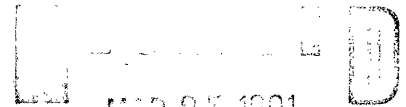


United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Multiple Property Documentation Form



MAR 25 1991

NATIONAL  
REGISTER

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

**A. Name of Multiple Property Listing**

Mammoth Cave National Park Historic Resource Study

**B. Associated Historic Contexts**

- A) Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927
- B) Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849
- C) Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926
- D) Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941

**C. Geographical Data**

See Section I, page 1 (Part A).

Also, see Historical Base Maps in Section V., Appendix A.

See continuation sheet

**D. Certification**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

Edmund O'Beane  
Signature of certifying official

3/20/91  
Date

National Park Service  
State or Federal agency and bureau

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Patrick Andrews  
Signature of the Keeper of the National Register

5/8/91  
Date

*for*

---

**E. Statement of Historic Contexts**

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Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

See Section III.; pgs. A-1 to A-6, pgs. B-1 to B-7, pgs. C-1 to C-7, and pgs. D-1 to D-20.

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**F. Associated Property Types**

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I. **Name of Property Type** See Section III.; pgs. A-6, C-7, and D-20.

II. **Description**

See Section III.; pg. A-6, pgs. C-7 to C-8, and pg. D-20.

III. **Significance**

See Section III.; pg. A-7, pgs. C-8 to C-9, and pgs. D-20 to D-21.

IV. **Registration Requirements**

See Section III.; pgs. A-7 to A-8, pg. C-9, and pg. D-21.

See continuation sheet

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See continuation sheet for additional property types

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**G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**

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Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

See Section I, pgs. 2 to 5 (Part C).

See continuation sheet

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**H. Major Bibliographical References**

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See Section IV., pgs. 1 to 6.

See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- State historic preservation office  
 Other State agency  
 Federal agency

- Local government  
 University  
 Other

Specify repository: Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, KY  
National Archives, Washington, DC

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**I. Form Prepared By**

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name/title Kelly A. Lally, Consultant  
organization Kentucky Heritage Council date October 1, 1990  
street & number 701 D Daniels Street telephone 919-828-9123  
city or town Raleigh state NC zip code 27605

Bruce J. Noble, Jr., Historian  
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## I. INTRODUCTION

### A) Description of Mammoth Cave National Park

Located in south central Kentucky, Mammoth Cave National Park currently consists of 52,428 acres. Most of the park is located within Edmonson County, with smaller portions in Barren and Hart counties. Green River divides the park into northern and southern halves, while Nolin River flows north-to-south near the park's western border (See map 1). In addition to the sinks and sinkholes which dot the land, the area is characterized by steep ridges, long valleys, and a number of creeks and springs. The region includes a multitude of caves of all sizes, many of which may be connected to Mammoth Cave. The Mammoth Cave system is the most extensive in the area with more than 300 miles of mapped passages.<sup>1</sup>

In geological terms, the Mammoth Cave area includes numerous deep cracks, sinkholes, and underground streams. Alternating rock layers, primarily limestone and sandstone, make up the cave region geology. The karst landscape is produced when these rock layers are eroded and dissolved by steadily flowing, slightly acidic, water. This water drains underground through cracks between layers of stone, eventually forming sinkholes and caves. A great volume of water flowing underground over millions of years has formed spacious passageways, such as those found in Mammoth Cave and other caves in the region.

The relationship between Mammoth Cave and the Mammoth Cave system requires some additional explanation. Cave experts did not begin to understand that the numerous caves in the area somehow connected into a larger Mammoth Cave system until the middle of the twentieth century. Before that time, Mammoth Cave was viewed as a single cave which could be entered through its original, natural entrance (today called the Historic Entrance) or a variety of manmade entrances constructed after 1900 (these include the New Entrance, Frozen Niagara Entrance, Violet City Entrance, and Carmichael Entrance). Other caves in the area were also believed to be discrete entities.

During the 1950s, awareness of the existence of a much larger cave system began growing. Although cave explorers have discovered connections between caves previously thought to be separate, many of the links are very small and complete understanding of all the connections in the cave system has not yet been achieved. Thus, although places like Colossal Cavern and Crystal Cave probably constitute parts of the larger Mammoth Cave system, the following context statements will treat them as individual caves.

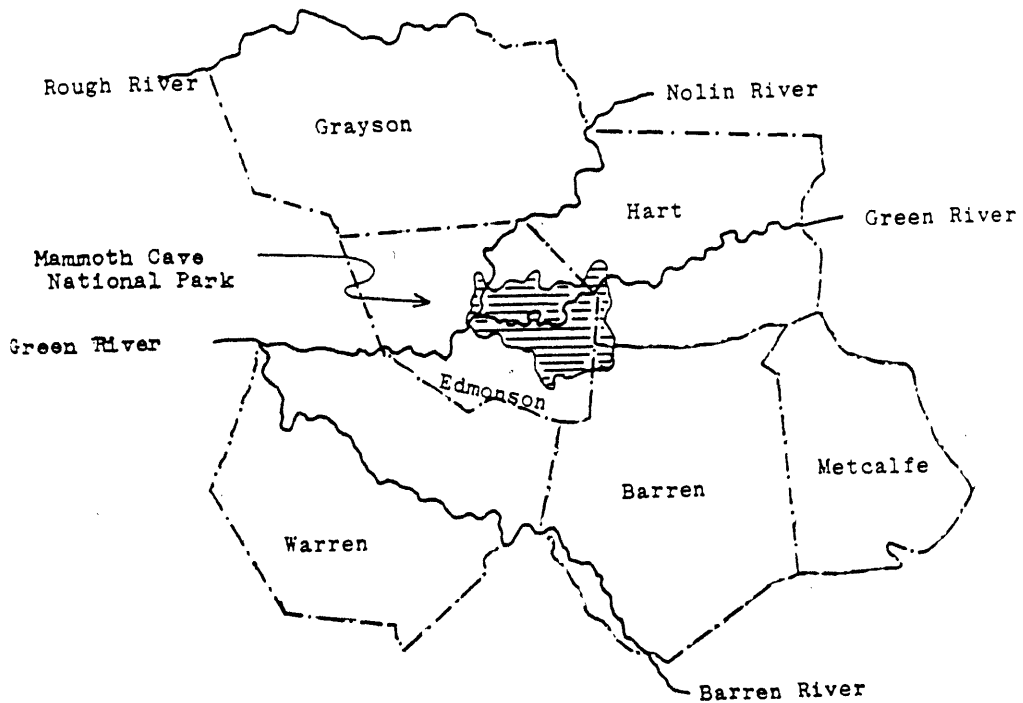
### B) Scope and Purpose of Historic Resource Study

In historical terms, visitors to Mammoth Cave National Park today would have a difficult time understanding the history of the park simply by employing their own powers of observation. The pristine landscape which typifies the aboveground portions of the park suggests that few humans have ever inhabited this section of the earth. The Federal government constructed most of the limited number of buildings in the park and these remain discreetly hidden from public view. Primarily interested in the underground portions of the park, most visitors who cared to notice the aboveground world would see ample evidence that nature reigns supreme.

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<sup>1</sup>Cecil E. Goode, World Wonder Saved: How Mammoth Cave Became a National Park (Mammoth Cave, KY: Mammoth Cave National Park Association, 1986), p. 3.

**Map 1:** Adapted from Montell and Lynwood, eds., Folk Medicine of the Mammoth Cave Area, 1976. The map shows Mammoth Cave National Park in conjunction with the surrounding counties.



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Closer inspection reveals a different story. The park includes three church buildings and dozens of cemeteries as evidence of past human occupation which pre-dates the establishment of the park. Travelers who leave the main park roads might find farm building foundations, weathered fences, and an occasional orchard as indicators that an agricultural population once inhabited the area. The park's present natural appearance belies the area's human history. Where are these early settlers?

Understanding how the park attained its present natural appearance requires some understanding of the history of the Mammoth Cave area preceding the establishment of the park, as well as some analysis of the events surrounding creation of the park. To summarize briefly, the effort to establish a predominately natural park led to the relocation of inhabitants within the proposed park area and the eventual razing of buildings these residents had occupied. While the history of early settlement in the area and the history behind the founding of the park will explain a great deal about the process through which the park assumed its present appearance, any examination of settlement history will encounter a variety of difficulties.

First of all, the process of creating the park obviously eliminated most visible historic resources associated with early settlement in the Mammoth Cave area. This places certain restraints on our ability to understand these settlers. Secondly, while voluminous government documents detail the founding of the park, little archival documentation exists concerning the lives of the settlers who arrived before the park. This undoubtedly explains why Edmonson County, in which most of the national park is situated, has received little study by historians. These factors create an unusual situation where the historian can know more about the demolition of buildings during the establishment of the park than about the human settlements which once occupied the area. While this study will attempt to provide a complete evaluation of Mammoth Cave National Park's historical resources by considering both visible and invisible vestiges of the past, the nature of the source material dictates that the predominance of the documentation will focus on the park establishment process.

To further complicate this difficult scenario, the park also contains historic resources located inside the cave. Although the entire cave system remains inaccessible even to the most intrepid explorers, large areas of the cave have hosted a variety of human activities for many centuries. While the possibility of considering the entire cave as a historic resource is beyond the scope of the present project, several man-made cave entrances will be proposed for nomination. In addition, a Mammoth Cave Historic District will also be nominated. This underground historic district can be accessed through the cave's Historic Entrance and encompasses a variety of novel resources including the remnants of a saltpetre mining operation, huts constructed as housing for patients undergoing experimental tuberculosis treatment, and the remains of a failed mushroom growing venture.

Finally, this Historic Resource Study will focus only on aboveground historic properties located both inside and outside the cave. The Southeast Archeological Center is presently completing the final draft of an Archeological Overview and Assessment for Mammoth Cave National Park. This document will focus specifically on developing archeological contexts for the park and discussing archeological resources associated with those contexts.

## **C) Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**

The survey and evaluation of historic resources in Mammoth Cave National Park originated as a cooperative project involving the park, the State Historic Preservation Office of the Kentucky Heritage Council, the Southeast Region of the National Park Service, and the Washington, DC office of the National Park Service. The Interagency Resources Division of the National Park Service provided the Kentucky Heritage Council with Historic Preservation Fund money to administer the project. The Kentucky Heritage Council also provided

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matching funds. The project objective involved organizing a cooperative Federal-state effort to survey, evaluate, register, and manage historic resources located in Mammoth Cave National Park.

As the initial step in the project, the Kentucky Heritage Council contracted with Dr. Charles E. Martin to provide a comprehensive study of cultural resources in the Pennyryle Region of Kentucky. In response, Dr. Martin compiled a report entitled "The Pennyryle Cultural Landscape Planning Overview." This region encompasses a large block of thirty-eight counties located in the west central part of the state and includes the three counties in which Mammoth Cave National Park is located: Edmonson, Hart, and Barren. (See accompanying map entitled "The Pennyryle.") In addition to providing a general outline of historic contexts and associated resources of the Pennyryle Region, the report provided an initial framework for evaluating the significance of cultural resources in the national park.

The Kentucky Heritage Council also contracted with Kelly A. Lally to conduct a survey of historic resources located in Mammoth Cave National Park. She used the park's List of Classified Structures (LCS) to determine the initial scope of her survey. The LCS provides a Servicewide inventory of park resources which are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. For Mammoth Cave National Park, the LCS included cemeteries, old roads, churches, cave entrances, interior cave structures, and buildings and structures constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps. With the assistance of park staff, Lally surveyed these resources between November 1987 and March 1988.

Following completion of the survey, Lally updated the LCS forms for the National Park Service and completed state survey forms for the Kentucky Heritage Council. She also completed individual National Register nomination forms for eligible resources in the park. Finally, she prepared draft historic context statements to provide documentary material for evaluating the significance of the resources surveyed.

As the project evolved, two divisions in the Washington, DC office of the National Park Service--the Interagency Resources Division and the History Division--began to recognize many obvious similarities between National Register nominations completed on Multiple Property Documentation Forms and Historic Resource Studies. Given the numerous similarities, both divisions worked jointly to develop a strategy for integrating the two documents into one. The resulting document would serve to nominate resources in compliance with Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and would provide a body of information to assist in interpreting National Park Service historic resources to the public. Such a document would prove useful to the State Historic Preservation Office, the national park unit, and the National Park Service in general.

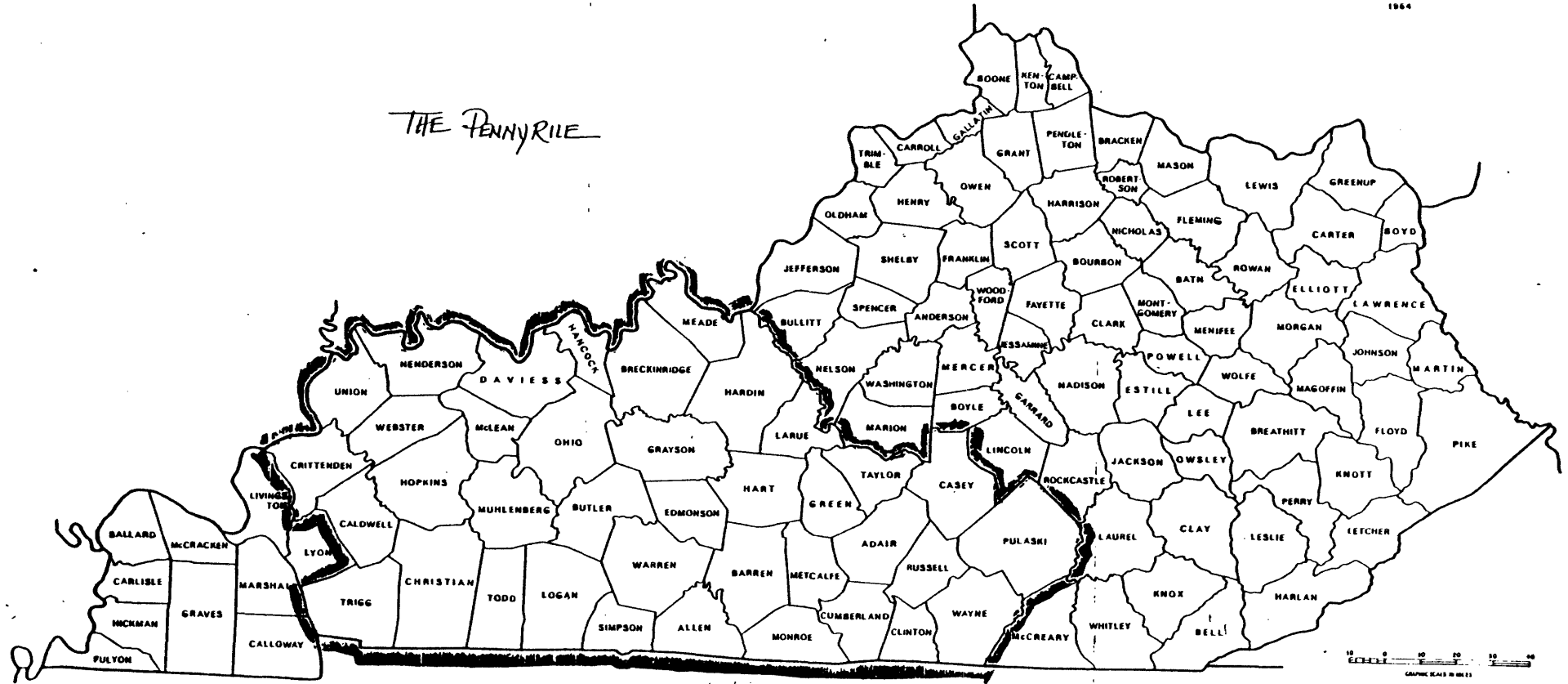
In order to develop a single document that would serve both to nominate significant historic properties to the National Register and provide material to support interpretive programs in the park, the original draft historic context statements required revision and the addition of supplementary information. Whereas multiple property nominations generally only include contexts directly associated with a group of resources considered eligible for the National Register, Historic Resource Studies provide documentation essential to interpreting a park's history to the visiting public. This interpretive evidence may require the development of historic contexts which have few, if any, tangible resources associated with them. Bruce J. Noble, Jr., of the Interagency Resources Division of the National Park Service, assumed the task of developing the additional context material.

The first of the four historic contexts is entitled Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927 (Context A). This context provides a broad overview of exploration and settlement in the park area beginning with the arrival of the first Europeans in the area who came in conjunction with the French and Indian War effort. The context concludes with the construction of Mammoth Cave United Baptist Church, the most



KENTUCKY Base Map Series A-5  
Compiled and distributed by  
Kentucky Department of Commerce  
Frankfort, Kentucky  
1964

THE PENNYRILE



0 10 20 30 40 50 60  
MILES  
GRAPHIC SCALE IN MILES  
Base Map: U.S. Geological Survey

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recently constructed extant resource which retains settlement associations. This church, along with two other older churches, are the only resources nominated in association with this context. (See Chart 1.)

The second historic context is entitled The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849 (Context B). This context begins in 1798 because this year is generally accepted as the point when a settler in the area first established Anglo-European ownership of Mammoth Cave. The context concludes in 1849 to coincide with the death of Dr. John Croghan, an early cave owner. Individual resources nominated in association with this context include the Old Guides Cemetery and underground resources collectively nominated as the Mammoth Cave Historic District. The Old Guides Cemetery has additional historic associations with Context C, while the Mammoth Cave Historic District has additional associations with Contexts C and D. (See Chart 1.)

The third historic context is entitled Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C). This period included increasing development of Mammoth Cave as a tourist destination, along with intense rivalry among local owners of other cave properties determined to attract their own share of tourist business. The context begins in 1849 because this year marked the implementation of the terms of Dr. Croghan's will which would guide operation of both above and below-ground portions of Mammoth Cave for well over a half-century. The context concludes in 1926 with the enactment of Federal legislation providing for the establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park. Although this legislation did not immediately terminate either private land ownership in the national park area or the competition between private cave owners, the process of establishing the National Park Service as primary owner of the cave system initiated a profound change in the character of the area. Resources nominated in association with this context include the Crystal Cave Historic District, Great Onyx Cave Entrance, and Colossal Cave Entrance. (See Chart 1.)

Finally, the fourth historic context is entitled Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D). The beginning of this context corresponds with the initial efforts of the Mammoth Cave National Park Association to promote the idea of founding a national park and ends in 1941 when the park had been fully established and received its first Congressional appropriation. This period witnessed simultaneous efforts to raze settlement-era buildings and structures in order to restore a "natural" appearance in the park, along with the construction of new resources associated with the National Park Service infrastructure. Individual resources nominated in conjunction with this context include the Residential Area Historic District, Maintenance Area Historic District, Superintendent's House, Bransford Spring Pumphouse, Three Springs Pumphouse, and Maple Springs Ranger Station. (See Chart 1.)

Historic context research was conducted in a variety of locations: the Mammoth Cave National Park library, the Kentucky Library on the campus of Western Kentucky University in Bowling Green, and the National Archives in Washington, DC. The final compilation of this context documentation into a single Historic Resource Study represents a joint effort contributed to by Kelly A. Lally and Bruce J. Noble, Jr.

The typology of significant property types is based on function and association with the historic contexts. The three property types include the following: Commercial Cave Entrances and Related Structures, Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings and Structures, and Churches. Individual National Register nominations have been prepared for at least three examples of each property type. (See Chart 1.)

The Mammoth Cave Historic District represents a novel collection of underground resources not placed under a property type heading. Given the unique nature of this resource, and the fact that property types serve as a convenient mechanism for grouping together some number of similar resources, this solitary historic district will be nominated as an individual resource outside the three broader property type categories. Contributing

**Chart 1**

<b>Mammoth Cave HRS Contexts</b>	Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927	Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849	Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926	Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941
<b>Property Types</b>	Churches		Commercial Cave Entrances and Related Structures	Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings and Structures
<b>Individual National Register Nominations</b>	Good Spring Baptist Church and Cemetery, Joppa Baptist Church and Cemetery, Mammoth Cave Baptist Church and Cemetery	Mammoth Cave Historic District, Old Guides Cemetery	Mammoth Cave Historic District, Old Guides Cemetery, Crystal Cave Historic District, Colossal Cavern Entrance, Great Onyx Cave Entrance	Mammoth Cave Historic District, Residential Area Historic District, Maintenance Area Historic District, Maple Springs Ranger Station, Three Springs Pumphouse, Bransford Spring Pumphouse, Superintendent's House

Chart 1 illustrates each of the four Mammoth Cave Historic Resource Study contexts, and the property types and individual National Register nominations associated with each context.

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resources within this historic district maintain associations with three of the four context statements defined in the Historic Resource Study.

Following the field survey, registration requirements were developed to determine which properties possessed National Register eligibility. These registration requirements revolve around such issues as the strength of association between a given historic resource and one or more of the four major historic contexts developed for Mammoth Cave National Park. The National Register criteria also played an obvious role in determining property eligibility. After determining the eligibility threshold, the decision was made to nominate four historic districts and ten individual properties to the National Register.

In addition to the fourteen resources proposed for National Register listing, the survey identified 82 other resources which were not nominated. Although not nominated, 27 of the 82 properties were added to the List of Classified Structures. The decision not to nominate the remaining properties rests on a variety of factors. In one case (Hercules and Coach #2), the property had been previously listed in the National Register. In several other cases, resource integrity problems stood in the way of nomination. In most instances, however, time constraints prevented the completion of all research necessary to allow for final decisions about property eligibility. This suggests that a number of properties identified during the survey, but not presently nominated, should receive further eligibility consideration in the future. (For more detailed discussion, see list of Other Surveyed Properties and Recommendations attached to each historic context section.)

## D) Historical Base Map Discussion

Using Mammoth Cave National Park field data provided by the Southeast Archeological Center of the National Park Service, the Cultural Resources Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Facility of the Interagency Resources Division produced the Historical Base Map included as an appendix to this document (see Section V., Appendix A.). The Historical Base Map conforms with standards provided in the National Park Service Cultural Resources Management Guideline commonly referred to as NPS-28. NPS-28 provides an overview of the cultural resource management process utilized in the national park system and also summarizes the contents of a variety of National Park Service cultural resource documents.

The completion of a Historical Base Map, as defined in NPS-28, does not require the purchase of an entire GIS system complete with all the necessary hardware and software.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, at minimum, a Historical Base Map need only show the location of cultural resources known to exist within a national park. Computer technology is not essential for the completion of such a map.

However, use of GIS technology can transform a static map showing property locations into a dynamic instrument which suggests solutions for management issues. For example, a map showing cultural resources can be layered over a park planning map which shows areas of proposed development within a national park. Taken together, this data forms a single map which offers strategies for planning future projects that avoid the location of significant cultural resources. Thus, GIS maps provide a mechanism for assuring that land management activities grant adequate consideration to cultural resource management issues during the planning process.

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<sup>2</sup>The Cultural Resources GIS Facility uses software called GRASS 5.1, a public domain Unix-based GIS program developed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineer's Research Laboratory. The hardware consists of a SUN 386i computer and a 19" high-resolution color monitor enhanced by a 327 megabyte hard disk utilizing an expansion unit and tape drive. Supporting peripherals include a WYSE-60 monitor and keyboard for text input, an Altek digitizer for map data input, a Tektronix 4696 color printer to produce maps, and an Epson FX100 printer for text output.

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## II. REGIONAL HISTORIC CONTEXTS

For the purposes of the Kentucky Heritage Council preservation planning process, the state has been divided into five separate planning regions. These five regions consist of the following: Bluegrass, Pennyryle, Western Purchase, Eastern Kentucky, and Urban Areas. Mammoth Cave National Park is located in the thirty-eight county area of west-central Kentucky known as the Pennyryle Region. As the first step in the Mammoth Cave project, Dr. Charles E. Martin prepared a regional study entitled "The Pennyryle Cultural Landscape Planning Overview."

"The Pennyryle Cultural Landscape Planning Overview" study relies heavily on the use of census data to achieve an initial understanding of potential historic resources in the region. This data is organized around ten basic themes: Agriculture; Manufacturing; Commerce; Religion; Transportation; Education; Military, Politics and Government; Ethnic History; Social and Cultural Organizations; and Architecture and Landscape. Although these themes do not specifically include the time and place components generally used to define historic contexts, closer reading of the study demonstrates that the themes apply to all of the Pennyryle region during the historic period.

The Kentucky Heritage Council encourages that historic resource surveys be undertaken at the county-wide level. Anyone initiating such a survey can begin by referencing the regional landscape study to identify themes associated with the particular county of interest. As the survey progresses, field work and further documentary research help to refine the regional themes into historic contexts which operate at the county level and assist in defining the significance of related property types.

Most of the 52,428-acre Mammoth Cave National Park is situated within Edmonson County, with some small portions overlapping into Barren and Hart counties. While the park differs from a county in many obvious respects, the Mammoth Cave project represents an effort to conduct a survey of historic resources in the park and thereby further refine some of the themes articulated in "The Pennyryle Cultural Landscape Planning Overview." Much like a historic context statement for a county-wide historic property survey, this Historic Resource Study (HRS) attempts to forge a connection with the regional landscape study.

The National Park Service undertakes Historic Resource Studies to accomplish several objectives: to document the results of historic resource surveys in national parks, to develop a body of contextual data which will assist to interpret those resources to the public and to evaluate their historic significance, and to provide a vehicle for nominating properties to the National Register of Historic Places. The most direct connection between the Mammoth Cave Historic Resources Study and "The Pennyryle Cultural Landscape Planning Overview" occurs in the first context of the HRS entitled Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927 (Context A). In this context, the Historic Resource Study draws on the regional study in an effort to establish a broader framework for understanding the history of the greater Mammoth Cave area prior to the establishment of the national park.

Other contexts in the Historic Resource Study have fewer connections to the Pennyryle region study. In one extreme case, a context has no direct association with the Pennyryle region study. In this particular instance, the context entitled Establishment of the Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D) focuses exclusively on the park. The process of creating this national park represents such a unique phenomenon within the region that this context bears no relationship to any larger regional themes. (See Chart 2 which illustrates the linkage between the contexts in the Historic Resource Study and the themes in "The Pennyryle Cultural Landscape Planning Overview.")

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While "The Pennyrile Cultural Landscape Planning Overview" serves to connect the Historic Resource Study to the State Historic Preservation Office planning process, the HRS also links to the National Historic Landmark themes which the National Park Service utilizes for planning purposes. Of critical importance in drawing a connection between the contexts in the Mammoth Cave Historic Resource Study and National Historic Landmark themes is a publication entitled History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program. This booklet outlines the thematic structure of the National Historic Landmarks program and explains how these themes apply to various units of the national park system. Primarily considered a **natural** area, Mammoth Cave is not listed among those national park units specifically identified with a historic theme or themes. However, the thematic framework maintains some relationship to the contexts defined in this Historic Resource Study. (See Chart 2 for a graphic explanation of the connection between the contexts in the Historic Resource Study and related NHL themes.)

Chart 2

Mammoth Cave HRS Contexts	Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927	Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849	Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926	Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941
Related NPS Themes	III.A.2. Territorial Expansion X.F. The Farmer's Frontier XXX.B. Farming Communities VI. The Civil War	V.E. War of 1812, 1812-1815 XII.A.3. Other Metals and Minerals XVIII.F. Extraction and Conversion of Industrial Raw Materials XVI.W.4. Cemeteries XIII.F. Medicine	XXXIV.C.3. Recreation (other)	XXXII.C.6. Origin and Development of the National Park Service
Related <u>Pennyrile Cultural Landscape</u> Themes	Agriculture Religion Transportation Architecture and Landscape Military, Politics and Government	Military, Politics and Government Commerce	Commerce	None

Chart 2 illustrates the relationship between Mammoth Cave National Park historic contexts, National Historic Landmark themes employed by the National Park Service, and Kentucky Heritage Council regional themes defined in The Pennyrile Cultural Landscape study.

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### III. PARK HISTORIC CONTEXT

A) CONTEXT TITLE: Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927

1) CONTEXT NARRATIVE:

This context will provide a broad overview of settlement history in the Mammoth Cave area as a basis for discussing the creation of the national park in Context D. Context A will begin in c. 1754 when the French and Indian War first brought Europeans to the Green River area of Kentucky. The context concludes in 1927 with the construction of the Mammoth Cave United Baptist Church. The church remains as the most recently constructed extant resource which retains settlement associations from the pre-park era.

The somewhat vaguely defined "Mammoth Cave area" refers principally to the locality now occupied by the park. Edmonson County contains the majority of the park's 52,428 acres. Small parts of the park also overlap into Warren and Hart counties. The national park's 1926 enabling legislation authorized a maximum area of 70,000 acres which was never achieved. The geographic extent of the context area does not correspond precisely to politically defined park boundaries. More extensive research and survey work may ultimately indicate that this context documentation can be used to assist with the evaluation of properties outside park boundaries.

\* \* \* \* \*

Although European exploration had begun in Kentucky during the early 1700s, the French and Indian War led to the arrival of the first Europeans in the immediate Mammoth Cave area. Prior to the war, relations between the British and French deteriorated as each nation struggled to establish sovereignty over the American frontier. This struggle ultimately led to the French and Indian War (1754-1763). During the war, British soldier Thomas Hutchins apparently entered the present-day Mammoth Cave area while conducting a military survey along the "Buffaloe River" (now called Green River).

Following their victory in the French and Indian War, the British gained control over all lands east of the Mississippi River. King George II then issued the Land Proclamation of 1763 which established the land west of the Appalachians and south of the Ohio River as an Indian reservation. This land did not long remain in Indian hands as English hunters and explorers quickly occupied this area described by Daniel Boone as an "earthly paradise."

The colorful "Long Hunters" were among the early arrivals in this region. Between 1769 and 1771, these intrepid men may have ventured as far as the upper Green River. Legend holds that Long Hunter John Phelps died near the junction of Green and Nolin rivers during this time period. His comrades supposedly left his body in Temple Hill Cave. If correct, this would have placed the Long Hunters near the present western border of the national park.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Guy Prentice, Overview and Assessment of the Archeological Resources of Mammoth Cave National Park (Tallahassee, FL: National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, October 1989), pp. 8-9; Margaret M. Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave National Park Kentucky: A Brief History (Mammoth Cave, KY, 1952), p. 11.



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As governmental influence crept slowly westward, political boundaries in the Mammoth Cave vicinity began a series of changes which lead to their present configuration. Beginning in 1738, Kentucky was included among western lands held by Virginia. Kentucky became a separate county of Virginia with the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The establishment of the Commonwealth of Kentucky in 1792 placed Mammoth Cave within Warren County, named for Boston, Massachusetts patriot Capt. Joseph Warren who was killed during the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775. As mentioned, most of today's national park falls within Edmonson County which was created in 1825 and named after Capt. John Edmonson who died during the War of 1812 in the battle of River Raisin.<sup>2</sup>

Initial land purchases and settlement in the Mammoth Cave vicinity began several decades before the establishment of Edmonson County. In September 1783, nineteen Philadelphia merchants organized a speculative land company. These merchants hired agents to secure western lands for them in the Ohio River area of Kentucky. In April 1784, the land agents located a parcel of almost 30,000 acres between the forks of Green and Nolin rivers in present-day Edmonson County. Virginia Governor Patrick Henry issued a patent for this land on January 10, 1786.

In addition to dividing Mammoth Cave National Park, Green River also splits Edmonson County into northern and southern segments. While a good deal of land north of the Green had been claimed by the Philadelphia merchants in 1784, lands south of the river had been reserved by Virginia for settlement by Revolutionary War veterans. Although Virginia opened these lands for settlement in 1784, the region remained largely uninhabited for more than a decade. Finally, John, Charles, and Francis Houchin settled south of Green River about 1797.<sup>3</sup>

Although 1799 marks the first year of recorded land ownership around the original "Historic" entrance to Mammoth Cave (other cave entrances have since been discovered and, in some cases, artificially constructed), the story of the discovery and development of the cave will be told in later context statements. However, it is important to note that the discovery of the magnificent cave tends to overshadow the history of the settlers residing in the hills and hollows encompassed within the present boundaries of Mammoth Cave National Park.

While numerous nineteenth-century travel guides described the wonders of Mammoth Cave, these travel writers devoted little attention to the surrounding area. The prominence of the cave escalated dramatically during the nineteenth century, but the occupants of the nearby hill country were not sufficiently noteworthy to warrant inclusion in travel guides or study by historians. Thus, beginning about 1810 we can speak with some authority about the cave interior and the tourist facilities which eventually developed in the immediate area around the cave entrance, but the subsistence farmers living in the region left few records through which we can reconstruct their history today.

Shenandoah National Park in Virginia was also carved out of a rugged area occupied by isolated subsistence farmers. The author of that park's administrative history, Darwin Lambert, has commented on the park's role in establishing an identity for the populace of the mountainous locality. He wrote, "It was with the creation of Shenandoah National Park that these people became historically significant--as the people displaced for the first large replanned reversal of civilization's long-established direction, from more and more material exploitation

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<sup>2</sup>Prentice, *Overview and Assessment*, pp. 9-10; Bridwell, *The Story of Mammoth Cave*, p. 14; Kenneth H. Lee, *Near Elko*, p. 3; Charles E. Whittle, *Edmonson County Flashlights in Folklore*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup>Whittle, *Flashlights*, pp. 52-54; Prentice, *Overview and Assessment*, p. 11.

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of natural resources toward re-creation of natural wilderness."<sup>4</sup> This same statement could apply to the early inhabitants of the Mammoth Cave region. Serious historical study of these early settlers remained largely uninvestigated until after the establishment of the park essentially removed all tangible vestiges of their past.

The lack of written documentation and the paucity of extant cultural resources present difficulties in reconstructing the early history of this area. However, we can make some informed observations about the people who settled among the hills around Mammoth Cave between the creation of Edmonson County in 1825 and the passage of Congressional legislation authorizing establishment of the national park in 1926. Initial understanding of these settlers requires some discussion of the terrain they inhabited.

The segment of Green River which flows through Edmonson County forms the approximate boundary between two physiographic zones of Kentucky--the Western Coalfields to the north and the Mississippi Plateau to the south.<sup>5</sup> Unlike the relatively flat, open land typical of the Mississippi Plateau, the topography characterizing the Western Coalfields is less well suited for agriculture. Primarily located within the Western Coalfields area, the majority of land in the Mammoth Cave region had limited agricultural value. As a result, settlers did not arrive in this area until after the more desirable farm land in south central Kentucky had already been taken.<sup>6</sup> The earliest settlers were predominately farmers, but the nature of the land they acquired placed definite limits on the level of affluence they might hope to achieve.

As mentioned previously, few settlers lived in the Mammoth Cave area before 1800. The earliest arrivals hailed primarily from Virginia, western North Carolina, and eastern Kentucky. These early settlers no doubt found their new surroundings quite similar to the hill country homes they had left behind. Most of these initial immigrants were of Scotch-Irish heritage, with a smaller number of Pennsylvania Germans and French Huguenots. The great majority already spoke English upon arrival and most practiced the Baptist faith. By the time of the first Edmonson County census in 1830, the county included a population of 2,642.<sup>7</sup>

From the beginning of the settlement period, religion played a prominent role in Mammoth Cave area communities. Census materials gathered between 1850 and 1916 indicate that most Edmonson County residents attended the Baptist church, followed by a lesser number of Methodists. As the population of the county grew from 4,459 in 1870 to 8,005 in 1890, the number of church buildings in the county rose from sixteen to 44. This gave Edmonson County the highest number of churches per capita in the Pennyriple Region of Kentucky. In spite of the numerous churches, most were small buildings serving rural congregations.

Although statistics indicate that county church attendance dwindled somewhat in the early 20th century,<sup>8</sup> religion remained a strong instrument of social and political control. Church services, weddings, baptisms, funerals, and

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<sup>4</sup>Darwin Lambert, Shenandoah National Park Administrative History, 1924-1976, (n.p., 1979), p. 219.

<sup>5</sup>See Prentice, Overview and Assessment, p. 1; and P. P. Karan and Cotton Mather, eds., Atlas of Kentucky (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1977), pp. 8-11.

<sup>6</sup>Cecil E. Goode, World Wonder Saved: How Mammoth Cave Became a National Park (Mammoth Cave, KY: The Mammoth Cave National Park Association, 1986), p. 82.

<sup>7</sup>Gordon Wilson, Folklore of the Mammoth Cave Region, ed. Lawrence S. Thompson (Bowling Green, KY: Kentucky Folklore Society, 1968), p. 12; Lee, Near Elko, p. 3; Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>For information about census data pertaining to religion in Edmonson County and the Pennyriple Region, see Martin, "The Pennyriple Cultural Landscape," pp. 130-145.

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revivals provided an important social outlet for the area's rural population. In addition, local church leaders worked to enforce standards of proper moral behavior. Expulsion from the church served as the penalty for nonconformance. Thus, churches served to maintain order in rural areas far removed from the seats of government.<sup>9</sup>

Three churches remain in the national park today. Although rarely used, the modest wood frame buildings collectively represent the significance of religion to the history of the Mammoth Cave community. The three extant churches in the park--Mammoth Cave United Baptist Church, Joppa Missionary Baptist Church, and Good Spring United Baptist Church--comprise the only resources presently proposed for nomination to the National Register in conjunction with Context A.

Cemeteries comprise another aspect of Mammoth Cave area religious history. The Mammoth Cave United Baptist Church includes a cemetery as part of the property proposed for nomination to the National Register. The Old Guides Cemetery is individually nominated in conjunction with Context B. Most of the several dozen cemeteries in Mammoth Cave National Park today maintain their primary association with Context A. The National Register eligibility of these cemeteries should receive additional consideration in the future. (For further cemetery information, see Recommendations section of Context A.)

Agriculture formed the foundation of the local economy. Census statistics indicate that Edmonson County had among the highest per capita percentage of farms in the Pennyryle Region prior to the Civil War. Despite this fact, the county had among the lowest percentage of land cleared for agriculture. This juxtaposition suggests the existence of an agriculturally-dependent population living on farm land which remained heavily forested. The prevalence of unimproved land probably indicates both the marginal quality of the local soil and underutilization of the land for agricultural purposes. Furthermore, the value of farm buildings and agricultural implements in the county also ranked among the lowest in the region. Tobacco provided the county's only significant cash crop production and this commodity was grown only in modest amounts. Thus, minimally successful subsistence farming generally prevailed in Edmonson County.<sup>10</sup>

In the meantime, by 1860 the white population of the county had grown to 4,361. The slave population had declined from 334 in 1840 (the first year when such statistics were recorded) to 273 in 1860. The county also included eleven free blacks in 1860.<sup>11</sup> The relatively small number of slaves, and their numerical decline over the twenty-year period, may indicate the marginal nature of agricultural endeavors in the area.

Straddling the border between North and South, Kentucky displayed divided loyalty during the Civil War years. The current state capital, Frankfort, became the Union capital during the war years. The city of Bowling Green, located approximately thirty-five miles from today's Mammoth Cave National Park headquarters, became Kentucky's Confederate capital for a short five month period. In spite of this brief division, Kentucky remained largely under the control of Union forces for most of the forty-three month war.

The conflicting allegiances within the state and the proximity of Mammoth Cave to the temporary Confederate capital in Bowling Green meant that several minor skirmishes did occur in the cave vicinity. However, Unionist sentiments prevailed in the immediate Mammoth Cave area. This sense of Union loyalty in the locality may

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<sup>9</sup>See Kelly Lally, draft National Register nomination context documentation, "Introduction," pp. 3-5.

<sup>10</sup>Martin, "The Pennyryle Cultural Landscape," pp. 22-32.

<sup>11</sup>Lee, Near Elko, p. 3.

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perhaps have related to the predominance of relatively small farms and the absence of a sizeable slave-holding population.

In addition, Union supporter E. K. Owsley held the lease to the Mammoth Cave Estate during the Civil War years. As a result, Owsley controlled access into the cave and also managed the hotel and other tourist facilities outside the cave. With Owsley in charge, Mammoth Cave did not serve as an important source of saltpetre (a raw material used to manufacture gun powder) during the Civil War as it had during the War of 1812 (see Context II). Disinterest in Mammoth Cave saltpetre may have resulted from some combination of Owsley's personal politics and the strength of Union support in the general Mammoth Cave vicinity. More significantly, Mammoth Cave's precarious position between North and South may well have dissuaded both sides from attempting to control the cave's saltpetre resources.<sup>12</sup>

Edmonson County continued to grow after the Civil War, but agricultural prosperity remained elusive for most residents during the late 19th century. The population exceeded 10,000 by 1900 and the number of farms had multiplied, but the average farm size had dropped considerably. The decreasing farm size indicates the division of farm land among family members, rather than an influx of new immigrants from outside the county. Otherwise, percentages of unimproved agricultural land remained high and the value of land, farm machinery, and farm buildings remained low. The county continued high production of subsistence crops like corn and low production of cash crops like wheat and tobacco. By 1930, with efforts to establish Mammoth Cave National Park well underway, the Mammoth Cave area had not enjoyed all the advantages of the post-1900 growth of commercial farming prosperity which characterized most of the Pennyrile Region.<sup>13</sup>

The lack of transportation resources further reinforced Edmonson County's separation from lucrative agricultural marketplaces and the general isolation of the local populace. Residents could travel to the county seat of Brownsville to purchase supplies or even venture outside the county to larger towns like Glasgow and Bowling Green to buy clothing and farm tools. However, isolation remained the rule for the majority of people. Although the Louisville & Nashville Railroad and, later, Interstate 65 pass through the extreme southeastern portion of Edmonson County, self-reliance became an important quality given that the topography kept most county residents from readily gaining access to major transportation arteries.<sup>14</sup>

Nevertheless, by 1930 the population of Edmonson County had increased slightly to reach 11,475. Despite the population growth, the number of families living within the current national park area had apparently remained fairly constant since the initial settlement period of the early 1800s. Sources estimate that, in 1930, between 500 and 600 families lived within what would become the national park.<sup>15</sup> Although most of these families resided on scattered farmsteads, a few small community settlements like Elko, Union City, and Sloans Crossing did develop. Not surprisingly, churches often served as the focal points of these rural communities. The park area also included a few stores and several schools to serve the local populace.

On May 25, 1926, President Calvin Coolidge signed an act of Congress authorizing the initiation of land acquisition in connection with the creation of Mammoth Cave National Park. Accounts indicate that the families

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<sup>12</sup>For a brief discussion of Mammoth Cave during the Civil War, see Prentice, Overview and Assessment, pp. 14-15.

<sup>13</sup>Martin, "The Pennyrile Cultural Landscape," pp. 36-51.

<sup>14</sup>See Kelly Lally, draft National Register nomination context documentation, "Introduction," p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Wilson, Folklore of the Mammoth Cave, p. 12.

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then residing within the proposed park boundaries managed only to eke out a minimal living. Situated on steep hillsides never well suited for agricultural pursuits, generations of intensive farming had left the soil largely exhausted. Families often turned to timber cutting to supplement their income during the difficult Depression years, but clearing the trees from the sloped land merely accelerated the destructive effects of erosion. Estimates indicate that approximately 45% of the land within today's park was cleared and in various advanced stages of erosion just before establishment of the park.<sup>16</sup> The combination of worn out soil, erosion, and the scarce employment opportunities meant that many area residents experienced all the severe hardships associated with the Depression-era.

Context D will recount the story of efforts to establish the national park. At this point, suffice it to say that because the park attempted to recreate the natural environment characteristic of this area prior to white settlement, virtually all standing structures dating from the pre-park era have been demolished. The three Baptist churches remain as rare exceptions to this rule.

Although only the churches are presently proposed for nomination in association with the area's settlement history, the park contains other resources associated with the settlement era. For example, the park includes scores of small family cemeteries. In terms of historical archeology, a recent archeological study noted the existence of 687 historic-period sites within the park. Most common among these sites are structural remnants of demolished farmsteads associated with the settlement period. Additional sites include the foundation imprints of churches, stores, and schools.<sup>17</sup> Settlement-related landscape features extant today include fences, water wells, fruit trees, and abandoned road traces. Although most of the cemeteries, the historical archeology, and the landscape features are not currently submitted as nominations, given the rarity of cultural resources from the pre-park era, the potential significance of these resources should receive future assessment.

## 2) ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

*Name of Property Type:* Church Properties

*Description:* Church properties located within Mammoth Cave National Park are associated with the Baptist church, the primary denomination in the Mammoth Cave area, and include church buildings and cemeteries. The church buildings, similar to other such structures found in rural Kentucky, are one-story, rectangular, wood frame buildings with white weatherboard siding, stone pier foundations, metal roofs, two front doors each, and three or four double sash windows on each of the side walls. Interiors vary, although all contain wood floors and ceilings, tongue and groove boarded walls, a podium and a number of movable, handmade benches. A church usually has an identifying sign attached to the front of the building on which is painted the church's name, date of establishment, and possibly days and times of services. The churches which remain within Mammoth Cave National Park vary in structural condition from poor to good, depending on the amount of use and maintenance they receive from their congregations.

The church cemetery is usually adjacent to the church building. The graves in the cemeteries face east and are marked most often with commercial markers although graves designated with hand-carved fieldstone markers and uncarved fieldstone markers are also present. As is traditional to the area, graves have both head and foot markers.

<sup>16</sup>Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave, p. 11 and p. 57.

<sup>17</sup>See Prentice, Overview and Assessment, p. 39.

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*Significance:* Church properties are significant under Criterion A in the area of Social History. The original construction of the church properties relates to the context entitled Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927 (Context A). The decision to allow these churches to remain within the national park relates to the context entitled Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D). Both of these contexts are included in Section E of the Multiple Property Documentation Form. The nominated resources are locally significant.

In this rural, relatively isolated region, churches were usually associated with certain neighborhoods and served as the centers of community life. Local people identified strongly with their churches. Church services, baptisms, weddings, funerals, grave decoration days, revivals, and homecomings were social, as well as spiritual activities. Often the only community-based properties in a given area, church buildings were often used as meeting houses and schools.

The National Park Service recognized the significance of these churches to the local residents when they were planning the development of Mammoth Cave National Park. The park establishment process required all local residents to leave the proposed park land. Ultimately, this meant that all structures were either removed or razed. Residential structures and the majority of public and private community buildings, such as schools and stores, were demolished.

However, in return for congregations' willingness to donate church properties to the Federal government, the National Park Service allowed the church buildings to remain in the park. The congregations then either received special use permits or leased the churches. Though some opted to dismantle their buildings and disband their congregations, four churches made arrangements with the National Park Service to retain their buildings. Three of these church properties remain in the park today: Mammoth Cave United Baptist Church (found on Flint Ridge Road, northeast of Mammoth Cave); Joppa Baptist Church (on Highway 70 between Park City and Brownsville); and Good Spring Baptist Church (located on the north side of Green River, near the Maple Springs Group Campground).

The members of Little Hope Baptist Church represent the last of the four Mammoth Cave area religious communities to retain a place of worship within the boundaries of the national park. The congregation eventually decided that they would prefer to construct a new church outside the park and the National Park Service helped them to accomplish this task in the early 1980s. The original Little Hope Baptist Church was demolished.

### 3) REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Church properties in Mammoth Cave National Park are historically significant. As historically significant properties, these may sustain some alteration and still be eligible for the National Register if it can be shown that the properties were central to the area's community life before the development of the park and that the agreements made between the church congregations and the Park Service concerning inclusion of these properties in the park was a significant factor in the history of the development of the Mammoth Cave National Park.

The following aspects of integrity should be considered in evaluating individual properties:

*Setting and Location:* To be considered eligible, all church properties within Mammoth Cave National Park must remain in their original locations. The immediate setting of the churches, which includes the area directly surrounding the property, should remain essentially intact. However, the Park Service may have added minor intrusions like an interpretive marker near one church and an extra parking area and picnic tables near another.

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These alterations do not significantly alter the character of the property setting. Integrity of the larger setting, which once included other community buildings, private residences and farms, is not necessary for eligibility.

*Design, Workmanship, and Materials:* Churches must possess the original design, workmanship, and the majority of the original materials. In general, the majority of wall, roof, door, and foundation materials, the roof shape, the fenestration and door patterns, and the setting of each church property must remain intact. Alterations to church buildings must have been completed with comparable materials and workmanship. Recent additions of grave stones to cemeteries are acceptable.

*Feeling and Association:* These aspects of integrity are present if the integrity of location, immediate setting, design, workmanship, and materials exist.

**4) NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES**

The following list will identify properties proposed for nomination to the National Register in association with the context titled Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927 (Context A). Property descriptions, statements of significance, verbal boundary descriptions, maps, and photographs will be included with the individual National Register nomination forms attached as an appendix to this Historic Resources Study.

- a) Good Spring Baptist Church and Cemetery
- b) Joppa Baptist Church and Cemetery
- c) Mammoth Cave Baptist Church and Cemetery

**5) OTHER SURVEYED PROPERTIES**

The following list consists of properties surveyed in connection with the context titled Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927 (Context A), but not presently proposed for nomination to the National Register. If future study suggests that these properties are eligible, nomination to the National Register should follow. These properties fall into two major categories: Cemeteries and Roads. Each of these resource types maintain a primary association with the settlement period that preceded establishment of the national park, although the Civilian Conservation Corps completed some major road improvements during the 1933-1942 period. In some cases, surveyed roads may be totally modernized. New additions to the List of Classified Structures will be highlighted with an asterisk.

- a) Cemeteries
  - Poplar Springs Cemetery\*
  - Temple Hill Cemetery
  - Gipson Cemetery\*
  - Miles Cemetery
  - Brooks Knob Cemetery
  - Jaggers Cemetery
  - Sand Spring Cemetery
  - Minyard Cemetery
  - Parker Cemetery\*

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a) Cemeteries (continued)

Franklin-Johnson Cemetery\*  
Woolsey Cemetery  
Denham Cemetery  
Wilkins Cemetery  
Fitzgerald #1 Cemetery  
Stockholm Cemetery  
Holton Cemetery  
Wilson Cemetery\*  
Furlong Cemetery\*  
Eaton Grave  
Shackelford Graves  
France Cemetery  
Emerson Cemetery  
Locust Grove Cemetery  
Little Hope Baptist Church Cemetery  
Cox #1 Cemetery  
Cox #2 Cemetery  
Adwell Cemetery  
Bransford-Mansfield Cemetery  
Smithie Hunt Graves\*  
Mansfield Cemetery  
Daniels Cemetery  
Little Jordan Cemetery  
Black Community Cemetery\*  
Garret Davis Graves  
Crump Cemetery  
Jesse Houchins Cemetery  
James Cemetery  
White Oak Cemetery  
Dry Branch Cemetery  
Blair Cemetery\*  
Bransford Cemetery\*  
Hickory Cabin Cemetery\*  
unnamed cemetery--Stockholm Boundary\*  
Old Temple Hill Cemetery\*  
Ritter Cemetery\*  
Slemmons-Davis Cemetery\*  
Arthur Elmore Cemetery\*

b) Roads

Mammoth Cave to Cave City Road  
Mammoth Cave Ferry Road  
Houchins Ferry Road  
Buffalo Creed Road



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b) Roads (continued)

Cade Road  
Good Spring Church Road  
Collie Ridge Road  
Blowing Springs Road  
Brownsville to Mammoth Cave Road  
Cedar Sink Road  
Turnhole Road  
Joppa Ridge Road  
Mammoth Cave to Park City Road  
Union City Road  
Mammoth Cave to Northtown Road  
Great Onyx Road  
Salts Cave Road  
Crystal Cave Road  
Dennison Ferry Road  
Mammoth Cave Dummy Railroad Berm

6) RECOMMENDATIONS

All documents, records, photographs, and other materials gathered by Kelly Lally during the course of this project will be turned over to Mammoth Cave National Park for permanent storage. Copies of the List of Classified Structures forms will also be given to the park, while copies of the state inventory forms will be made available to the Kentucky Heritage Council. Copies of the completed Historic Resources Study and the accompanying individual National Register nominations, maps, and photographs will be deposited in the park, the Kentucky Heritage Council office, the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, and the National Register office in Washington, DC.

Various aspects of the general Settlement theme require additional research. Greater knowledge of historic sites, specifically including the nearly six hundred farmstead sites estimated to exist within the park, rank highest among the topics in need of further research (see Map 2 in Section V, A.). These sites have the potential to contribute significantly to our understanding of the inhabitants who occupied the Mammoth Cave area prior to establishment of the national park. Although dating to the historic period, the fact that most aboveground elements of these sites have been razed means that archeological techniques will have to be employed to analyze the available information content. Thus, a comprehensive historic archeological study of the resources should be undertaken. This study should produce a body of information which can be used both to nominate eligible resources to the National Register (if any are located) and to supplement park interpretive programs.

In connection with efforts to further develop the Settlement theme, additional study of historic resources located outside the park would help to enhance understanding of the farmstead sites within the park. To that end, the Kentucky Heritage Council should be encouraged to conduct a historic resource survey and nomination project in Edmonson County. Such a survey would provide information about farmstead properties similar to those once located within the park and would nicely supplement the proposed historic archeological study of farmstead sites in the park.

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Under ordinary circumstances, cemeteries are not considered eligible for listing in the National Register. However, National Register Bulletin #15 states, "A cemetery associated with the settlement of an area by a particular ethnic or cultural group could qualify if the movement of that group into an area had an important impact on the history of the region, if other properties associated with the history of that group are rare, and if few documentary sources have survived to provide information about the history of the group." Because this statement has direct application to many of the cemeteries located within Mammoth Cave National Park, the potential eligibility of these cemeteries should receive further consideration in the future. To expedite resource evaluation, a cemetery property type should be developed to clarify the circumstances under which a cemetery in the park would qualify for National Register listing. Upon completing this step, eligible cemeteries should be nominated to the National Register.

As noted previously, numerous historic roads exist within the park boundaries. Many of those roads have apparent historical connections with the Settlement theme, although others may be of more recent vintage. Transportation resources should receive further consideration in conjunction with the possible future development of a more detailed Settlement context. This should lead to the formulation of a historic road property type for the park. This body of information should then be used to determine whether any roads are worthy of nomination to the National Register. Once this determination is made, preparation of nominations for eligible roads should proceed.

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**III. PARK HISTORIC CONTEXT****B) CONTEXT TITLE: The Discovery And Early Uses Of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849**

## 1) CONTEXT NARRATIVE:

Although Mammoth Cave is one of this nation's oldest tourist attractions, its earliest owners experimented with a variety of alternative uses for this great cavern. Beginning in the early years of the nineteenth century, Mammoth Cave provided a source of saltpetre and served as a church, hotel, and even as a hospital for people with tuberculosis. Today the physical remains of these early uses of the cave, now part of Mammoth Cave National Park, materially contribute to the historic character of the cave area.

Several thousand years ago the first human beings began to explore Mammoth Cave and utilize some of its resources. Archeological research has shown that these prehistoric people traveled as much as three miles into the depths of the cave searching for gypsum and other minerals.<sup>1</sup>

Local legend holds that Mammoth Cave was rediscovered in more recent times by a hunter chasing a wounded bear. By chance, the bear led the hunter to the cave. Various accounts date this legendary discovery anywhere from 1797 to 1811. The earliest written records concerning Mammoth Cave show that on September 14, 1798, Valentine Simmons (sometimes spelled "Simons") filed for a grant of 200 acres of land south of Green River in what was then Warren County. A 1799 survey of Simmons's land noted two "petre caves" on the tract which received the names Mammoth Cave and Dixon Cave a little more than a decade later. Although the caves on Simmons's property were known to possess mineral wealth, there is no evidence to suggest that Simmons mined saltpetre (a major component of gunpowder) for anything more than his personal use.<sup>2</sup>

American interest in sources of saltpetre (also spelled saltpeter) had been demonstrated well before the discovery of Mammoth Cave. Saltpetre obviously played a critical role in the Revolutionary War. In 1775, the Continental Congress published Several Methods of Making Saltpeter: Recommended to the Inhabitants of the United Colonies, by their Representatives in Congress. Dr. Benjamin Rush, chemistry professor, member of the Continental Congress, and signer of the Declaration of Independence wrote much of the saltpetre publication issued by the Continental Congress.<sup>3</sup> Gunpowder manufacturing quickly became an important American industry with several factories located throughout the original thirteen colonies.

After the war, resumption of trade with Great Britain allowed the United States to receive ample supplies of saltpetre from India. However, concerns about the availability of this supply during times of war meant that interest in domestic saltpetre sources remained high. In 1797, Revolutionary War veteran Gilbert Imlay became the first to point to the Mammoth Cave area as a possible American saltpetre source. Although not specifically

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<sup>1</sup>See Patty Jo Watson, "Archeology of Mammoth Cave," in the Mammoth Cave National Park Guide Manual (Mammoth Cave, KY: Mammoth Cave National Park Library).

<sup>2</sup>See Harold Meloy and William R. Halliday, "A New Concept of the Initial History of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1812," Journal of Spelean History (1968), pp. 109-112; and Marsha A. Mullins, "Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works," (HAER No. KY-18) (Washington, DC: National Park Service, Historic American Engineering Record, 1986), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Duane DePaepe, Gunpowder from Mammoth Cave: The Saga of Saltpetre Mining Before and During the War of 1812 (Hays, KS: Cave Pearl Press, 1985), p. 10; Mullins, "Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works," p. 12.

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mentioning Mammoth Cave, Imlay wrote that Kentucky's most abundant supply of saltpetre could be found along the course of Green River.<sup>4</sup>

Additional support in promoting Kentucky saltpetre came from Dr. Samuel Brown, professor of Chemistry and Medicine at Transylvania College Medical School in Lexington, Kentucky. In 1806, Dr. Brown traveled 500 miles on horseback to attend a meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia during which he urged the Federal government to consider the importance of saltpetre caves in the event of a national emergency. The Society later published his remarks in an influential article entitled "A Description of a Cave on Crooked Creek and Observations on Nitre and Gunpowder."<sup>5</sup>

These promotional efforts produced results. By 1810, Kentucky had become the leading producer of saltpetre in the nation. The U.S. Census report for 1810 enumerated 208 gunpowder factories in the country, with 63 of them in Kentucky. Lexington became the center of the state's industry with six gunpowder mills.<sup>6</sup>

The "Eye-Draught" map represents an early attempt to focus investors' attention specifically on Mammoth Cave. First issued about 1810, this map provided detailed information about the location of saltpetre deposits within the cave and also introduced the name "Mammoth Cave" for the first time. This name choice may indicate a deliberate attempt to accentuate both the size and profit potential of the cave. Other explanations suggest that the name was selected to link the cave with the discovery of Pleistocene elephant remains that captivated the popular imagination of that era. Although no such remains existed in Mammoth Cave, promoters may have believed that the name would draw the attention of wealthy financiers interested in investing money in saltpetre mining.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the promotional angles involved in naming the cave, events in the international arena provided the most compelling stimulus for exploiting Mammoth Cave's saltpetre reserves. After 1800, relations between the United States and Great Britain worsened as England engaged in impressing American sailors into service in the Royal navy. Britain also maneuvered to prevent the fledgling American nation from engaging in free trade with nations other than Great Britain.<sup>8</sup> The United States retaliated between 1806 and 1812 by enacting a series of "non-importation" and "non-intercourse" laws designed to prevent the importation of British goods and the exportation of American goods to Britain.<sup>9</sup> Although these laws attempted to penalize Britain, the United States may have suffered the greater burden as the country struggled to produce products and raw materials which had traditionally been imported from foreign suppliers.

E. I. duPont recognized that this volatile situation could seriously impair American ability to manufacture gunpowder. After training under the renowned French chemist Antoine Lavoisier, duPont came to the United

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<sup>4</sup>DePaepe, Gunpowder, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 7; Samuel Brown, "A Description of a Cave on Crooked Creek with Remarks and Observations on Nitre and Gunpowder," American Philosophical Society, Transactions 6 (February 7, 1809), pp. 235-247.

<sup>6</sup>Burton Faust, Saltpetre Mining in Mammoth Cave, KY (Lexington, KY: The Filson Club, 1967), pp. 67-68.

<sup>7</sup>DePaepe, Gunpowder, pp. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>9</sup>Mullins, "Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works," p. 7.

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States following the onset of the French Revolution. Upon arriving in his adopted land, he applied his skills as a chemist to the production of a superior brand of gunpowder. The quality of his product attracted such prestige that even the Chief Executive felt obliged to consider his advice. In 1811, duPont warned President James Madison that the specter of war with Great Britain raised serious questions about the ability of the United States to import saltpetre from India. The government reacted by purchasing a sizeable reserve supply of Indian saltpetre, but duPont had drawn attention to the importance of identifying reliable domestic saltpetre supplies.<sup>10</sup>

Not surprisingly, the approach of the War of 1812 caused investors to devote considerable attention toward acquiring ownership of Mammoth Cave. Warren County court records show that on January 31, 1812, original Mammoth Cave owner Valentine Simmons sold the cave to John Flatt for \$116.67. Other deeds filed on the same day record that the McClean brothers purchased the property from Flatt for \$400, and they in turn sold it to Charles Wilkins and Fleming Gatewood for \$3000.<sup>11</sup>

Historians Harold Meloy and William R. Halliday believe that these single-day business transactions occurred years earlier and that the prices paid by Flatt and the McCleans probably represent the balances of previously negotiated sums. In any case, at some point after the 1799 survey, Simmons sold the land and the caves to John Flatt, who may have operated a small-scale saltpetre mining and processing business. The McClean brothers acquired the property and expanded the mining operation some time before January, 1808, at which time it is believed that Wilkins and Gatewood arrived at Mammoth Cave. It is unclear exactly when Wilkins and Gatewood gained control of the cave.<sup>12</sup>

Charles Wilkins, a prominent Lexington saltpetre merchant, filled an invaluable management role by providing critical technological expertise needed to design the pumping systems and underground ox-cart routes which would allow the cave to produce marketable quantities of saltpetre. However, Mammoth Cave still awaited the arrival of sufficient investment capital to subsidize Wilkins' technological plan. In 1812, Hyman Gratz purchased Gatewood's interest in the cave and became partners with Wilkins. Gratz, a successful Philadelphia merchant, provided the financial backing required to install and implement Wilkins' extraction system.<sup>13</sup>

Circumstances favoring large-scale saltpetre production in Mammoth Cave had finally arrived. Wilkins and Gratz offered technological acumen and investment capital. The onset of the War of 1812 had forced the United States to accelerate gunpowder production, while cutting off the flow of saltpetre from India. Thus, the need for domestic saltpetre sources became paramount. In addition, the war-time demand for saltpetre caused a precipitous increase in the price of this cherished commodity.<sup>14</sup> This combination of factors caused the production of Mammoth Cave saltpetre to begin in earnest.

Relying on a workforce of approximately seventy slaves, the extraction process required the miners to collect dirt from the various cave passages, load the dirt aboard ox-carts, and haul it to the leaching vats located both at the Rotunda (the large chamber a short distance from the Historic Entrance), and Booth's Amphitheatre (near the

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<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>11</sup>Meloy and Halliday, "A New Concept of the Initial History of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1812," p. 110.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>13</sup>DePaepe, *Gunpowder*, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7; Mullins, "Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works," p. 12.

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entrance to Gothic Avenue, approximately a half mile southeast of the Rotunda--see map 2). Once the vats were filled with dirt, they were flooded with water pumped from the cave's entrance through wooden pipes. When the water had absorbed the calcium nitrate from the soil, it was drained into troughs beneath the vats. The resulting water and calcium nitrate solution was then siphoned into a collecting tank and pumped by hand through another wooden pipeline back to the entrance. Once at the surface, the solution was leached through wood ashes in vats similar to those found in the cave and finally boiled until saltpetre crystals formed. The crystals were then packed in barrels and shipped to gunpowder manufacturers in the East.<sup>15</sup>

Evidence indicates that all the saltpetre recovered from Mammoth Cave during the War of 1812 was shipped to the duPont gunpowder mills near Wilmington, Delaware. Located along a major transportation road running between Nashville and Louisville, Mammoth Cave saltpetre probably reached Delaware via either of two primary routes. One route involved transporting saltpetre to Louisville and then down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans. From New Orleans, the cargo would travel by ship along the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic until reaching Wilmington. The second route involved shipping the saltpetre up the Ohio River from Louisville to Pittsburgh. The freight would then be transferred to wagons and transported over land to the gunpowder mills of Delaware.<sup>16</sup> Because Mammoth Cave co-owner Charles Wilkins had family connections in Pittsburgh, and given the distinct possibility that the British navy could seize saltpetre shipped along the ocean coast, the second transportation route probably witnessed the greatest use during the war years.

Definitive proof verifying Mammoth Cave's exact role in saltpetre production during the War of 1812 remains elusive. While sources indicate that Kentucky produced at least 400,000 pounds of saltpetre during the war, these sources do not reveal the percentage of that total recovered specifically from Mammoth Cave. In addition, the known link between duPont's Philadelphia purchasing agent, Archibald McCall, and Charles Wilkins provides few additional clues. McCall purchased saltpetre from a variety of sellers and the exact amount he purchased from Wilkins remains nebulous. Further complicating matters, Wilkins purchased saltpetre from locations other than Mammoth Cave and sold to manufacturers other than duPont. In short, the connection between these two men does not clearly resolve questions surrounding Mammoth Cave's production during the War of 1812.<sup>17</sup>

As the War of 1812 drew to a close, foreign sources of saltpetre again became available and the price of the commodity plunged. This change of circumstances effectively ended Mammoth Cave saltpetre production. Saltpetre mining did not resume during the Civil War because the cave's location within a border state rendered it strategically vulnerable to military raids from both the Union and the Confederacy.<sup>18</sup>

Situated within the sheltered environment provided by the cave, today the saltpetre works remain mostly intact and generally well preserved. However, some alterations have occurred. Nineteenth-century tour guides reportedly broke wooden segments from the extant mining facilities for use as torches. A guide's lighted torch supposedly caused the burning of the Rotunda pumptower in 1903. The Booth Amphitheater pumptower was dismantled before 1900, perhaps because the tower obstructed the tourists' view. In addition, some original

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<sup>15</sup>Mullins, "Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works," p. 11.

<sup>16</sup>DePaepe, Gunpowder, p. 19; Mullins, "Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works," p. 8.

<sup>17</sup>DePaepe, Gunpowder, pp. 31-32; Mullins, "Mammoth Cave Saltpeter Works," p. 12.

<sup>18</sup>DePaepe, Gunpowder, pp. 31-32.

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timbers have been used to construct a railing between the tourist path and the vats in Booth Amphitheater.<sup>19</sup> Other more contemporary modifications include the placement of pipe sections along the Broadway section of the cave to simulate the original appearance of the pipeline. In spite of these alterations, few changes have occurred since 1903 and the essential form and structure of the saltpetre works within the cave remain unimpaired.

One historian has written that the "Mammoth Cave Saltpetre Works represent the most complete example known of the equipment used in the processing of cave saltpetre, a major component of gunpowder during the War of 1812."<sup>20</sup> A computer search of the more than 55,000 individual listings in the National Register database verified the rarity of the resource type by finding no saltpetre mining properties. Although the precise amount of Mammoth Cave saltpetre used in supporting the War of 1812 effort defies validation, these resources retain exceptionally noteworthy status as the only known saltpetre production facilities associated with the War of 1812. The rarity of the saltpetre mining system, combined with the remarkable state of preservation afforded by the cave environment, provides a strong basis for assigning national level significance to this unique property.

After the war ended in 1815, Wilkins and Gratz abandoned the mining operations and began promoting Mammoth Cave as a tourist attraction. After Gratz became sole owner of the property in 1828, he constructed a small log inn near the cave. Gratz's inn served as the core of the first Mammoth Cave Hotel, which later owners enlarged and improved. This structure was destroyed by fire in 1916.<sup>21</sup> Despite his effort to attract tourists to the inn, many of the cave's visitors elected instead to stay at Bell's Tavern, about nine miles away near Glasgow Junction (known today as Park City).<sup>22</sup>

Franklin Gorin purchased the Mammoth Cave property (which by this time included more than 1300 acres of land) from Gratz in 1838 for \$5000.00. Gorin, who retained Gratz's manager, Archibald Miller, expanded the accommodations at Mammoth Cave and brought his slave, Stephen Bishop, to the cave as a guide. Bishop, Mammoth Cave's most famous early guide and explorer, discovered Echo River and was the first to cross the Bottomless Pit. Gorin later appointed slave brothers Mat and Nick Bransford, the first of several generations of Bransfords, to work as guides at Mammoth Cave.

In the 1830s one chamber of the cave was used for religious services. This chamber, first called the "Cathedral" and later named the "Methodist Church," was lighted by a large number of lanterns and was equipped with a pulpit and seats for those attending the service.<sup>23</sup> Though the site of the "Methodist Church" remains an important interpretive stop on the present Historic Tour of Mammoth Cave, it has not been used for religious

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<sup>19</sup>Mullins, "Mammoth Cave Saltpetre Works," p. 22.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Cecil E. Goode, World Wonder Saved: How Mammoth Cave Became a National Park (Mammoth Cave, KY: Mammoth Cave National Park Association, 1986), p. 12.

<sup>22</sup>Harold Meloy, introduction to reprint edition of Rambles in the Mammoth Cave in the Year 1844, by a Visitor, by Alexander Clarke Bullitt (Louisville, KY: Morton & Griswald, 1845; reprint ed., New York, NY: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1973), p. X.

<sup>23</sup>Harold Meloy, "The Gatewoods at Mammoth Cave," (unpublished manuscript, 1969), p. 6.

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services since the late nineteenth century and none of the man-made reminders of the church have been preserved in the cave.<sup>24</sup>

In 1839 Dr. John Croghan of Louisville, Kentucky acquired the Mammoth Cave estate, including guides Stephen Bishop and Mat and Nick Bransford, for \$10,000. Croghan is credited with much of the earliest success in the promotion of Mammoth Cave as a multi-purpose attraction. He enlarged and refurnished the hotel and constructed "beautiful & well furnished pavilions for those who prefer a residence *within* the cave."<sup>25</sup> Dr. Croghan also constructed several roads to facilitate travel to Mammoth Cave. In addition, Dr. Croghan promoted the site by publishing up-to-date travel accounts and guidebooks. Rambles in the Mammoth Cave During the Year 1844, by a Visitor, attributed to Alexander Clark Bullitt, is the most famous of these publications.<sup>26</sup>

Cave guides led visitors on a variety of tours through the main cave area (which included Broadway and Gothic Avenue), to the pits and domes, and to the rivers on the lowest level.<sup>27</sup> These guides illuminated their tours with open grease lanterns, fueled by lard oil. As a part of their tours, guides often used candles to inscribe names and dates onto the walls and ceilings of the cave. Members of tours also built "monuments" of stacked cave rocks to commemorate their visits to Mammoth Cave. These signatures and monuments remain in various parts of the cave today, most prominently in Gothic Avenue.

Dr. Croghan is also noted for his construction of a hospital inside the cave for treatment of people with tuberculosis. Croghan believed, as did many others in the medical field at the time, that a constant temperature and humidity, such as that within Mammoth Cave, would prove therapeutic for those suffering from chronic pulmonary tuberculosis. In 1842-1843 up to eleven tuberculin patients and some of their family members resided in wooden and stone huts located in the main avenues of the cave. The experiment ended in 1843 after several patients died and the health of many others worsened. A few of the tuberculin patients who died in Mammoth Cave are buried in the Old Guide Cemetery, located on a hillside about a quarter mile from the historic entrance to Mammoth Cave. Though considered a failure at the time, Croghan's experiment added much to the medical profession's knowledge of tuberculosis and, by process of elimination, helped pave the way for eventual control of that disease.<sup>28</sup> Remnants of two of the stone huts located on Broadway remain in the cave.

When Dr. Croghan died in 1849, his will stipulated that the Mammoth Cave properties be held in trust for his nine nieces and nephews and sold at public auction when the last of them died. Mammoth Cave remained in the Croghan family until the last heir, Serena Croghan Rodgers, died in 1926. This context concludes in 1849 because Dr. Croghan's death marked the onset of a new period marked by a shift toward use of the cave as a tourist destination. With the exception of a brief attempt to grow mushrooms in the cave during the early 1880s,

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>25</sup>Samuel W. Thomas, et al, "A History of Mammoth Cave, Emphasizing Tourist Development and Medical Experimentation Under Dr. John Croghan," Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society 68 (1970), p. 26.

<sup>26</sup>Alexander Clark Bullitt, Rambles in the Mammoth Cave in the Year 1844, By a Visitor (Louisville, KY: Morton & Griswald, 1845).

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Samuel W. Thomas, et al, "A History of Mammoth Cave, Emphasizing Tourist Development and Medical Experimentation Under Dr. John Croghan."



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the days of saltpetre mining, tuberculosis experimentation, and other non-tourist commercial activities inside the cave had essentially ended by 1849.

## 2) ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

A property type represents a convenient mechanism for grouping individual resources based on a set of shared characteristics. This facilitates resource evaluation by allowing individual resources to be compared with a larger universe of similar properties. As the definition implies, property types are only used in cases where enough examples of a resource exist to constitute a group. Only two individual resources in the park were identified in association with Context B (The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849): the Mammoth Cave Historic District and the Old Guide Cemetery. In terms of the resources presently submitted for nomination to the National Register, both of these individual properties represent lone examples of their type. Therefore, no property types have been developed in association with this context.

## 3) REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Registration requirements state the requirements for listing members of a property type in the National Register. Because no property types were developed in association with this context, there was no need to formulate registration requirements.

## 4) NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES

Included below is a discussion of the two properties proposed for nomination to the National Register in association with the context titled The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849 (Context B). Property descriptions, statements of significance, verbal boundary descriptions, maps, and photographs will be included with the individual National Register nomination forms attached as an appendix to this Historic Resource Study.

The *Mammoth Cave Historic District* is an exceptionally rare resource which has been nominated as an individual property and not placed under any property type category. The various contributing elements within the district are associated with three park historic contexts: The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849 (Context B); Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C); and Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D). The Mammoth Cave Historic District is significant under criterion A based on historic associations with the areas of Entertainment/Recreation (tourism), Industry (saltpetre mining), Commerce (tourism, saltpetre mining, and mushroom beds), and Health/Medicine (tuberculin huts). Based on the critical role which Mammoth Cave saltpetre played in supporting the American military effort during the War of 1812, the importance of Mammoth Cave as an American tourist destination, the significance of the tuberculosis huts as an experimental effort to control a fatal disease, and the excellent state of preservation exhibited by the historic resources within the cave, national significance has been assigned to the Mammoth Cave Historic District. In addition, further study may demonstrate that this historic district has religious significance based on the cave's use as the site of church services, although this potential aspect of significance is not reflected in the current individual nomination.

Secondly, the *Old Guide Cemetery* is one of many cemeteries contained within the national park. Three cemeteries are presently proposed for nomination in association with related church buildings (see Context A),

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but the Old Guide Cemetery is the only example of this resource type nominated individually with no accompanying church. Initial evidence indicates that the remaining cemeteries identified during the survey maintain a primary association with the context entitled Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927 (Context A). The Old Guide Cemetery, however, is associated with The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849 context (Context B) because it contains the graves of former tuberculosis patients who died during an 1842-1843 experiment which attempted to establish a medical use for the cave. This cemetery is also associated with Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C) because it serves as a resting place for famous cave guide Stephen Bishop who died in 1857. The Old Guide Cemetery is significant under criterion A based on historic associations with the areas of Entertainment/Recreation (grave of former cave guide) and Health/Medicine (graves of tuberculosis patients).

**5) OTHER SURVEYED PROPERTIES**

No additional properties were surveyed in association with the context entitled Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849 (Context B).

**6) RECOMMENDATIONS**

All documents, records, photographs, and other materials gathered by Kelly Lally during the course of this project will be turned over to Mammoth Cave National Park for permanent storage. Copies of the List of Classified Structures forms will also be given to the park, while copies of the state inventory forms will be made available to the Kentucky Heritage Council. Copies of the completed Historic Resource Study and the accompanying individual National Register nominations, maps, and photographs will be deposited in the park, the Kentucky Heritage Council office, the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, and the National Register office in Washington, DC.

During a September 19, 1990 telephone conversation, Doug Owsley of the Smithsonian Institution stated that recent scholarly studies in Physical Anthropology demonstrate growing interest in the study of tuberculosis. In particular, a developing body of evidence suggests that tuberculosis victims can be identified by examining skeletal remains for the presence of rib bone lesions. This implies that the graves of the Mammoth Cave tuberculosis patients located in the Old Guide Cemetery have possible significance under National Register criterion D based on their potential to yield information about the nature of that disease and the physical effects experienced by victims. While not proposing excavation of these graves, it is recommended that this aspect of significance receive further consideration only in the unlikely event that the graves require relocation at some point in the future.

Marsha A. Mullins' 1986 Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) report on the Mammoth Cave saltpetre works contains a useful "Suggestions for Further Research" section. Those suggestions include a number of valid points concerning sources of additional documentation which would enhance our understanding of Mammoth Cave's role in nineteenth-century saltpetre production. Without repeating all of the HAER report's suggestions, those which have the greatest relevance to this Historic Resource Study will be briefly outlined.

- a) Several archival collections contain information of possible value in furthering our knowledge of Mammoth Cave saltpetre production. Those collections include the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, Delaware; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Transylvania University in Lexington,

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Kentucky. Each of these repositories may hold information about important figures involved in the Mammoth Cave saltpetre business. In addition, the National Archives may contain records regarding military use of Mammoth Cave saltpetre.

- b) Other caves both within and outside the national park boundaries should be surveyed in order to verify their possible involvement in saltpetre production. This would help to place Mammoth Cave's role as a saltpetre source into a larger context. If this results in the identification of National Register-eligible caves, preparation of nominations should proceed.
- c) Additional historic archeological study of the saltpetre resources within Mammoth Cave and outside the cave's Historic Entrance should be undertaken. Such a study may help to locate the site of furnace locations outside the Historic Entrance and further our knowledge of the saltpetre refining process.

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**III. PARK HISTORIC CONTEXT****C) CONTEXT TITLE: Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926****1) CONTEXT NARRATIVE:**

After John Croghan's death in 1849, trustees and resident managers continued Croghan's work of developing Mammoth Cave into a major tourist attraction. Improvements in the local transportation industry, such as the construction of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, the Mammoth Cave Railroad, and Lock Number 6 on Green River (which opened steamboat traffic to the region) allowed increasing numbers of tourists to visit Mammoth Cave and other caves discovered in the locality. Aside from a brief attempt to grow mushrooms in the cave, tourism developed into the area's primary economic endeavor.

Tourist business ultimately became such a priority that owners of the region's many caves began resorting to highly competitive measures to attract more visitors. Such measures included road solicitation and even false advertising. During this "Cave Wars" period, local cave owner and explorer Floyd Collins died tragically while exploring Sand Cave. One of the first nationally broadcast media events, Collins's death in 1925 drew even more curious tourists to the cave area.

John Croghan's will named Joseph R. Underwood of Bowling Green, Kentucky as first trustee for the Mammoth Cave estate, thus giving Underwood responsibility for handling the business affairs of the cave and finding suitable lessors of the property.<sup>1</sup> The day-to-day operations of Mammoth Cave were directed by resident managers who leased the cave properties from the Croghan heirs. These managers hired the guides and other employees, ran the hotel, and made improvements when necessary.

Two notable Mammoth Cave managers were Henry C. Ganter, whose family maintains that he managed the property for twenty-nine years, and Martin Leo Charlet who directed the Mammoth Cave estate from 1915 to 1934.<sup>2</sup> Although Underwood had favored selling the property rather than continuing to lease it,<sup>3</sup> capable management by men like Ganter and Charlet meant that the tourist business flourished at Mammoth Cave during the remainder of the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth century. Because the leasing system continued to deliver revenue to the Croghan heirs, the family descendants had little incentive to seriously consider selling the property prior to the onset of the "Cave Wars" period in the 1920s.

Mammoth Cave's popularity as a tourist destination began to escalate in the mid-nineteenth century. In that era, tourism had not become commonplace and those who did engage in recreational travel tended to have more leisure time and money than did most citizens. Elevated financial status also placed certain of these early visitors in a position to author travel guides. These travel guides often became popular reading material and

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<sup>1</sup>John Croghan's will, Exhibit 1 in Wyatt and Janin vs. Mammoth Cave Development Company, et al, United States District Court, August 1926, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Cecil E. Goode, World Wonder Saved: How Mammoth Cave Became a National Park (Mammoth Cave, KY: Mammoth Cave National Park Association, 1986), pp. 11-12.

<sup>3</sup>Judge Underwood, "Mammoth Cave Report," February 13, 1868.

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served to further publicize the wonders of the cave. Rambles in the Mammoth Cave in the Year 1844, By a Visitor serves as one example of this popular literary genre.

The notoriety of the celebrated individuals who possessed sufficient wealth to travel also brought further attention to Mammoth Cave's tourist potential. For example, on April 5, 1851, prominent Swedish opera singer Jenny Lind came to the cave as a tourist and sang "The Last Rose of Summer" from a place within the cave which now bears her name. Royal visitors included Brazilian Emperor Don Pedro and Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, both of whom toured Mammoth Cave in February 1872. A section of the cave now called Booth's Amphitheater marks the spot where actor Edwin Booth (brother of Lincoln assassin John Wilkes Booth) recited Hamlet's "Soliloquy" in 1876. Professor E. A. Martel, a Parisian once known as the world's foremost cave authority, toured Mammoth Cave in 1912. Other famous cave visitors included Norwegian violinist Ole Bull, populist politician William Jennings Bryan, and evangelist Billy Sunday. The publicity which accompanied the visits of these celebrity figures helped to enhance Mammoth Cave's reputation as a tourist resort.<sup>4</sup>

The development of various modern transportation systems also had a significant impact on Mammoth Cave's accessibility and popularity as a tourist attraction. Beginning in the 1850s, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad (L & N) brought travelers to Glasgow Junction where stagecoach lines ran to Mammoth Cave. The stagecoach was soon replaced by another rail line in response to the increasing numbers of tourists. From 1886 to 1931 the locomotives of the Mammoth Cave Railroad shuttled between the Mammoth Cave Hotel and Glasgow Junction, a distance of 8.7 miles.<sup>5</sup> The railroad was abandoned in 1931 due to the increase in automobile use. Also, plans for the development of a national park at Mammoth Cave did not include a railroad.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to single fares, the L & N offered special travel packages for groups touring Mammoth Cave. These packages included train fare, hotel costs, and cave tour fees and were priced according to the number of people in the group and the distance the group had to travel to reach Mammoth Cave. For instance, in the late 1800s a group of ten to twenty-four persons traveling 50 miles to Mammoth Cave could enjoy the three-day package for \$9.75 per person.<sup>7</sup>

With the 1906 opening of Lock Number 6 on Green River near Brownsville, travelers could also reach Mammoth Cave by steamboat. Chaperone, Emma, and The Evansville were among the steamboats which brought visitors to Mammoth Cave. In the early twentieth century, a four-day trip from Evansville, Indiana to Mammoth Cave cost \$10.00 and included meals, entertainment, and cave tours.<sup>8</sup> Steamboats probably docked near the old Mammoth Cave ferry landing, about a quarter mile west of the historic entrance to Mammoth Cave, although

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<sup>4</sup>Margaret M. Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave National Park Kentucky: A Brief History (Mammoth Cave, KY, 1952), p. 26.

<sup>5</sup>"Trail's End! The Mammoth Cave Railroad, 1886-1931," The L&N Employees' Magazine, May 1937, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>Elmer G. Sulzer, "The Mammoth Cave Railroad," p. 39.

<sup>7</sup>19th Century L & N Railroad travel brochure, copy in Mammoth Cave National Park Library, Mammoth Cave, KY.

<sup>8</sup>Helen Crocker, The Green River of Kentucky (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1976), p. 64.

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written sources do not mention the site specifically. The old ferry landing was not surveyed in this project, but has been investigated archeologically.<sup>9</sup>

The invention of the automobile in the late nineteenth century afforded Americans more mobility and dramatically affected the tourist industry. The car eventually replaced both the railroad and the steamboat as the primary means of reaching Mammoth Cave. The roads leading to the cave were improved to accommodate the increased traffic and parking lots were constructed for the large number of parked cars.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, visitors to Mammoth Cave most often stayed at the hotel on the cave property. The original Mammoth Cave Hotel was built by Franklin Gorin in the late 1830s and improved under the later ownership of John Croghan. The hotel included a few of the original log cabins once inhabited by the saltpetre miners in the early nineteenth century. The two story timber frame building with verandas on both levels was mentioned fondly in a multitude of travel accounts. Fire destroyed this hotel in 1916. The owners constructed a similar frame structure in 1925 which also became a spot beloved by local residents and tourists alike. The more recent Mammoth Cave Hotel was closed by the National Park Service because of fire hazards and demolished in 1979 after a legal battle with local residents who tried to save the building.<sup>10</sup>

The guides and other workers built underground trails to make the cave more accessible for visitors. They constructed bridges and rock stairways to allow passage through certain steep or dangerous portions of the cave. The bridges have not been numbered or included on the park's List of Classified Structures, nor have they been surveyed in this project. Most of the original wooden bridges have been replaced with modern metal structures. The cave still contains many of the rock stairways such as Albert's Stairway near the Violet City Entrance and the rock stairs at the end of Gothic Avenue.

After the Civil War, both black and white guides conducted tours through Mammoth Cave for the increasingly large number of visitors. In addition to the Bransfords, other prominent guide families of the period included the Hunts and Furlongs.<sup>11</sup> At some undetermined point in time, the guides developed the practice of "flame throwing." Flame throwing involved lighting oil soaked flares with a lantern flame and lofting them onto high ledges to provide illumination in certain portions of the cave. In the early twentieth century, guides used grease lanterns and the more recently invented kerosene lanterns to lead visitors on a variety of tour routes. These routes included trips to Echo River, Pits and Domes; Star Chamber and Gothic Avenue; Main Cave and New Discovery; and the route to the Maelstrom and to Hovey's Cathedral.<sup>12</sup> The guides continued their practice of inscribing the names of visitors and the dates of their visits on the caves walls and ceilings, as well as encouraging the construction of rock "monuments" by tourists.

Since the early nineteenth century, the tourist business had been by far the most important and lucrative enterprise at Mammoth Cave. However, around the year 1881, a Frenchman named Mazeller proposed that the

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<sup>9</sup>See Guy Prentice, Mammoth Cave National Park Archeological Inventory Project Interim Report--1988 Investigations (Tallahassee, FL: National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, October 1989), pp. 43-44.

<sup>10</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, pp. 12-14.

<sup>11</sup>Horace Hovey, Mammoth Cave of Kentucky: With an Account of Colossal Cavern, Revised Ed., (Louisville, KY: John P. Morton & Co., Inc., 1912).

<sup>12</sup>M. J. Robards, "Once Upon a Time...Mammoth Cave was Sold for \$116.67!," The L & N Employees' Magazine (November 1955), p. 42.

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cave's uniform temperature would provide an ideal environment for growing mushrooms.<sup>13</sup> The trustees rented this gentleman a portion of Audubon Avenue (the first avenue to the right upon entering the cave's Historic Entrance) with hopes that his newly created Mammoth Cave Mushroom Company would provide profits for everyone involved. The six mushroom beds at the end of Audubon Avenue, which remain intact in their original location today, failed to produce any substantial harvest of mushrooms. The Mammoth Cave Mushroom Company went bankrupt just a year after the experiment began. The Mammoth Cave estate, rather than profiting from this venture, actually lost several hundred dollars. Legal suits filed to recover funds from the Mushroom Company proved unsuccessful.<sup>14</sup>

Beginning in the late 1800s, some local residents attempted to capitalize on the popularity of Mammoth Cave by searching for other caves that might attract tourists. A 1904 Colossal Cavern advertisement noted, "Since the famous Mammoth Cave of Kentucky was discovered . . . no less than ninety other caves have been explored within a radius of ten miles of it."<sup>15</sup> Colossal Cavern, Great Onyx Cave, the New Entrance Cave, and Crystal Cave, all located within the current Mammoth Cave National Park, became the most prominent of the local caves which competed with Mammoth Cave and each other for tourist business.

Other caves located within the present park boundaries include Cathedral Domes, Proctor, White, Salts, Ganter, and Dossey caves. Although different owners operated these caves as commercial enterprises, they seldom received attention in local historical accounts nor interpretation by the National Park Service. With the exception of Cathedral Domes, which belonged to New Entrance Cave owner George Morrison, these other caves were not as significant in terms of size and tourist popularity. These smaller caves have yet to be surveyed as historical resources. Though a major commercial cave, the integrity of Cathedral Domes was affected adversely when the entrance was sealed with dynamite in 1935 for safety reasons.

Due to some of the competitive business practices employed by different cave owners, area residents often refer to this period of commercial cave operation as the "Cave Wars" era. Local historian and author Cecil E. Goode describes the "virtual cut-throat tactics" by rival cave owners "in competition with Mammoth Cave such as confusing and ambiguous signs to divert tourists who might be heading to Mammoth Cave. . . . Solicitors also intercepted tourists on the highways leading toward the cave and inveigled them into going into their caves rather than Mammoth Cave."<sup>16</sup>

Although a tourist destination of some importance, Colossal Cavern played a relatively minor role in the Cave Wars period. Several individuals claim its discovery, but most reliable accounts indicate that William Garvin found the cave opening in July of 1895 after exploring an unusual hole in a hillside near his farm south of Flint Ridge (see map 3).<sup>17</sup> In 1896, the L & N Railroad acquired Colossal Cavern from Dr. L. W. Hazen who owned the farm on which it was located. The railroad spent large sums of money exploring and improving cave passages for visitors. Advertized as a "Rival to Mammoth Cave," Colossal Cavern includes Colossal Dome, described in

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<sup>13</sup>H. C. Hovey, "A Mushroom Farm in Mammoth Cave," Scientific American (June 11, 1881).

<sup>14</sup>See "Legal Briefs Concerning Debts of the Mammoth Cave Mushroom Company."

<sup>15</sup>The Colossal Cavern: Kentucky's New Rival to Mammoth Cave, Bookhouses Magazine, Volume 4, (1904), p. 1.

<sup>16</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup>Hovey, Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, p. 121.

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1904 as "the largest subterranean cavern as yet discovered in the world."<sup>18</sup> The L & N operated Colossal Cavern until the early 1920s. The Railroad donated the property to the Mammoth Cave National Park Association in 1929 for addition to the newly proposed national park.<sup>19</sup>

This period witnessed many efforts to locate commercially exploitable cave entrances. In the spring of 1915, L. P. Edwards and Edwin Turner began exploring Edwards's property on Flint Ridge in hopes of discovering a major cave. Using shovels and dynamite, Edwards and Turner created an entrance to Great Onyx Cave on June 12, 1915. The following year Edwards opened a tour route to the public. A few years later he had hotels and cottages built on the property. Lucy Edwards Cox and Perry Cox purchased the majority interest in the Great Onyx Cave in 1926 and managed it until 1961 when the National Park Service acquired the property for inclusion in Mammoth Cave National Park.<sup>20</sup>

The most notorious event of the Cave Wars period began in 1916 when George Morrison and several of his employees first entered Mammoth Cave with the intention of conducting a secret survey. According to a 1926 petition filed by Mammoth Cave trustees William E. Wyatt and Violet Blair Janin, Morrison initiated the episode by providing a bribe to one of Mammoth Cave's old guides. In return, the guide provided Morrison and his party with unauthorized access to the cave after dark.<sup>21</sup>

Having worked as an oil prospector in Edmonson County, Morrison felt convinced that the underground passages of Mammoth Cave extended well beyond the aboveground boundaries of the Mammoth Cave Estate. Morrison and his crew conducted their covert survey hoping to locate places beyond the estate boundaries where they might construct artificial entrances into the cave. If successful, he could gain a share of the lucrative tourist business.

In 1921, Morrison formed the Mammoth Cave Development Company and continued his effort to develop an artificial cave opening. He succeeded during the same year and constructed a man-made cave entry about 2.5 miles from the natural "Historic" cave entrance. Morrison dubbed his creation the "New Entrance to Mammoth Cave" and promoted this opening as simply another entrance into the Mammoth Cave system. In 1923, the Mammoth Cave Development Company sponsored the construction of a 25-room hotel at the New Entrance.<sup>22</sup>

Viewing these actions as a form of copyright infringement, Mammoth Cave estate trustees Wyatt and Janin filed suit against Morrison and the Mammoth Cave Development Company. This suit claimed not only illegal use of the name "Mammoth Cave," but also other unfair business tactics such as road solicitation that misdirected tourists away from Mammoth Cave's Historic entrance. The suit further contended that Morrison's employees had made violent threats against the Mammoth Cave staff. Though Morrison appealed the original decision, in

<sup>18</sup>"Kentucky's New Rival to Mammoth Cave," Bookhouses Magazine, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 85.

<sup>20</sup>See Great Onyx Guide Manual.

<sup>21</sup>Wyatt and Janin vs. Mammoth Cave Development Company, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup>Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave, pp. 20-21.



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1928 the court ordered him to explain on all of his advertising materials that tours from his New Entrance Cave would not lead visitors to the famous sites and formations found in the historic Mammoth Cave.<sup>23</sup>

Morrison and the Mammoth Cave Development Company eventually sold their property, including the New Entrance Cave and the more recently discovered and developed Frozen Niagara section, to the Mammoth Cave National Park Association and the Mammoth Cave National Park Commission. As a result, the National Park Service eventually assumed control of these properties and now uses the New Entrance (today called the Frozen Niagara Entrance) to access this portion of the cave for the Frozen Niagara tour.<sup>24</sup> The New Entrance Hotel constructed by Morrison's Mammoth Cave Development Company continued to operate for a time, but the National Park Service eventually decided to demolish the facility in 1945.

Floyd Collins achieved national media attention during the Cave Wars period. In 1917, Floyd discovered Crystal Cave on land his father Lee Collins owned in the Flint Ridge area.<sup>25</sup> The father and son shared joint ownership of the cave and Floyd made improvements to the cave entrance as a prelude to commercial operation. Known throughout the region as an avid cave explorer, Floyd brought national attention to the Mammoth Cave area when he became trapped in a narrow passage while exploring Sand Cave in 1925. After sixteen days in the cave, Collins died before rescuers could reach him. This event, highly publicized in print and one of the first nationally broadcast radio stories, brought even more curious tourists to the cave region.

Dr. H. B. Thomas of Horse Cave, Kentucky, who purchased the Crystal Cave property from the Collins family in 1927, placed Floyd's coffin and headstone in Crystal Cave and built a ticket office near the Collins family home to accommodate the large number of visitors. Following Dr. Thomas' death in 1948, his family continued to operate the cave until 1960 when it was purchased by the Federal government for incorporation into Mammoth Cave National Park.<sup>26</sup> Presently, the ticket office and Collins house stand near the entrance to Crystal Cave as the only extant buildings in the park that represent the context entitled Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C). In the spring of 1989, the National Park Service removed the coffin and headstone of Floyd Collins from Crystal Cave and placed them in the Mammoth Cave Baptist Church cemetery.

To state that all "Cave Wars" ended in 1926 would not do justice to a very complex situation, but this year did witness the enactment of Congressional legislation authorizing the establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park. This legislation set in motion a process which would ultimately consolidate most of the rival caves under National Park Service ownership. However, total consolidation did not occur immediately and the National Park Service remained in competition with a number of privately owned caves for many years. For example, although a 1940 court decision diminished the intensity of a particularly serious struggle between the park and Great Onyx Cave,<sup>27</sup> final resolution of this situation did not occur until the National Park Service purchased this cave in 1961.

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<sup>23</sup>William Watt and Trustees vs. Mammoth Cave Development Company, United States Circuit Court of Appeals, 1928.

<sup>24</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, pp. 85-88.

<sup>25</sup>Nellie Vaughn, ed., "Brief History of Crystal Cave," April 1950.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.; Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 85.

<sup>27</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, pp. 46-47.

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Despite the lingering nature of the Cave Wars, 1926 concludes this context period because the Federal legislation passed during this year marked a fundamental shift toward efforts designed to create a national park. Before 1926, tourism revolved around a number of privately owned cave properties. After 1926, centralized Federal ownership of caves became the rule and the new national park gradually developed into the primary focal point of tourist activity in the Mammoth Cave area.

## 2) ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

*Name of Property Type:* Commercial Cave Entrances and Related Structures

*Description:* Cave entrances, which connect the surface with underground passages, are the most visible extant feature associated with the operation of commercial caves in what is now Mammoth Cave National Park. Associated structures and sites, such as retaining walls, stairways, railings, doors, gates, visitor gathering yards, and, in the case of Crystal Cave, related buildings such as the residence of the cave owners and visitor facilities, can each be part of the setting of individual commercial cave entrances.

Though the nominated Mammoth Cave Historic District includes several commercial cave entrances, most of the contributing resources included in the underground district, such as the saltpeter mining works, tuberculin huts, and mushroom beds, are found only in Mammoth Cave (see Context B, The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798 to 1849). Given its unique collection of resources, the Mammoth Cave Historic District has been nominated as an individual property and not defined as a separate property type. Therefore, this property type does not treat categories of structures and sites found only in Mammoth Cave.

Entrances to commercial caves and their related structures and properties are found in a variety of locations within the boundaries of Mammoth Cave National Park. Privately owned and operated cave properties are located in a number of places in the area surrounding the park, although the National Park Service now owns the majority of the most prominent caves that competed with Mammoth Cave and each other in the late 1800s and early 1900s. These caves include Colossal Cave, Great Onyx Cave, Crystal Cave, and the New Entrance Cave.

Properties of this type take on a variety of shapes and sizes. Cave entrances are either natural entrances, natural openings improved by human beings, or man-made. Some entrances are simply rectangular openings cut into the limestone or sandstone of a hillside. Others are natural openings in sinkholes, some of which have been enlarged or shaped and fitted with a gate or door. Most entrances have man-made stone retaining walls, which support the cave entrance and surrounding land and delay the damaging effects of erosion and water drainage, and interior and/or exterior stairways which descend into the cave. Cave openings might be sheltered by a structure which visitors must pass through before entering the cave. Commonly, cave entrances have some sort of door or gate to regulate cave entry and exit.

The immediate setting of a commercial cave entrance will consist of the portion of the hillside or sinkhole into which the entrance is set and possibly a visitor gathering yard surrounding the opening. Extant buildings associated with commercial cave exploitation, usually vernacular structures which follow regional patterns in terms of form, floor plan, and construction materials, can be a part of the larger setting of a commercial cave operation. The Crystal Cave area is the only commercial cave property within Mammoth Cave National Park which includes the extant buildings that constitute the larger commercial cave entrance setting.

The boundaries of commercial cave entrance properties must minimally include the original cave opening and immediate setting, but might include a larger setting if buildings associated with the commercial cave survive (as

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in the case of Crystal Cave). In some cases, the setting and design of the cave entrances might have been altered by natural or human forces, such as erosion, the construction and/or stabilization of retaining walls and stairways, the razing of structures related to individual entrances by the National Park Service, or the construction of visitor facilities for these properties.

*Significance:* Cave entrances and related structures associated with commercial cave exploitation are significant under Criterion A in the area of Entertainment/Recreation. This property type relates to the context entitled Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849 to 1926 (Context C). Resources nominated under this property type are all locally significant, although some of them might have additional significance at the state or national level.

Cave entrances and related structures are the most visible reminders of the local development and importance of the tourist business in the Mammoth Cave area and the competition among cave owners for that business. It is through these openings that people left the surface world and entered the underground spaces. The caves themselves are important historic resources which signify commercial development and tourism in the Mammoth Cave area. With the exception of the Mammoth Cave Historic District, which is nominated as a unique collection of resources, the underground passages of the commercial caves in the park were not surveyed due to the time constraints of this project. At some later date, these caves should be surveyed in an attempt to locate stairways, trails, bridges, and other underground historic features.

Beginning in the 1840s, the utilization of Mammoth Cave as a tourist attraction became a profitable venture for cave owner John Croghan. As time passed, the cave continued to earn profits for Croghan's heirs. In the late nineteenth century, other people discovered and marketed additional caves, thereby capitalizing on the success of Mammoth Cave. The L & N Railroad, which had carried tourists to the cave area since the 1850s, promoted its own cave named Colossal Cavern. The railroad hoped to increase visitation to the cave area and therefore the number of paid train fares. The owners of other operations, such as George Morrison (New Entrance Cave) and L. P. Edwards (Great Onyx Cave), built hotels and engaged in extremely competitive business tactics in an effort to carve out a significant portion of the tourist market for themselves.

Aside from Mammoth Cave and Colossal Cavern, many of the commercial caves in the area were operated by people who lived and farmed on property which also included caves. Visitors could often arrange for cave tours at the owner's residence or at an ambitious owner's ticket office. The owner's residence, ticket office, and possibly a hotel and gift shop would be located in proximity to the cave entrance. Thus, varying degrees of formality and promotion marked the experience of visiting caves other than Mammoth Cave.

Since the legislation authorizing the creation of Mammoth Cave National Park required that the park include all cave properties in the immediate area, the national park put many of the privately owned caves out of business. Though the owners of Crystal Cave and Great Onyx Cave resisted initial efforts to bring their land into the national park, it eventually proved more profitable for them to sell their properties rather than to continue operating the caves privately. The National Park Service acquired Crystal Cave and Great Onyx Cave in 1960 and 1961, respectively. Though privately owned and operated caves still remain in the area today, Mammoth Cave National Park now contains the majority of the cave properties judged to be historically significant based on past media attention and levels of commercial activity.

The process of establishing a national park also witnessed efforts to return the park landscape to a natural state which would exhibit little evidence of human habitation. Thus, most of the buildings associated with commercial cave exploitation in the area were razed. The buildings associated with Crystal Cave serve as exceptions to this rule. Acquired in 1960, the Crystal Cave property includes the Collins house and the Crystal Cave ticket office.

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Many area residents and park officials associate these structures with the entrapment and death of Floyd Collins in Sand Cave in 1925. This event received extensive national media attention and has become one of the most memorable episodes in the history of the Mammoth Cave area.

### 3) REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Commercial cave entrances and related structures in Mammoth Cave National Park must be historically significant properties associated with prominent Mammoth Cave area commercial caves and their owners. A historically significant property may sustain some alteration and remain eligible if that property was among the most prominent of its type within the present Mammoth Cave National Park area or is associated with people who were important local cave owners within the area.

In most cases, cave entrance designs served purely functional purposes and were based on creating a safe, usable entrance. Thus, a great range exists to define integrity of design or workmanship. Structures related to cave entrances that have been altered in some manner will be eligible if the majority of original materials and design are intact and if materials have been replaced in kind by the National Park Service.

The following aspects of integrity should be considered in evaluating individual structures or complexes of structures:

*Location and Setting:* The location of cave entrances found in Mammoth Cave National Park serves as the primary factor for evaluating integrity. The opening which leads from the surface to the underground passages must be original. When related structures exist, they should also remain in their original locations. Integrity of setting involves two considerations. The immediate setting might include the portion of the hillside or sinkhole in which the opening was formed or constructed, entry stairs leading to the opening, retaining walls surrounding the opening, or a visitor gathering yard near the entrance. Integrity of the larger setting would require the presence of any structures or sites historically associated with the commercial cave entrance.

In some cases, the larger setting may have been altered such as when residential or commercial structures associated with the property were torn down by the Civilian Conservation Corps or the National Park Service, or when the Park Service constructed visitor facilities for these properties nearby. While the integrity of the immediate setting must remain intact, the integrity of the larger setting is not required for eligibility unless extant structures or recognizable sites have been identified and inventoried.

*Design, Workmanship, Materials:* The original design and workmanship of cave entrances may be altered by natural processes or by human attempts to adapt structures to these natural processes. For example, if natural forces threaten to collapse an entrance, entrance stairs and retaining walls may be stabilized or replaced with the same type of materials.

Concerning any structures associated with this property type, namely those associated with Crystal Cave, it is important that recent alterations to the structures do not destroy their original exterior design or workmanship. The majority of original construction materials must be present. Replacements for severely rotting boards or unstable foundations must be of the same materials as the original.

*Feeling and Association:* For cave entrances, integrity of feeling and association exist if integrity of location and immediate setting remain intact.

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## 4) NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES

The following list will identify properties proposed for nomination to the National Register in association with the context titled Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C). Property descriptions, statements of significance, verbal boundary descriptions, maps, and photographs will be included with the individual National Register nomination forms attached as an appendix to this Historic Resource Study.

- a) Mammoth Cave Historic District--An exceptionally rare resource, this historic district has been nominated as an individual property and not placed under any property type category. The various contributing elements within the district are associated with three park historic contexts: The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849 (Context B); Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C); and Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D). The Mammoth Cave Historic District is significant under criterion A based on historic associations with the areas of Entertainment/Recreation (tourism), Industry (saltpetre mining), Commerce (tourism, saltpetre mining, and mushroom beds), and Health/Medicine (tuberculin huts). Based on the critical role which Mammoth Cave saltpetre played in supporting the American military effort during the War of 1812, the importance of Mammoth Cave as an American tourist destination, the significance of the tuberculosis huts as an experimental effort to control a fatal disease, and the excellent state of preservation exhibited by the historic resources within the cave, national significance has been assigned to the Mammoth Cave Historic District. In addition, further study may demonstrate that this historic district has religious significance based on the cave's use as the site of church services, although this potential aspect of significance is not reflected in the current individual nomination.
- b) Old Guide Cemetery--This cemetery is one of many contained within the national park. Three cemeteries are presently proposed for nomination in association with related church buildings (see Context A), but the Old Guide Cemetery is the only example of this resource type nominated individually with no accompanying church. Initial evidence indicates that the remaining cemeteries identified during the survey maintain a primary association with the context entitled Exploration and Settlement in the Mammoth Cave Area, c. 1754-1927 (Context A). The Old Guide Cemetery, however, is associated with The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849 context (Context B) because it contains the graves of former tuberculosis patients who died during an 1842-1843 experiment which attempted to establish a medical use for the cave. This cemetery is also associated with Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C) because it serves as a resting place for famous cave guide Stephen Bishop who died in 1857. The Old Guide Cemetery is significant under criterion A based on historic associations with the areas of

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Entertainment/Recreation (grave of former cave guide) and Health/Medicine (graves of tuberculosis patients).

- c) Crystal Cave Historic District
- d) Colossal Cavern Entrance
- e) Great Onyx Cave Entrance

## 5) OTHER SURVEYED PROPERTIES

The following list consists of properties surveyed in connection with the context titled Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C), but not presently proposed for nomination to the National Register. Each resource name will be followed by a brief statement explaining the decision not to nominate these properties at this time. If further study suggests that these properties are eligible, nomination to the National Register should follow. New additions to the List of Classified Structures will be highlighted with an asterisk.

- a) Cathedral Domes Entrance--this man-made cave entrance was constructed by the Mammoth Cave Development Company during the 1920s. The entrance has recently collapsed and has no associated buildings or structures which remain extant. The entrance collapse has led to a loss of integrity which undoubtedly precludes the possibility of National Register eligibility.
- b) Sand Cave Entrance\*--Sand Cave is the site of Floyd Collins' death. A depression in the ground near the cave entrance marks the location of a tunnel dug in a belated attempt to rescue Collins. Given the association of this site with the national media attention surrounding Collins' entrapment in the cave, the National Register eligibility of this cave entrance should receive future consideration.
- c) Dixon Cave Entrance--although this entrance area includes no extant buildings and structures, there is evidence of saltpeter mining activity within the cave. The extent of this mining activity should receive future study and the potential National Register eligibility of this cave should be considered.
- d) Cave Research Foundation Bunkhouse\*--Located in the vicinity of the Crystal Cave Historic District, this property probably dates to the early 1920s and may have been constructed in connection with tourist visits to the nearby cave. Further research will be required to assess the property's potential significance, but recent alterations by the Cave Research Foundation may have resulted in a loss of integrity.
- e) Cave Research Foundation Cookhouse\*--see above discussion related to the bunkhouse.

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- f) Austin House\*--Also located near the Crystal Cave Historic District, this property may not be old enough to qualify for National Register eligibility. In addition, numerous alterations may have resulted in a loss of integrity. Some additional research is required before making a final eligibility determination.
- g) Hercules and Coach #2--First employed in 1886 to provide tourist transportation to Mammoth Cave, this train engine and coach car was previously listed in the National Register on October 10, 1975.

## 6) RECOMMENDATIONS

All documents, records, photographs, and other materials gathered by Kelly Lally during the course of this project will be turned over to Mammoth Cave National Park for permanent storage. Copies of the List of Classified Structures forms will also be given to the park, while copies of the state inventory forms will be made available to the Kentucky Heritage Council. Copies of the completed Historic Resource Study and the accompanying individual National Register nominations, maps, and photographs will be deposited in the park, the Kentucky Heritage Council office, the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, and the National Register office in Washington, DC.

Several of the Other Surveyed Properties listed above require additional study to make final determinations of National Register eligibility. This includes the Dixon Cave Entrance which should be examined in connection with a broader study of historic saltpetre mining activity in the Mammoth Cave area (see Recommendations section of Context 2). The Cave Research Foundation Bunkhouse and Cookhouse, and the Austin House, all located in the vicinity of the Crystal Cave Historic District, each require further study to determine their current level of integrity and their potential eligibility. If eligible, preparation of National Register nominations for these resources should proceed.

At some future point, Mammoth Cave National Park and the Kentucky Heritage Council should explore the potential application of the Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C) documentation to the evaluation of additional resources located both inside and outside the park boundaries. For example, other resources related to tourism within the park might include various visitor facilities, railroad beds, steamboat landings, locks, and roads. Outside the park, it is possible that significant vestiges of the Cave Wars era remain extant along roads leading to the national park. Further efforts to identify, evaluate, and nominate eligible tourism-related properties would help to achieve a broader understanding of this important facet of the local area's history.

The park area includes a number of caves which previously competed with Mammoth Cave for tourist business. Although these other caves may be connected to the greater Mammoth Cave system, they were once operated as separate cave destinations. Today, some of these caves are located within the national park, while others are situated outside park boundaries. These caves should be studied in an effort to achieve a more holistic understanding of cave-related tourism.

Mammoth Cave itself should receive future study as a historic resource. In both prehistoric and historic times, the cave has served as the site of a variety of human activities. The extent of recent survey activity resulted in the nomination of the Mammoth Cave Historic District located within the cave's Historic Entrance. The cave should ultimately be evaluated as a historic resource whose limits extend beyond the current boundaries established for the Mammoth Cave Historic District.

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Finally, future researchers should know that the Janin Collection in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California may include historical documents pertinent to Mammoth Cave. An heir of Dr. Croghan whose 1849 will established cave operating procedures which prevailed for several decades, Violet Blair Janin played a role in legal action brought against the Mammoth Cave Development Company during the 1920s. Janin was also an owner of the Mammoth Cave estate when it was purchased by the Mammoth Cave National Park Association during the early 1930s. As a result, the Janin Collection in Huntington Library may contain valuable information about Mammoth Cave during the period preceding establishment of the national park.



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**III. PARK HISTORIC CONTEXT****D) CONTEXT TITLE: Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941****1) CONTEXT NARRATIVE:**

The National Park Service formally assumed control of Mammoth Cave National Park in 1941 and the park received its first federal appropriation in that same year. However, efforts to consolidate the cave and the surrounding lands into a national park began many years earlier. The first formal attempts to create the national park began after the organization of the Mammoth Cave National Park Association in 1924. As a result, this historic context has been defined to span the years between 1924 and 1941.

Although the founding of the Mammoth Cave National Park Association (hereafter referred to as the Association) marked a pivotal starting point in the drive to establish the national park, interest in such a park actually began well before 1924. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad (L & N) supported the idea of a national park before 1900. In fact, in 1886 the railroad company supported the construction of the Mammoth Cave Railroad which traveled a distance of about eight miles from the L & N mainline in Glasgow Junction to the Mammoth Cave Hotel. The railroad also purchased their own cave, Colossal Cavern, and promoted this cave as a tourist attraction. The L & N supported the national park concept largely because of the business a park would bring to the railroad.<sup>1</sup>

Congressional interest in a national park began shortly after the turn of the century. Kentucky Congressman James M. Richardson reportedly began urging the Secretary of the Interior to establish a Mammoth Cave National Park as early as 1905. Legislation to that effect was unsuccessfully introduced in the House of Representatives a few years later by Congressman R. Y. Thomas, who succeeded Richardson.<sup>2</sup> Public interest in the national park had not yet become visible enough to provoke Congressional action.

Almost two decades later, the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission became an important catalyst in the early park movement. The formation of this commission resulted from first National Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather's persistent interest in establishing more national parks in the East. In response, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work advocated the appointment of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission to investigate the suitability of various Eastern park sites. Congress supported Work's idea and formally authorized the establishment of the Commission in a bill signed into law by President Coolidge on February 21, 1925.<sup>3</sup> The Commission consisted of the following members: Henry W. Temple, member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Pennsylvania; Maj. W. A. Welch, Chief Engineer and General Manager of the Palisades Interstate Park of New York and New Jersey; Harlan P. Kelsey, previous president of the Appalachian Mountains Club of Boston; William C. Gregg, an influential member of the National Arts Club of New York; and

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<sup>1</sup>Kelly A. Lally, draft National Register nomination context documentation, "Development of the Mammoth Cave Area into a National Park (1926-1942)," p. 22; Margaret M. Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave National Park Kentucky, (Mammoth Cave, KY, 1952), p. 33.

<sup>2</sup>Cecil E. Goode, World Wonder Saved: How Mammoth Cave Became a National Park (Mammoth Cave, KY: The Mammoth Cave National Park Association, 1986), pp. 20-21.

<sup>3</sup>Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave, p. 44.

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Department of the Interior representative Col. Glenn S. Smith, acting Chief Topographic Engineer of the Geological Survey.<sup>4</sup>

Early drafts of the legislation signed by President Coolidge on February 21 had recommended that the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission survey only two proposed parks located in the Shenandoah-Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains areas. Some last minute maneuvering by the Kentucky congressional delegation assured the inclusion of Mammoth Cave in the legislation.<sup>5</sup> This cleared the way for the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission members to visit Mammoth Cave in May 1925. Following their tour of all three proposed park sites, the Commission presented a report to Secretary Work on April 8, 1926 supporting the worthiness of all three candidates for national park status provided that their acquisition would not require any expenditures by the Federal government.<sup>6</sup>

With respect to the establishment of Mammoth Cave as a national park, the Southern Appalachian Commission left a two-fold legacy. First, the park would be created without the expenditure of Federal funds. Second, the park would be developed primarily as a natural area. Although the Southern Appalachian Commission was deactivated long before Mammoth Cave received formal induction into the National Park system, the Commission legacy strongly influenced the process which would give birth to the park.

From the perspective of the National Park Service (hereafter referred to as NPS), the chance to acquire Mammoth Cave, Shenandoah-Blue Ridge, and Great Smoky Mountains played an important role in fulfilling NPS Director Mather's broader interest in expanding the political power base of his fledgling organization into the more heavily populated East. Established in 1916, parks in the NPS system initially consisted only of natural areas located in remote corners of the American West. Possible acquisition of historic military and archeological sites administered by the Agriculture and War Departments comprised another facet of Mather's plan to gain an organizational foothold in the East. The man who succeeded Mather as Director, Horace M. Albright, achieved this prized objective in August 1933 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an Executive Order transferring these military sites to NPS.<sup>7</sup> In the meantime, NPS had already initiated measures to establish the three eastern park sites surveyed by the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission.

Because the Southern Appalachian Commission had banned the use of Federal funds to establish the three proposed national parks, creative park building methods were essential. Private citizens would have to join together to lobby politicians, raise funds, and purchase land within the designated park areas. In Kentucky, the Mammoth Cave National Park Association (hereafter referred to as the Association) assumed responsibility for early efforts to convert Mammoth Cave from a privately owned tourist resort into a national park. The Association organized in Bowling Green, Kentucky in 1924 and remains active today. The following statement summarized the Association's initial overarching purpose:

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<sup>4</sup>"Now How: A National Park in Kentucky," Box 1325, Mammoth Cave National Park, National Park Service Central Classified File 1933-1949, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington, DC. Hereafter all National Archives citations will include document name and box number, if available, followed by MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>5</sup>Darwin Lambert, Shenandoah National Park Administrative History, 1924-1976 (National Park Service, 1979), pp. 37-38.

<sup>6</sup>Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup>Barry Mackintosh, The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program, A History (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985), p. 3.

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Its membership is composed of men and women from many states who believe that there should be established more national parks in the East--and especially a national park in the Mammoth Cave region, in order to preserve for all people for all time one of the greatest of the natural wonders of the world.<sup>8</sup>

The Association's opening objective centered on launching a promotional campaign designed to convince Congress to enact legislation authorizing the park's creation. The Association began this campaign with a barrage of newspaper advertisements. An announcement in the December 4, 1927 edition of The State Journal in Frankfort emphasized that Kentucky needed a larger share of the \$3 billion spent annually on tourism in the United States. Because 76,000,000 people lived within a day's drive of Kentucky, a national park would bring an additional 500,000 tourists to the state each year. The advertisement emphasized in bold letters that the tourist influx would lead to "Financial Returns for Every Community and Individual," in addition to generating an extra \$1,000,000 in gasoline tax revenue each year. This type of advertising attempted to broaden the basis of support by outlining the benefits a new park would bring to the entire state.<sup>9</sup>

Because of the paramount need to win support in the communities bordering the proposed park area, newspapers in these towns also witnessed extensive promotional advertising. The Edmonson County News became a prime promotional target since most of the park land would be carved out of that county. As a county lacking both development and prosperity, advertising efforts focused on the financial value of the proposed park. A December 27, 1927 advertisement emphasized that the need to purchase park land would mean that land owners within the proposed park boundaries would receive total payments exceeding \$1,000,000. The park would bring hotels, businesses, and 500,000 tourists to spend a total of \$25,000,000 annually. In addition to money brought to the county by tourists, the advertisement stressed that the park should provide jobs for all who want them. In summary, the advertisement predicted that money "will be spent and spent again until a part of it will find a lodging in the pockets of every citizen in the county."

Early park supporters no doubt realized that only glowing promotional optimism would win local support for the park idea. While this belief may well have been true, such an approach created unreasonably high expectations concerning what the new park could offer the local community. Before the passage of too many years, the community would have reason to question these high expectations during the difficult process of acquiring privately owned land for inclusion in the park.

In the meantime, efforts in support of national park legislation encountered a roadblock. Despite the favorable recommendation of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission, Secretary Work expressed reluctance to support national park status for Mammoth Cave in his report to Congress. Having heard of Work's ambivalence, Kentucky Congressman Maurice Thatcher contacted the Secretary and pointed out that Work himself had supported the establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park in a previous annual report. Recognizing his personal dilemma, Work asked Thatcher to suggest a course of action. Thatcher proposed that Work endorse national park designation for Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains in his report to Congress, but refrain from making a recommendation on Mammoth Cave. The Congressman would then prepare his own Mammoth Cave bill. This tactic succeeded and President Coolidge signed the Mammoth Cave National Park

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<sup>8</sup>Quoted in Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup>"Kentucky Wants Mammoth Cave National Park," The State Journal, December 4, 1927.

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bill on May 25, 1926.<sup>10</sup> This followed by three days the enactment of legislation which jointly authorized the establishment of Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains as national parks.

The legislation designated a maximum park area of 70,618 acres, although the park could be established with a minimum area of 45,310 acres. Because the Federal government could spend no money on land acquisition, the State of Kentucky would acquire all proposed park lands (through the efforts of the Association) and later donate this property to NPS. Although prohibited from spending federal dollars on land purchases, the legislation specified that the NPS could assume administrative responsibility for the park following acquisition of 20,000 acres. This meant that NPS could begin protective activities once the park area exceeded 20,000 acres, but no Federal money could be spent on park development before achieving the minimum park level of 45,310 acres.<sup>11</sup>

Following enactment of the enabling legislation, the Association assumed the primary role in acquiring land for the new park. The Association quickly launched a fund raising drive to raise money for land acquisition. The Association hired Ketchum, Inc., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to coordinate the fund raising campaign. The successful campaign managed to raise \$800,000 during the winter of 1927 and 1928. In addition, the Association started a "Buy-An-Acre" drive based on a similar effort mounted to acquire land for Shenandoah National Park. This project encouraged donors to purchase an acre of land within the proposed park boundaries in exchange for an honorary deed certificate signed by the Governor.<sup>12</sup>

The authorization of Mammoth Cave National Park, along with the other two Eastern sites recommended for national park designation by the Southern Appalachian Commission, involved unique circumstances never encountered when creating national parks in the West. For example, the country's oldest national park--Yellowstone--was established in 1872. The majority of Yellowstone's land area falls within the present state of Wyoming. In 1872, Wyoming Territory had existed for only three years and included a scanty population of approximately 9,000 citizens. In fact, the territory would not gain sufficient population to qualify for statehood until 1890. The sparse population of the territory obviously indicates that very few white settlers lived within Yellowstone's boundaries in 1872. Similar conditions surrounded the establishment of other early Western national parks. Congress set aside these parks within relatively unpopulated areas of the public domain.

The creation of Mammoth Cave, Shenandoah, and Great Smoky Mountains National Parks differed markedly from the establishment of the early Western parks. Certainly none of these three areas qualified as urban, but each area did include a well established local population. These proposed parks threatened to displace numerous hill country people whose family ties to their land sometimes extended back several generations.<sup>13</sup> Isolated and little understood, these people had to confront a Federal government plan to establish new national

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<sup>10</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup>"History of Mammoth Cave National Park Project," p. 1, Box 1325, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA; Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, pp. 30-32. For information about the "Buy-An-Acre" campaign used in establishing Shenandoah National Park, see Carolyn and Jack Reeder, Shenandoah Heritage: The Story of the People Before the Park (Washington, DC: The Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, 1978), p. 59.

<sup>13</sup>One newspaper account stated that the maximum 70,618 acre park area included 658 property owners. Because this figure apparently did not include families of property owners, the actual population of the maximum park area would undoubtedly have been much higher. The article does not state whether the figure of 658 property owners included people who did not hold legal title to their land. See "Park Body Controls 13,000 Acres Now," Edmonson County News, 28 February 1929.

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parcs which must have appeared, at best, mysterious and, at worst, downright hostile. Given these factors, it is hardly surprising that the creation of these three parks included some amount of volatility.

Not all landowners resisted park establishment efforts. For example, in 1929 Judge Mills M. Logan sold 8,000 acres of land to the Association for eventual inclusion in the park. Logan's ownership of this land dated to 1906 when he had obtained more than 38,000 acres of property between the Nolin and Green rivers from the Commonwealth of Kentucky. This large parcel then included many residents who had settled the land without gaining legal ownership. Logan helped these people to acquire formal title and then turned over tracts of land to them. This act reduced his personal land holdings substantially and he ultimately decided to sell his remaining property for the purpose of assisting in the establishment of the new national park.<sup>14</sup> As the first president of the Association, and later as a United States Senator from Kentucky, Judge Logan had reached the conclusion that a new national park would serve as an asset to the area.

Other supporters of the national park proposal agreed to donate land without compensation. In 1929, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad deeded more than 3,000 acres to the Association as a gift.<sup>15</sup> This land included Colossal Cavern which the railroad had operated privately. Their willingness to turn over this land undoubtedly rested upon the conviction that a national park would bring increased tourist business to the railroad.

The cooperative spirit exhibited by Judge Logan and the Louisville & Nashville Railroad in 1929 did not extend to all private property owners in the area. Several years prior to this time, park supporters had already begun to realize that the park would never become a reality if forced to rely on land owner's voluntary willingness to sell. Park enthusiasts clearly needed another land acquisition tool.

Efforts to acquire the Mammoth Cave estate serve to illustrate the land acquisition difficulties encountered by the Association. The estate consisted of more than 2,000 acres of land including a hotel, the original cave entrance (now called the Historic Entrance), and underground portions of the cave. The Association desired to acquire this property so that proceeds derived from cave tours could be used to fund additional land purchases. Although the Association paid \$446,400 in 1929 to acquire two-thirds ownership of the estate, full ownership could not be secured because one partial owner of the estate property refused to sell.<sup>16</sup>

While full ownership remained elusive, the purchase represented at least partial culmination of protracted efforts to acquire the property. In the meantime, in 1928 the Kentucky legislature took a crucial step which ultimately paved the way for the park's establishment. The Legislature provided park supporters with a much needed, but controversial, land acquisition strategy by establishing the Kentucky National Park Commission and granting this body the power of eminent domain. The Commission would consist of six members (later enlarged to nine members) appointed by the Governor with the Governor sitting on the Commission as an ex-officio member.

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<sup>14</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 33; "8,000 Acres Sold to Park Association," Edmonson County News, January 18, 1929.

<sup>15</sup>"8,000 Acres Sold to Park Association," Edmonson County News, 18 January 1929.

<sup>16</sup>"History of the Mammoth Cave National Park Project," pp. 1-2, Box 1325, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA. See also the following articles in the Edmonson County News: "Mammoth Cave Valued \$496,000," 10 August 1928; "Exceptions Filed in Cave Suit," 30 August 1928; and "National Park is now Assured," 10 January 1929.

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The Legislature authorized the Governor to select his initial six Commission appointees from a list submitted by the Association.<sup>17</sup> This assured a close working relationship between the two organizations.

Now armed with eminent domain power, the Commission set about the business of acquiring complete ownership of the Mammoth Cave estate. The Commission condemned the entire estate with the understanding that this would require purchase of only one-third of the property since two-thirds ownership had already been assumed by the Association.<sup>18</sup> With condemnation proceedings completed in 1930, the Association formed a committee to collect cave entrance fees, conduct cave tours, and generally manage the operation of the cave's Historic Entrance.

On January 5, 1931, the Kentucky National Park Commission (hereafter referred to as the Commission) purchased the "new entrance" to Mammoth Cave (now called Frozen Niagara). A committee of the Commission formed to operate business affairs associated with this cave entrance. On July 17, 1933, the Commission and Association forged an agreement to form a Mammoth Cave Joint Operating Committee. This committee assumed administrative control over both Mammoth Cave entrances.<sup>19</sup> Between 1934 and 1940, the Joint Operating Committee generated \$400,000 to provide funding for park land purchases and other park improvements.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the revenue generated by the Joint Operating Committee, park supporters had to locate other funding sources. The largest funding boost came from the Commonwealth of Kentucky. In 1930, the Legislature passed the Strange-McBrayer Act which stipulated that, for a two-year period, eight percent of the ad valorem property tax would go to the Commission for use in purchasing additional park lands. This appropriation basically provided an initial sum which allowed the Commission to operate. This act would ultimately provide \$1,380,000 for the park project.<sup>21</sup>

With the Great Depression underway, the Commonwealth could not afford to provide unlimited amounts of money. Following his inauguration as Thirty-second President on March 4, 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt launched the public works programs which have come to typify his administration. People naturally began looking to the Federal government as a source of money to support the Mammoth Cave project. Indeed, so much happened so quickly that many park supporters became excited about the prospects for securing Federal assistance. In March of 1933, Chairman of the Commission Max B. Nahm wrote, "This is a time of such rapid and remarkable change of attitude and thought on the part of government affairs that we find ourselves

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<sup>17</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 32.

<sup>18</sup>Bridwell, Story of Mammoth Cave, p. 48.

<sup>19</sup>"History of the Mammoth Cave National Park Project", pp. 2-3, Box 1325, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>20</sup>Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup>Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave, p. 47; "History of the Mammoth Cave National Park Project," p. 2, Box 1325, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

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wondering just what we can do and what can be done for us with reference to our Mammoth Cave National Park."<sup>22</sup>

Although Nahm had good reason to feel optimistic, optimism gave way to despair by the end of the year. In a letter to new NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer, Nahm expressed concern that nine years had passed since the founding of the Association and the park still had not become a reality. Nahm also indicated frustration that the two other areas recommended for national park status by the Southern Appalachian Commission during the 1920s--Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains--had received more favorable treatment from the Federal government. Speaking on behalf of Kentucky national park supporters, Nahm wrote, "Furthermore, they feel that with an allocation of \$16,000,000 to the Skyline Road in Virginia and with several millions of dollars allocated to the Great Smoky Mountains, the Mammoth Cave National Park is a step-child and isn't quite getting what they expected, in view of the fact that Mammoth Cave is one of the seven wonders of the world, is known in every civilized country that never heard of the Great Smoky Mountains nor the Shenandoah."<sup>23</sup>

Although the impact of Nahm's emotional appeal is difficult to gauge, on December 28, 1933 President Roosevelt signed an executive order which made an additional \$300,000 available to the Mammoth Cave project. This allotment came from emergency reforestation funds, perhaps as an effort to circumvent the terms of the 1926 legislation which stated that no Federal funds should be spent on acquiring park lands. In addition, during 1934 the Kentucky Legislature also appropriated another \$250,000 to complement the amount made available by the Federal government.<sup>24</sup>

By this point, park supporters had accumulated significant financial reserves. In addition to the state and Federal appropriations (\$550,000), the park project received the money earned during the 1927-1928 fund raising campaign conducted by Ketchum, Inc. (\$800,000, not including administrative expenses), and the eight percent portion of the state ad valorem tax (\$1,380,000). This meant that the park land acquisition nest egg approached \$3,000,000 by 1934. Furthermore, a portion of the \$400,000 raised by the Joint Operating Committee between 1934 and 1940 by providing cave tours and receiving hotel revenues would also fund land purchases. Still, the Commission suffered a variety of land acquisition woes during the early 1930s. Reflecting on this difficult period, Commission Secretary W. W. Thompson commented, "My lifelong ambition has been to be in the Diplomatic Service and I even specialized in International Law and Diplomacy in college but I was thinking about the Court of St. James and not Dante's Inferno."<sup>25</sup>

Indeed, although armed with condemnation power and well supplied with money, efforts to acquire park lands during the 1932-1934 period encountered a series of obstacles. One troublesome problem concerned the cost of land purchases. Land speculation became a popular past-time during this period. In March of 1934, Thompson confessed to Director Cammerer that the Commission had "...been compelled to pay very high prices for land, due in most instances not to the natural inclination of the land owner to ask those prices, but rather

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<sup>22</sup>Max B. Nahm, Chairman Kentucky National Park Commission (hereafter cited as KYNPC), to Arno B. Cammerer, Associate Director NPS, March 30, 1933, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>23</sup>Max B. Nahm to Arno B. Cammerer, Director NPS, December 5, 1933, File No. 601, Part 1, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>24</sup>Max B. Nahm to Arno B. Cammerer, January 13, 1934, File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>25</sup>W. W. Thompson, Secretary KYNPC, to Arno B. Cammerer, June 11, 1934, File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA; "History of Mammoth Cave National Park Project," p. 2, Box 1325, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

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to politicians and lawyers and chronic advisers who felt that they would make themselves more popular if high prices could be obtained."<sup>26</sup>

A related problem involved the fact that local courts adjudicated all condemnation cases initiated by the Kentucky National Park Commission. The local courts tended to sympathize with the citizens whose land had been condemned by an arm of the State government which must have appeared flush with money. Thus, the courts often awarded land owners sums of money which Commission members believed to be unreasonably high. Not surprisingly, Commission members began considering the possibility of transferring the condemnation hearings to Federal Court where "local influences" would not prevail. Max Nahm estimated that the Federal Court would award no more than \$20 per acre. This meant that the \$300,000 appropriated by virtue of President Roosevelt's 1933 Executive Order would purchase 15,000 acres of land.<sup>27</sup>

Another problem resulted from a Commission practice of accepting deeds allowing the sellers to remain on the land until the Federal government formally established the national park. A December 1928 issue of the Edmonson County News provides evidence of this trend in an article which announced that property owners would not have to vacate their homes until "many months" after receiving final payment. The fact that these people remained on the land gave their reluctant neighbors further incentive to refuse to sell land voluntarily. Perhaps more importantly, the continuing presence of people within the park area seriously delayed the process of removing traces of human occupancy and returning the area to the natural state desired by park supporters.

Deceptive land purchases may have also impacted legitimate efforts to acquire land for park purposes. An example of this activity occurred in 1927 when Dr. H. B. Thomas posed as a land buying agent for the Association and purchased Crystal Cave from Andy Collins for \$10,000. Collins, in need of cash and perhaps believing that he would assist in the establishment of the national park, willingly sold. When the Association then offered Dr. Thomas \$10,000 for the cave, he refused the offer and demanded \$175,000!<sup>28</sup> Given the inherently controversial nature of acquiring property through condemnation, such blatantly unscrupulous acts made an already difficult situation that much more inflammatory.

The woes experienced by the Commission led to growing interest in having NPS assume control of the land acquisition process. The fact that NPS involvement would allow for a transfer of condemnation proceedings from local to Federal Court probably served as the greatest stimulus. The first step occurred on May 14, 1934 with the passage of "An act to provide for the establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky." This legislation authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept monetary donations to use for land purchases. Because this role had previously rested only with the Association and the Commission, the legislation provided NPS with a mandate to assume the lead role in land acquisition.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>W. W. Thompson to Arno B. Cammerer, March 21, 1934, File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>27</sup>Max B. Nahm to Arno B. Cammerer, January 22, 1934, File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>28</sup>"Park Association to Buy Land," Edmonson County News, December 20, 1928; W. W. Thompson to Arno B. Cammerer, August 14, 1934; and W. W. Thompson to Oliver G. Taylor, Office of National Parks, Buildings and Reservations, November 11, 1933. Final two citations found in File No. 601, Part 1, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>29</sup>See Edmund B. Rogers, comp., History of Legislation Relating to the National Park System Through the 82nd Congress, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1958), vol. 56: Mammoth Cave.



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A meeting later that same month translated this mandate into action. The May 28 conference attended by representatives of the Commission, the Association, and NPS Director Cammerer produced an agreement stipulating that NPS would assume responsibility for all remaining park land purchases. The agreement dictated that the NPS should receive all lands and funds in possession of the Commission and the Association. In addition, two NPS representatives would receive appointment to the Joint Operating Committee and all revenues earned from operating cave tours and the hotel facilities would go to the NPS.<sup>30</sup>

Having taken control of the land acquisition process, NPS began searching for an individual to supervise this process. A variety of local contacts offered suggestions about the qualities which the selectee should possess. In a letter to Director Cammerer, W. W. Thompson recommended that the new employee "must be just as far beyond reproach as Caesar's wife, as he will certainly be 'propositioned' right off the bat. He should be as close mouthed as Calvin Coolidge, and as congenial as Franklin Roosevelt."<sup>31</sup> A more ominous warning came from Max Nahm. "May I also suggest," he wrote to Director Cammerer, "that the man you send in there to buy land should be hardboiled, and be thoroughly conversant with conditions in the territory before he makes any commitments of any kind, and should especially be warned to beware."<sup>32</sup> Such comments clearly indicate that many local residents would not qualify as willing participants in the park-building project.

In late March of 1934, Ralph S. Bragg was appointed to the position of Land Purchaser at a salary of \$350 per month. Bragg had work experience in the area based on his service as Superintendent of an Emergency Conservation Work camp in the Mammoth Cave vicinity. His initial assignment sent him to Great Smoky Mountains where he could gain experience with a similar NPS land purchasing program in that park. He arrived back in Mammoth Cave in late August with instructions to begin acquiring land south of the Green River.<sup>33</sup> Also, as stipulated in the May 28 agreement, Bragg received appointment to the Joint Operating Committee as an NPS representative.

With the nation now in the depths of the Great Depression, Bragg and NPS encountered some troubling land condemnation issues. For example, in March of 1934, J. D. Cole had written to President Roosevelt regarding his family's forced eviction from the proposed park area. In return for agreeing to vacate, Cole asked if he could "tend" another farm identified as the "old Denham place" which had evidently already been abandoned. Cole despairingly stated, "I have a big family and no work and I don't know what I will do if I don't farm."<sup>34</sup>

Acting NPS Director Arthur E. Demaray received the difficult task of responding to Cole's letter. In reply to Cole's heartfelt inquiry, and others like it, NPS maintained a hard-line posture. Demaray composed a very bureaucratic response which outlined the history behind efforts to establish Mammoth Cave as a national park. Presumably attempting to avoid the problems previously experienced by the Commission, Demaray concluded by informing Cole that all occupants would have to be removed from their property before the Federal

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<sup>30</sup>Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave, pp. 49-50; Goode, World Wonder Saved, pp. 41-42.

<sup>31</sup>W. W. Thompson ("Bill") to Arno B. Cammerer ("Cam"), Director NPS, November 6, 1933, File No. 601, Part 1, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>32</sup>Max B. Nahm to Arno B. Cammerer, January 13, 1934, File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>33</sup>Arno B. Cammerer to Ralph S. Bragg, E.C.W. Camp Superintendent, April 26, 1934 and Ralph S. Bragg, Land Purchaser, to Arno B. Cammerer, August 30, 1934. Both documents in File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS RG 79, NA.

<sup>34</sup>J. D. Cole to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 8, 1934, File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

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government assumed ownership.<sup>35</sup> This response typified the NPS stance throughout the 1930s land acquisition period.

Although NPS had accepted control of the land purchasing program, the business of assuring that all occupants promptly vacated acquired property remained the responsibility of the Commission. During this period, NPS officials attempted to keep their distance from the often hostile forced relocation procedure euphemistically referred to as "evacuations." Robert P. Holland, although technically employed by the Commission, remained in close contact with NPS officials while supervising the evacuation process. A letter written by Holland aptly summarized the relationship between the Commission and the NPS. He wrote, "We have been under the impression that the Service is anxious for the Kentucky National Park Commission to complete these evacuation cases for the reason that the Service should not be in a position of the harsh landlord and thereby increase local antagonism towards the park."<sup>36</sup> NPS officials would have heartily endorsed Holland's impression.

In spite of the desired separation, Holland continued to consult with NPS officials in Washington, D.C. regarding the most desirable methods for carrying out property evacuations. In early 1935, he pointed out that some people would leave a small number of personal belongings in their homes as justification for continuing occupancy after they had received final payment for their property. Following recommendations provided by the Kentucky Attorney General, Holland outlined a plan whereby the personal belongings in question could be removed from homes and retained in storage until claimed by their owners. Members of the Civilian Conservation Corps would then raze all the buildings. Holland felt that this practice might result in suits against the Commission, but would not affect NPS.<sup>37</sup> Because of the ongoing effort to keep the activities of the two organizations separate, Acting NPS Director Demaray responded cautiously. "You will be acting solely as a representative of the Kentucky National Park Commission," he wrote in response to Holland's proposal.<sup>38</sup>

Acting with NPS approval, the Commission also employed the Civilian Conservation Corps (hereafter referred to as the CCC) in an effort to cope with problems posed by "squatters" settling in vacated properties. Following condemnation, final payment, and abandonment, squatters frequently moved into vacant homes and farms. Director Cammerer proposed a simple solution. He sent the following advice to the Commission, "There is only one thing to do and that is just as soon as the people have moved out to have the CCC boys ready to tear down the structure and clean up the entire mess."<sup>39</sup>

A related problem involved property renters. Unable to buy places of their own and too poor to move outside the park area in search of other rental opportunities, these people became de facto squatters when their

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<sup>35</sup>A. E. Demaray, NPS Acting Director, to J. D. Cole, March 23, 1934, File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>36</sup>Robert P. Holland, Acting Representative-in-Charge, to Arno B. Cammerer, August 29, 1936, File No. 603, Part 1, Box 1339, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>37</sup>Robert P. Holland, Temporary Acting Representative, to Arno B. Cammerer, March 10, 1935 in File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>38</sup>A. E. Demaray, Acting Director NPS, to Robert P. Holland, March 20, 1935 in File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>39</sup>Arno B. Cammerer to W. W. Thompson, February 26, 1934, File No. 601, Part 2, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

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landlords sold out to the Commission.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the Commission faced the unenviable task of having to evict occupants who had no other place to call home.

The evacuation process obviously placed the Commission in frequent contact with impoverished victims of the Depression who strongly opposed any efforts to relocate them. The associated stresses sometimes led to situations where the Commission's assertive land acquisition efforts exceeded acceptable limits. In September of 1935, Max Nahm sent word that trespassing charges had been brought against Robert Holland after he dumped a farmer's plow into a river. Rumors circulated that Holland might receive a jail sentence and NPS officials discussed the possibility of intervening on Holland's behalf.<sup>41</sup>

Earlier that year, Holland's father had written NPS Director Cammerer about the volatile circumstances surrounding his son's work. Ray P. Holland, who served as editor of Field & Stream magazine, noted that NPS sometimes made final payment to property owners before receiving complete assurance that squatters and renters had vacated the property. He reasoned that property owners should not receive final payment until they removed all occupants from their land. This requirement would allow the Commission to assume possession of property without encountering any potentially angry occupants. Holland summarized his proposal by stating, "Not only would it remove a lot of grief from Bob's standpoint, but it would prevent a possible shooting match, as some of the birds in that country that I have met would be highly complimented if they were called halfwits."<sup>42</sup>

Despite Ray Holland's unflattering characterization of the local citizenry, his concerns about "a possible shooting match" proved prophetic. In late October, Max Nahm informed assistant NPS Director George P. Moskey that a poacher had shot Assistant Ranger Vernon Wells in the shoulder. Fortunately, Wells received only a minor wound. Although the shooting had no apparent connection to land condemnation activities, Nahm felt the event would diffuse local animosity connected to the trespassing charges brought against Holland.

Nahm often displayed an ability to discern the drift of local sentiments. In this case, Nahm properly sensed the possibility that the shooting might pay political dividends because, in the end, the local court did not issue a jail sentence. Instead, Holland and his assistant, Joe Ridge, each received a fine of \$37.50. Ironically, the shooting match forecast by Ray Holland may have resulted in greater leniency towards his son.<sup>43</sup>

Given this atmosphere of confrontation, it is hardly surprising that this period witnessed considerable legal action as well. Because NPS had assumed control of land acquisition in May of 1934, all condemnation cases had been transferred to Federal Court. Park supporters openly embraced the opportunity to rise above the parochial interests which prevailed at the local court level. More importantly, the change in court venue offered the chance to escape the high land prices awarded by local juries. In early 1935, Bacon R. Moore, Special Attorney for the Department of Justice, was appointed to handle legal affairs connected with the park project.

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<sup>40</sup>Robert P. Holland to G. A. Moskey, Assistant Director NPS, March 12, 1935, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>41</sup>Memorandum for G. A. Moskey, from NPS Acting Director A. E. Demaray, September 20, 1935 in File No. 603, Part 1, Box 1339, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>42</sup>Ray P. Holland, Editor Field & Stream magazine, to Arno B. Cammerer, February 26, 1935 in File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>43</sup>Max B. Nahm, Joint Operating Committee, to G. A. Moskey, October 29, 1935 in File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

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Moore initially directed his efforts toward condemnation proceedings.<sup>44</sup> This required preparation for the initial forays into Federal Court, much to the concern of Kentucky's local national park enthusiasts. Behind the scenes, Max Nahm expressed to Director Cammerer some misgivings about Moore's ability to prosecute condemnation cases in the court of Federal Judge Dawson. Although acknowledging that Moore was a "delightful gentleman," Nahm confided, "Judge Dawson is quick on the trigger--decides in a flash, instructs his juries positively, and if the other side has some keen witted attorneys [sic], they might out-wit us, which would be bad."<sup>45</sup> In spite of these reservations, Moore succeeded in filing a 5,000-acre condemnation petition on March 30, 1935.<sup>46</sup>

After starting the condemnation process in Federal Court, Moore turned his attention to examining title abstracts. In October 1934, the Commission and the Association had turned over to NPS deeds to approximately 30,000 acres of property. Moore quickly discovered that the majority of the deeds did not properly convey legally valid land title.<sup>47</sup> However, the Federal government could not accept title abstracts until all defects had been resolved.

Unfortunately for the local populace, the Federal government's refusal to accept titles of questionable validity also meant that landowners did not receive final payment. Owners began complaining to their elected representatives and, on August 6, 1935, Senator Marvel M. Logan of Kentucky wrote NPS concerning the matter. Acting NPS Director Hillory A. Tolson responded by reinforcing that land owners had to provide title abstracts as a condition of sale. He explained that NPS practice required return of the defective titles and assigning the land owners responsibility for clearing the defects. Tolson acknowledged that this imposed a burden on the sellers, but reiterated that payment could not be released until sellers could produce titles free of defects.<sup>48</sup>

Max Nahm, in typically candid fashion, outlined his views about people selling land without receiving timely compensation. "It is simply making very great hardships for these people," he wrote to Assistant NPS Director Moskey, "and as the object of the President is to give employment and avoid hardships of this kind, it would seem that something should be done to hurry up these trades to the point of payment of what is agreed upon."<sup>49</sup> Nahm later complained that unwillingness to accept title abstracts also impacted condemnation cases before the court. In effect, Nahm feared defense lawyers would argue that the Federal government had no business condemning additional property while expressing reluctance to assume legal ownership duties.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Robert P. Holland to Arno B. Cammerer, April 22, 1935, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>45</sup>Max B. Nahm to Arno B. Cammerer, May 4, 1935, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>46</sup>Ralph S. Bragg to G. A. Moskey, April 9, 1935, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>47</sup>Ralph S. Bragg to Robert J. Ball, Chairman Joint Operating Committee, July 24, 1935, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>48</sup>Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director NPS, to Honorable Marvel M. Logan, August 10, 1935, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>49</sup>Max B. Nahm, Joint Operating Committee, to G. A. Moskey, August 10, 1935, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>50</sup>Max B. Nahm, to A. E. Demaray, Acting Director NPS, September 26, 1935, File No. 603, Part 1, Box 1339, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

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Despite the delays in accepting ownership and apprehension about Mr. Moore's abilities as a trial attorney, visible progress had been made by early 1936. On January 16, Director Cammerer notified Ralph Bragg that \$100,000 would be forthcoming as a source of land purchase funding.<sup>51</sup> Shortly afterwards, a series of letters went out regarding final settlement of condemnation cases. In these letters, NPS requested that the General Accounting Office direct the Treasury Department to forward checks to the Department of Justice for use in dispensing final payment.<sup>52</sup> The complex bureaucratic chain of command notwithstanding, the legal land condemnation machinery had obviously begun operating smoothly.

As evidence of this progress, on April 27, 1936, Assistant Director Moskey sent a memorandum to Director Cammerer advising him about the favorable status of land acquisition efforts. At that point, total government land ownership amounted to 27,561 acres. This broke down to 22,817.33 acres purchased in fee simple, 4,108.31 acres in surface rights only, and 635.36 acres in cave rights only. Cammerer supported the suggestion that property deeds for this acreage be forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior for his acceptance under authority of the Act of May 14, 1934.<sup>53</sup>

This critical step cleared the way for formal acceptance of the deeds by the Secretary on May 22, 1936 and designation of Mammoth Cave as a national park. This step gave NPS responsibility for the administration and protection of the 27,561 acres acquired as of that date. However, no Federal funds could be spent on administration, protection, or development of park lands until the minimum 45,310 acres had been acquired as demanded by the 1926 park authorizing legislation.<sup>54</sup>

Although the park would receive no Federal funds for development, an arrangement between NPS, the CCC, and the Joint Operating Committee did allow development activities to begin. Between 1934 and 1940, the Joint Operating Committee earned more than \$400,000 in profits from guests who rented hotel space and paid for guided cave tours. The Committee then turned this money over to NPS. NPS put this money to work by employing CCC labor to conduct an extensive building campaign. Serving as a large and inexpensive labor pool, NPS received considerable mileage from the dollars invested in the CCC. Since the Federal government already covered all CCC overhead expenses including salaries, lodging, food, and medical expenses, the \$400,000 went directly into funding construction projects.

Four CCC camps existed in the park between 1933 and 1942, although none of them operated during this entire period. In addition to their previously mentioned role in razing buildings acquired by the government, the 200-250 enrollees housed in each CCC camp also added a considerable number of new buildings to the park. Construction projects included a home for the park Superintendent, residential housing for other park employees, a complex of park maintenance buildings, and ranger station facilities. The CCC also completed renovation projects involving the hotel, and added underground lighting, hand-rails, and bridges to make the cave more accessible to tourists. In addition, the CCC enrollees furthered their conservation mission and assisted in

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<sup>51</sup>Arno B. Cammerer to Ralph S. Bragg, January 16, 1936, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>52</sup>Hillory A. Tolson, Assistant Director NPS, to General Accounting Office, Claims Division, February 21, 1936, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>53</sup>Memorandum to Arno B. Cammerer, from G. A. Moskey, Assistant Director NPS, April 27, 1936, File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>54</sup>Bridwell, The Story of Mammoth Cave, pp. 50-51; Goode, World Wonder Saved, p. 42.

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restoring a natural appearance to the park by planting trees in fields previously cleared for agricultural purposes.<sup>55</sup>

Aside from building construction, the CCC made an enormous contribution in terms of developing the initial NPS infrastructure in the park. A memo written by Acting Superintendent R. Taylor Hoskins in April of 1940 documents the scope of infrastructure development work undertaken by the CCC prior to that time. The CCC had constructed sewage and water systems for the park. Efforts to reduce fire hazards resulted in the construction of steel lookout towers and fire guard cabins. The CCC built a telephone exchange building and developed an extensive telephone system within the park. They also built seven miles of foot trails, more than sixty miles of truck trails, and a one mile road accessing the NPS residential area. All told, Hoskins estimated that the CCC had devoted 747,825 man-days to park development projects.<sup>56</sup>

This extensive CCC construction activity has resulted in the preparation of several individual National Register nominations for submittal in association with this context. These nominations include the following properties (construction dates listed in parentheses):

- 1) Six buildings comprising the Residential Area District (1937)
- 2) Superintendent's Residence (1941)
- 3) Repair Shop, Warehouse/Maintenance Building, Paint Shed/Oil House which comprise the Maintenance Area District (1939-1941)
- 4) Bransford Spring pumphouse and cistern (1939)
- 5) Driveway, pumphouse, retaining walls, and cistern comprising the Three Springs facility (1938)
- 6) Two buildings comprising the Maple Springs Ranger Station (1942).

Needless to say, the far-reaching work conducted by the CCC constitutes a lengthy story of its own. For the purposes of this study, the story can be summarized by noting that the work carried out by the CCC definitely changed the appearance of the park area. Not only did the CCC work foster radical landscape changes by removing the vast majority of the buildings constructed prior to the park era and replacing them with a restored "natural" appearance, but also the CCC began developing a system of roads, trails, buildings, and utilities which comprised the initial NPS infrastructure in the park. The final significant result of the CCC's work was purely economic. The \$5,770,000 in salaries and benefits paid to the Mammoth Cave CCC enrollees by the United States government meant a great deal to the local economy during the Depression.<sup>57</sup>

As the CCC carried out their development mandate, the acquisition of additional park lands continued. By the time Mammoth Cave received national park status in May of 1936, the process of condemning and acquiring

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<sup>55</sup>Goode, *World Wonder Saved*, pp. 43-44; Lally, draft National Register nomination context documentation, "Development of the Mammoth Cave Area into a National Park (1926-1942), pp. 27-29.

<sup>56</sup>Hoskins' memo is quoted at length in Kelly A. Lally, "A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps at Mammoth Cave National Park," (unpublished manuscript, December 1987), pp. 11-12.

<sup>57</sup>Lally, "History of the CCC at Mammoth Cave," p. 12.

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land had achieved great effectiveness. Although purchasing land from willing sellers remained the simplest method of acquiring property, the fact that all condemnation hearings had been transferred from local to Federal Court meant that the legal system began providing an important additional means of support for the park building project.

For example, in January of 1938 a Federal Court jury awarded A. E. Hanson \$5,500 for 128 acres of condemned land. Hanson had sought \$20,000, although the appraised value of his property stood at only \$5,000.<sup>58</sup> Thus, unlike similar decisions rendered in local courts earlier in the decade, Hanson received a final sale price roughly equal to the appraisal value. This example illustrates that the Federal Court system provided an effective mechanism for successfully condemning and acquiring property. As a result, the park project moved relentlessly toward final completion during the closing years of the 1930s.

With land acquisition now proceeding rapidly, by 1941 park owned land had surpassed the 45,310 acre minimum required by the 1926 authorizing legislation. Consequently, on July 1, 1941, NPS received full responsibility for administration, protection, and development of Mammoth Cave National Park. The addition of the all-important development obligation meant that the park finally became eligible to receive Congressional appropriations. Another important milestone occurred on September 16, 1941 when NPS formally assumed administrative control of the cave and the accompanying guide service. The onset of World War II delayed the completion of official park dedication ceremonies until September 18, 1946.<sup>59</sup>

Although fully established in 1941, the park still contained considerable unacquired private land. Most notably, Crystal Cave and Great Onyx Cave remained in private hands because of the expense required to purchase these properties. NPS eventually obtained both caves in 1960 and 1961. The park has secured additional land parcels as recently as the 1980s. Today, the park consists of 52,428 acres.

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Any attempt to summarize the events of the 1924 to 1941 period raises questions about the collective impact the park project had on the built environment surrounding Mammoth Cave. In short, with the exception of the buildings constructed by the CCC, the period witnessed almost total elimination of the building stock within park boundaries. NPS, along with the Commission and the Association, attempted to remove all traces of human occupancy in the interest of establishing a national park containing an area restored to a prehistoric state of nature.

A June 1937 letter from Robert Holland, by this time promoted to Acting Superintendent of Mammoth Cave National Park, indicates the effectiveness of this natural reclamation process. In this letter, Holland responded negatively to a request from the NPS Region One Office in Richmond, Virginia asking that he provide a photograph and plot plan of each structure demolished in the park. He explained that he could not fulfill the request because of the enormous amount of time the task would require. To prove his point, he stated that

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<sup>58</sup>"\$5,500 is Awarded to Edmonson County Man in Condemnation Suit," January 19, 1938, article in Mammoth Cave National Park vertical file, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University.

<sup>59</sup>Goode, *World Wonder Saved*, p. 47; R. Taylor Hoskins, "Annual Report Fiscal Year Ending June 1941," p. 6, and "Annual Report Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942," p. 1. Both annual reports in Box 1328, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

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2,500 buildings had already been razed and another 2,500 were targeted for future demolition.<sup>60</sup> (Although Holland resisted this request, the park library today contains more than 5,000 CCC photographs which provide an important documentary record of the local building stock which existed prior to the establishment of the national park.)

The desire to eliminate all traces of human occupancy initially extended to church buildings. As late as 1940, seven churches remained within park boundaries. In November of that year, Max Nahm wrote to NPS stating that the Commission wished to retain the church buildings for use in conjunction with funeral services and burials at adjoining cemeteries. Shortly afterwards, Acting Chief of NPS Planning, W. T. Carnes, composed an internal memo in which he speculated that the churches would eventually become eyesores. He went on to say, "It is further suggested that an attempt be made to acquire the structures in fee simple, in order that they may be demolished." The official NPS response to Nahm came from Acting Director Demaray. Demaray recommended that NPS acquire ownership of the churches without assuming maintenance responsibilities, but stopped short of proposing demolition.<sup>61</sup>

Ultimately an agreement was forged which resolved the matter. The churches were donated to NPS in exchange for Special Use Permits which allowed the respective congregations to use the buildings for various special occasions. This agreement accounts for the presence of three church buildings within the park today (Good Spring United Baptist Church, Mammoth Cave United Baptist Church, and Joppa Missionary Baptist Church).<sup>62</sup> These churches remain as rare extant vestiges of the area's human occupancy from the era preceding the establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park.

Of course, the destiny of buildings within the park raises a variety of questions about the fate of the people who once inhabited those buildings. In particular, why would a Federal government concerned about the devastating impact of the Great Depression enter into a park project which had such a dislocating effect on the local populace? Attempts to answer this question require some analysis of broader ecological concerns of this era and some understanding of Mammoth Cave's relationship to other park building efforts. While the answers will not necessarily vindicate all actions taken in the name of creating new national parks, they will provide some understanding of the prevailing philosophy surrounding efforts to create these parks.

A fundamental cornerstone of this philosophy involves the premise of the ascendancy of nature over culture. Bluntly speaking, the urgency to establish natural preserves which would provide an invigorating sanctuary for an increasingly urbanized, industrialized population assumed greater priority than did attempts to minimize the impact which park creation would have upon people living within proposed park boundaries. In effect, the local populace would have to stand aside in the interest of the perceived greater societal good.

In addition, establishing new national parks provided an important link in the overall strategy to restore the ecological health of the United States. The Dust Bowl provided vivid images of strong winds scattering

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<sup>60</sup>Robert P. Holland, Acting Superintendent, to NPS Region One office, June 10, 1937, File No. 620, Part 1, Box 1360, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>61</sup>Max B. Nahm to Arno B. Cammerer, November 8, 1940, File No. 620-10, Box 1360, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>62</sup>Lally, draft National Register nomination context documentation, "Development of the Mammoth Cave Area into a National Park (1926-1941)," pp. 25-27.



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America's precious topsoil across the face of the globe.<sup>63</sup> These images led to an interest in establishing natural parks as bastions of correct conservation practice which would act to preserve the nation's landscape by conserving timber resources and preventing topsoil erosion.

Along with general environmental concerns, the Depression witnessed more specific concern regarding an increasingly urbanized populace lacking access to recreational opportunities in a natural setting. A seemingly unrelated issue involved the plight of an impoverished rural population attempting to make a meager living farming land unsuited for agricultural pursuits. In an ambitious attempt to counter both these disparate issues, the Federal government developed a program providing for the creation of "recreational demonstration projects." A 1936 NPS publication outlined the prevailing philosophy behind these demonstration projects:

A program of dual value is thus being perfected. Families of low-salaried and wage-earning men in the centers of dense population are to have playgrounds on reclaimed land which other men find unsuited for farming, and these farmers are to be transplanted to fertile ground or rehabilitated where they stand. The people of the cities are to have, without cost, a share of the good earth and the health and happiness that goes with it; and poverty stricken farmers are to have a new chance. The factory worker's leisure days need no longer be spent in the smoke and filth in which, through necessity, they must live to work, and the farmer whose lands have been cut raw by erosion or burned out by one-crop agriculture need no longer scratch his sterile soil.<sup>64</sup>

Attempting to create these recreational playgrounds which would provide city dwellers with a "share of the good earth," the Federal government sponsored a number of recreational demonstration projects. A succession of government agencies coordinated concurrent programs designed to seek out fertile land upon which to resettle farmers displaced by these recreational projects. The Department of the Interior's Subsistence Homesteads Division initially conducted relocation activities before passing these duties on to the Resettlement Administration. Ultimately, the Department of Agriculture's Farm Security Administration would assume administrative control over resettlement.<sup>65</sup>

While recreational demonstration projects clearly differed from national parks, the Federal government did conduct resettlement activities in connection with the establishment of some national parks. For example, the establishment of Shenandoah National Park involved extensive efforts to move impoverished families from the highland areas within the proposed park boundaries to government-designed agricultural communities located in the fertile valleys surrounding the park. This relocation process intended to remove farm families from substandard land and place them within closer reach of educational, medical, and employment amenities.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>For more information about conservation measures during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, see Patricia L. Parker, The Hinterland: An Overview of the Prehistory and History of Prince William Forest Park, Virginia (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1986), p. 149.

<sup>64</sup>Quoted in Parker, The Hinterland, p. 150.

<sup>65</sup>For more information about Federal government administration of resettlement programs during the Depression, see Dennis E. Simmons, "The Creation of Shenandoah National Park and the Skyline Drive, 1924-1936" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1979), p. 181.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 196.

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In spite of these idealistic attempts to minimize the plight of farm families victimized by the Depression, the creation of additional **natural** preserves--whether labeled national parks or recreational demonstration projects--remained the fundamental objective. Mozelle R. Cowden Brown verified this point in 1976 when recalling her active role in assisting with the resettlement of families displaced by the creation of Shenandoah National Park. Brown acknowledged that the welfare of the farm families had not been the primary intent of relocation. Instead, she believed that the park project served best to represent a successful attempt to restore the land to its highest social use. She stated, "But when you focus on land use and consider that what fundamentally was being tried was to fix a recreational place and take land that was not fit to be used for farming and put it into recreational use or wilderness--there has certainly been a big success."<sup>67</sup> In other words, the essential belief in the ascendancy of nature over culture persisted.

Whether primary or secondary, the fact remains that the welfare of people occupying proposed park land did play a part in the agenda for establishing Shenandoah National Park. A short drive from the nation's capital, the Blue Ridge country had served as the setting for presidential retreats during both the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations. Perhaps the proximity of Washington, DC and the media scrutiny attracted by visiting presidential delegations required that greater attention be paid to residents threatened with relocation.

Located well beyond the inquiring eyes of politicians and journalists ensconced in the Federal City, Mammoth Cave National Park was neither a recreational demonstration project nor another Shenandoah. Like a recreational demonstration project, the founders of Mammoth Cave National Park invoked the philosophy of providing the urban populace with recreational opportunities in a natural setting. Lacking, however, was the concurrent commitment to the welfare of the local citizenry displaced by the new park. Such people would have to fend for themselves.

An exchange of letters between Robert Holland and Director Cammerer in December 1934 highlights the attitude of the NPS Washington office toward residents living in the vicinity of Mammoth Cave. Holland wrote that he feared local sentiment would turn against the park if the land condemnation process put people out of their homes without providing adequate time to relocate. Cammerer replied that he felt personally inclined to support plans to facilitate the resettlement of people suffering from Depression-related woes. However, apparently ignoring related events ongoing in connection with Shenandoah National Park, he advised that a relocation program would not fall under the jurisdiction of the Federal government.<sup>68</sup>

Not surprisingly, Cammerer's viewpoints profoundly influenced NPS practices. In 1930, two National Geographic editors attempted to discourage NPS officials from removing all the mountain residents from the Shenandoah National Park area. The editors pointed out that many Americans traveled all the way to Europe not only because of the natural scenery, but also to view the habits, customs, and residences of unique peoples. Cammerer attached a note to the memo outlining the National Geographic position which summarized his opposition to plans which might allow residents to remain permanently within the park. He concluded, "There is no person so canny as certain types of mountaineers, and none so disreputable."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Lambert, Shenandoah National Park, p. 251.

<sup>68</sup>Robert P. Holland to Arno B. Cammerer, December 3, 1934 and Arno B. Cammerer to Robert P. Holland, December 8, 1934. Both documents in File No. 601, Part 3, Box 1337, MACA, NPS, RG 79, NA.

<sup>69</sup>Lambert, Shenandoah National Park, p. 225; and Simmons, "The Creation of Shenandoah National Park," pp. 198-199.

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In 1933, Cammerer became director of NPS and remained in this position until 1940. Thus, his views about the character of mountain people and the need to remove them from park lands remained in force for almost the entire duration of the Mammoth Cave National Park project. His perspective assured that nature would retain ascendancy over culture during this period.

Part of the reason for rejecting the National Geographic editors' suggestion that mountain people be allowed to remain in the national parks relates to views about what constituted historic significance during that era. Without a doubt, NPS officials maintained a growing interest in bringing historical areas into the national park system during the early 1930s. In fact, NPS Director Horace Albright spoke of the importance of America's historical resources during a 1930 trip to Kentucky to publicize Mammoth Cave National Park. An article covering Albright's visit quoted first NPS Director Mather to demonstrate the agency's interest in promoting tourism by preserving the nation's history. Mather had stated, "Our people have visited the places of Europe and are now touring to see what we have of historic interest at home."<sup>70</sup>

However, popular taste of the day embraced only a fairly select universe of historic properties. Members of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission provided the following description of Shenandoah's historic resources: "Along with the whole southern Appalachians, this area is full of historic interest, the mountains looking down on valleys with their many battle fields of Revolutionary and Civil War periods, and the birthplaces of many of the Presidents of the United States."<sup>71</sup> This statement indicates that historically significant properties would only include people and places of enormous importance to the national course of events.

NPS officials clearly endorsed this outlook on historic significance. In 1930, both George Washington Birthplace National Monument and Colonial National Monument (which includes Jamestown and Yorktown) became new historic units of the national park system.<sup>72</sup> This demonstrated interest in acquiring historic parks with national level significance probably precluded interest in preserving vestiges of the architecture and customs of isolated mountain people who had previously lived within a newly established natural park area.

Beyond viewpoints on historic or cultural significance, it is worth reiterating the earlier point that Mammoth Cave, Shenandoah, and Great Smoky Mountains all represented parts of the first concerted attempt to establish national parks in the East. Lacking an existing precedent, each of these three places witnessed experimental efforts to create parks in settled areas consisting primarily of privately owned acreage. This inexperience resulted in a variety of decisions about land acquisition methods which contemporary observers might want to second-guess.

However, the establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park should not be fundamentally understood as a deliberate effort to harm local residents through the use of aggressive land acquisition tactics. Indeed, many park supporters would have argued that relocation of park residents offered positive benefits in terms of paying people a fair price for unproductive farm land and allowing them to move elsewhere. In addition, modern-day perspectives regarding the need to protect a multiplicity of natural, cultural, and recreational values in the national park system did not apply to that era. During the 1920s and 1930s, evidence of human habitation would have appeared to intrude on the setting of a national park established as a natural area.

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<sup>70</sup>"Work Done in State for Parks is Lauded," Kentucky Progress Magazine, Vol. II, No. 11, July 1930, p. 27.

<sup>71</sup>Edmund B. Rogers, comp., History of Legislation Relating to the National Park System Through the 82nd Congress (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1958), vol. 2: Mammoth Cave, p. 4.

<sup>72</sup>Mackintosh, The Historic Sites Survey, p. 3.

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Instead, the park project should be evaluated as a manifestation of various ecological concerns and land management philosophies operating at that time. These principles included dedication to the ideal of furnishing recreational opportunities for urban Americans and a commitment to restoring the area to a natural state as a means of providing a buffer against soil erosion and deforestation. In addition, the conviction that the park contained no historic resources worthy of preservation furthered efforts to remove buildings and structures which would impair the park's natural appearance. As a result, visitors to Mammoth Cave National Park today see only a few churches and cemeteries as visible reminders of the area's inhabitants prior to the establishment of the park. Thus, the restoration of nature's ascendancy in the park has been largely achieved.

## 2) ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

*Name of Property Type:* Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings and Structures

*Description:* The CCC initiated extensive development activity in Mammoth Cave National Park between 1933 and 1942. The CCC constructed the following kinds of buildings and structures to meet the operational needs of the new park: houses for park employees, ranger stations, campground comfort stations, pumphouses, garages, storage buildings, a fire hall, and rock retaining walls.

Most of these CCC constructed resources are located in the park's maintenance and residential areas, although isolated properties are found throughout the park. These properties take on a variety of shapes and sizes depending on their function, although most are single story with simple floor plans. Although the National Park Service has constructed non-historic properties in the vicinity of some of those built by the CCC, the historic character of these areas remains essentially unchanged.

The park properties constructed by the CCC exhibit a rustic design and are faced primarily with wood or sandstone, although most examples include some combination of both. All of the properties have sandstone foundations and many of them have sandstone chimneys, window casements, steps, walkways, and walls as well, usually rough-cut and irregularly coursed. Most were originally built with either wood shingle or slate roofs, although in some cases these materials have been replaced with asphalt shingles. Many of the properties have some decorative woodwork, especially around the doorways and in the upper gable ends. The distinctive stone and wood work of the park's CCC resources are superior to that of more recent park properties in terms of both visual appeal and quality. All of the nominated buildings and structures are structurally sound despite some instances of deferred maintenance.

*Significance:* Civilian Conservation Corps buildings and structures are nominated under Criterion A in association with the Entertainment/Recreation area of significance. This property type relates to the context discussing Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D). The resources nominated under this property type are locally significant, although they might have some significance at the state or national level. In addition, further research may demonstrate that this property type exhibits significance under Criterion C, although none of the individual nomination forms claim this criterion.

In the early twentieth century, certain officials of the Department of the Interior wished to increase the number of national parks in the eastern United States. About the same time, a number of Kentucky businessmen and politicians began trying to get Congress to establish a national park in the Mammoth Cave region of the state. Congress enacted a bill calling for the establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park in 1926. The CCC

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received responsibility for physically developing the new park and Mammoth Cave soon became the site of one of the state's largest CCC projects.

The Mammoth Cave area hosted four CCC camps, each housing 200 to 250 enrollees: Camp #1 was located on Flint Ridge; Camp #2 was located near the New Entrance to Mammoth Cave; Camp #3 was on Joppa Ridge; and Camp #4 was found at Cade on the north side of Green River. The choice of Entertainment/Recreation as an area of significance relates to the fact that the CCC men occupying these camps followed National Park Service plans to complete a number of tasks necessary to develop a recreational wilderness out of what had previously been farm land. These tasks included planting trees; building roads, trails, and campgrounds; working in quarries; clearing cave trails; and installing plumbing and telephone systems.

The CCC also maintained responsibility for constructing buildings and structures needed for the operation of the park. Enrollees trained as carpenters and stone masons built garages, storage buildings, houses, pumphouses, and visitor facilities designed to blend with the park's natural setting. These buildings and structures are locally significant in the history of the Mammoth Cave area of Kentucky as representative examples of the CCC's role in the development of an infrastructure to support tourism and recreational use of the new national park.

### 3) REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

CCC buildings and structures are historically significant. As historically significant properties, they may sustain some alteration and still retain National Register eligibility. However, if alterations have occurred, it must be possible to document that the CCC built the properties for the operation and maintenance of Mammoth Cave National Park. In addition, alterations must not detract from the historic character of the property. Less-than-fifty year old properties will be considered eligible if evidence demonstrates their significance to the history of Mammoth Cave National Park and there exists a stylistic continuity between those CCC properties constructed before 1939 and those constructed after that date.

The following aspects of integrity require consideration when evaluating Civilian Conservation Corps properties:

*Location and Setting:* The locations of all CCC properties should remain intact. Loss of locational integrity would render any individual property ineligible. The setting of some of the CCC resources has undergone alteration through the addition of other structures central to the park's current operation. Though the essential character of setting should remain intact, integrity of setting is not mandatory for eligibility.

*Design, Workmanship, and Materials:* Historically significant CCC properties should possess most of their original design, workmanship, and materials. In general, to remain eligible CCC buildings and structures must retain the majority of the original foundation and wall materials, roof configuration, and decorative woodwork. Park residential resources should retain the alternating pattern of horizontal and vertical wood planking on the exterior walls. In all cases, additions and exterior alterations must be compatible with the original design, workmanship, and materials in terms of type and quality.

*Feeling and Association:* Integrity of feeling and association exist if the property retains integrity of setting, location, design, workmanship, and materials.

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**4) NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES**

The following list will identify properties proposed for nomination to the National Register in association with the context titled Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D). Property descriptions, statements of significance, verbal boundary descriptions, maps, and photographs will be included with the individual National Register nomination forms attached as an appendix to this Historic Resource Study.

- a) Mammoth Cave Historic District--An exceptionally rare resource, this historic district has been nominated as an individual property and not placed under any property type category. The various contributing elements within the district are associated with three park historic contexts: The Discovery and Early Uses of Mammoth Cave, 1798-1849 (Context B); Commercial Cave Development and the Growth of Tourism in the Mammoth Cave Area, 1849-1926 (Context C); and Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D). The Mammoth Cave Historic District is significant under criterion A based on historic associations with the areas of Entertainment/Recreation (tourism), Industry (saltpetre mining), Commerce (tourism, saltpetre mining, and mushroom beds), and Health/Medicine (tuberculin huts). Based on the critical role which Mammoth Cave saltpetre played in supporting the American military effort during the War of 1812, the importance of Mammoth Cave as an American tourist destination, the significance of the tuberculosis huts as an experimental effort to control a fatal disease, and the excellent state of preservation exhibited by the historic resources within the cave, national significance has been assigned to the Mammoth Cave Historic District. In addition, further study may demonstrate that this historic district has religious significance based on the cave's use as the site of church services, although this potential aspect of significance is not reflected in the current individual nomination.
- b) Residential Area Historic District
- c) Maintenance Area Historic District
- d) Maple Springs Ranger Station
- e) Three Springs Pumphouse facility
- f) Bransford Spring Pumphouse
- g) Superintendent's House

**5) OTHER SURVEYED PROPERTIES**

The following list consists of properties surveyed in connection with the context titled Establishment of Mammoth Cave National Park, 1924-1941 (Context D), but not presently proposed for nomination to the

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National Register. Each resource name will be followed by a brief statement explaining the decision not to nominate these properties at this time. If future study suggests that these properties are eligible, nomination to the National Register should follow. New additions to the List of Classified Structures will be highlighted with an asterisk.

- a) Concessions Warehouse and Workshop\*--These board and batten buildings were constructed by the CCC in 1940. The properties differs from most CCC buildings in the park which typically exhibit a cut-stone construction style. These properties should receive further study to determine their eligibility. If found to be eligible, nomination to the National Register should follow.
- b) Earthhouse--This CCC constructed building now serves as an environmental education center. Originally built as a comfort station, the property's function and appearance have undergone radical alteration. The building has lost integrity and is no longer eligible for the National Register.
- c) CCC Camps #1, #2, #3, #4 and CCC Quarries #1 and #2\*--Although these sites include very few extant standing structures, they should receive further study in order to determine their possible significance as historic landscape features or as historic archeological sites. A synopsis of the individual site characteristics follows:
  - + Camp #1--Includes the remains of two log buildings, one standing chimney ruin, several building foundations, stone-lined walkways, and a log well-house. Some of these site features may have associations with the former Blue Grass Country Club.
  - + Camp #2--This site includes stone-lined walkways, remains of a flag staff, remains of a gazebo, a stone cellar, and a garbage dump.
  - + Camp #3--This site has no remaining structures, although there is a historic garbage dump.
  - + Camp #4--Although a few stone-lined walkways remain in evidence, the Maple Springs Campground now occupies the location of this camp. As a result, the integrity of this site has probably been compromised.
  - + Quarry #1--Located adjacent to Camp #1, this site has no remaining structures.
  - + Quarry #2--Located adjacent to Camp #2, this site includes an outhouse and a small frame structure which may once have housed dynamite.
- d) Deluxe Cottages\*--Located in the vicinity of the old hotel which was razed in 1979 and similar in appearance to the Woodland Cottages, park maintenance files indicate that the Deluxe Cottages were constructed in the 1960s. Although

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attempts to verify the accuracy of the 1960s construction date should be undertaken, these properties have apparently not yet reached an age where they could be considered eligible for the National Register.

- e) Woodland Cottages\*--Located in the vicinity of the Mammoth Cave National Park Visitor Center, recently located information indicates that these cottages were constructed by the CCC in 1939. These properties should receive further study to determine their eligibility. If any of the Woodland Cottages are found to be eligible, nomination to the National Register should follow.
- f) Chlorinator House--Located in the sewage disposal plant area, the CCC constructed this building in 1939. This property should receive further study to determine its eligibility. If found to be eligible, nomination to the National Register should follow.

6) RECOMMENDATIONS

All documents, records, photographs, and other materials gathered by Kelly Lally during the course of this project will be turned over to Mammoth Cave National Park for permanent storage. Copies of the List of Classified Structures forms will also be given to the park, while copies of the state inventory forms will be made available to the Kentucky Heritage Council. Copies of the completed Historic Resource Study and the accompanying individual National Register nominations, maps, and photographs will be deposited in the park, the Kentucky Heritage Council office, the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, and the National Register office in Washington, DC.

Several of the resources listed above in the Other Surveyed Properties section require further research to determine their eligibility for listing in the National Register. This would include the Concessions Warehouse, Woodland Cottages, and Deluxe Cottages. In addition, the CCC camp sites and quarry sites should be evaluated in terms of potential historic archeological significance. If eligible, preparation of National Register nominations for these resources should proceed.

The park library contains more than 5,000 nitrate photographs of properties demolished by the CCC during the process of establishing the national park. These photographs provide an important documentary record illustrating the nature of the area's building stock prior to the founding of the national park. This collection should be studied and recommendations for its preservation should be developed. In conjunction with efforts to preserve the collection, the photographs should be copied and the originals sent to the National Archives or some other appropriate repository.

There are elderly people living in the park area today who were affected by the establishment of the national park. These people should be identified and included in an oral/video history project which will document their recollection of people and events associated with the park's creation. The photograph collection mentioned above could play a role in this project by asking people for their recollections regarding images depicted in the photographs.

In the event that an administrative history of Mammoth Cave National Park is undertaken, a number of archival sources should be consulted. For example, future historians should research the Max B. Nahm papers in the Kentucky Library's Department of Library Special Collections located on the campus of Western Kentucky



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University in Bowling Green. In addition, historians should investigate a variety of National Park Service records contained in Record Group 79 in the National Archives. This would include the following records: Horace M. Albright, Arno B. Cammerer, Legislative File 1932-1950, and the various Civilian Conservation Corps collections in Record Group 79. Also, if available, the records of the Southern Appalachian National Park Commission should be located in the National Archives and examined.

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The Park Historic Architecture Division of the National Park Service maintains a Cultural Resources Management Bibliography (CRBIB) which includes all known cultural resource documents prepared for each individual national park. (For more information about the CRBIB, call FTS or 202-343-8149.) A few sources include in the following bibliography have already been incorporated into the CRBIB and those entries will be highlighted with an asterisk. Those entries not currently included in the CRBIB should be added following completion of this project.

This bibliography will utilize the following abbreviations:

MACA-LIB=Mammoth Cave National Park Library in Mammoth Cave, KY

PHAD=Park Historic Architecture Division, National Park Service, Washington, DC.

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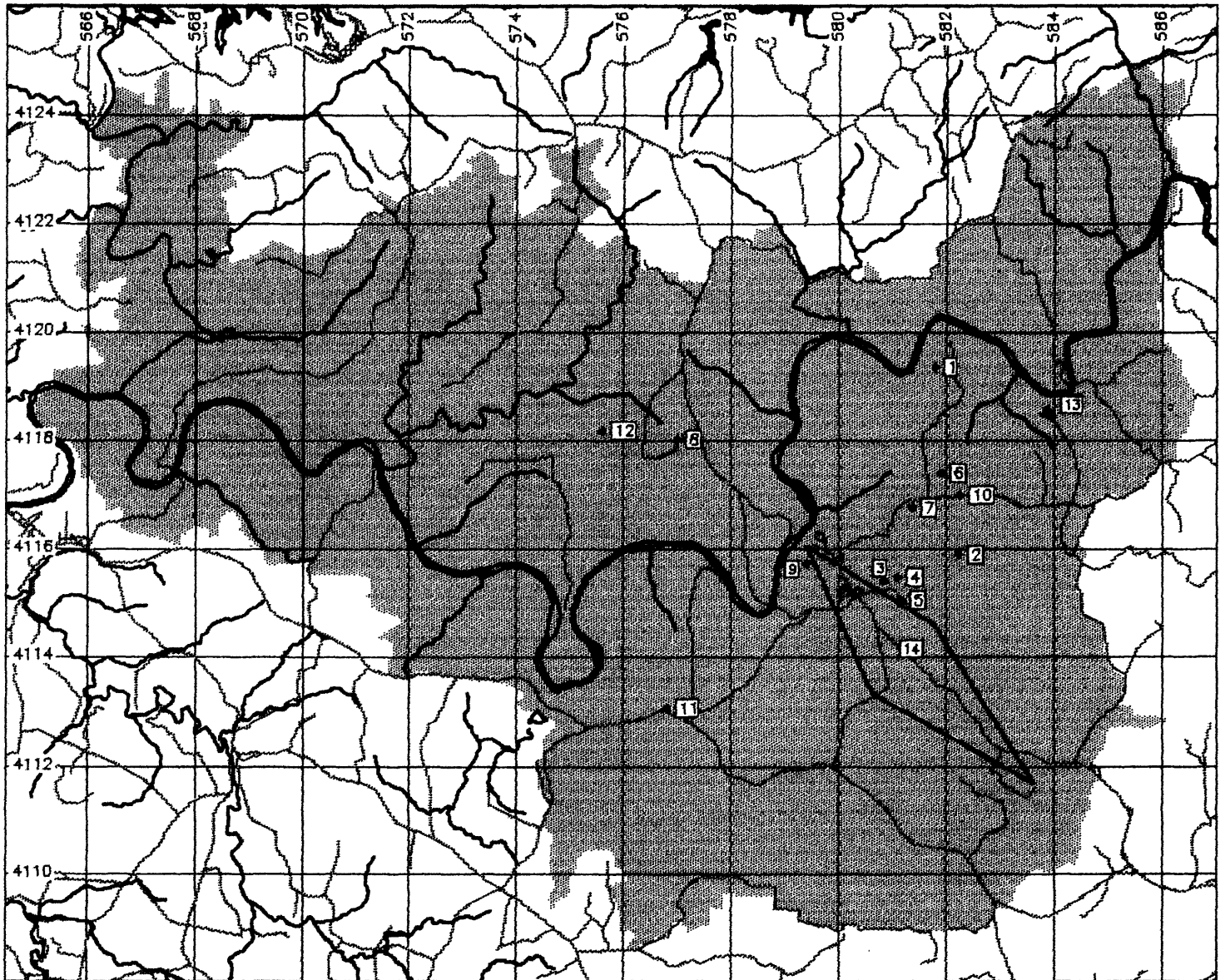
**A) Historical Base Maps**

**Map 1** shows rivers, contemporary roads, and historic properties currently proposed for nomination to the National Register. The boundaries of the underground Mammoth Cave Historic District (#14) fall within the polygon shown on Map 1, but the polygon does not define the actual National Register boundaries of the resource. (The National Register boundaries of each of the properties indicated on Map 1 can be found by referring to the individual nomination forms included in Section V., Appendix B.) Historic roads can be added to the base map as they are identified.

**Map 2** includes data provided by the Southeast Archeological Center. Site locations were derived from 1922 and 1930 USGS maps, although the buildings which once occupied these sites were demolished during the 1930s as the National Park was established. At present, very few of these sites have been surveyed. Additional information will become available as the sites are field checked and evaluated for National Register eligibility. The Smithsonian Trinomial numbers assigned to each site are available from the Southeast Archeological Center.



TITLE: Map1: Mammoth Cave N.P. Historical Base Map  
LOCATION: Mammoth Cave National Park



SCALE: 1 : 110957

WINDOW: 564500.00 4126000.00 587000.00 (grid: 2000 meters) 4108000.00

hydrography (jjk)

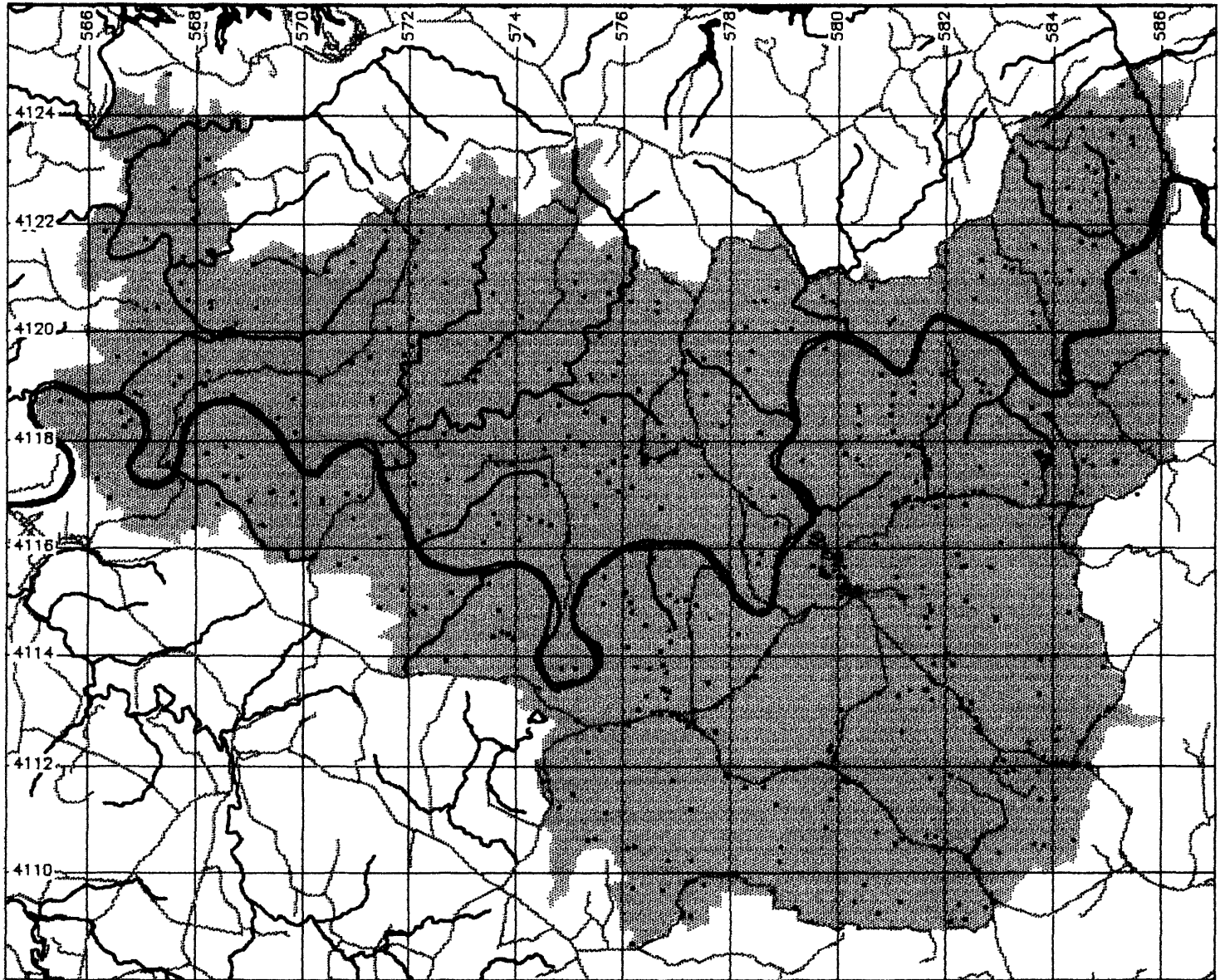
Roads (jjk)

maca.hd (jjk)

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The numbers on the map refer to the following properties:

- |                               |                                    |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 Great Onyx Cave             | 8 Maple Springs Ranger Station     |
| 2 Colossal Cave Entrance      | 9 Old Guide Cemetery               |
| 3 Residential District        | 10 Mammoth Cave Baptist Church     |
| 4 Superintendent's House      | 11 Joppa Church and Cemetery       |
| 5 Maintenance Area District   | 12 Good Spring Church and Cemetery |
| 6 Bransford Spring Pump House | 13 Crystal Cave Historic District  |
| 7 Three Springs Pump House    | 14 Mammoth Cave Historic District  |

TITLE: Map 2: Mammoth Cave N.P. historic residence sites  
LOCATION: Mammoth Cave National Park



SCALE: 1 : 110957

WINDOW: 564500.00 4126000.00 587000.00 (grid: 2000 meters)  
4108000.00

hydrography (jjk)

roads (jjk)

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NOTE: Historic residence sites are shown as black dots on map.

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## **V. APPENDIX**

### **B) National Register Nomination Forms**

This appendix includes individual National Register forms for all resources nominated in conjunction with the Mammoth Cave Historic Resource Study.

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet**

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**V. APPENDIX**

**C) Resource Status Summary Charts**

Resource Status Summary Charts serve as a component of National Park Service Resource Management Plans. The completion of the Mammoth Cave Historic Resource Study has provided new information which can be used to update the Resource Status Summary Charts. This new information is included in the four charts compiled in this appendix. Names of resources listed in the Resource Status Summary Charts can be determined by referring to the National Register Eligible Properties (Part 4) and Other Surveyed Properties (Part 5) sections included with the appropriate context statement in the Historic Resource Study.

Context A: EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT IN THE MAMMOTH CAVE AREA, c. 1754-1927

### SUMMARY CHART FOR STRUCTURES

SIGNIFICANCE		NATIONAL	STATE & REGIONAL	LOCAL	NOT EVALUATED	TOTALS
CONDITION	GOOD					
	FAIR			2		2
	POOR			1*		1
	UNKNOWN				67	67
IMPACTS	SEVERE			1*		1
	MODERATE			2		2
	LOW					
	UNKNOWN				67	67
DOCUMENTATION	GOOD					
	FAIR			3		3
	POOR				67	67
<b>TOTALS</b>				3	67	70

\*Joppa Church needs immediate stabilization and repair.

Context B: DISCOVERY AND EARLY USES OF MAMMOTH CAVE, 1798-1849

**SUMMARY CHART FOR STRUCTURES**

SIGNIFICANCE		NATIONAL	STATE & REGIONAL	LOCAL	NOT EVALUATED	TOTALS
<b>CONDITION</b>	GOOD					
	FAIR			1		1
	POOR			1		1
	UNKNOWN					
<b>IMPACTS</b>	SEVERE					
	MODERATE					
	LOW			1		1
	UNKNOWN			1		1
<b>DOCUMENTATION</b>	GOOD					
	FAIR			2		2
	POOR					
<b>TOTALS</b>				2		2

NOTE: Historic Districts are counted as one resource. For historic districts which include resources of varying levels of significance, the predominate level is indicated.

**Context C: COMMERCIAL CAVE DEVELOPMENT AND THE GROWTH OF TOURISM  
IN THE MAMMOTH CAVE AREA, 1849-1926**

**SUMMARY CHART FOR STRUCTURES**

SIGNIFICANCE		NATIONAL	STATE & REGIONAL	LOCAL	NOT EVALUATED	TOTALS
CONDITION	GOOD					
	FAIR			2	1	3
	POOR			1	5	6
	UNKNOWN					
IMPACTS	SEVERE					
	MODERATE				1	1
	LOW			3	2	5
	UNKNOWN				3	3
DOCUMENTATION	GOOD					
	FAIR			3	6	9
	POOR					
<b>TOTALS</b>				3	6	9

NOTE: Historic Districts are counted as one resource. For historic districts which include resources of varying levels of significance, the predominate level is indicated.

NOTE: This chart does not include one resource listed in the National Register prior to the initiation of the Mammoth Cave Historic Resource Study. This excluded property is called Hercules and Coach #2.

Context D: ESTABLISHMENT OF MAMMOTH CAVE NATIONAL PARK, 1924-1941

**SUMMARY CHART FOR STRUCTURES**

SIGNIFICANCE		NATIONAL	STATE & REGIONAL	LOCAL	NOT EVALUATED	TOTALS
CONDITION	GOOD					
	FAIR			7	12	19
	POOR					
	UNKNOWN					
IMPACTS	SEVERE					
	MODERATE					
	LOW			7	12	19
	UNKNOWN					
DOCUMENTATION	GOOD					
	FAIR			7	8	15
	POOR				4	4
<b>TOTALS</b>				7	12	19

NOTE: Historic Districts are counted as one resource. For historic districts which include resources of varying levels of significance, the predominate level is indicated.