practice in Charleston. In the decades leading up the civil war, their litigation of land titles diverts contested tracts of mineral and timber wealth into the hands of absentee owners. One of their clients, W. H. Edwards, was granted 30,000 acres in Fayette County, much of it along the Gauley River. He dealt with conflicting claims of people who lived on the land by filing ejectment suits against them. But in every case, a few days before the court date, he would go to the defendant and propose a compromise. The compromise involved the drawing up of a new Broad Form Deed, which allowed occupants to remain on the land as long as they ceded mineral and timber rights to Edwards. This arrangement, referred to in state documents as the "severance of ownership from occupancy," was made with thousands of people living in the southern West Virginia coalfields. It was articulated in maps drawn up by Swann, showing that his clients were the rightful owners of the "ancient titles." Swann's 1867 *Title Map of the Coal Field of the Great Kanawha Valley,* based on his research for clients during this period, forms a historically reconstructed plat map of some of the early land grants in southern West Virginia (Cometti: 1941).

Figure 24. Detail from 1867 Title Map of the Coal Field of the Great Kanawha Valley, showing the revalidated "ancient titles," by Major John Swann, a land attorney in Charleston. (Source: Library of Congress)

For the leadership on both sides, eager to begin extracting minerals and timber, the planters' attachment to slavery and the way of life it supported was an impediment. Jedediah Hotchkiss, an engineer who fought for the confederacy (he was Stonewall Jackson's mapmaker) had been frustrated by a stalled geological survey. Like General John Imboden, David Ansted, and others who would join his cause after the war, Hotchkiss believed "that the economic salvation of Virginia required a shift from the agrarian slaveholding past toward an industrial future" (Thomas 1976:190). In their view, the ante-bellum value on land and slaves had stunted the natural industrial growth of the region, and that if slavery were to end the supply of labor would increase, and former slaves would expand the market for manufactured goods (Thomas 1976:191–192).

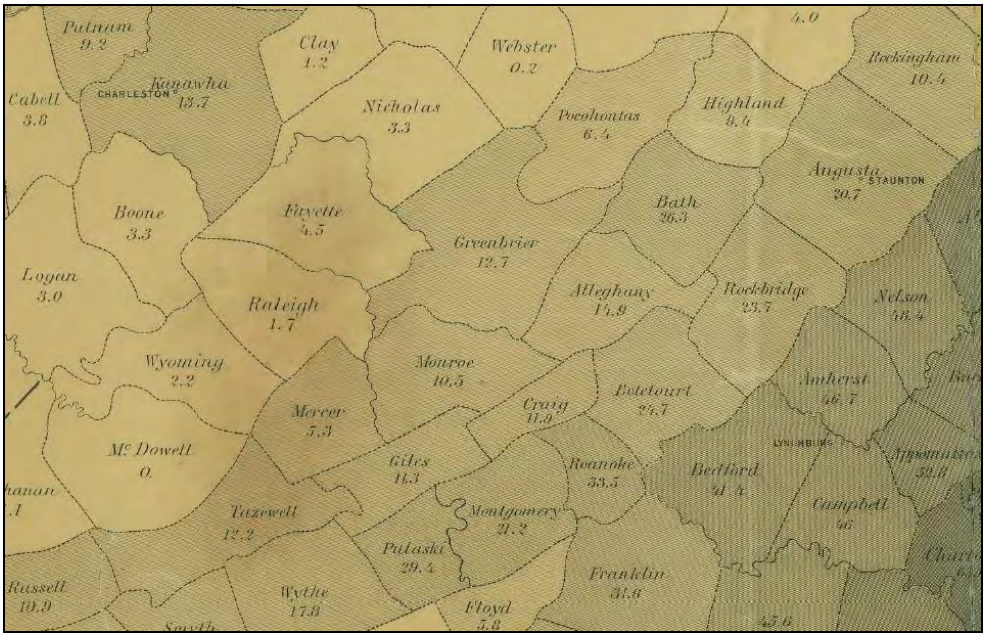


Figure 25. Percentages of slaves in the populations of Virginia counties in 1861 on the eve of the Civil War. The counties adjacent to the parks, along with many of the surrounding coal-bearing counties, show relatively low percentages. The African American populations of these counties would increase following the Civil War, when slaves employed in the salt works of Kanawha and Mercer Counties, and the tobacco plantations to the east, would become available as free, but landless, labor for working in the mines. (Source: Detail from Graham, 1861. Library of Congress)

Western Virginia supplied 32,000 troops to the Union and only 10,000 to the confederacy. The Civil war pitted neighbors along New River against one another. Fayette County supported the confederacy. Captain Thurmond, demonstrating his loyalty to the Old Dominion, burned down Lewis Gwinn's farm in 1860 because Lewis Gwinn sympathized with the Union. Settlers from Gatewood (with roots in Amherst County) joined Thurmond in subsequent Yankee raids. The Civil War left its mark throughout the New River region. Bowyer ferried Yankees and Confederates across New River. General Robert E. Lee found his celebrated horse, Traveller, while encamped there. "Lee's Tree" was a landmark at Maywood until it had to be cut down. Stonewall Jackson's mother is buried in Ansted Cemetery. Battles were fought at Kessler's Cross Lanes and Carnifex Ferry, Confederates attacked the Yankees at Gauley Bridge, and Yankees burned the town of Jumping Branch and defeated the Confederates at Lewisburg. Specific battles fought in the vicinity of the parks are described in abundant detail in the county histories of Carden and Peters, Brown 1925, Sanders, and Wood and illustrated with site maps. Lists of those who fought in the wars and their burial places are also provided.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

By far the biggest impact of the Civil War on this region was that it removed impediments to making the region's timber and mineral wealth central to a national plan to industrialize the economy. William Griffee Brown, writing in 1925, said that the greatest change in the natural features of the region was "the passing of the original forest."

> "At the close of the Civil War, the cleared lands on the farms were surrounded by woodlands in which scarcely any of the great, virgin trees had been destroyed. Giant yellow poplars grew on the north side of the hills and in the rich coves and on the benches. Immense chestnut trees stood thick on the south slopes and level stretches. Oak trees hundreds of years old could yet be found in the forest." (Brown 1925:176).

Men with dreams of industrializing West Virginia were well aware of the condition of this forest, and frustrated as well. Since the 1840s, they had been pushing to replace an agrarian economy dependent on slaves with an industrialized system and work force. Historian Ronald Eller argues that after the Civil War the sons and daughters of the southern plantation gentry were looking for arenas in which to invest their wealth.

> "Their wealth could not be maintained in slaves and expansion of the plantation economy. In many cases (they) were the second and third sons of wealthier individuals who had to make it on their own. West Virginia was the new frontier after the war. It was the new frontier for industrialization, for the resources that would build industrial America, and so it's not surprising that they would come back after the war to the land in which they had engaged in combat and struggle. Come back after the war and try to make their fortunes through the purchase of land, using their resources to purchase tracts of land and then to develop that land. It happened again and again and again throughout the mountains, throughout southern West Virginia especially." (Source: West Virginia Division of Culture and History, WV History Film Project.

In West Virginia, the new entrepreneurial class, made up of officers from the Civil War, sons of tidewater planters, engineers, surveyors, with support from investors in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Williamsport (PA), and England, implanted an industrial version of the old plantation order. When in 1873 the C&O Railway finally materialized the dream of the James and Kanawha Canal, the coalfields were opened up as an industrial frontier. Local elites Mose Dameron, Alfred Beckley, Elan Scarbrough, Captain W.G. Reynolds, and many others, helped to broker deals between local farmers and absentee speculators. Azel Ford, a banker from Hinton, would be elected to the state legislature. Samuel Tyree surveyed lands for Alfred Beckley. In the

mix of real estate, government, and the professions of engineering, prospecting, and surveying, and local elites – members of a merchant class built out of settler capitalism – were crucial for leveraging the region's transformation in the 1880s.

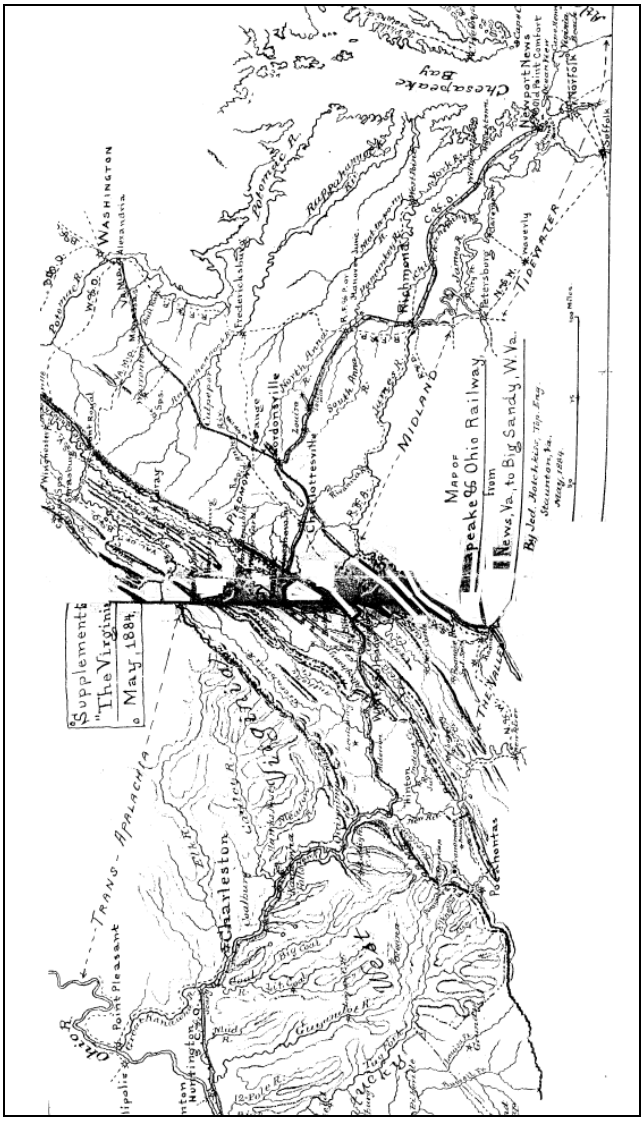


Figure 26. Hotchkiss map of C & O Railway from Newport News, VA to Big Sandy, WV, 1884. (Source: *The Virginias*)

Place names also register the impacts of resident planters and industrialists working in tandem to secure land, minerals, and timber from the mid-19th century on (see Timeline, Appendix III).

In the titles of the Civil War officers who head up the industrial endeavor, perhaps we glimpse an early incarnation of the military/industrial complex and the tight revolving door it has erected between industry and the state: Captain W.N. Page, Colonel George Anderson, Captain Thurmond, General John Imboden (who would launch the Gauley Mountain Coal and Coke Company), General Alfred Beckley, Major Jedediah Hotchkiss, and Captain John S. Swann.

Hotchkiss, who was born in New York State in 1828, had adopted Virginia as a homeland. In 1872 he opened an engineering and topographical office in Staunton, Virginia, and began a campaign to attract outside capital to develop the resources of the Virginias. In 1880, Hotchkiss started a monthly publication out of Staunton, Virginia: *The Virginias: A Mining, Industrial, and Scientific Journal Devoted to the Development of Virginia and West Virginia.* The journal contains many articles with information about the status of timber and mining opportunities in the New River area. It ran until 1886.

Figure 27. Detail from Map of Great Kanawha Coal Field by Jed Hotchkiss, 1886. (Source: Library of Congress)

Hotchkiss's promotional efforts helped to stimulate a wholesale land grab. Rasmussen argues that because of the work done by land attorneys before the Civil War, the requisite control of the land was already in place by the 1880s (1994). That the land was occupied was not an insurmountable problem for robber barons, who devised a variety of ways to make clear titles look fuzzy (Rasmussen 1994). This made it possible for outside investors to establish a claim to a property by paying back taxes, and offering to compromise with the occupants who farmed the land. Ceding surface rights in exchange for timber and mineral rights through the instrument of the Broad Form Deed, entrepreneurs leveraged rights of access as long as there were minerals and timber, which the farmers promised to watch over for the absentee owners. This arrangement, enacted through thousands of deeds, put into place a social compact that allowed residents continued access to non-timber forest products throughout most of the twentieth century.

After Hotchkiss's death in 1899, the Appalachian Trade Journal credited Hotchkiss with industrializing the Virginias, noting that neither "the stolid hill dwellers" of the mountain counties, nor the "agricultural, foxhunting, ex-slaveholding people of Central and Eastern Virginia" would ever have developed anything, because neither group was affected by "the spirit of modern industrial enterprise" (Thomas 1976: 202). They would have to be brought on board in the upcoming struggle over the control of labor. In the course of this struggle, the captains of industry would systematically devalue the production of the community forest. Hence, while Summers and Maury and Fontaine criticized the irresponsible methods of timbering, they also criticized the farmers for taking only what they needed. "Too much of West Virginia land has been tilled merely for subsistence, the owner only caring to raise enough to live on" (Summers 1893:104).

Summers' comment was not altogether true. Settler capitalism was alive and well in southern West Virginia. Denigrating it as "subsistence" provided the industrialists with an excuse to commandeer the land and resources. The taking was not without protest, and the courts were occupied for decades with land litigation as descendants of settlers contended with powerful absentee owners over the status of "unimproved lands" crucial to the local system of farming. In one case along the Gauley River, absentee heirs of the Jacob Skiles tract of 32,907 acres (see Swann map above) filed a suit against residents living on Twenty-Mile Creek, Peters Creek and other tributaries. In 1892 the suit was finally settled.

> "The object of the Maury Heirs was to define the boundaries of the tracts of the various settlers, and save for themselves the unoccupied wild lands in their grant. No question arose as to the title of the defendants to lands actually held in adverse possession; but how far did this possession extend to surrounding uncultivated lands? On Twenty Mile it was agreed that the possession of defendants should extend a distance of ninety poles measured from the Creek up the mountains on either side; which explains the '90 pole line' so often mentioned in conveyances in that area" (Brown 1925:153–54).

The case provides one specific example of how the penetration of industrial capitalism created new interrelations among agents of the core, semi-periphery, and periphery. The settlers losing ground in the mountains were literally peripheralized in the world system, confined more closely to the streams, as the absentee owners consolidated their claims to property in the mountains. The example illustrates an initial move in the capture of the upper-elevation commons as property of the new class of industrial land barons. Because residents continued to have access to the land, except for the timber and minerals, the displacement signaled in the Broad Form Deeds would not be completed for many decades. In many cases, not only were property lines redefined, but descendents of settlers all over the coal fields were redefined as tenants.

There were outspoken critics of the form taken by industrialization, even at that time. In his inaugural address of March 4, 1893, Governor McCorkle warned of the consequences of so much absentee ownership:

> "Whilst we welcome the incoming of the wealthy landowner, still in my opinion he should not be welcome alone, but every intelligent effort should be made by the State to induce the small landowner and actual settler to come amongst us. I believe that this is the best corrective of the influence of large, non-resident ownership of lands in this state, the burden of which we shall in a short time feel." (Summers 1893:99–100)

In 1885, Glenville native Ellen King wrote a poem entitled "The West Virginia Hills." Mostly celebratory, it contains the line: "Many changes I can see, which my heart with sadness fills." The lyrics were later set to music and adopted as the official state song in 1963.

ORIGINS OF NEW RIVER BASIN SETTLERS ON THE EVE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

In the late 19th century, West Virginia was, as Cometti and Summers point out, "the most native state in the Union" (1966). The birthplace most reported in the censuses from 1850–1880 for residents in counties encompassing the New and Gauley River Basins is West Virginia, followed by Virginia. Other birthplaces include a variety of states and countries, in single and double digits. The figures given in the 1880 census (see Appendix I) are representative. Out of a total of 35,266 residents in the four counties surrounding the parks, 26,833 reported that they were born in West Virginia; 6,444 claimed Virginia as their birthplace; and the remaining 1,989 were born outside the region, in other states and in other countries, including the British Isles, Canada, and Europe.

As the population grew, as the size of farms distributed to offspring dwindled, and as the rights to timber were sold to lumber companies, settler families who had expanded into all the coves and hollows found themselves in a Malthusian squeeze: poised at a historic bench mark, for the first time in generations, a frontiering population was trapped on a shrinking frontier with no place to go. We would argue that this was a psychically formative moment in collective history; that it bears on the striking commitment to place and land expressed in southern West Virginia, and that it bears on the outrage expressed at the waste, deterioration, and destruction of houses in the present, because of the depletion of resources for survival.

The Community Forest in the 1880s

Jedediah Hotchkiss, writing in the *Baltimore Sun* in 1893, includes two tables showing the results of timber counts made in the southern West Virginia Counties of Logan and Wayne, on the West Fork of Twelve-Pole River, and Greenbrier, at the head of Cherry River, a tributary of the Gauley. As the vegetation in Logan County would be more representative of the western area of Raleigh County, and because the difference in tables conveys a sense of the variety found in the mixed mesophytic region, we include them both (see Tables 3 through 6). The count included trees eighteen inches in diameter and higher, four feet off the ground, except for hickories, locusts, and black walnuts, which were measured at ten inches off the ground.

Table 3. Wayne and Logan Counties: Hardwoods, 12,263 Acres on West Fork of Twelve-Pole River.

Tree Type	Count
White Oaks	24,760
Chestnut Oaks	38, 848
Black Oaks	8,525
Red Oaks	943
Hickories	21,298
Chestnuts	7,681
Locusts	1,996
White Maples	1,583
Sugar Maples	450
Birches	1,344
Gums	1,044
Black Walnuts	393
Sycamores	13
Total:	108,878

Source: Summers 1893:32–33.

Table 4. Wayne and Logan Counties: Softwoods, 12,263 Acres on West Fork of Twelve-Pole River.

Tree Type	Count
Tulip-Poplars	12,450
Pines	3,472
Lindens	2,325
Cucumbers	240
Buckeyes	28
Hemlocks	903
Total:	19,689

Source: Summers 1893:32–33.

Table 5. Greenbrier County: Hardwoods, 1,000 Acres at the head of Cherry River.

Tree Type	Count
White Oaks	132
Chestnut Oaks	159
Red Oaks	889
Hickories	86
Chestnuts	1,513
White Maples	3,258
Sugar Maples	7,291
Locusts	4
Beeches	1,965
Birches	1,120
Gums	104
Cherries	349
White walnuts	1
Total:	16,871

Source: Summers 1893:32–33.

Table 6. Greenbrier County: Softwoods, 1,000 Acres at the head of Cherry River.

Tree Type	Count
Tulip-Poplars	529
White Lindens	1,014
Yellow Lindens	937
Ashes	576
Hemlocks	2,303
Yew pines	34
Total:	5,393

Source: Summers 1893:32–33.

THE HIDDEN LANDSCAPE OF FOREST FARMING

While we have not found timber counts for Fayette, Raleigh, or Nicholas Counties at that time, as demonstrated in Table 7, a cursory look at the witness trees recorded on property maps on file at the Fayette County Courthouse gives a sense of the range of species found, many within the boundaries of park property.

Table 7. Sample of Witness Trees Marking Property Boundaries, 1896–1912

Year	Property	Witness Trees	Waterway
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	Beech	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	Chestnut	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	Gum	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	Hickory	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	Locust	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	Spruce	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	Sugar trees	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	White oak	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Goke	Yellow lynn	Laurel Creek
1896	Gauley Coal & Coke	Ironwood pointers	Laurel Creek
ca. 1900	Thayer	Pine	Slater Creek
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	black oak	Marr’s Branch
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	Chestnut	Marr’s Branch
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	chestnut oak	Marr’s Branch
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	lynn	Marr’s Branch
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	maple	Marr’s Branch
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	pine	Marr’s Branch
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	poplar	Marr’s Branch
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	red oak	Marr’s Branch
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	Sugar trees	Marr’s Branch

Year	Property	Witness Trees	Waterway
1904	Cataract Colliery Co.	White oak	Marr's Branch
1905	John Q. Dickinson	Buckeye	Twenty-Mile Fork
1905	John Q. Dickinson	Mulberry	Twenty-Mile Fork
1905	John Q. Dickinson	Sugar trees	Twenty-Mile Fork
1905	John Q. Dickinson	Tulip poplar	Twenty-Mile Fork
1905	John Q. Dickinson	Walnut	Twenty-Mile Fork
1907	Sturgeon Lands	Buckeye	Gauley
1907	Sturgeon Lands	chestnut	Gauley
1907	Sturgeon Lands	chestnut oak	Gauley
1907	Sturgeon Lands	dogwood	Gauley
1907	Sturgeon Lands	gum	Gauley
1907	Sturgeon Lands	Hickory	Gauley
1907	Sturgeon Lands	ironwood	Gauley
1907	Blume Coal & Coke	Lynn	Gauley
1907	Sturgeon Lands	poplar	Gauley
1907	Blume Coal & Coke	White oak	Gauley
1912	Guthrie Tract	Buckeye	Gauley
1912	Guthrie Tract	Chestnut	Gauley
1912	Guthrie Tract	Gum (sweet)	Gauley
1912	Guthrie Tract	poplar	Gauley
Nd	Southside Junction	Cherry	Arbuckle Creek
Nd	Caperton	Chestnut	Bennett's Branch
Nd	Thayer	Chestnut	Slater Creek
Nd	Southside Junction	Hickory	Arbuckle Creek
Nd	Caperton	Hickory	Bennett's Branch
Nd	Southside Junction	Maple	Arbuckle Creek
Nd	Southside Junction	Sourwood	Arbuckle Creek
Nd	Caperton	Sourwood	Bennett's Branch
Nd	Caperton	Tulip poplar	Bennett's Branch
Nd	Thayer	White oak	Slater Creek

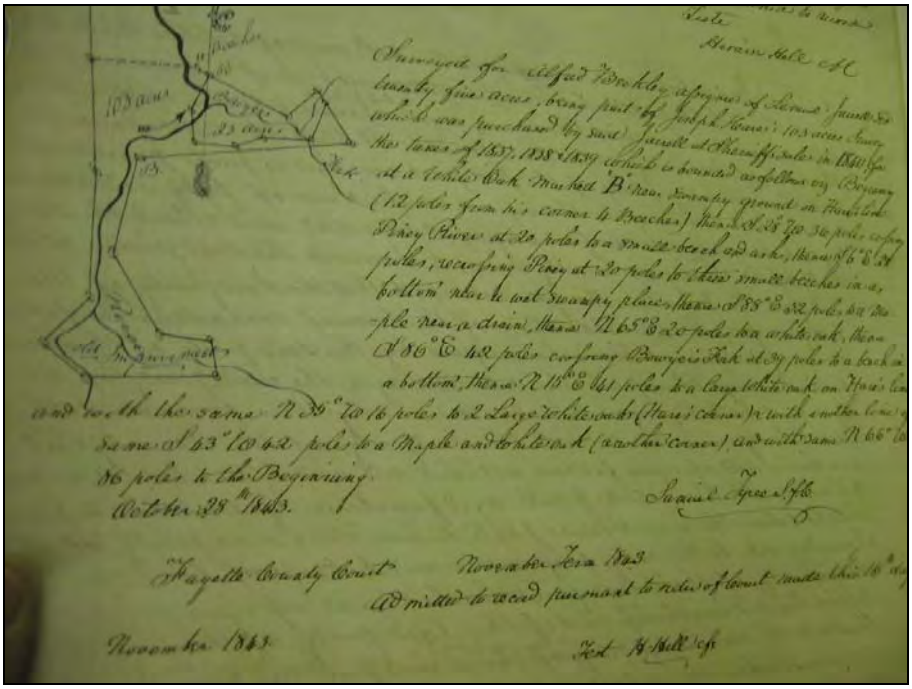


Figure 28. 1843 deed and map of property sold for taxes in 1840 and surveyed by Samuel Tyree for Alfred Beckley. Tyree's daughter would marry confederate General John D. Imboden, who became a driving force in the industrialization of the coalfields. Witness trees on this deed include beech, maple, and white oak. (Source: Fayette County Courthouse)

IMMIGRATION TO THE NEW RIVER BASIN DURING THE INDUSTRIAL GOLDEN AGE (1880–1930)

> "Although the region is commonly described as a reservoir of homogeneous Anglo-Americans, one study revealed that 34,400 of 53,000 new jobs in West Virginia mines between 1890 and 1910 were filled by immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Later southern blacks also augmented the labor force: in southern West Virginia they constituted nearly a quarter of the mine workers in the 1920s." (Billings and Walls 1981:126)

At the beginning of the industrial period in the 1870s, the population pressure on the land created conditions ripe for exploitation by the local elites, in collaboration with outside investors. The mobilized work force did not come entirely from Europe and from the American south. Many consultants in the oral history and fieldwork projects report moving down out of the mountains to live in coal towns, and the transcriptions from our interviews suggest the likelihood that descendants of pioneer settlers are presently found in every town and along every tributary of the New and Gauley River Basins.

Over the next forty years, the population descended from settler families would be augmented by thousands of immigrants from Europe, who poured into southern West Virginia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Though further research would be necessary to verify this, the relatively large number of immigrants shown in the 1880 census from the British Isles (375) to the districts of Kanawha, Sewell Mountain, and Mountain Cove would most likely have been brought in by industrialists to work in the mines during the 1870s, as the number of foreign-born residents for the 1870 census in Fayette County was 32: 14 in Falls, eight in Fayetteville, eight in Mountain Cove, and two in Sewell District. The practice of bringing in immigrants to augment the local workforce would yield a striking change in the demographics during the next forty years.

Figure 29. Tombstone of Emelkul Altatta, Sts. Peter and Paul Cemetery, Hunk Hill in Scarbro, WV.

The contrast between the figures in the 1880 and 1920 census returns provides a snapshot of the dramatic increase in population and equally dramatic demographic changes that occurred within a forty year span in these four counties of southern West Virginia. What was the

relationship between the rapid industrialization of the region and the land-based familism that sank its roots into the Allegheny plateau throughout the nineteenth century? What was the character of the encounter between so many different ethnic groups? Where did they end up in the region, and what were the cultural effects? And what role did the renewable resources and waterways and associated collective memory play in this intercultural encounter?

This is a period that has been fairly well studied by historians of labor and industry, and by Appalachian scholars. Well known works dealing with the momentous transformation of a rural agrarian population into a rural industrial working class include David Corbin's *Life, Work, and Rebellion in Southern West Virginia,* Ronald Eller's *Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers,* Joseph Trotter's *Coal, Class, and Color,* and John Williams' *West Virginia: A History*. These works provide useful frameworks for understanding the changes within regional, national, and world historical context. The proliferation of histories that circulate locally about life in particular coal camps and towns are valuable for the access they provide to local views and perspectives and the photographs of places that have vanished (Bragg 1990, Shuff ND, Sullivan 1989).

While the difference in numbers of foreign-born citizens shown in the censuses of 1880 and 1920 is indeed striking, in the region surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers the actual percentage of foreign born residents seems not to have exceeded five percent of the total population. Many of the people interviewed in the park's oral histories gave accounts of having moved into the coal camps from mountain farms. Some returned to those farms or sent wives and children back there. Men moved from one town to another, sometimes as the employees of a company that owned mines in several places, sometimes on their own, just looking for a better deal. When a mine worked out, an operator would move the entire population to another community, as when Nuttall moved people from Sewell to Nuttall Top, or when Erskine moved workers and their families from Concho to Terry in the 1930s. The one hundred and seven oral history interviews conducted in the 1980s focused mainly on memories of those who participated in lumbering, railroading, and coalmining. Their places of birth reveal a very southern West Virginian population. Most of those interviewed were born in southern West Virginia, to parents who were also born in West Virginia, though some were born elsewhere, including Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, North Carolina, Italy, Hungary, and Poland.

Figure 30. Tombs of unknown miners on Beury Mountain, marked by roof bolts from the mines broken and welded into crosses.

Coalfield Ethnogenesis: Land Use and the Livelihood of Kin

What are the grounds for considering neighbors of the park as a culturally distinct group? Ethnography takes up this question by listening for distinctions that people draw themselves, and how they use the distinctions. The two affiliations that consistently emerge in interviews are attachment to "the land" and to family. Land and family are so intertwined that they extend and express each other. *Ethnogenesis* names a process whereby people express and renew a sense of social belonging through participation in shared times and spaces. In the vicinity surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers, ethnogenesis, a sense of belonging to this place and these people, happens through practices that renew the sense of collective participation in the historical processes of frontier settlement, industrialization, outmigration, and return.

David Corbin observes, and this is borne out in our interviews, that people in southern West Virginia were slow to organize because they had a variety of options. People with land in the area worked in the mines in order to make some money, but once they made what they needed, they would stop. They were not yet dependent on jobs. Bringing in immigrants was one way of creating a reliable work force, and immigrants would help to bring in family members and neighbors from homes abroad or in the southern states. According to the oral histories, there were

different ratios of native-white, foreign born, and blacks. A look at the census for Fayette County in 1900 showed that most miners were from West Virginia, with scattered immigrants from Germany, Italy, Ireland, Greece, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Wales, England, and Russia, with the exception of Quinnimont and Sewell, both of which had high concentrations of black people from Virginia. John Redman explained this in an interview with Ken Sullivan: "That's the reason you find so many people that are so closely kin in different communities, because they were brought by relatives that were already out here working."

In the oral histories, significant black populations were recalled to have been at Edmond, Elverton, South Fayette, Fire Creek, Glen Jean, Hinton, Kaymoor Bottom, Layland, Nuttallburg, Red Ash, Red Star, Terry, Thayer, South Thurmond, and Winona. Significant foreign populations were recalled for the following groups and locations: Spaniards (Erskine, Layland, Minden, Hinton, Nuttallburg); Polish (Fayette, Nuttalburg, Terry, Thayer, Thurmond, Scarbro), Italian (Fayette, Nuttallburg, Terry, Kilsyth), Hungarian (Minden, Terry, Thurmond), Russian (Layland), Greek (Hinton), German (Thurmond). There were Catholic Churches in Scarbro, Kilsyth, Winona, Minden, Hinton, and on Irish Mountain. The mission churches at Scarbro, Kilsyth, and Minden were incorporated into the community at Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church in Oak Hill, according to a monument there, which enshrines the bells from the three mission churches. Each church was named for a patron saint drawn from the immigrants' home country, including the Italian Saint Anthony in Kilsyth and the Polish Saint Casimir from Minden.

African Americans, Native Americans, and Mulattos in Southern West Virginia

In the histories and in conversation with descendants, the region is said to have been settled by African Americans who came in both as slaves and as freed slaves, and by Native Americans who resisted and survived the removals. The history of African Americans in the region during the years leading up to the Civil War and after industrialization deserves much more study. The persistent myth that blacks are a negligible presence in Appalachian, which Edward Cabell terms "Appalachia's black invisibility factor" is belied in southern West Virginia, where close to twenty-five percent of the population has been black for more than a century. (Inscoe 1995). Jedediah Hotchkiss was at pains to show the proper place of African Americans in the industrial workforce, featuring in *The Virginias* articles by Louis Agassiz on the biological justifications for discrimination by race.

We know from historical records that some settlers brought slaves with them into the mountains, and that freed slaves came into the mountains to take up homesteading. Rev. Donnelly tells us that the road to Sanger, was hacked out by the slave of Llewellyn Jones, a tobacco farmer from Amherst County, and that Peter's Creek was named for Peter Morris, who was the slave of Henry Morris, the first settler there. Joseph Trotter reports that in the 1850s, 3,000 slaves were used for producing salt and for mining coal in the Kanawha coalfields. Cavalier notes that Col. Christopher Q. Thompkins, "a gentleman of the old aristocratic school" who had married a "beautiful and cultured lady of Richmond who owned a great many slaves and property" lived in a house near a bluff on Gauley Ridge "surrounded by a fertile farm tilled by many slaves." Thompkins aided the confederacy and tried in vain to get Beckley to join, but Beckley refused. Thompkins lost his estate as a result (Cavalier 1985:180–88). Where were Thompkins' slaves buried, and what became of their descendants?

Figure 31. Slave cemetery near the former Gore plantation and Cash's Hill, Summers County.

Surveying the state's resources for the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1865, J.R. Dodge commented that the Kanawha Valley, including all of the New River, contained a large portion of all the slaves that had been owned within the boundaries of the new state. He lists the numbers of slaves ("as a relic of the old regime") for 1860 in each county: Monroe – 9,536 whites, 1,114 slaves; Raleigh – 3,291whites, 57 slaves; and Fayette – 5,716 whites, 271 slaves. In Kanawha County, where slaves had been used to work in the mines, there were 2,184 slaves in a population of 13,785 (Dodge 1865:121).

As shown in Table 8, in the 1880 census, blacks and mulattos are reported to be living in the districts surrounding the park as follows:

Table 8. People of Color in Counties Surrounding NERI and GARI in 1880, by District

Fayette County

District	Falls	F-ville #1	F-ville #2	Kanawha	Sewell Mt	Mt Cove	Totals
Blacks	20	7	52	175	394	201	**849**
Mulattos	23	16	42	7	91	44	**223**
Totals	43	23	96	182	485	245	**1,072**

Nicholas County

District	Grant	Hamilton	Jefferson	Kentucky	Summersville	Wilderness	Totals
Blacks		2		7	5	5	**19**
Mulattos		1	2	10	24		**37**
Totals		3	2	17	29	5	**57**

Raleigh County

District	Clear Fork	Marsh Fork	Richmond	Slab Fork	Shady Springs	Town	Trap Hill	Totals
Blacks	1		3		1	13	8	**28**
Mulattos	1		8		15		15	**39**
Totals	2		11		16	13	23	**67**

Summers County

District	Forest Hills	Greenbrier	Green Sulphur	Jumping Branch	Pipestem	Talcott	Totals
Blacks	44	148	29	1	93	127	**442**
Mulattos	39	120	2	26	10	29	**323**
Totals	83	268	31	27	103	156	**765**

Source: Adapted from Marsh, 1880 Census of West Virginia

The census figures show that nearly a quarter of the population of the nine counties of southern West Virginia (Kanawha, Mingo, Logan, MacDowell, Mercer, Raleigh, Fayette, Wyoming, Boone) was black. Between 1880 and 1910, Fayette and Raleigh County showed the highest percentage of blacks in the nine-county region. The black population today still hovers at nearly a quarter of the population in this region, in a state where overall only three percent of the population is black. While the black communities have, since the 1960s, been integrated into the schools, they express a distinctive religious and musical culture largely because of the churches.

They also share with the majority of our consultants attachments to the land and resources that they express through practices of hunting, fishing, camping, gardening, hiking, and worshipping.

Figure 32. Member of Soak Creek Baptist Church, singing a hymn. (Photo by Terry Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

In the oral history transcriptions, those interviewed report that there were sizeable black populations (forty to fifty percent) at Quinnimont, Kaymoor, Elverton, Ames, Nuttalburg, Fire Creek, Winona, Edmond, and Claremont, a number of which are in the Sewell Mountain and Mountain Cove Districts. Oral history consultants also recalled Thurmond and Hinton as places with a large number of black residents. In the 1880 census, most black and mulatto residents reported that they were born in Virginia or West Virginia. Other states mentioned include North Carolina. The communities with the largest numbers of black residents in 1880 included those associated with mines operated by Colonel Beury, who is said to have sent to Virginia when he needed more workers.

But John Cavalier's Panorama of Fayette County suggests that the black population was diffused much more widely. He identifies 48 communities with black schools in Fayette County alone (1985). These were generally opened from the 1920s until the 1950s, when integration began, though some remained open and segregated into the 1960s. The schools were located in Ansted, Beard's Fork, Boomer, Cannelton, South Caperton, Elverton, Concho, Deepwater, Edmond, Gamoca, Glen Ferris, Glen Jean, Greentown, Ingram Branch, Lochgelly, Longacre,

McDonald (for black students from Dunloop, Derryhale, McDonald, and Kilsyth), Milburn, Minden, Montgomery (where Simmons, the first school for blacks in Fayette County, opened in 1879), Mount Hope (Dubois High School), Nuttalburg, Page, Powellton, Quinnimont, Hilltop, Sanger, Scarbro, Sewell, Summerlee, Thayer, Winona, Beelick Knob, Brooklyn Bottom, Claremont, Cunard, Donwood (on Morris Creek), Elkridge, Kimberly, Harewood, Harrah, Laurel Creek, Lawton, Lick Fork, Long Branch, Mahan, Harlem Heights and Sun.

Table 9. Fayette County Communities with Black Schools

Community	Year Opened	Year Closed	Comment
Ansted		1964	
Beard's Fork	1920	1960	
Boomer	1912	1965	
Cannelton	1926	1964	
S. Caperton	1920	1947	
Elverton	1914	1951	
Concho		1944	
Deepwater		1964	
Edmond		1951	
Gamoca	1926	1937	
Glen Ferris	1918	1956	
Glen Jean	1922	1956	
Greentown	1909	1961	
Ingram Branch	1937	1965	
Lochgelly		1956	
Longacre	1903	1953	
McDonald	Early 1920s	Late 1920s	Children from Kilsyth, Dunloop, Derryhale, & McDonald attended here
Milburn	1921	1956	
Minden	1906	1957	
Montgomery	1879	1956	Simmons High School, first school for blacks in Fayette County
Mount Hope	1919	1956	Dubois High School, named for W.E.B. Dubois
Nuttalburg			
Page	1903	1956	
Powellton	1926	1954	
Quinnimont	1921	1941	
Hilltop	1912	1965	Children from Sanger went here when school was not in Sanger
Sanger	1931	1948	
Scarbro	1937	1965	
Sewelll	1904	1959	
Summerlee	1921	1963	
Thayer	1929	1956	
Winona	1880	1964	
Beelick Knob	1941	1956	
Brooklyn Bottom	1945	1961	

Community	Year Opened	Year Closed	Comment
Claremont	1921	1962	
Cunard	1911	1959	
Dunwood		1949	
Elkridge	1911	1945	
Kimberly	1911	1961	
Harewood	1901	1938	
Harrah (Backus)	1916	1954	
Laurel Creek	1931	1941	
Lawton	Late 1920s	1952	
Long Branch		1952	
Mahan	1935	1962	
Harlem Heights	1947	1967	
Sun	1930	1964	

Cavalier mentions that in 1958 the former Estuary School was moved next to the Fayetteville Consolidated School "to accommodate the seventh and eight grade black students."

Figure 33. Buckingham Lining Bar Gang, demonstrating track lining during Railroad Days in Hinton, 1992. (Photo by Terry Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

John Redman, in an oral history interview with Ken Sullivan, reported that most of the black coal miners he knew came from the Virginia, from the three contiguous counties of Appomattox, Nelson, and Buckingham. These counties are clustered in Virginia not far from Lexington, near the head of the Midland Trail, and near to other counties with a history of interaction with the New River area, including Amherst, Pulaski, and Alleghany. Glen Gore, a consultant from Glen Jean, reported that his parents moved to Pence Springs, from a farm on

Cash's Hill. Cash's Hill was given to freed mulatto people by a descendant of George Gore (Sanders 1994). They were said to be his offspring. In 1870, Robert Gore deeded Cashier's Hill to Sarah Gore and her children. By this time, descendants of George Gore and his slave were living in Boone County, on Pond Fork of Guyandott River, and elsewhere in southern West Virginia, and may bear some relationship to Solecki's observation:

> "In one particularly remote and almost inaccessible area on the west bank of the New River between Round Bottom Creek and Mercers Saltworks were noted a few cabins of natives, whose dark skinned facial features seemed to show a racial admixture. It is reported locally that some descendants of slaves crossed with native Indians are in the New River Valley. These people farm small patches of hillside and bottomland there. It is possible that these people were offshoots of the Melungeons, described for the Virginia Appalachians" (1949:328).

Other black and white families mentioned by Sanders include Walker, Shanklin, Davidson, Pack, Smithers, Palmer, Goins, Harris, Austin, and Smith (1994).

"Mulatto" appears to be a strangely ambiguous word. It could designate the offspring of white and black couples, or of black and Indian couples, white and Indian couples, or of any Native Americans abiding by the law in Virginia that ordered Indians to identify themselves as mulatto. The Monacans living in Amherst County Virginia, which is bordered on the south by the James River, had been employed under conditions of peonage by tobacco growers there (Bear Mountain, the central place for Monacans in Amherst County, is one of the "Tobacco Row Mountains"), and were known to work in the mines as well (Cook 2000). Lewis Evans' 1755 map locates the Monacans and Tuscaroras in the Amherst, Nelson, and Bedford areas. If Beury and others were sending back to these counties for workers, it is possible that some who came were Monacans. Amherst County itself was late in being settled, because of its ruggedness, providing a refuge for the Monacans who chose to remain in Virginia. By the time the county was created out of Albemarle County in 1774, the region was populated with offspring from the intermarriages between Monacans and early trappers and traders in the region. Because the Monacans had never been recognized by the colonial government through treaties, the Monacans were not recognized as a tribe, but as members of the "free colored" population: like freed slaves, they could pay taxes but they could not vote. Updating anti-miscegenation laws of 1705 and 1787 designed to keep property in the hands of the white elite, in 1823 the Virginia legislature passed a Race Law, which required descendants of Indians as well as Negros, up to the great-grandchild, to be counted as mulattos. In the post-Civil War society and economy, Monacans and former slaves

found themselves locked into share-cropping as a means of survival. Sharecroppers were among those targeted for recruitment into the mines.

Through a series of 18th century treaties, the state of Virginia was officially depopulated of Indians, who supposedly moved or were removed to Ohio, or New York, or Oklahoma. Oral tradition is full of accounts of people with Indian ancestry who remained in the area, and who blended in as well as they could with their neighbors (Cook 2000:56–57). Cook mentions Johns, Branham, Redcross, Hicks, and Adcox as Monacan surnames. There are, in the 1880 census, black and mulatto residents with the surnames of John and Hicks in the Sewell and Kanawha Districts of Fayette County. Recently, a white ancestor was traced by black Higgenbotham descendants back to Amherst County, where a Higgenbotham sired children through one of his slaves. Descendants living in Greentown, a settlement sold off in parcels by a man named Green to black families moving out of Elverton, have recently celebrated their common ancestry with Higgenbotham's white descendants at the cemetery of the original Higgenbotham in Amherst County.

Figure 34. Rev. William and Frances Carter, at their home in Prince, 1992. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Perspectives on Native American History from the Interviews

Appalachian environmental historian Donald Davis points out that by the mid-19th century, many Cherokee were utilizing the landscape in much the same way as the European settlers, and that in fact the extensive cultivation of peaches and even apples (introduced by the British) was due to Cherokee farming, which was the province of women (Hatley).

In most local county histories, Indian presence vanishes from the region sometime in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. But in historical discourse, accounts of what became of Native Americans at the headwaters of the Kanawha River persist. Collective memory of a time when Native Americans moved through the area is attached to such landscape elements as peach trees, place names like "Indian Creek," or "Indian Gap," charred rocks where Indians are said to have cooked flat-bread, newgrounds where they planted corn and beans to harvest on their way back through an area, bowls carved into rocks where they ground corn, red mushrooms that they were supposed to have preferred, the "puccoon" that people still dig, and a spring green called "shawnee lettuce" or just "shawnee." Other signs are read out of people themselves, whose high cheek bones, dark eyes, and straight black hair form thresholds to Native America. Such statements of affiliation are worth noting in relation to a landscape ethos that some people also associate with Native American antecedents. "We still find Indian culture very strongly in the valley," commented Beckley resident Murray Shuff (formerly of Stone Cliff) in an interview in 1992.

The difficulty of proving Indian ancestry relates to the fugitive status of Native Americans in the region following the battle of Point Pleasant, and the task of deconstructing the Anglicized or Africanized ethnicities of ancestors. Lucille Springfield, née Richmond, grew up in Ramp, on Laurel Branch. Springfield is trying to locate information on Henry Dugger Clay, the ancestor that she suspects links her family to the Cherokee. She said:

> "The verbal stories from my grandfather are that the Cherokee Indian blood was there. But there's nothing written anywhere, until I ran across this little bit of information that says that during the time that they were taking the Indians out to the reservations and things, they stopped recording the races here. And the only way to trace back to get your Indian background is to know the names that you're following and hope that you can run into someone or something."

Figure 35. Reproduction of an 18th-century Clay family portrait displayed in the Springfield home.

A number of the practices common in the region today, such as drying beans (leather britches), planting the rootlets of ramps near the home, and replanting ginseng by the "curl," are known to have been practices of the Cherokee. Peach Tree Creek, a tributary of the Coal River, is said to have been so named by the first white men who arrived there and found peach trees growing. The Cherokee encouraged the growth of wild fruit and nut orchards, and transplanted ramps to patches near their homes. The practice of drying green beans on strings called "leather britches" hails from the Cherokee, as does tapping "sugar" (maple) trees for sap. According to Davis, apple orchards survived in the mountains because the Cherokees "made them central to regional horticulture after 1750" (Davis 2000:80–81). Heidi Altman describes two methods of fishing that her older Cherokee consultants in Cherokee, North Carolina described to her: trotlines and seining (Altman 2006: 53–54). On New River, trotlines are a traditional mode of fishing. On Coal River, seining is the method used for catching hellgrammites. Although practiced on a smaller scale than the method described by Altman, (two men instead of six) it is the same technique.

There are many other Cherokee antecedents for landscape practices of the present throughout the Appalachian Mountains (Davis 2000, Hatley 1991, Finger 1995). The following plants from Witthoft's list of Cherokee potherbs are also gathered and consumed in the region:

Pokeberry (Phytolacca Americana)

Ramps (Allium tricoccum)

Crow's Foot (Ranunculus spp.)

Wild Turnip (Brassica rapa) (Cherokee term noted by Witthoft, "Turmip," is used rather than the more common "wild mustard")

Johnny jump-ups (viola spp.)

Creasies (Barbarea spp.)

Solomon's Seal (Polygonatum biflorum) (gathered commercially)

Shawnee Lettuce (Saxifraga micranthidifoli) (Cherokee term noted by Witthoft, "Shawnee Lettuce," is used, rather than the more common "branch lettuce")

Witthoft notes that naturalized plants used by the Cherokee most likely represent contact during Federal times, and that more recently introduced potherbs, like dandelions and chicory, are not trusted by his Cherokee informants. Witthoft notes two foci among the Cherokee that coincide with foci along Coal River: 1) a forest and forest edge focus, and 2) a focus on the edges of gardens and yards, where volunteer potherbs may be protected and encouraged (Witthoft 1977: 254). The relationship between cultivation and the serendipity of volunteer potherbs was expressed by an elderly woman on Drew's Creek who commented that "Creasies won't grow unless you till the soil" (Hufford 1998).

Since in the 19th century it was illegal for Native Americans to own property or to vote, it would have been expedient to conceal Native American identity. If, as Lucille Springfield pointed out, Native American landowners reported themselves as white, black, or mulatto, this ancestry would not be documented in the census. "Their lives depended on not letting their race be written down somewhere," explained Lucille Springfield, a descendant of William Richmond and Mitchell Clay.

Mike Springfield, her husband, added:

> "During that time, all the people that were here, you either had to register as white or colored. There was no black or Indian. If you registered at all it had to be in the white category or the colored category. So now, when you tend to want to go back, and trace your family history, if you want to get into the Indian aspect of it, it's an entirely different ballgame now, because you've got to start looking in the records pertaining to colored people instead of Indian people."

Robin Crawford, an African American cultural activist from Hinton whose ancestors escaped from slavery poling tobacco batteaus from the James River, pointed out that "lots of African Americans here are Native Americans."

In the 1880 census, no one claimed to be Indian. In Raleigh County, 39 people claimed to be mulatto, 23 of whom lived within our study area. In Fayette County, 223 people reported that they were mulatto, all of them within the study area. In Summers County, 323 people claimed to be mulatto, most of them in our study area. In Nicholas County, 37 people claimed to be mulatto, none of them in the Grant or Wilderness districts. We have to consider the strong possibility that those claiming to be mulatto were of Native American descent, in which case it is possible that modes of participation in the landscapes surrounding the parks are derived from Native American practices not too many generations back. During the 19th century, when it was illegal for Indians to vote or own land, many Indians declared themselves to be mulatto, or free coloreds, unless they could pass for white. The West Virginia census shows one declared Indian in 1870, with the count remaining in single and double digits until 1950, when 160 are counted. The census for 1990 shows that 2,458 West Virginians claimed Native American ancestry.

In 1996 and 1998 the Appalachian American Indians of West Virginia was acknowledged as a tribal group by the West Virginia Senate and House of Delegates. According to the West Virginia Cyclopedia entry:

> "Appalachian Indians of West Virginia, Inc. (AAIWV) is an intertribal organization of Native Americans and their mixed blood lineal descendants. AAIWV seeks to unite the Native peoples of the Appalachian region so that their rich Native American heritage is not lost. With over 4,000 members, AAIWV is the largest Native American group in the state of West Virginia." (http://www.aaiwv-ani.org)

We learned of the AAIWV from members of the Gardner family in Thayer, and from the Springfield family in Danese. Members of both families reported joining the AAIWV and regularly attending the organization's regional pow-pows. The goals of the organization, which are posted on its Web site are:

> "to provide a 'tribal home' for Native Americans in West Virginia, to save precious pieces of our heritage that are in danger of being lost, and to educate both Native Americans and the general public about the history and culture of Native Americans in this State. We do this through extensive teaching activities

> throughout the State, by holding free Pow Wows open to the public, and through meetings. In addition to our normal monthly Tribal Council meetings in Charleston, we hold Regional Gatherings each month in Mingo, Greenbrier, Monongahela and Ohio counties. We also publish a monthly newsletter, the Appalachian Indian voice, which is distributed free to our members. AAIWV also provides assistance to our members in need with a small Food Pantry and assistance with counseling and educational needs. AAIWV is supported solely by the contributions of it members. We charge no fees or membership dues to our members. Our public speaking and educational activities are also performed without charge to the community. No member representing AAIWV may accept speaking fees for public activities." (http://www.aaiwv-ani.org)

Questions regarding Native American ancestry elicit a characteristic, and curious, response. Most people I interviewed expressed the belief that there are no longer any Indians in the area. This disclaimer is consistently followed by a claim to Indian ancestry. Ernest Jones, of Brooklyn, who was born in Abraham, spoke of his grandfather's memories of Indians who lived in the vicinity of Irish Mountain in the mid-19th century. "He said that the Indians were very poor and didn't have much, and then they moved away." I asked him about the claims to Indian ancestry that come up in conversations around here. "We're supposed to have some Indian blood," he replied, pulling out a photo of a relative with high cheekbones and straight black hair (September 17, 2004).

Figure 36. Ernie Jones, Brooklyn, with a photo of his grandparents from Irish Mountain.

"They were poor and didn't have much and then they moved away," leaving in their wake European and African American settlers pursuing a land-based way of life influenced by Native American practices, including hunting, gathering, gardening, camping, and fishing. The pertinent question here is not whether such ancestry can be proven, but how such claims are used to legitimize practices, which have been impugned and impinged upon, but not destroyed, by the rise and decline of industry in the Gorge. A second question has to do with the relationship people draw, often tacitly, but sometimes explicitly, between the way that Indians were treated and the anxiety over cultural disappearance as an effect of changes in the present.

Robin Crawford observed that the New River was a conduit in the Underground Railroad. "Around the time of the Civil War, blacks owned land along the river." A number of them arrived in batteaus, having been employed as batteau men by the tobacco planters along the James River in Virginia. Yet racial discrimination has continued in spite of the advances made by the civil rights movement. Crawford recounted the story of a lynching that occurred in Hinton. A rural region with such a high number of African American residents forms an indispensable opportunity for constructive engagement.

The Community Forest and the Articulation of Modes of Production

Deploying a widespread strategy, which social theorists call the "articulation of modes of production," industrialists integrated the corn-woodland-pastureland system and the community forest into the extractive economy of coal. This economic system and recourse to the products of a shared forested commons were critical to the integration of communities in southern West Virginia into the industrial enterprise driven from the core and semi-periphery of the developing world system. Farmers who were supporting themselves were attracted to mining only as a source of cash for what they couldn't produce, and were often not as reliable as the operators wished (Corbin 1990). One solution was to turn the landscape and the local system of working it into a lure for both investors and immigrant labor. Thus D.T. Ansted entices industrialists to the region by praising the pastoral qualities of the Cabin Creek Plateau in *The Virginias:*

> There is another mode in which this land, so valuable for its minerals, might be immediately rendered available and at the same time be prepared for future operations. There are on the plateau, intersected by the valleys, many thousand acres of good land, admirable adapted for cultivation. These lands are nowhere far from settled habitations, and would supply everything required for a colony of

> emigrants. The climate is delightful for the greater part of the year, and the winters moderate and short. There is excellent water and deep soil, well adapted to the growth of wheat, Indian corn, potatoes and other crops. The pastures where the trees have been removed are excellent, and the cattle are left to graze far into the winter. By offering allotments of moderate extent on easy terms, reserving the minerals, population could be secured and the whole district improved. The reserved allotments would soon increase in value. The cost of placing emigrants on these lands, from Liverpool, would not exceed $45 per head (Ansted, 1885).

The advertisement uses the community forest system as a draw for investors, but note that the pasture land described is not that of the community forest where livestock fenced out of the crop fields foraged on mast from fodder trees, but enclosed, deforested space. Yet this radically different concept of pastureland is presented as though it were the most natural thing in the world. The intention was to integrate immigrants from Europe and blacks from the south into a landscape system that used local farming skills and landscape knowledge as a resource to subsidize the coal industry. The surplus wealth of the land on which farmers had banked for the previous century would be rapidly depleted in support of a mobilized labor force. In the New River Gorge, the space for gardening was not as abundant on the plateaus, but immigrants learned to garden in small spaces. As Murray Shuff, who grew up in Stone Cliff, pointed out, they grew their "heavy vegetables" (corn, beans, and squash) high on the mountain, and their other vegetables in plots near the coal camps. Farmers from the plateaus peddled not only their garden grown produce in the coal camps, but nuts and berries from the surrounding forests.

Subsistence farming and gardening in the coal camps featured the same divisions of labor across the extended family by gender and age. Women and children tended the gardens. Trotter notes:

> Along with their regular domestic tasks, working-class black women nearly universally tended gardens. Although the men and boys cleared and broke the ground, women and children planted, cultivated, harvested, and canned the produce: corn, beans, cabbage, and collard and turnip greens. The family's diet was supplemented by a few hogs, chickens, and sometimes a cow. Gardening not only nourished the family, but also symbolized links with their rural past and soon became deeply entrenched in the region's economic and cultural traditions. Not yet eleven years old, while confined to a local hospital bed, a young black female penned her first verse, illuminating the role of black women in the life of the coalfields:
>
> When I get [to be] an old lady,
> I tell you what I'll do,

> I'll patch my apron, make my dress
> And hoe the garden too. (1990:91)

In histories of land-use in Appalachia, whites, blacks, and Native Americans participated in similar methods of farming and forest use. Sam Cook writes of the division of labor along gender lines among the Monacans of Amherst County, Virginia:

> Historical evidence … suggests that Monacan agricultural pursuits were not a novel introduction at the time of European contact. According to accounts from Fort Christanna around 1716, women were responsible for growing and tending the cornfields. The implications of this account are twofold. First, it suggests that the Monacans, like their Iroquois neighbors, had a long-standing social tradition governing the means by which agricultural activities were to be carried out. But perhaps most significantly, it points to the possibility that women were held in high prestige in eastern Siouan societies, being charged (as in Iroquois and Cherokee society) with the care and control of a major element of subsistence (2000:33).

The ethnic legacies are not neatly contained in discrete practices imported from the old world. To be sure, the practice of segregating white, black, and foreign residents within company towns is often alluded to in recollections of coal camp life, and this practice could have the effect of accentuating ethnic difference. And indeed, the skills that people brought with them from other countries helped diversify the local economy and landscape. Some people who came to the region to mine coal used those skills to stay out of the mines. Provi Marchio's father worked as a shoemaker in the Mount Hope area and the stone masonry found throughout the area is attributed to Italian stoneworkers from the turn of the century. Carrie Lou Jarrell's grandfather, a man from Greece, opened a restaurant in Whitesville, which is still called Greektown by older residents on Coal River. Italian stoneworkers built retaining walls, bridges, coke ovens from Thayer on down, the foundations for the buildings at Fayette station, brick pillars in the mines, tunnels, chimneys. One consultant recalled that these sturdy chimneys were the main support for Jenny Lind houses. Italian stoneworkers followed the stone and brick work throughout the coalfields. William Tury's father built the big long stone building at Lester. Word was that in 1900 Italian stoneworkers begun building the Seng Creek tunnel, which eventually connected Cabin Creek with the coalfields of Marsh and Clear Forks. Tury assumes that his dad and the rest of the Italian workers built most of the stone houses and maybe the McKendree hospital. "Down there at Fayette Station. All those are stone buildings down there, and up that hillside down there, there's cut stone,

beautiful cut stone all over the hill there." Some returned to Italy, but most settled in West Virginia.

Until recent struggles in coalfield communities over the practice of mountaintop removal mining, the most common account of ethnogenesis in the coalfields has centered around the struggle for unionization, in which immigrants, native whites, and blacks found common cause. In the interviews, accounts of union activity are given for the towns of Fire Creek, Sewell, Beury, Caperton, Rush Run, Elverton, and Hinton. But this does not fully account for landscape participation in the context of the livelihood of kin.

Geologist Charles E. Krebs' observations in 1916 suggest that the community forest was well articulated into the industrial mode of production. After reporting in his geological survey of Raleigh County that its principal products were corn, wheat, oats, hay, beef, cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, fruits of many kinds, vegetables and coal, Krebs adds "Considerable income is also derived from the digging and selling of medicinal roots, found in the forests, as follows: Ginseng, Black Snakeroot, Puccoon or Bloodroot, Mayapple, Yellowroot and Spikenard." He mentions that Raleigh County "formerly contained one of the heaviest stands of timber in the state, and still possesses several large tracts of virgin timber" (1916: 3). Some people also recall that it was more profitable to sell corn by the gallon than by the bushel. Moonshining, a technology brought with the Scotch Irish, is said to have been practiced by black and white moonshiners who found a ready market in the coal towns of the New River Gorge. The important question for this ethnography is: what role did the mixed mesophytic watershed and its associated collective memory play in the industrial economy? The transcriptions of oral histories and interviews provide much more information on local people, places, and interactions with the landscape. Krebs cautioned in 1916 that the population figures given for coal camps were not to be trusted, because the populations fluctuated so much. The oral history transcriptions affirm his observation, providing many glimpses of a population constantly on the move, not just within the New River Gorge, but throughout the coalfields. "We moved at least two dozen times!" observed Grace Byset, a Baptist who married a Hungarian Catholic. "Just changing houses, changing houses. Nobody stayed in a town very long…. They'd get dissatisfied with where they were or the company they worked with."

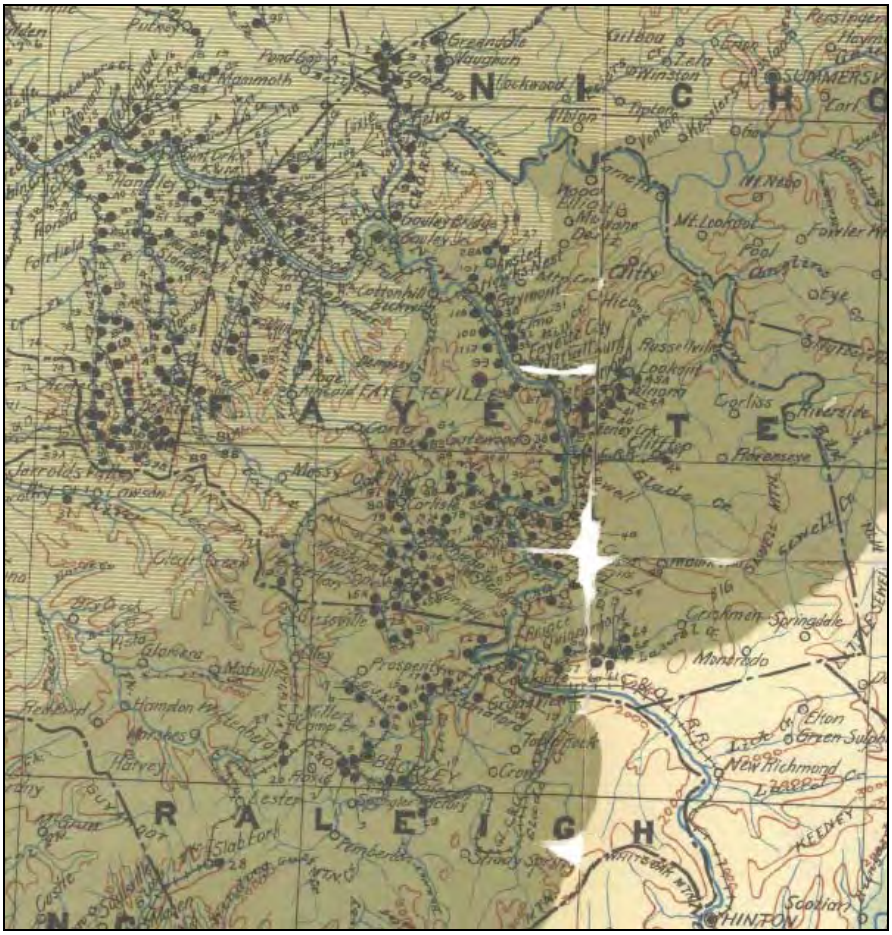


Figure 37. Detail of study area from 1917 map of West Virginia, showing location of mines. (Source: White 1917)

The mobilization of a work force happened within the region as well as across international boundaries. A system of farming, in which life centered around the hollows in which extended families survived through participation in a borrow and barter, non-monetized subsistence economy, diversified and the geographic horizons expanded. The region took on some of the traits of a metropolis, and the local economy diversified. The coal camps provided outlets for farms in the uplands and bottoms. Farms on Beury Mountain supplied Thurmond with produce, while the Gwinn Farm supplied produce to miners from Thayer to Thurmond. Farms on Garden Ground Mountain provided fruits and vegetables to Terry. Beury Mountain farms were a resource for the mining communities around Keeney's Creek.

What emerges in the oral histories is a sense of the New River basin and surrounding counties as a region within which people circulate continually, but the scale of circulation varies.

Some move around within a single tributary; others move around to mines throughout the gorge. Still others move to mines in different coalfields – from New River to Kanawha or the Winding Gulf. It is also important to note that some people never left the farms, and that some who did retained strong ties to the farmsteads. Lucille Springfield, who grew up in Ramp in the 1950s, commented that her family still lived the frontier life, and that she never had any desire to go beyond the farm. "The love of the land was deeply instilled in children," she said. The family followed Lucille's father to North Carolina, where Lucille met and married her husband. Their dream is to resettle the Richmond homeplace in Ramp.

The implication is that definitions of NERI and GARI's traditionally associated people cannot be based solely on genealogy or geography, but on a clearer understanding of how the New and Gauley Rivers appear in stories that integrate their tellers into the landscapes, history, and community life of southern West Virginia.

Examples of Ethnogenesis in Southern West Virginia

What was the character of the exchange of cultural ideas during the early decades of the 20th century? Descended from a McGinnis, an old-line WV family, and an Italian immigrant, William Tury exemplifies the bridging of immigrant and native cultures through intermarriage and childrearing. His father recruited perhaps 500 men from Italy to work in the mines. He was French-Italian, from the Lombardy region. Milan and Turin were towns in the northern Italy province they came from. Tury believes that the West Virginia mountains reminded Northern Italians of their home. His father did stonework in Northern Italy and recruited people to come to West Virginia to do stonework. He recruited them from Italian neighborhoods in New York. Tury recalled that he brought back mostly Italians, but also some Portuguese, some French, and some Spaniards from Eastern France. "He never did go back to Italy – for some reason he couldn't. He brought two brothers-in-law here, both killed riding monitors. He was like a godfather, a boss to them." Tury's father met and fell in love with a McGinnis girl while boarding in the hotel that her grandfather kept at Surveyor. The McGinnises were against the marriage and tried to stop it, but the determined couple prevailed. McGinnises helped develop the Coal River coalfields. They also had a farm near Arnett, and a boarding house in Surveyor. They farmed in Lincoln and Wyoming County, then left those places and went to Meadow Bridge, where they bought a farm. Tury's parents moved to Chesapeake in Kanawha Valley. Tury Sr. worked for company at Winifrede doing stonework and brickwork, and then worked for Pure Oil at Cabin Creek. Tury Jr. went to

Chelyan Junior High and East Bank High School. He grew up in Kanawha Valley and married Bertha Lee Morris, descended from William Morris, the pioneer whose daughters were killed in an Indian raid. Tury himself went to work for Dupont in 1933, at its Belle Plant, retired in 1973 after working his way up to supervisor. His son is now a production supervisor there, having moved in a direction familiar to coalfield workers, from coal to petrochemicals, moving on down the Kanawha River.

In this account, both Turys marry into old line families. During the interview, which takes place at Tury's house in Glen Jean, Tury tells of his mother living at the farm with the children some of the time that his father was working. The movement throughout southern West Virginia, to Lincoln, Wyoming, and Kanawha counties, is not uncommon. His recreation at the time was salvaging cut stone on New River. "I've salvaged cut stone all over these old coal camps.… Every stone I pick up I wonder, did he have somebody do this or did he have his hand on this stone, see." He is, in old age, fully integrated into the landscape of southern West Virginia.

The story of Mae Bongalis, an elderly woman on Coal River, is told from the perspective of a Cherokee descendant. She was born as Mae Meadows on Indian Creek, in Boone County. She claims Indian descent. "Indian Creek was full of Indians," she recalled during an interview with Mary Hufford in 1994. Many of them, she said, had taken the name of Meadows, in keeping with an Indian practice of taking white names that incorporated some aspect of nature (other examples offered during this fieldwork project include Clay, Dangerfield, and Springfield). She offered an account of her Irish grandmother, whose father-in-law, Mae's great-grandfather, was a Cherokee medicine man, who had married a white woman. As a girl, Mae traveled with her Irish grandmother through the hills surrounding the Ashford Hollow on Indian Creek. Her grandmother showed Mae the hollowed out rocks where Indians ground their corn, the charred rocks where they baked their bread, and the limbs of towering trees that had been used for hanging meat to dry. When Mae was eight, her step-father moved the family from Indian Creek to Montcoal Mountain on the Marsh Fork of the Big Coal River, where Mae helped her father to load coal. At the age of 12, Mae married George Bongalis, a Greek immigrant. She recalled the Greek weddings, music, and food in the coal camp on Montcoal Mountain. She recalled teaching Polish women how to winnow and string beans for drying into leather britches and what they could gather for food in the winter. After Mae's husband was killed in the mines, Mae took a job

as waitress in a tavern on Route 3. She taught her children how to hunt, fish, dig ginseng, capture rattle snakes, and plant by the signs of the zodiac. One son whom I interviewed before he died in the mid-1990s also worked for thirty years in Cleveland, before returning to Coal River. His daughter and granddaughter live in Michigan. They would often spend weekends camping and fishing on New River, sometimes bringing catfish back to release in Coal River. Catfish, as a friend of Shorty's explained, are "survival fish," not like the "trash fish," rainbow trout introduced by the state. Rainbow trout don't reproduce and eat the eggs of the fish that do.

In this account, a family claiming Cherokee, Irish, and Greek ancestry weathered the times of industry and outmigration, and kept its fortunes interwoven with the southern West Virginia landscape. The account illustrates how the network of traditionally associated users of the New River extends into another watershed. It offers a glimpse of the subsistence practices on which the mining industry depended, including the livelihood of kin economic system whereby children assisted their fathers in the mines. The account also hints at the extent of the region occupied by traditionally associated peoples, for whom New River is a resource. This system, transferred from the context of farming to the context of mining, was one aspect of the frontier life which Salstom argues has persisted in Newer Appalachia far longer than in many other places in the United States. Salstrom points out that this subsistence economic sector may have a significant role to play in strategies for future economic recovery: "By still retaining a subsistence economic sector, however reduced or crippled, Appalachia may have also retained an economic resilience that the First and Second worlds will painfully need to recover" (Salstrom 1994).

While the oral histories cover the topic of gardening fairly extensively, showing it to be an important practice for mining communities, there is a marked gap regarding interactions with non-timber forest products. This interaction was widespread, according to our interviews. Consultants reported gathering herbs, greens, berries, mushrooms, and nuts to supplement diets, as well as hunting and fishing. Digging roots such as ginseng for extra cash was also very common. While people had places they like to go for these products, the places were not fixed, and are therefore not mappable except as a general set of habitats representing the knowledge people have of the kinds of places where things grow.

While a sense of identity grounded in land and labor relations had been strengthened through the industrializing years of 1880–1930, regional identity in a national context would not fully crystallize until the massive outmigrations from the mountains to the Midwestern factory towns that mark the mid-twentieth century.

Appalachian Ethnogenesis and the Mid-Twentieth Century Diaspora

In the entry on "Appalachians" that appears in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups,* Dwight Billings and David Walls argue that:

> Appalachians lack the church organizations, distinct language, and racial characteristics that often define an ethnic group. What group consciousness they have comes from their distinctive kinship system, religion, dialect, and music. Their group identity is only partial, but they are very often perceived as a group (1981:125).

While our consultants on this project commonly cited ethnic origins of ancestors (including African American, Native American, Scots Irish, Italian, German, English, Polish, and others), the strongest expressions of identity centered around land, family, community, and work. When one examines the history that brought people of so many backgrounds together in this region, one sees an arena in which people had to make common cause.

It was not until after coal collapsed as a major form of employment in the mid-20th century that a distinctively Appalachian identity emerged. The diaspora out of Appalachia in search of work brought people from the region into contact with people from outside the region in urban settings. Within these larger-than-local contexts, ways of speaking and doing things associated with the hills condensed into an Appalachian identity, with variants from Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and West Virginia.

Between 1940 and 1960, 750,000 West Virginians migrated elsewhere. In the 1950s West Virginia lost 75,000 jobs, and nearly a half million people. Many of them went to the factory towns in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, traveling routes that became known as "hillbilly highways" to destinations that are known to this day as West Virginia enclaves. In a bar in Minden a woman told us she lived in a place in Cleveland they call "Little West Virginia." "Dayton, Ohio's full of West Virginia," said another man. As in the population of the coal camps, these concentrations occurred through a process of chain migration, as networks of extended

family members and neighbors connected urban sites with sites back home. Studies of Appalachian populations in the cities suggest that the extended family forms a support system that has historically kept many urban Appalachians off the welfare rolls (Billings and Walls 1981:127). The Appalachianness of this identity is something conferred by outside observers; within the communities the strongest affiliations still appear to be with family and community.

A woman in her sixties, in the bar at Minden, retired here from a job in Cleveland, working for Alcoa. She came home every weekend while there, and when she returned to retire, before her boyfriend died and her lungs got bad, she fished every day at Cunard. She told a joke about a man waiting at the gates of heaven to get clearance from Saint Peter. As he's waiting, he sees a stampede of people leaving Heaven. "Those are our West Virginia people," Saint Peter explains. "They go home every weekend." Laughing over this, she added, "If you took all the people from Pennsylvania and West Virginia out of Ohio, you wouldn't have any workers in that state!"

In the 1970s mining jobs opened up again, and people returned, and the next time the bust came, the jobs were in the furniture factories to the south. "They called Route 19 the North Carolina Highway," commented Paul Fox to Tom Carroll. While many people moved away permanently, circular or return migration is common, as people travel back to West Virginia on weekends, or between jobs, or for retirement. Andrew Avancini, who grew up in Thayer, worked in Cleveland and raised his family there, and then came back to Thayer to retire. His children live in Cleveland. Ted Farley, descendant of Captain Matthew Farley, also worked in Cleveland for years, and came home to retire.

Some of the miners living in New and Gauley River communities now drive some distance to work for mountaintop removal projects in Raleigh, Boone, and Wyoming Counties. Many of those mines are now non-union.

As John Williams has pointed out, the struggle between speculators and settlers that defines West Virginia history has proceeded through three stages. Throughout most of the 19th century, it was a competition for control of land. This was followed by a struggle over control of labor power into the 1980s. In the mid-twentieth century the spread of the practice of strip-mining

signaled the beginning of a struggle over resources, a struggle that has many theaters as some people attempt to fathom the environmental and social costs of our continuing dependence on fossil fuels.

While the UMWA's struggle for an eight-hour work-day, a forty-hour week, and safe mining conditions during the first half of the twentieth century is covered to some extent, the struggle of communities living close to mountaintop removal projects during the last decades of the 20th century is not. The events leading up to mountaintop removal as the means of retrieving the last of the coal are part of the history of this region, and should be interpreted. It may seem that since strip-mining and mountaintop removal do not take place in the park, this part of the story need not be addressed. However, we might assume that some of the profits from mining the New River coals were invested in the development of the mining technology used in mountaintop removal, the source of record quantities of coal that speed through the Gorge daily. We might also predict that the disappearance of mountains and hollows not far from the park could affect the composition of the mixed mesophytic forest in this region, and could exert further pressure on the parks to meet the needs of local communities that have lost the forested coves, hollows, and ridges adjacent to their homes.

Figure 38. Outline of mixed mesophytic forest region as defined by E. Lucy Braun, with counties surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers shown in black. Adapted by Mary Hufford from Loucks et al, 1994 and the Appalachian Regional Commission map of Appalachian Counties. (Courtesy Center for Folklore and Ethnography)

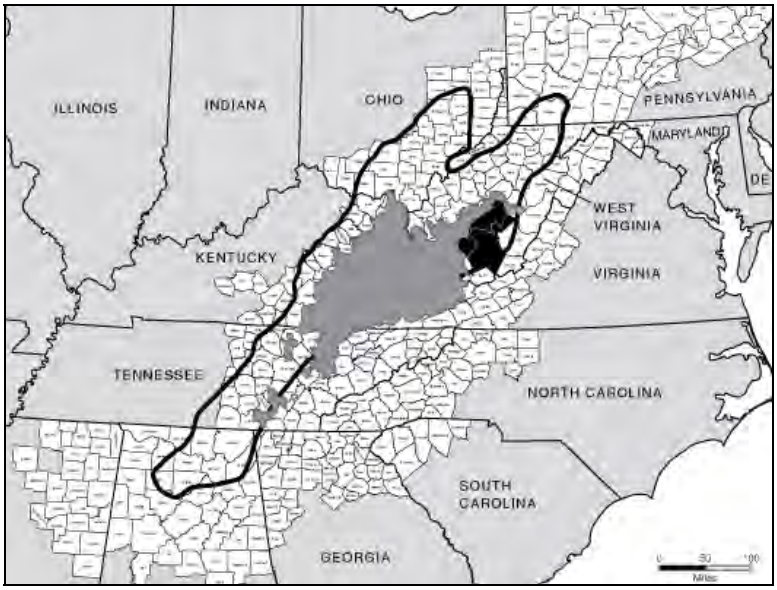


Figure 39. Outline of mixed mesophytic forest region as defined by E. Lucy Braun, with counties surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers shown in black. Shown in gray is the Mountaintop Mining and Valley Fill Study Area as defined by the US EPA. Adapted by Mary Hufford from Loucks et al, 1994, US EPA 2003, and the Appalachian Regional Commission map of Appalachian counties. (Courtesy Center for Folklore and Ethnography)

Although mixed mesophytic forest species are found outside of the outlined region, the outlined area in the figures defines the cove and hollow region that is the source of the eastern deciduous forests of the United States, and which has the capacity to incubate seed stock in times of severe climate change (Braun). If, as E. Lucy Braun surmised, the unglaciated cove and hollows of the Cumberland and Allegheny plateaus sequestered seedstock through the freezing temperatures of the ice age, the same climate-ameliorating capacity of the coves could shelter biodiversity in a time of global warming. Can the biocultural diversity of the region that includes the parks withstand the loss of hundreds of square miles of cove topography to mountaintop removal and valley fill? How can the seasonal round of the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed serve as a tool for park planners in anticipation of climate change?

THE MIXED MESOPHYTIC COMMUNITY FOREST AND WATERSHED IN THE TIME OF POST-COAL

Post-Coal is a misnomer. The industry continues to produce coal in record quantities, moving it toward distant markets through the Gorge daily. Post-coal really names the coal industry's disarticulation of itself from local workers and economies. This disarticulation began with the closing of mines in the Gorge, which was not always synchronized with the closing of towns. Mines began opening with the completion of the railroad in the 1870s. The last mine to open was the mine at Ames in 1941. Mines closed as they were worked out, and were still closing well after the period of peak occupation on New River. When Sewell closed in 1888, the whole town was moved to Clifftop. Kaymoor Number Two closed in 1922, but Kaymoor Number One operated until 1962. Between 1942 and 1967, mines closed at Claremont, Fire Creek, Stone Cliff, Minden, Elverton, Sprague, Nuttallburg, Whipple, Summerlee, Brooklyn, Garden Ground, Fayette Station, Carlisle, and Terry. After Ames opened, there were no new mines nearby for miners to work in, but the introduction of the automobile had already made it possible for miners to live and work in different places.

For many people living in the region then, "post-coal" names a strange scenario. The natural resources, the minerals and timber, are owned by the same corporations that owned them a century ago. Technological advancements have made these corporations independent of the local work force. With so few coal miners, the industry becomes somehow less visible, as do the communities. Yet the past is so dominant in the images of industrial history offered to park visitors and whitewater guests that it contributes to the impression that the communities associated with the landscapes of the gorge are gone.

Figure 40. The empty safe remaining at the site of the former Brooklyn Company Store.

WHAT BECAME OF THE COMMUNITIES?

The census figures for these districts, from 1870 to 1960 show the rapid appearance and disappearance of place names, and register a pattern of growth and subsequent decline expressed in the official historical narrative. But the overall pattern of decline indicated in the figures is not as dramatic as it appears when viewing the New River Gorge in isolation from the plateaus as the space in which the history of industrialization is illustrated. The populations themselves have not in fact disappeared: many who live in developments and towns around the perimeters of the park either grew up in communities in the Gorge or are descended from people who worked there.

In some instances it appears that communities were relocated as units. Some companies managed the relocation of families. Kaymoor Bottom emptied out into Kaymoor Top; Nuttallburg was moved to Clifftop; Duneden moved the Concho families to Terry. In other cases, real estate enterprises (some of them apparently reincarnated mining companies) built tracts of housing on

the plateau. Homeseekers built Harlem Heights, which became a home for many of the black coalminers moving out of Minden. A man named Green bought the land at Greentown with the intention of parceling it out to black families. In other cases, the coal companies simply sold the houses to miners. This is why there are people living in Brooklyn, Rock Lick, Minden, Terry, Thayer, Price Hill, Scarbro, Whipple, Carlisle, and so forth. Some families were able to move back to their farms. Some of the original families are said to have sold their houses to people who had never lived in the Gorge before.

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[1] In the late 19th century, speculation about who the moundbuilders were led the Smithsonian to sponsor archeological investigations at Fort Ancient and the Bluestone Reservoir. Archeologist Ralph Solecki concludes that while the Fort Ancient and Bluestone Reservoir sites show evidence of occupation by related pre-historic aboriginal groups, it is not possible to relate the aboriginal groups to the historic groups known to traverse the area, including Cherokee, Siouan, Iroquois and Algonquian tribal groups, who used the upper New River Valley as a path across the Alleghenies (Solecki 1949: 420). Such trails, linking Virginia with Kentucky and Ohio, also formed early routes of access for European settlers, who in settling Crump's Bottom emulated the prehistoric location of a gateway to the region just south of present-day Hinton (Solecki 1949: 322). Because this was a known Warpath, a number of forts were built there as well by ancestors of many who presently live in the region.

[2] The massacre and captivity and escape of Mary Ingles is the topic of James Alexander Thom's novel *Follow the River*.

CHAPTER THREE: THE TRANSITION FROM INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM TO TRAVEL CAPITALISM

BETWEEN THE TIME OF COAL AND THE TIME OF THE NATIONAL RIVER

The demise of the coal industry in the New River Gorge formed a cataclysmic rupture for communities, but it was not the first such rupture. The saying, "They kicked us out of Scotland, they kicked us out of Ireland, they kicked us out of Pennsylvania, and when we got to West Virginia, we said, By God, we're not leaving here," encapsulates both a historical process and a will to survive culturally, and implies a set of strategies for such survival. This survival depends on the stability of an institution that transcends the present generation, locating people within a social body with a shared past and future. Supporting a distinctive land and kinship-based society and economy, the community forestland drained by the headwaters of the Kanawha River forms such an institution. In the region's present transition from industrial capitalism to travel capitalism we see once again a redefinition of corporate identities in relation to the land.

Of special interest in historical discourse is the use of first person collective pronouns "we" and "us," as in the following discussion of how after the demise of coal in the 1960s, the New River and the company-owned lands continued to serve communities as they had during the time of coal:

Interview with consultants from Edmond and Terry:

MH: So there was a period between when the coal companies emptied out and the park service

FP: Quite a long period, yeah.

MH: It became sort of an area that people used a lot

FP: Yeah, we used to go down and stay in the old abandoned houses.

GL: Yeah. Locals used this area a lot before the park got here. They started putting restrictions on what they could do. We used to camp in the old houses, have fires outside, do anything you want to. We used to have a lot of that.

FP: Coal companies didn't police it – they didn't put any restrictions on it. They were interested in the timber and coal. They didn't care if you hunted or fished or camped.

The use of the word "we" in these interviews points to an identity issue, raised also in an encounter witnessed by Tom Carroll when he accompanied a consultant into the park. As the consultant stopped to pick up a piece of dead wood, an NPS law enforcement officer drove by, stopped, and challenged the man picking up the wood. The officer told the man he could only pick up wood if it was on the road. "So," said the man, seeking clarification, "If it's in the road, it's ours, and if not, it's yours?"

The incident illustrates the local classification of the Park Service as "not us." The historical framework for relating to the Park Service is drawn from the history of relating to absentee landlords and landholding companies, which own close to 80% of the land in three of the counties surrounding the parks (see Table 10).

Table 10. Land Holding Company Acreages by County

	Fayette	**Nicholas**	**Raleigh**	**Totals**
Total acreage	426,560	362,092	390,496	1,179,248
Holding co. acreage	251,031	247,980	271,979	770,990
Chessie	44,064	60,905	79,215	184,184
Westvaco	11,211	60,392		71,603
Westmoreland Coal Co	9,555		48,091	57,646
Rowland Land Company			54,180	54,180
NW Railway Co	22,693		26,304	48,997
John Nuttall Est.	35,951			35,951
Eastern Associated Coal	34,544			34,544
Berwind	27,115		1,398	28,513
Georgia Pacific	11,833	13,972		25,705
Pittston Company	780	22,000		22,780
Piney Coking Coal & Land			24,143	21,143
Bethlehem Steel		16,700		16,700
Tioga Lumber		16,594		16,594
Southern Land Co.			16,060	16,060
Black-Mist Fuel		12,610		12,610
Cherry River Coal & Coke		11,400		11,400
Flynn Coal & Lumber		10,500		10,500
Kanawha Gauley Coal & Coke	10,352			10,352
Allied Chemical	7,422		2,808	10,230
Clearfield Bituminous		10,200		10,200
Wilcox Industries, Inc			10,162	10,162
Imperial Colliery	10,063			10,063
Federal Coal Corp		9,015		9,015
J.L. Beury Estate	8,700			8,700

	Fayette	Nicholas	Raleigh	Totals
Union Carbide	8,500			8,500
McCreery Coal Land			7,460	7,460
American Electric Power	4,025			4,025
Amherst Coal Company		3,692		3,692
Charleston National Bank	3,623			3,623
Consolidation Coal			2,138	1,138

The Land-Based Livelihood of Kin in the Time of Travel Capitalism

Like the coal industry, the tourist industry is tied to fluctuations in the world economy. The land and kinship-based livelihood of kin that supported people through the boom and bust cycles of the extractive industry continues to form a hedge against economic crisis during downturns that affect tourism. The question for this study is whether the land and kinship based economy continues as something truly land-based and if so, how is it anchored in the land and renewable resources of the New and Gauley River basins? In some ways, the problem for this ethnography, which is "who are the traditionally associated communities and where and how do they express themselves?" is the problem with which communities themselves grapple daily: How can we hold ourselves together when we are scattered in so many places? Resisting displacement has become a salient cultural imperative. A consultant for the 1991 American Folklife Center field survey talked about how moonshining enabled him to stay in the region in the 1960s when everyone else was leaving. Many families who hold onto places in the New and Gauley River basins express a striking commitment to place as one that requires living on lower incomes, and is far more rewarding than the larger paychecks that come with having to live away for many years.

An institution in its own right, the homeplace emerges out of a pattern in which children move somewhere nearby the parents, whose home becomes "the homeplace" for grandchildren. "Homeplace" generally refers to the place where the grandparents and/or generations before them lived. It is possible for different generations of a family to have different homeplaces, which become a significant destination for families attending reunions. Reunions and homeplaces continue as expressions of a cultural formation that Ron Eller calls "familism."

The Economy of Barter and Borrow and the Concept of the Commons

In a practice of piecing together available resources, the livelihood of kin uses extended networks of family and property opportunistically to fill in gaps that arise when people are laid off or need to migrate elsewhere for work or become sick or elderly or fall behind in paying rent or utilities. A love of family and the land is related to an enthusiasm for growing things in order to sustain family and community. These feelings are reinforced in churches through the biblical metaphor of husbandry, the loving care for the land (Titon 1988). We met many people who help elderly neighbors to plow and plant a patch of earth, and who grow enough produce to supply some to those who cannot garden. In Glen Jean, Ellis Ross farms the bottomland on Dunloop Creek that his grandfather purchased around the turn of the 19th century, giving away most of what he raises.

Figure 41. Chuck and Maxine Ross, harvesting produce from their garden on Dunloop Creek, in Glen Jean, which Chuck's grandfather started.

'...Do The Best That I Know How, As Long As It Is Honest Labor'

State's First Black Woman Coal Miner, Maxine L. Barron, Says Mining Provides Her Chance For 'Nice Home, Job Security'

BY: D. THOMAS CORDLE

"The guys think that I am really lucky because I can stand up when they must bend over to walk." This comment was made by Maxine Lovil Barron, 25, the first black female coal miner in the state. She is 5 feet 1 inch tall (or short) and weighs 130 pounds.

"I tried to get into the mines for three years, but with no luck. One local coal company threw my applications away two times and the last time that I applied I warned them that I would go to see a lawyer if they 'lost' it again! Finally I did make a visit to the division of human rights. When I was offered a job by Central Appalacian Coal Company at the Morris Creek mines, I took it because I had been checking on it every day for two months!"

A 1970 graduate of East Bank High School, Maxine or "Pinkie" as her friends call her, presently lives at 800 Fourth Avenue in Montgomery. Pinkie says that her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Manuel Barron of Morris Drive, and family told her to "just forget it!" when she mentioned that she was considering entering the mines.

"My sisters were shocked," laughed Pinkie. "My friends insisted that the work was too hard for a man and that I shouldn't even try.

"But I decided that I had to do something in life to provide for myself. Not having a college education and not being able to just stop and go to school, I must do the best that I know how, as long as it is honest labor. So I went into the mines for security for myself and my four year old son, Stephen."

Maxine explained that a lot of people had tried to scare her with black lung, but she stated, "I don't think that I will get black lung if I stay where I am presently working. We don't seem to have the same conditions that the older miners had. It is really quite clean, but I guess I am certainly no expert when it comes to predicting pneumoconiosis."

Presently Ms. Barron is the only negro on her shift (midnight) and the only woman in her mines. There is another woman employed by Central Appalachian at the Coalburg site. Before entering the mines employees are required to take two weeks of safety training with classes in first aid, fire protection, and how to survive in the mines. When asked how she felt the first time that she went into the mines she replied,

"O, man alive! I wasn't scared or anything. The mines didn't scare, me so the guys tried playing around to frighten me, but I knew that they were just jiving! I really enjoyed it because it seemed like another world to me! Nevertheless, I did stay mighty close to my boss, just like a shadow!"

She has been working the "hoot-owl" shift for over four weeks now as a general laborer. Her work entails such things as rock dusting, putting up timbers, and moving things. She says that she would like to run the buggy, a machine that loads coal onto the belt line, but since she is a red cap (at least until December) she is not allowed. Next month she plans to join the United Mine Workers of American union.

"It feels funny to be around a lot of men, but I am hanging in there because they do treat me nice and with respect. I just try to be like one of the guys."

At first, Maxine was a bit apprehensive about being around males because of frequent cursing and dirty jokes, but she has found that it isn't like that at all. "Sure they

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MAXINE L. BARRON

Figure 42. Newspaper article about Maxine Ross, Glen Jean resident, who was the first black woman coal miner in the state.

Diversifying activities is one key. Tom Carroll points out that Leroy Harrell has done this, distributing his eggs into three different baskets: a store, a fifty-acre farm, and the army. The military continues to play a role in this patchwork. West Virginia, for instance, lost more soldiers per capita in the Vietnam War than any other state. How many from the New River and Gauley River Basins have died in the wars, from the Revolutionary War to the Iraq War, including the Mine Wars? The land-based skills that have developed over generations play an important role in this patchwork, which offers an indigenous model that combines cultural conservation, resource stewardship, and sustainable livelihoods.

Division of labor is another another key. It is important to note that the distribution of knowledge and memory is not uniform, that it relates to the distribution of the population across a landscape that is itself highly differentiated. The knowledge distributed among river people around Hinton could be very different from the knowledge distributed among communities in the

upland agricultural areas and on the plateaus around the lower New River. And for each tributary there will be some people who are very knowledgeable about different aspects of history, culture and ecology. Examples of this will be considered in the New River section.

There is also a voluntary distribution of labor involved in maintaining this system, and therefore the knowledge required for participation is differentially distributed as well. Not everyone has the knowledge or capacity to build a john boat or batteau, find ginseng, or make a basket, recite genealogy, tend a garden, preserve produce, set a trotline, or get a job with a coal or chemical company or teach high school or college or drive a bus. But people seem to know where to go to find someone who does. This distribution of labor and knowledge can give an impression of fragmentation, but the system seems to be self-correcting up to a point, and what seem to be cultural discontinuities or ruptures can turn out to be on closer inspection innovative ways of keeping the system alive.

Finally there is a particular concept of and practice of the commons. The practice of the commons in southern West Virginia relies on a concept of property that may be endemic to the Central Appalachian coal region, and which may be quite strange to non-West Virginians. Elizabeth Watson, a woman who worked for Jon Dragan in the 60s, then worked for the first Park Superintendant, Jim Carrico, and now is the postal carrier for Kaymoor, Cunard, and Brooklyn, commented on her initial surprise at what seemed to her a curious local concept of property. She moved from Northern Indiana, where she said property was strictly divided up and parceled out, and to go on the property of another without explicit permission is trespassing. But here, she noticed, people seem to move freely across the property of others, in apparent accord with what seems to be an unspoken agreement. “It’s logical when you think about it,” she told me. “But it took me ten years to grasp the concept of property held around here.” The concept treats landscape as a commons through which people can travel to get to resources needed for survival, but the commons has also been a fluctuating and negotiable social and cultural institution which articulated with the absentee landholding property system in southern West Virginia.

In Raleigh, Fayette, and Nicholas Counties, close to 80% of the land is controlled by absentee landholding companies (see Table 10). This pattern does not exist in Summers County, which is more like Monroe County in the continuity of its land use. Barbara Rasmussen observes

that, although Monroe County looked with envy on the development of neighboring coalfield counties, it is likely to fare better in the future because of the control it has maintained over its resource base (Rasmussen 1994).

As the successor to and neighbor of a number of absentee landholding companies, the Park is implicated in the future of this commons. This does not mean that the park should open up its resources to local harvesters, but that it might exercise leadership in identifying and ameliorating the conditions that lead to the loss of the forest commons. The question of how much people would rely on resources found in the National Parks where there are no legal barriers is difficult to answer. Even outside the park, such practices as subsistence gardening and harvesting of NTFPs for domestic use are barely monitored. The statistics maintained by the West Virginia Bureau of Employment do not pick up the people who are caught in a pattern of circular migration that is this century's version of the farmers who worked in the mines only until they had the cash they needed. Participation rates (the number of employable people who work) in 2002 for the counties surrounding the park are as follows:

Fayette: 46.7
Nicholas: 51.4
Raleigh: 57
Summers: 42.7

What these figures do not register are the ways in which, and the extent to which, people may incorporate part-time employment into a patchwork of diversified survival strategies.

Within the land-based kinship system, while some members of an extended family may work full-time nearby or out-of-state, others are taking care of elderly and children, raising fruits, vegetables, and livestock for sale and home consumption, producing crafts for sale, working seasonally for the tourist industry, and swapping favors and work. Practices that rely on access to forests and rivers, such as hunting, gathering, and fishing, figure as part of this land-based kinship system. Neither gardens, which are particularly productive in this system, nor non-timber forest products are considered in the reports put out by the Department of Agriculture.

The point here is that the reliance on renewable resources such as those contained in the park should be viewed in the context of the land and kinship-based, partly monetized economy of

barter and borrow that distinguishes this region culturally, socially, and economically. Because land and family are so intertwined that is impossible to separate them in conversation with people, the land with which people are familiar becomes a resource not only for physical reproduction, but for cultural reproduction. The tending and harvesting of public resources is, traditionally, and ideally, tempered by a sense of social obligation to family and community.

Indeed, the sense of connection created through participation in the community forest and river persisted beyond the time of coal and well into the time of the National Rivers. That part of the community's identity remained stable, and is reflected in the following comments:

> "Some people call us Southerners, but I don't think of myself as Southern. Or Northern. I just live here on the Allegheny Plateau. It's different from either section."
>
> "My people were here before industry and they got along just fine. And the people here behind us will get along just fine, and we won't be tied to a coal economy."
>
> "I worked for the railroad for a while, started on steam engines. But I think of myself in terms of the river. The railroad is secondary."
>
> "I've worked in construction all my life, but really I consider myself a ginsenger."
>
> "They're taking our dignity by destroying our forest."
>
> "Johnny was married to the river."

In the "post-coal" era, the New River has taken on a heightened identity as public space for coalfield communities, uniquely grounding a collectivity related through ancestors who worked in the Gorge and on the surrounding plateau region. From new homes on the plateaus and in the surrounding mountains, as well as from homes and from camps on the riverside, people still used the resources of the river and surrounding forestland as they had when living in the gorge, up until park legislation expressly prohibited such activities.

The following graphic of a regional seasonal round represents the diversity of options supported by the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed (see Figure 43).

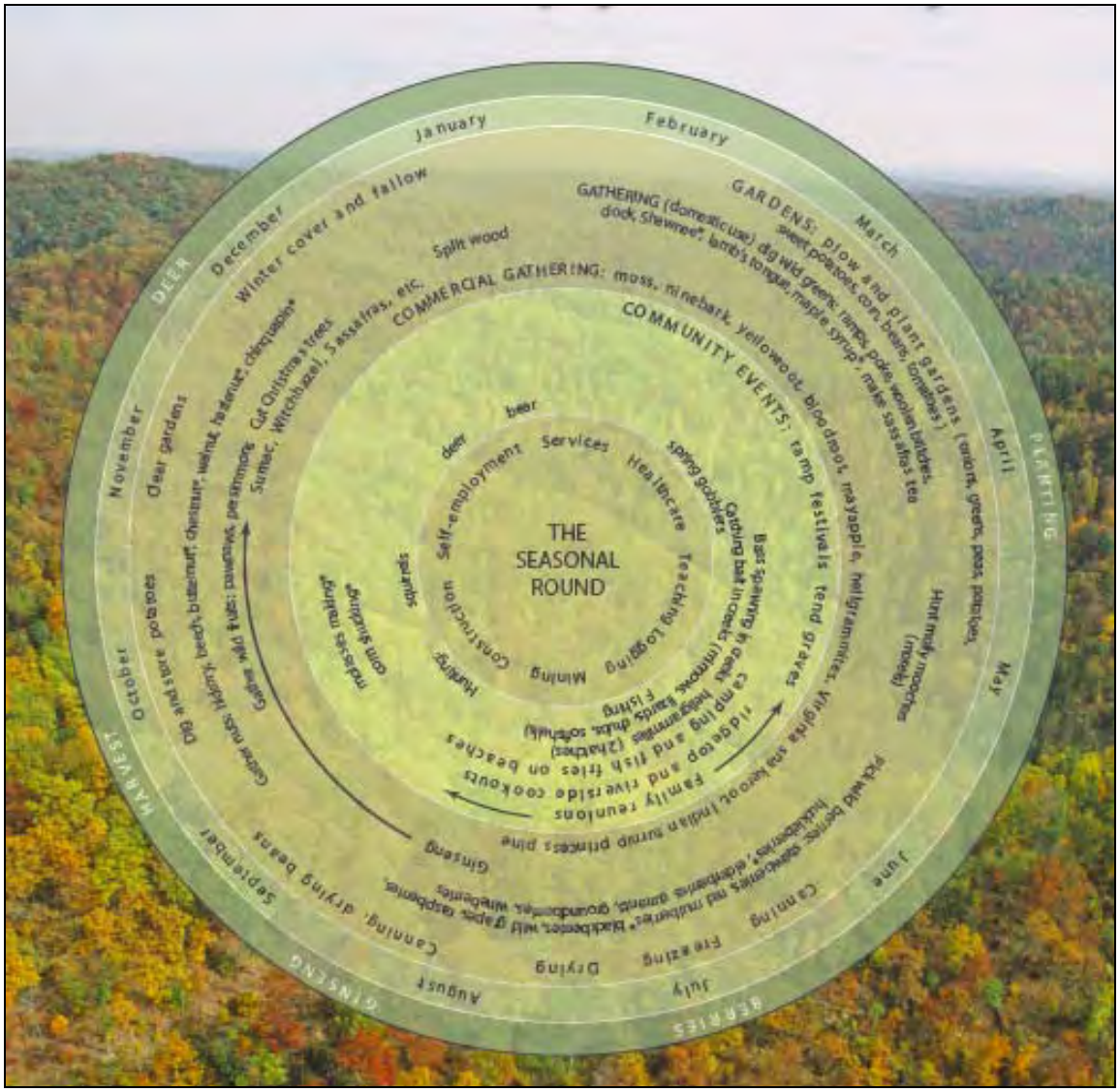

Figure 43. The seasonal round of the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed. (Source: Center for Folklore and Ethnography, University of Pennsylvania; adapted from original for American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, based on field sketches and interviews by Mary Hufford)

In interviews with some of our consultants on the New and Gauley Rivers, we tested a model of the seasonal round developed in interviews with residents on Coal River. This graphic required only slight modifications to reflect the practices afforded by proximity to the New River. This proximity has allowed for greater participation in the amenities of a deeper and wider river, as well as participation in the travel capitalism that has developed on New River, but not on Coal River.

In the following sections on the New and Gauley Rivers, we consider the practices that make up the seasonal round. We look at how these culturally renewing activities structure participation in a multi-generational time frame and related places on the landscape. The seasonal round is a vital means of producing and reproducing locality and populating it with local subjects, and New River, as Dave Milam told Tom Carroll, is the key.

CHAPTER FOUR: ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES OF THE NEW RIVER GORGE NATIONAL RIVER

By Mary Hufford and Thomas Carroll

INTRODUCTION

"Everyone went to the River."
"The River is the key." – Dave Milam

During this study we interviewed people in the following communities along the New River: Hinton, Meadow Creek, Ramp, Layland, Meadow Bridge, Beury Mountain, Highland Mountain, Danese, Thayer, Thurmond, Terry, Prince, Quinnimont, Grandview, Shady Springs, Beckley, Minden, Scarbro, Fayetteville, Oak Hill, Kaymoor, Cunard, Edmond, Winona, Nuttallburg, Ramsey, Lansing, Rock Lick, Glen Jean, Dewitt, Brooklyn, and Ansted. Our interviews and documentation took us into vicinities drained by every major tributary in the New River Basin. In our interviews we explored:

- family and community history;
- present and historical land-use patterns and relationships to forest, mountains, streams and rivers;
- local ecological perceptions;
- practices of gardening, hunting, camping, fishing, gathering, worshipping, traditional crafts and forms of recreation, home-building and home-making, and other aspects of life in the region;
- the impact of the New River Gorge National River on access to resources fundamental to continuing local participation in the community forest and watershed.

Whenever possible, we accepted offers for guided tours of portions of the park that our consultants wanted to show us, and we made photographs of traditional uses in the present.

The northern and southern portions of the New River are strikingly different in character, a difference that relates to sharp contrasts in geological make up, and the resulting differences in

the ways in which these areas were settled and developed. The New River Gorge developed differently from the areas around the Greenbrier and the Gauley Rivers because the gorge itself inhibited the standard pattern of settlement at the mouths of tributaries. People settled the headwaters of the New River tributaries many decades before industrialists created coal towns in the gorge. Some descendants of settlers moved into coal towns in the gorge and migrated out of the gorge back to mountain farms, or into towns and new developments on the plateau.

The coal industry radically disrupted local patterns of land use. It turned a transnational rural farming population into an industrial work force, and then eliminated most of the jobs, triggering massive outmigration of workers in the mid-20th century. During the industrial period, coal towns became crucibles of cultural encounter among European immigrants and mountain populations. The communities surrounding New River have maintained ties to land and family in the face of persistent diaspora. In the following pages we explore the role played by the resources of the National Parks in contemporary community life, as well as some of ways in which National Park policies and regulations have made traditional access more difficult.

HINTON AND FAYETTEVILLE: GATEWAY COMMUNITIES

Hinton

With the exception of Jumping Branch, the region centered on Hinton has no significant deposits of coal. Therefore, as seems to be the case around some of the older Meadow River communities, the old land grant families and their descendants have retained some control over the way the region developed. A number of consultants with whom Tom Carroll spoke expressed a desire to make more of Hinton's historic claim to the position of gateway to the region. Located just north of Warford (near Crump's Bottom and Indian Creek) Hinton is a site that has, since prehistoric times, provided access to points north and west. Having grown up around the earliest settlement in the region (at the confluence of the Greenbrier and the New), and having developed into a city in relation to the railroad that connected Richmond with Cincinnati, Hinton has historically served as a gateway to the New River. Hinton pivots between the sites of the oldest European settlement on the Upper New, the Greenbrier and the Bluestone, and the sites that opened up on the plateaus along the Lower New following the battle of Point Pleasant.

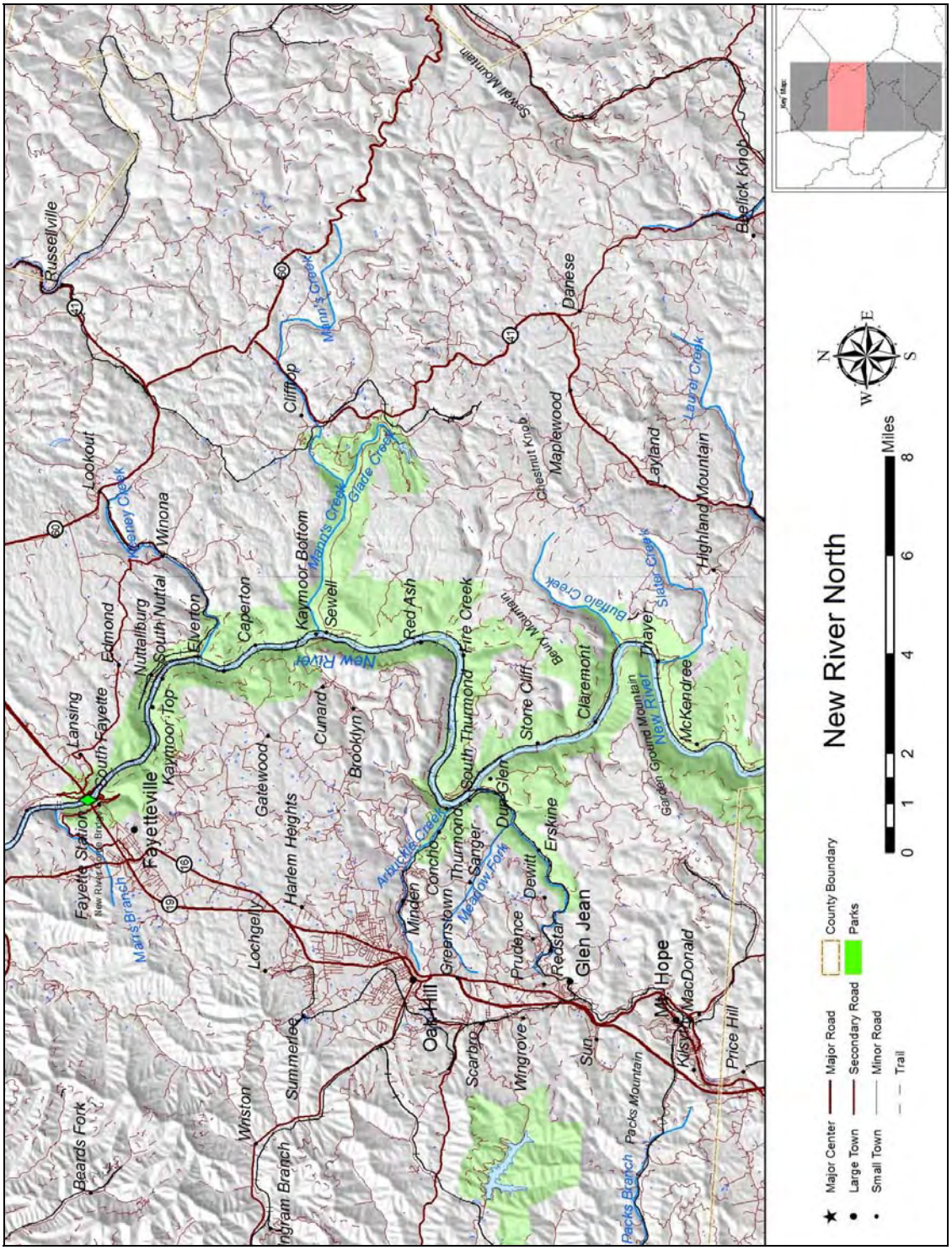

Figure 44. Detail of New River North and surrounding study area. (Produced by Darryl Depencier for the Center for Folklore and Ethnography, University of Pennsylvania)

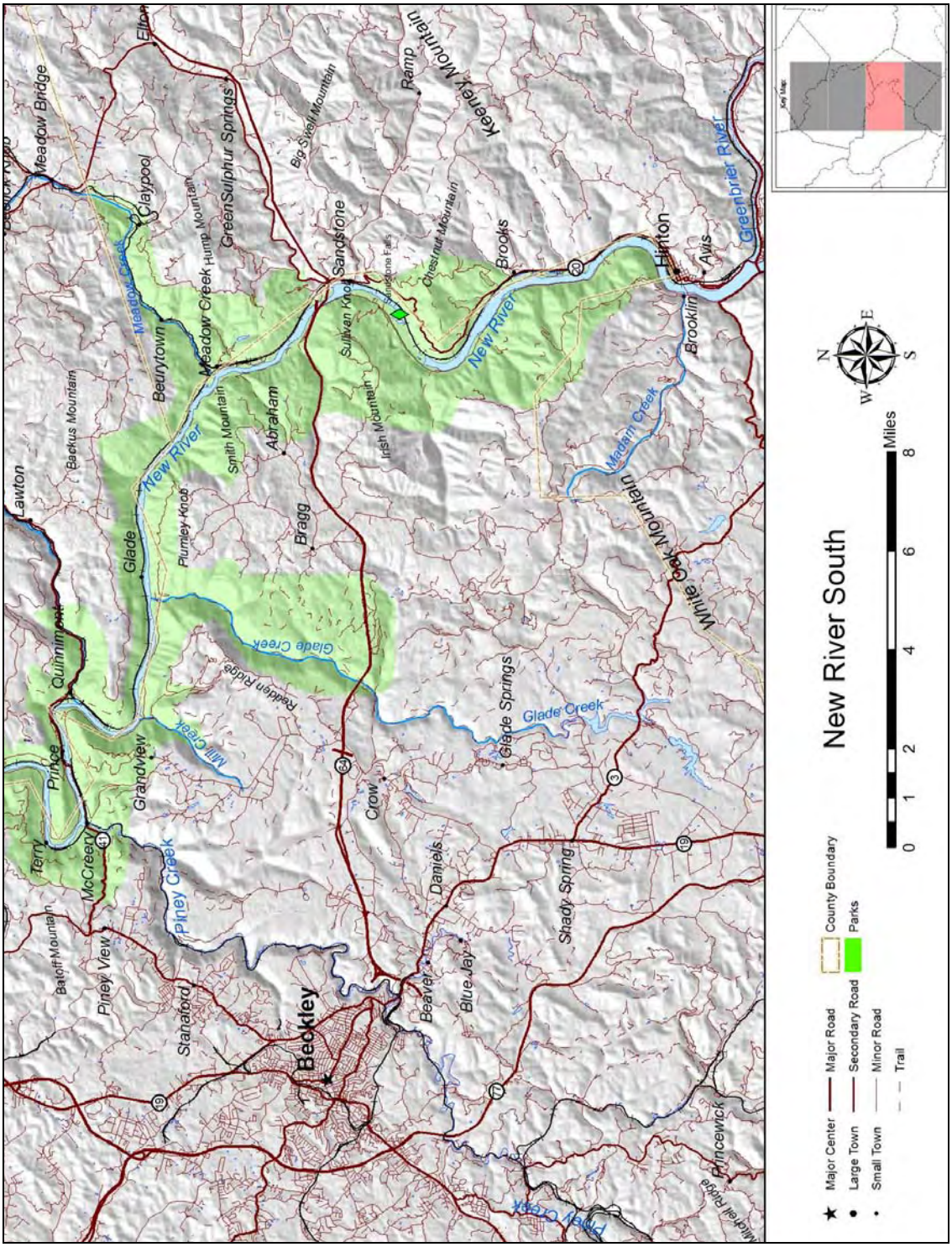

Figure 45. Detail of New River South and surrounding study area. (Produced by Darryl Depencier for the Center for Folklore and Ethnography, University of Pennsylvania)

Hinton is still the town center for many of the old mountain farming communities of Summers County and western Greenbrier County, including Chestnut Mountain, Hump Mountain, and Keeney's Mountain. These communities are more remote than the upland agricultural communities that grew up along the Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike to the west of New River, and the Midland Trail to the east. A deep and rich sense of historic participation in these landscapes suffuses the conversations in places like Proctor Kirk's restaurant on the Bluestone River.

But while the mountains form an important backdrop to life in the region, the river is in many ways the most public space, functioning much as the plaza or town square does in more urban settings. The river is where people go to see others and to be seen themselves. Participation in the river and in fishing informs, as one man told Tom Carroll, a lingua franca around here that elsewhere is the function of talk about sports. This man's mother always asked, "How's the river?" If you grow up on the river, you love it, he told Carrroll. "It breaks your heart to move off." Hence the proliferation of fishing camps along the river. Tracking the status of resources is the function of talk in settings up and down the New, Gauley, and Greenbrier Rivers. Bait hatches in creeks in a particular sequence. "Indian Creek's in," someone will announce in Kirk's. Such talk is a social obligation. "Someone must have cut that walnut tree down," commented one proprietor. "I haven't heard anyone mention it lately.

Participation in an annual round of fishing and bait gathering also informs a keen sensitivity to river ecologies in the southern district. People registered concern over the ecologically disastrous effects of the Bluestone Dam, and expressed hope that the upper end of the river could be developed as a tourist destination for low adrenalin (family) boating excursions, which the calmer water would support.

Fayetteville

The striking difference between the southern and northern districts of the New begins roughly around the place where bateau riders historically tied up their boats, at the foot of Batoff Mountain. Batoff Mountain, according to a number of consultants, got its name from this association with bateaus, and from which Batoff is supposedly derived. It is at this point, where the waters of Laurel Creek and Piney Creek empty into the New, that the intensive development of the Lower Gorge began. While there are other towns in this region (Beckley, Mount Hope,

Oak Hill, Meadow Bridge) the undisputed gateway for tourists appears to be Fayetteville, at the northern point of the Gorge. While there are distinct historical and cultural sedimentations in the town of Fayetteville, it is dominated in the summer months by the whitewater rafting and high-adrenalin adventurers, which are concentrated around the northern end of the Gorge, and their guests. While for communities around Hinton, access to the tourist market is an issue, for communities around Fayetteville, access to the river itself is the crisis, for people who feel displaced by the whitewater industry. Many of these people either live in the coal towns (Thayer, Brooklyn, Terry, etc) or used to live there, or are descended from people who lived there. There are also, in this region, descendants of coal operators, and of the Amherst County planters. A dismissive attitude toward subsistence lifeways still informs environmental decision-making. One descendant of a coal operator from Fayetteville commented that the people who feel so displaced were trespassing to begin with, and that the best thing to do is to document their traditions and display them at Canyon Rim.

Thus, while Hinton reflects on the sort of identity it wants to project to visitors, at the other end of the park the challenge will be to undo the identity that misreads communities and their environment. This identity problem needs to be compassionately addressed. In the historical narratives that we gathered, it becomes clear that what appears to the uninitiated park visitor to be vacant space is part of a cultural landscape that extends beyond the boundaries of the park. We suggest that membership in the communities that participate in the historical landscapes of the New River Basin and its tributaries is developed through daily association and practice, and that access to the river is vital to those associations and practices.

THE LOGIC OF CULTURAL RENEWAL ON NEW RIVER

The vernacular architecture found in the region around the lower gorge powerfully symbolizes a logic of cultural renewal at play in communities around the national rivers. In the 1991–92 folklife survey of the New River Gorge, folklorist Karen Hudson identified the diversity of materials used to express traditional architectural attitudes as a distinguishing expression of the region’s unique history. Homes and outbuildings combining cinder block, brickrete, red dog, and wood and stone from dismantled log dwellings manifest the continuing dialogue between

traditional ideas and historical developments, and the innovative use of materials at hand as the medium of expression (Hudson, 1993).

Figure 46. Home built of red dog blocks. Façade has been covered in permastone with a brick addition. Mount Hope, WV. (Photo by Karen Hudson. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Figure 47. Cinderblock warmhouse with stone foundation. Salem-Gatewood Road, Oak Hill, WV. (Photo by Karen Hudson. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Making space meaningful is a vigorous practice, and essential in a place that has had to strain so much history through so little time. Retrieving fragments from a way of life that is always changing and working them into new wholes is a source of satisfaction: the bricks from the Mount Hope bottling plant fashioned into a fireplace in a refurbished company home in Price Hill; the paw pole ladder used by miners ascending and descending between Nuttall bottom and Nuttal top reworked into a playground structure; the bells from the demolished mission churches at St. Anthony's, St. Casimir's, and St. Joseph's enshrined in a monument to European immigrants.

Figure 48. Jubilee Bells, a memorial honoring ethnic Catholic mission churches in Kilsyth, Scarbro, and Minden.

The mosaic tile flooring of the bank of Winona reframed by the free market economy of Anna's Country Crafts (see Figure 50).

Figure 49. The mosaic tile floor of the Winona National Bank, now an outdoor patio at Anna's Country Crafts, Winona, WV.

The concept of "bricolage," from the french *bricoleur*, handyman, is useful in thinking about the logic that coaxes a second life out of things that have been worn out or used up in a first life, the logic we see in quilting or auto repair work. What bricolage does for space, the seasonal round does for time. Participating in an annual round of sprouting greens and mushrooms, ripening fruits and nuts, hatching bait and fish, plowing, planting, harvesting, canning, and seasons for game, family reunions, and life cycle events, people locate themselves within a larger social collective and its history. Each practice in the seasonal round composes an environment for this collective.

Table 11. Seasonal Round of Activities on New and Gauley Rivers

Activity Type and Location	**Spring**	**Summer**	**Fall**	**Winter**
Gardens [S]	Plowing and planting (onions, greens, peas, potatoes, sweet potatoes, corn, beans, tomatoes)	Canning	Canning, drying beans, corn shucking, molasses and apple butter making, digging and storing potatoes, clearing gardens	Winter cover and fallow
Gathering (domestic) [M, MHS, T/C, S, T/R]	Gather maple sap to make syrup, hunt "molly moochers" (morels), make sassafras tea	Pick wild berries (strawberries, red mulberries, blackberries, wild grapes, raspberries, huckleberries, elderberries, currants, groundberries, wineberries)	Gather wild fruits (paw-paw, persimmon)	Split wood, cut Christmas trees
	Dig wild greens (ramps, poke, woolen britches, dock, Shawnee lettuce*, lamb's tongue)			Gather nuts (hickory, beech, butternut*, chestnut*, walnut, hazelnut*, chinquapin)
Gathering (commercial) [M, MHS, T/C, F/B, T/R]		Moss, ninebark, yellowroot, bloodroot, mayapple, hellgrammites, Virginia snakeroot, Indian turnip, princess pine	Ginseng	Sumac, witch hazel, sassafras
		Bait (minnows, nightcrawlers, lizards, chubs, softshells)		
Community events [S, M, R]	Ramp festivals	Camping	Family, town, and church reunions	
	Tend graves		Ridgetop and riverside cookouts	
			Fish fries	
			Baptisms and weddings	
Fishing [T/C, R]	Bass spawning in creeks	Hellgrammites (two hatches)		
Hunting [M, MHS]	Spring gobblers	Grouse, groundhog, opossum, wild turkey, raccoon, boars	Squirrels	Deer, bear
Seasonal commercial work [M, R, S, T/R]		Rafting, rock climbing		Skiing
		Tourist services (bus driving, food service, sales, etc.)		
Year-round work [M, MHS, S, T/R}	Construction, mining, logging, teaching, healthcare, services, self-employment			

Key to Locations:

M – Mountaintop
MHS – Mixed Hardwood Slopes
T/C – Tributaries/Creeks
F/B – Floodplains/beaches
R – River
S – Settlements, including old orchards and cemeteries
T/R – Trails/roadsides

We hear people saying that the community forest and watershed enables communion with ancestors who did the same things, neighbors who will want to know what you caught, and hope for descendants who might be able to as well. Caring for the community forest and watershed is a way of expressing respect for ancestors and neighbors, and a gift for descendants.

Gardening

David Allen Corbin's observation that gardens helped keep southern West Virginia non-union longer than other regions is resonant with Eugene Genovese's insights about slave gardens, which kept open the possibility of independence. Subsistence vegetable gardening is widespread in southern West Virginia. Women continue to can and freeze large amounts of produce which feed their families throughout the winters. Canned goods are abundantly stored in basements and cold cellars, and are offered for sale at gift shops during tourist season. This kind of activity is not accounted for in federal statistics on crop production.

Figure 50. Canned goods and potatoes stored in a root cellar on Dry Creek. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

How does gardening relate to the National Rivers? First, it was historically practiced in the gorge, and throughout park property. A man we interviewed in Thurmond said that it was not possible to garden in Thurmond, but that people who wanted to garden would walk over to Stone Cliff and grow what they needed. Sammy Plumley leases land from a utility company for his garden. Murray Shuff, who grew up in Stone Cliff, spoke of the "river garden" and the "mountain garden." The river garden was where people grew their lettuce, tomatoes, cucumbers, radishes, spinach and so forth. The mountain garden (known as a newground in other parts of the mountains) was where people would grow their "heavy vegetables" – their corn, beans, and squash.

Second, gardening relates to a widespread love of growing things that we have encountered in our conversations with people. People grow flowers as well as vegetables, and there is a consistent practice of transplanting native species to gardens around the home, including ramps, ginseng, dogwoods trees, trilliums and other wildflowers, paw paws, persimmons, red mulberries, walnuts and other species of nuts. Some of these transplants are simply for the joy of having the plants in order to watch them grow. William Wolfe, a ginseng dealer in Oak Hill, grows ginseng in order to teach neophyte diggers what it looks like. Another man told Tom Carroll, "I have some ginseng growing back there. I grow it and I leave it alone. They're the most beautiful stalks in the world. The squirrels eat the seeds."

Figure 51. A bed of "virtually wild" ginseng in Summers County. (Photo by Karen Hudson. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Pauline Sexton, of Kaymoor, recalled bringing things home from the woods just to plant them and watch them grow. This is not related to the taste for the wild, but to the love of making things grow. The privet hedge around her home was made out of starts from a neighbor's hedge, when the neighbor trimmed it. The hedge then becomes an expression of her relationship to her neighbor, a resource for making meaning.

Third, harvesting around the seasons is a practice that integrates cultivated produce with woods grown produce: before harvesting spring crops, one can harvest wild greens; between the time of harvesting spring onions and lettuce and the time of harvesting beans, one can pick wild berries; after harvesting winter squash, one can still harvest walnuts.

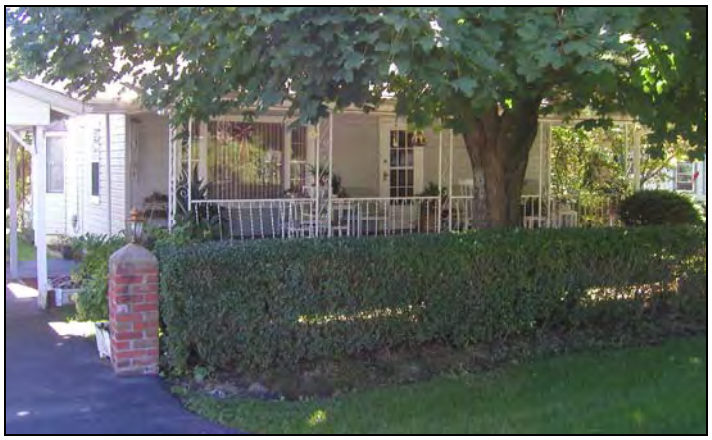

Figure 52. Privet hedge cultivated by Pauline Sexton from clippings from the hedge of a neighbor, Kaymoor Top.

Figure 53. Pauline Sexton, Kaymoor, W.V.

Figure 54. Catty Redden, Layland, with ramps, May 2005.

Leo Vento's parents came to Scarbro from Krakaw via Vermont. Their name was Wojtal, but local officials here changed it to one that sounded more Italian. In his interview with Ken Sullivan in the 1980s, he recalled that as a child he used to pick blackberries and chestnuts and chincapins. "You know what a chincapin is?" he asked Sullivan. "We used to know where all of those were."

Figure 55. Dorothy Grubb, gathering chincapins in the grove planted near her home on Highland Mountain.

Fourth, the old mountain gardens were often cultivated until the soil "wore out." Then the farmer might plant fruit trees and "let it go" for a period of forest fallowing. The apple orchards that grew in the woods were often pruned and harvested by members of the community. People with whom we spoke speculated that apple trees might still be present at Concho, and talked about the apple orchards that grew near McKendree Hospital. Such orchards are ecological signs of the possibility of morel mushrooms (also known as "molly moochers," "moodgins," and "merkles"), which tend to proliferate around the roots of old apple trees that have not been sprayed with fungicide. Fifth, the harvesting of produce from gardens and woods sustains an informal economy and system of supporting the elderly and others who cannot get out to garden or gather, or making one's resources available to neighbors and kin with less land.

Figure 56. Mary Lou Walker, Jayne Payne, and Pee Wee Walker, apple picking on Beury Mountain.

Gathering

> "They lived out of the woods. They lived on herbs, they lived on roots, they lived on wild game, fish from the river, that was their menu back in them days, really. They still do it." – John Wimmer, formerly of Elverton, now from Gatewood.

The list of seventy-six medicinal plants compiled by Maury and Fontaine in the 19th century includes a number of items that people continue to gather for sale and domestic use, but made no mention of other forest products that people gather and consume in the present, including black walnuts, ramps, morel mushrooms, chincapins, huckleberries, and paw paws. Native American artifacts like nutting stones and the presence of permanent nut cracking places in some households on Coal River offer a glimpse of the time-depth of the community forest. The

southern counties of West Virginia still lead the state in the production of wild ginseng, in this order: McDowell, Wyoming, Logan, Mingo, Boone, Raleigh, Kanawha, Greenbrier, and Fayette (Whipkey 2006).

People gather for both commercial and domestic use. We have spoken with four dealers in the region: Dave Cook, of New River Trading Company, William Wolfe, of Oak Hill, Tim Thomas, of Rainelle, and Randy Halstead, of Charleston. Ginseng is the most valuable of the gatherables, and is tracked by the state DNR, in accordance with CITES. There are very few people who would be considered full-time gatherers. Most go for particular products like ginseng, moss, and/or goldenseal.

Figure 57. Moss drying on a line along Route 41. (Photo by Lyntha Scott Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Tim Thomas, of Appalachian Herbs in Rainelle, distinguishes three kinds of people who harvest non-timber forest products (NTFPS) commercially: recreational harvesters, income augmenters, and subsistence harvesters. The recreational harvester is someone who is out in the woods for pleasure, on a Saturday or a Sunday, and happens to see some ginseng or moss or something else he knows he can sell, and gathers enough to pay for his trip. For the "income augmenter," harvesting NTFPS provides a second paycheck or an income during lay-offs. They need the money, and they have traditionally relied on land owned by the government or industry in order to make ends meet during these times. Tim Thomas commented to Tom Carroll:

> "I like those guys. They have an extremely good work ethic. They bring you a good product. They're real fair in their dealings, you know you don't have to watch em, that kind of thing, but they do that to augment their own employment,

> maybe their unemployment has run out – but usually it's to augment while they're looking for another job."

Thomas described the third group, the necessity harvesters, as:

> "those folks who work when they want to, the number of hours they want to, in order to get whatever it is that they want, but it is a main source of income to those folks…. They like this because they can get up at ten o'clock, they can hit the woods at 11:30, they can get back in about 4 o'clock, and they can make fifty or seventy-five bucks, and they're perfectly happy doing that. And that's enough for them."

In many cases, the streams form routes of access to hunting and gathering areas. Ernest Jones, of Brooklyn, observed that when the coal mines were operating, women would get out and gather wild greens, and miners would go ginsenging and looking for may apple and yellow root in the long, deep hollows like Pennbrooke and Rush Run. Catty Redden, of Layland, has harvested a wide variety of materials, including moss (which grows, she said, in deep shady places; stone root, which grows everywhere along the road, as well as yellow root (goldenseal), and may apples).

Gathering for domestic use is widespread, and has been touched on under gardening. Many people we spoke with gather at least one thing from the woods – ramps, molly moochers, blackberries, raspberries, huckleberries, paw paws, persimmons, beech nuts, walnuts (both white and black), hazelnuts, and chincapins.

Figure 58. Nutting stones, used from pre-historic times down to the present. Artifacts collected on Clear Fork, including nutting stone, with walnut. (Photo by Lyntha Scott Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Figure 59. Herman Williams, on Clear Fork, cracking walnuts on a permanent cinderblock "nutting stone," with his grandson, 1995. (Photo by Lyntha Scott Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Fishing

"I know every rock in that river." Sammy Plumley, Prince

Most of our consultants professed a passion for fishing, at least at some time during their lives. Some reported fishing in particular places, related to where they lived or their parents and grandparents lived. A consultant in Oak Hill reported taking his granddaughter fishing at Fayette Station where he grew up, until the whitewater business made it too difficult. Pauline Sexton, of Kaymoor, liked to fish at Cotton Hill. A woman in a bar in Minden said she still fishes every day at Cunard. People in Winona told us they like to go to the Water Tank, also known as Nuttallburg Hole. Sammy's Rock was given as the name of another place to fish. Paul Bennett, of Summerlee, said he took his grandson fishing on Laurel Creek, Loop Creek, and Wolf Creek. "I know every rock on that river," he said. Ernie Jones, of Brooklyn, said that the best fishing is at Red Ash, Rush Run, and Beury, where the longest eddy is. Red Ash Island, according to several consultants, is a good place to catch small mouth bass.

Frank Green said his best fishing happens at Ansted. Sammy Plumley cited Thurmond as a good place to fish. Sandstone Falls is said to be a good place for channel cats, Meadow Creek is stocked with trout, but native trout are known to swim in the right hand fork of Law Creek, and in Buffalo Creek at Thayer. Other creeks are distinguished as places that bass will swim upstream to spawn. “Not this creek,” said Harold Duncan, alluding to Dunloop. “It’s too steep. But they will swim up Piney Creek.”

Figure 60. Camp Sunnyside, on New River below Fayette Station. (Photo by Lyntha Scott Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Trot-lines

There is a rich cultural tradition of fishing at Hinton all along the river north and south, (as well as on the Gauley) and the traditional method of fishing is with trot-lines. Charles Wood, proprietor of Wood’s Memorial Clock Museum on Temple Street in Hinton, said that he never fished by any other method. “We fished trot-lines,” he told me. “Never a rod and pole [*sic*]. To sit on the side of the river with a fishing pole, waiting for them to bite, that never appealed to me at all.” Instead, trot-line fishing demands active engagement with the line, and attention to conditions on the river. Among a younger generation, Jack Hellems is a prominent trot-line fisherman. “I do trot-line fishing,” he told me. “Not many people do it, but I prefer it. You have multiple chances all night long. You have to check them by law at least once every 24 hours. Some check at night.”

According to Jack Hellems, trot-line fishing requires patience and skill. “If you fish with a trot-line, it’s an art, and it improves as you learn more. And the river changes and you have to change ways. Because everything changes. So you have to adjust.” Mr. Hellems learned to fish mainly from two local men who were master fishermen. “Jim Williams taught me to trot-line fish,” Mr. Hellems said. “I also learned a lot from Harry Gore. But they’re two different methods. Harry was laid back, but with Jim, it was *work*. I do it halfway now. I fish by myself, because nobody’s interested, interested in that kind of fishing.” Mr. Hellems explained that conditions were radically different when his teacher fished. “Mr. Williams was born on the river, came to Hinton on a raft. He fished to survive. And there was no class system, not like now. Everybody was at a disadvantage, people trying to survive… people subsisted.”

Most people we talked with about trot-line fishing indicated that relatively few people engage in it now. Meadow Creek was cited as a place where one might find a trotline. There is also a local tradition of scheduling fishing activity according to the signs of the zodiac, still in use among some people. Charles Wood, proprietor of the Wood Memorial Clock Museum on Temple Street in Hinton, first brought it to our attention. Mr. Wood is 86 years old, grew up on the river and operated the family ferry at Bull Falls, before leaving to work out of state for many years. The practice is based on the concept of the signs of the zodiac, and a relationship perceived between the signs, the moon, and the human body. The moon appears to move through the zodiac, as it rises or passes through each sign during the course of its monthly orbit. Meanwhile, each sign is associated with a part of the human body – one sign with the head, one with the neck, and so on. According to Mr. Wood, it is possible to catch fish only when the moon rises in the signs which are associated with the area between the shoulders and the waist, never when the moon is in the signs associated with the parts of the body below the waist. Jack Hellems also uses this method to schedule his fishing trips. “The old man who taught me how to fish, you fish by the moon sign. Zodiac sign of the moon. The Almanac tells when it changes. But after fishing for years, I can tell when to start. And it will be close. But I write them down… It’s the progression through the body of the sign, from head to feet. [From] the ending of the full moon….”

Fishing guide services are one way in which local knowledge of the river is recycled in the context of tourism.

Figure 61. Mike Menarchik, of Gone Fishing Guide Service, landing a smallmouth bass. (Photo by Lyntha Scott Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Figure 62. Frank Hartkenstein, operator of Frank's Bait Shop in Dewitt, shows off a customer's catch.

Bait Catching

GW: When I was a kid, in my early teens, I used to catch fish bait. You always knew when miners vacation was, so you go out and catch all the bait you could, then when they come down here to camp, you'd make some money selling them some bait, you know.

MH: The kids would sell bait to the miners?

GW: Oh yeah, that's the way you made your spending money.

Interview with Gene and Dreama Wilfong, Meadow Creek

> "There's a place called 'The Island', a place where the creek had filled in. We used to go there, turn rocks over, catch bait. Grampus and hellgrammites. And every fifth rock you got a water snake. Or we'd seine for minnows, or go to Sandstone. Little Falls, there was a swimming hole, up the hollow. Also, where the water tank was there was a natural soap dish in there. Had a baptizing in there a few years ago." – Hobart Adkins

Artificial lures are increasingly popular now, but our consultants almost universally agreed that live bait is a superior means of catching fish. Charles Wood always fished with live bait. "Minnows were good bait. We went to Lick Creek for them. Also grampus, hellgrammites. We went to Warford [for them]. Shallow water with a current. Turned the rocks over, got bait." Proctor Kirk agreed, but noted that "It bothers me that people don't go out and dig their own bait anymore…Want to go fishing? You go to the river bank, pick a set of shoals, pick hellgrammites, start fishing. So people like W.C. [Parker] set up…got a [bait] license…But the fish bait business is not what it used to be. We fished with live bait, now people use plastic stuff. They have it down to a science [the lure makers]. But live bait's better if you can get it. There was a tannery at Marlinton, they tanned hides, and it left a residue in the water, that provided feed for crayfish. So there was a big supply. Softshells grew and shed constantly because they molted regularly because of the food source. So crawfish are hard shell, but softshells molt when feed is in good supply…But the EPA went in, and made them put cleanup systems in. So now the softshells are exceedingly difficult to come by. So now only two people catch them." According to Mr. Kirk, the bait dealers keep their identities secret, and provide bait to established customers only.

Related to this, bait catchers develop relationships with particular dealers, for whom they agree to work exclusively. Catty Redden, of Layland, is one of the steady suppliers for Frank Hartkenstein, in Dewitt. There is a distinctive seasonal round for gathering bait, in which knowledge of the system of streams plays a role. Ms. Redden gets bait at Army Camp, Terry, and Quinnimont Bottom (at the train station) and then when it's "water time" or "Alderson time" she goes to Alderson. Through her seasonal round, places in the Gorge are linked to places outside. On the river she looks for hellgrammites on the bank, "anywhere there's a rock bar." She calls those "throw off spots," where the river curves and the water throws the hellgrammites into the rock bar. For lizards she goes to the creeks. "I make enough at bait to get me through the whole year," she commented.

Figure 63. Helgrammites, also known as "grampus" (the larva of the Dobson fly), in a bucket with moss at Frank's Bail Shop in Dewitt, WV.

Camping

MH: So you'd like to see public campgrounds, on the beaches –

GW: As close to the river as possible

MH: As close to the river as possible – is that something that people have always liked to do, go down and camp on the river?

GW: Yeah – that sort of originated from the coal mining days, the old coal mining days. The coal miners didn't make much money. They didn't go to Myrtle Beach (laughs). They went to their local riverbank and threw out the camp, and the family, and that's where they stayed for a couple of weeks, you know.

MH: And out of that grew a real custom that people cherish because it's--

GW: Yeah, you grew up with it

Interview with Gene and Dreama Wilfong, Meadow Creek

Longhunters and trappers who made their way into the region ahead of the settlers set up camps. Johnson's Branch, on the Loop Creek of the Kanawha, was first named Gunnoe's Camp Branch after a longhunter named Daniel Gunnoe who set up camp there. Arbuckle Creek is named for the Arbuckle brothers who did the same there. What is referred to as the Army Camp was initially named Camp Prince, when the Corps of Engineers stayed there in the late 1950s. Other place names register the practice of setting up temporary quarters in order to accomplish a job: Sugar Camp, Board Camp, Farley's Rooting Camp, or to escape into a different space: Camp Brookside and Camp Washington Carver. Many consultants recalled frequently camping on New River. During Miner's Vacation, which was for one week each summer in June, miners would

take their families to the river and camp. They would set trotlines, build campfires, and stay on the river. “A long time ago,” explained Chuck Ross, of Glen Jean, “That river was the beach for the people here. They couldn’t afford to get out. Like the miner’s vacation: you’d camp out on the beach down there.”

Pauline Sexton, of Kaymoor recalled that fishing and camping went together. “We used to go fishing down New River a lot, because we used to go down Fayette Station and go down there, and we’d camp down there over the weekend. We’d go right down on the river bank. Down Fayette Station.”

The practice was not limited to miners. Lucille Springfield, of Meadow Bridge, recalled coming with her family out of the hollow at Ramp to go down and camp along the river. “They would go down there a good bit. My brother would hitch hike or walk with some friends and spend the weekend there camping on the river and fish, and would come back Sunday afternoon. We didn’t own a car until just before we left West Virginia. We grew up without a car, and occasionally the whole family would go and camp there. We’d go to Sandstone and walk up the railroad tracks to the falls up there, and sometimes we’d take a tent. Mostly we’d camp under the shelter of the trees or the rocks or whatever. It was for pleasure.”

Maury and Fontaine added an interesting note about camping in their 1876 inventory of West Virginia resources:

> “In the southern counties a great deal of ginseng is collected. With many of the people of the back counties, the collecting of this plant forms an important business. In Lincoln, Logan, &c., entire families in summer leave their homes and camp out during the whole season. They, with their dogs and guns, make long journeys in search of the plant, going even into the mountains of remote eastern counties, such as Pocahontas, &c. Many tons of this material are thus gathered, whose ultimate destination is China.”

Indeed, on older maps of the region, places are marked with names such as “Farley’s Rooting Camp,” “Seng Camp Creek,” or “Board Camp Hollow.” And the practice of camping has antecedents in the region that pre-date European settlement, as archeological findings around rock “shelters” attest.

Camping continues along the river. Some people have houses that extended families use throughout the year, at Terry, Stone Cliff, and along the Greenbrier. Others have just owned camping spots that they go to and erect tents, and still others have simply gone to the river and pitched their tent where they could find a spot. One place where this was permitted was at the Army Camp across from Terry. People who still live in Terry and people who used to live in Terry recalled setting up at the Army Camp. They reported that the Park's injunction against camping and cooking out on the beach has stopped the group from using the area.

While people in Boone and Wyoming Counties, and in western Raleigh County continue to go camping during ginsenging season, camping out on New River appears to be more important as a means of taking a break from familiar surroundings while living, at least in part, off of the resources of woods or river. It provides people who no longer live near each other with an opportunity to set up a temporary neighborhood, for a week at a time, in order to fish, talk, swim, boat, and relax. "Nothing tasted any better than fried potatoes and stuff like that cooked on the riverbank," said Dreama Wilfong, who lives not far from the river in Meadow Creek. She and her husband Gene and their children would leave Meadow Creek and go to camp at a place near Sandstone called "the Drift." But people from elsewhere, they noted, would come and camp on the beach at Meadow Creek.

MH: So when you wanted to camp, you'd go somewhere else?

GW: (laughing) Oh yeah! Get away from here. The whole point of camping's getting away from home.

DW: But we'd take enough food to last us a few days, and you ate good on the riverbank.

Figure 64. Cookout on the beach, New River. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Fishing Camps and Family Cabins

Whether in a temporary structure like a tent, or in a permanent cabin, getting as close to the river as possible is a stated value. The cabins set up along the river in various places are part of a tradition that, according to Jimmy Costa, predates the Second World War.

> The fishing camps now. Interesting enough, the tradition seems to have been, it's prior to WWII -- there are pole log cabins that were built in the 30s up through here. There again, it was somebody who had some money, and needed a getaway place, people who lived in Beckley, Charleston, a lot of people on this bottom here are retirees from Union Carbide, and Monsanto and all, and they were buying places up here in the 50s, and so it was a little getaway from the city, build a camp, put a boat down on the river, and their families would come up on the weekends and holidays. Now it's the grandchildren are coming up with their families.

Between Fayette Station and Hawk's Nest there are a number of named fishing camps, which should be documented. Fishing camps, camping spots, and family cabins along the river all deserve in-depth study.

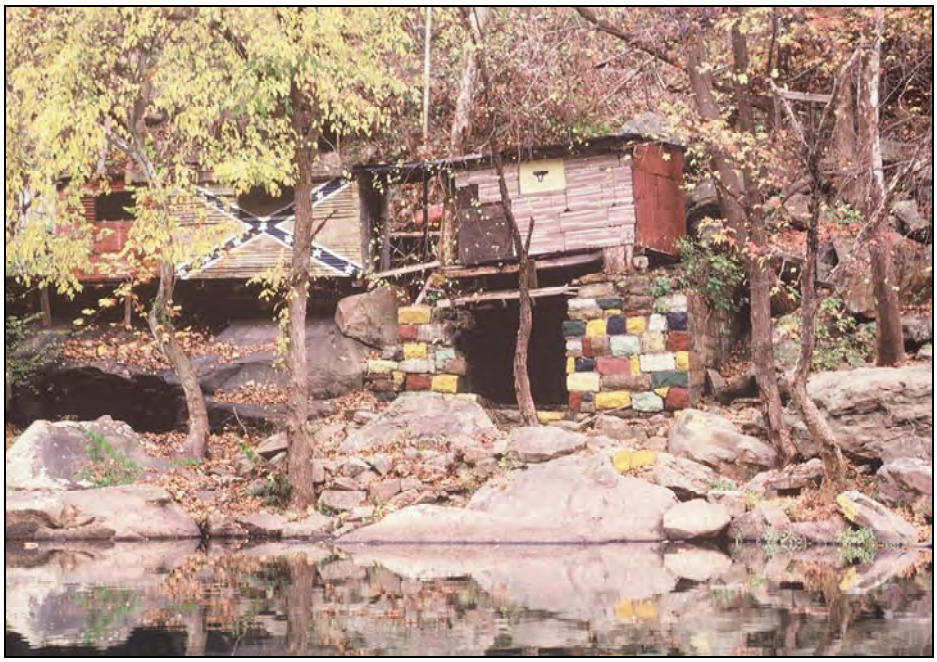

Figure 65. Fishing camp along New River. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Not all family cabins are near the river. During a homecoming at the New Life Baptist Church in Shady Spring, we pored over a map showing the Abraham-Pluto-Irish Mountain vicinity of the Park. Clyde and Lois Pack told us about the cabin they have on park property near Bass Lake, where they used to camp every weekend with their children. Lois explained:

> "Just use it for hunting and camping, and whatever. The access at the time we bought it was very poor, and we went down through below Sandstone Falls and we cut back up across the mountain and we hauled in dishes and cabinets and beds, and then when we went camping, we would park across from Bass Lake and we had a logging trail that went back up on the mountain and the front of it was nothing but cliffs, so we had to bypass the cliffs and get up the house!"

There are community leaders in Hinton who view the family camping tradition as a business opportunity, an asset to develop. W.C. Parker observed that:

> "The Greenbrier River, there are camps one right after another. People hit their camps, and it's big for business. But I sometimes think that people here don't appreciate that. Business people. My mother, her family has a camp on the Greenbrier. My sister has that. I got the island Bargers is like a small city…Barger Springs. Used to be a hotel there, now there's camps for a mile and three quarters, side by side."

Figure 66. Bass Lake, "where the Indians camped." (Photo by Terry Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Hunting

HD: You know, everyone used to hunt – it was a major event

LG: Years ago you were lucky to see an animal in the woods around here – they hunted everything just about to extinction.

PF: But it was for protein – everybody here knows what was for supper – you didn't get up in the morning and say, "Mom what are we having for supper?" because you knew you were going to have pinto beans – everybody liked to hunt groundhogs and squirrels, and we ate them.

So important is hunting in West Virginia that schools are closed during deer week, the first week of December. Hunting is a way of participating in the mountains and their social worlds, and a mode of raising children who learn how to read and interpret aural and visual signs, and how to escape detection by animals without being confused with animals by other hunters. Young boys will often begin learning to hunt by the time they are eight years old by hunting for squirrels.

Figure 67. Wesley Scarbro, watching for squirrels in a hickory grove, Rock Creek, WV. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Signs of the culture of hunting appear on the landscape and in talk throughout the year. In August merchants of some stores offer grains to plant to attract deer; in early fall one hears men

in local coffee shops and bars counting the numbers of prongs they've seen on some of the bucks traveling through the woods.

Figure 68. Sign advertising deer cane in August, near I-64.

In December signs advertising the services of deer dressers appear in shop windows.

Figure 69. Sign advertising deer processing in Shady Spring.

Referring to territory along the Greenbrier River, where Marlin and Sewell first encamped, which the Shawnee defended so vigorously during the 18th century, Leonard Cales, of Ramp, commented, "That's all good hunting country, all through there, plumb into Marlinton, and on up that way."

Skills associated with hunting include rifle-making, bow and arrow making, dog training (plots, walkers, black and tans, beagles, feists), tracking, animal calling (squirrels, turkeys), taxidermy, deer dressing, food preparation, and land management. Waterways form routes of access and points of reference. Game reported includes coon, rabbit, bear, deer, squirrel (fox and gray, not the red squirrels, locally called ferry diddles), wild hogs, quail, turkey, and doves.

Figure 70. Rev. Carter, retired from a career as a chef for the railroad, serving cherry pie for the Big Spring Hunt Club in 1992. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Figure 71. Rifle made by Mark Whitt of Shady Spring. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Popular places to hunt deer, squirrel, rabbit, grouse, and bear were mentioned during an interview with Greg Malcolm:

> "Beury Mountain here in our district, is a real popular hunting spot. During deer season that's a favorite place for a lot of people to go.… Garden Ground's good

> too. Beury's a pretty good sized area, and it's just always been a good area for people to hunt.… River right around Cunard there's what they call the Campbell Tract area, and a lot of people like to go in there to hunt.

There is also a tendency for people to return to places where they hunted as children, taking their children and grandchildren to those places. People who lived in the coal towns spoke of hunting in those vicinities. Pauline Sexton used to go hunting with her husband for turkey on Long Point.

> "He hunted everywhere and he liked to turkey hunt, deer hunt, squirrel hunt. All that. Ginseng. He'd dig ginseng too. I went with him, I went with him hunting too. He would just go in these woods out Long Point. You know about Long Point, I guess. That's a place where people can park and walk. And you can go all the way out. You can't get down, cause it's a cliff. It's called Long Point."

Elders in the community drew our attention to cycles in the abundance and scarcity of game. Hope Lewis recalled that the deer were scarce when she was a child:

> In the early days, there weren't any deer in this area. When I was a child, we never saw a wild deer, but now my husband, the last few years we were there, he had to put an electric fence up to keep them away from his apple trees and out of his strawberry patch. The fellow that bought my house said he came out once morning here while bak and said there was a big deer out there chomping his tulips, and he grabbed it by the horns, but he had to let it go. Said he slipped up on it. The deer, they're really thick here now. Back then, we never saw a deer. People from earlier had hunted them out, killed them all for food. And then, of course they've come back now. They had the season closed on them for years, you weren't allowed to hunt them..."

Figure 72. Historic photo of Big Spring Hunt Club. Members travel from Fayette County to Virginia for the annual hunt during deer week. (Photographer unknown; copy photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Ellis Ross reflected on the difference in motivation for hunting now:

> "I think now people do it because they love to, but back when the mines were big and strong around here, people did it because that was a second source of a little income, and for food and stuff. And the same with hunting and trapping and stuff. Now people don't do that."

Along Route 41, Signs for the Sewell and Beury Mountain Gun Clubs point to an issue that a number of consultants raised: that of the dwindling availability of places to hunt. Historically, coal company land has been treated as public land for hunting, but recently leased for use by private clubs. One man we spoke with has leased a hundred and fifteen acres which he makes available to people who pay $300 a year to hunt there.

Figure 73. Sign for Sewell Mountain Hunting Club, Route 41.

Because these posted lands are adjacent to the park, some who would like to hunt stay away fearing that they will inadvertently trespass. The situation contributes to a sense of enclosure:

> "Twenty years ago," a man from Gatewood told Tom Carroll, "Anything across that bridge, I could run over there and hunt it, because the land company owned it. But you go from that (New River) bridge now, plumb on through to Layland and all up through there, posted. Posted, everything is posted … Come up to Rainelle, all up in there it's posted all the way. Yeah, there's a little bit out there around Clifftop I think you can hunt, but you don't know. You know they've got the park in there and they've got hunting clubs in there. It's another one of them situations, you're almost afraid to go because you don't know who's owns what and what owns who. And if you get caught on posted property where these hunting clubs have got it, they can actually fine you. I mean, they can get a game

> warden come over there and fine you.… For trespassing. So you're really scared you know, you just don't get to hunt with a ease of mind of "hey, I'm within my rights, here, I've bought my license and all." Yet you sit there and wonder, "now am I on their property or, state property, or whose property am I on?" But twenty years ago it didn't matter whose property it was on, because it was open, everybody got to hunt."
>
> "So," replied Tom Carroll. "It's a combination of things, it's not just that the park is there, it's also that you've got all this posted land, you've got the hunting clubs. You don't know anymore where to go or what's open."
>
> "You're not at ease unless you go up into some of these northern counties."

There are strong feelings about the changing property regime, in a region where people have depended on access to corporate holdings for generations. Tim Thomas explained to Tom Carroll the historically recent inconsistencies and pressures that are so upsetting to people:

> "Most of my material comes off of timber company lands or mine company lands, because timber companies, mine companies own most of the land. I suspect that if you went and researched all the deeds that they'd hold more than 50 percent. Huge tracts, cause Plum Creek, which used to be Georgia Pacific, has 71 thousand acres right around here that they control. Westvaco, belongs to Mead, several hundred thousand acres that they control. Now Westvaco's real good about permitting you in, and Georgia-Pacific used to be. But they've gotten to the point that it's very difficult to get on their property now because they lease it to hunt clubs, and they allow hunt clubs to control trespass on their property. Westvaco leases the same way, but they don't allow the hunt club to control trespass. They say, "Trespass is our business. Not the hunt club's business." We lease the land to the hunt club and they have exclusive hunting rights or exclusive hunting and fishing rights. But they do not control the land for any other purpose. Georgia-Pacific allows clubs to control trespass and it has caused a lot of friction. I had a guy in my office the other day who got run out of a piece of property by a hunt club. And I guess maybe because we have always had access to all this land – and we know it isn't ours. We know it belongs to Georgia Pacific, we know it belongs to Westvaco, we know it belongs to Turley Mines, Wide Mining, but we've always had access to it, until the last five to ten years, this hunt club business has really taken off and really boomed and huge tracts of it are now closed off and you can't get to it, it's gated, it's closed off, and that has caused a lot of friction. The gates really bother a lot of people – I guess I know why the timber companies do it, but they'll build a new road, they'll go in and they'll harvest out timber and then they'll gate that road off so nobody can get in there. The hunters get really ticked about that, and every year in the fall they lose a lot of gates, because guys'll go and hook a big chain around the damn gatepost, get a big four-wheel drive truck and jerk the damn gate out. It just pisses them off because the guy's forty years old and he has hunted back up in there – wherever "there" is – for most of his life. Now all of a sudden he can't go there any more."

As the accompanying map shows, more than fifty percent of the non-public land in the counties adjacent to the park is controlled by large landholding companies.

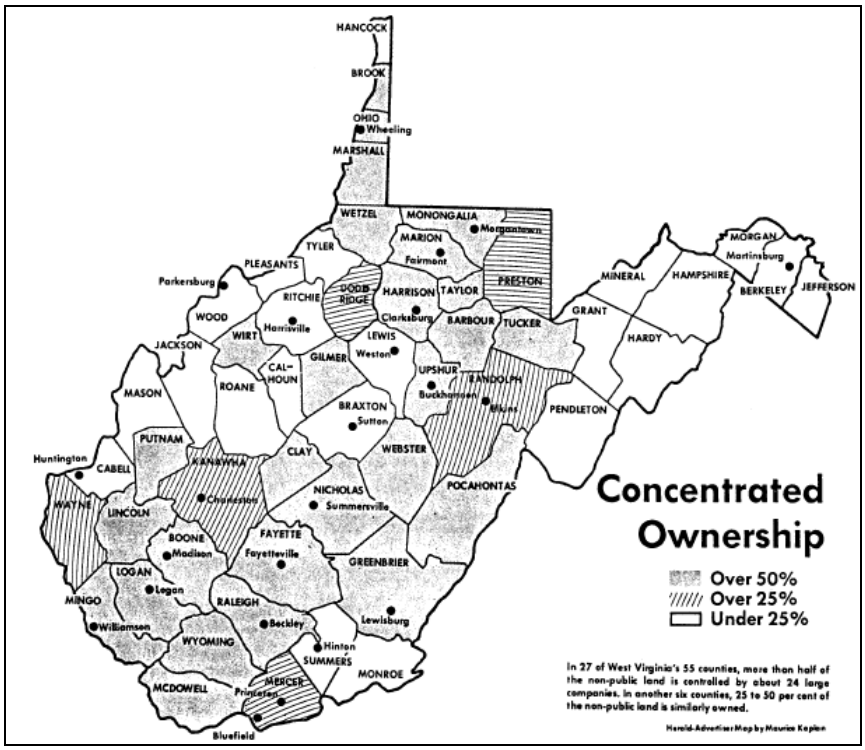

Figure 74. Map showing concentration of landownership in West Virginia counties. (Source: Miller n.d.)

Swimming and Boating

> "We just would always put our bathing suit on, a pair of old shoes and grab a towel and go to the river! -- Jane Graham Lawson (Oral History)
>
> 'When I grew up, we didn't have swimming pools, we swam in the river. We lived in the river. And we explored, got in a boat and went out to the islands. The really good swimming hole was where the Pizza Hut is now'. – Proctor Kirk
>
> "They did some swimming in the river. Most of them were born and raised on that river and they were just like fish, they could swim! Those boys, I've seen them get out in boats and row upstream. Now that is a trick, against that current. And they'd do it just for the fun of it." – Mildred Henry.
>
> "Boatbuilding, that's a tie-in to the past. The wooden boat's really important and a tie to the heritage and doing it in a certain way. Do it the hard way…I have three wooden boats. Built two john-boats, and Melvin Plumly built the other one." – Jack Hellems

The transcriptions are shot through with references to swimming and boating on New River, with boating done both commercially and for recreation. Swimming holes were identified in relation to particular tributaries and sand bars – the Blue Hole (in Mill Creek); a swimming hole up the hollow from Sandstone; there are sandbars at Stone Cliff and Thurmond ("where Wildwater puts in") that people reported swimming at; Bellepoint is another place to swim, and also Avis, and Terry, where they still do Baptisms in the river. When asked whether he'd rafted the river, Ernie Jones of Brooklyn answered, "No, I've swum all over it... Just anywhere, from Thurmond down to here. Had swimming holes and a diving board. Swings, where you swing out and drop off into the river, on a rope and a tire. Up at Beury."

Commercial boat operation goes back, of course, to the first recorded settler on the Lower New, Peter Bowyer, who operated Bower's Ferry. Other ferries in operation included Woods Ferry, Montgomery Ferry, Packs Ferry. As the population along the river grew, so did the number of known boat crossings. Hubert Carper, of Piney View, operated a ferry at McCreery. Ferries operated at Rush Run, Fire Creek, Beury, East Sewell, Brooklyn Bottom, and Keeney's Creek as well. Cavalier mentions that Miles Manser came from Cincinnati and built boats with Elisha Williams at Kanawa Falls (1985:180). Andrew Avancini, of Thayer, recalled that as a boy he would ferry people across the river from Thayer to Bragg for 50 cents.

Two kinds of boat have been built in the region, john boats and bateaus. During the industrial period, bateaus were used to deliver barrel staves and other goods from sawmills to points along the river. The Corps of Engineers dredged a series of sluices around the shoals to ease the passage of steamboats and bateaus. People refer to these locally as chutes, or notches: New River Chute, Greeney Chute, Steamboat Chute, and Barger's Notch. In Hinton, Robin Crawford mentioned that his people were bateau people, and that he knows how to build bateaus. He discovered bateaumen in his ancestry when reviewing 19th century census records. The connection between black bateau drivers and New River goes back to the 18th century, when a flood destroyed the fleet of Rose canoes that were used by Amherst County tobacco planters to get their tobacco to market. Reconstituting the canoe fleet was made difficult because most of the riverside timber had been cut. Amherst County planters Anthony and Benjamin Rucker developed a boat out of sawn timber. Light-weight, double-ended, and flat-bottomed, this boat,

which became known as the James River Bateau, would glide over rocky shallows and could be pulled easily across sandy beaches. The boats were manned by freed blacks and by slaves, some of whom evidently took advantage of the opportunity to escape.

Figure 75. Bateaux by W.C. Parker, soaking near the beach at Avis.

There is still a strong tradition of boatbuilding in the Hinton area, as conversations with Richey Smith and W.C. Parker indicate. Mr. Smith talked about the local bateau tradition and said he was having one built by people in town. People who have built boats, with whom Tom Carroll talked, included Melvin Plumley, Proctor Kirk, W.C. Parker, and Jack Hellems. The john-boat, an important, widely distributed vernacular form, is the most important vernacular boat form in the New River region. Among its many virtues, it is very stable in the water (poles rather than oars are the traditional method of propulsion, which requires that the boater stand in the boat), is relatively easy to build out of locally available woods, and is well adapted to conditions in local rivers.

Proctor Kirk's father built john-boats, according to Mr. Kirk:

> "My father built the best john-boat I ever been in. When we came down the New River all the way from North Carolina we examined homemade john-boats. We saw john-boats everywhere, and nobody knew how to build a john-boat as well as we build them in Hinton. There's some secrets to them. They're flat on both ends, made for poling, not oars. I have one I made myself. But I adapted it, used plywood. The bottoms were of poplar, 18-inch gunnels, 17-feet long. You can't get that kind of wood anymore. Melvin [Plumly] built the boat the old way. John-boats were built out of green wood, they put oakum in the gaps between the boards, put it in the water, and it would swell, be water-tight…Flat deck on either

> side. You sit in the middle and pole or oar, there's no hydraulic [resistance], because of the flat ends. So the boats really move. We didn't have motors. Everybody oared or poled. Very few people if any can pole a boat [now]. I do. I have the only wooden boat in this part of the county. I don't like aluminum boats. You drop a split-shot, a sinker, it *pops* on the bottom, scares the fish."

Wood boats are a deeply traditional form, subject, perhaps, to relatively little variation. Melvin Plumly observed of his father, Amos, that "Dad never varied his boats, but there's a lot of interest in them now. There's very few wooden boats on the river. You can walk the banks from [North Carolina] to here and see very few of 'em. And the fish… wooden boats make a natural sound, like a log. Metal boats *ping,* scare the fish."

This description of the john-boat evokes the strong cultural identification local people have regarding it. Nearly everyone at the Hinton end of the river seemed to mention it, although instances of the wooden john-boat are relatively rare these days, given the preponderance of aluminum boats in use on the river now. It is also interesting to note that Mr. Kirk made an informal survey of john-boats along the New River, and found those at Hinton to be superior. Whether correct or not, it is indicative not only of a sort of local pride, but also of faith in the form itself. It probably is the best boat form, the most reliable and useful, given the local conditions and the local culture, whether people actually prefer oaring these boats or did so out of necessity. It's possible that oaring is an imperative, given widespread conditions of shallow water and the preponderance of shoals on the New River, especially upriver from Hinton. And of course, shallows and shoals are where the fish are, because as Jack Hellems observed, "fish relate to structure," and so do people. The genius of humans, for better or worse, is that we can integrate structures and create synergies. The john-boat and the method of using it is, given the locale, a fine example of synergy.

When asked about boat builders in Hinton, Mr. Kirk answered, "Melvin Plumly. His father was Amos Plumly. Melvin Plumly is the boat builder. There was a Steamboat Chute in the river, a channel up to the Virginia line. You can see it. They ran bateaus upriver, would pole them up, walked alongside of the boat. The farmers sent produce down on them. Melvin built a bateau, a replica. His father also built boats." It is interesting to note how talk of boats is integrated with talk of the river and of goods and commerce. All authentic cultural artifacts, at least those

associated with a tradition, operate within an apparently seamless system of form and representation, are richly configured within a system of cross-references.

There was boatbuilding elsewhere on New River as well. Paul Bennett, of Summerlee, made john boats – which he says are square ended– and dories, out of lumber scavenged from houses being torn down. He used a john boat to get to school at Brooklyn. Growing up, he lived in Cunard, Brooklyn, Claremont, Keeney's Creek, and Caperton. He began fishing at the age of four, and fished wherever he wanted to on New River.

> "I started fishin' with a fellow up at Claremont, Henry McCormick. And I fished with him some. Of course there weren't any spinner and reels back then. You fished with a string on a stick with a wooden boat, cut you a pole, then you used trot lines and throw lines."

Despite its continued use, the john-boat isn't the predominant boat form on the New River these days, at least not in its wooden incarnation, but it may be scheduled for a comeback within the context of economic development planning. Prior to that, however, the john-boat had already made a jump from everyday use to representation in Hinton. According to Melvin Plumly, "I used john-boats when I was growing up. There were very few motors…Some had poles, people paddled or poled…Dad built Proctor Kirk's john-boat. Proctor's dad won it in a raffle. He had it at the restaurant. Dad built boats out of his head, no plans. Both ends are out of the water. The boat just skids on the water. This one was made out of pine. Dad was 86 when he died, built the boat two years before he died." I asked why and how his father had gotten started building boats, and Mr. Plumly answered, "Dad was just there at Glade, had to go back and forth across the river. And they fished. But lots built their own boats. Lots at Brooklin [section of Hinton] built boats." During an interview with him, Richey Smith voiced an intention to begin using the bateau to launch his programs of historical tours and family rafting trips.

Note that the story of the john-boat can be pieced together from fragmentary statements by a variety of individuals. This, too, is a part of the truth-value of vernacular culture: it tends to reside and to emerge in and through interconnected, collective individuals, rather than through a single individual. Seeking local "truth" in this way is not a matter of testing and cross-referencing data, but in recognizing and establishing the forms and boundaries of knowledge and their locations and distribution within a particular group. This, too, is something which the Park

Service might keep in mind in working with local communities, especially those communities which the park service defines as “historically associated” with what is now the national park. Given this, it is clear that understanding and communication between and among disparate entities (between bureaucratic institutions and cultural communities for example) is a developmental process, commitment to which can form the basis of a rewarding and productive relationship.

Amos Plumly has become the local archetype of the boat builder, especially within the context of the current economic development process, and while it is true that other people may be able to build john-boats, their work is probably undertaken with a different sort of purpose than that which motivated Amos Plumly. Amos was “just there at Glade.” Builders today instead are trying to recover or even to reinvent the form.

The other obvious form of boating, whitewater rafting, also is playing an important role as a source of employment of the sort that articulates with the patchwork economic structure described above. People who drive busses during the school year drive busses for the whitewater companies in the summer. Students who are home for the summer from college, or local youth who work at winter resorts, find employment with the rafting companies as well, as guides or as support for related services.

Figure 76. Coming into Fayette Station. (Photo by Terry Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Whitewater rafting is an important industry, certainly here to stay, but exploring the question of how to articulate it with the older traditions of boatbuilding, fishing, boating, and swimming on the river presents an opportunity for civic engagement. The traditions of boating and boatbuilding are sites where local perspectives on culture, economy, and ecology converge. Many other traditions offer similar sites. These visible outcroppings of local identity and culture are sites in which the park can begin the work of articulating the production of the national park with the local reproduction of community life. The park has begun this kind of engagement by supporting such local forms of cultural renewal as the bateau festival and the Plateau District Quilters. We will return to further possibilities in the concluding discussion and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE: ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES OF THE GAULEY RIVER NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

By Rita Moonsammy

LR: We're forgotten here.

KR: Forgotten.

RM: You're forgotten?

LR: We're the northern most surviving little community in Fayette County, is what we are. Everybody else is done gone by the wayside.

INTRODUCTION

By comparison with the New River region (Raleigh and central/southern portions of Fayette), the Gauley River region is less densely populated and the landscape less industrial. There are fewer hard roads and main highways. Because of the nature of the coal seams in the area, the river's edge was not developed with coal towns as was that of the New River. Most settlement appears to be small towns that line main roads, such as Route 39. There are scant industrial remnants along these roads. Though timbering continues to be an important industry, it has been controlled such that the area is not visibly deforested. The main roads divert from the river's edge past Swiss, reinforcing the impression that the river is isolated. During controlled water releases from the Summersville Dam, sections of the Gauley are turbulent and dangerous. Thus, the region may appear to the visitor's eye to be "wild."

The narrative of the Gauley area provided by the 1994 NPS General Management Plan largely supports that view. It notes that "cultural resources" in the area are few because of the minimal remnants of Indian activity, and the paucity of important historic industrial and monumental remains on the landscape. Although the report affirms that timbering was historically important and continues to be important, it pins the notion of vitality on the coal industry, concluding that "The coal is gone, or nearly so. Most of the homes and mills have gone

up in flames or rotted away. The trains run less frequently all the time. Trees shade the old foundations along the river. The stage is set for hikers, hunters, campers, boaters, anglers, and trappers to enjoy the Gauley" (p. 95).

By reducing the "story" of the Gauley region to the story of the coal industry there, this narrative effectively erases the history and culture of the people in order to create a stage for tourist encounters with wilderness. It discounts the personal landscapes that are replete with cultural resources: historical and environmental sites, family and community networks, and occupational and recreational places. In the minds and narratives of residents, these phenomena populate and domesticate the "wild" landscape, rendering a revolving stage that carries past into present into future. As one resident put it, "I was born in one coal camp, and have lived three other times in coal camps, so I know about the coal camp situation. [But] I'm afraid that we might lean heavily on the coal [in interpreting the region], since there's a lot in this area, but before 1879 no one knew there was any coal here and there were still lots of people here."

Traditionally associated communities of the Gauley consist of people who live year-round in settlements in the Gauley region and who participate in a way of life that has historically produced a local landscape along the Gauley. Geographically, this area would approximately extend the Kanawha Falls to Summersville west-to-east, but the north-south boundaries are much more difficult to define. In practice, the communities that live among the hollows and mountains on both sides of the Gauley within that longitudinal area are traditionally implicated in the region's culture. They participate in a way of life that has historically produced a local landscape along the Gauley and beyond.

Figure 77. Path leading to Gauley River at Swiss. (Photo by Rita Moonsammy)

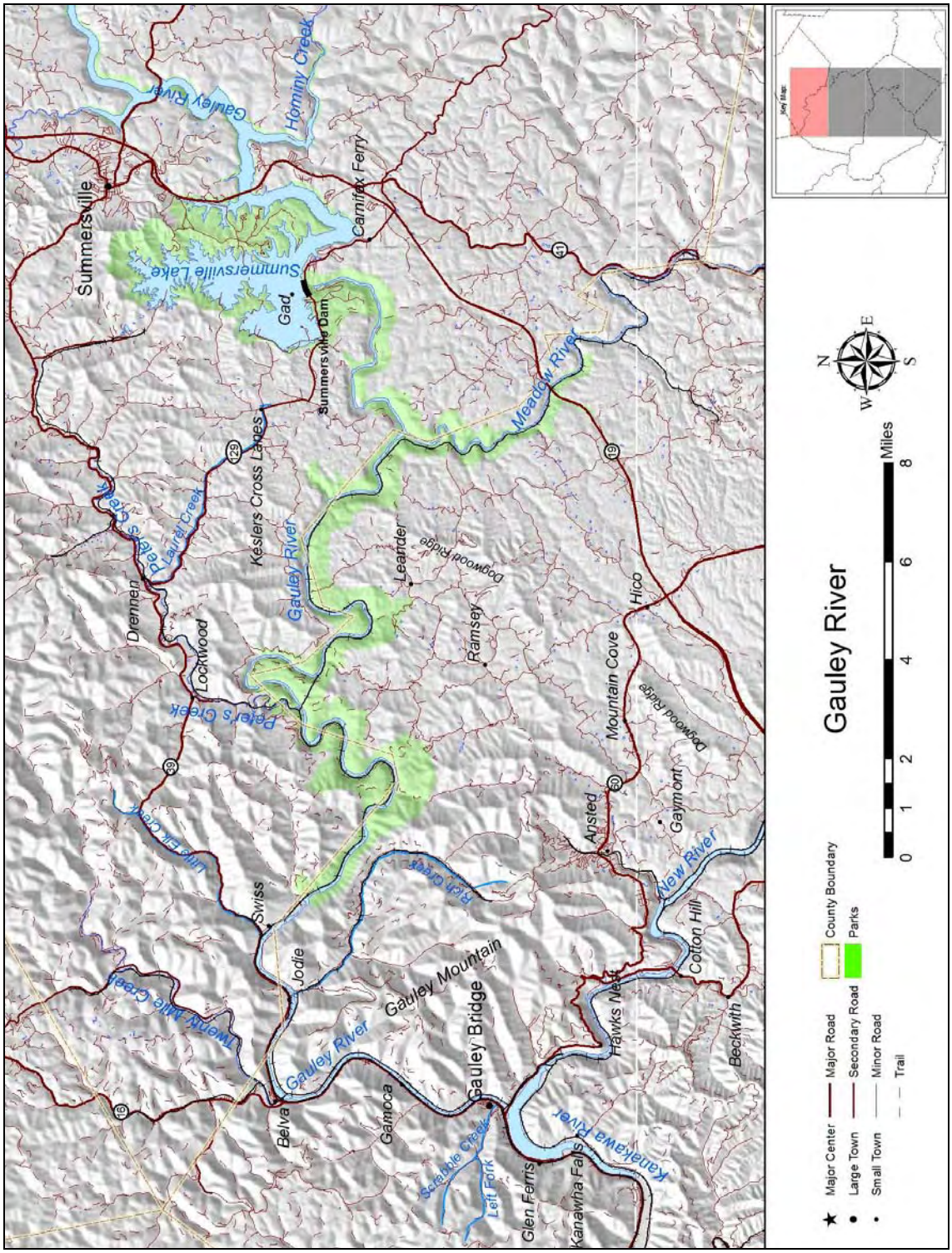

Figure 78. Detail of Gauley River and surrounding study area. (Produced by Darryl Depencier for the Center for Folklore and Ethnography, University of Pennsylvania)

In contrast to the New River area, the Gauley area has not received much attention in terms of cultural documentation. NPS documents include minimal information about the culture of the region. State archives hold documents on other topics that include some information about the Gauley area, but are not generally focused on documenting the culture. Individuals, historical societies, newspapers, and local libraries in the area also hold a variety of documents that could further illuminate the history and culture of the region. Some of the information assembled during the 1992 New River Folklife Survey also pertains to the Gauley.

During this study, we interviewed people in the following communities along the Gauley: Gauley Bridge, Belva, Jodie, Swiss, Peter's Creek, and Kessler's Cross Lanes; and in communities that are oriented toward the Gauley, including Kanawha Falls, Glenn Ferris, Ansted, Russellville, and Summersville. We questioned them about family and community history, community values and cultural practices, occupational background, environmental knowledge, use, and perception. The traditional practices that we documented are numerous, and include family life and care, home making, home building, farming and gardening, hunting, gathering, fishing, camping, worshipping, recreating, and working, and many others. We also explored with our consultants the impact of the Gauley River National Recreation Area on access to the resources fundamental to continuing local participation in the historical landscape.

In the historical narratives that we gathered, it becomes clear that what is visible to the uninitiated park visitor as vacant space is a part of a cultural landscape that extends beyond the boundaries of the park. During our research, we compiled a partial list of named landscape features that comprises a preliminary and partial typology of the cultural landscape forms that are integral to traditionally associated community life in the Gauley region. The terms we have used for these features are for the most part terms that our consultants use. Clarification of some of these terms is necessary here. By "historical" we mean the practices whereby communities identify themselves in relation to particular spaces in the recreational area and in relation not only to a past, but to a future. How, in other words, is continued access to a set of places and resources in the Gauley River National Recreation Area fundamental to the continuity of traditional community life? We suggest that membership in the communities that participate in the historical landscapes of the Gauley National Recreation Area is something that people develop through daily association and practice.

FAMILY, LAND, HOME, AND COMMUNITY

Although the Gauley River region, as understood for this survey, bears some demographic differences from the New River area (more rural, more agricultural), in the main it is part of the broader Southern Appalachian cultural region. Scholars and writers have identified core aspects of that region as family and land. Our research confirmed that these aspects of identity and culture are so thoroughly enmeshed that it is nearly impossible to separate out for discussion the topics of family, home, land, and community. The very character of the regional culture is land-based: traditions and lifestyle are rooted in the relationship of people to the natural resources. Families are identified by, and identify themselves by, their places -- cognitive and geographic -- on the land. They find their way socially and physically by that understanding, and maintain their lifeways through it.

Family and Land

This is in part because of the history of settlement of the region. Many families trace their ancestors to the early Scots-Irish and German settlers, some of whom came by way of Virginia after its earliest settlement. Other families came from adjacent areas such as Kentucky or southern Ohio two generations ago, or from other parts of West Virginia, or have lived in those areas for part of their lives and returned to the Gauley region. The families of most of the people that were interviewed have been in Fayette and Nicholas counties for at least several generations.

The importance of family history is shown not only in the popularity of geneology collections, societies, and individual research, but also in day-to-day conversation, which helps to situate contemporary people and events in the larger history. Where one's extended family members moved to, where they live now, and where they are buried, are all relevant to an individual's sense of family membership. Some people also have documents detailing part of the history of their family in the area. (The Koontz family has a photocopied history, typewritten in the 50s by a family member.) Reunions are prevalent, and an important way of maintaining that knowledge across time and space. The following lengthy excerpt from an interview with a resident of Jodie exemplifies the importance of family and local history, as well as of the "homeplace," which will be discussed further in a following section:

KR: And his father moved here from Virginia. My grandfather moved here way up in the fall of the year. And he walked from Virginia to here.

RM: To this area? Jodie?

KR: To this area. Yeah. And, in fact, he lived up the road, what we always called "Dogpatch."

RM: Dogpatch?

KR: Yeah. The town had different names. Dogpatch was the little town up. This was Jodie, and around the other way was Ridge Creek. And the last little town, before you run off the blacktop, was called New Town, because it was the newest part of the community that was built. All these old houses are Jenny Lind, but New Town was framed. You know, studded up and all that.

RM: And were they all built by coal companies?

KR: Yep. All of them.

RM: So, like – yours isn't, is it?

KR: Yeah –

RM: This house is a coal company house?

KR: This is a coal company house. Originally it's four rooms. And it's been added to over he years by my father and then I put new siding on it and all that.

RM: So did you grow up in this house?

KR: I grew up in this house.

RM: That is great!

KR: I lived around on the other end of town for about ten years. And when my mother passed away, we moved here to keep the homeplace going. So I sold my house there and moved around here.

RM: Mmhm. This is the homeplace.

KR: Yeah.

RM: Why did your grandpa move up here? Coal mining?

KR: Well, uh – mostly coal mining. He was a wheel wright. He set up grist mills. And he was also a blacksmith at the coal mines. And they moved up from Virginia. Most of my relatives, I ran my family history back to Europe and most of my family, once they came to the United States, lived, uh, from Maryland and Virginia, and one of my ancestors, moved to California, a little place called 'Susansville'. And he was the only person that's ever been the governor of two states at one time. Of California and of Nevada. And he built a little place in Susaville called

> 'Roops Ford.' It was twenty feet square and they used it to defend themselves against the Indians.
>
> RM: So, that same name – Roop.
>
> KR: Yeah. Roop.
>
> RM: And that's an English name?
>
> KR: Well, uh, it was German, spelled 'Rupe.'
>
> RM: That's what I was wondering.
>
> KR: And over time, they have changed the spelling too r-double-o-p. Which I tell people is just 'poor' spelled backwards.

The family networks reach farther, however. Extended family members often live in other homes on the farm or in nearby towns, in some sense rendering the distinctions between towns moot, especially since most of those towns are unincorporated. Aunts, uncles, and grandparents help to care for children, such that many children have virtually two homes. Sherrie Koontz, for instance, makes sure her nephews, who live in her brother's house on the same farm, get off to school every morning. On one farm, there were eight elderly relatives in the several homes on the property, all being watched over by the younger generation. Many households are multigenerational. Several grandmothers were taking care of their grandchildren while the parents commuted to work. Grown children, even after marriage, may live with parents until they can find or build a home nearby. (This was the case with a couple who eventually bought and moved a house so they could live in Swiss.)

A narrative that looms large in the Gauley region and further illustrates the importance of the equation of family and land for current residents, as well as their apprehensions about the Park Services acquisition of land, is that of the town of Gad. Many of the people who were interviewed related the history of the building of the dam and its impact on the local culture and environment. An excerpt of one interview shows how closely residents equate historic homeplace and personal happiness.

> BS: But anyhow, they took the property from my dad, 76 acres, and they took some farms, ALL the farm, everything they owned, people owned. Had lived there all their lives and their grandparents had lived there all their lives.
>
> BeS: Tore up the communities without any thought about it.

BS: Nothing. The communities were gone. Two -- Gad and Sparks. But , anyhow, when they put the dam in, that money should have come to the people who lost their farms. I mean, they put a power plant in and Summersville immediately got a million dollars. Summersville didn't own nothing down there. They didn't own a thing. They called it the Summersville Dam because they didn't want to call it the Gad Dam. (Laughter})

BeS: The could have called it Sparks.

RM: That must have been like a tragedy for people, to lose their houses.

BoS: Oh, sure it was! Oh, yeah. What really happened, what was really sad -- the old people, some of her relatives, had lived there all their lives. Their parents had lived there. They inherited the property. They never did find happiness. They came, they moved here and they'd buy property and they couldn't -- they'd move somewhere else. They spent their lifetime, until they died, trying to find happiness.

BeS: I imagine that Uncle Ed probably lost his mind as a result. And listen, Joe Copenhefer, too, Uncle Joe --

BoS: Ed Copenhefer. There's several families that just never did find happiness. They'd go and try to --- well, the one bought where Alfred lives. One of them bought that. Ed Copenhefer. And then he sold that and moved somewhere else. They just couldn't -- you know. They'd lived there all their life, you know.

Ironically, some of the structures in Gad that were flooded when the dam was built are now thought to be serving as fish habitat. Several people mentioned a place in the Summersville Lake that they've named "Sunken Island" as an especially good fishing spot for certain species. In general, this is an example of how the dam and the changes it wrought are seen as a mixed blessing by residents of the Gauley area.

Interaction with extended family is constant and important. Interviews nearly always included the arrival, departure, or phone call of a cousin, grandchild, child, friend, aunt, etc. This kind of daily involvement with the extended family is the cornerstone of community and a primary motive for residents to do whatever they can to remain in the area, including working different kinds of jobs, commuting to Charleston, or working even farther away and returning on weekends. The ability to rely on community members in times of need, as well as celebration, is seen as a key feature of life in these towns.

Daily involvement with family and community is also the “learning center” for the generations. Larry Roop insists that he will not leave his home on the river as long as he has grandchildren to come there. He maintains a trot line in his back yard so that he can teach the grandchildren that fishing method so it will not die out. Dennis McCutcheon said that he would maintain his homeplace, Pleasant Hill, so that his grandchildren and their children, even if they have to live somewhere other than West Virginia, will have their place to come back to. This is why many of the traditional practices that people in other regions regard as “lost” are in the Gauley very much alive. Domestic practices, in particular, are well maintained, even across gender lines. One mother proudly mentioned that her 11-year-old daughter already knows how to make biscuits, while several of the people interviewed served food that had been prepared by the husband. The Haines family built a little “quilting house” where Florence makes dozens of quilts, a practice that is also maintained in church groups and quilting guilds. Rugs are braided, furniture built, figures carved, flowers pressed. Even further, homes are built, with cousins helping to fell trees and raise walls.

All aspects of food preparation, in line with the continuing practice of subsistence farming/gardening, are still widespread and support the family-centered lifestyle. Most agricultural families have for generations needed to supplement their income with cash from other jobs, so that subsistence farming has long been a part time endeavor. Today, the outside jobs may demand more time and labor, but the farming continues in smaller ways, in particular by having large gardens and fruit trees and by raising some animals for slaughter. Families that raise their own cattle may slaughter themselves in the fall, as in the past, or take the animal to a nearby processor. Some still cure their own hams and bacon; others process meat by canning. Nearly everyone, including retired couples who don’t have a need for the amount of produce they raise, has a garden. The numbers of jars of canned tomatoes, beans, corn, and berries, and accounts of family and friends to whom they were given, and how many were used at home during the course of a year, were recited repeatedly in interviews. The genealogies of seeds, some from relatives, others making their way from someone of Indian heritage to a neighbor, etc., are well known. Other traditional foodways practices widely noted are bee keeping/honey gathering, pickling, curing, preserving, and gathering greens, nuts, and berries.

Figure 79. Sam and Florence Haines, butchering a hog in Russellville. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

Homes and Homeplaces

The ties between family and land are most visibly demonstrated in homes. As mentioned above, many families still live on the original family homestead, sometimes in a building that may have been erected two generations earlier. Often, this structure has been altered considerably, usually in ways that historic preservationists would look askance at, but which local families regard as resourceful. As mentioned in an earlier excerpt, the Roop home in Jodie began as a Jenny Lind-style coal camp home on the edge of the river. Today, it appears to be a contemporary rancher with white siding, a garage, and a broad front porch. The kitchen and bathroom have been extensively remodeled. The owner grew up in the house and moved back into it from another house in Jodie after his mother died. What looks like an inexpensive, development-style rancher, is in fact the contemporary permutation of a working-class home that narrates the family history and it maintains a tie to a place that is key to the identity and culture of the occupants.

Other families bemoan the loss of these buildings when they are unable to (or another family member neglects to) take care of them. When they build a new home, they may often incorporate elements of the homeplace into it to maintain the connection with the original homeplace. For instance, the dooryard of the Summers' new home is partially surrounded by the stone foundation of the house that Bob grew up in. The hand-carved stone basin that was used for scalding slaughtered pigs sits amidst the heirloom daffodils that Beulah has cultivated in the garden. Another resident of the area used boards from her grandfather's old barn to panel a room

of her new home. Thus a building whose provenance does not appear to the historian to be of importance may in fact contain markers that tie it deeply into the family and community history. On the other hand, when the Haines family built their new home on the family homestead, they wanted it to be like the home that Sam had grown up in. Like the younger Koontz son, they felled the trees themselves and built the home with the help of family members to resemble the Jenny Lind style.

By comparison, Page and Edith Koontz live with their daughter Sherrie in a farm house that began as a single-room dwelling nearly 60 years ago. The Koontz's recall that when they married, they had only enough to build a single room as their home, but over the years, they were able to add room after room to raise their family. They are proud of what they've built. The house, located on the homestead that the early settlers of Swiss acquired, is literally a collection of their personal and family history. About an eighth of a mile from it, on the same side of the hill, is the home that Page grew up in. On the opposite side is a new home that the Koontz's son built himself.

The Koontz family has been approached by coal companies, rafting companies, and the National Park Service to sell their property. They are resolute in their determination to keep it. In Page's view, the land is their freedom as well as their livelihood. "You know what? Anybody within hearing distance, if they start bothering us, we can tell them to get out of the way, but if you start selling something like that, you'd have everybody in here in a little bit. Some freedom's worth a lot more than all the money they give you....Mom and Dad set me down here one time, and asked me if I wanted this farm. I said, 'Sure. I want it, but I don't know --- I'm going to have to do something different from what I'm doing.' That's before I got my tractor and that. Right about when I come out of the Army, I believe it was, wasn't it? And he said, 'Well,' he said, 'We been talking it over. We're just going to give you a deed for it. It's yours.' He said, 'If you take care of it, it'll take care of you.' And it has." The land and its fruits are part of the independent lifestyle that has characterized the culture from its earliest days.

Places that have remained in extended families for generations often acquire names, both formally and informally. Florence Haines chuckles at the fact that the mountain they live on is often referred to as "Haines Hill." The McCutcheons named the 56 acre plot of the original

homestead on which they live "Pleasant Hill." Names are powerful historical markers. One couple told of their indignation with an attempt to change the name of Peter's Creek Road. The story of Peter, the slave who first came to the area with the Morris family, and who was entrusted with watching over the property during his owner's absence of a year, is an important legend in the local history. Changing the name would be diminishing the story of settlement that belongs not only to historians but to every individual who lives there.

CEMETERIES AND CHURCHES

Though many families have sold part of their land, many have also bought other pieces of property and farmed it. The genealogies of these places are recalled and recited with the same importance as are the life cycles of family members. Family cemeteries help to maintain those geological genealogies. The Summerses narrated the history of their grandfather by referring to places on their land where he, his wives, and other family members are buried. Many times these plots are fenced and maintained; others are marked only in the memories of the narrators. Even when families move away, they often return to take care of the graves. Adam Brown spoke of a cemetery in Wyndal (a.k.a. Wendell) across the river from Belva where, despite the fact that the town was long ago deserted, a burial recently took place.

Cemeteries sacralize the land, making it more powerful and personal. Churches do, as well. Many of the churches in the Gauley area are very old, and the Nicholas County Historic Landmark Commission has developed a brochure of the Lockwood Historic District to identify the churches and other historic structures. It indicates the age of the church, the names over time of the area in which it is located, and the style of architecture. Thus the churches have archeological value as well as community value. The predominant denominations of the older churches are Baptist and Methodist, but for most residents, the important thing is not which church one attends, but that one belongs to a church. Some churches are virtually extended family networks. Many people have attended the same church for their entire lives, despite where they have moved, so it becomes the site of life cycle memories. Norma Keith recalled that, for the few years she lived in Charleston rather than Swiss, she did not attend a church, so important was her connection to the Methodist Church in Swiss she attended most of her life. The environment is

further incorporated in the sacred realm when baptisms are held in the river, a still-current practice at several of the churches in the area.

Churches are often the site of reunions, bringing former residents from miles away. They are also important sources of social assistance, for church members pitch in to help the sick, elderly, and jobless. The church at Swiss is a signal example of how communities work to maintain the congregation as well as the building. The current structure was built by the congregation in the 20s. (The church itself is older). Although the church now has only about thirty regular congregants, they have worked over the years to refurbish and build onto the structure. The annual hot dog sale during Gauley season has provided the funds for them to make the improvements, suggesting that there are ways that communities can maintain their historical connections to land and community through negotiation with tourism.

Figure 80. Sales of hotdogs to whitewater rafters benefit the community at Swiss, the take-out point on the Gauley River. (Photo by Rita Moonsammy)

Figure 81. Sherrie Koontz serving hot dogs at Swiss. (Photo by Rita Moonsammy)

KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANDSCAPE

Ties to environment do not, of course, end at the boundaries of family property. In the woods, wayfinding skills are based upon a multidimensional understanding of the terrain and are facilitated by knowledge of local history and natural features. Hills, creeks, hollows, rocks, stands of particular varieties of trees, remnants of structures, and old industrial trails enable residents to make their way in what would appear to strangers to be undifferentiated wilderness. One resident described a map that he had drawn for his younger relatives to indicate some of the best sites for hunting, but most such maps exist only in the minds of the experienced. Knowledge of the relationships of these features provides alternative routes, important when circumstances such as flooding or restrictions reduce access routes. Such was the case for Adam Brown and his son when the boy was cut off from several routes down the mountain by spring flooding. Knowing the complex terrain and the relationship of the mountain to the river allowed him to make his way down the mountain safely and back home to Belva. Often, local history is entwined with personal experience. One consultant talked about camping out in the old coke ovens when he was a kid, and recalled that some of the men who came to work on the Hawk's Nest Tunnel project slept in those structures, too.

The Gauley

Landscape features have often been given names that circulate within the community but never appear on official maps. Some have been noted in the databases accompanying the report. The Gauley River is replete with such places, many of whose names are simply practical, such as "Flat Rock." Others are mimetic, such as "Bible Rock," and still others connote an experience, such as "Egg Rock." The story of Flat Rock was related by a woman whose family home is at the edge of the Gauley outside of Gauley Bridge. As a child, she swam regularly in favorite swimming holes in the river. ("Big Rock" was mentioned by several people.) She recalled numerous tragedies that had taken place on the river, at least one of which involved Flat Rock. She explained that the appearance and name of Flat Rock are deceptive. It appears to be a place where one can swim up and easily climb onto the rock. However, the current has eroded the rock beneath the surface, and the water rushes under it, creating an undertow that is dangerous for

swimmers who approach the rock. Her story about a visiting couple that had drowned because they did not know that feature of the rock encapsulates that knowledge.

Other residents named places that have appeared on the whitewater rafting maps, such as "Iron Rings," but most of the names on those maps are unfamiliar to local people. Paul Ramsey described the log chute and mused that he would like to go down the river and see what the rafters call the various places he knows. Both his knowledge of the area and the importance of the river in his personal, family, and local history unfold in the following excerpt from an interview with him and his wife:

RM: And so your family's property was on the Saturday Road, too.

PR: It was on Saturday Road, yes. Actually, it's an offshoot. There's a road that turns off of the Saturday Road, and it's two miles down to where I was raised. So --

RM: And how far is that from the Gauley?

PR: Where I lived? Oh, it's -- well, from the Gauley River it's as far as from here up to the top of the hill -- maybe --

VR: You go down, over the hill.

PR: Over the hill, maybe, you know, over the hill. Well, when my brother and I hoed corn, or whatever we were doing in the summer time, as soon as we finished, we'd run down over the hill and go swimming in the river, for our bath, and then come back, you know. So it was, it was real close.

RM: So it was a big part of your life.

PRL Oh, absolutely.

VR: His brother was six years older than he.

PR: It was a big part of our life. We -- the boys all swam down there, in the summer time all the time. And there's one, there's one place down there, and I have no idea what they call it now, but it was actually a log chute. Because before the railroad was built, the timber companies cut timber all the way up Gauley River, and they floated them down the river to where the electro-metallurgical plant was. There was a sawmill down there. Glen Ferris.

RM: Glen Ferris.

PR: And so they -- the logs, in this one place, where the cliffs came out like this, so what they did, they blasted a place down like this so the logs would get through. You have no idea what that's like to swim through that when the river's high!

RM: No, I don't.

PR: It's amazing! We would jump up in the water up here and it would take you all the way through, put you underneath the water -- you couldn't stay on top -- and then it would shoot you up on the outside.

RM: That's amazing!

PR: And then we'd run and do that again over -- Sundays, we'd do that over and over again. Lots of fun!

RM: And where is that?

PR: That's just below where I was raised.

Many names have stories that reveal both long association and a kind of ethnoscientific understanding of the environment. "Alum Rock," which is an overhanging cliff along the water's edge, was the site of many camping trips by the Summerses. Part of the challenge of the trip was making their way down the mountain to the river's edge, another use of wayfinding that allowed local residents to regularly use the river at places that appear to be inaccessible. The Summerses described the area:

BS: Oh, yes, every weekend we went fishing. In the summer time, there was a bunch of us boys, every Saturday night we'd go down to the river and fish. We camped out. My mother went! Oh, yeah, we always camped out. My mother'd go.

BeS: What's the rock name that you all would camp by? There's some big rock down there.

BS: Alum Rock! Evidently they got alum out of it. They used alum, I think, something in making powders, pickles. And there was supposed to be alum under the rock and they called it an alum rock. Great big rock! I mean, it's way up there, and it could never rain or snow or anything on you. I mean, it's like you're out in the open, but if you're under this big rock hanging way over you. It's way up there. And we'd build a fire under it.

The use of this area changed after the whitewater industry grew along the Gauley:

BS: We camped there all -- every weekend back then, we -- some of them even came from Beckley. People camped all along. The fishermen would come and camp and fish, and they don't do it now, I think.... After the rafters started, I think people quit.... People always went down there. Always on Saturday night, the miners would come, and go down and camp and fish.

BeS: We see a lot of traffic on the weekend. A lot of trucks go down there.

Springs

Another aspect of local knowledge concerns the system of waterways. The following excerpt includes information about local understanding of the nature of the river as well as of the system of streams and springs and their use by local residents:

RM: Would you have called it a "wild river"? You know, that's what it's advertised as.

PR: Uhhh -- well, we didn't call it a wild river. I mean, that wasn't even in our terminology.

RM: Did that description fit?

PR: Nnnnnno -- the only time we called it a wild river was in the springtime when we had lots and lots of rain, it was wild. But we never called it that. We said "the Gauley's high," you know. But we never -- no, that terminology didn't even enter into our vocabularies.

RM: But was the concept of it as being a really rough and dangerous river?

PR: No. No. And when we swam in it, we never thought of it. 'Course we didn't swim when it was high. I've seen it so high you wouldn't dare go in it, in the springtime, usually, when you had a lot of rain. But ordinarily in the summer, we swam in the eddies, and then we did go through the log chute. We'd swim sometime -- we'd just swim down the river, you know.

RM: From where to where?

PR: Well, we swum from where we went in, down below the homeplace, to Woods's Ferry, sometimes. We'd just swim the whole length there. About a mile, well -- mile and a half. We'd swim, and sometimes we'd go out and wade for a while, and swim a little further, you know.

RM: Mmhmm. Did you know, like, since there are so many streams and springs and creeks and things like that, and you grow up in a place, did you have like a mental map of where they were, and things?

PR: Oh, yes! Oh, yeah. You knew where each creek came down into the river from -- well, actually from both the Nicholas and our side, too, pretty much, for, we'll say, three - four miles, the length of it. And usually -- well, as I say, Piney Creek was "the creek," as far as we were concerned, until they named it. Now there was another one named "Horseshoe Creek" which came down, and it had that name for a long long time. And there's a Horseshoe Road, too, out there, but -- . And when I was a boy, we knew every cold, iron water spring that there was anywhere along the river.

RM: Tell me about them. Cold, iron --

PR: Well, it's iron water, or we call it "sulphur water," you know, is what we call it. And there was some --

VR: It doesn't taste very good.

PR: And on the other side of the river, there were about -- two or three, and I don't know whether this is the reason for it or not, but usually the paths from the river up to the plateau, usually go by one of those cold springs. In the middle of the summer, it would be -- it felt like 40 degrees. I don't know. If was very very cold. It came out and it was red water, and we had one on the other side of the river, on Nicholas, I know of, and we had about three -- particularly after they built the railroad -- that came out of the hillside there, and we'd always, that's where we got our drinks of water, of course.

RM: Because it was so nice and cold.

PR: It's so nice and cold and I developed a taste for it. I just love it.

RM: For the sulphur water.

PR: For the sulphur water.

RM: Even though, like Vera was just saying, it doesn't taste good.

VR: Tastes like rotten eggs to me!

PR: Oh, I loved it! I still do. I love the taste of that red water!

VR: Tastes like rotten eggs to me! [laughs]

RM: And you still go find them?

PR: Oh, yeah. I could locate, I know I could locate the one on the other side of the river. Well, I could locate it, I'm sure, on this side of the river because you'd see the red outcropping, where it comes out of the side of the bank, you know.

RM: And you said that there were more of them after the railroad went through.

PR: Well, we knew of more of them, because you see, before the railroad, there were a lot of places where there were red water, and we didn't really access that at all. You had a path from here down to the sand bar, and you had a road or a path down to Woods's Ferry, and another one up there. You had about three paths that went down over the hill. Then, when they built the railroad, we found that there were some red water springs along between those paths that, unless you were Daniel Boone, you would never have seen those, you see.

VR: Mmmhmm.

PR: So that explained the reason for that.

RM: What was the understanding of the reason for the water being red?

PR: Oh, it's an iron water. The water goes through a layer of iron ore, shale, and it just turns it red. But it's always deep. It's deep and that's the reason it stays cold all the time.

RM: Did people ever think of it as having medicinal qualities?

PR: No, not around here. In fact, people like to avoid it in a well, of course, because you can't wash clothes in it.

VR: No, hmm mm.

PR: On our homeplace, we had a fresh water spring, and it was perfectly soft, and then, less than three hundred feet from it was another spring of the red water. And the red water spring was always at almost the same amount, and it was very,very cold, whereas the fresh water spring, sometimes, in a very, very dry time, it wouldn't produce very much water.

VR: But, oh, it was good!

PR: It was good water.

VR: Mmmhmmm. It was really good.

PR: It was amazing.

RM: Did your father -- did you have to dig wells?

PR: No, we never did dig a well, because we had these two springs that were very reliable. And so --

VR: And they had what they called a "spring house."

PR: We had a spring house, yes. Where the spring, where this fresh water spring was, the soft water, uh, Dad's father built this stone building down, most of it underground, you know. And so -- and right up in the corner of it was the spring. He'd concrete it in, so you had -- and later on we put a pump in it. But in there, that's where mother kept her milk and butter and everything. And it was cold, you know.

RM: Is that still on the farm?

PR: Uh huh, it's still there. Yep.

Plants

Knowledge of local species of plants and their habitats is widespread and contributes not only to subsistence but also to tradition. As in the New River area, gathering of ginseng is a very common way for people to make some extra cash. Nearly everyone interviewed had at times gathered and sold ginseng. No one said that they use the ginseng itself, however, and several people and commercial sites in the area between Glen Ferris and Summersville were mentioned as buyers of ginseng. More important in terms of personal use are mushrooms, blackberries, yellowroot, butternuts (also called "white walnuts,") and a variety of greens. The best places to

find these plants are part of the knowledge of the landscape, and the locations of those that have become rare (like butternuts), or are valuable (like ginseng), are guarded secrets.

Figure 82. Photograph on bulletin board in New River Trading Company, Summersville, showing proprietor with a pair of trophy four-prong ginseng plants.

The locations of some of the wild greens on the Haines property, and the best time to gather them, were recited in an interview with Florence Haines, along with some of the local wisdom about their uses and cooking methods. Regarding ramps:

> "You talk about them flies, now when you cook ramps, now there's flies. I don't know where they come from, but you'll find them when you cook ramps. When I cook greens, the flies will be on the windows...outside. I don't know what it is about them greens and them flies.' Everybody says ramps are a spring tonic, but she doesn't know if they're good for you. They're 'just greens.' She cooks poke, dandelion, and violets. Violet greens are good mixed into other greens. She also cooks a little weed that she calls 'stickweed,' but a lot of people call it 'white top' or 'fuzzy britches.' The leaves are fuzzy, but when it grows up, it's stickweed. You pick it when it first comes up, around the beginning of May, when they're about four or five inches high, before it gets tough. She boils them and then puts on a little vinegar or bacon grease. You can eat both the flower and leaf of the violet. She cooks the different types of greens together. She also cooks "creesy (but you have to get them early)" and "wild beet."

Figure 83. Fuzzy britches, also known as woolen britches, cow parsnips and *Herculeum lanatum*. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

RECREATION/SUBSISTENCE

While the 1994 NPS General Management Plan sees the de-industrialized Gauley area as a stage newly set for the enjoyment of "hikers, hunters, campers, boaters, anglers, and trappers" (p. 95), the fact is that residents have been using the environment for those purposes, unabated, since the earliest settlement. Perhaps the most salient difference in their use and the use of recreationists is that a number of the activities listed were, and still are, part of the subsistence of residents. This does not diminish their value as recreation and enjoyment; it merely amplifies their importance to the lifestyle of the residents and their vestedness in the landscape.

Hunting

Hunting is important recreationally and ritually. Family and friends hunt together, often sharing a cabin constructed specifically for the activity, and sharing the expenses of leasing land for hunting. Initiation into hunting is a meaningful step into manhood for boys of around twelve, and most recall the first time they succeeded in shooting a deer. (Sherrie Koontz related the story of how her nephew got his first deer at the age of eleven from the porch of the family home.) The challenge of tracking and shooting prey is exhilarating and requires knowledge of the landscape as well as of the prey. For many, both visitor and resident, it is a time of intense appreciation for and a feeling of oneness with nature as well as community. And while most hunters, visitors and residents alike, keep the deer and process the meat or give it to those who like it, for many

residents, venison continues to be an important part of the harvest that sustains their annual food cycle. Other wild game that is used includes turkey and squirrel. Bear hunting is also done in the area, but apparently more by visitors than by local residents.

Though hunting is thought of as an activity for men, several people talked about women who have hunted. Vera Ramsey's mother, in fact, had a tract of land that her husband bought for her specifically as hunting grounds. He built a little cabin on the land, and Ramsey's mother loved to go there to hunt squirrels.

Fishing

Fishing has perhaps become more of a sport for Gauley residents than a subsistence activity. This is partly because of the changes in the river since the building of the Summersville Dam. Fishing over time has remained widespread and constant; every interview included details of fishing, fishing holes, species caught, etc.

RM: Did you have names for spots on the river?

PR: Yeah. When you went fishing, you always -- well, we went down to the Sand Bar, you know, that's where you went fishing. And frequently, we'd go all night fishing. That was typical -- that was our recreation. We'd pack some eggs and bacon and a few other things in a bag -- cushion the eggs, of course -- and then we'd go down and -- well, sometimes you'd have a blanket, sometimes you didn't have. It was always in the summer time. And so we'd fish all night. It was mostly for cat fish, in the summertime. And if we were lucky, we could have fish for breakfast the next morning. If we weren't, then we had bacon and eggs, you know. But that was our recreation.

Fishing is still popular along the Gauley, and a favorite activity of fathers and sons. (Adam Brown and his sons fish the river right across from his service station at Belva. Bub Shelton and his sons regularly fish in "buddy tournaments.") However, residents now often fish in bodies of water that maintain more constant flow and temperature. Indeed, the major environmental change for residents of the Gauley area, with consequent cultural change, occurred when the Summersville Dam was built. While everyone acknowledges the importance of the dam in flood control, and the benefits of Summersville Lake, they nevertheless bemoan the way that

the dam changed the river. Larry Roop helped to build the dam, and though he feels pride in the achievement, he regrets its effect on the river:

LaR: I worked five years at Summersville Dam, building it, and I made --- what I done, basically I made Jodie a spillway and ruint my river.

RM: You made it a spillway?

LaR: I made Jodie a spillway for it and I ruint my river.

MH: How did it ruin it, though?

LaR: Makes it too cold, for the fish to spawn, for us to swim in, like we did as kids, you know.

LiR: It used to be in the summertime, it dried almost clear up. And it doesn't do that now.

RM: And what did you do when it dried almost clear up? I mean, was that something that was like --

MH: Was that a good thing, when it dried clear up…?

LaR: We still swam but we swam where it was swift, you know, like in the shoals and things, you know, in the rapids.

RM: You swam in the rapids?

LiR: Well, it's not that rapid.

LaR: That's what the rafters calls it --- rapids. But we used to just take the family and just go for six or seven miles up the river with a little row boat, for the Fourth of July and things like that. It was our way of pleasure, and doing things…

Figure 84. Rita Moonsammy, center, interviews Ken Roop (left) and his cousin Larry Roop (right) in Jodie.

Nevertheless, local people continue to fish in the Gauley, as well as in streams, creeks, lakes and other rivers. Species that were discussed include muskie, walleye, bass, sunfish, trout, crappie, and catfish. Some people "gig" for frogs at night on ponds. Fishing tournaments are an important part of the scene for avid fishermen, and they also provide some cash to those who organize them as well as win them. Anyone can organize a fishing tournament, Bub Shelton explained. There are established rules and regulations, and the winning pot is the total paid by participants, minus a percentage for the organizer. Shelton regularly fishes in "buddy tournaments" and enjoys the "dock talk" among fishermen who congregate and exchange stories and tall tales, some of which are strategies for keeping other fishermen away from good fishing spots.

The town of Gad continues to have a place on mental maps of the Summersville Lake and is expressed in a description of good fishing spots:

> BS: Got places up there we call the Sunken Island. Well, what it is, it was an old bridge that, you know, was a farm, before they flooded the lake. And just fish places like that because fish will migrate to that. It's a shallow area and there's deep access, deep access and the fish will come to places like that to feed. So you go up there and fish. You look for places like that. Look for long points that will run out into the lake, and some of them will be rocky, and some of them stumpy. Sometimes that makes a difference, whether it's rocky or stumpy.
>
> RM: How would that be -- what difference would that make?
>
> BS: Well, the fish, if they're feeding on crawfish, the rocky places are the better places. Crawfish laying under the rocks. And sometimes maybe the minnows are -- they're feeding on the minnows and the minnows are schooled up on a stumpy place that might have some grass or something in there. And they'd be in there feeding on them, and maybe you'd just have to hunt and search for them.

Camping

As mentioned in the section "Knowledge of the Landscape," camping was and continues to be an important activity. There are numerous "fishing camps" -- small buildings and cottages -- along the Gauley's edge, especially around Gauley Bridge. Although a few attempts have been made to re-fit some of these homes into year-round residences, most are still used only for summer activities by people around the area. Perhaps a contemporary version of such structures is

the campers that are now on some campgrounds in the area. On a private lot, previously owned by Union Carbide for the use of their employees, members of a number of extended families have permanently parked their campers for as many as the last thirty years. They go to the lake as often as possible in the summer, viewing it as a wholesome family activity in a safe place. Others continue to camp on the riversides in and beyond the New and Gauley.

Memories of camping in the past are vivid and fond, again belying the notion that the Gauley was "wild" and fearsome for local residents. The Taylor family in Gauley Bridge often camped out on the riverside in the summer, even though it was just a stone's throw from the back door of their home. Everyone went along, as did all the provisions necessary for meals and sleeping. These might be difficult to get down the hillside to the river, but they managed nevertheless. There is a general sense that regulations brought by the establishment of the parks have diminished the possibilities for camping beside the river.

Boating

There are distinct differences in opinions about boating on the river, which may depend on exactly where a resident lived. Three excerpts from interviews indicate the differences in the river at its east and west sections:

In the Peter's Creek area:

RM: Did you boat on the river?

BS: No, no. There was no way to get a boat to the river. Wasn't any way to get a boat to the river. You went down over the mountain. If you'd see where we went down to the --- where we camped to the Alum rock, you had to hold on to the tree. It was like this [indicates a steep slope]. You had to hold on to a trees in order to go down through there, it was so steep, going over the hill.

In the Piney Creek area:

RM: Did you boat on the river?

PR: No. There was no, none of this rafting or anything.

VR: No.

RM: But did you use boats at all?

PR: We used boats just to go across the river, but we never did go up and down it ‘cause an ordinary flat, wooden boat would be torn up down there. No, I never knew anybody ever to just go down the river. We had about four different places where there were eddies in the river and we could go across there. There was a sand bar, and there was Wood’s Ferry, and let’s see....

Yet in the western section of the river, interviewees talked about the various ways that they made boats and makeshift rafts.

KR: He [his father] built row boats. He was quite a craftsman. He could build a little row boat. And he could [construct] a nose that would never plow into the water, but just skim across the water. And ..

RM: How did he learn that?

KR: I don’t know. Just trial and error more than anything else. And he passed that on to me. He told me how to build them, and I’ve threatened for the last couple years to build one, see if I can duplicate his craftsmanship. But –

RM: You haven’t yet.

KR: Haven’t yet.

RM: Well, did you when you were younger?

KR: I helped him build several boats, and I know, once, he built my boat for myself, and my mother -- my birthday was coming up. I was 12 years old, she asked me what I wanted for my birthday. And I told her three yards of muslin. And she said “What?” And I said “You’re to build my sail and Dad’s gonna build the mast for my boat.” And convert it to a sailboat. I’d get out here, sail, all year long.

KR: I don’t have that boat any longer. In fact, the only thing I have right now is a canoe. But I want to try to build me a new boat. Just a row boat.

RM: Was your dad building them for people, or was it mostly his own use?

KR: He built several for other people, but mostly just for his own use.

RM: And what did he use them for?

KR: Just fishing. But they were very stable boats. You could sit up on the side of it if there was -- to bail the water out. You could set right there. It wouldn’t try to flip with you or nothing.

RM: What did he use to build them?

KR: Twelve inch pine boards....He could build a boat with six pine boards. Six 12-foot or 14-foot, whatever he wanted to build. He was an electrician in the mines. He taught me electricity. Had a little partial

basement under the house. Dad and I would go down there and rewind motors, different things, you know.

RM: So did you use the river more then? Were the kids their own little society?

KR: Well, we lived on the river literally. Rowboats. They had a big raft. We'd take a big piece of old roofing tin and make us a canoe. The only thing, if it sank, it sank, you know?

While many people now have aluminum and fiberglass boats, there are still some, among them Bruiser Cole of Gauley Bridge, who continue to build the "john boats" that are indigenous to the area.

Hiking

No one who was interviewed talked about their sojourns into the woods and along the river as "hiking." Many did talk about going to places that have ruins, or simply local meaning and value, as a favorite past time. Congruent with the subsistence approach to the environment, they spoke more about their time in the woods in terms of other activities -- gathering, hunting, and traveling from place to place. However, one that can be most closely associated with the recreationist's reason for hiking is riding trails. Four-wheeling with trucks and ATVs is a popular way of enjoying the landscape, as well as an important way of getting around. Many areas that were, before the days of four-wheel drive vehicles, inaccessible to residents have become valued sites for "getting away," visiting old family and community spots, and enjoying the companionship of others. Rough, old trails, many of them industrial routes for timbering, are now used for four-wheeling. On the other hand, areas that have been leveled out by strip mining are sometimes now regarded as excellent places for four-wheeling. Spots along the river that were difficult to reach are now gathering spots. That the coal and lumber companies generally allowed such uses has made the proposed Park Service restrictions a hotly contested issue.

WORK

While work for coal companies has been a widespread occupation over the years, the most striking feature of the occupational profile of the area is the versatility of workers. As mentioned earlier, this has enabled families to stay in the area through the flux in job

opportunities. It is also an important aspect of the long-practiced subsistence lifestyle. When one resource plays out or disappears, whether it be a coal mine or an employer, the people of the area have used the environment and adapted their skills to do other kinds of work. This is why part time agriculture, gathering, and timbering are as important as the development of tourism businesses.

In the current economic/business climate, families continue to need to supplement basic income. Of the ten largest employers in Nicholas County (Nicholas County Board of Education, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., Summersville Memorial Hospital, Alex Energy, Inc., Columbia West Virginia, Inc., Global Contact Services, LLC, Seneca Mental Health, Inc., BEAerospace, Inc., Lowe's Home Centers, Inc., Richwood Area Community Hospital), six fall in occupational categories that pay average annual wages of less than $22,000. In 2000, nearly 20% of households in both Fayette and Nicholas counties had income of less than $25,000 annually. Our research verified that residents use the environment to supplement these limited incomes.

Agriculture

In 2002, there were 332 farms in Nicholas County and 240 in Fayette County, with an average size of 100 acres in the former and 132 in the latter. Much of the acreage is in forage crops (hay, grass silage, etc.) and woodland, but production is significant in vegetables, fruits, tree nuts, and berries. Cattle and calves are also an important product. (State stats) Yet, more than half of the owner operators of those farms had their principal employment in another sector, and the cash income from these farms is generally quite low. This reflects not only the versatility of the workers, but also the importance of the environment as a resource for subsistence, and the importance of the family for sustenance.

Numerous families have "cow-calf" operations, in which they may breed a few cows and sell the calves to large farms in other parts of the country. They also slaughter for their own use. Rather than cultivate more labor intensive crops, they raise hay and grass to feed the animals. They may also have large gardens and raise vegetables that they can and freeze and share among members of the extended family. Such farms can be run only when family members and neighbors help with chores. While Sam Haines worked in the mines, he and Florence raised cows, pigs, and sheep for sale and for their own use. Florence tended a large garden that fed her family.

When Sam was laid off from the mines for an extended period, she sold vegetables at a stand in Summersville. She had regular customers for eggs. Their three daughters and Florence's brothers helped with the chores. The Koontz Family farm is similar. Page sometimes worked in other jobs, and now his son is employed elsewhere, but the family together with friends raises cows and crops, using the field that rafters park in during the fall to harvest two crops of hay during the spring and summer.

Figure 85. Cattle dogs on the Koontz farm. (Photo by Rita Moonsammy)

Figure 86. Cattle dogs on the Koontz farm. (Photo by Rita Moonsammy)

Mining

According to West Virginia state Bureau of Employment figures from 2003, 631 people in Nicholas County and 431 in Fayette County were employed directly in mining. Others work in mining on and off, and still others are employed driving coal trucks and repairing equipment. Such official documentation differs from the Park Service's narrative that sees the coal industry in the Gauley area as nearly dead. It is true that not as great a percentage of the population today makes a living from mining. However, new mining sites are planned, and the overall employment level is sufficient to see the story of coal in the Gauley region as ongoing rather than finished. Brown's Service Station is an example of a business that has been sustained through coal. Adam Brown's grandfather started selling gasoline in the 20s on the same site where the station is still located, and Brown's business is profitable now because of the services he provides to the coal trucks. (Brown's father lives in the house his grandfather built just up the hill from the Route 39 location, and Brown's new home is located just to the west of it.)

In fact, with a few exceptions, the people spoken to during this survey had worked in mining themselves, had forebears who worked in it, and had relatives who are working in it. For people between 50 and 80, the mines provided employment off and on during their work years. In Nicholas County, many families spoke about the punch mines on family property. Bob Summers's father mined enough from his property to supply the school district and other customers. Some had work enough for several employees; for others, it was strictly a family endeavor. Those mines were part of the varied resources that kept families afloat.

Many of the older people are the children of miners and lived in a number of different places as their fathers moved among the active mines. Some men began their work lives in the mines and stayed on until retirement. During the inevitable lay-offs and strikes they would patch together jobs to sustain their families, often using the resources of their land. Others began their work lives in the mines then moved on to other less dangerous or more stable occupations. Such is the story of the father of Dennis McCutcheon. Following is an excerpt from the summary of an interview with McCutcheon.

"His father loaded coal in the mines, which involved everything from the dynamiting to the loading and separating the slate. He got paid for the coal and not for the slate. He did this until 1938, 9 years after he married. 'I remember the evening he quit. I saw him coming across the field carrying his tools.' Then he worked as a salesman from 1938 to 1947. By that time he knew everyone in the north half of Fayette County and in the western half of Greenbrier County, and after the war was over, he sold vacuum cleaners and made a good living."

As a group, the interviewees know how to do nearly every function necessary in a mine. They have blasted, bolted, sorted, hauled, put up posts, operated longwall machines, marked channels, run saws, set posts, pulled pillars, and more. Many have experienced danger and even disaster first hand. Their stories are as sobering as those that are now printed in the history books.

RM: So your grandfather did some things that were associated with mining. And then did your dad work –

KR: My dad was a coal miner all his life. Except the last job he worked was helping build Summerville Dam.

RM: Oh really?

KR: And that's the last job he worked for and retired. But he worked coal mines here in town, all over the southern part of the state.

RM: Did the family move with him when he was mining in other parts of the state? Or would he just go for ---

KR: He would come home on weekends. We always lived right here. There was six of us children. My youngest brother and sister are both dead now. My brother was killed in a mining accident. 1986.

RM: Oh, really?

KR: He was a powder man --- he and my first cousin. And, they put a shot off and killed those two.

RM: Where was that?

KR: It was up at Nicholas Energy, it's called now. It was High Power, up at Drennen. And I was supposed to go to work with them the day they was killed. He was going to let me go, and show me how to shot and stuff. But I was out of state and didn't get back till late, so I didn't go with him.

The narrative of the Gauley can only benefit from the inclusion of these stories and their tellers. A ride down the Gauley in October will be no less exciting when the rafter knows that the people who live in the surrounding hills have defied danger and made their way deep into the

earth. In fact, it may intensify the sense of the Gauley region as challenging and valuable. Certainly, it will diminish the sense among people in that area that they are "forgotten."

Timbering

Cutting trees and sawing and selling wood is yet another example of how the environment has provided multiple resources to maintain a family's livelihood. Many families have used the timber on their property to supplement iincome. When he was laid off or out on strike from the mines, Sam Haines would cut trees to sell to the mines to be used for posts. Others have used the wood to build their homes or other farm buildings. One man used the wood from a large chestnut blown down during a storm to make wooden kitchen implements. He sold many of them through the Gauley Bridge Arts and Crafts Center until it closed. Other families have focused on timbering. Timothy Foster's father and grandfather were timbermen, the latter legendary throughout the region for his seven-foot height. Adam Brown's maternal grandfather logged with horses even during the 1970s. Brown recalls going with his grandfather to take care of the horses on weekends. (There is apparently still one man timbering with horses, but he was not interviewed during the study.) There are still sawmills in the area, the largest of which is a fourth-generation family business. NPS restrictions on cutting trees have thus removed a subsistence resource for some families.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding sections of this report have focused on describing the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed. This cultural and ecological formation precedes the time of European contact. It has adjusted to the historical ruptures brought on by European conquest and industrial capitalist exploitation. It remains vital to the social and economic life of the region in the present, and its continuing vitality is of global significance. We have identified a number of key ethnographic resources and practices that the park could engage in planning for the future of the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed. In this section we want to address two interrelated questions:

- How can the park participate in the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed?
- How can the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed incorporate the park?

Answering these questions will require setting up an ongoing process of shared inquiry, engaging residents of the region in the task of identifying where the goals of the park overlap with the cultural and economic goals of communities, and harmonizing processes for meeting these shared goals. In the zone of overlap, the collective memory becomes vital to the park's ability to recognize and preserve thresholds to history and to understand the deep connections between culture and ecology along the national rivers.

REINTEGRATING A FRAGMENTED ECOSYSTEM: A FOUNDATIONAL ROLE FOR COLLECTIVE MEMORY

In every vicinity along the New and Gauley Rivers we heard similar kinds of concerns: about the fragmentation of the commons, the alienation of young people from the ways of their elders, increased levels of pollution and littering, loss of access to favorite fishing and camping spots, uncertainty about what the new regulations are and where they apply, and an often-stated

belief that tourists matter more to government officials than the communities adjacent to the park. In the aggregate, the expression of such concerns reflect an anxiety over the pace of change and a sense of having been excluded from the decision-making process that manages change.

Figure 87. Allen Brown, proprietor of Quinnimont Lunch, kept the establishment going as a community center where teens could socialize until his death in the 1990s. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

To understand this anxiety, it is instructive to consider Gregory Bateson's model for what he calls "the thinking system." In *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, Bateson argued that the thinking system, which is the minimal unit required for survival, consists of the organism plus its environment. If we think of the community as a thinking system, the incessant labor of piecing together an environment that is always being fragmented makes sense: an organism survives by continually refitting itself to its surroundings, which harbor all the cues for social communication and its meanings; and which gives continual feedback on the status of community life. All along both rivers we heard people trying to make sense of new and unfamiliar signals.

As the Summersville Dam is troubling to people on the Gauley River, the Bluestone Dam is still cited in the Hinton area for its damaging effect on the local economy and on local culture, having displaced many family farms and ripped an important agricultural resource out of the local economy. According to W.C. Parker:

> "This is farming country. We got all this good bottom land on both sides of the river. Like where Camp Bertha is…lot of good bottom land on the river and it's productive. The dam cut off the best farmland in the county. People truck-farmed there, sold produce in Hinton and to the coal camps and to Bluestone Produce. Dad was opposed to that [the dam]. But it's there for flood control for the Ohio system…There's a lot of flat water from the mouth of Indian Creek to the dam. What they have covered with that thing is not my stomping ground, but I had friends and relatives there, so I hate to see that displacement. The dam hurt the local economy. We lost farms, stores…And when the railroad went down, it's been a problem for the economy."

In other words, having lost the land as a buffer against economic downturns, communities become vulnerable when the industrial base collapses.

Echoing Parker on another occasion, Jack Hellems, a long-time trot-line fisherman, commented: "The dam has hampered the fishing and ruined the farms. They keep the water level, change the outflow, it erodes the river bottom…There's mud in the dam, so they put in trees and rocks [to create structure for habitat]. Mud and silt. The [fish] eggs sink into the silt, and they can't survive." There have been more deliberate interventions as well, in the introduction of muskellunge and striped bass, predatory species. "They also introduced stripers," Mr. Hellems said. "They're a predatory fish…But they didn't get below the dam. Smith Mountain Lake in Virginia. They're there for the tourists. I hope they don't get down here."

The dam disrupted the favored practice of fishing for wall-eye around Hinton. "The state record for walleye was here," Jack Hellems said. "Charlton Cox, held the record till the 1990s, from the 1960s. So it's great for walleye. Had the state record." But the dam has disrupted that fishing, at least downriver of Hinton. "So reintroduce them below the dam," Mr. Hellems suggested. "They can put them in several places, and they bite in spring and fall, not summer. Like any fish, they relate to structure. So any place where there's deep water and shallow water nearby." These conditions no longer exist in the vicinity of the lake, but they are common in the gorge. In addition, a fish that bites in spring and fall will be of interest locally, because those seasons fall outside the very busy summer tourist season, when the river is flush with rafters, kayakers, and campers.

Figure 88. Bluestone Dam. (Photo by Karen Hudson. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

The dam has created a new set of complexities for local fishermen who find themselves competing with tourists for 'space' on the river. The raising and lowering of water levels, for tourists, is often cited as disruptive to fishing. Jack Hellems told Tom Carroll:

> "Fish won't bite when the water drops or rises. So you need to leave it constant. But last summer, they kept it at three gates. This summer it's been below two gates. Three gates, it's too deep to wade. You can gauge the river, tell how many gates. And to catch fish you have to watch that."

Glen Vallandingham raised a potentially alarming issue when he noted that:

> "The last several years I don't catch half the fish I used to catch. Because of pressure on the river, increased people fishing, and there's also something in the food chain. We used to catch hellgrammites, these long fighting-mad hellgrammites, got a lot in the net. Now, there's only one or two…and they're soft and puffy and quiet. So there's something wrong in the food chain. Once, when the river was down, the rocks were covered with a white powder when the river dropped. I called the dam, they said 'it's always on there, in the spring.' So maybe the plants along the river in Virginia dump into the river in spring. And there's no industry here. But the officials said, 'Oh, it's always there.' They were dismissive. But I never saw it before, and I was always on the river."

The officials who said, "Oh it's always there," squandered an opportunity for civic engagement around their resource. Based on years of first hand experience, Vallandingham's observations and expressions concerns are invitations to such engagement.

What distinguishes a number of NERI's neighbors from other visitors are their vivid historical and personal memories of this landscape, strong feelings of affection for that, and related feelings of distress at signs of continuing degradation. Such memories and observations are renewed through practices like hunting, fishing (traditionally with trotlines), gathering, bait catching, walking, gardening, boat building (john boats and bateaus), making fish traps, bait boxes, seines for hellgrammites and minnows, and so forth. People are commenting on the fragmentation of this system, and their comments, drawing on years of participation in NERI landscapes, reflect a keen sensitivity to differences among places in the watershed, and ecological changes over time.

Buzzy Hellems reflected on what makes Meadow Creek a unique place to fish, and how to know where to catch bait, and when:

> "That's quite a country down below Meadow Creek. The fish out there, they bleed, it's just like butchering a hog. Maybe because the river's dropping down, and the shoals, there's more oxygen in the water. Because it does drop pretty keen, water's pretty swift. The river narrows, and there's a sharp drop, right below Glade. We used to have dates, to fish different places. The earliest are, for softshells, crawfish…We knew where to go, when."

At his home in Grandview, Ritchie Carper, (descendant of Joseph Carper, the famed 19th century rifle maker), related the differences in the kinds of crops that could be grown in communities around New River to differences in soils and microclimates on either side of the Fire Creek seam of coal:

> "On the River they could grow sweet potatoes, which you can't grow up here. And down on the river people were raising tomatoes and sweet potatoes, because they get an early season and it's the sandy loam soil. Where up here, this is mostly a clay type soil and our seasons are late. So we have to compensate for that by planting different crops. But just about the Fire Creek coal seam is the break in climate here."

A conversation that Linda Lee and Mary Hufford had with Paul Fox and Harold Duncan gives us a glimpse of what people can remember about the community forest, and the way in which talk about species opens onto a different historical and cultural perspective on the forest:

> MH: I want to ask you some questions regarding the forest – are there a lot of nut trees?

PF: Hickories – we used to gather the hickories – there used to be a hazelnut – I haven't seen a hazel nut in years

HD: Mostly died out

PF: We used to gather them – it was a source of food

HD: Like the butternut

MH: Are there any butternuts left?

HD: Last one I recall grew up this path by the railroad track up here – it died out about 12 years ago

LL: Do you know what caused them to die out?

HD: No

PF: I think the weather's changing. I think the forest is changing.

MH: What makes you think that?

PF: Well it just seems that the trees are not the same as they used to be – a lot of the hickory trees are dying; a lot of beech trees are dying

MH: Yellow locust? Mountain locust? (this is not a meaningful distinction to Paul Fox)

PF: Locust has a blight now – the leaves turn brown and stuff – you'd be amazed at how brown it can turn and still live.

HD: We used to have chincapin – I don't know of any of them left

PF: We used to pick blackberries and cherries – used to pick everything we could gather

LG: can it!

MH: How about red mulberry?

PF: I love mulberries – we had a mulberry tree – black mulberries – kids'd be hanging all over that tree when they were ripe (laughs)

HD: Used to be made into pies and jelly

MH: Wild?

PF: No these were planted

MH: Are there many trees planted by people still growing?

PF: Oh yeah – a lot of them are – that's something else – I don't think fruit trees are doing as well as they used to – it's kind of rare to have a good cherry crop

HD: Used to be people would take good care of their trees – even if it wasn't on their land – go saw it out – try to keep the tree alive; same with apple trees – but now they just grow up all gnarly – bumps all over them and everything -- years ago you didn't have the money to go to Foodland.

MH: Do you know where there are still orchards or bits of orchards in the National Park?

LG: I'm sure there's still some up in the area around where Terry is – there use to be an old McKendree hospital up there along the river, and a couple of the doctors had built real nice homes across the river which are gone now, but several of those places had apple orchards, plum trees, peach trees – I'm sure they're still standing, but in such bad condition they're not producing anything

HD: Persimmon trees – they have them along the river – now everybody relates to them as a place to find deer during deer season – deer eat the persimmons as they drop off – anybody interested in persimmons is interested in getting the deer as he's there eating the fruits

MH: Paw-paws?

LG: They're not as plentiful as they used to be, but they're still around

HD: Same area where that butternut tree was, there's plenty of them up there, but very seldom do they produce anything – they grow up there, but they don't produce – I don't know why

PF: when I was a kid, we used to have a place where we hunted – it was just beech tree after beech tree after beech tree – last time I was there all of them'd died. I don't know what happened to them.

MH: You see a lot of small beech trees, but you're saying there aren't too many big ones

PF: All the big ones are dying – I don't know why – just look like they caught some kind of blight or disease

HD: Like chestnut trees, this whole area was full of chestnut trees. My dad used to talk about going up and getting bushels of chestnuts and by the time I was big enough to see what a chestnut tree looked like, they were dying.

PF: I'd sure like to see one – I've seen the stumps, humongous stumps

HD: My dad used to talk about how Chestnut trees were just a magnet for animals of any kind – turkey, squirrels, deer, eat the chestnut – when they knew where the chestnut tree was, they were right there, getting the chestnuts and hunting the animals too.

These kinds of observations were made by older people up and down New River who have spent their lives interacting with the community forest and watershed. In a short stretch of talk, historical and cultural information was interwoven with observations on forest species, offering a glimpse of the thinking system, and the role of forest species in archiving collective ecological memory.

Figure 89. Butternuts curing on the stoop of Howard and Sadie Miller, Drews Creek. (Photo by Lyntha Eiler. Source: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress)

In the mid-1990s, a three-year scientific study designed to investigate local observations of species decline in the mixed mesophytic forests concluded that mortality rates in the mixed mesophytic forest (from northern Alabama to southeastern Ohio and southwestern Pennsylvania) are three to five times higher than historic rates (Loucks et al. 1997). The study found that a number of the species cited by Paul Fox are particularly susceptible to the airborne sulfates and nitrogen oxides from fossil fuel combustion upwind of the region that have weakened this forest system over the past three decades. Perhaps science in collaboration with local collective memory could find ways to encourage the hardwood species and habitats that distinguish this community forest among mid-latitude systems worldwide.

ENGAGING THE ARCHIVE: PRACTICES OF CULTURAL RETRIEVAL AND DISCOURSES OF RECONNECTION

> "I like to just sit on the river bank and think about the history of these coal towns." – Ernie Jones, Brooklyn

In addition to making ends meet, and getting out of the ordinary routine, the practices of fishing, camping, boating, gathering, and gardening provide ways of structuring remembrance that afford a great deal of pleasure. Resources that have never been plentiful, which most tourist

would not recognize, are cherished. “When I was a kid,” recalled Albert Pennington. “I only knew of about five or six butternut trees, they were about two miles from home, and sometimes they wouldn’t have over five or six butternuts on them. I would walk those two or three miles to see if I could find a few butternuts.”

As we saw above, William Tury spent his spare time in the 1980s salvaging cut stone from coal camps on New River in an attempt to reconnect with his father, a stoneworker from Italy. “I’ve salvaged cut stone all over these old coal camps,” he told Ken Sullivan. “Every stone I pick up, I wonder “Did (my father) have somebody do this, or did he have his hand on this stone?” For people who lived the history, and their descendents, ruins within the park – foundation plantings, cemeteries, stone work, railroad ties, old roads, orchards, and the like – precipitate memory. So powerful are the settings, even when mostly gone, that it remains important to hold church homecomings, and family, town, company, and high school reunions in near proximity to these places. Almost any ruin is apt to precipitate memory, and plans that would disturb these should engage appropriate members of communities, particularly where cemeteries and churches are involved. There are a number of cemeteries that do not appear on the U.S.G.S. quadrangles, and mapping these should be a priority for the park.

Figure 90. Dinner on the Grounds at the New Life Baptist Church Homecoming in Shady Spring, 2004.

Figure 91. Scale model of family homestead on Irish Mountain, made by Ernie Jones and displayed in front of his home in Brooklyn.

Figure 92. Gene Hall and Billy Harris trading memories of friends buried in the Terry Cemetery, on Garden Ground Mountain.

There are a number of processes already in place, which the Park could identify and engage, whereby communities are recovering and maintaining connections. At some of the reunions and homecomings we attended, there were temporary photo galleries displayed. Around these photos intergenerational groups rehearsed their history. At Mount Hope Jubilee Days, many store fronts became sites for the display of memorabilia. Ritchie Carper, of Grandview, said that

the Grandview Reunion had such a kiosk, and that visiting the cemeteries and homeplaces is something people do at the reunion. The Beury Mountain reunion is held at the cemetery on Beury Mountain, where the grave markers prompt remembrance and recognition of a larger social body to which people belong.

Outside of the time of reunion, there are many informal archives and museums in the region. The walls of bait shops, convenience stores, bars, and restaurants are hung with memorabilia. We were in the Minden Bar for less than ten minutes before the proprietor pulled out photographs of the catastrophic flood several years ago. Similarly, at Anna's Country Store in Winona, five minutes of conversation with Wilbur resulted in a retrieval of historic town photographs around which a small group assembled and began relating stories.

Figure 93. Wilbur Berry, relating some of the history of Winona on the porch of Anna's Country Crafts, August 2004.

Connoisseurs of the region's past, like Jimmy Costa, Billy Aliff, and others have assembled collections that are already recognized as resources by schools. Robin Crawford hopes to open an African American museum in Hinton. Such events and sites, and their underlying philosophies of piecing together fragments in a way that generates new communities of talk and inquiry, are potent with possibility for building new relationships between the park and its neighbors, and the visitors who pass through the region, who might come away with a much better understanding of its life than they presently do. The Park Service, which has already done

exemplary work through its oral histories, “New River Neighbors” video series, and participation in the recent documentation of the bateau, could extend its support to indigenous efforts to conserve and capitalize on cultural assets.

Figure 94. Fieldworkers Linda Lee and Cindy Murtagh, with members of the Plateau District Quilters who meet each Wednesday at the Glen Jean National Bank.

RECOMMENDATION FOR INTERPRETATION AND MANAGEMENT

These recommendations attempt to address the basic problem of the disconnect between existing NPS interpretations of the region and the complexity and vivacity of the living culture. It is useful to note here that, over the course of our fieldwork in the region, a number of people referred to the area as “forgotten.” While this was especially true in upper Fayette County, Nicholas County, and Summers County, where services and public resources are minimal compared to those of lower Fayette and Raleigh counties, there is a general sense that local culture has been overlooked by the Park Service and others whose programs and policies focus public attention in the state. From our perspective and experience, the region is still rich with cultural practices and communities that our society in general bemoans the loss of elsewhere. They warrant our attention and respect.

Constitute the Mixed Mesophytic Community Forest and Watershed as a Ground for Civic Engagement

Finding ways to engage with traditionally associated people around the task of restoring, monitoring, and tending the mixed mesophytic community forest and watershed as a landscape that is the expression and medium for community life is critical to the management of this resource, and therefore fundamental to the purpose for which the park was created. In this plan, the collective memory of traditionally associated peoples about the mixed mesophytic watershed would not simply be documented and stored in the park archive. Rather the landscape itself would continue to function as a living archive. While the park would continue to regulate the use of land and resources within its boundaries, it could exercise leadership in restoring the mixed mesophytic watershed by engaging (and employing) people inside and outside the park boundaries in the propagation of mixed mesophytic species and in the cleaning up of invasives.

1. Recognize the community forest and watershed in the park themes and content and address perspectives of traditionally associated communities.
2. Form a set of working groups of local residents who know the woods from traditional experience with them: hunting, gathering, walking, hiking, fishing, camping and so forth.
3. Use a professional facilitator to bring park resource managers together with interested traditionally associated people to explore issues of environmental quality and health and set priorities for assessment and management of the mmf watershed.
4. Develop a plan for ongoing assessment of watershed health and replenishment and sustaining of biocultural resources in and around the park. (For instance, conduct an ongoing forest census to locate species that are becoming more scarce: butternuts, chincapins, red mulberries, yellow locust, and so forth; launch a program of propagating nut trees and other native hardwoods).
5. Provide training and jobs for members of traditionally associated communities interested in participating in monitoring and propagation of mixed mesophytic species and the restoration of their habitats.
6. Develop community-based criteria for managing areas that presently function (in a de facto way) as local use areas; places that are remote or difficult for visitors

from elsewhere to access, but that could be cultivated as spaces that serve the mutual interests of the park service and local communities.

7. Coordinate with adjacent corporate landowners and with other Federal agencies (USDA, EPA, USFWS) to devise and implement policies that recognize and support the institution of the community forest in the Central Appalachian region.

RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH, PROGRAMS, AND EDUCATIONAL PRODUCTS

In consultation with traditionally associated communities, develop programs for educating park visitors about the region's dynamic living culture, its biocultural underpinnings and the global significance of the mixed mesophytic watersheds of New River and Central Appalachia.

Local residents comprise a knowledgeable constituency for the mixed mesophytic watershed in ways that most visitors to the park do not, and can not. Participation in this landscape, conditioned by local knowledge that is generations deep, is the basis for continued ethnogenesis in this region. The collective memory that circulates in talk and practice and the reservoir of deep affection for the environment that many of our consultants expressed are resources on which the park could build a program of ongoing research and public education.

1. Create partnerships with local residents (through churches, civic organizations, workplaces, retirees organizations, etc.) to both revise the NPS narrative of the Gauley and to sustain cultural structures and values. Create a multifaceted residents' advisory group to work with the Park in an ongoing manner regarding planning, public information, and enforcement and incorporate local residents and experts into all phases of planning, rather than providing a limited set of plans for them to respond to at the outset.
2. Revise the NERI and GARI themes to reflect more accurately the current socioeconomic and cultural configurations and to incorporate the residents' view of what is important.

3. Use NPS public education formats and materials to show the connections between the past and the present as a dynamic process, and to present living tradition as an important cultural resource
4. Identify respect for and sustenance of the living culture as a core aspect of the Park's mission
5. Seek ways of supporting initiatives through which local groups can benefit, financially and culturally, from the tourism that the Park encourages
6. Network with other agencies of government to address policies that conflict and to support policies that sustain the communities
7. Support a fuller program of research and documentation of the traditional culture of the Gauley region, recognizing that the economic and cultural networks extend beyond the river.
8. Work with interested communities within the park boundaries and along the routes of access to whitewater put-ins and take outs to obtain funding to develop interpretive materials, visitors centers in the communities, and support exhibits, events, gift shops, fundraisers, guide services and so forth based at community centers.
9. Form a community of inquiry with interested members of the public to document and archive community-based knowledge of history and ecology. Inaugurate multi-disciplinary summer field schools to work with the park and its neighbors on particular topics. Topics to explore include cemetery customs, agricultural history and practice, landscapes and histories of African American communities, ecologies of subsistence, traditional practices that connect the river to the forest, such as the tradition of building of john boats and batteaus, which we encountered both around Hinton and Gauley Bridge.
10. Produce public educational products (exhibits, sound tracks for automobile tours, recipe books, calendars, and so forth) that disseminate local knowledge and ecological concerns. Make these available to community visitor centers to sell as a way to raise money and also to engage with park visitors.
11. Document the diffusion of communities from mountain settlements into settlements and coal camps in the Gorge, and subsequent relocation to communities surrounding the Gorge.

12. Develop strategies for exchanging and building on cultural and ecological knowledge about resources in and around the park (for example, an interactive website and/or talk radio programs).

CONCLUSION: THE MIXED MESOPHYTIC COMMUNITY FOREST AND WATERSHED IS FOUNDATIONAL TO THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH THE PARKS WERE CREATED

In her report on the natural resources of NERI and GARI, Carol Mahan observes that the mixed mesophytic forest, within which NERI and GARI are located, comprises "the largest remaining area of midlatitude forest in the world, making it a globally significant resource." Mahan's observation adds to the significance of the parks and provides an additional means of integrating the region into the world system. The mixed mesophytic forest is a resource that contributes to a unique identity for National Parks located within it, and a trademark for the region that no other region in the world can claim. As a resource that figures uniquely in the identities of communities on the Cumberland and Allegheny plateaus, the mixed mesophytic forest also provides a means of integrating NERI and GARI into the lives of traditionally associated peoples. Having participated in human activities for thousands of years, the mixed mesophytic forest has gained an identity as a community forest. The geological events that produced the conditions under which this forest evolved also produced the rivers that define the parks. By dint of a unique geology and history, the community forest itself is part and parcel of the watersheds at the headwaters of the Kanawha River. The community forest climaxes in full reciprocity with the collective memory of traditionally associated peoples. Engaging with this collective memory and conserving the practices and resources through which it circulates, the resources of the mixed mesophytic forest and watershed, is foundational to the purpose for which the New River Gorge National River was created.

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APPENDIX I:

HISTORIC POPULATION TRENDS FOR MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS ALONG THE NEW RIVER

In general, the five most historically consistent magisterial districts in the Fayette County portion of the northern New River region are centered around the following present day communities (see 1933 maps of magisterial districts by John R. Ice, Figures 94 through 97):

Fayetteville: Fayetteville, Oak Hill, Mount Hope (and communities in the Gorge from Stone Cliff to Fayette Station)

Mountain Cove: Ansted, Hico, Lansing, Hawk's Nest

Quinnimont: Meadow Bridge, Layland, Maple Wood, Danese, Springdale (and communities in the Gorge from Glade to Claremont)

Sewell Mountain: Centered on Landisburg and Clifftop (and communities in the Gorge from Thurmond to Sewell)

Nuttall: Lookout, Edmond, Russellville (and communities in the Gorge from Caperton? to Nuttalburg)

While the census figures for the entire Mountain Cove district in Table 12, the fieldwork on the northernmost portion of Mountain Cove and the entire Falls district of Falls Church is covered in the Section on the Gauley River by Rita Moonsammy. For each decade until 1930, a magisterial district is added. In 1910 and 1950 the figures are given separately for a number of towns within the six minor civil divisions, and in 1960 the figures are again reported for the six minor civil divisions. At some point after 1960, Fayette County reconstituted itself as three minor civil divisions: New Haven, Valley, and Plateau.

Table 12. Population Trends for the Northern Region of New River, 1870–1960

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Fayetteville 1/Town		472			671				1952	
Fayetteville 2	1977	2313	4100	9889		23,288	30,078	32,794		27,807
Mountain Cove	1923	2042	5123	4235	4489	4284	4554	5352	6133	4850
Sewell	1333	1333	3100	3648	3331	3314	3208	3752	3419	2865

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Quinnimont			2659	3360	5525	5926	5944	6950	6459	3812
Nuttall				3180	3388	3589	4442	3976	3689	2306
Glen Jean					722				537	
Hilltop					761				576	
Kilsythe					730					
McDonald					1153					
Mount Hope					494				494	
Oak Hill					764				4518	
Ogden City					210					
Scarbro					1533				1348	
Thurmond					315				219	
Stuart					697					
Ansted									1543	
Minden-Rock Lick									2307	
Meadow Bridge									597	

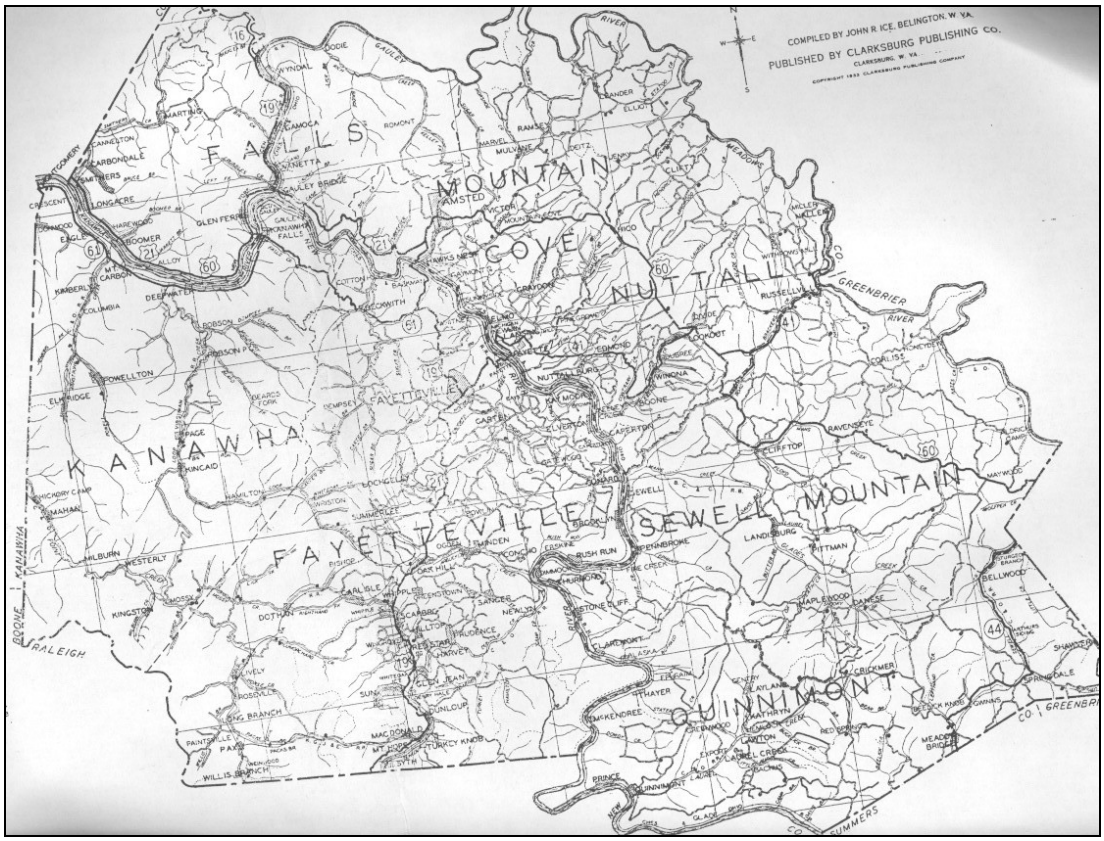

Figure 95. Fayette County magisterial districts, 1933. (Source: Ice 1933)

Raleigh County

Magisterial districts for Raleigh County have remained more stable than they have for Fayette County. The divisions contiguous to the northern region of the National River are Shady Spring and Town. The Richmond District includes Irish Mountain and Redden Ridge, and communities on New River from Long Bottom to Hamlet. Shady Spring encompasses Grandview, Beaver, Table Rock, Daniel, Scott Ridge and on New River, the historic towns of Royal and McCreery. Town centers on Beckley, and extends across Batoff Mountain to the communities along Piney Creek: from Stanaford to Terry on the New River, and the old McKell towns on Dunloup Creek: Tamroy, Oswald, and Price Hill, as well as Cranberry, Skelton, Sprague, Mabscott, Sophia and other communities that began as company towns.

Table 13. Population Trends for Magisterial Districts in Raleigh County, 1870–1960

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Shady Spring	686	1223	1586	2334	3887	5976	8376	9713	11,040	9271
Town	811		2305	3357	10,407	16,555	28,439	39,018	44,771	45,877
Richmond	389	725	986	1226	1220	1920	1892	1601	829	908

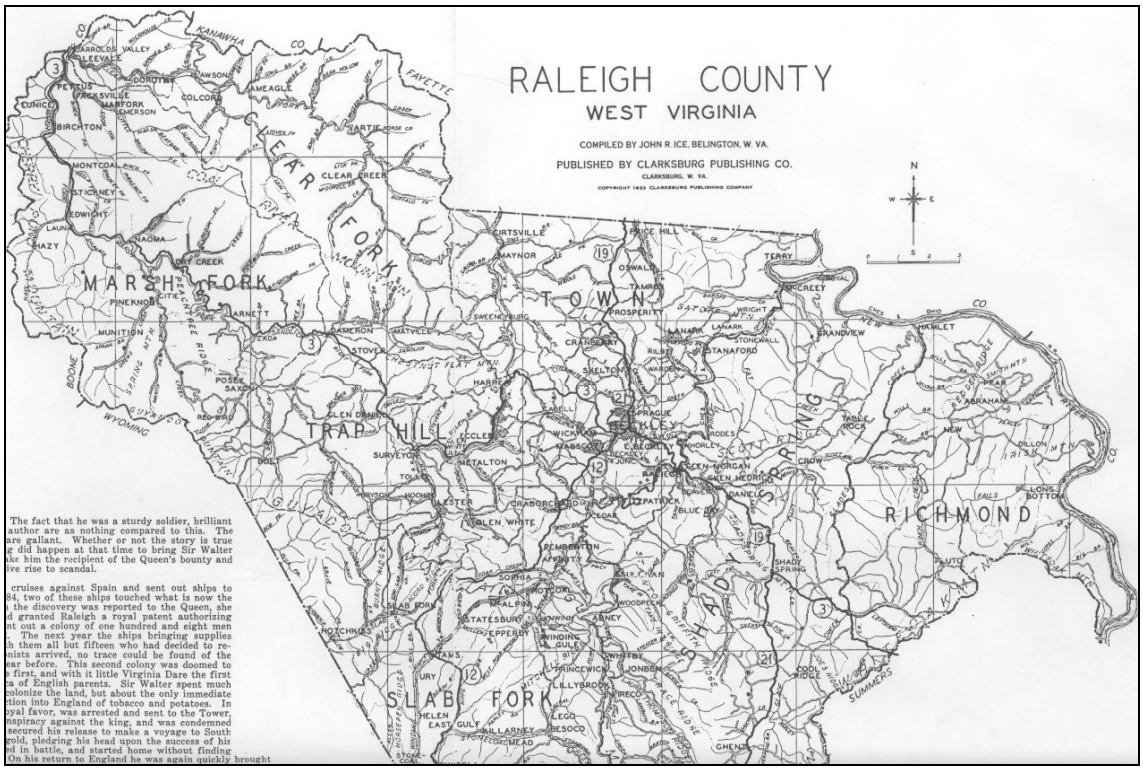

Figure 96. Raleigh County magisterial districts, 1933. (Source: Ice 1933)

Summers County

The minor civil divisions adjacent to Hinton in the Southern District are in Summers Counties. These include the Jumping Branch, Greenbrier, and Green Sulphur magisterial districts. Although Summers County was formed in 1871, the magisterial districts do not appear in the census records until 1890. In Summers County, Jumping Branch is where White Oak Mountain drains via Madam's Creek below the confluence of the Greenbrier and the New Rivers, and tributaries of the Bluestone River drain the headwaters on Bluestone Mountain. Stretching across Wolf Creek Mountain and Keeney Mountain, the Greenbrier District includes the Greenbrier as it flows from Ballengee past the Big Bend Tunnel and empties into the New at Bellepoint. The historic railroad town of Hinton is in the Greenbrier District. The Green Sulphur District includes Hump, Chestnut, Sewell, Gwinn, and Fisher Mountains, the communities of Ramp, Green Sulphur Springs, and Claypool and communities along the New River from Brooks to Meadow Creek. The populations recorded for these districts in the censuses from 1870 to 1960 are as follows:

Table 14. Population Trends for Magisterial Districts in Summers County, 1870–1960

	Green Sulphur	Greenbrier	Jumping Branch
1870			
1880			
1890	2135	3608	2188
1900	2747	4940	2779
1910	3139	6419 (including Hinton, with 3656)	2792
1920	3579	6998	2774
1930	3577	7984	3003
1940	3932	7368	3408
1950	3560	7285	2953
1960	?	6429	2112

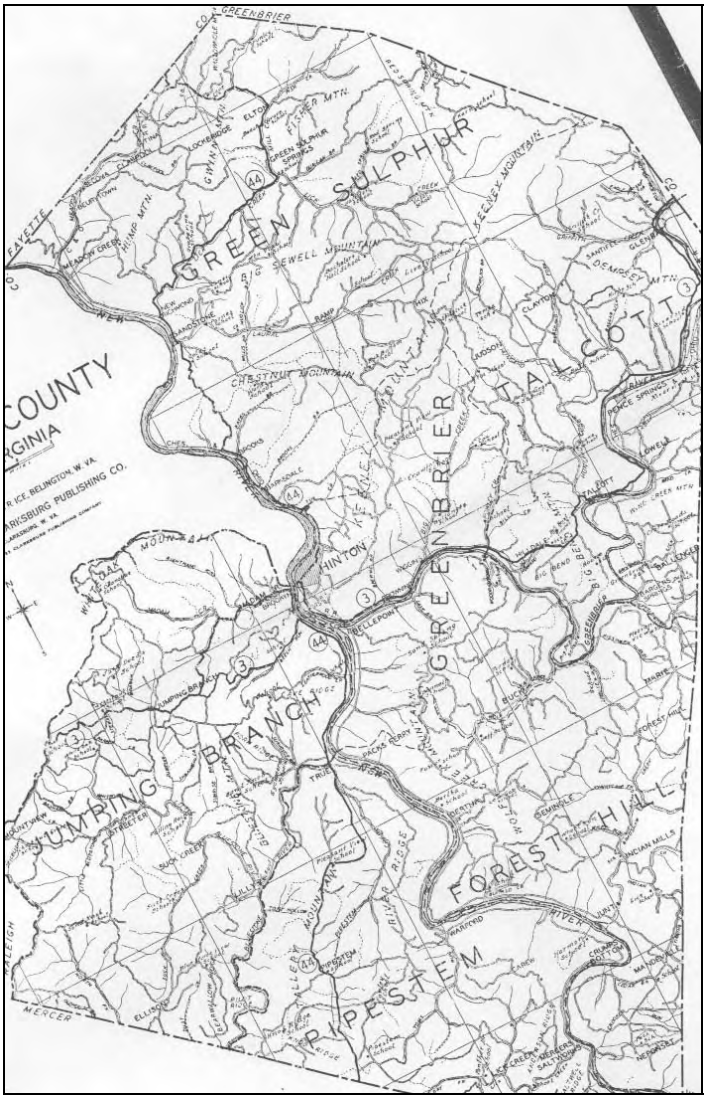

Figure 97. Summers County magisterial districts, 1933. (Source: Ice 1933)

Nicholas and Fayette Counties

Table 15. Profile of Population Growth for the Gauley River Area

	Falls	Grant	Jefferson	Wilderness
1870	1414	729	649	824
1880	837	906	820	1272
1890	1099	1247	991	1565
1900	1597	1116	1235	1773
1910	6775	1155	2155	1803
1920	8874	956	2011	2418
1930	9939	977	2013	2124
1940	11,813	1161	1955	2326
1950	12,918	1469	2488	2365
1960	9865	1465	2350	1987

Figure 98. Nicholas County magisterial districts adjoining the Gauley River National Recreation Area: Jefferson, Grant, and Wilderness. (Source: Ice 1933)

APPENDIX II:

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 16. Birth Places of Residents in Raleigh County, 1880 Census

District	Clear Fork	Marsh Fork	Richmond	Slab Fork	Shady Springs	Town	Trap Hill	Totals
Enumeration Number	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	
Population	1026	1121	725	813	1223	1498	961	**7367**
Birth Place								
West Virginia	885	620	574	683	948	959	691	**5360**
Virginia	109	481	135	105	215	454	264	**1763**
Pennsylvania	2				9	35		**46**
Maryland						1		**1**
Ohio	24	8	1	7	7	16		**63**
Kentucky	1			7	1	4	2	**15**
North Carolina	1	8	1	8	6	11	4	**39**
Indiana	1	1			3	1		**6**
New Jersey	1							**1**
Tennessee	1	1			1	2		**5**
South Carolina	1				1			**2**
Louisiana		1						**1**
Missouri		1						**1**
Texas				3	5	1		**9**
Illinois					3			**3**
New York					4	1		**5**
Dist. o Columbia						1		**1**
Massachusetts						1		**1**
Ireland			14		1	6		**21**
England					2	2		**4**
Scotland					1			**1**
Canada					14			**14**
Germany					1	2		**3**
Totals	**1026**	**1121**	**725**	**813**	**1223**	**1498**	**961**	**7367**
District No.	**126**	**127**	**128**	**129**	**130**	**131**	**132**	

Source: William A. Marsh, 1880 Census of West Virginia

Table 17. Birthplaces of Residents in Fayette County, 1880 Census

District	Falls	F-ville #1	F-ville#2	Kanawha	Sewell Mntn	Mntn Cove	Totals
District #	26	27	27	28	29	30	
Population	837	472	2313	2076	2820	2042	**11,560**
Birth Place							
West Virginia	679	378	1799	1252	1799	2382	**8289**
Virginia	89	75	404	437	734	393	**2132**

District	Falls	F-ville #1	F-ville#2	Kanawha	Sewell Mntn	Mntn Cove	Totals
Pennsylvania	9	1	12	56	40	66	**184**
Maryland	2	1	3	4	8	1	**19**
Ohio	17	6	20	79	45	53	**220**
Kentucky	9	1	6	26	11	10	**63**
North Carolina	7	3	11	3	20	9	**53**
Tennessee	1		3	3	4		**11**
New York	1	2	7	9	26	8	**53**
New Jersey	1		1	2	6	3	**13**
Indiana	5	1	5	6	1	9	**27**
Illinois				4	4		**8**
Missouri	2	2	5	3	1	2	**15**
New Hampshire	1		2				**3**
Iowa		1	3		1		**5**
Michigan	2					1	**3**
Vermont			1			1	**2**
Massachusetts			2	8	4	4	**18**
South Carolina			1		3		**4**
Maine			2	1			**3**
Georgia	1		1		3	1	**6**
Delaware			1				**1**
Kansas				1	2		**3**
Mississippi				1			**1**
Dist. of Columbia				1	3		**4**
Alabama					1		**1**
Arkansas		1					**1**
Florida						1	**1**
Nebraska						2	**2**
England	1		5	79	16	67	**168**
Scotland				24	31	10	**65**
Ireland	6		5	32	20	5	**68**
Wales				36	13	5	**54**
Germany				5	7	6	**18**
Austria					2		**2**
Nova Scotia	1						**1**
Switzerland	3		12	1		1	**17**
Canada				1	7	1	**9**
Belgium				1			**1**
Prussia					1		**1**
France					1		**1**
Totals	**837**	**472**	**2313**	**2076**	**2820**	**2042**	**11,560**
District #	**26**	**27**	**27**	**28**	**29**	**30**	

Source: William A. Marsh, 1880 Census of West Virginia

Table 18. Birth Places of residents in Summers County, 1880 Census

District	Forest Hills	Greenbrier	Green Sulphur	Jumping Branch	Pipestem	Talcott	Totals
District #	133	134	135	136	137	138	
Population	1295	1858	1640	1499	1306	1418	**9016**
Birth Place							
West Virginia	1064	1153	1233	1018	1014	1165	**6647**
Virginia	202	557	348	467	264	235	**2073**
Ohio	1	16	1	2			**20**
Pennsylvania	3	25	15				**43**
Maryland		6				1	**7**
North Carolina	9	3	8	2	23	2	**47**
Tennessee	4	6				10	**20**
New York	1	20	2	1		1	**25**
Texas	2	2				5	**9**
California	2						**2**
Mississippi	1	1	4			1	**7**
Missouri	2	1	1		1		**5**
Indiana		2		6	2		**10**
Kentucky		12	3	2			**17**
DC		2	1				**3**
Massachusetts		2					**2**
New Jersey		3					**3**
Georgia		2					**2**
Louisiana		1					**1**
Kansas		3					**3**
Illinois		2					**2**
Alabama		1					**1**
South Carolina		5					**5**
Vermont		5					**5**
Ireland	4	18	23		1	3	**49**
England		3				1	**4**
Scotland		1				2	**3**
Canada			1		1	1	**3**
Italy						1	**1**
Germany				1			**1**
Baden		1					**1**
New Brunswick		1					**1**
Bavaria		1					**1**
Hanover		2					**2**
Switzerland		1					**1**
Totals	**1295**	**1858**	**1640**	**1499**	**1306**	**1418**	**9,016**

Source: William A. Marsh, 1880 Census of West Virginia

Table 19. Birth Places of Residents in Nicholas County, 1880 Census

District	Grant	Hamilton	Jefferson	Kentucky	Summerville	Wilderness	Totals
District #	103	104	105	106	107	108	
Population	906	1955	820	1199	1071	1272	**7223**
Birth Place							
West Virginia	850	1755	776	1100	911	1145	**6537**
Virginia	43	142	15	63	118	95	**476**
Maryland		1		1			**2**
Ohio	7	2	7		6	3	**25**
Kentucky		20	1	12	5		**18**
North Carolina	1	1	3	7		1	**13**
Illinois			1		1		**2**
New York			1	1	1	1	**4**
New Jersey			1				**1**
Wisconsin				1			**1**
Tennessee		1		1		3	**5**
Iowa				2		1	**3**
Dakota Territory				1			**1**
Pennsylvania	2	10	4		8	18	**42**
Michigan		1					**1**
Indiana	2					1	**2**
Missouri						1	**1**
South Carolina					1		**1**
Italy		1					**1**
Nova Scotia		4					**4**
Scotland		4					**4**
England		1		1	1		**3**
Switzerland		9	11			1	**21**
Ireland	1	3		3	19	2	**28**
Prussia				1		1	**2**
Sweden				1			**4**
Denmark				4			**1**
Totals	**906**	**1955**	**820**	**1199**	**1071**	**1272**	**7223**

Source: William A. Marsh, 1880 Census of West Virginia

Table 20. Birth Places Reported in the 1920 Census by Foreign Born Residents of Counties Surrounding the New and Gauley Rivers

County	Fayette	Nicholas	Raleigh	Summers
Total Foreign-born white	**3,203**	**436**	**2,270**	**68**
Countries of Birth:				
Austria	293	40	336	60
Belgium	5		3	
Canada	36	9	31	11
Czechoslovakia	35	9	26	

County	Fayette	Nicholas	Raleigh	Summers
England	372	21	177	14
France	23	2	13	
Germany	144	16	35	4
Greece	19	47	191	11
Hungary	121	11	176	1
Ireland	31	5	12	3
Italy	873	193	425	16
Yugoslavia	66		20	
Lithuania	112		12	
Poland	489	26	186	
Rumania	21		1	
Russia	230	17	219	2
Scotland	112	3	99	3
Spain	68	2	215	
Switzerland	10	8	7	2
Syria	39		27	
Wales	32		21	
County	Fayette	Nicholas	Raleigh	Summers
Totals	**60,377**	**20,017**	**42,482**	**19,092**

Source: 1920 Census, Volume III, Population

Table 21. NTFPs of Commercial and/or Domestic Value

Common Name	Latin Name	Habitat	Winter	Spring	Summer	Fall	Properties/ Uses	Status in NERI & GARI	TSN
Sugar maple	*Acer saccharum*		tap for syrup				Sweetener		28731
Ramp	*Allium tricoccum*	moist, shady, high elevations		dig roots			spring tonic		42672
Sarsparilla	*Aralia nudicaulis*						"fool's Seng"		29376
Butterfly weed	*Asclepias tuberosa*	dry, sandy, rocky, sunny, edges of forests, roadsides				roots	respiratory ailments; relief of colds, fever, flu		
Paw paw	*Asimina triloba*					fruit	edible; aka "West Virginia banana"		18117
Chestnut	*Castanea dentata*							blighted	19454
Chinquapin chestnut	*Castanea pumila*					nuts		formerly common	not listed
Blue Cohosh	*Caulophyllum thalictroides*	cold coves; deep, moist, rich woodlands				roots	promote menstrual flow; treat kidney, bladder, and uterine infections		

Common Name	**Latin Name**	**Habitat**	**Winter**	**Spring**	**Summer**	**Fall**	**Properties/ Uses**	**Status in NERI & GARI**	**TSN**
Black Cohosh	*Cimicifuga racemosa*	rich, moist, humus; open woods; cold coves				roots	ease menstrual and menopausal discomfort; good for nervous conditions, high blood pressure, and arthritis		
Stone root	*Collinsonia canadensis*								32474
Wild yam	*Dioscorea villosa*	moist, wet thickets, hardwood forests				roots, after seed has set	colic, indigestion, liver problems, asthma. Not a source of naturally occurring progest-erone.		
Witch Hazel	*Hamamelis virginiana*	light woods, forest edges, rocky stream banks		bark	leaves	bark, leaves	sooth abrasions, burns, insect bites; treat aching joints, sore muscles		
Wild hydrangea	*Hydrangea arborescens*	rich woods, stream banks				roots, after seed has set	bladder and kidney problems; diuretic		
Butternut	*Juglans cinerea*					nuts	prized edibles		19250
Black Walnut	*Juglans nigra*	sunny, rich, well drained, bottomlands and hills		bark	leaves	nuts	dietary supplement rich in protein; leaves and bark used in treating skin conditions, constipation, and parasites; hulls used for dyes		
Wild lettuce	*Lactuca Canadensis*	low damp places: fields, fencerows, thickets		leaves, for potherb, rich in vitamins		leaves, flowers, stems	sedative; milky juice for skin irritation		
Partridge berry	*Mitchella repens*	moist shaded woods, rocky hillsides			stem, leaves, berries		for insomnia, as a diuretic, as uterine tonic		
molly moochers	*Morchella sp.*	old apple orchards, dying elms, poplar stands, nut trees, ash		harvest after warm spring rain			edible; aka “dryland fish,” “merkles,” “moodgers”		

Common Name	**Latin Name**	**Habitat**	**Winter**	**Spring**	**Summer**	**Fall**	**Properties/ Uses**	**Status in NERI & GARI**	**TSN**
Red mulberry	*Morus rubra*			fruits			Edible		19070
Catnip	*Nepeta cataria*	waste areas; roadsides			Leaves, flowers, while blooming		respiratory ailments; relief of colds, cramping, nervous conditions, sleeplessness		
American ginseng	*Panax quinquefolia*					roots			
Passion flower	*Passiflora incarnata*	fence rows, pastures, edges of woods			leaves, flowers, fruits, stems		skin injuries, insomnia, nerves		
Pokeweed	*Phytolacca Americana*	Disturbed areas		tender leaves		roots	spring greens, roots for joint pain, tumors. Poisonous in large doses		
Mayapple	*Podophyllum peltatum*	rich damp open woodlands			roots, late summer, when leaves are yellow		regulate liver and bowel functions and jaundice; wart removal		
Solomon's Seal	*Polygonatum biflorum*	moist, rich, shady woods, in association with bloodroot and mayapple				roots, after seed has set	cuts, bruises, sores, rashes; arthrities, indigestion, respiratory ailments		
Wild cherry	*Prunus serotina*	wide ranging prefers moist, rich deep soil.		bark, before sap rises			respiratory ailments, fever, sore throat, nerves		
Smooth sumac	*Rhus glabra*	disturbed areas, power lines, roadsides		roots and bark	green leaves	roots and bark	respiratory ailments		
Black locust	*Robinia pseudoacacia*						aka "field locust;" nurse trees for reclamation		504804
Yellow locust	*Robinia pseudoacacia x rectissima*						aka "mountain locust"; fence posts, rot resistant		not listed
Blackberry	*Rubus occidentalis*	old fields, roadsides	roots (bef. Leaves appear)			roots	diarrhea, dysentery, female tonic		24854

Common Name	**Latin Name**	**Habitat**	**Winter**	**Spring**	**Summer**	**Fall**	**Properties/ Uses**	**Status in NERI & GARI**	**TSN**
Bloodroot	*Sanguinaria canadensis*	cold coves; deep, moist, rich woodlands		(mark patches)		roots	toxic; plaque inhibitor in mouthwash, toothpaste		
Sassafrass	*Sassafrass albidum*	roadsides, fields, woods	root bark	tree bark	leaves		bark for tea (spring tonic); leaves as thickener (file) for gumbo		18158
Chickweed	*Stellaria media*	moist shade around dwellings			all above ground parts		dietary supplement; used for respiratory ailments and coughs; weight loss.		
Comfrey	*Symphytum officianale*	rich, moist, stream banks, fields			above ground parts	roots	healing of wounds, bruises, ulcers, broken bones, pneumonia, bronchitis		
Red clover	*Trifolium pretense*	wide ranging in well-drained loam			stem, leaves, flowers		antispasmodic, asthma treatment, possible anti-tumor agent		
Stinking Benjamin	*Trillium erectum*	shady woods; rich, moist soils; cold coves				roots	ease discomfort in childbirth, menses, menopause; respiratory treatment		43070
Slippery elm	*Ulmus rubra*	moist rich soils, lower slopes and flood plains; dry hillsides with limestone soils		bark			food supplement; gastrointestinal disorders, sore throats, cough		
Mullein	*Verbascum thapus*	roadside biennial			flowers, leaves	roots (after seeds)	earaches, respiratory ailments		
Culver's Root	*Veronicastrum virginicum*	various				roots when 2-years - old or older	liver stimulant, laxative (dried only; fresh root is toxic)		

APPENDIX III:

TIMELINE OF NEW AND GAULEY RIVER HISTORY

1641 Upper New River encountered by English explorers Walter Austin, Rice Hoe, Joseph Johnson, and Walter Chiles.

1671 Expedition of Batts and Fallam: discover New River, known until 1750 as Woods River, after Abraham Wood, sponsor of the expedition. Explorers who went included: Thomas Batts, Thomas Wood, Bob Fallam, Jack Neasam (indentured servant). This river, which drained West, afforded an opportunity to claim all the lands it drained for the British crown. They named it Woods River. This discovery became a way for England to claim the entire Ohio River Valley and its tributaries, inc. New and Kanawha Rivers. Batts and Fallam were the first Englishmen to set foot in Fayette County, and reached Kanawha Falls on September 16, 1671.

Late-17th century French traders and other European traders enter the region for extraction of roots and furs, and for trade with Shawnee and Delaware people. This was a period of trading as well as of land-seeking and generated information later used to settle the region. Loop Creek lies along border between Cherokee and Shawnee hunting territory (Cavalier, p. 273).

1674 Gabriel Arthur, a trading agent of Abraham Wood, is captured by Cherokee and taken to a Mohetan Village near present day Marmet on the Kanawha River.

1700s Early on, central WV used as hunting ground by Mingo, Delaware, and Seneca, who boasted that they had conquered the Conawese or Conoy people and incorporated them into the IC. The Cherokee, based in North Carolina and Tennessee, claimed southern WV for their territory.

1716 Virginia governor Alexander Spotswood opens the present day panhandle of West Virginia for settlement.

1719 Welsh, Scotch-Irish, and Germans enter the panhandle via Pennsylvania and Maryland.

1731 Morgan ap Morgan moves from Delaware into Berkeley County; Thousands of Germans, Scotch-Irish, and English follow, settling the eastern panhandle by 1754.

1737 John Salling is captured and taken across the New to Cherokee towns.

1742 By way of the Greenbrier Valley, John Peter Salley arrives at New River andfollows a trail west of NRG enroute to Ohio River, becoming the first Englishman to set foot in present day Raleigh County.

1744 Treaty of Lancaster sets stage for advance of western settlement. It reduces Iroquois presence in West Virginia, but ignores the claims of Cherokee and Shawnee to the territory.

1745–1800 Many settlers cross the divide between Blacksburg and Christiansburg to get to the upper New River.

1745 Woods River Grant issued to James Patton, from Ireland.

1747 Ohio land company forms, a land speculation venture promoting settlement of trans-Appalachia.

1749 Land grants issued to land companies: 500,000 acres bounded by Ohio and Kanawha for settling, and for locating a fort (Ohio Land Company). 800,000 acres at line between VA and NC (Loyal Land Company). 100,000 along Greenbrier River (Greenbrier Land Company). Longhunters Stephen Sewell and Jacob Marlin come into Greenbrier County, settling near Marlinton, becoming the first to settle this far west of the Alleghenies. Following a dispute between them, Sewell travels across Big and Little Sewell Mountains, and is believed to have been killed by Indians.

1749–1754 General Andrew Lewis surveys 50,000 acres in Greenbrier County, VA (A Cherokee guide traveled with him).

1750 Thomas Walker, of Loyal Company, explores Greenbrier Valley, then Kentucky, via Cumberland Gap.

1751 Christopher Gist explores region, crossing New River at Crump’s Bottom, after following a trail to the west of NRG

1753 Andrew Culbertson, first settler in present day Summers County, establishes settlement at Culbertson’s or Crump’s Bottom, now partly submerged under Bluestone Lake.

1755–1763 French and Indian war; English interested in settlement; French in trade.

1755 Shawnee massacre at Draper’s Meadows takes place.

1758 Treaty of Easton: Proprietors of Pennsylvania agree with Six Nations to leave land west of the Alleghenies as Indian hunting grounds, not open to settlement, to the dissatisfaction of Ohio, Greenbrier, and Loyal land companies.

1761 Terms of treaty of Easton extend to trans-Allegheny Maryland and Virginia; settlers start poking into Greenbrier region anyway: Archibald Clendenin, 2 miles west of Lewisburg; Frederick See and Felty Yocum on Muddy Creek.

1762 Lord Jeffrey Amherst, for whom Amherst County, VA is named, favors distributing blankets contaminated with smallpox to Indians.

1763 Ottowa attack Detroit; Shawnee and Delaware attack Fort Pitt. Cornstalk destroys See, Yocum, and Clendenin homesteads along the Greenbrier River. Proclamation of 1763: British negotiation with Cherokee, following French and Indian War, prohibits further surveys on Western Waters.

1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix extinguishes rights of Six Nations to transallegheny WV, and settlers begin moving into Ohio, Monongehela, and Kanawha valleys and intervening hill country. Treaty of Hard Labor extinguishes Cherokee rights to WV, except for southwestern part of the state, bounded by the New and Kanawha Rivers.

1769–1777—Settlers pour into the Greenbrier and Kanawha Valley region, mostly Scotch-Irish from Virginia, several generations removed from Pennsylvania.

1770 James Graham builds house on Greenbrier, between Hinton and White Sulphur Springs, in prime Shawnee hunting territory (Donnelly). James Ellison comes to Culbertson's Bottom. The Indian Kiashuta tells George Washington about the impassibility of a certain thousand foot deep canyon. Levi Morris comes from Alexandria, VA, and settles on Armstrong Creek, the first permanent white settler in present day Fayette County (Cavalier, 302).

1771 John Floyd discovers natural gas in the Kanawha Valley

1773 Walter Kelly, also called the first white settler in Fayette County, is killed by Indians for trespassing. William Morris then settles at Cedar Grove on the mouth of Kelly's Creek (Kanawha County).

1774 Andrew Lewis (son of John Lewis, from Ulster) leads militia along trail east of the New River Gorge to Point Pleasant, where they defeat Chief Cornstalk and the Shawnee. Lewisburg is named for Andrew Lewis; William Morris becomes the first Englishman to settle in Kanawha County, in Cedar Grove, mouth of Kelly's Branch.

1775 Thomas Farley, Sr. settles in Culbertson's Bottom (later Harmon's Bottom). Builds "Farley's Fort" above Bull Falls and Warford Ferry. Mitchell Clay settles his family along the Bluestone River, in Mercer County, on 800 acres.

1776 Western VA petitions the Continental Congress for statehood.

1777 Warfare with Indians escalates

1779 John Cooke, veteran of Point Pleasant and Revolutionary War, who served at Fort Lee against Indians, is the first to settle in present day Wyoming County, with a corn title. His sons organize Wyoming County, out of what was then Montgomery County.

1780 A man named Brooks, with VA land grant, settles downstream of Hinton, near Brooks Falls and Creek on the New River, which are named for him.

1783 Shawnee Indians attack Mitchell Clay's home, killing two children. Farley helps pursue the attackers to Boone County; killing several. Farley then sells Farley Fort to John Burnside, and moves to Walker's Creek in present day Giles County.

1784 GW proposes James River and Kanawha canal, a waterway that would link tidewater VA with the Gulf of Mexico. It is never completed, because the railroad outcompetes it.

1785 VA legislature, in order to bring western settlers into national economic orbit, approves the James River Company, which would become the James River and Kanawha Company, charged with forming a road to connect James River to Kanawha Falls. Earliest recorded land survey of 40,680 acres is made for Henry Banks, a wealthy Richmond merchant who provided ships to the colonists in the revolutionary war. His grant, the largest ever made in Fayette County, includes lands along the New River. Over the next five years, numerous patents were made along the creeks and tributaries of the New River Gorge – Manns, Glade, Laurel, High, Meadow, and Buffalo Creeks, Big Sewell, Round Bottom, and so forth. Settlers coming in are mostly of English, German, and Scoth-Irish descent, and mostly from the upper New River Valley and Piedmont areas of Virginia, as well as Pennsylvania.

Late-18th century Isaac Ballengee settles in Hinton vicinity. Earliest known settlement of Nicholas County began – via the Pocahontas trail, which connected Greenbrier Valley with area drained by Kanawha River.

1786 Koontz New Road opens from Lewisburg, extends toward Charleston. Passes through Ansted, follows Rich Creek to Gauley River at Jodie, crosses Gauley, up Twenty Mile Creek, thence to Charleston. Also known as the Midland Trail (Route 60), this is the precursor of the James River and Kanawha Turnpike (Donnelly). The Old State Road left this route to pass through Vandalia via Bowyer's Ferry, then to Cotton Hill and Montgovmerry's Ferry. Both roads influenced the settlement of Fayette County. William

and Sarah Austin are granted 3,062 acres (within Banks allotment) at junction of Sugar and Dunloop Creeks (Mount Hope).

1787 John Alderson organizes Old Greenbrier Baptist Church at Alderson

1787–1789 Joint patents are issued to Philadelphians Warder and Parker for 12,000 acres of land on New, Meadow, and Gauley Rivers.

1788 First permanent settlement built at Charleston

1790 Old State Road, connecting the James River and Kanawha Falls, is completed. Census this year shows 55,000 people living in present day WV. Families of James Lykens, William Parrish, James Taylor, and Bailey Woods settle at present site of Ansted.

1791 Henry Morris, son of William, is first to settle on Peter's Creek, which he names for his father's slave, Peter Morris.

1792 Daughters of Henry Morris, the son of William, are killed by Indians who are assisting a white man, Simon Girty in an act of revenge, near Lockwood in Nicholas County (Donnelly, 39). Conrad Young and Edward McLung settle on Peter's Creek at this time.

1793 Tom Smith settles in Cross Lanes, then Twenty Mile Creek (Nicholas County)

1795 Arbuckle brothers, hunters and ginseng diggers, settle in what is now Minden; William Johnson, a Revolutionary War Veteran from Bath County, Virginia, settles at head of Peter's Creek. His sons later settle Johnson Branch (formerly Gunnoe Camp Branch) on Loop Creek (Donnelly).

1796 William Blake, Sr., purchases 3,062 acres in Mount Hope, from William and Sarah Austin, part of Henry Banks survey. 331 acres are granted to William Richmond, Revolutionary War veteran, at Sandstone Falls; Old Stone Church built in Lewisburg (Presbyterian) the oldest continuously operating unrestored church west of the Alleghenies.

1798 Peter Bowyer builds a cabin in the New River Gorge. The first recorded settlement is made in NRG, at the mouth of Mann's Creek, and is called Bowyer's Ferry; the beginnings of Sewell, which would be the most important place between Hinton and Montgomery, where the ferry would shuttle soldiers from both sides of the Civil War across the river. Andrew Lykens purchases land on Loup Creek (Page). Bluestone Baptist Church is organized in Jumping Branch

Early-19th century Ben Taylor settles on Garden Ground, near present day Glen Jean. Hatter and farmer (Donnelly, 26).

1800 Old State Road extended to Ohio River. 78,000 people now live west side of the Alleghenies.

1805 William Blake is first settler in what is now known as Mount Hope, on 3,062 acres, within the Henry Banks survey on waters of Loup Creek and New River.

1806 Peter Bowyer licensed by VA to operate ferry across river connecting road from Fayetteville to Midland Trail (Rt. 60) (still the only settler in Fayetteville, though Seth Huse is supposed to have been the first) First salt well drilled in Kanawha Valley

1808 William Richmond is first to settle in present day Raleigh County

1810 John Spangler purchases land on Loup Creek (Kincaid). During this decade, Isaac Abbott migrates to Beckwith area from Andover Mass, sets up basket making industry, using withes growing along stream bank. Peter Bowyer is the only settler in Fayetteville (Donnelly). Establishes water-powered grist mill at Oak Hill. Oil discovered in WV.

1812 Aaron Stockton (NJ) settles at Glen Ferris (known as Stockton until 1895) Runs a tavern there. Samuel Pack applies for permit to operate a ferry on New River; James Kincaid, from Roaring River, Tennessee, settles near mouth of Cane Branch.

1814 Old State Road is chief route for people traveling west from southern and middle counties of Virginia. It connects Lewisburg, Bowyer's Ferry, Fayetteville, Cotton Hill, and Kanawha Falls.

1815 Sixty-three families live in Raleigh County, on Beaver Creek, Cooper's Creek, Joe's Ridge, Glade Creek, Piney Creek, Little Falls of New River, and on Clear Fork, and Sycamore Fork of Coal River).

1816 Richard Tyree moves family from Lewisburg to settle along Old State Road, five miles east of Bowyer's Ferry. Apple orchards still there in 1966 (Donnelly).

1817 State Assembly authorizes the establishment of a road from Montgomery's Ferry along Gauley to intersect Old State Road between Fleshman plantation (Pembroke Hollow) and Big Sewell Mountain. John Anderson, from Scotland via Virginia, settles in present day Maplewood.

1818 Completion of National (Cumberland Road) along northern boundary of present day West Virginia promotes more settlement. First commercial coal mine in what is now West Virginia is opened at Fairmont. Sometime between this year and 1825, Abraham Vandal obtains property in Fayetteville to establish Vandalia. Congress passes an act pensioning revolutionary war soldiers. One was James Sims, buried at Swiss. John Jones,

revolutionary war soldier, sells his land on Jones Branch of Peter's Creek (purchased from William James after the revolutionary war) to Isaac Fitzwater. Nicholas County is formed, named for governor of Virginia: Wilson Cary Nicholas.

1820 Summersville is established by Virginia assembly, named for Judge Lewis Summers (see bibliography for his historical works). West Virginia's white population numbers 177,000. William Blake settles at Oak Hill, near site of present Lundale Farm. Luther Warner settles at Beckwith, and begins operating a mill on Laurel Creek.

1824 Samuel Tyree constructs Old Stone House, at foot of Sewell Mountain. Laurel Creek (Cotton Hill) settled by Warner family from Massachusetts. Grist mill operates there. Cassidy family settles upstream of Warners. (Kennedy Cassidy becomes a Union sympathizer in Civil War, and dies in confederate prison in Richmond). Bartholomew Ramsey, from Union in Monroe County, establishes gristmill near present-day Leander. Jessie and Mahala Treadway sell John Lykens place at Page to Andrew Lykens, and move to Dunloop Creek. (Page named for Captain W.N. Page, manager of Loop Creek Colliery Company at Page.)

1825 John Bayes is first to settle in Nallen, then known as Miller's Ferry, after the Millers who lived across the Meadow River from the Bayes.

1826 Samuel Tyree moves family to Old Stone House, in Clifftop, operating it as a tavern along the James River and Kanawha Turnpike. James Kelly is living on Beard's Fork (Cavalier).

1827 Jacob Smith settles in present day Quinnimont. George Hunter, from New England, buys house from Joseph Skaggs in what will become Ansted. John and William Johnson, sons of a revolutionary war soldier who settled on Peters Creek, move from the Gauley River region to settle on Loop Creek.

1828 Jacob Kelly operates a grist mill at Robson on Loup Creek. Mulberry School is built on Jenkins Branch (named for Jenkins, who lived there). The school was named after a large mulberry tree that grew beside it, and the branch came to be known as Mulberry Branch after the school, near the mouth of Bee Fork, and the head of Settle Fork.

1829 Charles Bibb settles at Bowyer's Ferry. Counties west of Alleghenies protest VA legislation that favors slaveholding counties.

1830 Wheeling Gazette proposes separate state. Henry and Joe Haynes, from Monroe County, and Robert Nickell settle at Russellville on opposite sides of Meadow River, sometime during this period.

1831 John Hinton lays out town of Hinton on land of his wife, Avis Gwinn Hinton. James Hodge Miller settles at Gauley Bridge. Was born 1805 in Greenbrier County. Miles Manser comes from Cincinnati Ohio and builds boats with Elisha Williams at Kanawha Falls. William Kincaid granted four acres in present day Robson, on Loop Creek. Virginia legislature begins passing laws to protect "tomahawk rights," allowing settlers to perfect title by claiming adverse possession and forfeiture of title for tax delinquency.

1832 Abraham Arthur purchases acreage in present day Minden. Eli Wickell builds tannery and gristmill at Russellville.

1834 Tyree Tavern opens in Ansted, in house owned by George Hunter. Abner and James Settle purchase 57 acres on Beard's Fork from James and Nancy Kelly.

1835 Sewell P.O. opens

1836 Alfred Beckley moves family to property named "Wildwood," in what would become Beckley.

1837 Charles Bibb, from Amherst County, Virginia, purchases 300 acres at Gatewood, named after his wife, Elizabeth Gatewood. Their daughter Sarah marries Captain William D. Thurmond, also of Amherst County.

1838 Giles, Fayette and Kanawha Turnpike authorized by VA Assembly, to connect Giles County, VA, to Fayetteville, via Beckley, Mount Hope, and Oak Hill.

1840 William Humphrey settles at Pax, on waters of Paint Creek. Pax = corruption of Pack for whom Pack's Branch is named (Donnelly); formerly known as Paintsville because of trees painted by Indians (Cavalier 356).

1843 Bibbs, Thurmonds, and others from Amherst County, Virginia, organize a Baptist Church in the Salem section of Gatewood, naming it after the Fancy Hill section of Amherst County, where they came from. This is the forerunner of the present-day Bethel Baptist Church in Oak Hill (Cavalier, 338).

1844 Philip and Mary Thurmond, from Amherst County, VA, purchase tract on Arbuckle Creek from Abraham Arthur.

1846 Sometime after this date Daniel Griffin, Caleb Lively, and Adam Hutchinson families settle in the Meadow Bridge vicinity. Parker Foulke, of Philadelphia, visits the Foulke

Meadow River Lands (12,000 acres), and develop relationships locally, hiring the Bayes family to manage the property. Henry Gentry, from Albemarle County, settles near Layland, at head of Laurel Creek. Squire John Gwinn settles in Meadow Bridge.

1849 Llewellyn W. Jones, a tobacco planter from Amherst County, Virginia, establishes Sanger on the Dunn Survey on Meadow Fork Creek. He builds his house not from logs but from bricks fashioned from a nearby field. His slave hacks out the road. He is followed by William Bibb (who sells his share to Henry Sanger), J.W. Stone, J. Garland Hurt.

1850s–60s Coal is mined in Kanawha field, using slaves leased from planters in Franklin and adjacent counties, as well as slaves already working in the salt manufacturing centers of Kanawha and Mercer County. Antebellum agrarian woods economy is characteristic for most households. Germans in particular seem intent on preserving soil fertility, sheltering livestock, practicing conservation.

1850 White population in present day West Virginia counties numbers 302,000; slave population 20,500; free blacks, about 2,000. New Englanders come to New Haven with Captain J.H. Hopping, belong to a religious group called “Spiritualists.” Only three families live in Oak Hill at this time: Bowyer, Jr.; Blake, Jr.; and Charles Windsor. Jack McCoy runs a mill at Glen Jean.

1850s Sometime in this decade the Harrahs, Gwinns, and Wards move onto War Ridge, now Backus Mountain, to occupy a tract of the Mann Patent.

1855 John Gwinn purchases Round Bottom from Isaac Sanner (owner since 1808). Maurice and Margaret Sullivan, from County Kerry in Ireland, purchase 435 acres from John and Sara Guinn.

1859 The first miners are settled at Cannelton, worked by slaves previously and up until the Civil War (Cavalier, 119).

1860 Slave population under 18,000. Free blacks: ca. 3,000

Civil War Captain Thurmond, a confederate loyal to Virginia, burns the Gwinn farm because Lewis Gwinn (Mabel Gwinn’s husband’s grandfather) was sympathetic to the Union. Other Amherst County settlers in the Gatewood vicinity join Thurmond in raids against the Yankee sympathizers. Three families live at Gauley Bridge: Millers, Hills, Paddlefords. The Old Stone House is used as Confederate headquarters by Robert E. Lee and Rosecranz.

1861 Civil war battles at (Kessler's) Cross Lanes and Carnifex Ferry. Western counties of Virginia supply 32,000 troops to Union, 10,000 to Confederates. Fayette County supports the confederacy. General John B. Floyd attacks Rosencrantz Yankees at Gauley Bridge.

1862 Yankees burn the town of Jumping Branch. VA consents to formation of new state out of the western counties. The Union army defeats confederates at Lewisburg.

1863 West Virginia becomes a state. Population of whites: 355,000. Slaves: 13,000. Free blacks: 3,000. Blume given a farm in Lookout after the Civil War; originally part of the Alderson Tract.

1865 Reuben James, originally from England (1830s), moves to Beard's Fork from Franklin County, Virginia. Beard's Fork was named after a ginsenger/hunter who lived in a cave along the branch (Cavalier, 104).

1869 Railroad construction begins in New River Gorge.

1870 Charter Oak and Iron Company builds an Iron Furnace at Quinnimont; William (former Confederate soldier) and James Prince (cousins of Maria Prince Beckley, Alfred's wife) purchase 300 acres of ground from Alfred Beckley in anticipation of a railroad station at Prince. Fud McGinnis, an attorney, acquires part of William Blake's holdings, including what is now Kilsyth. He names the school in the town Mount Hope. The district between Oswald and Thurmond is named "Egypt" because of the luxuriant growth of wild pea vines, on which settlers grazed their cattle. Robert Gore conveys Cash's Hill (near Island Creek) to Sarah Gore – a freed mulatto. Col. George Imboden moves to Ansted, to open Gauley Mountain Coal Company Mines, from Christmas Creek, Augusta County, VA. He is married to Mary Frances Tyree, Col. Tyree's daughter.

1871 Arnold Middleburg opens first store at Sewell; builds houses and paints them red, hence "Red Row"

1872 Joseph Beury leaves Pennsylvania, traumatized by violence from the Molly McGuires. He settles on Laurel Creek of New River. Civil War Colonel George W. Imboden purchases land in Ansted for David T. Ansted, a London Geologist. Early settlers in Ansted, previously known as Woodsville, include Skaggs, Westlakes, and Tyrees. (The mother of Stonewall Jackson is buried in Westlake cemetery)

1873 Railroad completed through New River Gorge. Quinnimont is established by Col. Joseph L. Beury, and the first coal is mined there. P.O. established at Hinton. John Nuttall, also from Pennsylvania, opens Nuttall mine on Keeney's Creek, second mine to ship coal out

of the gorge. Nuttall bottom was a company town with 110 houses. Nuttall Top was independent, people owned their homes. Short Creek mine was opens. P.O. is established at Dimmock. The Financial Panic of 1873 slows development. The first branch line is built along Laurel Creek. British Chemist Robert Angus Smith links sulfuric acid in black coal smoke with acid rain in Manchester (Shabecoff 1998:187). David Ansted, English geologist, moves to Fayette County, purchasing 900 acres from Tyree, Westlake, and others. He chairs the London-based Gauley-Kanawha Coal Company, formed by Civil War veteran General John D. Imboden. Ansted P.O is established with James Taylor as postmaster (Cavalier).

1874 Longdale Coal Company opens town and mine at Sewell. Prince brothers open the Prince Brothers General Store, a private enterprise in a coal dominated economy.

1875 Central Land Company acquires land for settlement of Hinton. Martin Blume founds Fayette Coal and Coke Company and opens the Fayette Mine, establishing a P.O. this year.

1876 With his brother and with Jenkin Jones, Col. Joseph Beury opens a mine and company town at Fire Creek.

Late 1870s Beury opens mines at Ansted, Hawks Nest, and Gauley Mountain. Bowyer's Ferry is renamed Sewell's Depot, after frontiersman Stephen Sewell. Samuel Dixon emigrates from England to New River. African Americans are brought into New River-Kanawha coalfields to augment the labor force.

1877 Fire Creek P.O. opens. Samuel Dixon comes to Fayette County, and works for his uncle, Fred Faulkner.

1879 Knights of Labor Local is established at Fire Creek. Fire Creek miners join strikers in the Kanawha coal field.

1880s–1920s: "Golden Age of Coal Mining"

1880 Stone Cliff Collieries company opens the Stone Cliff mine, town, and coke works. John Nuttal builds the company town of Nuttalburg. Hinton incorporates. Prince passenger station opens. Beury opens Caperton mine, with John Cooper at Ellen (or Elm). In the 1880s Knights of Labor would establish a local assembly at Caperton. WV population: Whites 422,000; about 18,000 blacks, 17,000 foreign born (60% of foreigners are German/Swiss; 30% are from Ireland). During this decade, Foulkes heirs decide to take

up farming on their Meadow River lands. The first major coal strike draws state militia to Hawk's Nest.

1881 Mine and town of Beury open. George Caperton opens town of Caperton at site of "Min car". George Henry Caperton was from Amherst County, Virginia, educated at VA Polytechnic Institute and president of numerous coal companies. White students went to Ansted High School. Black students went to Simmons High in Montgomery. Col. Beury opens Echo Mine. Frederick Kimball of Germantown, PA (Phila.) joins other Philadelphians to purchase Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio Railroad. Kimball creates the Norfolk and Western Railroad and opens a New River branch in 1881–82.

1882 Noah Jenkins and Mr. Bramwell open Stone Cliff mine as Stone Cliff Collieries Company.

1883 Mines at Sewell Top exhausted. Longdale Company relocates workers and houses to Clifftop to mine coking coal. Manns Creek railroad is started.

1884 UMWA holds a New River district convention at Sewell. Longdale Iron Company purchases the Old Stone House, also known as "Halfway House," halfway between Lewisburg and Charleston two miles from Clifftop, on western foot of Big Sewell Mountain (Donnelly). Philip Thurmond migrates to Minden, finds Arbuckle brothers living there in a log cabin. Joseph Lively comes from Monroe County, and is the first to settle in Lively.

1885 Central Mine is opened between Fire Creek and Beury, by Major Gordon and Mr. Seal, owners of the Central Coal Company. This company is later acquired by Beechwood Mines operating at Quinnimont, Stone Cliff, Echo, Fire Creek, Sewall, Caperton, Keeneys Creek, Nuttallburg, Fayette Station, Elmo, Sunnyside, and Gaymont. A foreign syndicate, including Williams Edwards of England, Kenelm Digby of Paris, and Symington McDonald of Scotland, acquires coal rights at Mount Carbon (Adena Village) (Cavalier, 317).

1886 Longdale builds an eight and half mile narrow gauge railroad that follows the Glade Creek Ravine, which is operated by Babcock Coal and Coke. It is later extended three more miles to Landisburg. More than 1000 black men work in the Fayette County coalfields. Foulkes plants a walnut grove.

1887 Beechwood Coal and Coke Company opens Beechwood (which will become Claremont). Rush Run Coal Company is formed by J. Fred Effinger, and company town and mine are opened at Rush Run.

1888 Alaska Coal and Coke Co. opens Alaska mine. Beury P.O. opens.
Rosa Etta Huddleston, of Boomer, "granddaughter of three of the wealthiest families of antebellum Virginia" marries Sheldon Thomas Nutter. Boomer, "a corner of the family estate since 1765," is named for John Boomer Huddleston (Cavalier, 115).

1889 Beechwood Coal and Coke Company builds the town of Claremont. An iron truss bridge is built to connect South Fayette and Fayette. Central Mine is renamed Claremont Mine. New mines opened since 1885 include Alaska, Claremont, and Central. As these were mainline operations, no branch railroads were needed. Arbuckle Creek subdivision is built, connecting Minden to Thurmond.

1890s Whipple Company Store is constructed. Red Ash town and mine open for business. Low Moor Iron Company opens mines at Kaymoor (top and bottom), and expands the construction of branch and narrow-gauge railroads. Smallpox victims are quarantined at Red Ash Island.

1890 Knights of Labor National Trade Assembly local is established at Beury, with N. Miller appointed as organizer for the New River district. United Mineworkers is organized, the beginning of UMWA Local 988. Hawk's Nest Subdivision is built, and a standard gauge railroad constructed 3.4 miles along Mill Creek from Hawk's Nest.

1891 James Kay and James Laing form Royal Coal and Coke Company, and open mine in Fire Creek seam at Royal, the first mine to open in Raleigh County. Piney Creek Branch line will be developed by Kay and Laing. 75 houses are constructed and 80 miners employed. Keeney's Creek subdivision built, five miles from mouth to top (deep switchbacks increased the distance). Lawrence William Nuttall discovers *Carex fraseri* at Nuttallburg. (also collects 1400 kinds of fungus in Fayette County; 980 specimens he collected came from between Thurmond and Cotton Hill). Ansted incorporates, with George Imboden as mayor.

1892 Farmers along White Oak Creek, including Joseph Hugart, Michael Bragg, Charles Huddleston, Charles Blacke, and Llewellyn Hundley, sell their mineral rights to White Oak Fuel Company.

1892–1896 John Nuttall builds Keeneys Creek Branch Line to serve a string of mines including Boone, Winona, Dubree, and Lookout.

1893 Nuttallburg P.O. opens. Knights of Labor local is established at Rush Run. McKell persuades the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad to build a branch line from Thurmond to McDonald. Magyars and Slovaks are brought in by Glen Jean company from Pennsylvania. Dunloup Creek subdivision, linking Thurmond with Glen Jean and McDonald (11 miles) is completed. The State of West Virginia attacks Foulkes family's rights to their Meadow River property. Foulkes successfully defends his claim. Red Star mine is named by C.T. and G.W. Jones, of Oak Hill, descendants of Llewellyn Jones, after the town of Star in Virginia.

1894 McDonald Colliery Company opens. Jacob Coxey's army of unemployed workers sleep in coke ovens at Nuttalburg enroute to a demonstration in Washington, D.C. during the depression of this period. Fire Creek miners are leaders in UMWA sponsored strike. Southside Subdivision is built, connecting Thurmond to Bridge Junction (near Sewell) 12.6 miles.

1893–1894 Nuttallburg Coal and Coke Company opens Fern Creek mine. Gauley Branch (8 miles) is constructed connecting Gauley Station to mouth of Twenty-Mile Creek. George Holland opens Ballenger Mine at Winona, on land that had been granted to pioneering farmer Robert M. Holliday.

1895 Drexels and other Philadelphia families own coal acreage in Raleigh County.

1896 Mulvane (after Irish surname) is the name of present-day Ramsey

1897 UMWA organizes national strike. Mother Jones and John Mitchell come to WV.

1898 Chapman Coal and Coke builds Elverton (or Branch Coal and Coke). Blue Jay lumber company builds Glade Creek and Raleigh Railroad branch, 13 miles up Glade Creek from Glade Station. Samuel Dixon names Longacre mines after his hometown in Yorkshire, England. W.N. Page of Ansted starts Deepwater Railway, which runs four miles from Roson to Deepwater.

1899 W.P. "Paddy" Rend opens two mines on Arbuckle Creek at Rend (now Minden) Chicago's smoke abatement legislation motivates increased mining of "smokeless coal." Sam Dixon opens mine at Scarbro (named for a town in England). Carlisle Mine opens (named for town in Scotland) under White Oak Fuel.

Low Moor Iron Company opens Kaymoor.

McKendree Miners Hospital is established by State legislature on lands formerly owned by a small lumber company.

1900–1925 Immigrants arrive from Hungary, Poland, Italy, and Slavic countries.

Early 1900s Dunedin Coal Company builds town of Terry. Queen Victoria owns Caperton, operated by Victoria Coal and Coke. Prudence mining camp opens. Kaymoor 1 and 2 mines open.

Explosion at Red Ash kills 46 men

1900 Beury has population of 500. Nuttalburg has 350. Michigan Coal Company is established. McKell Coal and Coke opens Derryhale, Kilsyth, Oswald, Graham, and Tamroy mines over next few years. A black man named William Lee, accused of raping a white woman, is lynched in Hinton.

1901 Piney Creek Branch of Railroad constructed, 13 miles up Piney Creek from bridge above Prince. Dunglen hotel is constructed (100 rooms). Rend Branch is constructed, covering 4.5 miles to connect with Loup Creek Subdivision, Thurmond, to Minden, along Arbuckle Creek. Old road bed is a segment of Mary Draper Ingles Trail. Fayette County citizen Morris Harvey makes large gifts to Barboursville College, which changes its name to Morris Harvey College. Morris Harvey House is still in Harvey, West Virginia, above the New River Gorge.

1902 Ephraim-Dundee Coal Company builds town of Thayer for Buffalo-Slater Mine. Mostly white Americans and Russians live there (Cavalier, 421). National Guard troops come to keep peace during mine strike, and sleep in coke ovens between Rush Run and Red Ash. Unions are established at Mount Hope and Thayer. Coal operators defeat the UMW 1902 organizing campaign. Miners at Royal strike and seven are killed in a gunfight at Stanaford. Old timers blame this strike for taking down Sewell (Cavalier). UMWA activity stops for 10 years. Immigrant population from southern and southeastern Europe begins to increase. White Oak Railway commences to connect White Oak Junction on Loup Creek to Lochgelly. Mother Jones campaigns to organize 7,000 miners in Kanawha Valley. Mulvane changed to Ramsey, after settlers living there, near Shade Creek Mountain.

1903 Thurmond Depot is constructed. Col. Beury dies. John Nuttall sells Nuttall and Keeney Creek mines. Brown Mine, opened by Eli Taylor, David and John Boone and Dr. Brown

is later known as South Nuttall. Oak Hill, originally at Hilltop, incorporates, naming itself after the large tree that grew on Hilltop.

1904 McKell dies while in Atlantic City, NJ. Arbuckle branch line is completed, connecting Rend and Thurmond. Laurel Creek Branch is extended 6.3 miles to Layland. A fungus from Asia strikes chestnut trees in New York City, and spreads rapidly through the forests of the Eastern United States. Dixon partners with New England businessmen to form New River Company.

1905 Edward J. Berwind, of Philadelphia, purchases Rend property on Arbuckle Creek. Name of Rend is changed to Minden, after Berwind's home town on Weser River in Westfalen, Germany. A mine explosion at Rush Run claims the lives of 24, including 11 rescue workers. Catholic Church established in area, celebrating first masses at the Opera House in Glen Jean. It was called the Mission on Loup Creek, tended from Hinton (Cavalier, 339). Missions developed from here to serve Catholics in Scarbro, Minden, and Kilsyth.

1906 White Oak Railway, 10.3 miles long, is finished.

1907 Justis Collins' Whipple Colliery Company mine explodes.
Stuart mine explodes, killing 84. The name of Stuart is changed to Lochgelly, to dissociate the mine from the disaster, facilitating the hiring of new workers. New River Coal Company opens Sprague Mine. Meadow River Lumber Company opens Sewell Valley Railroad, connecting Meadow Creek and Sewell Creek to Rainelle.

1908 Parral mine explodes, killing 23. The name of Parral is changed to Summerlee, to dissociate the mine from the disaster, facilitating the hiring of new workers. Immigrant populations in coalfields: Italians (1,500), Magyars (780), Poles (750), English (375), Slovaks (350), Germans (350) (Unrau, 38).

1909 Six miners are killed in an explosion at Beury (Echo Mine). UMWA charters locals at Stanaford, Royal Ansted, Signal Knob, and Caperton. The locals are not recognized by the operators.

1910 Claremont has 600 residents, Thayer 500, Fayette 400, Stone Cliff 520. Mount Hope is destroyed in a fire.

1910s Sewell Colliery owns Caperton, calls it "Sugar Camp." New River Colliery Company operates Red Ash. There is a payroll robbery on the Ferry operating between Dimmock and Rush Run. The coke industry declines. Labor battles with industry escalate.

1912–1913 Samuel Dixon's New River Company is absorbed into Ajax (owned by English investors). Outside financial interests absorb local coal operators throughout this period of consolidation. Violent confrontations between labor and management at Paint Creek/Cabin Creek lead to the bloodiest labor conflict in U.S. history. Companies put down the strikers with "company thugs" – Baldwin-Felts guards who evict miners and families, destroy their furniture and lacerate the tents provided for them by the UMWA with machine gun fire. These events form the backdrop for the armed march on Blair Mountain in 1921.

1913 District 17 forms at Montgomery. McKell builds Kanawha, Glen Jean and Eastern Railroad (KGJ&E), a fifteen mile spur connecting Glen Jean to MacDonald, and Macdonald to Tamroy at head of Dunloup.

1914 Alaska mine closes. Explosion at Eccles (on the other side of Beckley) kills 174 miners.

1915 Layland Number Three mine explodes, killing 112 men. District 29 forms at Fayetteville. McKell extends KGJ&E through tunnel at Pax to connect with the Virginian Railroad because the C&O freight charges were too high.

1916 Scarbro tipple is constructed. Brooklyn, also known as Finlow, is operated by Scotia Coal and Coke Company. Brown, between Elverton and S. Nuttall, is operated by Brown Coal Company, which also operated at South Nuttall. The Sunnyside mine is abandoned. Miller's Ferry is renamed "Nallen" in honor of J.I. Nallen, general manager of the Wilderness Lumber Company (Cavalier, 330).

1917 WWI –West Virginia loses 624 soldiers (out of 45,000 who serve). More men have been killed in the mines than at war. The Village of Beard's Fork opens. Loup Creek Colliery has an office there. There is a black school and a white school there.

1919 Fire Creek has 260 people, Rush Run 210, Elverton 200, Sewell has 410, and McKendree 61. Union locals have been established at Lochgelly, Summerlee, Layland, Laurel Creek, Terry, Royal, and Ansted.

1920s E.G. Blume Coal Company operates Fayette mine. McKendree Road, built from Thurmond to Prince, provides automobile access to hospital. Previously the only access was by railroad. Corporate mergers sweep Fayette and Raleigh counties. Berwind White's New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal and Coke Company becomes one of largest conglomerates. Following WWI, hard roads and the introduction of automobile make it possible to live farther away from the mines, and the company towns begin to

dissolve as mines work out and as remaining miners move to the plateaus. Planned developments begin to appear. Private enterprises begin meeting needs of population. The railroad begins to decline in significance locally.

1920 Dimmock P.O. closes. Nuttall sells Nuttalburg mine to Henry Ford and his son Edsel Ford. The sawmill town of Hamlet is started.

1921 Thousands of armed miners (2,000 of them WWI veterans) assemble at Marmet on Lens Creek. Their plan is to march across Blair Mountain in order to liberate Logan County from the mine-guard system paid for by coal operators to help Sheriff Don Chafin keep the union out of Logan County. Many wear red bandanas, affiliating with laborers who were historically known as "rednecks" in Great Britain (Fischer). President Warren G. Harding sends 2,500 troops and fourteen bombers to put down the uprising. A road is built connecting Thurmond to Glen Jean. Taxis start operating between Thurmond and Beckley.

1922 Kaymoor Number Two mine closes.

1923 Sun Sand Company opens a quarry on top of Thayer Mountain. Longdale Iron Company sells its operations to Babcock Coal and Coke. Elverton Mine, operated by Branch Coal and Coke Company, produces 71,809 tons of coal. Michigan mine is operated by New River Export Smokeless Coal Company. Elmo is operated by Elmo Mining Company, Ajax is operated by Ajax Coal Company. Scotia Coal and Coke is operating Rush Run. Babcock Lumber closes.

1924 Kaymoor is purchased from Lowmoor by New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company, a subsidiary of the Philadelphia-based Berwind-White Corporation.

1925 Beury P.O. closes. ("Beury went down before Fire Creek. We had to go to Fire Creek to get our groceries," states Darsie Johns.)

1926 New River Coal Company purchases Slater and Buffalo mines, takes coal out through Layland.

1927 Erskine mine railroad branch closes. Rush Run Coal and Coke branch closes;

1928 New River Company builds Oakwood Store at Carlisle. Railroad branch to Rock Lick Coal Company (Concho) is retired. Thayer Coal and Coke Company retires the railroad branch from Thayer tipple to Pennbrook. WV coal mines are mostly non-union.

1932 A black school is built at Beckwith.

1933 UMWA organizes Elverton. Section 7A of the NLRA passes, precipitating the reorganization of Southern WV coalfields.

1934 WV legislature passes "stock laws," requiring livestock owners to keep animals fenced in so they do not wander onto railroad tracks.

1937 Saloons are gone from the Gorge (Burgess).

1939 Rush Run P.O. closes. McDonald houses are offered for sale to residents. Some are torn down later to make room for highway construction.

1940 New River Company opens Garden Ground mine.

1941 Ames is established out of Ajax, Michigan, Elmo, and Sunnyside mines. Seventeen companies are operating in New River field, at Ansted, Nuttallburg, Prudence, Winona, Whipple, Lochgelly, Summerlee, Kaymoor, Layland, Minden, Stone Cliff, Claremont, Brooklyn, Beelick Nob, Red Star, Clifftop, Fire Creek, Landisburg, Lawton, Laurel Creek, Kathryn. McKendree hospital closes, and re-opens as a "home of aged and infirm negro men" (Unrau 33).

1942 Mine closes at Claremont. U.S. enters WWII, and the U.S. government takes over coal production to ensure continuity. This yields a boom era in the coalfields, where miners become the best organized and most highly paid blue-collar workforce in the U.S. (Couto 1993: 167).

1946 Mine closes at Fire Creek. Major chemical industries begin operating in the Ohio River Valley.

1947 Fire Creek P.O. closes. Coal production in the state reaches an all-time high: 173 million tons; 167,000 miners are employed statewide.

1948 Stone Cliff Post Office Closes. Coal industry's traditional markets (home heating and the railroads) switch to natural gas and oil. The Bituminous Coal Operators Association goes after the electric utilities market, and promises to finance health plans and pensions to miners who agree not to strike over layoffs related to mechanization. This sets the stage for massive out-migration and investment in strip-mining technology.

1950s Berwind-White closes Minden mine closes. West Virginia Coal Company closes Stone Cliff mine. Maryland/New River Company closes Nuttalburg. Sewell and Kaymoor mines close. Mines elsewhere mechanize, railroads dieselize, and outmoded workers (including miners, machinists, pipefitters, boilermakers, and blacksmiths) migrate by the

thousands to find work in Midwestern factory towns. Layoffs mount, along with early retirements, as 250,000 miners lose their jobs nationwide.

1951 Branch Coal and Coke closes Elverton Mine.

1952 Sprague mine closes (now part of Beckley Exhibition coal mine). Bluestone Dam is completed.

1954 Sewell P.O. closes. West Virginia turnpike is completed. McKendree home for "aged and infirm negro men" closes.

1955 Nuttalburg P.O. closes. Kaymoor starts moving former workers and families out of Kaymoor bottom to Kaymoor Top and to Minden.

1956 Coke ovens at Sewell close. Sewell P.O. closes.

1957 Whipple Colliery Company mine closes.

1958 Summerlee Mine and Company Store close.

1960s Siltex Mine explodes. Brooklyn Mine closes. RR tracks serving Rush Run, Red Ash, and Brooklyn are removed.

1961 Garden Ground mine (also known as Terry Top) closes. New River and Pocahontas sells Layland mine to Sparks Coal Company. Public Employees Retirement System, the Department of Natural Resources, the Air Pollution Control Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the Industrial Development Authority, and the Department of Commerce are created at the state level.

1962 Kaymoor 1 mine closes. Nuttalburg depot closes.

1963 Fayette Station closes. WV legislature adopts "West Virginia Hills" as state song.

1964 Barbara Gale Coal Company closes mine at Kaymoor.

1965 New River Company closes White Oak Mine at Carlisle. Rush Run Land Company acquires railroad rights from the C&O near Rush Run, Red Ash, and Brooklyn.

1966 Sts. Peter and Paul Church moves from Scarbro to Oak Hill. Siltix mine explodes, killing seven miners. Summersville Dam is completed.

1967 Last mining done at Terry. WV legislature passes laws to control air and water pollution and strip mining.

1969 New River company closes Scarbro Company Store. Sparks Coal Company sells Layland operation to A.T. Massy Coal Company.

1970 A.T. Massey sells Layland to Royal Coal Company.

1972 Makeshift impoundment holding water used to clean coal on Buffalo Creek in Logan County collapses, killing 126 people and destroying the communities. Sixty-five families on Longacre and Simm's Branch receive eviction notice from Kanawha Gauley Coal and Coke Company.

1974 Lochgelly store and mine close. Store is remodeled into a clinic. Foulkes family begins coal mining on Meadow Creek lands. Factory closings in Dayton, Ohio lay off 25,000 workers, stimulating return migration to southern West Virginia. Oil embargo stimulates mining jobs, precipitating more return migration.

1977 U.S. Congress passes legislation creating the New River Gorge National River, and passes the Surface Mine Control and Reclamation Act (SMCRA) requiring mine operators to restore stripped mountains to "approximate original contour," except where economic benefit can be demonstrated for flattened terrain.

1980s Siltex Mine, the last open mine in Mt. Hope, closes. Pocahontas Coal Company ceases mining operations at Claremont. New River Pocahontas Consolidated Coal (subsidiary of Berwind-White) closes mine at Layland. Gwinns move away from property at Round Bottom after four generations of living there. Coal industry retools for transition to mountaintop removal mining, investing in giant-earthmoving technology.

1990 New River Company closes mine at Meadow Creek.

1990s U.S. Congress amendments to Clean Air Act heighten demand for central Appalachia's cleaner burning bituminous coal. Mountaintop removal mining permits proliferate. Local and regional citizen networks sue the U.S. EPA for not protecting streams from mine spoil. A federal judge rules for the plaintiffs. U.S. government seeks to change Clean Water Act, in order to allow dumping of mine spoil in Appalachian headwaters, which would affect most of the cove topography in which the mixed mesophytic forest originated. Mountaintop removal mining continues.

1998 WV produces 170 million tons of coal with the smallest work force in its history, 14,854 workers.

2001 1200 to 1500 persons are left homeless in McDowell county as a result of floods. Gov. Bob Wise declares a state of emergency in Wyoming, Mercer, Raleigh, Boone, Fayette, McDowell, Doddridge, and Summers counties.

APPENDIX IV:

ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT AND OVERVIEW

NEW RIVER GORGE AND GAULEY NATIONAL RIVERS:

WORK PLAN

Prepared by Dr. Mary Hufford, Director

Center for Folklore and Ethnography,

University of Pennsylvania

January 8, 2004

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PROJECT CONTEXT AND RATIONALE

> "There has been homesites all over this mountain top [*Grandview Mountain*] from Beaver to the overlook that are gone and ever so many people come here that grew up in those homesites, and they all want to go back out in this field and that field, and that field, and back over to *Hylton* property to find their old homesite. From where we're sitting here no there was homesites all the way down to *Mill Creek*.… And down to *Piney River* – see Piney's our other boundary over here. The *Piney River Gorge."*
> —Ritchie Carper, Grandview (1992)

> "I was raised down there and I know every rock up and down that river!"
> —Paul Bennett, Summerlee (1992)

> "You need to see how the gardens are laid out, because that's a tradition. Everybody does that."
> —Ellen Reese, Wriston (1992)

> "If you want this to grow out of the community, then it's incumbent on you that you provide a process."
> —Jacqueline Cook, Beaver (1992)

The Ethnographic Assessment and Overview of the New and Gauley National Rivers will provide the New River Gorge National River planning team with ethnographic information relevant to the formation of a new General Management Plan for the Park. It is our understanding that with this general management plan, the park planners and administrators will address the needs of "traditionally associated communities" whose cultural and physical survival are tied to resources within the park boundaries. This revised mission represents in some ways a reversal of the earlier official story of the New River Gorge, which celebrated the capacity of nature to restore itself around the declining ruins of industrial history. Such a narrative of social decline is at odds with the needs of individuals and communities still living within and around the park, continuing to imagine a future there. Moreover, the narrative repudiates the processes that gave form and life to communities that still define themselves in relation to the spaces and history of industry on the New River Gorge.

One effect of the dissonance between the Park's official narrative to this point and local historical discourse emerges in the database created by the American Folklife Center's field study on New River in 1991–92.While the NPS visitor's map shows a number of the populated sites

found in and around New River, many of the places cited in conversation with local community members do not appear on the map. Recounting several generations of family history, a number of people spoke of working at Siltex, Oswald, and Sun, moving around from mine to mine. Or meeting one's husband while tending injured miners as a nurse at the hospital at McKendree, or working even now for the same company that founded the town of Concho at the turn of the last century. Dozens of names for places in and around the New River Gorge are continually mentioned in stories that tell family and community history. Such stories often track the material evidence of community history – a couple of apple trees, a stone foundation. Where it is permissible to hunt, gather, and fish, reading history out of the landscape is not only a way of maintaining identity, but of finding one's way to the resources. Therefore, a central goal of this project will be to learn the continuing significance of names for places, and the cultural practices of tracking of signs of community life past and present embedded in natural and built aspects of the landscape.

Some of the members of these traditionally associated communities live within the park, but many do not. While the park itself is a geographically bounded entity, members of the communities are scattered throughout the region. In local historical narratives, the shape of life in the coalfields does not align neatly with the park's boundaries. These narratives suggest an integral relationship between spaces in the park and spaces outside the park. We hope to recommend ways in which the park can support the integrity of that relationship as it is suggested in narratives and in other structures of life, including forms of time like the seasonal round and biographical trajectories (for instance, outmigration in youth, return migration in retirement).

Community members are also scattered throughout the country, a condition of diaspora deeply rooted in the industrial history that the park already interprets. Many New River families and towns address this diaspora by reassembling and renewing their connection to New River through the social institution of the reunion, which will form one point of focus and entry into the communities for the field team. Thus our research will focus in part on town reunions throughout the reunion season in order to gather information about spaces, sites, and species vital to traditionally associated communities. This does not preclude a focus on other social settings, structures, and events (i.e. fishing camps, employment of area residents as guides, and gatherings centered around religions, music, or hunting), but given the size of the New River Gorge and

Gauley Rivers, a focus on town reunions will help us to fill out a documentary profile we will develop simultaneously through archival research (i.e. census research) and focused interviews (i.e. on land and resource use in the park). This work plan will sketch out the general direction the research will take, especially in the beginning, bearing in mind that ethnography is shaped by unforeseeable discoveries, and must be flexible enough to shift direction, if need be.

Bearing in mind the advice of Jacqueline Cook to "provide a process," working through the social structure of the reunions has a political advantage. Through their reunions, communities traditionally associated with the New River profile themselves publicly as collectivities with whom the National Park Service already formally engages as the administrator of reunion facilities, and might continue to engage in planning for the future of resources vital to community life. The reunions have the advantage of a shared interest with the Park Service in cultural conservation. Through reunions, communities celebrate themselves, renew their connection to places in the park, rehearse and explore further the history of their formation and monitor their continuing growth. With their ephemeral bulletin boards, displays of photographs and artifacts, resolution of genealogical puzzles (one resident calls this "sifting it out"), and pilgrimages to old homeplaces and cemeteries, the reunions form an ongoing living archive of park history. They form vital ephemeral sites for the continuing stewardship of collective memory. One question our project will seek to answer is what is the role of the Park Service in this stewardship? To answer this question, we will explore the history of New River as a resource for community development, paying special attention to the relationship between economic development and the development of traditionally associated communities.

In the transcriptions of interviews with residents in and around the park, the coal, timber, and railroad industries emerge as vital resources for community development for nearly a century in the New River Gorge (1860s–1950s). However, while the Gorge remains a crucial resource for the extractive industry (C&O railroad transports record quantities of coal through the Gorge daily), such industry itself no longer forms a vital resource for community life anchored in the historic sites and habitats of the New River Gorge and the Gauley River. Through reunions, communities celebrate an achievement for which they no longer rely on the coal industry: the perpetuation of community life. The reunions themselves form ways not only of physically convening those who constitute communities ("constituencies"), but of celebrating the capacity of

community to endure beyond the cycles of boom and bust that fueled the Appalachian diaspora, a story in which the New River Gorge figures prominently. Questions we have about the reunions: how many are held annually? Who attends? What resources and practices are involved in generating collective memory at these events? What products are generated that convey the history of the Gorge?

Here is a partial list of the reunions that turn up in the AFC database when one searches on “reunion”:

Family Reunions

Richardson/Bailey reunion

Whitt family reunion

Hundley reunion

McGrady reunion

Lilly reunion

Green reunion

Harvey reunion

Shumate Reunion

Hurt

McGinniss

Creed

Honaker

Stover

Carper

Phillips

Cox

Polk

Shrewsbury

Gilkeson

Richmond

Burleson

Caldwell

Hunter

Alberts
Ballengee
etc.

Town Reunions
Summerlee reunion
Grandview reunion
Thurmond
Raleigh
Minden
Scarbro
Pax
Prosperity
Mount Hope Jubilee Days (formerly New River Coal Company Reunion) (etc.)

We will develop additional contacts through public institutions such as churches, brokers for products gathered in the New and Gauley Rivers (for instance, the Appalachian Herb Company in Rainelle, bait shops, and deer checking stations), libraries, post offices, rafting companies, and town governments where they exist within the Park, as is the case in Thurmond. We may assume that the tourist industry forms a resource, but in order to get at that question, we need to know how communities are continuing to use the resources of the New River Gorge to survive both materially (in permanent dwellings and seasonal structures within the park) and culturally (through forms of assembly known as reunions.)

We will begin then, by consulting with park service staff as well as with other contacts in the region to identify preliminary contacts, including coordinators of town reunions who would know of people within the community who are most knowledgeable about physical resources in the park that are vital to community life. Referrals from coordinators and park staff will help to pave the way for preliminary interviews with people who live in the park and make use of the park's resources. Working through coordinators provides us with a process for engaging with communities through their representatives, while helping us learn more about the collective historical memory associated with the Gorge and its habitats.

Since not all of the sites that are important to community life lie within the park boundaries, this project will document the sites within the park in relation to the larger social reality those sites anchor, and the participation of places in New River Gorge in a network of places outside of the park. Research in earlier projects indicates that nearly everyone we spoke with attends reunions – more than one each year. Our hypothesis is that entering the communities through the visible, public structures of the reunions will lead us, first in conversation, and then through tours, to the sites within the Gorge that are vital to community life, and that this will help us determine their significance. We plan to collect information related to the following settlements, historical and contemporary, in the Park:

Ames Heights + *

Bachman

Sunnyside *

Elmo*

Michigan*

Newlyn*

Fayette*

Kaymoor*

Brown

Nuttalburg*

Elverton*

Caperton*

Cunard*

Sewell*
Clifftop*
Brooklyn +*

Pennbrook*

Fire Creek*

Beury*

Red Ash*

Dimmock*

Rush Run

Thurmond *

Concho*

Minden + *

Prudence*

Harvey*

Red Star*

Dunloup Creek + *

Stone Cliff + *

Claremont*

Alaska

Thayer+*

McKendree * + (as McKendree Road)

Terry + *

Prince + *

Quinnimont + *

Layland*

Lawton

Royal *

McCreery +*

Grandview +*

Meadow Creek +*

Sandstone +*

Brooks+*

Hinton +*

Wright *

Stonewall

Stanaford *

Raleigh *

Mabscott *

Wickham

Sprague *

Skelton *

Cranberry *

Tamroy *

Oswald *

Price Hill *

Kilsyth *

Mount Hope + *

Willis Branch *

Pax *

Sun *

Glen Jean + *

Wingrove *

Scrabro *

Carlisle *

Whipple + *

Summerlee (Parral) *

Lochgelly (Stewart) *

Ingram Branch

Page

Beard's Fork *

Deepwater

Boonesborough

Gauley Bridge + *

Gamoca

Swiss

Jodie

Kessler's Cross

Winona + *

Edmund + *

Lansing + *

Lookout + *

+ appears on NRG visitors map

* appears in AFC database

PROJECT TIMELINE

Phase 1: Archival research and preliminary interviews

January – February:

Tasks for Research and Fieldwork in the First Phase

1. Review transcriptions of interviews in the Park Archive (December- January) to construct a list of sites, a timeline of dates (including dates of opening and closing of mines and a profile of the census throughout the life of towns throughout the NRG) and an annual round indexed in local historical discourse;
2. Compile bibliography and resources for fieldworkers;
3. Compile a list of reunions and coordinators;
4. Set up system for archiving project materials, including interactive website for fieldworkers to enter data (place names and dates);
5. Develop list of contacts and potential interviewees (MH, TC, RM)
6. Interview reunion coordinators about the reunions, sites, people (February – March);
7. Interview selected NPS personnel about the annual round of the park and its users from their perspective;
8. Develop preliminary interview schedules for fishing, hunting, gathering, gardening, and reunions. (MH with students)
9. Develop list of collections containing information on the towns and coal camps in the New River Gorge
10. Survey archival holdings in Glen Jean and Oak Hill, Washington, D.C., Staunton, VA, Charleston, WV, and Philadelphia, PA for maps and manuscripts relevant to this phase of the documentation. If time and resources permit, in a follow-up phase we would like to revisit archives for information indicated in the interviews.
11. Prepare plan for phase two, which will include planning of phase 3, which in turn will include the planning of phase 4.

Phase 2: Fieldwork and Interviews with communities

March – August (MH, Students, TC and RM)

Specific list of tasks by February 20.

Presentation to NPS Staff and Study Team – Late June

Phase 3: Writing, archiving, and compilation of materials

July – October (MH, students, TC, and RM)

Specific table of contents and tasks by June 30.

Draft Report and Preliminary Database Due – August 31, 2004

Phase 4: Review (by Park Service) and revision (by CFE)

Revisit archives and field consultants as needed – September – December (MH and students)

Final Report, Updated Database, and Archive Due – December 30, 2004.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH AND FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY

Archival Research

Historical information on communities in the New River Gorge is available in local, state, national, corporate, and family records and collectanea. Some of this historical information is published in books and pamphlets on communities in the New River Gorge, and in the gray literature of National Park Service reports. Much of the official story of the New River Gorge centers on industrial development. In an effort to understand what uses were made of the Gorge prior to industrial development and beyond the purposes of industry, we will inquire into the holdings of:

University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)

Drexel University (Philadelphia)

Berwind Natural Resource Corporation (Philadelphia, PA)

Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Archives (Staunton, VA and Alderson, WV)

Division of Culture and History (Charleston, WV)

National Archives (Washington, D.C. and Suitland, MD)

Coal Archives (Bluefield, WV)

West Virginia University (West Virginia and Regional History Collection (Morgantown, WV)

Archives of the Beckley Register Herald and the Charleston Gazette

University of Virginia (Alderman Library)

West Virginia Division of Cultural History

Library of Congress (Archive of Folk Culture)

And other holdings as they are brought to our attention. We will compile a list of the institutions containing documents, noting the kinds of documents and the places within the Park to which these documents refer. We will make use of specific information from the archives will round out the ethnohistorical portrait we develop through our interviews with residents in and around the New River Gorge.

Fieldwork Methodology

The goal of this project is to assist the National Park Service in developing a general management plan informed by new ethnographic knowledge in relation to the New and Gauley National Rivers. If ethnographic knowledge is the knowledge of cultural difference, what are the cultural differences that it is important to recognize and accommodate in the general management plan? A salient category here is resource management and use, which we will discover through:

1. A survey of existing transcriptions, together with survey of literature (see bibliography)
2. A survey of archival holdings, with special attention to census information and aerial photographs
3. Tours of the park with knowledgeable parks personnel
4. Interviews with local residents and other members of traditionally associated communities ("field consultants")
5. Field excursions with field consultants.

We will document traditional sites, uses, and associations through interviews, guided tours, and observations both before and during the reunion season. Our work will not be limited to attending reunions, but our conversations early on with reunion coordinators will help us to develop a plan that will encompass all of the communities and sites that are located within the Park Boundaries. Although there are dozens of such communities, previous research suggests that these can be grouped into roughly ten clusters, each centered around a railroad spur, a creek, or a town, which will help us to distribute our time and resources equitably. We will identify the exact number and names for these "clusters" in early spring (March).

We will identify field consultants based on information from past ethnographic research (the American Folklife Center's New River Gorge Folklife Project and the NERI archive of oral histories). We will also elicit suggestions from reunion coordinators and from contacts made through public places and institutions such as churches, the agricultural extension service, markets, and advertised community events such as shooting matches and fundraising dinners. These sources will become clearer during the first few weeks of field research, but we will try to ensure representative geographic and demographic (age, ethnicity, race, gender, and class) participation by networking through 1) reunion coordinators; 2) other community leaders; 3) public spaces and services (i.e. Gauley Bridge Gift Shop, Fishing and hunting supply places, brokers for herbs, roots, and recycleables, and public community-based events).

Our approach will be ethnomethodological. The ethnomethodological approach assumes there is not one fixed perspective on the park and its resources; it assumes that there is not one objectively knowable New River Gorge. Rather it enters multiple worlds anchored in the Park through multiple perspectives via the material, ritual, and linguistic practices whereby people inhabit and dwell in the first place. In line with the Park's needs, we will focus on the perspectives of "traditionally associated communities." This method allows us to recover the significance of those resources, and hopefully to set up process that allows the significance to continually emerge.

We will use a combination of directed and open interviewing techniques for gathering information about sites that are significant to communities anchored within the Park. Direct questions will elicit information about specific species, practices, sites, using emic terms, names, and categories where appropriate. Open-ended interviewing will elicit information by engaging in historical discourse, with the ethnographer following the lead of the field consultant in order to understand local modes of cultural representation and conservation.

Cultural Conservation and Forms of Historical Discourse

In the scope for the project, the Park Service indicates an interest in a cultural conservation approach. Such an approach bridges official and vernacular discourses on heritage. Whether official or vernacular, as folklorist James Abrams points out, "heritage discourse is formulated during and after periods of significant social transformation, and it functions as an act

of cultural redefinition and repair. Migration, economic dislocation, and a sense of generational discontinuity are a few stimuli that provoke intense feelings of loss, absence, and yearning, conditions that heritage projects attempt to assuage by recovering memories and traditions presumed emblematic of a group's desired cultural continuity" (1994: 23).

Because migration, economic dislocation, and a sense of generational discontinuity have been chronic conditions for communities in and around the New River Gorge, one would expect to find vernacular practices that shape cultural identity in relation to resources now under the stewardship of the National Park. We will bring an ethnomethodological approach to bear on bridging the official and vernacular discourses on heritage centered on park resource.

A number of related distinctions salient to a cultural conservation approach are outlined in *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*: recognizing a difference between traditional and western historical discourse (Downer et. al, 1994); a difference between managerial and community-based approaches to resource stewardship (Marks, 1994); a difference between notions of what makes places significant (DeNatale, 1994). Many of these differences are also described and accommodated in the Park Service's own "Bulletin 38: Guide to Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties" (King and Parker).

In our approach to identifying community-based modes of resource stewardship we draw on the notion of historical discourse (Briggs, Foster), as a set of linguistic, material, and ritual practices that locate a community in a particular ongoing historical process. For communities to survive culturally, they need to be able to collectively imagine a future as well as a past. As Roger Cunningham points out in *Apples on the Flood*, communities cohere as much through a shared sense of destiny as through a shared sense of origin. Historical discourse sutures time, space, and society together, and is especially important in the presence of the ruptures and disruptions of diaspora. Genres of historical discourse on New River evident in the transcriptions include, but are not limited to the following:

> **Foundational narratives**, in which accounts are offered of early settlers, why they came to New River, how they named the places; offered also of prospectors, including John Dragan himself --

Genealogical digression: Discourse that interrupts conversation to establish relationships among people. Clarence Lewis called this "sifting it out." This conversational practice is linked with a kind of topological digression that locates place and people in relation to each other.

Place name etymologies; In the AFC database, there are, for example, etymologies of Irish Mountain and Batoff Mountain.

Reunions – feature not only narrative, but material and ritual practices, including, for example, *ephemeral archives* and *pilgrimages* to family homeplaces and historically significant sites. To elaborate:

The *ephemeral archives* intensify memory by putting it all in one place for a day. Floyd Bonifacio described the dynamic, recurrent, ephemeral archive posted in the store windows of Mount Hope at the Mount Hope Jubilee, which happens in October (formerly the New River Coal Company Reunion). "All these old timers come back in here, I mean the ones that live in Ohio or Florida, and they come in and everybody has an old picture, and we put em all in the windows… I mean hundreds of pictures, all the coal mines, all the old-timers."

Pilgrimages – As Ritchie Carper observes, "There has been homesites all over this mountain top [*Grandview Mountain*] from Beaver to the overlook that are gone and ever so many people come here that grew up in those homesites, and they all want to go back out in this field and that field, and that field, and back over to *Hylton* property to find their old homesite." We want to know more about these homeplaces, how people recognize them, how often they visit, what the sites mean in family and regional histories and so forth.

Material practices of scavenging and display whereby bits of a fading social and economic world are resituated as components of contemporary life – the bricks from the Mount Hope Bottling plant reconfigured into a fireplace in a refurbished company house; a paw pole ladder converted into a climbing structure for children; bar museums, home museums, etc.

General topics for eliciting narratives: History of particular communities, spaces and resources on the New River; History of particular reunions, their spaces and resources; activities pursued by people attending reunions or otherwise spending time in the park including: mining, railroad work, agriculture, fishing, whitewater rafting, hunting, rock climbing, bird watching, walking, biking, picnicking, writing, graphic arts, camping, collecting of materials for domestic or commercial consumption or for hobbies or educational purposes. Collection of names and

documentation of spaces where these things happen, and the significance of existing structures, species, and landscapes to these activities. (Subject to modification as the project goes on).

Project Archive and Database

Because the Park is most concerned with identifying the material forms supportive of cultural memory and practice for the purpose of future management and development, we plan to generate, out of our archival research, interviews, and observations, and the attendant notes, transcriptions, and fieldnotes, an expandable database that links such memory and practice to specific sites as well as to species and habitats found within the park. The final report for the project will contextualize the database.

Sample Fields and Entries

Unless the Park Service has another preference, we will use Endnote to index transcriptions. A list of fields and a sample entry follows:

Interview information:

Date of Interview: May 15, 1992

Place of Interview: Ramp, WV

Fieldworker(s): Mary Hufford

Consultant: Curtis Cales

Topics Covered:

Place names: Ireland, Germany, Brooks, Hinton, Dayton (Ohio), Ward Bench, Chester Mountain, Keaney's Knob, Ford Place, Dunbar Mountain, Laurel Creek

Activity or Event: Spring gobbler season

Time period: present

Habitats: hardwood cove, other --

Genres: Place name etymology (Ramp), hunting, gardening, animal calling, family reunions, fishing, music making (banjo)

Species: turkey (jakes, hens), deer, rabbits, cur dogs, mountain feists, raccoon, muggins (morel sp.), bear, woodhens (pileated woodpeckers), quail, black walnut (*juglans nigra)*, hoot owl (barred owl), squirrels, red-tailed hawks, great-horned owls, wild boars, minnows, crawdads, bee martins (great-crested flycatchers), joe reeds (rufous-sided towhees), john boats, ramps, groundhogs.

Season: Spring

Notes: (Here we will enter the searchable fieldnotes and transcriptions)

Outline for Final Report

(to be revised to fit the project findings in June, 2003)

I. Background and Rationale

II. Description of Methods

III. Narrative: Ethnohistory of settlement and land-use, related to existing histories and documentary record

   a. Gauley River

      i. Periods of Settlement

      ii. Places, artifacts, species, habitats of value to traditionally associated communities

   b. New River Gorge

      i. Periods of Settlement

      ii. Places, artifacts, species, habitats of value to traditionally associated communities

IV. Cultural Conservation and Community Survival in the Present

   a. Traditional Genres and Practices of Historical Discourse

   b. Relationship of traditional genres and practices to official genres and practices

V. Recommendations for policy, programming, and ongoing assessment.

VI. Appendices

   a. Ethnohistorical Timeline

   b. List of mappable places and landscaped features linked to traditionally associated community life

   c. The annual round of community practices and activities

VII. References

Project Personnel:

Fieldworkers: Mary Hufford, Thomas Carroll, Rita Moonsammy (see resumes attached for Carroll and Moonsammy)

Graduate Students in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania: Linda Lee, Cynthia Byrd Murtagh, and Dana Hercbergs

Rita Moonsammy and Thomas Carroll will each contract for a total of 45 days (for a total of 90 "people days"). They will spend 15 days during the early phase of the project developing contacts for interviews throughout the parks. They will each spend 15 days interviewing and observing during the spring and summer, and they will each spend 15 days writing up portions of the final report. The terms and conditions of their work will be stipulated in letters of agreement.

Two graduate students will assist with interviews, transcription of tapes, database entry, and the production of maps, timeline, and an annual round graphic. They will do much of this work through the spring for course credit, and through the summer as paid interns.

Needs from Park Service:

1. A staff member who can help the project team obtain resources that the NPS has that would be useful to the project (i.e. list of reunion coordinators, transcriptions of oral histories)
2. Technical assistance with a) designing and setting up database, if this would be useful; b) translating resource information into terms useful to the park – i.e. designations for habitats.
3. Orientations to sections and resources of the park as the need arises (with sufficient notice)
4. Access to desk space, telephone, and computer for fieldworkers when in the area.

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Insular Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House; 95th Congress, 2nd session, on S. 2866 & H.R. 12001, October 3, 1978). Washington, DC: GPO, 1978 [i.e. 1979]. **[LC: KF26.E556 1978c]**

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Development Concept Plan, Environmental Assessment: Cunard, New River Gorge National River, West Virginia (NPS D-35; "Draft, September 1989"). [Denver, CO]: GPO, [1989]. **[UVA: ALD GOVT DOCS, 129.7913:N42/4ldraft]**

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Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus, Environmental Assessment: Draft: Thurmond, New River Gorge National River, West Virginia ("NPS D-34, October 1989"). [Denver, CO]: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, [1989]. **[UVA: ALD GOVT DOCS, 129.79/3:N42/3/draft**

Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus: Cunard, New River Gorge National River, West Virginia ("NPS D-35-A, June 1990"). [Washington, DC?]: GPO, 1990. **[UVA: ALD GOVT DOCS, 129,79/3:N42/5]**

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Draft, Development Concept Plan/Interpretive Prospectus, Environmental Assessment: Middle Gorge: New River Gorge National Park [sic], West
Virginia ("NPS D-79, March 1993," microfiche). [Denver, CO?]: Denver Service Center, [1993].
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APPENDIX V:
ETHNOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL RESOURCES: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ethnography

Abrams, James F.

1994 Lost Frames of Reference: Sightings of History and Memory in Pennsylvania's Documentary Landscape. *In* Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage. M. Hufford, ed. Pp. 24–38. A publication of the American Folklore Society. New series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

In this article, Abrams looks at how events from the past are remembered and performed, and the discourse practices at work in historical interpretations and reinterpretations. He considers the textualizing practices at work in heritage sites in Eckley, a Pennsylvania coal town. In 1968, the movie *The Molly Maguires* was filmed in Eckley, and today "film and place are inextricably linked in the consciousness of local residents" (32). He raises many questions about the nature of heritage, which voices are privileged in production of heritage projects and sites. Abrahms discusses how a museum, film, and bar tell "partial but intersecting" narratives about that past that each attempt to represent, and uses this as a way to illustrate the "clashes" that take place in the reception of heritage sites.

Altman, Heidi M.

2006 Eastern Cherokee Fishing. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Anglin, Mary

2000 Toward a Workable Past: Dangerous Memories and Feminist Perspectives. Journal of Appalachian Studies 6(1&2):71–99.

Anglin reassesses Appalachia's history, considering gendered social dynamics and their intersections with ethnicity, culture, and class. She takes an anthropological and historical

approach to reconstruct the lives of rural, non-elite women in 19th century western North Carolina.

Batteau, Allen

1990 The Invention of Appalachia. Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Press.

Batteau, in his discussion of Appalachia as a social construct, poses theoretical explanations for how a culture and its artifacts are viewed and used by cultures of which Appalachia is not an integral part. He presents an historical review of the social conditions by which Appalachia was invented out of political desiderata popular at different times. He asserts that Appalachia is the manifestation of urban imagination.

Becker, Jane S.

1998 Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of an American Folk, 1930–1940. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Becker examines the reemergence of southern Appalachian handicraft traditions in the 1930s, with close attention to the cultural politics among the producers, reformers, government officials, industries, museums, urban markets, and consumers of these crafts. The geographic area she focuses on is primarily the Great Smoky Mountains region. She uses this craft revival movement as a way to examine how the cultural categories of "folk" and "tradition" are constructed. She argues that the commodification of tradition relies on a series on deceptions, including the deliberate forgetting of the labor involved in producing the handicrafts, its meaning for the producers (as well as their individual preferences and needs), the circumstances of production, and the role that craft labor played in particular historical contexts.

Billings, Dwight B., and David Walls

1980 Appalachians. *In* Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups. S. Thernstrom, A. Orlov, and O. Handlin, eds. Pp. xxv, 1076 p. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press.

Callender, Charles

1978 Shawnee. *In* Handbook of North American Indians. W. Sturtevant, ed. Pp. 622–635, Vol. 15. Washington, DC.

Cantwell, Robert

1984 Bluegrass Breakdown. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Bluegrass Breakdown is explores the makings of bluegrass, described as a uniquely American music deeply linked to working-class ideals and romanticism. Cantwell engages the historical background, commercial origins, internal workings, and cultural and social significance of popular, old-time music to provide a musicological and sociological perspective. Cantwell links bluegrass to its roots in Appalachia and shows how the music was transformed by African American folk traditions, the influence of jazz, ragtime, blues, and country music, and the growth of radio and recording technology.

Cook, Samuel R.

2000 Monacans and Miners: Native American and Coal Mining Communities in Appalachia. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Samuel R. Cook presents a comparison of indigenous and immigrant communities in the Virginias. This study focuses on the political, economic, and social aspects of the Monacans, a Native American group of Amherst County, Virginia, and Scottish and Irish settlers of Wyoming County, West Virginia. Cook's focus is divided equally between that of the Native American experience and the Scottish and Irish settlers, and he is ultimately interested in issues of power relations that have affected these groups. He takes a decidedly interdisciplinary approach in this regional comparative study, and positions this comparison as "two communities in a region that epitomizes the contradictions of capitalist expansion and global homogenization" (2). He draws on anthropology, history, and politics, as well as many cross-disciplinary theoretical and methodological perspectives. He analyzes both variations in colonial processes and the conditions of dependency that exist in Appalachia.

Couto, Richard A., and Catherine S. Guthrie

1999 Making Democracy Work Better: mediating structures, social capital, and the democratic prospect. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Couto examines the relationship of democracy and organized action by looking at the role of community-based organizations in addressing social and economic inequality in Central Appalachia. This is a region that exhibits the shortcomings of capitalism for securing social, economic and political equality. This book illustrates the ways in which community-based organizations can and have been successful at promoting the prospect of increased equality in these sectors, by looking at 23 such organizations in the region.

Crissman, James K.

1994 Death and Dying in Central Appalachia: Changing attitudes and practices. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Documents Central Appalachian funerary traditions, including vigils, preparation of the body, and mourning, in association with the strong familism characteristic of mountain culture since the late 1600's. Uses archival research, interviews and photographs from West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia.

Cunningham, Rodger

1991 Apples on the Flood: Minority discourse and Appalachia. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Considers Appalachian and Scotch-Irish history in terms of "peripheralization theory", which poses collective identity as produced in the core of society against those on the fringe, relating to the frontier experience of Appalachians and their ancestors. Links Scotch-Irish experience of socio-economic marginalization with experience of Appalachian settlers. Considers psychological and communal identity of these peoples.

Foster, Stephen William

1988 The Past is Another Country: Representation, historical consciousness, and resistance in the Blue Ridge. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Halperin, Rhoda

1990 The Livelihood of Kin: Making Ends Meet the Kentucky Way. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Halperin has attempted to deal with the problem of urban/rural dichotomies by differentiating between the traditional "deep rural" and the "shallow rural," the latter referring to more complex rural settlements, or "the middle ground between country and city." Community life, historically at the heart of southern Appalachian culture, is not defined primarily as an aggregation of non-related people maximizing their economic opportunities. "The deep rural parts of the region are the locations of family land, and land is at the base of the solidity that people find there" (58). Land, a specific place, provides the locus for community, and kin ties provide one of the mechanisms for community.

Hill, David P.

1986 Notes Concerning Ruins of Motion Machinery in the Appalachian Landscape. *In* Blue Ridge Parkway: Agent of Transition. B.M.a.B. Bruxton, Steven M., ed: Appalachian Consortium Press.

Hirsch, Eric, and Michael O'Hanlon

1995 The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on place and space. New York: Oxford University Press.

Howell, Benita J.

1981 A Survey of Folklife Along the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River. Pp. 431. Knoxville, TN: Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee.

This study uses a variety of research methods to develop statistical and historical background on the Big South Fork area, obtain a general picture of contemporary lifeways, and survey specific community activities. Special attention is paid to the economy and land use.

—, ed.

1990 Cultural Heritage Conservation in the American South. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Focusing on the area from northern Alabama to West Virginia, Howell explores the historic and contemporary interrelations between culture and environment in a region that has been plagued by land misuse and damaging stereotypes of its people. Debunking the nature-culture dichotomy, contributors examine how physical space is transformed into culturally constituted "place" by a variety of factors, both tangible (architecture, landmarks, artifacts) and intangible (a sense of place, long-term family habitation of land, tradition, "a way of life worth fighting for"). Archaeologists, cultural geographers, and ethnographers examine how the land was used by its earliest inhabitants and trace the effects of agricultural decline, industrial development, and tourism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Powerful case studies recount past displacement of local populations in the name of progress or conservation and track threatened communities' struggles to maintain their claims to place in the face of extralocal counterclaims that would appropriate space and resources for other purposes, such as mountaintop removal of coal or a power company's plans to export electricity from Appalachia to distant urban centers. Contributors also record successful community planning ventures that have achieved creative solutions to seemingly intransigent conflicts between demands for economic wealth and environmental health.

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1994 Mountain Foragers in Southeast Asia and Appalachia: Cross-cultural Perspectives on the 'Mountain Man' Stereotype. *In* Appalachia in an international context: cross-national comparisons of developing regions. P.J. Obermiller and W.W. Philliber, eds. Pp. 131–140. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

This essay shows how similar economic and ecological conditions in Appalachia and various parts of Southeast Asia contribute to the development of the "mountain-man" stereotype in the minds of low-landers, who often are ethnically similar to their highland neighbors. Striking similarities in attributes of the stereotype exist cross-culturally, including images of backwardness, drunkenness and fear of highlanders are often traced to trade relations between them and coastal or lowland dwellers. Citing works based on

ecological and economic, rather than evolutionary perspectives, Howell makes a case for the stereotype being a product of particular conditions.

Hufford, Mary

1998 Tending the Commons: Ramp Suppers, Biodiversity, and the Integrity of "The Mountains". Folklife Center News 20(4):3–11.

Mary Hufford offers a discussion of the importance of ramps (very fragrant wild leeks) in southern Appalachian culture. Hufford's fieldwork for this paper was conducted primarily in the area around Coal River in southern West Virginia. This food product is an important element of feasts and food traditions, such as ramp suppers. Hufford discusses many of the traditions surrounding ramp suppers, as well as the importance of gathering and processing ramps and other greens in Appalachian female society. Ultimately, she argues that ramps, ramp patches, and ramp talk are important aspects in the construction of the cultural landscape of the region, and the commons on Coal River provides a model for an alternative, integrated, community-based approach to natural- and cultural-resource conservation.

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2001 Stalking the Forest Co-Eval: Fieldwork on the Boundary of Clashing Social Imaginaries. Practicing Anthropology.

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2002 Interrupting the Monologue: Folklore, Ethnography, and Critical Regionalism. Journal of Appalachian Studies.

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2003 Knowing Ginseng: The Social Life of an Appalachian Root. Cahiers de littérature orale 53–54:265–291.

Hufford looks at the significance of ginseng in central Appalachia, which is the leading producer of wild ginseng. She examines the interrelation of the wild ginseng region with that of the coalfields, focusing on how the latter dominates the geographical space. She traces the importance of wild ginseng, specifically within the geopolitical context,

arguing that the wild ginseng region is a cultural artifact that has been eclipsed by the region's thematization as the "coalfields." Finally she discusses how "knowing ginseng" informs the ethnomimetic process of the region. Hufford explores many aspects of the ginseng region, including epistemologies of wild ginseng, the time-spaces of ginseng, and expressions of ginseng in the culture such as seng hoes and seng talk.

Johnson, Geraldine N.

1982 "Plain and Fancy": The Socioeconomics of Blue Ridge Quilts. Appalachian Journal 10(1):12–35.

Johnson makes observations of Blue Ridge quilters which contradict some common notions about quilting while reinforcing the importance of continuing serious investigation into regional quilting styles. "Plain and Fancy" points to a need to examine the entire scope of women's handwork and produce descriptive essays dealing with regional quilt types and techniques. She also calls for documentation of quilters' words and narratives to better understand the history, vision, and spirit of quiltmakers.

Jordan, James William

1983 Frontier Culture, Government Agents, and City Folks. *In* Appalachia and America. A. Batteau, ed. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.

Jordan argues that anthropological community study conducted by the Forest Service can sensitize agencies to the cultural patterns of local communities and allow them to foresee and avoid conflict among the managers, residents, and users of forests.

Lafitau, Joseph Francois

1718 Memoire presente a son Altesse Royale monsigneur le Duc d'Orleans. Paris: Joseph Monge.

Mooney, James

1900 Myths of the Cherokee. St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press.

Myer, William Edward

1928 Indian trails of the Southeast. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology.

Nesbitt, J. Todd

2000 Ethnography and Participatory Rural Appraisal in Central Appalachia. Journal of Appalachian Studies 6(1&2):49–70.

Nebitt discusses the challenges and opportunities of conducting ethnographic research in two counties in West Virginia (Randolph and Pendelton). Specifically, he addresses positionality, reflexivity, and subjectivity, and argues for a critical feminist methodology augmented by Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). He suggests that this combined approach is especially useful when a research is considered to be both an insider and an outsider.

Neville, Gwen Kennedy

1987 Kinship and Pilgrimage: Rituals of Reunion in American Protestant Culture. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kinship and Pilgrimage examines the way that Protestants have succeeded in maintaining their communal life and traditions in rural Scotland and, eventually, in the South and Southwestern United States. In describing the ways in which people are bound to a tradition and a place, Neville notes a remarkable continuity between the outdoor gatherings of Scottish folk in churchyards and fields, from the fifteenth century until well into the nineteenth, and the pilgrimages that their Presbyterian descendants have continued to undertake in the United States well into the twentieth century. According to Neville, these rites have acquired an element of protest against secularizing trends in American society and the erosion of family ties under the impact of modern society.

Puckett, Anita

2000 Seldom Ask, Never Tell: Labor and Discourse in Appalachia. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Reid, Herbert, and Betsy Taylor

2002 Appalachia as a Global Region: Toward Critical Regionalism and Civic Professionalism. Journal of Appalachian Studies 8(1):9–32.

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2003 John Dewey's Aesthetic Ecology of Public Intelligence and the Grounding of Civic Environmentalism. Ethics and the Environment 8:74–92.

Solecki, Ralph S.

1949 An Archeological Survey of Two River Basins in West Virginia. West Virginia History:319–42.

Stewart, Kathleen

1988 Nostalgia: A Polemic. Cultural Anthropology 3(3):227–241.

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1996 A Space on the Side of the Road: Cultural Poetics in an "Other" America. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stewart vividly evokes an "other" America that survives precariously among the ruins of the West Virginia coal camps and "hollers," existing as an excluded subtext to the American narrative of capitalism, modernization, materialism, and democracy. Local personal narrative tracks a dense social imaginary through stories of traumas, apparitions, encounters, and eccentricities. Stewart explores how this complex storytelling imbues everyday life in the hills and forms a cultural poetic.

Taylor, Betsy

2002 Public Folklore, Nation-Building, and Regional Others. Journal of Indian Folklore Research.

Taylor, Elizabeth Mary

1992 Self and Story in Appalachian Coal Mining Communities. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan.

Taylor examines the historical and causal patterns behind the development and transformation of workers' consciousness by exploring the ways in which coal miners form a collective voice through structures of narrative. Taylor focuses on fundamentalism and ontology as battlegrounds for class structure as local communities attempt to maintain a continuing narrative while faced with the incursion of capitalism and mass culture.

Thomas, James H.

1979 Truckstops, Truckers, and Trucks: 1976. Journal of Popular Culture XIII(2):221–228.

Thomas examines trucking culture and the associations of trucks with power, sex, speed, and free spirit in America. He sees trucking culture as a form of self-expression by men with independence and "frontier pride."

Tice, Karen W.

1998 Social-Work and Mother-Work: The Interplay of Maternalism and Cultural Politics in the Educational Narratives of Kentucky Settlement Workers, 1910–1930. Journal of Appalachian Studies 4(2):191–224.

The article considers women educational reformers in two communities in the Kentucky mountains. Although the geographic area discussed is not West Virginia, gender issues have been neglected in Appalachia scholarship, and this study may help fill the gap. The "complex amalgam of social control and benevolent impulses" (193) that Tice describes may well be applicable to contemporaneous West Virginia mountain communities.

Titon, Jeff Todd

1988 Powerhouse For God: Speech, Chant, and Song in an Appalachian Baptist Church. Austin: University of Texas Press.

This book is an in-depth portrait of a Blue Ridge Mountain Baptist preacher, his family, and their church, depicting and analyzing the fierce preaching, determined singing, autobiographical witnessing, and stern doctrine that characterize his religious community.

Tullos, Allen

1989 Habits of Industry: White Culture and the Transformation of the Carolina Piedmont. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Drawing on oral interviews and workers' letters, the Tullos recreates the cotton mills of the Carolina Piedmont region from 1880s until the 1930s. The emphasis is on how kinship and a common culture gave mill hands, mostly of rural origin, a shared identity and a hedge against poverty and management.

Verbka, Joseph

1999 Phase I Archaeological Survey for the Proposed Edwight Surface Mine, Marsh Fork District, Raleigh County, WV. Nitro, WV: West Virginia Division of Environmental Protection.

Williams, Michael Ann

1991 Homeplace: The Social Use and Meaning of the Folk Dwelling in Southwestern North Carolina. Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press.

This book offers an important contribution to material culture methodology through careful listening to stories and commentary. Through these personal narratives, fifty informants explain the use and meanings of their dwellings. In her examination of the architectural tradition of an eleven county area, Williams compares the structure and spatial uses of three common house types to offer insights into social and cultural attitudes about family, privacy, community and change.

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1995 Great Smoky Mountain Folklife. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.

Williams uses a comprehensive approach that includes Cherokee history, white settlement and changes brought by national park designation. She finds continuity in certain traditions, such as annual family and church reunions within the park. In addition, she points to park management's selective interpretations of what constituted the park's human history.

Wissler, Clark, and Bella Weitzner

1922 The American Indian; an introduction to the anthropology of the New World. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wolfram, Walt and Christian, Donna

1976 Appalachian Speech. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.
Detailed sociolinguistic analysis of rural Appalachian speech, presenting a sociolinguistic framework for study of Appalachian English, focusing on phonological aspects (final consonant clusters, contraction, pronunciation of initial segments, etc.) and grammatical features of verbs, adverbs, negation, nominals, prepositions, and indirect questions, and discussing educational implications of dialect diversity in region; includes interview questionnaire and sample interview.

Local History

Athey, Lou

1986 Kaymoor: A New River Community: Eastern National Park and Monument Association.

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1987 Mining Coal and Minding Cows: Garland Skaggs of Ansted. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 13(2):47–52.
Interview with Garland Skaggs, who worked for the Gauley Mountan Coal Company for over 40 years, and became mine superintendent and town mayor of Ansted. Describes life and work in coal mines in early 1900’s, mining technology and electrification, work as electrician, mechanic and mayor in the 1940’s.

Beanblossom, Robert

1987 Fire Towers: “Pop” Wriston Built the Big Ones. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 13(1):49–57.

Fire towers were necessary to detect forest fires that spread quickly through the debris left by logging. They played an important role in West Virginia for 70 years. Fayette County Forester Emory "Pop" Wilson's account of his years as a forest fire towerman and builder of fire towers is edited and published here.

Bone, William David

1994 The history of the headwaters of Big Coal River in southern West Virginia. 2 vols. Elkview, WV: W.D. Bone.

Bragg, Alyce Faye

1993 This Holler is My Home. Charleston, WV: Mountain State Press.
This book is based on a collection of columns the author wrote for the *Charleston Gazett, The Clay Herald,* and the *Clay County Free Press* during the 1980s. The vignettes are loosely organized according the seasons, and common topics include family, home and the land. Although written for popular rather than academic audiences, it includes some valuable personal perspectives and information about local traditions.

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2000 Homesick for the Hills. Charleston, WV: Mountain State Press.
This book is based on a collection of columns the author wrote for the *Charleston Gazette* and the *Clay County Free Press* during the 1980s and 1990s. The vignettes describe in nostalgic terms "how life used to be in the hills of Clay County." Major topic areas discussed include winter, holidays, kinfolk and hillfolk, harvest time, spring, old days and old ways, and West Virginia's "wild side." Although written for popular rather than academic audiences, it includes some valuable personal perspectives and information about local traditions.

Bragg, George A., ed.

1989 Dunloop Days: Glen Jean to Thurmond, Exciting Times and Precious Memories. Glen Jean: Glen Jean Historical Society, Ltd.
Intended as a collection of unconnected but interrelated facts about small communities along a seven-mile stretch of Dunloop Creek in Fayette County, West Virginia. The

publication of this collection was to commemorate the 1989 Glen Jean Reunion. The first half of the small book is a collection of memories written by members of these communities. The second half includes articles taken from *Fayette Journal* between 1900 and 1938.

Bragg, Melody E.

1988 Glen Jean: Echo of an Empire. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 14(4):9–16.

History of Glen Jean, Fayette County since the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway was completed through the New River Gorge in 1873, until 1939 when the began to decline. Thomas McKell founded and developed the town and built the Kanawha, Glen Jean & Eastern Railroad, as well as "Jenny Lind" type of coal company housing to attract white collar workers to the town. McKell constructed several buildings to attract business, including the Glen Jean Opera House, the Dunglen Hotel, local company baseball teams. Charts history of coal mining, conflicts between United Mine Workers and coal operators, and recent National Park Service presence in the town.

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1988 The Reliable Bill Trevey: Glen Jean's Photographer. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 14(4):17–21.

William Trevey photographed residents of Glen Jean and places along Dunloup Creek in historic coalfields of Fayette County. His photos were taken between 1890 and 1920 using glass-plate negatives. About 400 scenes of towns, mines, businesses and people remain today in a collection of two of his friends.

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1990 Window to the Past. Glen Jean, WV: GEM Publications.

Brown, Leona G.

1984 Round Bottom Home of the New River Gwinns. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 10(1):16–21.

Known as Round Bottom for 130 years, this abandoned farm is located between Prince and McKendree, now within National Park Service boundaries. It was home of 4 generations of the Gwinn family. The family house was built by Loomis Gwinn in the early 1900's, and is adjacent to a family cemetery. Description of the house by Loomis's granddaughter, writer of the article, and by her aunt.

Brown, William Griffee

1954 History of Nicholas County, West Virginia. Richmond: Dietz Press.

Noteworthy for attention to ecological detail and the recounting of foundation narratives throughout.

Cavalier, John

1985 Panorama of Fayette County. Parsons, WV: McClain.

Noteworthy for attention to black settlements in the region, and the ebb and flow of ephemeral places.

Cox, Ricky L.

1989 Used Parts and the Poetic Impulse: Machines as Alternate Means of Expression. *In* Mountains of Experience: Appalachian Consortium Press.

Cox describes a parallel relationship between machines and literature as tools to further the pursuits of mankind. Machines, as vehicles of change during the last century, have been used to tap natural resources but have also served as a means of self-expression and adventure.

Cox, William E.

1981 "McKendree No. 2": The Story of West Virginia's Miners Hospitals. GOLDENSEAL: A Quarterly Forum for Documenting West Virginia's Traditional Life 7(3):36–40.

Research for New River Gorge National Park was conducted about three mining hospitals established in the first decade of 1900. Known as Miners Hospitals 1, 2, and 3, they provided free and preferential treatment to coal miners, railroad employees and other hazardously employed people. McKendree was Hospital no. 2, situated in McKendree, a

small village on the east side of the gorge and overlooking the New River, providing patients with a beautiful and relaxing view. Includes 1880 census information on McKendree residents' occupations and countries of origin.

Crockett, Maureen

1990 Doing Time in Style: The State Prison for Woman at Pence Springs. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 16(2):49–56.

A women's state prison was relocated to Pence Springs hotel in the 1940's, which was formerly a resort in Summers County. Describes changing customs and tasks that women learned in this progressive state prison, and relates stories of inmates. Ashby Berkley, whose mother worked as a warden in the prison, acquired the building in 1985 after it no longer functioned as a prison, and restored it into a resort hotel again. It is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Donnelly, Shirley

1958 Historical Notes on Fayette County, WV. Oak Hill, WV.

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[n.d] Yesterday and Today: A Keepsake I, II, III. Fayetteville, WV: Fayette County Historical Society.

Farley, Yvonne Snyder

1980 Lilly Reunion, 1979. GOLDENSEAL: A Quarterly Forum for Documenting West Virginia's Traditional Life 6(1):31–43.

Author attends annual reunion of one of West Virginia's largest and oldest families. Lilly Reunion grounds are on Flat Top Mountain grounds between Beckley and Princeton, on the 3rd Saturday in August. History and Lilly family lineage, and place names and reunion activities are mentioned.

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1981 Plain Cooking: Barbara Meadows of Raleigh County. GOLDENSEAL: A Quarterly Forum for Documenting West Virginia's Traditional Life 7(3):46–50.

Mountain cooking is the specialty of Barbara Meadows of Glen Morgan, Raleigh County. Traditions include gardening and growing of family's own food; canning and storage of jams, pickles, vegetables, fruits and meat; use of seasonally optimal ingredients; homemade sweets, wines, wild game, soups, casseroles, as well as non-traditional foods. Three recipes are given from Barbara's kitchen. History of Tams Coal Camp included in terms of its company store fare. Kitchen as a symbol of family unity.

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1982 One of the Faithful: Asaff Rahall, Church Founder. GOLDENSEAL: A Quarterly Forum for Documenting West Virginia's Traditional Life 8(2):51–53.
This monograph of a founding member of the Orthodox Church in Raleigh County details the experience of an Arab immigrant to West Virginia. Asaff Rahall recalls early history of Beckley and working in the company coal towns as a pack peddler. Touches on the West Virginia Lebanese community and their contribution to businesses in Beckley.

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1982 "To Keep Their Faith Strong": The Raleigh County Orthodox Community. GOLDENSEAL: A Quarterly Forum for Documenting West Virginia's Traditional Life 8(2):43–50.
St. Nicholas Orthodox Church was founded in the mid 1940's by Lebanese-Syrian immigrants who came to WV in the early 1900's. Background of the Orthodox Church and its history in the U.S. and WV is given along with the history of Reverend Zacharia Nassr, priest of the church. Food practices among its parishioners are included, and recipes are provided. Background of the worshipers includes Russian, Slavonic, Indian, Greek, Egyptian, Jordanian, and Lebanese.

Frazier, Claude Albee, and F. K. Brown

1992 Miners and Medicine: West Virginia memories. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Lane, Ron, and Ted Schnepf

1985 Sewell: A New River community. [Oak Hill, WV?]: Eastern National Park & Monument Association.

Massey, Tim R.

1982 Let ‘Em Hit It! Former Athletes Recall A Forgotten Sport. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 8(3):15–22.

“Letemhitit”, a slow-pitch softball game invented by William McKell, was popular in the 1920’s and 30’s in Glen Jean, Fayette County. McKell was a paternalistic coal operator who owned the town of Glen Jean, built by his father Thomas G. McKell and named after his mother Jean Dun McKell. Interviews with former players who played against other coal town teams. Description of games and other pastimes in the early 1900s, including bulldog-wildcat fights and gambling, which were later outlawed. Letemhitit was replaced with fast-pitch softball in the New River coalfields after the Depression.

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1984 Remembering Bill McKell. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 8(3):20–21.

Short bio of coal operator and owner of Glen Jean, Fayette County. His father, Thomas McKell owned property in Fayette and Raleigh counties, organized McKell Coal & Coke Company, developed mines and communities ad Kelsyth, Oswald, Graham,and Tamroy

McCreesh, Carolyn

1983 A Family Tradition: The Foulke Meadow River Lands in the 19th Century. *In* Proceedings New River Symposium April 14–16, Blacksburg, Virginia. Glen Jean, WV: National Park Service.

Mooney, Fred, and J. W. Hess

1967 Struggle in the coal fields, the autobiography of Fred Mooney. Morgantown,: West Virginia University Library.

Peters, J. T., and H. B. Carden

1926 History of Fayette County, West Virginia. Charleston, WV: Jarrett Print. Co.

Sanders, William

1991 A New River heritage. Parsons, WV: McClain.

Shuff, Murray

n.d. Stone Cliff, West Virginia: Life Along New River 1930–1938. Beckley: Central Printing Company.

Sullivan, Ken

1989 Thurmond: A New River Community: Eastern National Park and Monuments Association.

Witschey, Walter, and Robert Thurmond

1983 Smokin' Guns and Smokeless Coal: Thurmond, West Virginia: New River Boom Town. *In* Proceedings New River Symposium April 14–16, Blacksburg, Virginia. Glen Jean, WV: National Park Service.

Wood, Jim, and Raleigh County Historical Society

1994 Raleigh County, West Virginia. [Beckley, WV]: J. Wood.

Yale, Andy

1984 Charlton Cox: "People Call Me The Garbage Man". Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 10(1):55–60.

Charles Cox lives in Hinton, Summers County. A sign that marks his property reads, "Hinton Area Garbologist." It is filled with discarded objects which he finds or is given, which he keeps and sells to people or gives away. Cox created a river bank with bricks of local landmarks he helped tear down. A native of West Virginia, Cox describes Hinton and Beckley in the early 1900's to the 1950's.

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1984 “Respect That River”: William Richmond and the Richmond Ferry. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 10(4):52–57.
William’s Ferry has been running continuously since the early 1800’s. Englishman William Richmond settled in Summers County and started the ferry. His descendants still live on the estate and still charge 10 cents to ride each way. Description of daily life and work on the farm by Richmond’s great-great grandson.

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1988 Elmer Richmond: “Hard Work Was All We Knew”. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 14(2):27–31.
Born in 1904, Elmer Richmond of Meadow Creek, Summers County describes life on hill farms in the early 1900’s. Richmond was born to a large farming family. He worked on the railroad for 43 years, then retired and started to make cedar baskets after the ones his father made. Talks about kinds of wood for making baskets. Photograph of Mr. Richmond with Native American artifacts he has gathered.

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1988 The Old-Timey Way: Lillian Mann of Talcot. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 14(1):36–39.
Lillian Mann of Summers County tends chickens, grows and preserves her own food and sews quilts the old fashioned way. She describes how her parents weaved their own fabrics out of wool from their sheep, spin it and dye it using roots in the mountains. Description of churn making and soap making, medicinal roots and herbs.

Maps

Alexander, Andrew

1814 Survey of the headwaters of James River and the Greenbriar, Jackson’s River and the Great Kenawha of New River and the High road between them. Philadelphia Thadkara & Son.: s.l. : s.n.

Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company

1905 General and Regional Map of the New River and Kanawha Coal Fields: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.

Fry, Joshua, et al.

1775 A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. London: Printed for Robt. Sayer.

Hotchkiss, Jedediah

1886 Map of Great Kanawha coal field showing location of mines. [Staunton, Va.].

Hutchins, Thomas, Frederick Charles Hicks, and Patrick Kennedy

1904 A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina; reprinted from the original ed. of 1778. Cleveland: The Burrows brothers company.

Ice, John R.

1933 County Maps of West Virginia. Clarksburg, WV: Clarksburg Publishing Company.

Jefferson, Thomas

1787 Notes on the state of Virginia. Illustrated with a map, including the states of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania. London: John Stockdale.

Mitchell, John

1755 A Map of the British Colonies in North America. London: Andrew Millar.

Swann, John S., and G.W. & C.B. Colton & Co.

1867 Title map of the coal field of the great Kanawha Valley. New York: G.W. & C.B. Colton.

West Virginia Department of Transportation

2001 West Virginia Official State Highway Map. Charleston, WV.

West Virginia Geological Survey

1913 Soil Map: West Virginia, Boone County Sheet: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division.

West Virginia. Geological Survey., et al.

1917 Map of West Virginia showing coal, oil, gas, iron ore and limestone areas. Morgantown: West Virginia Geological Survey : State Semi-Centennial Commission,.

Park Planning and Interpretation

Brady, Erica

1994 The River's Like Our Backyard: Tourism and Cultural Identity in the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. *In* Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage. M. Hufford, ed. Pp. 136–151. A publication of the American Folklore Society. New series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Brown, Sharon A., and United States. National Park Service.

1990 Historic Resource Study: Kay Moor, New River Gorge National River, West Virginia. [Washington, D.C.?]: National Park Service U.S. Dept. of the Interior.

Camarena, Norma, Sharon A. Brown, and United States. National Park Service.

1990 Bank of Glen Jean : New River Gorge National River, West Virginia. [Denver, Colo.]: United States Department of the Interior National Park Service.

Caplinger, Michael, and Harpers Ferry Center (U.S.). Division of Historic Furnishings.

1993 Thurmond Passenger Depot and Offices: New River Gorge National River, Thurmond, West Virginia. [Harpers Ferry, W.Va.?]: National Park Service Harpers Ferry Center Division of Historic Furnishings.

Cox, William E.

2003 Life on the New River: A Pictorial History of the New River Gorge: Eastern National.

A collection of black-and-white photographs and text descriptions of the New River Gorge National Park and the communities in and around it. The author is the former Chief of Interpretation and Visitor Services at New River Gorge National River. Major categories include mining, railroading, lumbering, other businesses, and people and places.

DeNatale, Douglas

1994 Federal Neighborhood Notions of Place: Conflicts of Interest in Lowell, Massachusetts. *In* Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage. M. Hufford, ed. Pp. 56–65. A publication of the American Folklore Society. New series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Dorst, John Darwin

1999 Looking West. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

In this study of the American West as a region, Dorst discusses a variety of "discourses of seeing." He argues that the West, more so than any other American landscape, is appreciated and consumed in visual terms and looking helps define how many people experience it as a place. Of particular interest in the final essay, "Monumental Optics: The Visual Management of Devils Tower." In this essay, Dorst identifies and explores three primary "narrative strands" of the Devils Tower monument that contribute to the management of it as a visual commodity. These strands are: the story of formation, the story of emergence, and the story of ascent. He describes how this is accomplished through the National Park Service visitor center exhibits, NPS brochures, tourist iconography, and NPS staff interpretive programs.

Downer, Alan S., Jr., et al.

1994 Traditional History and Alternative Conceptions of the Past. *In* Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage. M. Hufford, ed. Pp. 39–55. A publication of the American Folklore Society. New series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Eiler, Lyntha Scott; Eiler, Terry; Fleischhauer, Carl (Editors)

1981 Blue Ridge Harvest: A Region's Folklife in Photographs. Washington, DC: Library of Congress.

This photographic essay, a product of an extensive field survey, examines the cultural landscape of the Blue Ridge Parkway, with emphasis on conveying the "presentness" of the region's folklife and dispelling the impression that local culture is quaint, far away, or stuck in the past. Focus is on landscape, community, and religion, with intimate portraits of three local residents.

Howell, Benita J.

National Recreation Areas in Appalachia: Citizen Participation in Planning and Management. *In* Culture: The Missing Element in Conservation and Development. Pp. 51–64.

Compares the experience of conservation planning in two similar National Recreation Areas, Mount Rogers and Big South Fork, both on Tennessee borders. Differences in the management plans accounted for the success or lack thereof in the projects. The successful planning at Mount Rogers National Recreation Area resulted from long-term commitment to seeing through that the project adhere to plan; fair and open citizen involvement; standardized planning and coordination among the various administrative institutions involved; and making sure to orient the agency's goals and values with outreach to local people.

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1993 Social Impact Assessment and Cultural Conservation: Implications for Local Public Involvement in Planning. *In* Environmental analysis : the NEPA experience. S.G. Hildebrand and J.B. Cannon, eds. Pp. 274–288. Boca Raton, Fla.: Lewis Publishers.

Anthropologist offers ideas for incorporating cultural conservation into assessing effects of environmental planning on communities. Presents case studies where attention to locals' heritage and cultural practices proved successful in reaching consensus between planners and locals. Suggests social impact assessment (SIA), scoping and risk assessment can be incorporated into more broadly defined Historic Preservation Act.

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1994 Folklife, Cultural Conservation, and Environmental Planning. *In* Putting Folklore to Use. M.O. Jones, ed. Pp. 94–114. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky.
Howell cites folklorists' contributions in gathering sources among local communities for park interpretation, stressing the importance of incorporating local knowledge and cultural traditions into park planning. Reviews the legislative history that addressed the need for cultural conservation along with historical and environmental conservation, as well as two case studies demonstrating the beneficial effects of including folklife research and community outreach into park management plans. Howell argues that park development and support of interpretive activities, exhibits and printed matter to promote cultural tourism could help perpetuate traditional lifeways rather than threatening their survival.

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1994 Linking Cultural and Natural Conservation in National Park Service Policies and Programs. *In* Conserving Culture: A new discourse on heritage. M. Hufford, ed. Pp. 122–137. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Documents changing structures and practices in National Park management, tracing them to changing perceptions of Park's role in managing lands. More recently, global issues of environmental crisis have been brought to the public's attention, along with their cultural and economic ramifications. According to recent National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) recommendations, Parks need to move towards creating a plan that emphasizes the relationship among the natural and cultural resources of the system, and use cultural patterns to manage natural resources effectively.

Hufford, Mary

1993 Breaking the Time Barrier: Folklife and Heritage Planning in Southern West Virginia. Folklife Center News 15(3/4):3–23.

This article describes Mary Hufford's experience working with the National Park Service and members of the communities in and around the New River Gorge National River, while working on planning for a cultural heritage center at the New River. A central theme of this article is how turning to tourism as the predominant new economic base continues an unfortunate economic trend of investment by outsiders and manipulation of cultural images. The hope seems to be that a cultural heritage center, which involves participation by residents, would help disrupt this pattern. Hufford traces the history of the region, the issue of place names, the emergence of fixed points in the landscape, reunions and reverse-migration, whitewater rafting, and fishing. The article is written from an ethnographic perspective, and much of the text comes directly from interviews conducted during Hufford's fieldwork in the area.

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1994 Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

This collection of 16 essays considers the issue of heritage protection in the United States, including numerous specific case studies that address environmental impact assessments, riverways, urban parks, folk arts, and tourism. Taken collectively, the contributors to this volume critique the standard prescriptive approach to heritage that divides this domain into nature (natural species and ecosystems), the built environment (historic and prehistoric artifacts, buildings, sites, and districts), and folklife/culture. Instead, they discuss cultural conservation as an integrated process for resource planning that is responsive to grass-roots cultural concerns. Hufford's introduction to this collection outlines problems with the existing federal heritage policies and the tension between national and local interests. She also traces the history and implication of the term cultural conservation for both policy and scholarship.

King, Thomas F.

1998 How the Archeologists Stole Culture: A Gap in American Environmental Impact Assessment Practice and How to Fill It. Environmental Impact Assessment Review 18:117–133.

King identifies a gap in how American environmental impact assessments (EIA) are performed that allows many aspects of culture to "fall through the cracks." He argues that the way that in these assessments cultural resources are implicitly or explicitly considered to be historic properties (as defined by the National Historic Preservation Act) or as "archeological resources." (A third option includes tangible Native American artifacts, as defined by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.) He traces the history of these developments, and explains that there are many "cultural parts of the affected environment" that do not fall cleanly into one of these categories. King suggests a refinement of EIA practices that incorporate interdisciplinary social scientific study and would explicitly address the entire sociocultural environment.

Low, Setha M.

1994 Cultural Conservation of Place. *In* Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage. M. Hufford, ed. Pp. 66–77. A publication of the American Folklore Society. New series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Low argues in this essay that it is impossible to separate cultural conservation from the conservation of place. Reasons given for this inseparability include that place is space that is made culturally meaningful, that place links local identity and its place/interdependence in a global world. The planning and design that place necessitates introduces additional problems (including political, pluralistic, and changeable qualities of cultures) that must be taken into consideration in any cultural conservation effort. Low offers examples of possible solutions to these issues that are being explored by groups such as the Cultural Aspects of Design Network.

Lynch, Kathryn A., Eric T. Jones, and Rebecca J. McLain

2004 Nontimber Forest Product Inventorying and Monitoring in the United States: Rationale and Recommendations for a Participatory Approach: Institute for Culture Ecology.

This book grew out of a study of how people who harvest non-timber forest products across North America monitor the health of their resource and maintain access. Lynch, Jones, and McLain engaged harvesters in the study and offer insights into the prospects for resource management through ongoing participatory monitoring.

Mahan, Carolyn

2004 A Natural Resource Assessment for New River Gorge National River. Technical Report NPS/NER/NRTR. Philadelphia: U.S. Department of the Interior.

Citing the mixed mesophytic forest as a key resource related to the Park's identity and mission, Mahan's report complements the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment.

Marshall, Caroline

2004 Envisioning Convergence: Cultural Conservation, Environmental Stewardship, and Sustainable Livelihoods. Santa Fe: Fund for Folk Culture.

Marshall, Payl D.

1981 A Cultural Research Project: The New River Gorge National River, West Virginia. Charleston, WV: Paul D. Marshall and Associates.

Perdue, Charles L., and Nancy J. Martin-Perdue

2003 Ethnographic Needs Assessment: New River Gorge National Park. Pp. 105: Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia, under the supervision of Dr. David Orr, National Park Service.

This report offers an assessment of regional ethnographic needs of the New River Gorge National River. In addition to identifying gaps in existing data and offering the team's findings and recommendations, the report also provides a complete bibliography (through September 1994) from NPS Archives and published sources related to the parks discussed in the report and the people traditionally associated with them, as well as interviews with NPS staff about ethnographic resources and needs.

Sellars, Richard West

1997 Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

National Park Service historian Sellars traces the changing concepts of natural resource management in the national parks. Sellars' thesis is that a persistent tension has existed within the National Park Service between development of parks for tourism (recreational and scenery management) and preservation of natural resources and conditions (ecological management) within them. Sellars challenges the prevailing myth that the early national parks were set aside principally as nature preserves. Instead, he demonstrates that recreational tourism as envisioned by corporate interests formed the chief intent behind the national park concept.

Squillace, Mark

1990 The Strip Mining Handbook: A Coalfield Citizens' Guide to Using the Law To Fight Back Against the Ravages of Strip Mining and Underground Mining. Washington, D.C.: Environmental Policy Institute and Friends of the Earth.

This handbook was drafted to enforce public safety regulations and environmental protection standards that coal companies must abide by. It was written to provide people and communities living in mining areas with the tools to understand the law and use the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act to their advantage. Provides descriptions of different mining strategies, their environmental effects, step-by-step procedures in monitoring mining operations, and appendices of useful forms and addresses of agencies, as well as a glossary of terms.

United States Steel Corporation.

1978 New River Gorge Bridge, Fayette County, West Virginia : world's longest steel arch span bridge carries Appalachian Highway 876 ft. above river. Pittsburgh, Pa.: United States Steel.

Unrau, Harlan D.

1996 New River Gorge National River, West Virginia, Fayette, Raleigh, Summers Counties: Special history study/historic context study. [Denver, Colo.]: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service.

Regional History and Culture

Adair, James

1775 The history of the American Indians ... containing an account of their origin, language, manners, religious and civil customs, laws, form of government, punishments, conduct in war and domestic life, their habits, diet, agriculture, manufactures, diseases and method of cure, and other particulars, sufficient to render it a complete Indian system. London: printed for Edward and Charles Dilly.

Adams, James Truslow

1963 Atlas of American History. New York: Scribner's.

Adams, Noah

2001 Far Appalachia: Following the New River North. New York: Delacorte Press.

Ambler, Charles Henry, and Festus P. Summers

1958 West Virginia, the mountain state. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Anderson-Green, Paula Hathaway

1978 The New River Frontier Settlement on the Virginia-North Carolina Border. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 86:413–431.

Ansted, D. T.

1885 Coal and Coke: The Cabin Creek Coal Co. Lands. The Virginias: A Mining, Industrial and Scientific Journal 6(9):129.

Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force

1983 Who Owns Appalachia? Landownership and Its Impact: University Press of Kentucky.

The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, a neo-populist Appalachian citizens group, coordinated this 2-year study to survey land and mineral holdings in 80 Appalachian counties and 6 states. Driven by the 1970's "Who Owns America?" question and American land reform movements, it provides history and statistics of absentee land ownership and examines its effects on livelihood in the region. It analyses the association between landownership and community using 100 socioeconomic indicators gathered (available housing, median income, etc.) Findings demonstrate that over time, ownership of land and minerals is increasingly removed from, and indifferent to, the region and local interests. Study funded by the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC).

Atkin, Edmond, and Wilbur R. Jacobs

1954 Indians of the Southern Colonial frontier. The Edmond Atkin report and plan of 1755. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Includes a map showing territories inhabited by various Indian nations.

Batteau, Allen

1983 Appalachia and America: Autonomy and Regional Dependence. [Lexington, Ky.]: University Press of Kentucky.

Bolgiano, Chris

1998 The Appalachian Forest: A search for roots and renewal. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books.

Brinton, Daniel

1866 The Shawnees and Their Migration. The Historical Magazine 10(1):1–4.

Brisbin, Richard A.

2002 A Strike like no Other Strike: Law and Resistance During the Pittston Coal Strike of 1989–1990. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Brown, Ralph M.

1937 A Sketch of the Early History of South-Western Virginia. William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine 17(4):501–513.

Campbell, John C.

1969 (orig. 1921) The Southern Highlander and His Homeland. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

This early documentary account of the region helped to create an enduring image of Appalachia as a region apart, contributing to highly selective interpretations of preindustrial Appalachian life.

Cometti, Elizabeth

1941 Excerpts from Swann's 'Prison Life at Fort Delaware'. West Virginia History 2:120–141.

Corbin, David

1981 Life, Work, and Rebellion in the Coal Fields: The southern West Virginia miners, 1880–1922. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Corbin, David Alan, ed.

1990 The West Virginia Mine Wars: An Anthology. Charleston, WV: Appalachian Editions.

This is an anthology of materials related to the 1912 and 1921 "mine wars" in West Virginia, a part of the state's history that is often left out of official historical discourse. Materials include articles, speeches, and personal testimony given to two U.S. Senate committees that investigated the labor issues. Corbin includes brief introductory headnotes to each item in the anthology.

Davis, Donald Edward

2000 Where there are Mountains: An environmental history of the southern Appalachians. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Doddridge, Joseph, et al.

1912 Notes on the settlement and Indian wars of the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from 1763 to 1783, inclusive, together with a review of the state of society and manners of the first settlers of the western country. Pittsburgh: J.S. Ritenour and W.T. Lindsey.

Dodge, J. R.

1865 West Virginia: Its farms and forests, mines and oilwells; with a glimpse of its scenery, a photograph of its population, and an exhibit of its industrial statistics. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & co.

Donnelly, Shirley

1993 Hatfields and McCoys: The Feud. A True Story of Murder, Mayhem and Mountain Family Pride: Fayette County Historical Society.

This short book is based on a series of stories and newspaper articles from *The Beckley Post-Herald* about the feud between the Hatfield and McCoy families. The infamous feud took place along the Tug River in Mingo County, West Virginia, and Pike County, Kentucky. Although it does not take place along the New or Gauley rivers, this feud is of historical significance to people across West Virginia.

Dunaway, Wilma

1995 Speculators and Settler Capitalists: Unthinking the Mythology About Appalachian Landholding, 1790–1860. *In* Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century. M.B. Pudup, D.B. Billings, and A.L. Waller, eds. Pp. 50–75. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Dunaway, Wilma A.

1996 The First American Frontier: Tansition to capitalism in southern Appalachia, 1700–1860. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

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2003 Slavery in the American Mountain South. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunaway, Wayland F.

1944 The Scotch-Irish of colonial Pennsylvania. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press.

Eller, Ronald D.

1982 Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880–1930. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Engelhardt, Elizabeth Sanders Delwiche

2003 The Tangled Roots of Feminism, Environmentalism, and Appalachian Literature. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Ergood, Bruce and Kuhre, Bruce E.

1991 Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

This textbook provides an overview of Appalachian geography, history, and culture with focus on the question of whether it is possible to form a meaningful characterization of an Appalachian culture or subculture. Ergood and Kuhre emphasize a critical analysis of the region's economy, both historically and in the present, and on the economy's impact on social institutions.

Evans, E. Estyn

1992 The Scotch-Irish: Their Cultural Adaptation and Heritage in the American Old West. *In* Essays in Scotch-Irish history. E.R.R. Green, Queen's University of Belfast., and Ulster-Scot Historical Foundation., eds. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation.

Fagge, Roger

1996 Power, Culture, and Conflict in the Coalfields: West Virginia and South Wales, 1900–1922. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press.

Finger, John R.

1995 Cherokee Accomodation and Persistance. *In* Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century. M.B. Pudup, D.B. Billings, and A.L. Waller, eds. Pp. 25–49. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Fischer, David Hackett

1989 Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fisher, Stephen L., ed.

1993 Fighting Back in Appalachia: Traditions of Resistance and Change. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

This collection of 16 essays documents collective resistance in Appalachia since 1960. Organizing strategies are tied to theoretical discussions among activists and scholars, situating this collection within a larger national discourse of resistance and change. It counters false stereotypes of quiescence and rebellion in Appalachia and explains how they came about. Examines issues of class, race, and gender within labor movements and citizen action groups.

Fishwick, Marshall William

1959 Virginia: A new look at the Old Dominion. New York: Harper.

Fiske, John

1900 Old Virginia and Her Neighbours. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co.

Fones-Wolf, Ken, and Ronald L. Lewis, eds.

2002 Transnational West Virginia: Ethnic Communities and Economic Change, 1840–1940. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.

A collection of twelve essays that explore the ways that various ethnic groups in West Virginia drew on networks, ideas, and cultures beyond both West Virginia's and the United States' borders. These articles are written primarily by economic historians, and the overall theme of the collection is that the economic forces and relationships at work in West Virginia extend beyond its political borders. The collection is divided into the following parts: Antebellum Roots, Niche Communities (Swiss, European Jews, and Belgian Glassworkers), Immigrant Coal Miners, and Representatives of Ethnic Work Communities. Individual essays represent a variety of specific perspectives from across Europe, as well as African Americans who migrated to West Virginia to work in coal mines. Geographically, these articles cover several counties in West Virginia; chronologically, these scholars explore from the middle of the 19th century through the early- to mid-20th century.

Gersmehl, Phil

1970 Factors Leading to Mountaintop Grazing in the Southern Appalachians. Southeastern Geographer 10:67–72.

Giesen, Carol A. B.

1995 Coal Miners' Wives: Portraits of endurance. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky.

Hale, John Peter

1931 Trans-Allegheny Pioneers. Charleston, WV: The Kanawha Valley Publishing Co.

Hamilton, J., and Virginia. General Assembly.

1818 To the Honorable speaker and gentlemen of the House of Delegates of the commonwealth of Virginia the memorial of the underwritten inhabitants of the country bordering on the James River and its branches, the Greenbrier, the New River, the Kanawha, and the Ohio. [Petersburg, Va.?: s.n.

Hart, John Fraser

1977 Land Rotation in Appalachia. The Geographical Review 67:148–166.

Harvey, Curtis E.

1986 Coal in Appalachia: An economic analysis. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky.

Hatley, Thomas

1991 Cherokee Women Farmers Hold Their Ground. *In* Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, society, and development in the preindustrial era. R.D. Mitchell, Shenandoah Valley Historical Institute, and American Frontier Culture Foundation, eds. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Haynes, Ada F.

1997 Poverty in Central Appalachia: Underdevelopment and Exploitation. New York: Garland Pub.

Inscoe, John C.

1995 Race and Racism in Nineteenth-Century Southern Appalachia: Myths, Realities, and Ambiguities. *In* Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century. M.B. Pudup, D.B. Billings, and A.L. Waller, eds. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

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2001 Appalachians and Race in the Mountains: From slavery to segregation. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Jacobs, Wilbur R.

1950 Diplomacy and Indian gifts; Anglo-French rivalry along the Ohio and Northwest frontiers, 1748–1763. Thesis, Stanford University Press, University of California.

Johnston, David Emmons

1906 A History of Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory. Huntington, WV: Standard.

Jones, Eric T., Rebecca J. McLain, and James F. Weigand

2002 Nontimber forest products in the United States. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Kegley, F. B., and Southwest Virginia Historical Society.

1938 Kegley's Virginia frontier; the beginning of the Southwest; the Roanoke of colonial days, 1740–1783. Roanoke, VA: The Southwest Virginia historical society.

Lalone, Mary B.

1996 Economic Survival Strategies in Appalachia's Coal Camps. Journal of Appalachian Studies 2(1):53–68.

Lalone describes the various ways that families in Appalachia's coal mining communities were able to support their households between the 1930s and 1960s. Her data comes from a 3-year anthropological study of 18 coal camps in the area near Appalachia, VA. Most families relied on more than the coal mining company paycheck for household subsistence. Common strategies included: pooling multiple incomes, raising animals, and gathering environmental resources. Inter-household exchange strategies included swapping, cooperative labor and gift-giving, and wheeling and dealing. Lalone also discusses community support structures, including helping each other out and relief activities.

Lee, Howard B.

1969 Bloodletting in Appalachia: The Story of West Virginia's Four Major Mine Wars and Other Thrilling Incidents of Its Coal Fields. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University.

This book covers the four major coal wars in West Virginia, and the events that took place following unionization in 1933. This work is written from a participant-observer (not in the anthropological sense) perspective. The author was the former Attorney General of West Virginia, from 1925–1933, making him an observer of the first three mine wars and an important participant of the fourth.

Lewis, Ronald L.

1998 Transforming the Appalachian Countryside: Railroads, deforestation, and social change in West Virginia, 1880–1920. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Leyburn, James Graham

1962 The Scotch-Irish: a social history. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Little, Charles E.

1997 The Dying of the Trees: The pandemic in America's forests. New York, N.Y.: Penguin.

Ecologist Charles E. Little looks at the recent spate of tree infestations affecting forests across North America. In Chapter 8, "Lucy's Woods," Little investigates forest health the woods of in the hills and hollows of the Coal River Valley, where E. Lucy Braum gathered data for her definitive book, *The Deciduous Forests of Eastern North America*. Little learns that the woods in the Coal River Valley comprise the oldest, most diverse hardwood forest in North America, with around 80 species of trees. The mixed mesophytic forest is harmed by acid rain and ozone, causing a dramatic decline in the seed stock of the forest and tree death.

Lunt, Richard D.

1979 Law and order vs. the miners, West Virginia, 1907–1933. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books.

Marsh, William A.

1979 1880 Census of West Virginia: compiled alphabetically by counties. Parsons, WV: McClain.

Maury, Matthew Fontaine, William Morris Fontaine, and West Virginia. State Board of Centennial Managers.

1876 Resources of West Virginia. Wheeling: The Register Company.

McCann, Eugene J.

1998 Mapping Appalachia: Toward a Critical Understanding. Journal of Appalachian Studies 4(1):87–113.

McCann argues that policymakers and academics studying Appalachia who rely on maps need to understand the social implications of mapmaking and recognize the medium's possibilities and limitations. He also argues for a more general understanding that all maps are arbitrary and socially constructed.

McCreath, Andrew S., and Edward Vincent D'Invilliers

1887 The New River-Cripple Creek mineral region of Virginia. Harrisburg, Pa.,: Harrisburg Pub. Co.

McLeRoy, Sherrie, and William McLeRoy

1995 More Passages: A new history of Amherst County, Virginia. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books.

McNeil, W. K., ed.

1995 Appalachian Images in Folk and Popular Culture. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

An anthology of twenty essays on various aspect of Appalachian culture. The essays span a wide timeframe, from 1860 to 1987, and present the variety of popular images of Appalachian people. Topics include moonshining, Kentucky feuds, mountain handcrafts, changes in dietary habits, images of Appalachia on television, the Great Smoky Mountains, and architecture. The editor is a folklorist, and folklore as a discipline is well represented in the anthology. Major section divisions include: A Strange Land and a Peculiar People; Our Contemporary Ancestors; Change Comes to the Appalachian Mountaineer; and Rethinking Usages: The Age of Functional Studies.

Miller, Tom D.

n.d. Who Owns West Virginia? Series of articles reprinted by Huntington Advertiser and Herald Dispatch. Huntington, WV.

Mitchell, Robert D., ed.

1991 Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, society, and development in the preindustrial era. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Montrie, Chad

2003 To Save the Land and People: A history of opposition to surface coal mining in Appalachia. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Mooney, James

1894 The Siouan tribes of the East. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Moore, George Ellis

1963 A Banner in the Hills: West Virginia's Statehood. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Written from an historical perspective, this book covers the history of secession and Civil War in western Virginia from 1860–1863, and the events and forces that led to the formation of the state of West Virginia. The author discussions military and political activities at the state level in close correlation with national developments.

Nader, Ralph

1978 Ralph Nader Letter. H.J. Lewis, Linda; and Askins, Donald, Eds., ed. Colonialism in Modern America.

In 1973, Ralph Nader wrote this letter to the Chairman of the Board of the American Association, Ltd., a British-based landholding and development company that controlled 65,000 acres of coal-rich land in the Appalachian Mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee. Nader argues that strip mining in Clear Fork Valley has ravaged the environment and made economic victims of local residents. He compares Appalachia to a colony and the coal and land companies to political tyrants, and sets forth steps that would make American Association "a more responsible constructive citizen."

Nash, George Valentine, and Maurice Grenville Kains

1898 American Ginseng: Its commercial history, protection and cultivation. Washington, D.C.: Govt. Print. Off.

New River Association

1817 Minutes of two sessions of the New River Association, begun and held at Bartlett's Meeting-House, in Patrick County, Virginia ... June 1816. Richmond [Va.]: Printed by John Warrock.

Obermiller, Phillip J., and William W. Philliber

1994 Appalachia in an International Context: Cross-national comparisons of developing regions. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Otto, John Solomon

1983 The Decline of Forest Farming in Souther Appalachia. Journal of Forest History 27(1):18–27.

Percy, Alfred

1961 The Amherst County story; a Virginia saga. Madison Heights, VA: Percy Press.

Peterson, Bill

1972 Coaltown revisited; an Appalachian notebook. Chicago,: Regnery.

Pudup, Mary Beth, Dwight B. Billings, and Altina L. Waller

1995 Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Raitz, Karl B., Richard Ulack, and Thomas R. Leinbach

1984 Appalachia, a Regional Geography: Land, People, and Development. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Rakes, Paul H.

1999 Technology in Transition: The Dilemmas of Early Twentieth-Century Coal Mining. Journal of Appalachian Studies 5(1):27–60.

Rakes uses an historical approach to discuss changes in coal-mining technology in the early 20th century. His text and notes include clear explanations for terminology related to coal-mining. Further, he worked in the coal industry for 20 years, so he offers both emic and etic perspectives.

Rasmussen, Barbara

1994 Absentee Landowning and Exploitation in West Virginia, 1760–1920. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Examines the nature of land ownership in five counties of West Virginia and its effects on the counties' economic and social development. Traces ownership and exploitation of the region since the American Revolution, and discusses farming, mining, and logging in the region, conservation and reforestation

Rice, Otis K.

1970 The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia beginnings, 1730–1830. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Rudden, Bernard

1985 The New River: A Legal History. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Salstrom, Paul

1994 Appalachia's Path to Dependency: Rethinking a Region's Economic History, 1730–1940. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

This economic history of the Appalachian Plateau shows that the region was not always dependent on outside development and federal subsidies for labor and subsistence. It emphasizes the economic, rather than social or psychological, reasons for falling into dependency, situating Appalachia in a larger global phenomenon of local dependency on foreign control. Traces the region's history from initial European settlement and subsistence-barter-and borrow system, to industrialization, unionization and foreign

capitalist investment. Describes how mountain dwellers' values of labor investment and family unity interacted with capital investment to their detriment. The book documents increase in poverty caused by industrialization, land depletion, federal homesteading legislation and banking legislation.

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1995 Newer Appalachia as One of America's Last Frontiers. *In* Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century. M.B. Pudup, D.B. Billings, and A.L. Waller, eds. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

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1997 Appalachia's Informal Economy and the Transition to Capitalism. Journal of Appalachian Studies 2(2):213–233.
An investigation of informal sector work within the Appalachian economy. Informal work, or work that is not paid, is also referred to as "home work" or "neighborly work." Takes an historical approach to this economic issue.

Seaman, Catherine H. C.

1992 Tuckahoes and Cohees: the settlers and cultures of Amherst and Nelson Counties, 1607–1807. Sweet Briar, VA: Sweet Briar College Printing Press.

Shapiro, Henry David

1978 Appalachia on Our Minds: the Southern Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870–1920. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
Shapiro's book is one of the first to recognize the religious diversity of the Appalachian region. Shapiro dispels the myth that Appalachia is a homogenous society, a strange land and peculiar people unified by geographic, social, and economic isolation.

Shifflett, Crandall A.

1991 Coal Towns: Life, Work, and Culture in Company Towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880–1960. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Shifflett focuses on white working culture in the coal towns. He provides a social and cultural history coal-mining towns in southern Appalachia, including towns in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. This work is organized chronologically and topically. Part and chapter divisions address topics such as town-building and labor recruitment; work, culture, and society, including mining coal and the union; and aspects of mining communities, including the company town, store, and church.

Smith, Barbara Ellen

1998 Walk-ons in the Third Act: The Role of Women in Appalachian Historiography. Journal of Appalachian Studies 4(1):5–28.

Smith argues that in Appalachia class is constituted in "dynamic, gendered relationships and identities" (8). She attempts to bring women's experience to light by shifting the theoretical focus to include women; she considers the nature of work done, class formation, and class conflict.

Smith, J. Lawrence

1988 New River Batteaus. Proceedings New River Symposium, April 7–9, 1988, Oak Hill, West Virginia, 1988. National Park Service.

Smith, J. Russell

1950 Tree Crops; a permanent agriculture. New York: Devin-Adair.

Smith, M. W.

2002 Fishing the New River Valley: an angler's guide. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

A guide for catching fish from a proprietor of Greasy Creek Outfitters with over 25 years experience fishing the New River Valley. Lists fish species common to the New River, seasonal advice for catching trout listed by county, tips on fishing at different areas on the river and some tributaries, appendix of local guide services, supply and repair shops, and other useful information.

Stevenson, Mary

2003 Coal Towns of West Virginia Volume 2. Charleston, WV: Quarrier Press. Stevenson provides an historical overview of West Virginia coal towns using photographs. This book includes more than one hundred rare, unpublished photographs of Beckley and surrounding communities. This work is organized geographically, by both county and town. Although it includes towns from Raleigh, Fayette, and Wyoming counties, the primary focus is on Beckley. Mary Stevenson was president of the Raleigh County Historical Society for seven years and lived in Beckley for most of her life.

Summers, Lewis Preston

1903 History of southwest Virginia, 1746–1786, Washington County, 1777–1870. Richmond, VA: J. L. Hill.

Summers, Lewis Preston, George W. L. Bickley, and Charles B. Coale

1970 Annals of southwest Virginia, 1769–1800. Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co.

Tams, W. P.

1963 The smokeless coal fields of West Virginia; a brief history. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Library.

Tessiatore, Mary F., and West Virginia. Auditor's Office.

2003 Sims index to land grants in West Virginia. Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co.

Thom, James Alexander

1981 Follow the River. New York: Ballantine Books.

A fictionalized account of Mary Draper Ingles' escape from the Shawnee indians in 1755. She walked 1,000 miles along the Ohio, Kanawha, and New rivers to return home.

Thomas, Jerry B.

1976 Jedediah Hotchkiss, Gilded-Age Propagandist of Industrialism. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 84:189–219.

Toothman, Fred R.

1988 Great coal leaders of West Virginia. Huntington, WV: Vandalia Book Co.

Trotter, Joe William

1990 Coal, Class, and Color: Blacks in Southern West Virginia, 1915–32. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Trotter looks at the process of black industrial working class formation in the southern Appalachian coalfields, between 1915 and 1932. He argues that proleterianization was the key factor in transforming southern blacks from rural agricultural works into an industrial working class. He takes a primarily historical approach and extensively uses primary source materials from state and national archives, as well as records from the United Mine Workers of America. He also conducted interviews with 29 miners and family members of miners.

Trout, W. E. III

2003 The New River Atlas: Rediscovering the History of the New and Greenbriar Rivers.

Walker, Thomas, and William Cabell Rives

1888 Journal of an exploration in the spring of the year 1750. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company.

Waller, Altina

1995 Feuding in Appalachia: Evolution of a Cultural Stereotype. *In* Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century. M.B. Pudup, D.B. Billings, and A.L. Waller, eds. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Washington, George, and John Clement Fitzpatrick

1925 The Diaries of George Washington, 1748–1799. 4 vols. Boston, New York,: Houghton Mifflin company.

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1925 The Diaries of George Washington, 1748–1799. 4 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Weiler, Stephan

1997 The Economics of the Struggling Structurally Unemployed. Journal of Appalachian Studies 3(1):71–97.

Weiler presents his fieldwork for a study of industrial restructuring within the United States. In particular, he examines the effect on unemployment and local markets within West Virginia. His fieldwork included personal and telephone interviews conducted over a five-month period.

Weiner, Deborah R

1998 Middlemen of the Coalfields: The Role of Jews in the Economy of Sourthern West Virginia Coal Towns, 1890–1950. Journal of Appalachian Studies 4(1):29–56.

Weiner discuses the economic history of Jewish immigrants in coal towns of West Virginia. Her approach is historical, and she covers Logan, Pocahontus, Williamson, and New River coalfields.

Weller, Jack E.

1965 Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press.

Jack Weller came to West Virginia in 1952 as director (1952–1965) of the Presbyterian Church's West Virginia Mountain Project. Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia, based on his experiences in West Virginia, is an examination of the character and development of the people of the southern mountains. When Appalachian poverty was rediscovered in the 1960s, it was a short leap from viewing Appalachia as a traditional folk culture to viewing Appalachia as a region-wide culture of poverty. Considered vicious and discriminatory by many Appalachian writers and scholars, Yesterday's People explicitly created a link between folk society and the culture of poverty in Appalachia.

West Virginia History Film Project

1992 Transcript of Interview with Ron Eller: West Virginia Division of Culture and History.

Whipkey, Bob

2006 Ginseng. *In* The West Virginia Encyclopedia. K. Sullivan, ed. Charleston, WV: West Virginia Humanities Council.

Whisnant, David E.

1973 The Folk Hero in Appalachian Struggle History. New South 1973:30–47. Whisant describes Appalachian struggles as public faces of the more profound struggle for an acceptable personal and collective self-image. From the struggle with historical content and meaning emerge regional heroes, which provide an accessible index to the growth of regional consciousness.

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1981 Modernizing the Mountaineer: People, power, and planning in Appalachia. Boone, NC: Appalachian Consortium Press.

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1983 All that is Native and Fine: The politics of culture in an American region. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

White, Israel Charles

1917 Map of West Virginia, Showing Coal, Oil, Gas, and Limestone Areas. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia Geological Survey.

Whittaker, Otto, ed.

1968 Best of 'Hill-Billy': A prize collection of 100-proof writing from Jim Comstock's *West Virginia Hillbilly*. New York: Droke House Publishers.

A collection of short vignettes reprinted from Jim Comstock's *The West Virginia Hillbilly*. Topics vary widely, and include stories about both real and legendary figures. Although

the materials in the collection were not compiled from scholarly sources, it should not be too quickly dismissed because they present an insider's perspective of "West Virginia hillbillies."

Wigginton, Eliot, ed.

1972 The Foxfire Book: Hog dressing; log cabin building; mountain crafts and foods; planting by the signs; snake lore, hunting tales, faith healing; moonshining; and other affairs of plain living. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, Doubleday.

This collection of Appalachian folklore was done primarily by high school students with no formal training in folkloristics. Many items in this collection are reprinted from *Foxfire* magazine. The ninth and tenth graders who contributed to this collection were from Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School in George, the classroom from which *Foxfire* emerged. Because the collectors were not professionals and the faculty supervisor lacked folklore training, the items in this collection lack scholarly accoutrements such as the name of the informant, date and location it was collected, annotations, etc.

Williams, John

1995 Class, Section, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century West Virginia Politics. *In* Appalachia in the Making: The Mountain South in the Nineteenth Century. M.B. Pudup, D.B. Billings, and A.L. Waller, eds. Pp. 210–232. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Williams, John Alexander

2001 West Virginia: A history. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.

This work offers a history of West Virginia, including discussions of statehood, the Civil War, unionism, and industrialization. There are extended discussions of the state's railroad and coal mining history. The chapters are organized geographically (Point Pleasant, Harpers Ferry, Droop Mountain, Tug Fork, Paint Creek, Hawks Nest, Buffalo Creek, and *Montani semper*.... Unfortunately, the Index is not particular detailed and includes mostly names of people, which can make it difficult to find specific information.

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2002 Appalachia: A history. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Wills, Ken, et al.

1997 Patterns of Forest Health: A Report on Citizen Monitoring in the Eastern Mountains 1994–97. Washington, D.C.: Lucy Braun Association and Trees for the Planet.

Wilson, Darlene

1998 Multicultural Mayhem and Murder in Virginia's Backcountry: The Case of Pierre-Francois Tubeuf, 1792 to 1795. Journal of Appalachian Studies 4(1):5–28.
Wilson looks at historical accounts about and records related to the death of French entrepreneur Pierre Francois Tubeuf, who had a land claim to 55,000 mountainous acres (for coal mining purposes) in western Virginia. He was murdered on Election Day, 1795.

Wilson, Rick

1988 "More Than Butterfly Words": Don West Comes Home to Pipestem. Goldenseal, West Virginia Traditional Life 14(4):67–69.
Don West, poet and essayist, was a union activist who partook in social justice causes and wrote about mountain labor's tradition. A cofounder of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, he is featured here as founder of the Appalachian South Folk Life Center in Pipestem, Summers County in 1965. The Center celebrates grass roots mountain music and traditions. It offers free summer camps for disadvantaged youth, community outreach services, and group conference facilities. It also features a library.