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Heritage Tourism in Washington County, Tennessee: Linking Place, Placelessness, and Preservation

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by

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the formation of spatial theory and the linkage between space and place and their relationship with historic preservation and heritage tourism. First, this thesis analyzes the terms space and place, and how scholars define each term. Second, this thesis focuses on the concept of placelessness. Third, this thesis examines historic preservation as a strategy to help alleviate placelessness and as a crucial link to heritage tourism. This thesis also will use regional examples of preservation and tourism as exemplified by the preservation efforts of private organizations, citizens, and government officials in Jonesborough, Johnson City, and Washington County, Tennessee. This thesis provides some ideas for the creation of a possible heritage tourism program within Washington County, Tennessee.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Elaine Scott Cantrell whose passion for Washington County, Tennessee, history helped develop my enthusiasm for local history. Cantrell also has taken the time to show me many regional historically and culturally significant sites throughout Washington County. In addition, I would like to dedicate this thesis to D. Jean Rushing who has proofread my thesis throughout the process.

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Since the late eighteenth century, many of my ancestors lived within East Tennessee, Southwest Virginia, and Western North Carolina. Growing up, I also had the privilege to know three of my four grandparents and many elderly people within my life. In addition, working with many people within local genealogical and historical organizations for the last six years has shaped who I am and what I have become. The influences of working with so many people who care about this area also have created an awareness of many historical, cultural, and familial causes within Washington County. As well, traveling county roads with Elaine Scott Cantrell has provided me a new sense of a problem that seems to plague Washington County, Tennessee. Washington County has a significant number of dilapidated, abandoned, and neglected structures that dot its landscape. This problem seems to be consistent throughout many communities in Northeast Tennessee and the United States.

I wish gratefully to acknowledge the support and instruction of Dr. Marie Tedesco, Dr. Tom Lee, Dr. Jill LeRoy-Frazier, and Dr. Ron Roach throughout the process of this thesis. I also am grateful for the help and support of many, including Anne G'Fellers Mason, Deborah Shelton Montanti, Elaine Scott Cantrell, D. Jean Rushing, Cyndy Cox, Billie McNamara, Dr. Brenda G'Fellers, and Juacquetta Davis Edwards. I also would like to thank my parents, Hosea and Linda Bailey, as well as my twin brother, Brad Bailey, who have loved, supported, and helped me through all my endeavors. Their constant encouragements have allowed me to continue learning and experiencing a well-rounded life, thus far.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

> Every small town, or at least some part of it, seems to be either a National Historic Landmark or on the National Register of Historic Places. The townspeople live in historic houses listed in national magazines, their furniture so exquisite they are asked to loan it to museums for display.
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> --Nancy Hoyt Belcher, "In Appalachia: Tennessee Travels," *Oakland Tribune*, April 28, 1991

Throughout the United States, the preservation of buildings, structures, landmarks, artifacts, and documents keeps the past alive within society. All of these traces of human life have one thing in common, a story. Humans in the past and present attribute meanings onto buildings, structures, landmarks, artifacts, and documents as part of this "story." Once mere spaces, sites that hold social meaning become places once people have assigned meaning to them. Those meanings may evolve over time, creating a specific story---"a travel story," as Michel de Certeau suggests.[1] According to Robert R. Archibald, "Our stories are narratives with beginnings, middles, and ends connected by causation. Stories are how our minds, bodies, and senses work in concert to make sense of things. Yet there is no evidence that the universe we live in adheres to such principles. We impose narratives on our world and universe as a survival technique that has so far been successful."[2] Over time, human stories may become lost or insignificant to later generations if the structures or places associated with those stories have been abandoned or removed from the community landscape. Over the last one hundred years, the modernization of Northeast Tennessee communities has led to the neglect or demolition of structures and the physical landscapes associated with the region's past. As scholars David Glassberg and Edward Relph have shown, the loss of structures or places associated with human

[1] *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 115.
[2] *A Place to Remember Using History to Build Community* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1999), 29.

stories may separate community members from sites of memory– that is the places that hold social meaning – which people utilize to remember stories. Without these sites of memory, some community members may experience a sense of placelessness, one in which they have a known past but sites connected to that past no longer exist.[3]

In 1976, in *Place and Placelessness,* Relph theorized a phenomenon he termed placelessness, or the loss of a person's connection to the environment due to societal changes over time that diminished a person's "sense of place."[4] Even though earlier scholars Charles Eliot Norton, Benton MacKaye, Howard W. Odum, and Lewis Mumford had written about similar concepts similar to what Relph later termed placelessness, Relph clearly named and identified the concept of placelessness. Since 1976, other scholars, such as Tim Cresswell, James Conaway, and Pico Iyar, have discussed placelessness through a myriad of lenses.[5]

Placelessness has links to culture and the loss of cultural identity. Culture is a complex term that in some respects scholars have found difficult to define. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's *Culture 21: Culture and Sustainable Development: Examples of Institutional Innovation and Proposal of a New Cultural Policy Profile,* in Western societies, culture could mean,

- "a number of activities related to the arts and heritage
- the way of life of a community
- a dynamic (individual) process of cultivation,"

[3] Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion Limited, 1976) 79, 92-109; and Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, 2001),118-122
[4] *Place and Placelessness,* 79.
[5] Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 76-78; Conaway, *Vanishing America: In Pursuit of Our Elusive Landscapes* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 2007), 2-6; and Iyer, *The Global Soul: Jet Lag, Shopping Malls, and the Search for Home* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 269-273.

while in "non-European languages [the meaning of culture] is not well known."[6] Different cultural groups have different meanings, values, traditions, and memories that contribute to their cultures and the history of their cultures and societies.

The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines community as "a group of people who live in the same area (such as cities, towns, or neighborhoods), [or] a group of people who have the same interests, religion, race, etc., [or] a group of nations, [or] a unified body of individuals."[7] In essence, the meaning of community is just as complex as that of culture and, in many cases, meanings of one may be confused or interchanged with the other. Nevertheless, communities still have a wide variety of unique people within them who hold diverse cultural identities.

Human experiences and connections have been formed through their cultural identities. Thus, humans have developed perspectives, values, and beliefs through interactions with other humans and their surroundings, both through the built and natural environments. In addition, humans who experience a space as a social activity imbue the space with meaning and value and assign that space as a place in their experience. If these places are lost, the meanings and values attached to them no longer have a place of expression and the humans who once experienced these places may develop a sense of placelessness where the meaning remains but without the associated space.[8]

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[6] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Culture 21: Culture and Sustainable Development: Examples of Institutional Innovation and Proposal of a New Cultural Policy Profile* (Barcelona, Spain: United Cities and Local Governments and Barcelona City Council, 2009), 8-9, accessed April 21, 2016, http://www.agenda21culture.net/index.php/it/docman/agenda21/241-report4full/file.

[7] *Merriam-Webster*, s. v. "community," accessed March 8, 2016, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/community.

[8] Conaway, *Vanishing America*, 2-6; Relph, *Place and Placelessness*,147; Glassberg, *Sense of History*, 125, 170, 190; Robert R. Archibald, *The New Town Square: Museums and Communities in Transition* (Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press, 2004), 42; Archibald, *A Place to Remember: Using History to Build Community*, 15, 35, 39. 212; David Carr, *A Place Not A Place: Reflection and Possibility in Museums and Libraries*, (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2006), 137; and Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafés, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons And Other Hangouts at the Heart of A Community* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 1997), 283.

With the loss of many structures associated with the past, Northeast Tennessee community members have shown interest in historic preservation, following national trends. Many scholars have examined preservation as a way to save storied structures and connect the community to their environment, history, and culture.[9] Preservation of distinct structures and landscapes has been shown to aid humans in understanding connections to the past, as well as to offer places for humans to gather physically to build experiences that can be carried into the future. Humans historically have shown interest in preserving their past and the preservation of physical structures has a long history. Preservation efforts in the United States began in the early nineteenth century with the preservation of many sites related to accomplishments of Revolutionary War leaders, such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.[10] As the preservation of distinct American places evolved, diverse cultural, religious, and ethnic groups played an important role in preserving the history of the United States for future generations.[11]

Modern preservation requires substantial financial resources and community leaders often cite the lack of funds as the most important factor that prevents preservation from taking place.[12] One method local governments have found to increase funding for preservation has been to focus on a specific kind of tourism called heritage tourism. Heritage tourism is a complex economic program that includes the marketing of human interactions and interests related to the past. Heritage tourism combines cultural, historical, and architectural emphasis upon structures with tourists who are interested in these subjects, bringing tourism revenue to a local region.

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[9] Archibald, *A Place to Remember*, 24-25, 130, 156; Conway, *Vanishing America*, 1-2; and Grimley, "Walking the Walk of Preservation: Experiencing Appalachia's Past," *Appalachian Voice* 2015, no. 1 (February/March) 13-15, accessed December 20, 2015, http://appvoices.org/2015/02/18/walking-the-walk-of-preservation/.

[10] Max Page and Randall Mason, "Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement," in *Giving Preservation A History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, ed. Max Page and Randall Mason (New York: Routledge, 2004), 3-7.

[11] Ibid.; William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2006), 22, 125-126, 141.

[12] Grimley. 15; and Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction* (England: Charlesworth Press, 2011), 157-158.

Heritage tourism programs can provide an economic rationale for historic preservation to take place, as 2012-2013 *Appalachian Voice* associate editor and AmeriCorps *Project Conserve* member Matt Grimley has suggested.[13] Heritage tourism programs have been shown to create an economic benefit for residents who preserve places within their communities. This thesis will demonstrate that Northeast Tennessee communities have undergone substantial modernization over the last one hundred years, which has led to the neglect or demolition of several historic and cultural structures and landscapes throughout these communities. The loss of these storied places of the past will be discussed using Relph's concept of placelessness to understand the impact these losses may leave among community members. It is my contention that a well-planned historic preservation plan in conjunction with a heritage tourism program may offer new opportunities for economic growth in Washington County, especially in the historic town of Jonesborough.

Chapter Two will examine the scholarly development of the concepts of space and place within academia. This chapter will examine the development of the terms "space" and "place" and its subset categories "sense of place," "placelessness," "memory," "sense of history," and "third place," through examination of the work of scholars such as Tim Cresswell, Edward Relph, Anne Buttimer, Yi-Fu Tuan, Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, among others. This chapter also will examine memory and its connection to human experiences through the works of Glassberg, Ray Oldenburg, and Maurice Halbwachs.[14]

[13] Grimley, 15; and Timothy, 4-7.
[14] See Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* ed. and trans. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980) ; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1991); Glassberg, *Sense of History;* Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place*; and Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Chapter Three will examine how the increased interest in preservation and tourism paralleled the increase in modernization throughout the United States over the last one hundred years. The preservation of places of memory in local communities continues to unify cultural groups within these defined areas as well as to connect present generations with the past and future. In addition, the preservation of places of memory has allowed communities to boost their local economies by providing places for shopping, eating, and recreation for both local residents and tourists.

Chapter Four will demonstrate the impact that industrialization and modernization has had on Northeast Tennessee communities over the last century. The industrialization and modernization of the area has encouraged the construction of buildings that look the same resulting in a homogenous, bland environment that fails to account for the historical uniqueness of Washington County. In addition, this chapter will trace the evolution of historic preservation and tourism efforts of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries in Jonesborough, and selected sites in Washington County, as these efforts evolved from being the exclusive domain of white elites whose visions focused on structures important to the white community to those efforts of African-Americans and those not of elite economic status. While some communities in Washington County, such as Johnson City, have only recently begun to engage in preservation efforts, others such as Jonesborough, have led the county through the preservation of its downtown as a historic district.

Chapter Five will demonstrate the need for broader studies to develop policies and programs that focus on reconnecting community members, unifying cultural groups, and honoring past, present, and future generations within communities throughout Washington County. In addition, this chapter will show the need for the development of a countywide historic

preservation and heritage tourism program within Washington County that can result in additional revenue for the local economy. In this chapter, I will set forth program ideas, show some relevant statistics, and reexamine foci on preservation and heritage tourism in Jonesborough, Johnson City, and Washington County communities. Throughout this chapter, I will present evidence using past studies, surveys, and data collection to show that the county can benefit economically and socially by including all cultural groups in heritage tourism and historic preservation planning.

In a nation that thrives on history, the connection of space and place within human lives continues to be weakened by the standardization and modernization of the country which continues to threaten the sense of place within local communities. This disconnect allows humans to see dilapidated, abandoned, or neglected structures as eyesores, instead of understanding the significance of culturally and historically significant structures within the community. Preservation encourages humans to understand the significance or identity of structures, which in turn allows humans to create cultural meanings and to preserve structures.

CHAPTER 2
SPACE AND PLACE: HOW DO THEY FIT TOGETHER?

> Places are made of earth and earth reshaped, transformed by hands into human homes. Nothing is foreign here. Human hands and feet are not alien to the earth, but rather they are as intrinsic to the earth and the universe as grains of sand and black holes. Human beings and the earth are all made of atoms, molecules, arranged into distinct places: towns and cities, neighborhoods, farms and factories, houses, parks, fields, streets and highways, resorts, malls, airports--- and the corner of Prather and Nottingham in front of my brick house with its garden of golden zinnias, flashy azaleas, and brilliant roses. Humans are inseparable from place. As long as we have three-dimensional bodies we must be someplace on this earth. Place is our life-support system and our respirator.
>
> --Robert R. Archibald, *The New Town Square: Museums and Communities in Transition.*

In the mid-nineteenth century, an open debate on space and place began to take place in academia within many different disciplines and fields including sociology, geography, and history. [1] From the 1920s to 1960s, scholars such as Benton MacKaye, Howard W. Odum, and Lewis Mumford, wrote about space and place in terms of regional thought. Regionalist scholars recognized that humans needed spaces within their lives other than home and work and began to focus on architectural features, the natural environment, and cultural influences as sources of human expression, connection, and detachment.[2] In the late 1970s, Edward Relph, Anne Buttimer, and Yi-Fu Tuan emphasized human experiences within the geographic scholarship of spatial theory, or the study of space and place, as a connection between space and place.[3] This

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[1] John Urry, "The Sociology of Space and Place," in *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology*, ed. Judith R. Blau (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 5.

[2] Benton MacKaye, "An Appalachian Trail: A Project in Regional Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 9 (Oct. 1921): 325-330, accessed February 27, 2016, https://www.appalachiantrail.org/docs/default-document-library/2011/04/16/An%20Appalachian%20Trail-A%20Project%20in%20Regional%20Planning.pdf; Lewis Mumford, *Sticks and Stones: A Study of Architecture & Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1924), accessed February 27, 2016, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106001430492; and Harvey A. Kantor, "Howard W. Odum: The Implications of Folk, Planning, and Regionalism," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 2 (September 1973): 278-95.

[3] David Seamon and Jacob Sowers, "Place and Placelessness (1976): Edward Relph," in *Key Texts in Human Geography*, ed. Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin, Gill Valentine (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2008), 43; Anne Buttimer, "Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld," *Annuals of the Association of American Geographers* 66 (June 1976): 277-292; Relph, *Place and Placelessness;* Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place*.

emphasis helped further define place within scholarship, helping to separate place from other terms such as region and area.[4] In addition, the emphasis on human experiences as a linkage between space and place has allowed the expansion of spatial scholarship within disciplines other than geography, including history and its subset, historical preservation, and the interdisciplinary field of tourism studies. In this chapter, I intend to examine the development of the terms "space" and "place" and its subset categories "sense of place," "placelessness," "memory," "sense of history," and "third place."

Many theorists of space and place concluded that spaces and places permeate society. On a larger scale, these spaces and places have included nations, regions, states, cities, and towns, and on a much smaller scale, neighborhoods, communities, buildings, homes, and even the human body.[5] Scholars have provided varying definitions of each of these terms. According to Yi-Fu Tuan,

> 'Space' and 'place' are familiar words denoting common experiences. We live in space. There is no space for another building on this lot. The Great Plains look spacious. Place is security, space is freedom; we are attached to the one and long for the other. There is no place like home. What is home? It is the old homestead, the old neighborhood, hometown, or motherland. Geographers study places. Planners would like to evoke a 'sense of place.' These are unexceptional ways of speaking. Space and place are basic components of the lived world; we take for granted.[6]

In addition, "space" and "place" have become interchangeable and in some instances even confused. Some academic publications on "space" and "place" studies have shown both humans and animals have their own interpretations and meanings of "spaces" and "places."[7] According

[4] Cresswell, 33.
[5] Archibald, *The New Town Square*, 38; and Tuan, 3 and 6.
[6] *Space and Place*, 3.
[7] In *Space and Place*, Tuan mentions the idea that studies have shown animals have their own interpretations and meanings of "spaces" and "places." According to Tuan, animals mark their territories and defend these areas from predators. 4-5. See the works of Cary Wolfe's *Animal Rites: American Culture, the Discourse of Species, and Posthumanist Theory* and Jacques Derrida's *The Animal that Therefore I Am* for more information on posthumanist thought.

to Tuan, animals have their own sense of "territory" and of place. Animals have been shown to mark their territory and defend it from predators as well as live, feed, and procreate within these defined areas. Similar to humans, over time animals become more comfortable within defined areas and can create or attach meanings to spaces.[8]

Humans also have defined their own "spaces" and "places" within societies and nature. They have marked their own "spaces" and defended them from other humans, including those of different genders, cultures, races, and religions. Humans also have developed a comfortableness within their defined areas, cultural values, beliefs, and traditions, which lends to a "sense of place" within society. In many cases, humans have been know to defend these areas, values, beliefs, and traditions against intruders, or perceived intruders.[9] According to Robert R. Archibald, "Humans are inseparable from place."[10]

Scholarly definitions and meanings of "space" and "place" have continued to evolve over the last two decades. According to Tuan, "'Space' is more abstract than 'place.' As he explains, what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value."[11] In many instances, "places" are "spaces" that become frequently used and become familiar to their users. Human interactions with "places" allow individuals to create memories, traditions, beliefs, and values within their own lives, as well as to interact with other humans within the same setting creating emotional, physical, spiritual, and mental relationships.

Development of Space and Place

In today's academic world, the words "space" and "place" appear in a broad range of literature from book titles to article headings in children's literature studies to mental health

[8] Tuan, 4-5.
[9] Ibid., 5.
[10] *The New Town Square*, 38.
[11] *Space and Place*, 6.

publications. Even in ancient times, space and place have been examined through many lenses beginning with the Ancient Greeks.[12] According to John Agnew, Plato and Aristotle examined ideas of space and place by using the terms "chôra" and "topos."[13] In *Timaeus*, Plato used "chôra" to refer to the time after the creation of the universe, but he used this word, according to Nicoletta Isar, to mean a "space-in-the-making, and in-between."[14] In this sense, "space" represented the balance of humanity and the environment.[15] According to Tim Cresswell, Plato's thoughts also suggested "chôra" as a "receptacle or container that has content within it."[16] Throughout *Timaeus*, Plato philosophized about the natural environment, the cosmos, and cultural influences. For example, Timaeus and Socrates discussed the different roles of humans within society. Socrates suggested that each person has been given a sole occupation based on his nature.[17]

Socrates believed humans have a singular occupation based on his nature that could have a variety of meanings. For example, one meaning could be that humans have specific purposes within the spaces or environments in which they live that can affect who they are and how they live within this environment, including how they alter the natural environment around them.[18]

Aristotle used the word "topos" to refer to a place or location within a physically defined area, such as a Greek city-state. Some philosophers believed Aristotle attributed special meaning to the word "topos" in his works to refer to common locations and "spaces" that have special

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[12] John Agnew, "Chapter 23: Space and Place," in *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge,* ed. John Agnew and D. Livingstone (London: Sage, 2011), 316.
[13] Ibid.
[14] "Chôra: Tracing the Presence," *Review of European Studies* 1, no. 1 (June 2009): 40, accessed January 28, 2016, http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.674.2671&rep=rep1&type=pdf.
[15] Ryan Stander, "Topos and Chora: Ryan Stander's Photographs of the Pyla-Koutsopetria Archeological Project," University of North Dakota, accessed January 28, 2016, http://mediterraneanworld.und.edu/exhibits/show/toposchora.
[16] *Place: An Introduction*, 25.
[17] Plato, *Plato Timaeus*, ed. and trans. Peter Kalkavage (Indianapolis: Focus Publishing, 2001), 47.
[18] Ibid.

meanings and values attached to them by humans. [19] Scholars today, thus, often refer to "topos" as a "place," because humans who visited particular spaces frequently attribute special meanings or values to these sites.

As previously noted, debate on space and place began in academia in the mid-nineteenth century in many different disciplines and fields including sociology, geography, and history. In "The Sociology of Space and Place," John Urry argues that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels broke new ground in sociology by incorporating spatial theory into their *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1848, because of their analysis of the class struggle between the modern capitalists, bourgeoisie, and the modern wage-laborers' class, proletarians.[20] Urry states,

> In *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engles describe how fixed, fast-frozen relations are swept away, all newly formed relations become antiquated before they can ossify, and 'all that is solid melts into air.' Marx and Engles argued *inter alia* that capitalism breaks the feudal ties of people to their 'natural superiors'; it forces the bourgeois class to seek markets across the surface of the globe and this destroys local and regional markets; masses of laborers are crowded into factories so concentrating the proletariat and producing a class-for-itself; and the development of trade unionism is assisted by the improved transportation and communication brings in its wake. In his later works, especially *Capital*, Marx analyzes how capitalist accumulation is based upon the annihilation of space and by time and how this consequently produces striking transformations of agriculture, industry, and population across time and space.[21]

According to Urry, Georg Simmel focused on spatial theory again in the early twentieth century, when he developed "five basic qualities of spatial forms found in the interactions that turn an empty space into something meaningful." Urry states that Simmel's five qualities of spatial form are "the exclusive or unique character of space. The ways in which a space may be divided into pieces and activities spatially 'framed'; the degree to which social interactions may be localized in space; the degree of proximity/distance…; and the possibility of changing

[19] Iovan Drehe, "The Aristotlelian Dialectical Topos," *Argumentum* 9, no. 2 (2011): 130-132, accessed January 28, 2016, http://www.fssp.uaic.ro/argumentum/Numarul%2010/10_Drehe_tehno.pdf.
[20] "The Sociology of Space and Place," 4.
[21] Ibid.

locations . . . and the arrival of the 'stranger'."[22] As Iain Borden explains, in his writing, Simmel focused mainly on everyday life through experiences.[23] Urry argues that Simmel was the first to examine space in terms of human experiences, but he treated place as a separate entity because scholars did not previously understand place through the lens of human experiences. Instead, until the 1970s, geographic scholars viewed place as a static geographic term for a location.[24]

In the 1970s, geographers Anne Buttimer (1976), Edward Relph (1976), and Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) focused on human experiences as a common link between space and place. Their work changed the geographer's approach to space and place and led to the creation of the field of humanistic geographers.[25] By the 1990s, much of spatial theory scholarship across various different disciplines had begun to use the idea of human experiences as a connector between space and place.

According to Miriam Kahn, Michel Foucault envisioned that humans attributed significance to spaces because of the events and experiences associated with them.[26] Foucault's perspective brings the environment and the events that occur in a specific location together into a space. Understanding that "space" functions as more than simply a geographic location, but also includes a site in which humans experience life, links space and place together.[27] In "Questions on Geography," Foucault examined geographic terms, such as territory, field, and region, as

[22] "The Sociology of Space and Place," 5.
[23] "Space Beyond: Spatiality and the City in the Writings of Georg Simmel," *Journal of Architecture* 2 no. 4 (January 1997): 314, Accessed January 28, 2016. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/136023697374342.
[24] Cresswell, 16 and Agnew, 326.
[25] See Buttimer, "Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld"; Relph, *Place and Placelessness;* and Tuan, *Space and Place*..
[26] "Tahiti Intertwined: Ancestral Land, Tourist Postcard, and Nuclear Test Site," *American Anthropologist* 102, no. 1 (March 2000): 7, accessed October 4, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/683535.

[27] "Questions on Geography," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. and trans. Colin Gordon, (New York: Pantheon, 1980) 66-67.

politically defined locations determined by dominating classes.[28] Foucault's work also led to the examination and comparison of schools, education centers, military institutions, and prisons as sites for the enforcement of moral standards and standards of behavior dictated by those in power.[29]

According to Lefebvre, a hierarchy of power exists in some societies, which allows certain groups to have power over others. In this hierarchy, Lefebvre discusses two types of spaces that allow for the creation of a hegemonic society. First, Lefebvre refers to dominated space as " a space transformed – and mediated – by technology, by practice."[30] In many instances, dominated spaces are influenced by political or military power. In this idea, Lefebvre uses the example of a slab of concrete. The concrete is made of natural ingredients blended into something new through the use of technology, which introduces a new form into a pre-existing space. Therefore, the slab of concrete can be used to create new spaces, such as sidewalks and dams, within communities. In this example, political powers influence where sidewalks and dams are placed within a community, creating what Lefebvre refers to as an appropriated space.[31]

Second, appropriated spaces are spaces earmarked to specific groups by dominant groups. Appropriated spaces exist when particular groups "construct" particular values, meanings, ideas, and even structures for other groups to possess with pre-conditions attached. Lefebvre uses the examples of monuments, buildings, structures, and properties as appropriated spaces. In this case, a monument is built for specific reasons and for a specific group of people. In this example, the monument may not have the same meanings attached to it for other ethic or

[28] Ibid.
[29] "Questions on Geography," 66-67.
[30] *The Production of Space* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 164.
[31] Ibid., 164-165.

cultural groups as it does for the specific group who built it.[32] Lefebvre continues to explain, "Dominated space is usually closed, sterilized, emptied out. The concept attained its full meaning only when it is contrasted with the opposite and inseparable concept of appropriation."[33] In many cases, appropriated spaces become the sites within communities that those in political or military power decided to preserve for future generations, while sites of non-dominant groups are typically the sites that become neglected, destroyed, or abandoned.[34]

Spaces allowed humans to develop their own cultural identity as well as to suppress identities because they do not fit within the "norm."[35] Cresswell states,

> Things, people, and practices, it seems, can be "in-place" or "out-of-place." . . . . . When something or someone has been judged to be "out-of-place," they have committed a transgression. Transgression simply means "crossing a line". Unlike the sociological definition of "deviance," transgression is an inherently spatial idea. The line that is crossed is often a geographical line and a socio-cultural one. It may or may not be the case that the transgression was intended by the perpetrator. What matters is that the action is seen as transgression by someone who is disturbed by it.[36]

Transgressing within the socio-cultural world allows suppression of any values, stories, traditions, and ideas of humans who are not a part of the dominating or overarching class. In essence, a dominant class or individual within a community has allowed non-dominant values, stories, traditions, and ideas to be devalued, neglected, and destroyed as part of the collective story or "normal" social practices. In the past, dominant classes or individuals dictated which values, stories, traditions, and ideas within a community should be preserved for future

[32] *The Production of Space*, 165.
[33] *The Production of Space*, 165.
[34] See Chapter 3, for more details on preservation's link to those in power.
[35] Lefebvre, 164-165.
[36] Cresswell, 165-166.

generations, leaving the non-dominant values, stories, traditions, and ideas neglected, destroyed, or devalued.[37]

According to Pierre Bourdieu, humans perceived the world around them through a set of social principles and practices that helped them interpret the world around them, which he calls, "habitus."[38] As Bourdieu explains, habitus helps human's structure and organize the world into matrices, thus allowing non-dominant groups to interact with dominant groups, creating a exchange of ideas, values, and meanings that can change societal structure. Therefore, habitus, which has been influenced by power relations, reflects humans' social positions in the world, but allowed marginalized classes to push back on dominating classes, creating a wave-like structure, where power relationships move throughout the structure.[39]

According to Bordieu's idea of habitus, the dominant groups placed restrictions upon other groups that caused certain actions to be carried out in specific places that were under control of the powerful, even though these groups had the ability to push back on the dominating class.[40] Bourdieu states,

> If it is true, as I have endeavoured to establish, that, first, the dominant class constitutes a relatively autonomous space whose structure is defined by the distribution of economic and cultural capital among its members, each class fraction being characterized by a certain configuration of this distribution to which there corresponds a certain life-style, through the mediation of the habitus, that, second the distribution of these two types of capital among the fractions is symmetrically and inversely structured; and that, third, the different inherited asset structures, together with social trajectory, command the habitus and the systematic choices it produces in all areas of practice, of which the choices commonly regarded as aesthetic are one dimension---then these structures should be found in the space of life-styles, i.e. in the different systems of properties in which the different systems of dispositions express themselves.[41]

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[37] See Chapter 3, for more details on preservation's link to those in power.
[38] "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1. (Spring, 1989): 18, accessed March 10, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/202060.
[39] Ibid., 16-18; and *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), 170.
[40] *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste,* 170-172.
[41] Ibid., 260.

Space, then, has been structured and organized by dominant and non-dominant groups through the interactions that enable the mobility of power to move back and forth between dominant and non-dominant groups. This mobility has allowed for the creation of values, thoughts, beliefs, traditions, and ideas that became validated ideologies for society, making other values, thoughts, beliefs, traditions, and ideas of less powerful groups invalid or not normal for periods of time. Yet, those with little power still have been able to exert influence in some ways over time and spaces that connect with their own groups, so that the values of the elite are not the only values considered in decision-making.[42] Thus, decisions relating to the preservation of places of memory allow a wide range of groups to influence which sites are saved, destroyed, or abandoned. For example, in the segregation era in Jonesborough, whites and blacks continued to interact, which created the wall that the political powers of the town developed, which allowed for only the preservation of sites of memory related to whites to be broken over the last two decades. This change created a new interest in the values, ideas, memories, traditions, and stories related to buildings, structures, and monuments related to marginalized groups to become an enhanced part of the town's heritage tourism program.[43]

Concerning meanings and values attributed to places by the dominant class, architecture has been studied as an expression of how dominant traits can be displayed within a community. Humans' cultural identities shape the spaces in which one lives, works, and experiences the world around him/her. The structures within communities also have shaped these feelings and cultural structures. Many structures within dominant areas of a community represented of the dominating classes, genders, and races' ideas of the normalized cultural identities, and provided meanings, values, traditions, and memories of these collective experiences. Likewise, structures

[42] Bordieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste,*260.
[43] See Chapter 4 for more details on Washington County's preservation evolution.

within marginalized classes' communities also have been shown to represent the values of these classes.[44] For example, elite whites, a dominant group, did not attribute meaning to structures such as slave cabins and thus saw no nee to preserve them; however, a non-dominant group, African Americans, have attributed meaning to slave cabins, and thus, these structures should be included within the collective cultural story of a community. Excavations of slave cabin sites or Native American villages, both sites that represent non-dominant groups in American history, provide important context to understanding place within the cultural identity of the human race. In other words, a slave cabin on a plantation gives fuller meaning to the context of the main house of the plantation as a whole. This point of understanding allows humans to develop a more inclusive identity of the meanings behind spaces and places within their communities and how these meanings have been developed and how they influence humans in the present and future.[45]

When humans' cultural identities lose their significance, the buildings that hold these meanings, values, traditions, and memories within their structure lose their significance and identity, causing these structures to be replaced, abandoned, or neglected.[46] Relph recognized this idea in 1976, when he introduced the concept of "placelessness" to spatial theory. According to Relph, placelessness occurred when a person's "sense of place" eroded, causing a person to be detached from places of memory, thus becoming "outsiders" within their own surroundings, resulting in humans removing distinct places from communities, followed by the creation of a standardized landscape through the building of new homogeneous styles of architecture,.[47]

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[44] Christopher B. Rodning, "Architectural Symbolism and Cherokee Townhouses," *Southeastern Archaeology* 29, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 59, accessed March 20, 2016, http://search.proquest.com.iris.etsu.edu:2048/docview/751309634; and Lefevbre, 146.

[45] Archibald, *A Place to Remember,* 156; and George W. McDaniel, *Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982): 29, 130, and 249.

[46] A person's cultural identity is the identity or feeling that belongs to a group of ethnic, religious, or racial group that is part of a person's value and belief system. According to Relph, humans can have individual, group, community, and national identities that people can identify with. *Place and Placelessness*, 48.

[47] Seamon and Sowers, 46; and *Place and Placelessness,*79-80.

Pico Iyer examined space and place through the idea that humans are all tourists on a traveling journey. In *The Global Soul: Jet Lag, Shopping Malls, and the Search for Home,* Iyer suggested that humans acquired mixed cultures through traveling throughout the globe. Iyer, who claims a mixed cultural identity, describes himself as "a person with an American alien card and an Indian face and an English accent, on his way to Japan."[48] In addition, Iyer discussed the make up of his community in Japan. He described a culturally diverse neighborhood that contained a boutique named Gere, a famous Hollywood Tibetan Buddhist, a Paradis department store, a Kumar Indian restaurant, a Kentucky Fried Chicken, a Mister Donut Shop, and McDonalds. The examples show many different cultural symbols, whether it is an American restaurant, a Tibetan Buddhist name, or an Indian cuisine.[49]

The inclusion of these places in one location could be caused by a sense of placelessness, in which humans do not really know who they are, or cannot identify with unique cultural attributes. Iyer says, "But the very seeming familiarity of these all-American props serves only to underline my growing sense of a world that's singing the same song in a hundred accents all at once."[50] In this quote, Iyer seems to be saying that in today's world, humans exert themselves to learn whom they are, but do not identify with any particular cultural identity. If so, human cultural identity has become homogenized allowing individuals to avoid unique experiences of the world around them, causing humans to move through this world as if they are tourists on vacation seeing sites, but not actually experiencing them. From this perspective, Iyer's work shows that globalization unites cultures, but does not link them in such a way that humans can interpret or understand them as distinct identities. Instead, cultures are blended into one homogenous culture.

[48] *The Global Soul*, 10.
[49] Ibid., 270-273.
[50] Ibid., 270.

For example, during the settlement of East Tennessee, many cultural groups, including the Cherokee, white Europeans, and African slaves shared cultural ideas, values, and traditions. Many European traders and resettlers moved within the valley of East Tennessee and sometimes encountered the Cherokee. In many cases, these traders maintained both white and Cherokee families to facilitate trading relationships with the Cherokee. These cultural interactions allowed many cultural exchanges between European and Cherokee culture. Nonetheless, the American government eventually forced the Cherokee removal west; however, Cherokee people adopted some European ideas and created new traditions, meanings, and feelings. Likewise, some Europeans adopted Cherokee ideas, products, and views into their way of life.[51]

Individuals' cultural differences and variations allowed a variety of perspectives to be applied to a single space. Different cultural values and beliefs added different layers of meaning upon a space, making it a place. Scholars refer to these specific meanings attached to a place as a person's "sense of place."[52] A historic preservation and tourism program should take into account the wide variety of meanings that different cultural groups attribute to the story of one's communal history.

In addition, some groups attached traumatic experiences to places of memory. These experiences, such as those associated with a concentration camp or a slave auction site, reflect negatively on the dominant community or the work of the dominant group, but still are a part of the cultural arena.[53] The significance of these places is even more important to preserve than

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[51] Ronald N. Satz, *Tennessee's Indian Peoples: From White Contact to Removal, 1540-1840* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 56.
[52] Charles W. J. Withers, "Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and in History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no, 4 (October 2009): 640.
[53] Many concentration camp sites have been preserved including Auschwitz and Treblinka, as well as slave auction sites. For more information the interpretation and preservation at Auschwitz see http://auschwitz.org/en/museum/preservation/, In addition see Dr. Ruth Oelze and Dr. Jost Rebenthisch's "Requirements Study: Preservation of the Concentration Camp Memorials and Other Memorial Sites for the Victims

only places, structures, and sites that relate to positive attributes. One contemporary national example of a traumatic experience occurred in the Superdome in New Orleans where in 2005, Hurricane Katrina forced twenty-five thousand residents, mostly African-Americans, to take refuge in the dome.[54] The Superdome has since been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. According to Devon Sayers, the application stated that the Superdome should be recognized with historic status because it is "a symbol of the breakdown and failure of government at the state and local levels in disaster preparedness, and a symbol to the nation of Hurricane Katrina."[55] In this case, the site of trauma has turned a space into a place which will now be preserved for future generations as a symbol for its community to remember the traumatic events in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina that so adversely affected a non-dominant group of the city of New Orleans.

"Sense of Place" Versus "Placelessness"

An individual's sense of place relies heavily on the cultural values, beliefs, and memories individuals attach to a space. Fritz Steele examined complex "sense of place" in his book *The Sense of Place.* According to Elizabeth E. Van Horn, Steele suggested that a person's sense of place is defined by a person's reaction to his/her physical surrounding and the social context in which the person is placed.[56] Van Horne suggests, "Reactions [can] include feelings, perceptions, behaviors, and outcomes associated with being in a location."[57] In turn, these reactions allow a person to attribute meanings, often cultural and personal, to a space, thus

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of the Nazi Regime in the European Union," at http://shoahlegacy.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Study-The-Preservation-of-European-Concentration-Camp-Memorials.pdf.

[54] Devon Sayers, "New Orleans' Superdome Named Federal Historic Site," CNN.com, February 17, 2016, accessed March 8, 2016, http://www.cnn.com/2016/02/17/us/new-orleans-superdome-national-register-historic-places-katrina/index.html.

[55] Ibid.

[56] "The Impact of Tourism on Space and Place in Jonesborough, Tennessee" (master's thesis, University of Tennessee, 1998), 41, accessed February 20, 2016 http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_gradthes/2784.

[57] Ibid.

making it a place. Similarly, Douglas Reichert Powell suggests that a sense of place occurs when humans interact with spaces in a community,

> To know a place, to acquire that 'sense' of place, is not to consume an experience or witness a spectacle, or appreciate a landscape, but to participate, through consumption, through witness, through, appreciation, in the ongoing creation of that place, of its different interpretations and articulations, of its different 'textual expressions,' as dense and political and historical as cultural itself. In this sense, no place exists without its observers, or before it is observed."[58]

Expanding the sense of place discourse, Jeff Malapas suggests, "one might argue, [sense of place] is intimately bound up with a sense of heritage, as well as with a sense of culture."[59] In addition, Lefebvre states, "How does one (where 'one' designates any 'subject') perceive a picture, a landscape, or a monument? Perception naturally depends on the 'subject": a peasant does not perceive 'his' landscape in the same way as a town-dweller strolling through it."[60] Thus, cultural values and meanings change from one person to the next and can bring different perspectives and ideologies to the table, as well as to provide new insights into one's past.

According to Wendell Berry, a culture develops over many generations and decays and renews itself in the process, with new stories, memories, and ideas connecting the past with the present.[61] Berry compared this process to an old bucket hanging on a fence. This bucket has stood the test of time, just as many spaces in communities throughout the world. As time passes, soil is added to the bucket through various processes; snow and rain leave debris, squirrels hide

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[58] *Critical Regionalism: Connecting Politics and Culture in the American Landscape* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 35.
[59] "New Media, Cultural Heritage, and the Sense of Place: Mapping the Conceptual Ground," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14, Issue 3, Special Issue: Sense of Place: New Media, Cultural Heritage, and Place Making (2008): 198, accessed January 28, 2016. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233035557.
[60] Lefebvre, 113-114.
[61] "The Work of Local Culture," in *What Are People For?* (1990; repr., Berkeley, California: Counter Point Press, 2010) 153-154.

their nuts, and birds leave their droppings.[62] Spaces are much like the old bucket. Over time, people have left added meanings, behind in the space, attached memories to the space, and embedded items into the space and consequently created cultural values within the space. Cultural values change to varying degrees from person to person, and as groups intermingle, cultural values are mixed.[63] A person's sense of place may change based on his/her cultural interactions and memories, and cultural perspectives can change over time.

These implications add meaning and create a sense of self inside each person who interacts with the space. The old bucket marks a meaningful place for Berry, who states, "A human community, too, must collect leaves and stories, and turn them to account. It must build soil, and build that memory itself---in lore and story and song---that will be its culture."[64] Cultural values continually change from generation to generation so that what is important today may not necessarily be important tomorrow and the recognition of the different values of different groups within a community waxes and wanes.

For example, theoretically, the Washington County Courthouse in Jonesborough could have many different meanings and implications within the Washington County community and in different periods of time. In the case of white, elite men, the courthouse meant justice, liberty and freedom, while to African-Americans and women, the courthouse represented oppression and separation. Different people with different cultural backgrounds attributed different interactions and reactions to the courthouse building thus, creating its place within the community. Today, the courthouse is an iconic symbol for the town of Jonesborough. Even though the interpretation of different groups' meanings attributed to the building are not always

[62] "The Work of Local Culture," 154.
[63] Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," in *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 153-154.
[64] Berry, 154.

included, the site around the courthouse has been used for community gatherings and special celebrations. It also has been used as a symbol of the town, itself, through logos and branding on pamphlets, advertisements, and other memorabilia. Even though different groups' experiences within the building and the meanings of those experiences have changed, the meanings of the past attributed to the structure by different groups remain a part of its history and preservationists must take into account those different experiences when interpreting the building. Without preservation, the values, traditions, and memories of a large part of the community may be lost and contribute to a sense of alienation, which can cause the groups associated with it to have a sense of alienation that resembles a sense of placelessness within the community.

In 1976, Edward Relph first described placelessness as when a person's "sense of place" erodes, resulting in humans removing distinct places from communities, followed by the creation of a standardized landscape through the building of new homogeneous styles of architecture, all of which cause a person to be detached to places of memory and thus to become "outsiders" within their own surroundings. [65] Other scholars, such as David Glassberg, argued that placelessness belonged in the scholarly conversation of place.[66] In an ever-changing environment, placelessness has become an advancing problem within all societies. According to John Agnew, "Everywhere [we go] is increasingly alike as we all spend more of our time in non-places such as airport lounges, shopping malls and on the Internet, living lives increasingly without any sense of place whatsoever."[67]

[65] Seamon and Sowers. 46; and Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, 79-80 and 118.
[66] Glassberg, 118.
[67] Agnew, 322.

According to Mahyar Arefi, "Modernism disrupts the emotional attachment to place."[68] Traditional and cultural values, beliefs, and rituals have decreased over time and continue to be replaced with modern, standardized ideas and philosophies that alienate creativity and uniqueness. Many scholars have agreed that globalization and modernization, as it links to industrial modes of production, have devalued and commodified place.[69] Preservationist James Conaway states, "Back then, the notion that a totality of the natural and the built environments could be changed in a lifetime would have seemed far-fetched. Yet individual concern for the integrity of definitive bits of America has been discounted as sentimental or attacked as an obstruction to the overriding quest for material gratification and maximum profits in minimal time."[70] Modernization of culture has allowed the instant gratification of materialism and for profits, thus causing a lack of attachment to cultural values, beliefs, and traditions. According to Robert R. Archibald, "Lack of attachment to place disembodies memory, sunders relationships, [and] promotes prodigal resource consumption."[71] A lack of human cultural values and attachments to places in the community causes a loss of cultural experience. These old buildings, as in Berry's analogy about the bucket, are places in which cultural sediment is produced overtime. This cultural sediment, in essence, is the values, beliefs, meanings, traditions, and ideas that create a person's "sense of place" within places of memory.

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[68] "Non-place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking the Notion of Place," *Journal of Urban Design* 4, no. 2 (1999): 184, accessed January 31, 2016, http://search.proquest.comiris.etsu.edu:2048/docview/216518606?accountid=10771.
Anthony Giddens defined modernization as "the appearance of 'modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence'," in his books *The Consequences of Modernity* and *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age.*

[69] Arefi, 179-180.

[70] Conaway, 2.

[71] *The New Town Square*, 1.

Memory: Humanity's "Sense of History"

Memory and history engage the past in different ways. Historians typically separate the terms "memory" and "history" based on their structured uses of the past. According to Eric Gable and Richard Handler in "Public History, Private Memory: Notes from the Ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A.," " 'history' refers to the results of the work of professional historians," while "memory" refers to "the layperson's recounting of personally experienced events that historians may or may not come to consider 'historical.' "[72] Academic historians claim that memory relates to an individual's experiences, while history relates to scholarship and research conducted by historians. According to Gable and Handler, "Memory . . . suggests a personal and direct connection between the person who remembers and the remembered events."[73] Humans play a role in the remembered event; they are either present or know someone connected with a remembered event. In many cases, places play a role in a remembered event. According to Maurice Halbwachs, "One may say that the individual remembers by placing himself in the perspective of the group, but one may also affirm that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories."[74] Halbwachs suggests that individual memory links to group memory. For example, family stories are recollected memories in which stories are handed down from one generation to another. These stories evolve over time and engage with the past. Childhood memories, in many cases, allow children to remember their parents. The remembrances of parents helps connect the child with the surroundings of that place in which the memory happened.[75]

[72] "Public History, Private Memory: Notes from the Ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A.," in *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities*, ed. Amy K. Levin (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2007), 48.
[73] Gable and Handler, 48.
[74] *On Collective Memory*, 40.
[75] Ibid., 55.

Glassberg, Alfred Kazin, David Harvey, and other scholars recognize that place intertwines with history. Glassberg contended that humans attach values to places through their memories and experiences.[76] Glassberg suggested all people have a "sense of history" within them. He defined a "sense of history" as "a perspective on the past at the core of who they are and the people and places they care about."[77] Kazin, going a step further, states, "To have a sense of history one must consider *oneself* a piece of history."[78] In this conversation, Kazin suggests that in order for history to be considered, there must be people to make it. According to Cresswell, Harvey suggests, "place is often seen as the 'locus of collective memory' – a site where identity is created through the construction of memories linking a group of people into the past."[79] In effect, the collection of memories constituted human experiences that create individual and collective memories. Humans interpreted events through their own "sense of history," or memory, which allowed them to interact with past events, making these events seems alive and personal. Glassberg suggests, "A sense of history and sense of place are inextricably intertwined; we attach histories to places, and the environmental value we attach to a place comes largely through the historical associations we have with it."[80] Humans connected with places through their knowledge of history of those places. Persons in a community also connected with places in the community through a collective memory of sites, which in some cases, are dominated by the leading social class, race, or gender. Cresswell states, "It may be true, he [Harvey] argues, that collective memory is often made concrete through the production of particular places but this production of memory in place is no more than an element in the

[76] *The Sense of History*, 114.
[77] Ibid., 6.
[78] "The Self as History: Reflections on Autobiography," in *Telling Lives: The Biographer's Art*, ed. Marc Pachter, (Washington, D. C.: New Republic Books, 1979), 85.
[79] *Place: An Introduction*, 96.
[80] *The Sense of History*, 8.

perpetuation of a particular social order that seeks to inscribe some memories at the expense of others."[81] According to Cresswell, people from different social orders see sites through different lens and meanings. The dominating social class usually held its memories to be the true collective memory of the place, creating a disparity between reality and belief. Glassberg suggested collective memories are remembered largely "[t]hrough conversations among family and friends about past local characters, about the weather, [and] about work."[82] Thus, these conversations created a "storied-past" that revolves around events, experiences, and interpretations within places in communities.

Public memory also allowed stories, interpretations, and experiences of minority cultures to be dismissed from the dominating group's writing of history, even though many minority groups have their own collective memories. Glassberg notes, "Folklorists have observed the often conflicting meanings of the same environment communicated among different groups, and how the invention of a 'collective' sense of place . . . reflects the often unequal power relations between various local groups and interests."[83] In this regard, much of the dominant society's collective memory disregarded the collective memories of these minority groups, whether these stories are forgotten or simply avoided all together.

Avoidance of "troublesome" events, cultural values, and meanings attributed to place are not often presented within a historic site's interpretation. For example, in many historical sites, a common avoidance used to be the treatment of slavery; instead, these sites used the term servant as a replacement for the word slave.[84] This avoidance allowed interpretation of slavery in the

[81] *Place: An Introduction*, 97.
[82] *The Sense of History*, 19.
[83] *The Sense of History*, 19-20.
[84] Gable and Handler, 50.

United States to be omitted completely because neither whites nor African Americans wanted to confront the reality of slavery in America's history.

For example, in "The Last Great Taboo Subject: Exhibiting Slavery at the Library of Congress," John Michael Vlach describes the controversy of having a slavery exhibit at the Library of Congress in 1995 in the midst of a civil rights lawsuit against the library. African American employees criticized the exhibit primarily because they felt the exhibit reminded them of the same oppressive feelings and meanings within their own professions, and, therefore, the Library of Congress removed the exhibit. In early 1996, the same exhibit was displayed under a new location, the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, the main branch of the District of Columbia Public Library System. This time, African Americans flooded the Martin Luther King Jr. Library to see the exhibit. The African American community gave the exhibit positive reviews on opening night.[85]The change of venue and circumstances surrounding the new exhibit produced a positive outcome about the exhibits, but why the change? Vlach states,

> A controversial topic such as the history of slavery cannot be expected to move serenely through the public; as the stuff of difficult history, it is guaranteed to provoke a strong reaction. But if the passions that are stirred can be harnessed to a useful social project, such as preparation for a sustained struggle for social reform, then difficult history can fulfill the promise at which all scholars aim.[86]

Topics that some humans consider bad, difficult, or troublesome are the most likely topics that humans avoid. In many cases, these topics must be discussed, exhibited, and analyzed in order to engage and produce a contextual perspective of cultural values and meanings attached to places within society.

[85] "The Last Great Taboo Subject: Exhibiting Slavery at the Library of Congress," in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory,* ed. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 57-68.
[86] "The Last Great Taboo Subject," 72.

Third Places

According to Ray Oldenburg, third places are neutral spaces within a community in which people voluntarily gather. These places promote community engagement and social connections. Third places can be any place within a community where a person goes to socialize and engage with others. Third places are often places outside of the home, a first place, and the workplace, a second place.[87] According to Oldenburg, "The third place is a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work."[88] In general, third places are really the most important gathering spots in the world. Third places help humans interact and interpret the world around them. They also help humans create memory as well as a sense of place within society. As discussed above, Steele, Powell, and Halbwachs suggested humans create memories of place through the interactions, reactions, and remembrance of events and interactions within places. Powell suggested places are not places without people first observing events and interactions within them. Subsequently, Halbwachs' ideas about memory explained that people remember events and interactions based on the groups or individuals.[89]

The term "third place" has not always been synonymous with all locations outside of home and work. According to Oldenburg, humans always enjoyed third places, but ideas of the third place have evolved since the Industrial Revolution. Oldenburg states,

> The prominence of third places varies with cultural setting and historical era. In preliterate societies, the third place was actually foremost, being the grandest structure in the village and commanding the central location. They were the men's houses, the earliest ancestors of those grand, elegant, and pretentious clubs eventually to appear along London's Pall Mall. In both Greek and Roman society, prevailing values dictated that the *agora* and the *forum* should be great, central institutions; that homes should be simple and unpretentious; that the architecture

[87] *The Great Good Place*, 16, 42.
[88] Ibid., 16.
[89] Van Horn, 41, Powell, 35, and Halbwachs, 40

> of cities should assert the worth of the public and civic individual over the private and domestic one. Few means to lure and invite citizens into public gatherings were overlooked. The forums, colosseums, theaters, and ampitheaters were grand structures, and admission to them free.[90]

The third place continued to evolve. By the Victorian era, many cultures provided public baths and public gardens as well as Victorian palaces, where kings and queens conducted dances, socials, and other events. The elegance of the third place began to diminish as the Industrial Revolution began.[91] According to Oldenburg,

> Before industrialization, the first and second places [home and work] were one. Industrialization separated the place of work from the place of residence, removing productive work from the home and making it remote in distance, morality, and spirit from family life. What we now call the third place existed long before this separation, and so our term is a concession to the sweeping effects of the Industrial Revolution and its division of life into private and public spheres.[92]

Since the Industrial Revolution, physical third places have declined, while virtual third places have increased. With the invention of technology, and long work hours, Oldenburg contended that humans have lost interest in socializing and engaging with others outside of the home and work place. Similarly, urban developers and planners have taken many ideas related to third places out of the urban atmosphere and emphasized home and work life as agents of change in the American landscape.[93]

In many cases, older working-class people did not have time to spend with the younger generations; consequently, younger generations spent more time with products of communication technology in their hands. The two ideas combined with the standardization of everything from culture to education, meant that many Americans did not know how to socialize or engage in community anymore. According to Oldenburg, “Americans are now confronted

[90] Oldenburg, 17.
[91] Ibid., 16-17.
[92] Oldenburg, 16.
[93] Ibid., 18.

with that condition about which the crusty old arch-conservative Edmund Burke warned us when he said that the bonds of community are broken at great peril for they are not easily replaced."[94] Cultural values, beliefs, and meanings are built when humans interact with one another, whether it is at home with the family, at work with co-workers, or at the bar with friends. Humans learn to adapt, and adapt to learn.

The key to learning within third places is conversation. According to Archibald, "More than one hundred fifty years ago Alexis de Tocqueville, the insightful French observer of American life, was struck by the necessity of informal association to democratic life. 'Among the laws that rule human societies,' he observed, 'there is one which seems to be more precise and clear than all the others. If men are to remain civilized or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ration in which the equality of condition is increased.'"[95] Conversations are the means by which humans interpret and learn about each other and their surroundings. Conversations are also how humans communicate values, experiences, and meanings. Ideas, philosophies, and experiences usually are passed from one generation to the next and from one person to the next, helping each generation to develop its own philosophies and ideas.[96] Third places are the locations within which humans speak about their experiences, as well as their memories, and socialize and learn from others. These places are meant to make them comfortable and relaxed as well as adaptive to other environments and situations in which they find themselves.[97]

J. B. Jackson suggested that public landscape – as he considers third places to be a part of – allows "organized" communities to install and modify their identity over time as humans

[94] Ibid.
[95] *A Place to Remember*, 18.
[96] Oldenburg, 26-31.
[97] Ibid., 32-33.

exchange values, experiences, and meanings from one generation to the next. He suggested among these changes are community boundaries, roads, public places, and monuments.[98] In many of these cases, constructed collective memories are the basis for monuments and public built landscapes. According to Cresswell, "One of the primary ways in which memories are constituted has been through the production of places. Monuments, museums, the preservation of particular buildings (and not others), plaque, inscriptions, and the promotion of whole urban neighborhoods as "heritage zone" are all examples of the placing of memory."[99] Community culture continues to change as new ideas and philosophies are added as different cultural groups' stories become more accepted within communities that begin to expand the boundaries on the writing of the community's past. The addition of new public places and roads allows the community to expand and new interactions can be made with increased numbers of cultural groups. Moreover, monuments added by dominating groups within communities invoke memories of events, people, and cultures. Each of these concepts described within Jackson's idea of public landscape "is invariably the result of an historical process" that must be worked through.[100]

Third places within Jonesborough and Washington County were, in many cases, churches, schools, general stores, taverns, and, in political centers, the courthouse. Throughout Washington County's and Jonesborough's histories, the church and school were places of gathering. These institutions taught community members values and meanings, and provided a place for experiences. Even though the white, elite male perspective dominated these places, women and African Americans had their own third places. In a segregated and gendered society,

[98] "The Public Landscape," *Landscapes: Selected Writings of J.B. Jackson* (Amherst, Massachusetts: The University of Massachusetts, 1970), ed. Ervin H. Zube, 153.
[99] *Place: An Introduction*, 120.
[100] Jackson, 153-154.

African Americans and women congregated in their own churches, women met in women's clubs, and other third places around their communities.

In heritage tourism programs, archives, libraries, museums, and cemeteries can be considered third places. These sites provide locations for community members and tourists to gather and promote engagement with information, artifacts, documents, and other materials that help tell the story of people, buildings, and communities. Sites also allow social interaction among community members, tourists, and employees.

Museums are third places within heritage tourism programs. According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Museums are not only destinations on an itinerary: they are also nodes in a network of attractions that form the recreational geography of a region and, increasingly, the globe. Museums, by whatever name, are also an integral part of natural, historical, and cultural sites."[101] In essence, museums and archives allow visitors to converse with the past through the viewing, reading, and occasional touching of documents and artifacts. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett goes on to say,

> Museums have long served as surrogates for travel, a particularly important role before the advent of mass tourism. They have from their inception preserved souvenirs of travel, as evidenced in their collections of plants, animals, minerals, and examples of the arts and industries of the world's cultures. While the museum collection itself is an undrawn map of all the places from which the materials have come, the floor plan, which determines where people walk, also delineates conceptual paths through what becomes a virtual space of travel.[102]

A museum or archive holds within it objects' that allow patrons to construct meanings and values about the object's past. Items within cases or boxes allow visitors to engage with the past through texts and visual aids that help the patron interpret the past. In essence, visitors converse through the experience with the items to give the object its "sense of place" within the whole

[101] *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 132.
[102] Ibid.

context of its meaning, both inside and outside the museum or archive.[103] According to Archibald, "The most profound effect of an artifact is emotional, its ability to make us call to mind another time, another place, a story, and perhaps a memory."[104] Emotional attachments of place allowed humans to conceptualize the past and provided humans a way to understand history through individual's personal experiences, which in turn created new meanings and values that help shaped attitudes and precepts.

Museums, archives, and libraries also allowed humans to learn new information or to create knowledge. According to David Carr,

> Cultural institutions imply a wide world; they require their users to encounter, refine, and synthesize a robust array of information. But it is a world that comes to us because we have willed ourselves to be present for it; it does not float onto our screen with the mouse click, the commercial, or the fee . . . The library and the museum embody more than serene models of public access to information; they also capture and preserve the social and intellectual practice that makes all knowledge possible; the provision of surrounding narratives, arguments, and contexts.[105]

Carr's statement suggests that humans also need to be informed about the world around them. Humans have to make decisions, create ideas, and develop understanding through interactions with places within their own communities.

Another third place that may not seem as important as other third places is the cemetery. Cemeteries serve many purposes within a community. They not only serve as resting places, but also as places to remember, reflect, and understand a community's past. According to Archibald, "Cemeteries too are memory places. I find nothing morbid or forlorn or spectral in the burial grounds of our forebears, nor do I focus on the memento mori that our Victorian ancestors emphasized. Rather, I see cemeteries as storied places, places of remembrance, continuity, and

[103] Archibald, *The New Town Square*, 81.
[104] Ibid.
[105] *A Place Not A Place*, 128.

affirmation that we are not the first to inhabit this place and will not be the last."[106] Cemeteries provide the dead a place to rest, but also provide the living a place to grieve, a place to examine the past, and a place to understand who they are. Archibald continues,

> It was in that place that I learned who my people were and learned about myself. Here I first discovered the ties that extended from me back in time, and here I could imagine that they would also extend beyond my own lifetime into a future inhabited by others. I also learned that from these people I inherited obligations. I realized that I was not alone in the present but that I was connected to the past and to the future.[107]

In addition, cemeteries are places of cultural identity and rituals for members of religious, ethnic, and racial groups, be they are mainstream or marginalized. According to Eva Reimers, "Different cultures and different religions employ a variety of rituals. Funerary rituals in Islam are not the same as funerary rituals in Catholic Christianity."[108] These cultural identities and rituals allow people to express themselves through cultural values, traditions, and beliefs as well as memory of the deceased person. Some members of African American cultures perform funeral ceremonies different from other racial groups. In addition, ethnic and cultural groups view the cemetery may also be differently from each other. Cultural expression linked to rituals associated with the death of a family or community member may be different based on ethnic group.

In Jonesborough, the Old Jonesborough Cemetery consists of two cemeteries, Rocky Hill (white) and College Hill (black). For years, the two cemeteries were separated not only by racial segregation, but also by nature. Overgrown trees blocked the view of College Hill from Rocky Hill, enhancing the cultural separation of the two races. For Jonesborough, segregation was a common occurrence from education to religion to politics. In recent years, however, the brush

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[106] *The New Town Square*, 22.
[107] Ibid., 23.
[108] Eva Reimers, "Death and Identity: Graves and Funerals as Cultural Communication," *Mortality* 4, no. 2 (1999), 148, accessed February 28, 2016. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/232947809.

has been removed, allowing a new perspective of cultural diversity to be interpreted through the cemetery.[109]

Cemeteries thus provide more than a place for rest; they may provide a detailed look at individuals. They allow mourners to express emotion, memory, and meaning. In addition, they help individuals understand their culture, their traditions, and their perspectives. The cemetery as a third place is a place of community, a place of family gatherings, and a place of culture and tradition.

Conclusion

Places allow humans to engage, socialize, and, in a sense, to create themselves. Without places, people have no space to associate meaning to help connect them to their surroundings, which helps them develop a localized culture. Archibald suggests, "Only when we animate our understanding of our dependence upon place can we, like Wendell Berry, assume responsibility for the welfare of the place and all the life that it sustains. It is not just our relationship to landscape and built environment that is incubated in places of memory; it is also our relationships with each other."[110] Individuals must first learn about themselves by interacting with places in their local communities to learn who they are, how they understand these places, and how they can preserve them for the future. Cultural attributes change over time and do not stay the same, but the transference of these attributes from one person to the next allow present and future generations to understand the past. As Archibald suggested that remembering the past is connected to the present as well as to the future.

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[109] "Old Jonesborough Cemetery (Rocky Hill)," Washington County, TNGENWEB, http://tngenweb.org/washington/records-data/cemeteries/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee-o-p-q/old-jonesborough-cemetery/.
[110] *The New Town Square,* 42.

As Glassberg contended, humans carry a sense of history within them and the understanding of this sense of history requires interactions with the environment in which they live as well as interactions and conversations between each other.[111] Combined, these two ideas create within humans an idea of who they are, and what they care about. Culture, history, and memory all come from people's dependence on places within their lives.

The preservation of place becomes an important step in engaging with the past. The relevance of these sites within individuals' memories, traditions, and values helps one understand him/herself, as well as to value the places in which he/she lives. Preserving such sites also helps humans remember and connect with one another.

[111] *The Sense of History*, 6.

CHAPTER 3
THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THEORY, HISTORIC PRESERVATION, AND HERITAGE TOURISM

> The land provided a context for debating what the country and its citizenry should be, a volatile argument as old as the republic and farther from resolution than in frontier days. But people had so affected these places in one way or another that they---we---had become essential parts of the landscape. Even de jure wilderness, which had been so declared by the U. S. Congress, reflected the contending desires of human beings, some wanting to keep the land just so in perpetuity, others wanting to capitalize on it by whatever means necessary. Beyond these protected areas where places that had defined themselves decades and even centuries before, and they, too, were becoming obsolete: The physical and spiritual home of the American Indian, and the source of sustenance for countless miners, lumberjacks, fishermen, and farmers, were subject to unprecedented, and accelerating change. Yet these groups' abiding influence on the land was an intrinsic part of it and a marker of American civilization; to lose that to development of one sort or another---malls, McMansions, highways, power lines, gas exploration rigs, and so on--- was to be deprived, in perpetuity, of what is arguably the real America."
>
> --James Conaway, *Vanishing America: In Pursuit of Our Elusive Landscapes*

As previously noted, in 1976, Canadian geographer Edward Relph published *Place and Placelessness*, in which he theorized a new concept in spatial theory called placelessness. He argued that placelessness occurs because of individuals' loss of a connection to the environment and because the "variety of places and landscapes that characterized preindustrial societies and unselfconscious, handicraft cultures are being diminished and perhaps eradicated."[1] Over the last one hundred years, numerous societal, economic, and environmental changes has been attributed to the modernization of cities and towns around the world. According to Relph, these changes caused many people "to survive without first hand knowledge of" or connection with particular structures and landscapes within their surroundings.[2]

[1] *Place and Placelessness,* 79.
[2] Preface to *The Modern Urban Landscape: 1880 to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), np, 1 of 2.

Many scholars of placelessness such as Relph and Glassberg have suggested that preservation of places of memory can be one strategy for connecting residents with their surroundings. In his early work on placelessness, Relph did not link preservation to maintaining a sense of place. In *Place and Placelessness*, Relph stated, "The possibilities for maintaining and reviving man's sense of place do not lie in the preservation of old places."[3] However, Relph warmed to the idea of preservation as a parallel concept to placelessness and over his forty years of scholarship, Relph gradually began to advocate for preservation as a link to maintaining a sense of place. In 1987, Relph published *The Modern Urban Landscape: 1880 to the Present*, in which he discussed the influences of modern urban landscape and new ideas in town planning. In a chapter on historic preservation, he stated, "In less than 20 years heritage preservation has had a widespread if fragmentary effect on the look of cities. Perhaps more important than this is the fact that it has helped to establish a popular appreciation for the qualities of old buildings and landscapes in the face of futurism and the increasingly forced originalities of modernism."[4] In this statement, Relph openly recognized that historic preservation retained some of the older qualities for new generations.

More recently, Relph's views on preservation and its link to placelessness have continued to evolve. For example, on January 18, 2016, Relph posted an entry on his place-making blog, www.placeness.com, in which he discussed several place-making scholars, as well as the Project for Public Spaces, a place-making organization founded in 1975 to expand the work of William Whyte, author of *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*.[5] In this entry, Relph quoted Dolores Hayden's article published in 1988, "Placemaking, Preservation, and Urban History," wherein he explained, "'Places make memories cohere in complex ways,' she has suggested, but

[3] *Place and Placelessness,* 145.
[4] *The Modern Urban Landscape*, 224.
[5] For more information on Project for Public Spaces, go to http://www.pps.org/.

memories also make places cohere and the formal recognition of these places through restoration and preservation can be powerful ways to reinforce community identity."[6]

In my analysis, Relph's estimation of the importance of preservation as an community's link to a sense of place and identity has changed over the last forty years. As Relph has argued, the loss of historically and culturally significant structures and landscapes separates community members from cultural attributes that help these members to connect with places of memory in the same community. Thus, the preservation of historically and culturally significant structures and landscapes can help retain the cultural meanings, values, stories, and memories attached to these spaces and help residents identify and remember historically and culturally significant sites through these attachments.[7] According to Robert R. Archibald, preservation of places of memory in local communities continues to build a stronger community as well as to connect present generations with the past and future.[8] In addition, the preservation of places of memory allows communities to retain sites that draw both internal and external visitors which can boost the local economy by providing places for shopping, eating, and recreation within local community as well as to provide tourists with a place to visit, shop, and connect with the community around them.[9] It is my intention to show that historic preservation can link contemporary residents to a community's past, therefore maintaining their sense of place. I will also show that when a community prioritizes historic preservation, the community can develop heritage tourism programs that can help diminish the cost of preservation efforts within local and regional communities.

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[6] "Placemaking (and the Production of Places): Origins," January 18, 2016, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.placeness.com/placemaking-and-the-production-of-places-origins-and-early-development/.
[7] Archibald, *A Place to Remember*, 156.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Timothy, 166.

Modernization Brought About the Phenomenon of Placelessness in the United States

Since Relph first theorized placelessness, scholars have debated how to preserve distinct places and cultural uniqueness within local communities. Throughout this debate, historian David Glassberg has asserted that scholars connected placelessness with modernization, standardization, urbanization, and technology among other things.[10] The continuing redevelopment of structures and landscapes within local communities has caused once familiar places to seem to be unfamiliar and unrecognizable spaces to which community members feel no particular attachments.

In *Modern Urban Landscapes,* Relph states,

> The late twentieth century may be the first period in history when it is possible for most people to survive without first-hand knowledge of their surroundings. It is now quite possible to get around a city by using borrowed information, reading guide books and following signs. I find this depressing because the landscapes and places we live in are important. Whether we shape them or they shape us, they are expressions of what we are like. Our lives are impoverished precisely to the extent that we ignore them.[11]

In a similar statement, *In the Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape*, James Howard Kunstler writes,

> There is a reason that human beings long for a sense of permanence. This longing is not limited to children, for it touches the profoundest aspects of our existence: that life is short, fraught with uncertainty, and sometimes tragic. We know not where we come from, still less where we are going, and to keep from going crazy while we are here, we want to feel that we truly belong to a specific part of the world.[12]

Kunstler did not provide concrete evidence that humans search for a sense of permanence, but these statements by Relph and Kunstler show that both authors believe something had changed within the lives of human beings. In *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life,*

[10] Glassberg, 118.
[11] *The Modern Urban Landscape*, Preface, np, 1 of 2.
[12] *In the Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 275.

Glassberg pointed to earlier scholars, such as Fredrick Jackson Turner and Charles Eliot Norton, as well as to Relph, who suggested that modernization during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the United States changed Americans' lives. Glassberg states,

> Contemporary concerns with placelessness have antecedents in philosophical, sociological, and historical treatises at the turn of the century that lamented the decline of 'community.' Essays by Joshia Royce, Edward A. Ross, and Frederick Jackson Turner warned that as the centralization of economic political authority under the modern corporation and the nation-state weakened local economic and political control, and improvements in transportation and communications technology demolished the boundaries of local residents' social world, the distinctive features of local community life would disappear.[13]

Glassberg cited American author and social critic Charles Eliot Norton's observations in "The Lack of Old Homes in America," wherein he described something similar to Relph's concept of "placelessness" in the American white upper class culture of the Northeast.[14] Norton's ideas resonated with contemporaries during this time who wrote on changes in white elite cultural influence within American society and who saw local white elite families loose control of their local communities as extractive and manufacturing industries began operation. When these industries supplied jobs for poor whites, immigrants, and free African Americans, who were not from these local communities, many local whites lost their control over their own communities. Instead, these industries gained more control of local communities.[15]

Norton pointed to the proliferation of the railroad as a major cause of increased mobility of American families. With easy access to long distance travel, many Americans allowed their ancestral homes to be sold, neglected, or destroyed, as they relocated to new areas. Even though the American population had been mobile since the founding of the nation until the Civil War,

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[13] Glassberg, 119-20.
[14] Ibid.
[15] "The Lack of Old Homes in America," *Scriber's Magazine* (May 1889), accessed February 7, 2016, http://www.unz.org/Pub/Scribners-1889may-00636, 639. See Norton's contemporaries: Alexis de Tocqueville, "Why Americans Are Often So Restless in the Midst of their Prosperity," *Democracy in America* Volume 2, ed. Jacob Peter Mayer and trans. George Lawrence (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1969); and Fredrick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier of American History* (1894; repr. Eastford, CT: Martino Fine Books, 2014).

many white, elite Americans has held on to in their ancestral homes, or lived on land owned by ancestors throughout their entire life. By the 1870s and 1880s, to the changes in transportation, communication, technology, and industry opened Americans up to the idea of relocation. Pointing to the railroad as an example Norton described, "The railroad has been like a stream with a steady current bearing boat-load after boat-load of adventurers."[16]

According to Norton, in the late nineteenth century, Americans also transitioned to a new standard that required that "each generation should build its own transient shelter unhampered and unwarped by memory and tradition."[17] Descendants no longer lived within their hereditary home; instead, younger family members created new traditions, values, and ideas in another location away from family and friends. In addition, Norton claimed, this standard allowed children to "tear down our father's houses and sell our grandfather's orchard, and expect our heirs to treat in the same way the house that we build and the orchard which we plant."[18]

During the 1920s and 1930s, a new movement by regionalist writers sought to strengthen Americans' local community views through the romanticization of nature in their ideas and writings. According to Glassberg, "Along with attacks on modern progress for the destruction of distinctive landscapes and places in the 1920s and 1930s came the romanticization of displaced peoples – Yankee farmers, Southern sharecroppers, Native Americans – as being close to the earth."[19] One such writer, Benton MacKaye, thought Americans should connect with nature to solve problems. Throughout "An Appalachian Trail: A Project in Regional Planning," MacKaye sought to connect Americans to nature through the creation of the Appalachian Trail. He wrote,

> Something has been going on these past few strenuous years which, in the din of war and general upheaval, has been somewhat lost from the public mind. It is the

[16] "The Lack of Old Homes in America," 639.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] *The Sense of History*, 120.

> slow quiet development of the recreational camp. It is something neither urban nor rural. It escapes the hecticness of the one, and the loneliness of the other. And it escapes also the common curse of both - the high powered tension of the economic scramble. All communities face an "economic" problem, but in different ways. The camp faces it through cooperation and mutual helpfulness, the others through competition and mutual fleecing.[20]

By the 1970s, Americans did not respond to the calls to look back to the local community and the environment that surrounded them. Instead, Relph theorized the concept of placelessness, which occurs when a person's "sense of place" erodes, resulting in humans removing distinct places from communities, followed by the creation of a standardized landscape through the building of new homogeneous styles of architecture that causes a person to be detached to places of memory, and thus to become "outsiders" within his/her own surroundings.[21] Relph, Glassberg, and other scholars attributed modernization influences as the cause of placelessness by using the homogenization of architecture, the increasing use of "pseudo" places, the increase in transportation and technology, and the relocation of businesses from local communities to urban areas as evidence for a sense of placelessness.[22]

The homogenization of the architecture best demonstrates the loss of a sense of place and localized culture in the United States. In *Modern Urban Landscape,* Relph examined modern architecture where he observed, "In spite of the familiarity and virtual omnipresence of modern urban landscapes they must be generally seen as unremarkable or unpleasant because nobody pays much serious attention to them. It is almost as though they have been designed not to be noticed."[23] Here Relph alludes to the detachment people feel with modern architecture.

The increasing use of "pseudo," or false, places diminishes the importance of unique structures within local communities. Relph identified "pseudo" worlds, or places, where

[20] MacKaye, 325.
[21] *Place and Placelessness,* 79-80.
[22] Ibid.,58, 93; and *The Sense of History,* 118.
[23] *Modern Urban Landscape,* 1.

developers take real-life experiences to create a synthetic identity or stereotype and use the identity or stereotype as a basis for an actual place.[24] Relph coined the term "disneyfication," to describe sites, such as Disneyworld, that provide tourists with a "false" look and/or feel.[25] Many of these sites are theme park attractions and recreated towns, districts or neighborhoods that can be considered sites of entertainment. Many of these "disneyfied" sites have opened across the country, based on stereotypes, rides, and false cultural identities. These sites do not create a natural or real experience for tourists; instead, they provide a new level of entertainment.

In addition, Relph examined sites he considered "museumified." Museumified sites, he argues, are manifestations of a process he calls "museumification," which means that sites are "reconstituted pioneer villages, restored castles and reconstructed forts."[26] In this context, sites such as Williamsburg, and, Sycamore Shoals Historic Site in Elizabethton, Tennessee, and Rocky Mount Historic Site in Piney Flats, Tennessee, are museumified sites in the sense that they represent an idealistic reconstruction based on preservationists' beliefs of what the site may have looked like in the past. In addition, Glassberg takes the idea of "pseudo" places a step further by asserting that a "pseudo" place is "a place identity that corporate leaders or the mass media have arbitrarily assigned to a standardized, interchangeable, instant landscape," such as shopping centers.[27]

The improvements in transportation and communication, as well as the increased use of technology over the last century diminish humans' social lives within small local communities.[28] With this transition, other sectors of human life such as education, work, and social environments suffer from the increase in standardization and commercialization. According to

[24] *Place and Placelessness,* 58.
[25] Ibid., 95-100.
[26] Ibid., 101.
[27] *The Sense of History,* 118.
[28] Ibid., 119-120.

Jeff Malpas, modernization is usually "closely tied to the enormous change in communication and information technologies that have occurred over the last century," as well as the increased mode of production.[29] In "New Media, Cultural Heritage, and the Sense of Place: Mapping the Conceptual Ground," Malpas suggests that new media outlets such as radio, television, and film, as well as new transportation modes, such as the automobile and airplane, allow Americans to be more connected than ever before to a larger community and thus to abandon local community ideas and connections.

The relocation of businesses from local communities to high-density population centers cause local communities to lose needed places to create social connections. For example, shopping and other social events no longer take place within the community. Instead, shopping centers and chain markets, which are no longer built uniquely, are located in high population communities requiring residents who do not live within these communities to travel outside their own community to buy merchandise and products. For example, according to the most recent United States Census Bureau, Washington County, Tennessee, reported a population of 122,979, with over half of that population residing in its urban center, Johnson City.[30] Not surprisingly, most of Washington County's commercial activity is in Johnson City. Residents from Washington County's non-urban communities, such as Limestone, Telford, and Jonesborough, travel to Johnson City to buy groceries, shop for clothing, and conduct business. Jonesborough, the county seat, has some commercial locations where residents engage in commercial activity, but not as many options as Johnson City. Ultimately, most of Washington County's non-urban residents travel beyond their communities to shop and conduct business.

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[29] Malapas, 197.
[30] United States Census Bureau, 2010 Johnson City, Tennessee Census Data, accessed March 25, 2016, http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/47/4738320.html and United States Census Bureau, 2010 Washington County, Tennessee Census Data, accessed March 25, 2016, http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/47/47179.html. Johnson City, Tennessee had a population of 63,152 in 2010.

In some cultural groups, placelessness can be associated with alienation caused by the dominating cultural group. Historian George W. McDaniel's *Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture* demonstrated the loss of actual places of memory among African-American communities. McDaniel examined the disappearance of slave cabins and similarly built houses from the American landscape after the Civil War. McDaniel writes,

> Slave houses were once an integral part of the landscape of Maryland and the South; in such houses lived the majority of the population on many plantations, and frequently the majority of whole counties and regions. These enslaved workers raised the tobacco, rice, and cotton that produced the wealth. Without them, the history of Maryland, the South, and America would have been dramatically different. Yet it is difficult for us to imagine their homes with historical accuracy. We know little about the origins of slave houses or about traditional African house types and building methods, traditions that may have continued in some fashion in America.[31]

In this instance, dominant cultural groups force ideas, meanings, and values upon lower cultural groups making these lower groups feel alienated or placeless within society. White elite classes did not see slave quarters and freed African Americans' homes, which resembled the slave cabin, as useful buildings. Thus, whites allowed these buildings to be neglected, destroyed, and abandoned after the last occupants moved away. McDaniel observes, "As the farmlands are abandoned or give way to subdivisions and shopping centers, the historical houses of rural blacks disappear."[32] Yet, as McDaniel shows, even those slave dwellings that remained were "rarely exhibited in historical museums or parks; when they are, the exceptional, better-built examples are usually preserved, as at Mount Vernon and Monticello, rather than the typical log houses in which the majority of slaves lived." [33] In each of these sites mentioned by McDaniel, slave

[31] *Hearth & Home,* 29.
[32]Ibid., 246.
[33] Ibid., 45.

cabins have been preserved and interpreted as sites with white and some African American meanings attached to them.[34]

The destruction of places of memory related to minority cultural groups within local communities has been linked to the decisions of dominating class members in a community. According to Michel de Certeau, power structures allow certain people along the cultural hierarchy to be in control of communities.[35] This idea corresponds with Michel Foucault's idea of power structures. In "The Eye of Power," Foucault examined the structure of a prison, which he compares to modern school buildings. In essence, prisons are places where those people who negate the "norm" and challenge those in power are punished for not conforming to the "norm."[36] De Certeau suggested that challenging the norm is why people who are considered outside of the "norm" or outside of the dominant class are "manag[ed], differentiat[ed], classif[ied], and hierarchiz[ed]," by "apprenticeship, health, justice, the army, or work."[37]

Philosopher Henri Lefebvre agrees with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel that place is a production of labor. Lefebvre used the example of a peasant dwelling in *The Production of Space*. He observes,

> What can be said, for example, of a peasant dwelling? It embodies and implies particular social relations; it shelters a family – a particular family belonging to a particular country, a particular region, a particular soil; and it is a component part of a particular site and a particular countryside. No matter how prosperous or humble such a dwelling may be, it is as much a work as it is a product, even though it is invariably representative of a type. It remains, to a greater or lesser degree, part of nature. It is an object intermediate between work and product, between nature and labour, between the realm of symbols and the realm of signs. Does it engender a space? Yes. Is that space natural or cultural? Is it immediate or mediated – and, if the latter, mediated by whom and to what purpose? Is it a given

[34] McDaniel, 28, 45.
[35] *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 95-96.
[36] "The Eye of Power," *The Impossible Prison: A Foucault Reader* (Nottingham, United Kingdom: Nottingham Contemporary, 2008): 8-15, accessed March 10, 2016, http://monoskop.org/images/8/87/The_Impossible_Prison_A_Foucault_Reader.pdf.
[37] *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 95-96.

> or is it artificial? The answer to such questions must be 'Both.' The answer is ambiguous because the questions are too simple: between 'nature' and 'culture', as between work and product, complex relationships (mediations) already obtain. The same goes for time and for the 'object' in space.[38]

As Lefevbre explained, groups' structures reflect their social relations and position within the power hierarchy. In addition, these structures are productions of labor that hold values, traditions, and ideas that connect with group identity as well as values, traditions, and ideas of other groups within the power hierarchy. These cultural attributes are then formed through social and natural interactions, which allow cultural identities to be formed around such places.[39]

Without such places, people lose their social connections and meanings attributed to historically and culturally significant sites. According to noted Appalachian studies scholar Helen Matthews Lewis, "Everybody and every community, place and region needs stories, narratives, tales, and theories to serve as moral and intellectual framework. Without a 'story,' a framework, we don't know what things mean. . . . Countries, towns, nations, as well as people, require stories and may die for lack of a believable one."[40] In essence, people make decisions and interact with others throughout life within distinct places based on their cultural values, beliefs, traditions, and memories associated with these sites. Without these cultural attributes, the social framework related to such spaces is displaced, allowing humans to become disconnected from these environments.

Distinct places from the past tell humans about themselves. They provide a story of the people, the community, and their culture. These places connect a person to his/her culture. In essence, distinct places are sites where culture is lived out. They become the places in society that help people develop their own creativity, individuality, and diversity. Preservation of built

[38] *The Production of Space*, 83-84.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Bill J. Leonard, "Telling Our Stories, 1999-2010," in *Helen Matthews Lewis: Living Social Justice in Appalachia*, ed. Patricia D. Beavers and Judith Jennings (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2012), 183.

and natural environments helps people remember the past and connect with the future.[41] Robert R. Archibald writes, "Although I was raised in an old house, as a child I didn't comprehend the notion of a house outliving me. Now I think of myself as having been a temporary trustee of Thomas McKittrick's house, rather than its owner, a curator in effect of the memories that house embodied."[42] Humans should strive to be conservators, caretakers, and preservationists of places of memory within society because these places and the structures and the artifacts within those structures shape and mold our perspectives, experiences, and interpretations of the world while creating a sense of uniqueness and individuality with each person.

Historic Preservation Movements Paralleled Placelessness

In the early nineteenth century, historic preservation[43] efforts in the United States began during the Early National Period, a time when patriotism and nationalism ran high and, thus, when efforts to preserve remnants of nationalism and patriotism also ran high. The preservation movements began with white, elite men and women who had concerns about the changing ideologies and philosophies of the United States. Many of these Americans involved in the movements began to save nationalist and patriotic sites, such as Williamsburg, Jamestown, Mount Vernon, and Monticello, which they believed worthy of preservation.[44]

According to preservationists Max Page and Randall Mason, "Historic preservation has been one of the broadest and longest-lasting land-use reform efforts in this country."[45] In 1816, Philadelphia's Old State House was the first recorded preserved site during the preservation movement after it was saved from demolition.[46] Preservation of other similar sites followed. In

[41] *The New Town Square*, 22.
[42] Ibid.
[43] In the sense used throughout this thesis, preservation includes work that goes beyond saving the structure, but also includes preserving a site's place and cultural attributes, as well as a "story," or framework.
[44] Page and Mason, 3.
[45] Ibid., 3.
[46] Murtagh, 12.

1827-1828, "preservationists" repaired and restored the Newport, Rhode Island, synagogue using funds from the estate of Abraham Touro, a white Jewish American shipper. The preservation of this site was extraordinary for its time, because a minority group's religious building was preserved for future generations, even though much of the preservation movement was based on the preservation of sites related to the founders of the United States.[47]

Another victory for white, elite preservationists was the preservation of Mount Vernon in the 1850s.[48] In this battle, Anne Pamela Cunningham, a white woman from an elite South Carolinian family, founded the Mount Vernon Ladies Association in 1853 to buy the former home of President George Washington.[49] According to Page and Mason, "It was the 'first' grassroots preservation effort that demonstrated the contributions of women to public life, and, not least, it was successful."[50]

The next major step in the preservation movement was the saving of numerous sites in Massachusetts that included the Old South Church in Boston and the Old State House, where, a century earlier, many of the revolutionary values and beliefs were formed.[51] According to Michael Holleran, on June 8, 1876, "the Old South was auctioned for $1,350 as salvage. On Saturday, the buyer began dismantling the steeple."[52] The following day, a department store owner named George W. Simmons secured a delay in demolition. He hung a banner from the steeple calling for all residents of Massachusetts to save the church. According to Holleran, "Bostonians packed the building for a meeting at which [former abolitionist] Wendell Phillips invoked the centennial: 'The saving of this landmark is the best monument you can erect to the

[47] Page and Mason, 6-7.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Kate Edgar, "Ann Pamela Cunningham," Digital Encyclopedia, Mount Vernon Ladies Association, accessed February 9, 2016, http://www.mountvernon.org/digital-encyclopedia/article/ann-pamela-cunningham/.
[50] "Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement," 6-7.
[51] Michael Holleran, "Roots in Boston, Branches in Planning and Parks," in *Giving Preservation A History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, 85.
[52] Ibid., 85.

men of the Revolution.'" [53] The saving of Old South Church, proved important as the centennial of the Declaration of Independence came to pass. The sale of the structure for demolition demonstrates a change in societal values and meanings attached to this structure. Just a century earlier, the church served as a site for many of the revolutionary ideas, values, and traditions that brought the United States its freedom.[54]

The preservation of the nation's Revolutionary and founding shrines continued through the early twentieth century with sites in Virginia related to the early resettlement of the Americas next on the list. In the 1890s, Edward and Louise Johnston Perrine Barney gave the twenty-two acres of land on which they believed the Jamestown colony was founded to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA).[55] At Jamestown and other sites, the APVA did less preservation and more placing of memorials and monuments.[56] Like many sites throughout the country, memorials and monuments became important in the preservation movement, marking sites of importance to the nation's white elite history.

The preservation of Williamsburg also serves as an example of the participation of prosperous businessmen in the preservation movement. In 1926, after much "courting," Reverend William A. R. Goodwin persuaded Financer and Philanthropist John D. Rockefeller Jr. to fund the reconstruction of Williamsburg. According to James M. Lindgren, Rockefeller's financing of the Williamsburg project allowed the preservation movement's transition from "APVA's supposed amateurism" to professionalism by using architectural experts, archaeological research, and business ideas.[57] After Williamsburg, businessmen continued to

[53] "Roots in Boston, Branches in Planning and Parks," 85.
[54] Ibid., 85-87.
[55] "History of Jamestown," Jamestown Rediscovery: Historic Jamestowne, accessed February 10, 2016, http://historicjamestowne.org/history/history-of-jamestown/.
[56] James M. Lindgren, "A Spirit That Fires the Imagination," *Giving Preservation A History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, ed. Max Page and Randall Mason (New York: Routledge, 2004), 113.
[57] Lindgren, 107-108.

finance an number of preservation efforts that were important to the history of the nation. These efforts included Henry Ford's work at Greenfield Village, William Sumner Appleton's work in Boston, George Sheldon's work as president of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, and Henry Flynt's work in Deerfield.[58]

In addition, until World War II, upper class, white women continued to lead the charge for the preservation of sites throughout the United States. According to Murtagh, "women . . . were highly visible in the preservation efforts and in most cases exercised the leadership that men seemed loath to employ."[59] These women included Anna Pamela Cunningham and the Mount Vernon Ladies Association at Mount Vernon and Helen Flynt in Deerfield. Women also have preserved sites through women's groups, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution.[60]

In 1906, the United States government began legislating preservation efforts into law, with the passage of the Antiquities Act, which allowed the president to create national monuments.[61] In addition, the National Parks Service was created in 1916 to "promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments and reservations."[62] In 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt bestowed more responsibility on the National Parks Service. By executive order, he transferred 56 monuments and military sites to the National Parks Service for protection.[63]

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[58] Page and Mason, 7.
[59] *Keeping Time*, 22.
[60] Barbara J. Howe, "Women in Historic Preservation: The Legacy of Ann Pamela Cunningham," *The Public Historian* 12, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 37-39, accessed July 5, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3378321.
[61] David Stradling, "Preservation Movement," Dictionary of American History, 2003, accessed February 10, 2016, http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3401803371.html.
[62] "History of National Parks Service," National Parks Service, accessed February 10, 2016, http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/history.htm.
[63] Ibid.

According to Murtagh, after World War II, the U.S. "government and the private sector became more interwoven than ever in dealing with preservation."[64] In 1947, the establishment of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings became the first step toward a national preservation organization. In 1948, Frederick L. Rath, Jr., the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings first executive director, prepared a charter bill to submit to Congress for the creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. On October 17, 1949, the U.S. Congress unanimously passed Rath's bill. Truman signed the bill on October 26, 1949, creating the National Trust for Historic Preservation.[65] The creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation unified the historic preservation movement from a sporadic movement to a national movement.[66]

During the 1960s, the historic preservation movement changed due to overwhelming societal and economic changes that led to an increased call for the preservation of sites all across the United States. The 1960s brought economic and social change to the whole nation with the passage of two historic federal laws. The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 allowed the construction of new highways, by-ways, and roads across the United States. The earlier invention of the automobile and subsequent infrastructure changes in the United States allowed Americans to travel more freely. In 1956, United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act that "authorized $35 billion dollars of public monies for 41,000 miles of highway," causing an enormous amount of construction during the 1960s.[67] According to Nancy A. Finney, "the Federal-Aid Highway Act created highways which were often built through the

[64] *Keeping Time*, 25.
[65] Ibid., 27-29.
[66] Nancy A. Finney, "Historic Preservation Act of 1966: Past, Present, Future," *SPNHA Review* 10, no. 1, article 6 (2014) 2, accessed May 15, 2016, http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/spnhareview/vol10/iss1/6.
[67] Ibid., 1.

heart of many downtown districts and cities."[68] From this point forward, many Americans had new destinations to travel to including national parks and landmarks. According to C. Brenden Martin, the "modern car tourism" era allowed many residents of communities to have more entrepreneurial opportunities as well as market their local communities to the nation.[69] Many small businesses opened along new infrastructures across the United States. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was passed due to some of the Civil Rights Movements of the 1950s and 1960s, brought mass widespread change in the American social fabric through integration. The Civil Rights Act and the Civil Rights movement, in general, combined with the increased ease of mobility, caused many white affluent Americans to move from inner cities to suburbs, while minority cultural groups fought for their rights in major cities of the county to bring equality in education, employment, and social justice.[70] According to Finney, "The migration of economically affluent persons caused a divestment of Community [sic] groups rallied [sic] together to save their downtown communities from destruction due to highways, demolition of important places and abandonment. Eventually the work of preservationists culminated in the Historic Preservation Act of 1966."[71]

In 1966, Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Bill and for the first time in the preservation movement, the government became involved in setting federal policy for preserving the nation's heritage.[72] This law established key policies that transformed the preservation movement, including a partnership between the federal and state governments, as well as between federal and American Indian tribes. The act also created the National Register

[68] "Historic Preservation Act of 1966," 1.
[69] "'It's a Whole Lot Easier to Pick Tourists than to Pick Cotton': The Economics of Modern Tourists in the Mountain South," in *Tourism in the Mountain South: A Double-Edged Sword* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 106.
[70] Finney, 2.
[71] Ibid., 4.
[72] Murtagh, 31.

for Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks Programs; established the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation and the role of Certified Local Governments with the state; charged Federal Agencies with responsible stewardship; and mandated the selection of qualified State Historic Preservation officers.[73] Each of these key policies helped provide stability to historic preservation in the United States by creating a professional preservation atmosphere.

The commitment of the United States government to the preservation movement provided national standards and policies for evaluating sites for preservation efforts. In addition, the national preservation legislation created a national incentive to preserve sites of historical and cultural significance. This commitment also opened up the preservation movement to the inclusion of more sites related to state and local communities.

In 1977, the National Trust for Historic Preservation increased its commitment to state and local communities by creating the National Main Street Center Program. According to the "History of Main Street,"

> In 1977, concerned about continuing threats to traditional commercial architecture in economically declining downtowns across America, the National Trust for Historic Preservation launched the Main Street Project. The three-year demonstration project was designed to study the reasons so many downtowns were dying, identify the factors affecting downtown's health, and develop a comprehensive revitalization strategy to save historic commercial buildings. [74]

The Main Street program encourages local communities to revitalize their downtowns through preservation efforts. In 2013, the National Main Street Center became an independent subsidiary of the National Trust, allowing it to work independently throughout the United States and bring even more services to state and local communities. In 2015, this program expanded to include the Main Street America program. The National Main Street Center encouraged communities to

[73] "National Historic Preservation Act of 1966," National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, accessed February 10, 2016, http://www.ncshpo.org/resource/national-historic-presevation-act-of-1966/.
[74] National Main Street Center Program, National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed June 7, 2016, http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/the-center/history.html#.V1bUwJErLIU.

develop programming to connect and unify the community within the community centers, downtowns districts, or Main Streets, as well as to promote an economically vital core to the community.[75]

Historic Preservation's Connection to Heritage Tourism

In the United States, historic preservation movements have supported a specialized kind of tourism, called heritage tourism, which simultaneously has helped communities remain cohesive through sustaining local economic growth and connecting local residents and tourists to their past, present, and future.[76] According to Norman Tyler and Ted J. Ligibel, and Illene R. Tyler, "There is an important link between preservation and tourism that is sustained by three major reasons people become tourists: for rest and recreation, to view great natural sights, and because of an interest in achievements of the past. Historic preservation can serve as an important form of tourism that brings economic benefits to a community."[77] Furthermore, Matt Grimley observes, "Tourists are no longer the byproduct of historic preservation; they are mechanisms by which it happens."[78] Many American communities use historic preservation as a mechanism to bring tourists to the community. Historic preservation can bring economic benefits to communities through a variety of different ways and can serve as a unifying force within the community.

Historic preservation connects with heritage tourism on different levels. First, heritage tourism can provide the revenue to preserve older and historic buildings within a community,

[75] National Main Street Center, Inc., accessed May 16, 2016, http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street/the-center/#.VzoA2JErLIV.
[76] As with other terms, heritage tourism has many definitions from a number of different scholars. According to Dallen J. Timothy, "Some people define heritage tourism simply as people visiting heritage places or viewing historical resources. Others suggest that a personal connection to the objects or places being viewed is what defines heritage tourism." *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction,* 3.
[77] *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice,* 2nd Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009), 321.
[78] "Walking the Walk of Preservation: Experiencing Appalachia's Past," 15.

which allows small business owners and entrepreneurs to remodel, restore, and/or renovate places of memory in local communities, rather than constructing new modernized and standardized buildings. Tourism revenues also promote job creation and regional economic growth through the increase in tax revenues.[79] In the adaptive reuse concept, business owners can retain unique architectural features, as well as learn stories, memories, cultural values, beliefs, and traditions attributed to these structures.[80] Business owners may choose to consult community members about the important characteristics of distinct places within the community, while also viewing photos, listening to stories, and connecting with residents' ideas on the importance of the structure. Understanding cultural phenomena within their places allows owners to preserve cultural attributes for the future, as well as to adapt cultural attributes into new ideas and themes that can help connect the future residents within a community with the remodeled, restored, and/or renovated places of memory.[81]

One example of adaptive reuse in Washington County is the Old Pilot Hill General Store, a 1902 general store building in the Philadelphia Community, which Donnie and Denise Hall have transformed the into a restaurant. Few community members remember the building as the store that closed in the 1930s, yet the community has used the building in a variety of ways over the last seventy-five years.[82] The current business owners remodeled the restaurant's interior and exterior to look like the original store but added tables and chairs throughout for customer seating. In this case, research and conversations helped recreate a bygone era and allow

[79] Timothy, 166.
[80] According to the Los Angeles Conservancy, adaptive reuse is "The conversion of a building to a use other than that for which it was originally designed, optimally, respecting the historic features of the building." This process can include the processes of restoring, renovating, and remodeling existing structures and buildings for use as new businesses or organizations that were not the original intent for the building or structure's purpose.
[81] Archibald, *A Place to Remember: Using History to Build Community*, 24-25, 130, and 156.
[82] Madison Mathews, "Reviving the Old General Store in Philadelphia Community of Washington County," *Johnson City Press*, February 6, 2012, accessed June 7, 2016, http://www.johnsoncitypress.com/Local/2012/02/06/Reviving-the-old-general-store-in-the-Philadelphia-community-of-Washington-County.

community members a "trip down memory lane" while providing a new experience for others.[83] In the end, Old Pilot Hill General Store has provided a gathering spot for residents of the community as well as a place to sit and eat for tourists and visitors to Washington County, along Highway 107. Another example that will be discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5 is the McKinney Center in Jonesborough, which the town has transformed into an art center from the segregated Booker T. Washington school.

Second, the revitalization of local community spaces helps add sites for residents and tourists to enjoy. According to Timothy, there are many positive impacts of combining culture, heritage, and tourism, including revival of lost or declining elements of culture, among them are dancing, storytelling, music, cultural pride, and the arts.[84] One popular revitalization project that promotes community members' health is the rails-to-trails project that converts abandoned rail lines into usable walking and biking trails. These rails-to-trails projects provide new spaces for hiking, biking, and walking as well as for social connections with other residents and nature. In many cases, unique businesses open in distinct places along these rails-to-trails. For example, bicycle shops usually provide rentals and shuttle services for users of the trails. Betsy Bikes opened on August 9, 2014, just prior to the opening of the Tweetsie Trail from Johnson City to Elizabethton on August 30, 2014. Another bicycle shop located not far from the trail has opened called Hampton Trails Bicycle Shop.[85] According to John Thompson's "Trail of Success: Tweetsie Boosts Business at Area's Shops," Hampton Trails Bicycle Shop also has seen an increase in business because of the trail's opening.[86]

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[83] Mathews.
[84] *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction*, 157-58.
[85] John Thompson, "Trail of Success: Tweetsie Boosts Business at Area's Shops," *Johnson City Press*, January 26, 2016.
[86] Ibid.

Another example of revitalizing local communities is the opening of third places. Coffee shops and other businesses provide places for community gatherings, and a place for the exchange of culture and art forms, such as storytelling, music, and dancing. Members of the community have a place to sit, relax, and talk to other members, as well as a place to play games and organize community events. In each of these instances, community members and tourists can connect with the world around them. The preservation of cultural sites, as well as the attributes attached to them, provides a foundation where new ideas, values, beliefs, traditions, and memories can thrive. For example, in December 2015, Historic Jonesborough welcomed a coffee shop called The Corner Cup that intends to become a gathering place for community members. The Corner Cup opened in the old Town Hall, a place of gathering in the town's history.[87] In addition, other coffee shops, such as the Willow Tree in downtown Johnson City, have continued to thrive as places of gathering. In many instances, these shops also occupy restored buildings.

Finally, historic preservation creates a foundation for heritage tourism programs within communities. The preservation of distinct places related to a community's culture and history should be promoted for tourists to view, interpret, and connect with these places. In many of these cases, tourists are the intended audience and reason for historic preservation to take place, but residents should also be in the conversation and be able to view, interpret, and connect with these places. Historic surveys and interviews allow information about sites within a community to be preserved for the next generation as well as collect needed information on sites within a community to start a heritage tourism program. Surveys and interviews can lead to other means of preservation such as historic markers, maps, and even the creation of set historic boundaries

[87] Lisa Whaley, "Open for Business: Coffee Lover Wants to Serve Perfect Cup--- Every Time," Jonesborough *Herald and Tribune*, December 2, 2015, accessed February 29, 2016, http://www.heraldandtribune.com/Detail.php?Cat=LOCALNEWS&ID=62304.

called historic districts.[88] Other sources of information for heritage tourism program creation are Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, created from the mid-1800s to the present day. These maps show materials with buildings were built with as well as the location of buildings within towns. The Sanborn maps help preservationists understand building materials, architectural features, and town layouts, and identify distinct places within communities.[89]

The creation of historic districts provides tourists and residents defined areas designated as culturally and historically significant to visit, interpret, shop, and connect with the past. In these areas, buildings are preserved and protected for future generations. Historic districts, in most towns and cities, are downtown areas, which community officials designate as historic districts because the community hopes to improve economic conditions by relying on increased sales tax revenue from unique small businesses that operate in historic downtown buildings. In many cases, tourists who visit these areas to see historic sites typically spend money on anything from gas and food to souvenirs and other products. Coffee shops, antique stores, and boutiques provide creative and unique products and events to draw residents and tourists alike.[90] In these cases, the merchants and officials come together to create events and celebrations to bring people downtown. Many of these events are based on historic and/or cultural events and traditions unique to the specific area. For example, Jonesborough Days is an event celebrated over the Fourth of July weekend in the Town of Jonesborough. This event was based on the sesquicentennial celebration of July 4, 1930. The celebration commemorated the history of the town and its surrounding communities with a parade and other events.[91]

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[88] Murtagh, 125-126.
[89] Tyler, Ligibel, and Tyler, 205.
[90] Ibid.; Timothy, 157-158; and Oldenburg, 42.
[91] Lorraine Rae, "Jonesborough," in *History of Washington County, Tennessee*, ed. Joyce and W. Eugene Cox (Johnson City, Tennessee: Overmountain Press, 2001), 622.

Conclusion

Placelessness is not a new phenomenon, but continues to be seen within American culture. A possible strategy to the problem of placelessness is the preservation of distinct places within local communities. Preservation of places of memory also allows the preservation of the cultural attributes connected to these sites. As shown throughout this chapter, scholars such as Glassberg and Relph, who have contributed most to the discourse on placelessness, connected societal changes due to modernization of communities across the United States over the last one hundred years to a sense of placelessness. However, preservation movements have been used to save cultural and historically significant sites that Americans associated with the past, which also can help alleviate a sense of placelessness in local communities. The balance between placelessness and preservation continues to evolve and each community that undertakes the cause must determine how to balance the two. In addition, the continual rise in the cost of preservation requires a creation of an economic benefit for these communities. Heritage tourism programs allow these communities to promote their unique culture, diversity, and history to the visiting world, as well as to gain sales tax revenues.

CHAPTER 4
EVOLUTION OF PRESERVATION AND HERITAGE TOURISM IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

> The history of tourism in Washington County points to a bright future. As we enter the twenty-first century, the impact of the tourism industry will play a key role. Visitors will have more disposable income and be seeking new travel destinations with history and natural scenery playing a large part in their travel plans.
>
> --Linda J. Poland, *History of Washington County, Tennessee*

Over the past fifty years, tourism in general and specialized heritage tourism has increased across the United States.[1] Studies show that tourists who visit communities to connect with a community's past often cited genealogical research centers, cultural sites, and natural surroundings as they chose to help them connect to the past.[2] Consequently, tourism programs often include preservation of historical sites, documents, and landscapes. In this regard, community leaders in Northeast Tennessee also have been combined tourism and preservation over the last one hundred years to create a focus on specific sites integral to local history in the hopes of appealing to tourists.

Preservation and heritage tourism efforts in Northeast Tennessee communities evolved from a focus on preserving the buildings and sites valuable to one segment of the community, specifically, white upper and middle class, to preservation aimed at displaying the diverse heritage of a community that reflects varying racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds of a community. Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, leaders and civic organizations led preservation and tourism efforts in the town of Jonesborough in Washington County that resulted in the preservation of several places of memory in Jonesborough, while other Washington County communities began similar preservation work. Jonesborough's mid-twentieth century tourism

[1] World Travel & Tourism Council, "Travel & Tourism: Economic Impact 2015 United States of America," accessed March 4, 2016, https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic%20impact%20research/countries%202015/unitedstatesofamerica2015.pdf.
[2] Timothy, 55, 185, 409, 411, 476.

efforts began when town leaders, community members, and private organizations transformed Jonesborough into "Tennessee's Oldest Town." The Jonesborough Civic Trust saved several buildings from demolition, which in 1969, allowed Jonesborough to become Tennessee's second historic district to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places.[3] By creating a historic district that preserved the town's commercially built environment, prominent residences, and historically and culturally significant non-indigenous structures, such as the Christopher Taylor Cabin, in the 1970s, Jonesborough citizens, leaders, and private organizations began shaping tourism around its history.[4] These modern preservation efforts focused on sites important to business and civic leaders and residents of Jonesborough and greater Washington County. The basis for this preservation and tourism work that began in Jonesborough in 1969 actually has roots in the mid-1890s when residents reacted to the modernization that changed the landscape of Northeast Tennessee. The changing landscape prompted citizens to encourage in historic preservation activities to preserve local history that could be incorporated into a tourism program as a way to stabilize the community's vision of itself.

Placelessness' Link to Preservation in Northeast Tennessee

The scholarship of David C. Hsuing, C. Brenden Martin, and Tom Lee claimed that the opening of the area known today as Northeast Tennessee in the mid-nineteenth century to industrialization caused residents' sense of place to shift from a local focus to a regional and national focus.[5] Hsuing writes,

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[3] National Register of Historic Places, "Jonesborough Historic District Nomination Form," Word Document, October 1990, 5, First Tennessee Development District, Johnson City, Tennessee; National Register of Historic Places, "Jonesboro Historic District Nomination Form," PDF Document, December 1969, 1, http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/AssetDetail?assetID=e512fefa-afe9-45d7-9ecd-c608c0048f3c; and Wilma Dykeman, "How Jonesboro Preserved History," *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, April 29, 1972.
[4] Rae, "Jonesborough," 621,623-624.
[5] Hsiung, *Two Worlds in the Tennessee Mountains: Exploring the Origins of Appalachian Stereotypes* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 183-186; Lee, *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities: Urbanization in Appalachia,*

> One hundred years earlier [Hsuing is comparing the late 19th century to the late 18th century], the inhabitants of upper East Tennessee did not see themselves as different from one another or from those living outside the region. Threats of Indian, British and Loyalist attacks during the revolutionary period created webs of relationships that united the residents. This cohesiveness fostered a localist perspective and prompted individuals to depend on their immediate neighbors for physical, material, and psychological support. …Yet developments in the late eighteenth century set into motion events by which these people came to grow apart physically and perceptually.[6]

Hsuing's research showed that as early as the late eighteenth century, local residents had begun to feel the internal and external changes affecting Northeast Tennessee communities. In the late eighteenth century, white resettlers claimed a type of solidarity in which they worked together for the benefit of the local community against those whom resettlers considered opposing forces such as Native American attacks, the British threat, and white Tories' infiltration within their communities.[7]

Similarly, Tom Lee's writings demonstrate the continual change from a local perspective to a national perspective as the area became more open to industry. Lee posits,

> Born from a desire to integrate more fully into the vast national economy, valley towns served as gateways between two worlds. As they grew rapidly after the 1870s, they increasingly became centers of a network of nodal points drawing the rural hinterlands into the vast national economy. The entry of railroads and access to previously unavailable goods and services were reflective of the growing ties between rural communities and valley towns, but more far-reaching socioeconomic changes were underway. Even prior to the Civil War, economic distinctions differentiated the inhabitants of the valley from the inhabitants of the most mountainous sections of northeastern Tennessee and southwestern Virginia. . . . By 1953, every community in the Tri-Cities area was dependent on industrial employment to some extent.[8]

1900-1950 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005); and Martin, "To Keep the Spirit of Mountain Cultural Alive: Tourism and Historical Memory in the Southern Highland."

[6] *Two Worlds in the Tennessee Mountains*, 186.

[7] Ibid., 27-28, 55, 59-64, 104-105, 133, 146, 186

[8] *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities*, 39, 242.

Both Hsuing and Lee pointed to rapid changes in the Northeast Tennessee landscape within different periods. Lee pointed to railroad as well as residential and commercial development, while Hsuing pointed to the development of road and rail networks in and out of the area. Each of these examples shows that industrial, manufacturing, and commercial entities influenced Northeast Tennessee communities.

Many Northeast Tennessee communities welcomed the changes of progress due to the increase in employment opportunities. C. Brenden Martin concluded, "To Americans ambivalent about the rapid changes brought by industrialization, immigration, and urbanization, Appalachia represented a symbolic counterpoint to the progressive thrust of modern urban society. Searching for the source of national uniqueness, many Americans looked to the southern highlands as a source of folk heritage."[9] Yet, many Appalachian communities had become modernized.

Relying on Relph's definition of placelessness as outlined in Chapter 3, the homogenization of architecture along with the destruction, neglect, and abandonment of historically and culturally significant structures severed or at least diminished localized connections of residents to these structures. Through my analysis and application of the writings of Lee, Martin, and Hsuing to the trends in Washington County since the late nineteenth century, I concluded that residents' connection to each other and places of memory shifted from a community, or local, focus to a regional and national focus. The shift to a regional or national focus, led to the devaluing of many community stores, schools, and gathering places which in turn left these sites vacant or neglected, thus deepening the loss of material connection to these sites and creating the kind of placelessness theorized by Relph. The preservation and tourism efforts of the late twentieth and early twentieth-first centuries in Washington County sought to strengthen local economies and capitalize on perceptions of the past by reclaiming local

[9] "To Keep the Spirit of Mountain Cultural Alive," 252.

buildings. Simultaneously, historic preservation efforts helped reconnect residents to their ideas of the past by identifying historically and culturally significant structures and landscapes within their communities.

Preservation Efforts, 1890s-1960s in Washington County

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Johnson City underwent a business boom and advanced as one of the industrial centers within Northeast Tennessee. Since its beginnings in 1856 as Johnson's Depot, Johnson City sought ways to promote itself as a commercial center.[10] From railroads to manufacturing, Johnson City's industries drew people to the village. According to Ophelia Cope Daniels,

> The decade of 1880 to 1890 was one marked progress in the history of the city. Population had increased from 685 in 1880 to 4,161 in 1890. Moreover, certain services, such as street railways, telephone and telegraph services, installation of electric lights, and the establishment of gas and water works, had been instituted for the benefit of the citizenry. In addition, the three railroads which traversed the town had affected the development of Johnson City. In other words, the characteristics of a village in Johnson City had disappeared. Johnson City was well on the way to becoming a modern city.[11]

As Johnson City continued to look for new industries, tourism loomed on the horizon. Tourism in Washington County began in earnest as upper-class tourists came to view the region's natural bounty and experience its "healing" properties.[12] According to Johnson City historian Ray Stahl, "In the 1890s, Johnson City advertised itself as a summer resort."[13] Like Johnson City, many other communities in Washington County, such as Clark Springs, Sulphur Springs, and Austin Springs also marketed natural sites within their communities.[14] In marketing these sites, Clark

[10] Lee, 32.
[11] "Formative Years of Johnson City, Tennessee, 1885-1890: A Social History" (Master's Thesis, Tennessee A&I State College, 1947), 23-24, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University.
[12] Ray Stahl, *Greater Johnson City: A Pictorial History* (Norfolk, Virginia: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1983), 55, 91; and Linda J. Poland, "Tourism," in *History of Washington County, Tennessee*, 460.
[13] *Greater Johnson City*, 91.
[14] "Years of Recovery: 1870-1900," 44-45.

Springs, Austin Springs, and Sulphur Springs leaders built leisure resorts to attract tourists and visitors.[15]

Tourism began with the establishment of these resorts by local entrprenuers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, while preservation efforts began when leaders, such as Judge Samuel Jacob Kirkpatrick and U.S. Congressman Walter Preston Brownlow, organized the Historical Society of Washington County, Tennessee (WCHS) on June 8, 1895. This society's charter enumerated four purposes. "1) To collect and preserve pre-historic relics and personal items portraying the lives of the Indians; 2) To collect and preserve equipment and implements of early pioneer life in Washington County; 3) To collect and preserve the flora, fauna and geological specimens of the Territory; and 4) To preserve books, pamphlets and public documents of the County." [16] In these four elements, it is evident that these leaders placed value on local history, including that of native groups.

Kirkpatrick, a Confederate veteran and county judge, led the WCHS as its first President. With his leadership, the organization's major accomplishment was the State of Franklin celebration on August 22, 1903.[17] Stahl writes, "With thousands in attendance, Judge S. J. Kirkpatrick, president of the Washington County Historical Society, presided over the program. Rev. A. H. Doak, grandson of the Rev. Samuel Doak, founder of Washington College, gave the prayer and invocation."[18] Other prominent men from all across the state gave speeches on the Washington County Courthouse steps in Jonesborough. The Washington County Historical

[15] Tennessee State Library and Archives, Image 6975, *Looking Back at Tennessee*, 1900s, Nashville, accessed May 29, 2016, http://tnsos.org/tsla/imagesearch/citation.php?ImageID=6975; and "The Mineral Springs of Tennessee," Board of Health Bulletin 5, no. 1 (Nashville: Tennessee Board of Health, 1889), 20, accessed June 2, 2016, https://books.google.com/books?id=hp5NAAAAMAAJ&dq. Note: Sulphur Springs has also been referred to as Chalybeate Springs throughout its history.
[16] "Foreword," in *Washington County Historical Association Speeches 1987-1988* (Johnson City, Tennessee: Overmountain Press, 1993), V.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.

Society also photographed historic structures throughout the county. The portraits of prominent structures, such as the Embreeville Iron Works, adorned in the Washington County Courthouse until removed during renovations in the 1980s.[19]

The WCHS dissolved in the early twentieth century after the deaths of many of its founders, but the early twentieth century brought a notable number of lineage society chapters to Washington County. These societies focused their work on preserving the memory of white leaders and southern patriots, by placing monuments and markers throughout the county to commemorate sites of memory. For example, organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) engaged in marking sites of memory that became integral to the drawing of tourists to Washington County in later years. On February 6, 1904, fifty prominent white women of Washington County chartered the first local UDC, Johnson City Chapter #754.[20] Much of the work of the Chapter #754 in Johnson City consisted of decorating and maintaining Confederate graves throughout Washington County. On August 8, 1906, the chapter purchased four lots in Oak Hill Cemetery, Johnson City, for Confederate burials because of debates concerning burials spaces for Confederate veterans at the nearby Mountain Home National Cemetery.[21] According to Kelly Merrifield, "Confederate soldiers could not be buried in national cemeteries, nor were they afforded any benefits from the

[19] Stahl, "Foreword," V. Note: Many of these photos remain in the basement of the Washington County Courthouse in Jonesborough. These photos were removed from the lobby during renovations to this courthouse over time and are now housed in the County Clerk's Office. Many believe these photos will be moved to the Washington County Department of Archives and Records Management in the future.
[20] UDC, Johnson City Chapter #754, "History of the Johnson City Chapter #754," accessed May 28, 2016, http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnjccudc/history.html#general.
[21] "United Daughters of the Confederacy Plots at Oak Hill Cemetery," photocopies of Oak Hill Cemetery Records, in position of Elaine Scott Cantrell, Chuckey, Tennessee; and "United Daughters of the Confederacy Plots at Oak Hill Cemetery," Deed Transcription, in position of Katie Greene Walker, UDC Johnson City #754 current president, Johnson City, Tennessee.

United States government for many decades after the end of the Civil War."[22] Thus, families of Confederate veterans buried their dead in private cemeteries such as Oak Hill. In 1901, the Mountain Home National Cemetery was established as part of the Mountain Branch of the National Home for Volunteer Soldiers in Johnson City. The National Soldiers Home, now Mountain Home, became a place for aging Union veterans to live while undergoing long-term care.[23] While influencing the U. S. government to build the home, U. S. Congressman Walter Preston Brownlow cited the high number of Union soldiers who fought from the region during the Civil War.[24] The National Register for Historic Preservation added the Mountain Branch of the National Home for Volunteer Soldiers to its registry in 2011. According to the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, the site is culturally and historically significant due to the site's significance in the region's political and medical history. The Mountain Home Historic District features thirty-six contributing structures and thirty-two non-contributing structures. [25] One contributing structure, the Mess Hall built in 1902, is one of Mountain Home's most iconic buildings. This building features the clock tower that has become an emblem for the campus. The Mess Hall, a place once used for dining, currently serves as the Museum at Mountain Home, opened in the 1990s. The museum houses artifacts related to the healthcare

[22] "From Necessity to Honor: The Evolution of National Cemeteries in the United States," National Parks Service, accessed May 28, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/national_cemeteries/development.html. Note: Merrifled also discusses the burial of Confederate soldiers who died in Union prisoner of war camps in Confederate sections of National Cemeteries.
[23] Stahl, *Greater Johnson City: A Pictorial History*, 110; and Martha Trevethan, R. N. and Ken Harrison, MSW, "Mountain Home," in *History of Washington County, Tennessee 1988*, 200.
[24] National Parks Service, "Mountain Branch: Mountain Home, Tennessee," accessed March 29, 2016, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/veterans_affairs/mountain_branch.html.
[25] National Register of Historic Places, "Mountain Branch, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers Registration Form," November 23, 2010, PDF Document, 1, 4, First Tennessee Development District, Johnson City, Tennessee.

history of south central Appalachia, with exhibits on early medicine, doctors, and nursing programs.[26]

In addition to the maintenance of Confederate graves, the UDC in Johnson City also commemorated a monument at the corner of Lamont Street and University Parkway to the Confederate soldiers who trained at a camp in Johnson City. According to historian Kelli Nelson, the UDC unveiled the square stone monument during a Confederate veterans reunion held in Johnson City in the fall of 1931. [27] Nelson writes that this reunion ended later that week with a parade that stopped at the site of the new monument. Nelson suggests that the impact of the monument emphasized the significance of the creation of Confederate memory in Northeast Tennessee. Nelson states,

> The Johnson City memorial displayed the UDC's emphasis on the region's importance to the Confederacy. By claiming that the troops joined General Robert E. Lee in Virginia, the women connected the city with one of the most sainted men of the Confederacy. This image gave residents of Johnson City an important connection to the glory of the Confederacy, and legitimized the UDC's efforts in the region. The memorial also displayed the women's emphasis on teaching the next generation. Youth participation in the dedications allowed children to become a part of developing a Confederate historical memory in East Tennessee. The women of the UDC also understood that the experience would give young people a lasting, positive image of the Confederacy, and therefore they would be more likely to continue the traditions set forth by these women. Due to these and several other efforts, many East Tennesseans accepted Confederate memory as their own. A majority of East Tennesseans had supported the Union during the war, but by the 1920s, the local UDC chapters had convinced many people in the region to celebrate the Lost Cause rather than their Unionist past.[28]

[26] "The Museum at Mountain Home," Undated Brochure (Johnson City, TN: The Museum at Mountain Home), in position of author, Jonesborough, Tennessee.
[27] "'In Tongues of Stone': Civil War Monuments and the Evolution of Historical Memory in East Tennessee, 1890-1931," *The Journal of East Tennessee History* 84 (2012): 61.
[28] Ibid., 62.

Johnson City also saw the chartering of the John Sevier Chapter of the DAR on January 28, 1908, with twenty-three charter members from Jonesborough and Johnson City.[29] According to archivist and John Sevier historian Gordon T. Belt, "The National Society of the DAR believed it their patriotic duty 'to perpetuate the memory and spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence.' The Tennessee chapters of the DAR, in particular, proved instrumental in raising funds and securing land for memorials and markers dedicated to preserving Sevier's memory."[30] The John Sevier Chapter preserved the memory of patriots besides Sevier. This chapter with the Bonnie Kate and Sycamore Shoals Chapters on September 26, 1909, placed a marker to the Overmountain Men near Sycamore Shoals in Elizabethton, Tennessee.[31] In addition, the John Sevier Chapter placed a marker near Mount Pleasant, the home of John Sevier, in 1934, but listed the home as Plum Grove.[32] On July 1, 2014, the John Sevier and Sarah Hawkins Chapters of the DAR merged to form the John Sevier-Sarah Hawkins Chapter.

On March 4, 1929, Cora Kennedy organized the State of Franklin Chapter of the DAR in Jonesborough. Kennedy, a member of the John Sevier Chapter, and twenty-two other members chose the name, State of Franklin, in honor of the State of Franklin, which existed 1784-1788.

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[29] "Daughters of the American Revolution-John Sevier Collection," Biography and History, Finding Aid, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, accessed May 30, 2016, http://archives.etsu.edu/agents/146?agent_type=agent_corporate_entity.

[30] *John Sevier: Tennessee's First Hero* (Charleston: History Press, 2014), 19.

[31] S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History Illustrated* 1 (Nashville: Ambrose Printing, 1920), 413.

[32] Mildred Kozsuch, "Preface in Bicentennial Print," in *Life of General John Sevier* by Francis Marion Turner (Johnson City, Tennessee: Overmountain Press, 1997), IX. Note: In recent years, some have tried to change the name to Mount Pleasant, but attempts have not been successful. Even so, Mildred Kozsuch wrote, "The Washington County Historical Association has purchased a metal casting with the inscription, 'Mount Pleasant," to cover, 'Plum Grove.'"

The State of Franklin Chapter placed historical markers on the Jacob Brown gravesite, the Chester Inn, and the Davey Crockett Birthplace.[33]

Community events also played a significant role in the preservation and tourism movement in Washington County. On August 12-17, 1912, the town of Jonesborough celebrated "Homecoming" in an observance of the laying of the cornerstones of the new Washington County Courthouse to be built in 1913.[34] This celebration, led by many of the leading the town's civic leaders, offered a way to celebrate the past as well as to prepare for the future. The Jonesborough Homecoming Committee sent out a printed invitation to as far away as New York City that included a photograph of the matriarchs of Jonesborough in front of the Old Mill Spring with the phrase, "Whoever drinks at the Old Mill Spring is sure to come back and drink again."[35] The Old Mill Spring had no life-prolonging superpowers or minerals but become a cultural site from which anyone – white and black, upper and lower class – could drink. Thus, the townspeople created memories, traditions, and values that these people associated with the town's history and landscape when thinking of the Old Mill Spring.[36] The event spanned multiple days and included baseball games, recitals, barbecue, and a parade.[37]

The DAR State of Franklin Chapter played a significant role in the activities of the sesquicentennial celebration, chaired by Judge Samuel Cole Williams, on July 4, 1930, in Jonesborough. The chapter placed two markers at the Washington County Courthouse during the event. These markers included the Boone Trail marker on the east side and the memorial fountain marker in front of the courthouse, which commemorated the establishment of the county

[33] "State of Franklin Chapter," Daughters of the American Revolution, accessed May 30, 2016, http://www.tndar.org/~stateoffranklin/.
[34] Dorothy W. Wood, "Celebrations and Fairs," in *History of Washington County*, *Tennessee*, 437.
[35] Wood, 437.
[36] W. Eugene and Joyce Cox, *Jonesborough: The Town and Its People* (Jonesborough, Tennessee: Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, 2008), 21.
[37] "100 Years Ago--- The 1912 Jonesboro Home Coming," *The Link*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (Summer 2012): 3.

and the town of Jonesborough. After these markers were unveiled, a parade featuring 150 floats entertained residents and guests and concluded with a reunion of the Dungan Boys, graduates of the Holston Male Institute.[38]

During the period from 1920 to 1970, three men, Charles Marion Bennett, Judge Williams, and Paul Mathes Fink, and one woman, Mary Hardin McCown, spearheaded the Washington County preservation movement with their work in local history. In the last eighty years, local historians have considered Mary Hardin McCown's and Paul Mathes Fink's works as final authorities on many of the local history topics related to Washington County. McCown worked in a variety of ways to preserve Oak Hill Cemetery in Johnson City. As president of Oak Hill Cemetery Association, she kept the records for the cemetery on index cards and stapled obituaries to them.[39] In 1935, she began a project with the Tennessee Emergency Relief Administration and then the Works Progress Administration to document and index Washington County records in the Washington County Clerk's basement vault. From this project came one of several books she authored throughout her career, *Washington County Lists of Taxables, 1778-1801*.[40] The WPA project, known as the "Jonesboro[ugh] Project" by many, brought work to women of the county and brought the first wave of preservation of the county's records that eventually led to the formation of the Washington County Department of Records Management and Archives on July 1, 2011.[41]

Another influential citizen in the preservation movement, Judge Williams, a prominent attorney in Washington County who had collected material on early settlers of East Tennessee

[38] Rae, "Jonesborough," 622.
[39] "Oak Hill Cemetery Records, 1912-2010," Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.
[40] The original manuscript is housed in the Washington County Courthouse's County Clerk's basement vault.
[41] See Mary Hardin McCown Collection, 1790- 1985, Series 1: Historical Files, 1866- 1985 and undated, Box 36, Folder 11: Works Progress Administration (WPA): Travel Voucher, Correspondence, etc., 1935-1940, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee, for more information on this project.

since 1893, authored several articles and books on East Tennessee and Washington County. Williams became chair of the Tennessee Historical Commission in 1941, where he promoted the Tennessee Historical Markers and the Tennessee Historic Sites programs.[42] Through this work, Williams worked to purchase the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site in Johnson City as a state historic site in 1944. According to a deal worked out between the state of Tennessee and brothers Lawson and Samuel Simerly, who had been living on the property, the state allowed the brothers to remain on the property until their deaths, while state officials had access to the property to repair the spring and plant trees and shrubs. State officials did not gain the right to enter the main home or the law office until the Simerly brothers passed away in 1962, at which time, the state became full owners of the property. Today, the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site contains eleven buildings and forty-four acres of land owned by the state of Tennessee. Curators interpret the old farm as the Col. John Tipton and Confederate Senator Landon Carter Haynes property, which allows the site to be interpreted from many major periods of history spanning the State of Franklin to the Civil War. One important interpretation related to Washington County history included the Battle of the State of Franklin that took place on the site.[43]

Williams used his business associations in Johnson City to help support his community activities and enhance his reputation. According to Lee,

> Williams came to Johnson City from Jonesboro, Tennessee, in 1892 and established a law practice that eventually included such important clients as George L. Carter. He parlayed business contacts made through his law practice into investment opportunities. As a businessman, he held extensive real estate around Johnson City, owned the city's trolley system, once owned the city's power system, and joined in numerous ventures including banks, a wholesale hardware firm, the Empire Furniture Company, and the John Sevier Hotel – the

[42] Frank B. Williams Jr., "Samuel Cole Williams," *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture Version 2.0*, accessed May 30, 2016, http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1515.
[43] Leigh Ann Gardner, "Tipton-Haynes Historic Site: History, Condition Assessment & Maintenance Recommendations," 11, 14-15, accessed May 30, 2016, https://leighanngardner.files.wordpress.com/2011/11/hsr-tipton-haynes.pdf.

largest hotel between Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Roanoke, Virginia, in the 1920s.[44]

Williams' local reputation helped establish his historical writings as authoritative in the local, state, and regional realm, even though Williams' work was typical of many of his time, in that he focused on the positive actions of whites and mostly ignored the standpoints of blacks and American Indians. Williams did not include Cherokee and African-American perspectives in his writings and used typical imagery and language related to minorities of the period. For example, throughout the *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History,* Williams used the word "savage" to refer to Cherokee and only in ten instances did he refer to an African American – in each of those, he used the then contemporary term of "negro."[45]

In addition to local works of history, cemetery surveys filled in much history about individuals and contributed to preservation efforts in Washington County. Charles Marion Bennett, a local historian of Jonesborough published cemetery surveys that he began in the 1940s. Prior to his work, the Works Progress Administration conducted some cemetery surveys in the county, but his record of Washington County cemeteries became the basis for further cemetery data that are used today.[46] Bennett also deserves credit for saving the historic Chester Inn in Jonesborough in 1945. On November 12, 1945, an article entitled, "More about Saving the Old Chester Inn," appeared in the Jonesborough *Herald and Tribune.* In this article, Professor Charles Hodges of East Tennessee State Teachers College wrote about the plans to demolish the Chester Inn. He wrote, "The current rumor that the historic Chester Inn, the oldest building in Jonesboro, is probably to be torn down to make way for some sort of business structure should

[44] *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities*, 63.
[45] *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, Tennessee: Watauga Press, 1937), 82, 105, 143, 144, 221, 323, 324, 398, 420, 481, accessed May 30, 2016, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=inu.32000007751508;view=1up;seq=11.
[46] Lorraine Bennett Rae, "Preface," in *Washington County, Tennessee Tombstone Transcriptions Plus Genealogical Notes* 2, by Charles Marion Bennett and Watauga Association of Genealogists, compiled by Lorraine Bennett Rae (Nashville: TRAECO Printing, 1977), III.

be deep concern to all citizens of Jonesboro and Washington county, and indeed, to the people of the entire State."[47] Hodges continued,

> Surely our neighbors in the beautiful county-seat town must realize that their chief material asset, the one thing that lends distinction to the town, is to be found in its historic monuments. Remove these things form Jonesboro, and the village will become simply another way-station on the Southern Railway between Johnson City and Knoxville. The text-books may still record that it is "the oldest town in Tennessee," but the visible witnesses to that fact will be so few that the tourist and vacationist will have no reason to lesson the speed with which thy hurry on to a more inviting stopping-place. . . With less outlay of cash, the old Inn could be put in good repair and converted into a combined historical shrine into a combined historical shrine and museum for Jonesboro and Washington county, which if properly planned and supervised, would attract visitors and antiquarians from far and near and, with a nominal admission-fee, would bring in sufficient revenue to keep the shrine in permanent vogue and ever-increasing popularity. Incidentally, also it is obvious that anything that cause tourists to "stop and look" is also certain to induce them to linger to eat, drink and make purchases in the local establishments.[48]

In 1945, Bennett, lawyer Jess G. Smith, and merchant Justus T. Whitlock purchased the inn. By 1950, Bennett had bought out both men, renovated the historic inn to house apartments and sublet the apartments to boarders. Today, the Chester Inn Historic Site and Museum, the oldest commercial building in Jonesborough, has developed into an important educational site in Jonesborough where visitors can step back in time while viewing the interpretive parlor, dining room, and guest room as well as the museum. In 1797, Dr. William P. Chester built the Chester Inn as an inn for travelers including Presidents Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson on the Great Stage Coach Road.[49] Since its opening by the State of Tennessee in 2011, approximately 50,000 visitors toured this historic building and the exhibits created by the

[47] "More about Saving the Old Chester Inn," Jonesborough *Herald and Tribune,* November 12, 1945, Jonesborough-Washington County History Museum and Archives, Jonesborough, Tennessee.
[48] "More About Saving the Old Chester Inn."
[49] Poland, 459.

Heritage Alliance.[50] As the first historic site to be preserved and renovated in Jonesborough before the Jonesborough preservation boom of the 1960s, the National Register of Historic Places added the Chester Inn to its register as a contributing structure in the Jonesborough Historic District in 1969.[51]

Paul Mathes Fink, another local historian and avid outdoorsman, led the creation of the Appalachian Trail, served on the Board of Managers from 1925 to 1949, and published several books on hiking and backpacking.[52] Fink's primary interest in local history remained his hometown of Jonesborough. For three decades beginning in the 1940s, Fink acted as Jonesborough's historian, despite not having a degree in history. His book, *Jonesborough: The First Century in Tennessee's First Town*, became the bible of Jonesborough's history, even though he left out many of the perspectives of African Americans, American Indians, and women, which was normal for the time in which he was writing.[53] According Fink's daughter, Elizabeth Fink, who authored her father's biography, Fink served as the official Washington County historian and a "prime mover in the Historic Jonesborough restoration program."[54]

Preservation Efforts, 1960-2000 in Washington County

The 1960s brought economic and social change to the whole nation, as well as to Washington County. With the passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act, new highways, by-ways, and roads opened new internal and external transportation routes, while the Civil Rights Movement saw the rise of minority groups seeking civil rights and liberties guaranteed to all Americans. By the 1950s and 1960s, Johnson City became the commercial center for

[50] Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, "Heritage Alliance Attendance Numbers," Excel Spreadsheet, accessed December 21, 2015.
[51] National Register of Historic Places, "Jonesboro Historic District Nomination Form," 7.
[52] "Fink, Paul M.," Biography and History, Finding Aid, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, accessed May 30, 2016, http://archives.etsu.edu/agents/1721?agent_type=agent_person.
[53] *Jonesborough: The First Century in Tennessee's First Town* (1972; repr., Johnson City, Tennessee: Overmountain Press,2002).
[54] Ibid.

Washington County leaving Jonesborough with a void to fill. Jonesborough's economy, like those of many small towns, declined due to businesses moving locations and new businesses appearing in new locations. According to Lee, commercial migration caused businesses to begin

> sprouting along main arteries and locating at points near new residential sections in a pattern of ribbon development. Moreover, the nodes of shopping centers and markets made shopping increasingly convenient in the suburbs. Residential, commercial, and even industrial sprawl all reinforced one another at the expense of traditional central business districts that had for so long served as the common wellhead for whatever unity of development and thought had existed in the Tri-Cities.[55]

In the 1960s, the Tennessee Department of Transportation reconstructed U. S. Highway 11-E to bypass downtown areas, including Jonesborough, Johnson City, and Greeneville, in neighboring Greene County.[56] The new bypass continued to bring traffic to the Jonesborough area, but led right into the heart of Johnson City. According to Lorraine Rae, "The town was on a major highway, U. S. 11-E and drew some business from visitors, but most of them went to the younger, more vibrant, Johnson City."[57] In addition to the new highway, Lee writes, "Along new access highways, bypasses, and existing major thoroughfares spilled a growing plethora of urban fringe development and subdivisions."[58] These developing commercial and residential areas drew visitors and residents away from the prominent centralized districts used in times past.

Thus, these changes caused Jonesborough officials, community members, and merchants to look for something to supplement the town's economy. In 1965, the Tennessee Legislature passed the Enabling Bill for Historic Preservation, which allowed the town to seek funding and

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[55] *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities*, 228.
[56] Sain Associates, Inc., "Transportation Planning Report: Proposed Northern Connector from US-11E (State Route 34) West to US-11E/321 (State Route 34) East, Greeneville, Greene County," Tennessee Department of Transportation, May 2006, accessed May 30, 2016, https://www.tn.gov/assets/entities/tdot/attachments/studies-GreeneNorthernLoopConnector.pdf.
[57] "Jonesborough," 621.
[58] *The Tennessee-Virginia Tri-Cities*, 228.

legal authority to save its downtown.[59] After the passage of the bill, town leaders, community members, and private organizations began transforming Tennessee's Oldest Town into a tourist attraction by creating a historic district in 1969.[60] The efforts of the Jonesborough Civic Trust and the Historic Jonesborough Foundation saved many of the buildings within the new historic district important to those who held and had held power in the town. Throughout the preservation movement, the preservation of structures that reflected the town or city's power hierarchy, as opposed to reflecting the lives of the ordinary person, was common. In 1969, the town of Jonesborough hired Dr. Richard W. Hale, Jr. to conduct a study and plan for the future.[61] In 1971, Hale published his plan, *Jonesboro Historic District Report*, which urged Jonesborough to consider its uniqueness and make decisions toward the preservation of the historic district.[62] These decisions included determining historically and culturally significant buildings that should be interpreted as well as the boundaries of the historic district.

In 1972, James Wagner and the Tennessee State Planning Office issued another report entitled *Historic District Plan*, which emphasized Hale's ideas and answered several of Hale's questions. Wagner's report emphasized the importance of community support and response including the founding of the Jonesborough Civic Trust and the renewed focus of the Jonesborough Planning Commission, which became the Historic Zoning Commission, to work together to provide and maintain a preserved Jonesborough.[63] Wagner went further by stating, "all citizens, societies, and the public and private institutions have certain responsibilities" in the implementation of successful programs.[64] Wagner categorized these responsibilities into four

[59] Rae, "Jonesborough," 623.
[60] Ibid.,621,623-624.
[61] Dykeman, "How Jonesboro Preserved History."
[62] *Jonesboro Historic District Report* (Jonesborough, TN: Town of Jonesborough, 1971), 1.
[63] Tennessee State Planning Office, *Historic District Plan* (Johnson City, Tennessee: Upper East Tennessee Office. Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1972), 9, 71.
[64] Ibid., 3.

major categories that include individuals' responsibility to preserve their heritage for future generations; landowners' responsibility to understand the historic value of their property and restore said property to the best of their abilities; government's responsibility to help in the preservation of sites through enacting legislation to regulate and monitor such programs; and historical societies and other organizations' responsibility to participate in and promote preservation plans within a region or community.[65]

The Tennessee State Planning Office issued another report in 1977, in which the planning office staff reemphasized Wagner's visions and goals mentioned throughout his 1972 report. By 1990, many of the visions of the town's tourist trade had begun to fade and in 1990, Jonesborough was part of a study that would help guide civic leaders into the next millennium.[66] *Direction 2000* was a report that determined some goals and visions for the year 2000 in Washington County, which included Jonesborough and Johnson City. *Direction 2000* researchers conducted a SWOT analysis on Tennessee's oldest town.[67] Findings include strengths and weaknesses, but very few threats, which included local politics, loss of historical integrity, loss of community uniqueness, and actions by Johnson City, and apparently, no opportunities listed. The loss of community uniqueness and the loss of historical integrity could perturb the town's identity overall.[68] Researchers documented apathy within the community as a weakness; for example had the town's citizens lost interest in this endeavor? How could the community be

[65] Tennessee State Planning Office, 3-4.
[66] Patricia C. Oldham, *Jonesborough, Tennessee Historic District Sector Plan, 1996* (Jonesborough, Tennessee: Jonesborough Regional Planning Commission, 1996), 29-33.
[67] A SWOT analysis is a planning method used to evaluate strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats involved in a project or in a business venture.
[68] Richard Hale Jr. uses the term community uniqueness throughout his *Jonesboro Historic District Report,* in which he suggests, communities have special qualities that set them a part from other communities. In *Jonesboro Historic District Report,* he uses the term, Jonesboroness, in which he refers to Jonesborough's history and historical backdrop as being a special quality for the town.

energized? These were just a few questions that officials had to answer as Jonesborough reevaluated its historic district's plan and looked toward the future.[69]

In 1996, Patricia C. Oldham wrote a report for the town entitled, *The Jonesborough Historic District Sector Plan, 1996*. This document reevaluated the town's master plan created over two decades earlier. By this time, cultural and artisan events started to be added to the town's tourism plan. This plan includes the first mention of the International Storytelling Center's construction on the site of the "circa 1940 old Farm and Supply and Lavender's Market building."[70]

The Storytelling Festival, a phenomenon in Jonesborough since 1973, became a part of Jonesborough's tourism plan.[71] From Joseph Sobel's perspective, the emphasis on storytelling has allowed the town to revive itself. Tourists who visited the town of Jonesborough saw the historic preservation efforts had begun to slow; instead, the emphasis on storytelling helped create a new sense of place within the town through a cultural art form created centuries ago.[72] According to Sobel, "No one believes that storytelling actually died any more than the town of Jonesborough died. …These precious things [the art of storytelling and the town of Jonesborough] are perceived as having been abandoned, turned from, denied, their values obscured by ignorance and neglect (which is sin). We are then invited to repent."[73]

According to Elizabeth Van Horn, "The National Storytelling Festival has enhanced the awareness of the need for historic preservation in Jonesborough, and there is recognition of the potential of the history and the small town atmosphere to attract tourists. At the same time, the

[69] Oldham, 29-33.
[70] Ibid., 44.
[71] International Storytelling Center, "History," accessed December 17, 2015, http://www.storytellingcenter.net/festival/history/.
[72] *The Storyteller's Journey: An American Revival* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 122.
[73] Ibid.

historic preservation of the town has provided the National Storytelling Festival with an idyllic backdrop for the stage of events."[74] The tents of the festival attach a cultural experience – storytelling – to a space – the town of Jonesborough. Tourists and residents, who attend the National Storytelling Festival in Jonesborough, thus have the potential to create their own memories, traditions, beliefs, and values attached to the space of Jonesborough.

In addition to economic changes, Washington County faced social changes during the 1960s. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled segregation unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas.*[75] The debate on segregation and civil rights continued throughout the nation, when President Lyndon Baines Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law.[76] In 1965, Washington County schools desegregated and closed Booker T. Washington Elementary School, which held grades one through eight.[77] The Works Progress Administration had paid for the construction of Booker T. Washington School, which opened in 1940.[78]

Since it closed in 1965, the Booker T. Washington School sat empty and abandoned until 2013, when the town of Jonesborough opened the McKinney Center at Booker T. Washington School in the newly renovated school building, now transformed into a fine arts and arts education center.[79] Through the Mary B. Martin Program for the Arts, the McKinney Center has

[74] "The Impact of Tourism on Space and Place in Jonesborough, Tennessee," 12.
[75] "*Brown V. Board of Education* Judgment," Records of the Supreme Court, National Archives and Records Administration, accessed May 31, 2016, https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/brown-v-board/images/decision.jpg.
[76] "Civil Rights Act (1964)," Our Documents, accessed May 31, 2016, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=97.
[77] Cox and Cox, 89-91.
[78] Ibid.
[79] "History of Booker T. Washington School, Former Faculty Members," "Welcome Home: McKinney Center at Booker T. Washington School" Special Edition of the *Jonesborough Herald and Tribune*, April 2013. Note: Booker T. Washington School is the third black school in Jonesborough. The previous two schools are Warner Institute, 1876-1910, and Jonesboro Colored School, or School on the Rocks, 1914 to 1940.

offered classes, on pottery, painting, photography, and even documentary filmmaking.[80] This center has allowed the town to reach out to its children. In addition, the Yarn Exchange radio show sponsored by the McKinney Center in the International Storytelling Center offers community members unique opportunities. For example, once a month, community members can read scripted readings of people's lives that are transformed into theatrical plays performed live for the public, then recorded by WETS-FM, and aired at later dates.[81]

In 1965, the Johnson City School System closed Langston High School, the county's high school for blacks.[82] African American historian Mary Henderson Alexander suggests that Langston, like black churches in Johnson City, functioned as a symbol of strength for the African American community. [83] Alexander states, "At the time, blacks did not equate the closing of their historic schools with the extermination of black culture. Today, blacks all across the South are attempting to recapture the love, unity, and togetherness once experienced on a daily basis in the close quarters of black schools. An [sic] oneness shared by teachers and students who face and fight the same ills of society is a social goal in the black community."[84] In this sense, Alexander refers to African Americans being forced to learn white dominated academic curriculum within the two school systems in Washington County.

On July 4, 1976, members of the African American community joined together to remember and commemorate their years at Langston by establishing an annual reunion. Alexander writes,

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[80] "Programming for Center Honors Mary B. Martin," and "Welcome Home: McKinney Center at Booker T. Washington School" Special Edition of the *Jonesborough Herald and Tribune*, April 2013.
[81] "Jonesborough Yarn Exchange," Historic Jonesborough, Tennessee, accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.jonesboroughtn.org/index.php/living-in-jonesborough/area-events/jonesborough-yard-exchange.
[82] Mary Henderson Alexander, "Black Life in Johnson City, Tennessee, 1856-1965: A Historical Chronology" (master's thesis, East Tennessee State University, 2001), 83-84, Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Alexander, 112-113.

> On July 4, 1976, approximately 500 sons and daughters of Langston conducted the first pilgrimage to Johnson City to honor their beloved school. Every other year for the last 24 years, like Muslims journeying to Mecca, these alumni and alumnae return home to pay homage to one of the few institutions from the segregation era that is still dear. They return to remember community, family, and friends. They remember the cohesiveness and bonding they shared in an educational environment where instructors and students, alike, faced identical struggles in a society of ostracism, finger-pointing, and racism. They remember a time when for nine months each year, five days a week, they could interact within their own private circle called Langston High School and gain strength from each other in order to fight the evils in their world.[85]

Over the last forty years, the participants in this pilgrimage created the Langston Heritage Group that focused its efforts on preserving African American memories and history within Washington County.

Today, the Langston Heritage Group remains involved in a controversial debate on the fate of Langston High School.[86] According to Tony Casey, a *Johnson City Press* reporter, the Johnson City School System has signaled its plans to abandon Langston High School, which the city currently uses as the Langston-Biddle Maintenance Center. The neglect of the building has left the facility in a deplorable condition, but many in the African American community would like to see it saved.[87] According to Michael Young of the Langston Heritage Group, "Preserving the history of Langston and what it means to the black community and Johnson City is a viable project and is worth saving."[88] Some ideas on how to preserve the building include turning the building into a museum for African American history in East Tennessee, and others see the building usable for events and programs. While the plans for Langston are still under discussion,

[85] Alexander, 83-84.
[86] See "Langston Heritage Group Collection," Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.
[87] "Fading into History? School System's Plan to Leave Langston Behind Offers No Clue to Future," *Johnson City Press*, March 12, 2016.
[88] Ibid.

the main building has been scheduled for destruction and the gym is under consideration for future use by the city.[89]

The 1960 and 1970s also saw the preserving and moving of the Christopher Taylor Cabin to Jonesborough's Main Street, as well as the founding of an archive, a genealogical society, a historical society, and a museum. First, in 1965, local citizens formed the Washington County Historical Association (WCHA) with a mission to establish and maintain a history museum for the both town of Jonesborough and Washington County. The Jonesborough Historic Museum officially opened in November of 1971, when the East Tennessee State University Teacher Corps opened a Christmas exhibit in the basement of the Washington County Courthouse. The WCHA did not have enough funding to pay a museum staff and keep the museum open on a regular basis until July 1973. In August 1979, the town asked the Jonesborough Civic Trust to help develop a new museum, this one to be located in the new Jonesborough Visitors Center to be built on Boone Street. In 1982, the Jonesborough-Washington County History Museum opened officially to the public.[90] In the 1990s, the museum became a department of the town of Jonesborough and prominent citizens and leaders of the town who helped with operation of the museum established the Friends of the Jonesborough-Washington County History Museum. In 1996, owners of the 1886 Oak Hill School, a school that educated white students of the Knob Creek Community, asked the museum board to move the school to a new site in Jonesborough. After the seven-mile move, the town of Jonesborough and local citizens restored the building from 1997 to 1999, and used it as a one-room school heritage education program.[91]

[89] Casey; Jeff Keeling, "Saving Langston," *Johnson City News and Neighbor*, March 16, 2016; and David Floyd, "Langston Forum Honors Past, Puts Focus on Future," *Johnson City Press*, April 2, 2016.
[90] Jill Sauceman, "Jonesborough-Washington County History Museum," in *History of Washington County, Tennessee*, 1105-1110.
[91] Ibid., 1105-1110.

Second, genealogists within East Tennessee organized the Watauga Association of Genealogists of Northeast Tennessee in 1971.[92] In the 1970s, Lorraine Bennett Rae, Charles Bennett's daughter, began working to complete his task of compiling a transcription of all Washington County tombstones with help from members of the Watauga Association of Genealogists. In 1977, the association published a three-volume set entitled *Washington County, Tennessee Tombstone Transcriptions*.[93] Since publication of this work, the Cemetery Survey Team of Northeast Tennessee has updated cemetery surveys across Washington County.

Third, the town of Jonesborough and the Jonesborough Civic Trust reconstructed the Christopher Taylor Cabin, originally constructed in 1777 on the current site of Hexpol Compounding in Jonesborough, on Main Street in 1974.[94] The town used the Christopher Taylor Cabin as "focal point" of its tourism efforts in the 1970s when the town marketed the cabin as the first home of President Andrew Jackson. But the moving of this building from outside the town's boundaries caused the town to create a new sense of place for people viewing this building in its current location. The building's location within Jonesborough deceived tourists into believing this building was a part of the town's landscape. Yet, its original location was on Old State Route 34, a mile southwest of the town. Today, a Tennessee Historical Marker stands in front of the cabin in Jonesborough providing the information for the previous location of the cabin. This marker states the home was located, "About one mile southwest of this location," and goes on to say, "The house was moved intact to this site in 1974 to preserve it from demolition."[95] The Christopher Taylor Cabin is no longer a "focal point" of the town's tourism

[92] "Watauga Association of Genealogists," in *History of Washington County, Tennessee 1988*, 3.
[93] Charles Bennett Rae, "Bennett-Rae," in *History of Washington County, Tennessee 1988*, 236-237; and Charles Marion Bennett and Watauga Association of Genealogists, *Washington County, Tennessee Tombstone Transcriptions*.
[94] Tennessee Historical Commission, Christopher Taylor House Tennessee Historical Marker, Jonesborough, Tennessee. January 21, 2016.
[95] Ibid.

efforts. As a consequence, the town's usage of the cabin has begun to slow, causing it to begin to deteriorate.

Finally, in Johnson City, the Archives of Appalachia on East Tennessee State University's campus continues to be a place for research. East Tennessee State University president Arthur H. DeRosier Jr. established the Archives of Appalachia in 1978, in conjunction with the opening of the Institute for Appalachian Affairs, to promote an awareness of the Appalachian region and its people. In 1984, the Archives of Appalachia began to collaborate with the newly-established Center for Appalachian Studies and Services on regional projects. In 1998, the Archives of Appalachia moved to its current location on the fourth floor of the new Charles Sherrod Library on the East Tennessee State University campus.[96] According to Amanda Marsh, a *Johnson City Press* reporter, as of 2013, the Archives of Appalachia held over "800 collections of diaries, scrapbooks, and documents," as well as "250,000 photographs and nearly 85,000 recordings" on the Appalachian region.[97] Researchers, genealogists, and historians can search repository holdings online at the Archives of Appalachia's website, but must visit the archive in person to conduct research.

According to user statistics, 419 people visited the archives and viewed 1,040 collections from July 1, 2013 to June 30, 2014.[98] In addition, 426 people visited the archives and viewed 1,206 collections from July 1, 2014 to June 30, 2015.[99] According to a 2014 survey conducted by the Archives of Appalachia, thirty-eight of 196 respondents visited the archives to conduct

[96] Archives of Appalachia, "The Archives of Appalachia: A Regional Resource," accessed March 5, 2016, http://www.etsu.edu/cas/cass/archives/about/history.php.
[97] "Archives of Appalachia Contain Wealth of Historical Information," Sunday Stories- An edition of the *Johnson City Press*, April 14, 2013; and Archives of Appalachia, accessed March 5, 2016, http://www.etsu.edu/cas/cass/archives/.
[98] Archives of Appalachia, "FY 2013-2014 Users Statistics," Excel Document.
[99] Ibid., "FY 2014-2015 Users Statistics," Excel Document.

genealogical research, while others visited for personal or scholarly research in 2014.[100] In 2015, twenty-two of 185 respondents visited the archives to conduct genealogical research. Of these respondents in 2015, nineteen were from outside of the state of Tennessee.[101]

In 1986, the state of Tennessee celebrated "Tennessee Homecoming." Throughout this celebration, each community within each county in the state celebrated its heritage through a variety of different events. Washington County was no different. Robert Archibald writes,

> I recall Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander's "Tennessee Homecoming" campaign in the 1980s. Governor Alexander used his state's history as a basis for its future. He invited everyone to "come home" to a good place, a state defined by its past and created by its history. I know the campaign, an economic development tool to attract businesses and tourists, was designed by tourism experts and marketing gurus. But it was more than that and I was intrigued. In Tennessee, history seemed important in the present, crucial to the future.[102]

Because of awareness of local history fostered by this celebration, local citizens organized two museums and added several historic sites added to the National Register of Historic Places. First, George and Margaret Sherfey Holley currently own and operate the Knob Creek Museum and Pioneer Homestead, which is a family-owned museum, in the Knob Creek Community.[103] David Preston Sherfey, who purchased the farm in 1885, bequeathed the present site of the museum to Margaret Sherfey Holley. In 1986, the Holleys' founded the museum to preserve much of Knob Creek's history.[104] The Knob Creek Museum and Pioneer Homestead is on the Tennessee Century Farms listing and a site in the Knob Creek Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places.[105] The Holleys have turned the original Duncan Cabin and Sherfey Home, as

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[100] Ibid., "Registration Survey Stats FY 2014-2015," Excel Document.
[101] Ibid., "Registration Survey Stats FY 2015-2016," Excel Document.
[102] *A Place to Remember*, 161-162.
[103] "The Knob Creek Historic District," Knob Creek Museum and Pioneer Homestead, 1997.
[104], "The Knob Creek Museum," in *History of Washington County, Tennessee*, 1111.
[105] Tennessee Century Farm, Washington County listing, accessed January 20, 2016, http://www.tncenturyfarms.org/washington-county/; and National Register of Historic Places, "Knob Creek Historic District Nomination Form," July 10, 1986, PDF Document, 2, First Tennessee Development District, Johnson City, Tennessee.

well as a CSX caboose, into the Knob Creek Museum. These buildings, together with the nearby loom house and tool shed, contain many of the Holley and Sherfey family items, as well as items related to the story of the Knob Creek Community that allow visitors a glimpse at life within this community.[106]

When visiting the Knob Creek Museum, visitors received the interesting perspective of rural life, the effects of the Clinchfield, Carolina, and Ohio Railway on the community, and the cultural values of the Knob Creek Community.[107] According to Corey Shoun, a *Johnson City Press* reporter, the museum also has received national recognition with tourists visiting from all over the nation.[108] As a privately owned and operated museum that also accepts donations, the Knob Creek Museum stands unique among other Washington County museums. While the Holley's do not curate new items, the museum still preserves, documents, and tells the unique story of one of Washington County's communities through different rooms designed to exhibit different periods and themes of Knob Creek life.

Increased awareness of local history brought about by the 1986 Tennessee Homecoming celebration led to the development of the Knob Creek Historic District. The Knob Creek Historic District, which had been neglected and destroyed by "progress," was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in July of 1986 with ten buildings and three cemeteries because of its historical significance to the early agricultural history of Washington County.[109] Within the Knob Creek community, agriculture remained a part of life and continued to keep the community afloat. Sadly, since 1986, many of these buildings have been neglected, destroyed, or relocated.

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[106] Sue Guinn Legg, "Knob Creek Museum: A Trove of 250 Years of History" *Johnson City Press*, November 3, 2013.
[107] Legg, "Knob Creek Museum: A Trove of 250 Years of History."
[108] "History Lives On Holleys' Property," *Johnson City Press*.
[109] National Register of Historic Places, "Knob Creek Historic District Nomination Form," 2.

According to an article written by Margaret Sherfey Holley in 1997, "The Knob Creek Historic District is becoming endangered by the present rush of urban sprawls, such as the Med-Tech Corridor and industrial development."[110] Since 1997, the "rush of urban sprawls" has almost completely wiped out the historic district. Of the ten buildings placed on the register, the following have been displaced: the Jacob Krouse House was moved due to construction of a medical building; the Homer Sells House was renovated into a restaurant; the George Miller House burned; the Oak Hill School has been moved to Jonesborough; the Solomon Miller House has been torn down for the Knob Creek Market Place; and the Peter Bowman House has been torn down for The Haven at Knob Creek.[111] In essence, sixty percent of the district recorded on the National Register of Historic Places does not exist, while other buildings that were not placed on the register still exist and should be included on the register, such as the Peter Miller House, built in 1885 of brick; and Joseph Bowman House, built in 1818 of brick.[112]

During the 1986 Tennessee Homecoming, the Boones Creek Community also saw a preservation and tourism movement related to sites within its bounds. In 1988, the Boones Creek Historical Trust was chartered as an outgrowth of the Tennessee Homecoming celebration. The purpose of the Boones Creek Historical Trust is to preserve, restore, and promote the history of Boones Creek. The trust organized a history museum, which it maintains in the basement of Boones Creek Christian Church, that contains oral and written accounts, artifacts, and antiques related to the Boones Creek community.[113]

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[110] Holley, "The Knob Creek Historic District."
[111] Information from Holley, "The Knob Creek Historic District," as well as personal knowledge.
[112] Holley, "Knob Creek, Tennessee: Homecoming '86 Self-Guided Tour," in *Washington County Historical Association Speeches: 1987-1988*, edited by Mildred S. Kozsuch (Johnson City, Tennessee: Overmountain Press, 1993), 17-21.
[113] Boones Creek Historical Trust, *Bountiful Boones Creek: History, Home & Hospitality* (Johnson City, Tennessee: Shell Media, 2008), 6.

In addition to these communities' preservation movement, the 1986 Tennessee Homecoming sponsored the first official historical survey of structures to be conducted. From 1983-1986, Dale Royalty, then an associate professor of history at East Tennessee State University, conducted the first survey of the county's historical structures called *Washington County Historic Structures Survey* with funds from the Tennessee Historical Commission and the United States National Park Service. This project found at least five thousand historic structures built prior to 1931 in Washington County including Jonesborough and Johnson City through research in the county's tax records and follow-up interviews and surveys with owners of these structures. [114]

Preservation Efforts, 2000-Present in Washington County

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, much change has taken place within the preservation and heritage tourism realms. In Washington County, preservation and heritage tourism efforts have become more professional, as well as more culturally diverse in nature through promotion of lives, events, and structures that link to the African American community. In Washington County, Elaine Scott Cantrell conducted the second historic survey, when she set out on a mission to take photographs of every church in Washington County, recording its location and documenting its existence with visual imagery. On this mission, she discovered more in Washington County than only churches and explored the county roads for three years, photographing, recording and documenting the existence of older structures. Today, Cantrell's survey, *Washington County, Tennessee Churches and More*, contains approximately thirteen thousand photos of Washington County's old homes, railroads, roads, creeks, rivers, schools, and

[114] Dale Royalty. "Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Historic Structures in Washington County." In *Washington County Historical Association Speeches: 1987-1988*, 51. The Archives of Appalachia houses Royalty's survey. See "Washington County Historic Structures Survey Project," Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.

other sites. Stored in a printed twenty-four-volume set of three-inch notebooks in her home, the photographs include data about sites throughout the county.[115]

Cantrell's work did not end with this survey. She also made significant strides as part of the Cemetery Survey Team of Northeast Tennessee. In the early twentieth-first century, a renewed interest in the preservation of county cemeteries began when Betty Jane Hylton, Elaine Scott Cantrell, Donna Cox Briggs and others who had been surveying cemeteries came together to form the Cemetery Survey Team of Northeast Tennessee.[116] Since that time, almost all known cemeteries in Washington County have been resurveyed and added to the Washington County TNGENWEB page; and every tombstone has been photographed for future use. Cemeteries' GPS locations have been recorded, as well as other data related to cemeteries no longer in existence, such as some slave cemeteries and family burial sites.[117]

In recent years, Elaine Scott Cantrell documented thousands of unmarked graves throughout Washington County that she traced through research in Tennessee death records. In 1908, Tennessee mandated counties to begin recording death records. Tennessee counties maintained these records until the end of 1912, when the law expired. Tennessee then restored the law in 1914, except counties created death records and the state maintained them. Many of these records contain the name of the cemetery in which the person was buried. Ancestry.com has digitized Tennessee death records from 1908 to 1959 and placed these records online.[118] Cantrell viewed each death record for Washington County from 1908 to 1959 and made a record

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[115] Jessica Fuller, "Local Resident Captures History in 13,000 Photographs," *Johnson City Press*. January 4, 2015, accessed December 31, 2015, http://www.johnsoncitypress.com/article/123293/heritage-local-resident-captures-history-in-13-000-photographs.
[116] Donna Cox Briggs, Cemetery Survey Team of Northeast Tennessee Scrapbook, 2010, Donna Cox Briggs, Kingsport, Tennessee.
[117] "Cemeteries of Washington County, Tennessee." TNGENWEB, accessed January 6, 2016, http://tngenweb.org/washington/records-data/cemeteries/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee/.
[118] Ancestry.com. Tennessee, Death Records, 1908-1958 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.

of burial for each. Cantrell then compared these listings to current cemetery surveys, which creates an additional listing for unmarked graves to be added to the cemetery rosters, already posted on the Washington County TNGENWEB page.[119] These updates help online researchers find ancestors' burial sites within Washington County and thus encourage them to visit the site. Cantrell is not the only person helping to identify additional graves. In the last couple of years, Gordon Edwards began working with Washington County deeds to find and register cemeteries not recorded within cemetery surveys. Edwards found several cemeteries that Bennett and others did not find, including some slave cemeteries; among them are the Zachariah Lyle Burson Cemetery and the slave burial space in Rocky Hill Cemetery.[120]

Cemeteries are America's first archives and information found on tombstones throughout the country is invaluable to researchers, historians, and genealogists. Tombstones have imagery, phrases, or other information that tell about a person's life. This information may also indicate how others felt about a person and her/his place within the community. Every community within a county had to have a cemetery, whether a church, family, or community burial ground. The ideas and cultural attributes about local cemeteries shared by residents of the community help these places derive their meaning within the community. Many consider cemeteries sacred places of rest. They can also be a place to connect with family members, memories, and traditions because of the cultural rituals and cultural attachment that take place within burial grounds.

Cemeteries are considered important in different racial, ethnic, and religious groups as a part of their groups' and communities' history, but in Washington County's preservation and tourism movement, predominately white cemeteries have been preserved and used for heritage tourism efforts, while some African American cemeteries, such as College Hill, have been used

[119] Elaine Scott Cantrell, Unmarked Graves Papers.
[120] "Cemeteries of Washington County, Tennessee."

in the movement.[121] For example, The Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia has played a role in the interpretation of cemeteries in Jonesborough. "A Spot on the Hill," a historic play, written by Anne G'Fellers-Mason, told the stories of both whites and African Americans buried in their respective cemeteries. the stories of First Lieutenant Alfred Martin Ray, an African-American man who served his country as a buffalo soldier and in the Spanish-American War; and Jennie Ray, a freed slave and mother of Alfred Ray, also are told in this play, yet they are buried in College Hill Cemetery, the African American cemetery. In the white Rocky Hill Cemetery, stories focused on Confederate Brigadier General Alfred Eugene Jackson, a slaveholder, merchant and farmer; Catherine Emmerson, a schoolteacher and wife of Knoxville mayor Thomas Emmerson; Marie Breazeale, a student of Catherine Emmerson; Sarah Anne Wells, the daughter of Rev. Rufus Wells; Cadet W. H. Cox, who died at sea and was the nephew of Jonesborough banker John D. Cox; fire chief Guy Sabin; and Adeline Deadrick, the wife of Tennessee Supreme Court Justice James Deaderick. In October 2014, the first performance audiences remained overwhelming white residents of the town with 182 people attending eight performances, which included cast members portraying the lives of townspeople.[122] In 2015, the Heritage Alliance offered the play again, except in two performance and 89 attendees joined the cast in the performance of some new stories, which included the stories of Dr. Mari Hendrik Philip Panhorst, who invented Tums and was of German descent; Georgia May Stuart, a deaf African-American girl who was killed by a train; and James William

[121] Rocky Hill Cemetery is the white cemetery established in Jonesborough circa 1803, while College Hill-Evergreen Cemetery is the African-American cemetery established in Jonesborough circa 1890 by the Colored Peoples Society of Jonesboro. "Old Jonesborough Cemetery (Rocky Hill)," and "Evergreen-College Hill Cemetery," Washington County, TNGENWEB, http://tngenweb.org/washington/records-data/cemeteries/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee-o-p-q/old-jonesborough-cemetery/ and http://tngenweb.org/washington/records-data/cemeteries/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee-d-e-f/evergreen-college-hill-cemetery/.

[122] "A Spot On the Hill"--- Original Play Shares History Amongst the Tombstones, Raises Money for Tombstone Restoration," *The Link*, Vol. 13, No. 4, (Fall 2014), 1; and Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, "A Spot on the Hill Numbers," E-Mail.

Deadrick, a young white boy who was killed while playing in Rocky Hill Cemetery.[123] "A Spot on the Hill" provides the community with a look at its past through the eyes of the dead. This play is one example of professional organizations in Washington County bringing more cultural diverse stories to the interpretation of the county's history.

The Jonesborough Civic Trust, Historic Jonesborough Foundation, and the Friends of the Jonesborough-Washington County Museum in 2001 joined to form the Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia. Members organized the Heritage Alliance with the mission "to the preservation of the architectural, historical, and cultural heritage of our region and to provide educational experiences related to history and heritage for a wide range of audiences."[124] Since 2001, the Heritage Alliance has worked closely with the town of Jonesborough officials to offer preservation and educational tools for both property owners and visitors. Since 2004, approximately 150,000 people have used the Heritage Alliance's services, whether through a visit to the Jonesborough-Washington County History Museum, Chester Inn State Historic Site and Museum, or Oak Hill School Heritage Education Program, or walking tours of either the town of Jonesborough or Rocky Hill and College Hill Cemeteries.[125]

In historic sites, walking tours are critical for tourists to understand the significance of the built and natural environment. Self-guided walking tours have been an essential educational tool

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[123]Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, "A Spot on the Hill Numbers," and "A Spot on the Hill' Returns to Jonesborough Cemetery," Spotlight on The Arts, *Jonesborough Herald and Tribune*, September 23, 2015.

[124] "Organizational History." Mission. The Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia., accessed December 21, 2015, http://www.heritageall.org/about-us/. Before the formation of the Heritage Alliance, each organization performed a different task in the preservation of Jonesborough and Washington County's history. The formation of the Heritage Alliance brought together these groups under the same umbrella. The new organization also mission broadened the efforts of the organization from Jonesborough and Washington County to all of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia. The new organization also provided for a full-time staff to educate, consult, and preserve the past of the region.

[125] Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, "Heritage Alliance Attendance Numbers."

in Jonesborough since the 1970s. Even the original master and interpretive plans by Hale and Wagner provided for self-guided tours. Yet, it was not until 2014 that the Heritage Alliance started providing guided tours. Since that time, the Heritage Alliance also has started providing tours of the town's two historic cemeteries, Rocky Hill and College Hill.

The greatest opportunity any historic site can provide is to educate the next generation about its region's past. The Heritage Alliance provides numerous educational services. One example is the Oak Hill School Education Program, which allows students to experience a day in the life of a student in the school year 1892-1893. Elementary age students arrive with their lunch pails and their best 1890s dress. A schoolmarm who teaches the students arithmetic, reading, history, and geography then greets these students.[126] Another major educational site provided is the Chester Inn State Historic Site and Museum. This museum is housed on the first floor of the oldest commercial building in Jonesborough. The Heritage Alliance also provides a mix of educational programming that consists of visits to the town museums, Rocky Hill and College Hill Cemeteries, and a town tour. Students also have an opportunity to experience field trips related to educational topics such as the State of Franklin or the Cholera Epidemic of 1873. These tours provide first hand experiences within the town as well as coincide with educational curriculum.[127] In this respect, Jonesborough provides educational programming as well as preservation education. First-hand experiences help children understand the topics they are learning within the school setting.

[126] The Oak Hill School Education Program allows students to experience a day in the life of a white student during the school year 1892-1893. The term "student" used throughout the program information is used as a generic term. The program does not explain differences in school life between white and black students during the time. The Oak Hill School was a white school in the Knob Creek Community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while in Jonesborough, Warner's Institute was a black school during the same time.
[127] Town of Jonesborough, "Historic Town Tours to Return in March," "Talk of the Town" Column, Jonesborough *Herald and Tribune*, February 18, 2015.

From 2001 to 2007, the Johnson City Planning Commission and Board of Commissioners adopted sections of the *Johnson City Comprehensive Plan 2020.* This plan examines at goals and planning for the city of Johnson City from fire safety to historic preservation.[128] The *Historic Preservation Element*, adopted in 2004, reveals a new emphasis for Johnson City's preservation and tourism efforts.[129] Since 1998, Johnson City has worked on designating historic sites and districts related to a variety of cultural groups to the National Register of Historic Places, as well as beginning the preservation of the downtown area. This report sets forth the mission "to identify and protect the historical, architectural, archeological, cultural, and scenic heritage in the area in order to enhance the quality of life in Johnson City."[130] This element of the plan also has set forth six purposes for the city to incorporate in their preservation and tourism efforts. These purposes are

- To preserve the city's unique character and beauty;
- To foster community pride;
- To preserve the character and architecture of its neighborhoods, commercial districts, and rural areas;
- To enable citizens and visitors to enjoy and learn about local history;
- To promote economic viability; and
- To provide a framework for making appropriate physical changes.[131]

In the years since the adoption of this report, Johnson City has made some significant strides in preservation and heritage tourism efforts. One of the city's most notable efforts has been the Tweetsie Trail rails-to-trails project. The Tweetsie Trail Taskforce has converted the old East Tennessee and Western North Carolina Railroad bed from Alabama Street in Johnson City

[128] Johnson City Planning Department, *Johnson City Comprehensive Plan 2020* (Johnson City, Tennessee: Johnson City Planning Department, 2007), 1, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.johnsoncitytn.com/uploads/files/devservices/planning/compplan/Johnson%20City%20Comprehensive%20Plan%202020%20-%20abbreviated.pdf.
[129] Johnson City Planning Department, *Historic Preservation Element* (Johnson City, Tennessee: Johnson City Planning Department, 2004), 5, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.johnsoncitytn.com/uploads/files/devservices/planning/compplan/Historic%20Preservation%20Entire%20Document.pdf.
[130] Ibid., *Historic Preservation Element*, 5.
[131] Ibid.

to Hatcher Road in Elizabethton into a ten-mile recreational trail. According to the Tweetsie Trail Master Plan, one of the goals of the trail is to "Attract tourism and stimulate the regional economy."[132] There are numerous historical places located near the Tweetsie Trail. According to the Master Plan,

> These places fall into three major categories: Potentially Eligible Historic Sites, National Register Historic Places, and Historic Trails. There are also locally important "Points of Interest" in both [Washington and Carter] Counties that should be considered for future rail trail connections. These historic and locally important places can have a positive impact on the character of the rail trail. Identifying places of interest along the rail trail provides users with additional places to visit, enhancing their trail experience.[133]

In an effort to enhance the trail users' recreational experience, the Tweetsie Trail Taskforce built "spurs" to significant places near the trail, which in many cases, allow trail users to learn about the area's history.[134] Two of these places are East Tennessee State University (ETSU) and the Tipton-Haynes Historic Site. ETSU has played a part in the region's higher education history since its founding as the East Tennessee State Normal School in 1911. Tipton-Haynes, the site of the Col. John Tipton and Confederate Senator Landon Carter Haynes' farm, already is a Tennessee Historic Site.[135] The spurs that connect the Tweetsie Trail to these significant places provide a recreational way to convey cultural values to those who use the trail. Users of the trail see countless historic and culturally significant sites that they may not understand their significance related to the culture or history of the area.

To help users understand the significance of places along the trail, The Tweetsie Trail Taskforce is in the process of providing printed signage and digital materials on historical,

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[132]Johnson City Metropolitan Transportation Organization, *Rail Trail Master Plan,* Chapter 1: Project Background (Johnson City, Tennessee: Johnson City Metropolitan Transportation Organization, 2013), 1.
[133]Ibid., *Rail Trail Master Plan,* Chapter 2: Existing Condition, 6.
[134]A "spur" is a trail that connects a recreational, historical, or cultural site to the Tweetsie Trail. "The Tweetsie Trail," The Tweetsie Trail Historic Association, accessed December 31, 2015, http://www.tweetsietrail.com.
[135] "Building the Tweetsie Trail" Brochure, January 2014, accessed August 3, 2016, http://www.tweetsietrail.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/TweetsieTrail_brochure.pdf.

cultural, and social places along the trail that provide visitors with a taste of the area's history while walking, biking, or running the trail.[136] According to the *Rail Trail Master Plan*, "A comprehensive signage system makes a trail system memorable and creates a sense of place and ownership" for users.[137] Signage systems along trail corridors allow users of the trail to stop and read as well as visually to view photos, structures, and ideas about historic and culturally significant places.

One such site along the Tweetsie Trail is the old Milligan Depot. According to Tammy Childress, a *Johnson City News and Neighbor* reporter, the old Milligan Depot in Carter County was a "small outpost about a mile" from Milligan College built circa 1910 along the East Tennessee and Western North Carolina "Tweetsie" Railroad route and "removed after the train ceased to run."[138] In 2014, at the site of the depot, Milligan College added a modern trail stop as well as the first interpretive sign. The interpretive sign explains the history and "place" of the depot within the context of the community and railroad history and provides photos of the building and recollections of those who used the building.[139] This sign and trail stop allow users of the Tweetsie Trail to engage with the past and the cultural meanings attributed to the depot. Within the last year, a historic survey along the trail has been completed, other interpretive signs have been installed, and additional signage is in the works.

[136] In cooperation with the East Tennessee State University Department of Appalachian Studies chair Dr. Ron Roach, Department of Biological Sciences professor Dr. Fred Alsop, Department of Geosciences professor Dr. Mike Whitelaw, Masters of Arts in Liberal Studies Program student, Chad Bailey, and other students and faculty members at East Tennessee State University, the Tweetsie Trail Taskforce is in the beginning stages of identifying historical sites along the Tweetsie Trail for printed signage and digital materials about historical, cultural, and social places along the trail.
[137] Johnson City Metropolitan Transportation Organization, *Rail Trail Master Plan*, Chapter 3: Physical Master Plan, 6.
[138] Tammy Childress, "Milligan College Depot is latest Tweetsie Revival," *Johnson City News and Neighbor*, May 17, 2014.
[139] Ibid.

While Johnson City continues to make progress in its preservation and heritage tourism efforts, Jonesborough has begun to expand its historic district. From 2012 to 2014, the State of Franklin Chapter conducted a historic survey, which consisted of more than three hundred homes outside Jonesborough's Historic District and observed "47 properties with enough historical relevance or architectural integrity to potentially qualify for a spot on the National Register of Historic Places."[140] In December 2015, the town of Jonesborough Board of Mayor and Alderman yet again moved forward on reevaluating the town's master plans. On Monday, December 14, 2015, the BMA voted to hire Phillip Thomason as a consultant to study the town's historic district. Among ideas that will be examined in this study, as Lisa Whaley explained, is the "expansion of the Jonesborough's National Register of Historic Places District as well as the possible expansion of the town's historic zone." [141] Other items emphasized in the new plan will be community education and better historic zoning standards and guidelines for the town.[142]

Conclusion

Since the 1890s, those who could afford to dedicate time and funds to preservation and who controlled the narrative of the local and region's history, led preservation and heritage tourism efforts nationwide, as well as in Washington County. In addition, the preservation and heritage tourism work preserved much of the built environment valued by those who held power, which left much of the Cherokee and African-American built environment unpreserved and undeveloped until the last fifty years. Similarly, the first locally published history books left out the perspectives of the African-Americans and Cherokees, presenting these cultural groups in

[140] Sue Guinn Legg, ""Historic Jonesborough Focus of History Study." *Johnson City Press*. January 13, 2014, accessed December 31, 2015, http://www.johnsoncitypress.com/article/113857/historic-jonesborough-focus-of-history-study; and State of Franklin Chapter, DAR, Historic Survey, 2012-2014, CD-ROM (Jonesborough, Tennessee: State of Franklin Chapter, DAR, 2014), disc 1 and 2.
[141] Lisa Whaley, "Board Selects Consultant to Lead District Study," *Jonesborough Herald and Tribune,* December 16, 2015, accessed December 16, 2015.
[142] Ibid.

untrue light. As time continues to pass, preservation and tourism efforts have become more culturally diverse within Washington County. Efforts of organizations such as the Heritage Alliance, historians, preservationists, and other professionals must continue to interpret and tell the stories of the county's minority cultural groups, which will open up the area for new sources of heritage tourism. New chapters of history are beginning to be written through historical plays and research, but more work is needed in order to provide residents and tourists with a more complex and in-depth look at the county's stories. With the inclusion of more cultural stories, emphasis on groups other than whites has begun to emerge, even though more is needed. These preservation and heritage tourism efforts will allow for the development of a countywide preservation and tourism plan that will help reconnect community members, unify cultural groups, and sustain economic growth.

CHAPTER 5
BUILDING AN INCLUSIVE HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND HERITAGE TOURISM PLAN IN WASHINGTON COUNTY, TENNESSEE

An inclusive relationship in the community is not a head count but a process through which we actively seek to incorporate all of the community in the conversation of enduring issues. If we do not, the conversation is incomplete, and we will repeat the old mistake of telling exclusive stories accepted by those who tell them but marginalizing others. While total inclusion is an ideal and not an attainable goal, active efforts will result in a narrative that encompasses more perspectives and consequently represents more people and a greater consensus about the meaning of the past and the possibilities for the future.

--Robert R. Archibald, *A Place to Remember: Using History to Build Community*

The National Trust for Historic Preservation's #ThisPlaceMatters campaign allows individuals throughout the world "to shine a spotlight on the historic places that played a role in their lives."[1] The hashtag has provided individuals with a platform to voice their opinions on what places of memory should be preserved and to tell their personal stories and memories, and to share connections to places of memory through social media sites. Registered in 2008, the #ThisPlaceMatters hashtag has not sought to promote a specific tourism destination, but instead has recorded interest in culturally and historically significant structures and landscapes throughout the United States.[2] Preservation of culturally and historically significant structures and landscapes throughout Washington County that may be suitable for preservation and heritage tourism efforts also should be considered for inclusion in a countywide preservation and tourism plan.

As modernization of Northeast Tennessee changed the landscape and built environment over the last one hundred years have led to neglect of older structures that served as places of memory that linked residents to the life of their communities. Preservation and tourism projects such as #ThisPlaceMatters give residents a means to remember and reconnect with significant

[1] ""This Place Matters" Campaign Brings Historic Preservation to Twitter, Instagram," National Trust for Historic Preservation.
[2] Ibid.

sites once again. As shown in Chapter 4, the preservation and heritage tourism work of a number of citizens of Washington County – white and African American – established a basis for further studies, programming, and policies that can help develop a countywide historic preservation and heritage tourism plan that will help reconnect community members, unify cultural groups, and sustain economic growth. Here I will review some currently trending ideas with supporting statistics that may help officials build an inclusive historic preservation and heritage tourism plan in Washington County.

Every Cultural Group Matters

The inclusion of every cultural group's stories is important in the strengthening of a community. Robert R. Archibald argued that the inclusion of all relevant cultural groups in the collective memory of places within a local community allows the broadest story that shows all perspectives of events to residents and tourists. Such inclusivity helps a community achieve consensus on meanings and possibilities of particular places of memory within the community.[3] In Washington County, as well as other Northeast Tennessee counties, the discussion of minority cultural groups within the collective memory and history of the past should continue. Integration of all relevant cultural groups, among them the Cherokees, African Americans, and Hispanics, should be promoted within scholarly and layperson research and interpretation of events and sites across the county. In *Hearth & Home: Preserving A People's Culture*, George W. McDaniel examined the homes of slaves and freed African Americans. Through his examination, he found that many of these sites have been destroyed, neglected, and abandoned over time. Throughout his writings, McDaniel called for further examination and interpretation of these sites as part of the community. McDaniel maintained that inclusion of all relevant cultural groups

[3] *A Place to Remember*,156.

should allow people to "visualize the physical, domestic world" in which people live.[4] McDaniel contended that history is much more than just the study of objects, the writing of descriptions, or the photographing of sites; instead, it is about making the past come alive and creating bonds between past, present, and future generations. As McDaniel explained, social connections continue to bind people to structures and landscapes in their local communities and the same can be applied to Washington County. The preservation and collection of meanings, memories, traditions, and values attributed to places of memory allows interpreters, preservationists, historians, and other professionals to interpret and exhibit stories related to culturally and historically significant structures and landscapes in a more complex and in-depth way to visitors and residents.[5]

Over the last hundred years, some communities in Northeast Tennessee based their heritage tourism and historic preservation work on idealized cultural elements, such as log cabins, bluegrass and country music, moonshine, and handicrafts.[6] According to C. Brenden Martin,

> The relationship between tourism and historical memory in the mountain South is thus complicated and even paradoxical. Tourism has often acted as a catalyst for cultural and historic preservation movements; but the interpretation and presentation of these efforts were often tailored for commercial appeal. Hence simplistic and romanticized identities of mountain whites and Cherokee Indians fulfill tourists' desires to experience local culture without the messiness and complexities of the real thing.[7]

The complexity of real cultural and historical life within particular areas of the country is less entertaining than in other areas of the county. Tourism, overall, increasingly serves as entertainment that adheres to outsiders' views about the cultural story or meanings attached to

[4] McDaniel, 240.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Martin. "To Keep the Spirit of Mountain Cultural Alive: Tourism and Historical Memory in the Southern Highland," 262.
[7] Ibid., 266.

particular sites within local communities. Thus, heritage tourism and preservation efforts tend to be commodified according to ideas of outsiders' wants. Dallen J. Timothy suggests, "A widespread change is the commodification of culture. This occurs when tourist demand for tangible and intangible culture (i.e. heritage tourism) drives the production and 'packaging' of heritage for tourist consumption."[8] In many of these cases, civic leaders determine what cultural elements are displayed for tourists.

Timothy's argument shows that the past is a very controversial topic, especially when residents' interpretations of a community's heritage are not represented for both tourists and residents, alike. By and large, white cultural groups, which occupied places of local power, controlled most tourism and preservation efforts in Northeast Tennessee communities until the last twenty years or so. Even today, those in power in Northeast Tennessee communities have begun to add minority cultural groups' stories to the local interpretative work. In the 1980s, McDaniel urged that the time had come for inclusion of these minority cultural groups' stories associated with places of memory. He writes, "I hope that the reader will join other historians, folklorists, museum professionals, architectural historians, and lay people in reconsidering the black contributions to our built environment and in reevaluating the places, things, and memories that we study for 'history.' Now is the time."[9]

In the nearly forty years since, much progress has been made in incorporating diverse stories in today's social memory and historical interpretation, which has provided residents and tourists with a more diverse story to understand Washington County's heritage. Understanding the story of the past allows healing to take place between cultural groups, which in turn, creates a stronger community. The reconnection of residents in a community is more important now that

[8] *Cultural Heritage and Tourism*, 154.
[9] *Hearth and Home*, 249.

ever before. Coming together allows residents to understand each other and to work together in the face of present and future problems and concerns. Archibald writes,

> Every community in our nation needs to think more broadly about the future than simply focusing on economic development. . . . We must embrace as another core value a broad principle of sustainability that encompasses a balance of all those elements vital to human happiness. . . . This is the kind of growth capable of rising above individual aspiration and of pursing the common good, a community where it is possible in concerted action for each person to participate in a civic enterprise that elevates the whole.[10]

Conversations must be increased to allow more inclusion of marginalized residents' heritage to be displayed for residents and tourists. From this perspective, Archibald believes communities that allow history to be a common ground for open discussion creates a platform for residents to discuss ideas, views, and values without judging the perspectives of others. Archibald states,

> History is the conversation through which we construct narratives incorporating multiple perspectives to explain the past, evaluate the present, and project the future. . . . Some actions and the perspectives upon which they are based have disastrous consequences for humanity; even long ago events continue to extract a price from present generations. Understanding cause and effect is central to the historical process. History, with the advancing of hindsight, is a process of examining consequences. . . .Judgments, which allow us to change ourselves, redefine our relationships, improve future prospects through understanding, empathy, and ultimately forgiveness and reconciliation, are implicit in the historical process.[11]

Discussion of events in history and social memory related to places of memory allows cultural groups to place ideas and concerns out in the open for others to hear, allowing cultural groups to find common ground on topics related to the community's future needs and concerns. Every cultural group within a community's bounds must be consulted about preservation and tourism plans in order for the perspectives of each cultural group to be represented in presentations, storyboards, exhibits, and written and oral histories.

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[10] *A Place to Remember*, 130.
[11] Ibid., 93, 112.

In Washington County, organizations such as the Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia and the Langston Heritage Group have begun dialogue of expanding preservation efforts of all cultural groups' places of memory. As recently as 2001, Mary Henderson Alexander, Johnson City African American historian and past president of Langston Heritage Group, observed that "Since 1856, several histories of Johnson City have been written. Yet, the inclusions of black development seemed inappreciable at best."[12] Through the work of the Langston Heritage Group, much on African American history has been recorded, marked, and preserved and the Archives of Appalachia holds the records of these efforts.[13] One example of the preservation led by the Langston Heritage Group that preserves African American memory in Johnson City can be seen in the placement of the desegregation memorial fountain and Tennessee historical marker at East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, placed in 2013.[14] The desegregation memorial fountain and marker records the names of the five individuals who desegregated East Tennessee State Teachers College in 1956 and 1958.[15] Even still, much more work on African American history and memory needs to be recorded, marked, and preserved throughout Washington County. As discussed in Chapter 4, the neglect of Langston High School is just one example of the breakdown in the preservation movement when those in power fail to act in a timely manner to preserve buildings related to marginalized groups within their jurisdictions. Community leaders should support the Langston Heritage Group's position on saving Langston and offer financial support. Community leaders, citizens, and Langston Heritage Group members also should agree to a workable preservation plan with

[12] "Black Life in Johnson City, Tennessee, 1856-1965," 165.
[13] See "Langston Heritage Group Collection," Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tennessee.
[14] Rex Barber, "Memorial Fountain Commerates ETSU Desegregation," *Johnson City Press*, March 25, 2013, accessed June 3, 2016, http://www.johnsoncitypress.com/Local/2013/03/25/Memorial-fountain-commemorates-ETSU-desegregation.
[15] Ibid.

community members and officials to better interpret African American history in Johnson City and Washington County for the future.

In addition to the Langston Heritage Group, the Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia has helped provide a professional preservation and educational framework to the town of Jonesborough through events such as town tours, historical plays, preservation consultations, and educational programming. Throughout the Heritage Alliance's efforts, culturally diverse perspectives are becoming more important within the telling of memory and history related to the town of Jonesborough. One example is the play, "Things Are Changing" that demonstrates gender, race, and education problems in the town of Jonesborough in the late nineteenth century through a debate with Warner's Institute teacher, Julia Bullard Nelson and Yardley Warner, institute founder, and the editorial staff of *The Jonesboro Journal.*[16]

Likewise, the town of Jonesborough also has restored many sites throughout the town that are important to minorities including the Booker T. Washington School, discussed in chapter 4. The town of Jonesborough has uniquely shaped its history to help its economy through the efforts of citizens transforming the town into a tourist destination. Still, the inclusion of non-white perspectives should be increased to set the town apart from counterparts throughout the state, region, and nation. If Jonesborough increased its work in preserving African American social memory and history in the town's already growing preservation and tourism plan, tourists could gain a broader perspective in minorities' role in the past of "Tennessee's Oldest Town."

Furthermore, in the last fifty years, academic research that has investigated the history and culture of various peoples has opened the door to new chapters of history and social memory

[16] Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, "'Things Are Changing': A One Act, Historical Play about Gender, Race and Education" Poster, accessed June 3, 2016, http://www.heritageall.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Things-Are-Changing.jpg.

associated with Washington County. From the 1970s to the present, archeological digs along the Nolichucky, Holston, and Watauga Rivers brought forth new information about the impact of the lives of the Mississippian and Cherokee people in the region.[17] This new archaeological evidence links the settlement of the Mississippian peoples along the Holston, Nolichucky, and Watauga River Valleys began in the fifteenth century.[18]

Recent archeological digs along the Watauga, Holston, and Nolichucky Rivers have revealed a great variety of pottery that displays different designs and materials. These pottery sherds are a part of a larger research study, which will help scholars understand this period of county and regional history even better.[19] In the winter of 2015, the Cane Notch archeological dig on the Nolichucky River uncovered a possible Mississippian town.[20] This dig's finding are still under review, but these findings could show the development of the Mississippian peoples' cultural identity developing within the valley of East Tennessee, creating new chapters of memory and history to interpret within Washington County preservation and tourism programs.

As presented, Washington County's preservation and heritage tourism efforts in the last sixteen years have begun to include non-white perspectives, but more inclusion could set the county apart, nationally, regionally, and locally as well as bring the possibility of attracting

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[17] Jeff Keeling, "Peeling Back the Cherokee Past," January 20, 2016, "Road to Archaeological Dig a Long One," January 27, 2016, "Amateur Volunteers Brings Camaraderie, Skills to Dig," February 3, 2016, "Post-field Work, Cane Notch Project Turns to the Lab," February 10, 2016, "Prolific Pottery: House Yields Many Clues to Past," February 17, 2016, "Digging Without Touching: Magnetometry, Radar Key Tools at Cane Notch Dig Site," March 9, 2016, "Nuts about the 1570s: Cane Notch Dates Reveal Slight Surprise," March 30, 2016, *Johnson City News & Neighbor*.

[18] Charles M. Hudson, "Introduction," *The Transformation of the Southeast Indians, 1540-1760*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Charles M. Hudson (Oxford, Mississippi: The University of Mississippi, 2002), xxxiv.

[19] Keeling, , "Post-field Work, Cane Notch Project Turns to the Lab," February 10, 2016, "Prolific Pottery: House Yields Many Clues to Past," February 17, 2016.

[20] Keeling, "Peeling Back the Cherokee Past," January 20, 2016, "Road to Archaeological Dig a Long One," January 27, 2016, "Amateur Volunteers Brings Camaraderie, Skills to Dig," February 3, 2016, "Post-field Work, Cane Notch Project Turns to the Lab," February 10, 2016, "Prolific Pottery: House Yields Many Clues to Past," February 17, 2016, "Digging Without Touching: Magnetometry, Radar Key Tools at Cane Notch Dig Site," March 9, 2016, "Nuts about the 1570s: Cane Notch Dates Reveal Slight Surprise," March 30, 2016, *Johnson City News & Neighbor*.

tourists who may have never been interested in the presentations of the past. Such inclusivity has been shown to attract broader groups of people to the area, whether to research, sightsee, or vacation and ultimately contribute to the local economy. Overall, the inclusion of other cultural stories will begin to bring residents of different cultural groups together and to help unify the county to prepare for the future.

Do Not Reinvent the Wheel: Use What Works

Throughout the preservation and tourism movement, both positive and negative efforts can be seen and plans should be evaluated for use within a countywide preservation and tourism plan because the statistics, research, and evidence that already have been produced could help develop a successful preservation and heritage tourism program. Planners need to be aware of these studies and plans conducted in a variety of areas, even seemingly odd ones. For example, in the state of Tennessee highway studies, such as the *Historic Architecture Survey for the Proposed SR-93 Spot Improvements Project from I-81 to SR-347*, provide details about historic architectures, archeological sites, monuments, and places deemed culturally and historical significant along a project's path. These studies are irreplaceable and contain information from oral and written research, as well as photographs, statistics, and evidence for inclusion in a preservation and tourism program or registry.

The above-mentioned study consisted of sites in the Fall Branch community of Washington County, which developed near the Washington and Sullivan County line. For example, this study examined many sites along State Route 93, and records oral and written research, photographs, statistics, and evidence for ten contributing structures and four non-contributing structures that are eligible for a historic district nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The construction dates of these fourteen structures' range from 1869 to 1973

and while a few are neglected or abandoned, while some remain in use.[21] Although no plans have been made to nominate the Fall Branch Historic District to the National Register of Historic Places, the research is invaluable and irreplaceable when determining the relevance of these sites to a countywide preservation and tourism program.

In addition, other surveys and data are accessible and relevant to decisions of site inclusion on a historic preservation and tourism plan. As discussed in Chapter 4, three historic surveys ranging from amateur to professional and academic studies have been conducted in Washington County. In each case, the study incorporated a variety of skills and ideas to document sites. Dale Royalty's survey from 1983 to 1986, found at least five thousand historic structures built prior to 1931 in Washington County through research in the county's tax records and follow-up interviews and surveys with owners of these structures. [22] Elaine Scott Cantrell's survey from 2000 to 2003 consisted of photographs and locations of sites that she determined to be of historic or cultural nature.[23] Each survey remains relevant to a preservation and heritage tourism plan because a detail from one that may not have been seen before could become relevant. For example, a photo of a historic site in Cantrell's survey showing an outbuilding not listed in Royalty's survey can show that the outbuilding was built between 1986 and 2000, making the building insignificant. But it also could show that more evaluation and research on the building's history is needed.

Other data, such as the number of tourists visiting particular sites or surveys on why tourists visit particular sites, also become pertinent in understanding why tourists visit the county. Understanding why tourists visit becomes important in serving the needs of future guests

[21] New South Associates, *Historic Architecture Survey for the Proposed SR-93 Spot Improvements Project from I-81 to SR-347* (Nashville: Tennessee Department of Transportation, 2014), 80-81.
[22] Royalty, 51.
[23] Fuller, "Local Resident Captures History in 13,000 Photographs."

to the county. Since 1985, the Jonesborough's Department of Tourism has kept records of tourists who visit the town's visitor center. According to this data, approximately 2.4 million tourists have visited Tennessee's Oldest Town.[24] As with many tourist destinations, the reason for visiting the town differs from one tourist to the next, but according to the Department of Tourism surveys from 2013 to 2015, many come to Jonesborough for its historic and cultural qualities. Several words come to mind when looking at these surveys that describe Jonesborough as an ideal historic site. When asked, "Why they visited Jonesborough?," many tourists used words, such as "genealogy," "history," "storytelling," and "to visit family/friends," which can be associated with a social connection to the town, itself, while others came to "sightsee," "vacate," and "conduct business."[25] Each of these responses provides officials with an insight into why tourists visit this particular town, while helping them provide products and services that make visitors' more accommodating. In addition to the town of Jonesborough, organizations also keep tourism data. The Heritage Alliance of Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia, the Jonesborough Genealogical Society, Archives of Appalachia, and the Washington County Department of Records Management and Archives kept tallies of people who visit their sites.

Furthermore, when developing a historic preservation and heritage tourism plan, officials must first determine what places are historically and culturally significant to its community. After this step has been completed, officials must deal with historically and culturally significant sites on private lands. Developing a commitment between landowners and the county to help preserve and protect these sites creates a network of community support and incentives to keep local historically and culturally significant sites within the county bounds. This means the county

[24] Town of Jonesborough Department of Tourism, Historic Visitor Center Visitation Records 1985-2014, Excel Spreadsheet.
[25]Ibid., 2013 Spring and Summer, 2013 Fall and Winter, 2014 Spring and Summer, 2014 Fall and Winter, and 2015 Spring and Summer Visitor Surveys, PDF Files.

will have to be willing to provide incentives for owners who make efforts to preserve and maintain sites.

In this manner, tax credits or incentives may be an attractive feature. According to the National Trust for Historic Preservation, thirty-five states – including all the states bordering Tennessee – and the federal government already offer tax credit programs for people who will rehabilitate or restore historic buildings within their community.[26] These programs allow buildings to be restored to "active commerce," driving the economic development of the area, creating jobs. These programs create a set of criteria for buildings to qualify for the program, as well as standards and policies that ensure preservation and rehabilitation of qualifying buildings. A qualifying building is a building that meets one of the following requirements: listed or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, within a Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places, listed on a local registry as a landmark, or within a local historic district that has historic characters to the district.[27]

If a local community or county would like to mimic this program, it could help preserve many sites. For example, Washington County could offer the same incentives to property owners by giving property owners who maintain and preserve historically and culturally significant sites tax reductions for restoration and maintenance costs that can be proven through the presentation of receipts to the local property assessor's office. Washington County officials should study other communities within North Carolina and Virginia that have benefited from these tax credits within their states and create their own standards and policies for such a tax credit program that can be modified to fit Washington County's needs.

[26] Historic tax credit programs are sometimes referred to as historic rehabilitation investment incentive programs.
[27] Harry K. Schwartz, "State Tax Credits for Historic Preservation: A Policy Report," National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed January 25, 2016, http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/economics-of-revitalization/rehabilation-tax-credits/additional-resources/ntph_state_tax_credits_model_policy.pdf.

Moreover, communities must work together. This means allowing officials, experts, residents, and enthusiasts to all work together for the common good. Many examples of working together between citizens, officials, and organizations can be seen in the town of Jonesborough's preservation success; many of these ideas were thoughts of Jim Wagner. In his 1972 *Historic District Plan*, Wagner states, "all citizens, societies, and the public and private institutions have certain responsibilities" in the implementation of successful programs. Wagner ranks these responsibilities into four major categories that include individuals' responsibility to preserve their heritage for future generations; landowners' responsibility to understand the historic value of their properties and restore said property to the best of their abilities; governments' responsibility to help in the preservation of sites through enacting legislation to regulate and monitor such programs; and historical societies and other organizations' responsibility to participate and promote preservation plans within a region or community.[28]

Individuals must be responsible for preserving their own story for future generations, including understanding the historic value of their own property. In this case, Wagner linked the preservation of place to the cultural sustainability of the spaces and the meanings attached to them.[29] Understanding why, how, and what cultural values and memories are attached to specific properties is important to the interpretation of such sites in the future. In order for planners and developers to interpret the importance of such sites, they must study the past to determine a story, or stories, to present within a perspective, or context. The Jonesborough Historic Zoning Commission has played a significant role in the education of historic property ownership in the town of Jonesborough. This function allowed the zoning commission to focus on educating the public on historic preservation standards within the Historic District through issuing of

[28] Tennessee State Planning Office, 3-4.
[29] Ibid., 3.

ordinances, regulations, and laws, as well as publications and communication with property owners within the district.

In addition, governments have a responsibility to help in the preservation of sites through enacting legislation to regulate and monitor such programs.[30] They should also help provide oversight and funds for such programs to develop and help lead local community groups interested in preservation as well as local governing bodies through the process to educate and regulate how work on such sites is to be conducted. Governments that help provide leadership in the preservation of place make a statement that they believe cultural values and memories of their communities need to be preserved for future generations. In this regard, funding also helps provide a start for such programs and promotes them in such a fashion that they can be successful.

Historic societies help in places that fall outside the scope of the public sector.[31] For example, societies can help preserve cultural values through the collection and conservation of materials related to "place" in archives, libraries, and museums. Artifacts, manuscripts, and photographs document cultural values and memories. Preservation of these items helps citizens and tourists understand histories and meanings attached to histories and the spaces that created these artifacts.[32]

Often, this is where several historic preservation and heritage tourism programs fall apart. According to Jeffrey A. Owens in "Placelessness and the Rationale for Historic Preservation: National Contexts and East Texas Examples," many communities have "great resources for

[30] Tennessee State Planning Office, 3.
[31] Ibid., 4.
[32] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 132.

preservation, but their people lack vision."[33] The people of Jonesborough have not lost their vision. Instead, as has been shown, the townspeople try to keep ideas and interpretations renewed. As part of the renewal process, Jonesborough civic leaders revisit their master and/or interpretive plans and either update or re-write these ideas to help modernize these plans.[34]

Sustain Economic Growth

A major key to developing and evaluating a flexible historic preservation and tourism plan is creating a plan that builds a stronger community and economic growth. First, officials must understand how to achieve sustaining economic growth. According to Timothy,

> Overdependence on tourism or one type of tourism is a problematic situation. When destinations are too dependent on tourism for their economic well-being, it puts them in a highly vulnerable position in relation to world markets and trends… The key is diversification. Places that have a balance of agriculture, fishing, manufacturing, mining and service sectors such as tourism have a much better chance of weathering the economic storms that will come.[35]

Heritage tourism in Washington County, Jonesborough, and Johnson City will never replace other economic benefactors, such as manufacturing and the service sectors, but it can, and does, supplement the local economy by creating a new flow of local tax revenue within the county. Yet, more investment in a historic preservation and tourism plan is needed to create a more local economic growth. While tourism's role in Washington County's future cannot be underestimated, still more can be done. According to a 2006 University of Tennessee tourism study, Washington County receives $11,135 daily in local county tax revenue from direct tourism spending within the county.[36] These dollars help provide about 7.25 percent of the

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[33] "Placelessness and the Rationale for Historic Preservation: National Contexts and East Texas Examples," *East Texas Historical Journal* 43, no. 2 (2005): 3.
[34] Washington County civic leaders must first develop a master and/or interpretative plan for preservation and tourism efforts, while Johnson City civic leaders created their first historic preservation plans in 2007.
[35] *Cultural Heritage and Tourism*, 166.
[36] Tourism Institute, University of Tennessee, "Washington County, TN: 2006 Tourism Economic Fact Sheet," University of Tennessee, accessed January 5, 2016, http://web.utk.edu/~tourism/factsheets/Washington-FS-06.pdf.

average county school funding each year. In Washington County, this means approximately $4.06 million of local tax revenues come from tourist spending.[37]

Furthermore, in 2014, Washington County ranked tenth among 95 counties in regard to tourism income across the state. According to Tony Casey, the county already has 1,666 county residents working in tourism and heritage tourism-related jobs.[38] The emphasis on tourism is already within the county's plans, but the emphasis can significantly increase. If the county would recognize the large number of historically and culturally significant sites by creating a historic preservation and heritage tourism plan, the county's heritage tourism will significantly affect the economy as visitors to the county increase.

Conclusion

The inclusion of each of these points in a well-planned historic preservation and heritage tourism plan allows the preservation of culturally and historically significant structures and landscapes throughout Washington County. In addition, the preservation of these sites allow them to be used in the promotion and marketing of the county in a culturally and economically sustainable plan that enables a stronger community and economic growth. In addition, the creation of a historic preservation and heritage tourism plan based on these ideas can help alleviate placelessness within local and regional communities of Northeast Tennessee by preventing the loss of historically and culturally significant structures in Jonesborough, Johnson City, and Washington County communities. Thus, Washington County officials, citizens, and organizations should consult previous preservation and heritage tourism efforts to learn from past efforts. As well, planners should also begin the process of conducting more in-depth studies on

[37] Tourism Institute, University of Tennessee, "Washington County, TN: 2006 Tourism Economic Fact Sheet."
[38] Tony Casey, "Washington County Sees Tourism Growth in 2014," *Johnson City Press*, August 19, 2015, accessed February 22, 2016, http://www.johnsoncitypress.com/Community/2015/08/19/Washington-County-sees-tourism-growth-in-2014.

sites throughout the county that will allow the county to develop programming and policies that will provide for the development of a countywide historic preservation and heritage tourism plan. The development of a countywide historic preservation and tourism plan that will include all cultural groups' stories and attributes, use ideas, studies, plans, and materials from past research and efforts can help in the process of sustaining economic and cultural growth in Washington County for future generations.

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