APPALACHIAN FREE PRESS

JANUARY 2021- VOLUME 1, ISSUE 4

Table of Contents

Table of Contents........ 2

Introduction by Ezekiel Streetman........ 4

The Lands in the Sky Where Rivers are Born and Ghost Choirs Sing: Roan Mountain History & Lore by Banjo........ 5

The Housing Crisis In Knoxville by Lindsey Jaremko........10

Mountain Folk Forage: Rosehips by Aimée LaFon........ 18

The Battle of Athens by Donald Janeway Jr. 23

The Appalachian Question: A Historico-economic Analysis by Michael Wilder........ 27

The Price of Power: How the Tennessee Valley Authority Impacted Attitudes Towards Economic Development in East Tennessee by SimplyStructural........48

Note From The Editor by Aimée LaFon........60

Introduction

I could not be more pleased with the success of this production so far. Each step has been a successive leap of faith– faith in the community of writers that deserve cultivation, and faith in the idea that all of our stories deserve to be told.

We need Journalism, perhaps now more than ever. We need integrity in the face of lies, cheaters, and crooks. Every story is important to tell, especially those that provide us with a new perspective on events past and present.

Nothing we have is granular, each problem raised is interconnected by community, by family, and by our fellow Appalachians. Unity requires discourse. Otherwise, the pent-up rage of the mind creates violence.

It is difficult to be pent up, and to maintain the constant frustration of being away from family (as well as being with family). Safety and austerity allow us to appreciate what we have. That appreciation should in some way lead to a re-evaluation of the present, future, and past.

I have unconditional and exceptional gratitude for the writers, editors, and staff that make this paper run. This is the longest issue so far, and every page is a delight that somehow all comes down to this:

We are all not so different after all.

I hope you enjoy it as much as we enjoyed making it, and I hope that your new year is starting off well!

Thank you for reading!

Ezekiel “Zeke” Streetman

The Lands in the Sky Where Rivers are Born and Ghost Choirs Sing:

Roan Mountain History & Lore

By Banjo

(You might wanna grab you a slice of Pumpkin Pie and a cup of coffee because this one is so good you can't stop reading until the end and it's a long one)

Roan Mountain straddles the state line of Tennessee and North Carolina. For centuries, the compact group of mountains with high peaks and deep valleys covered by bald crests has been a celebrated place of legend, mystery, and history. From great Indian battles to ghost choirs singing to stories of a charging ghost bull. Here are some of her stories . . .

Native Americans were the first human visitors to Roan Mountain. A Catawba legend tells of a great battle with the Cherokee atop the mountain that left the rhododendrons crimson and parts of the mountain treeless.

While there is no evidence that such a battle ever occurred, numerous Native American settlements have been found around the base of the mountain, and the Cherokee settlement of Old Fields stood near modern-day Elizabethton, Tennessee.

Before white settlers, the area was inhabited by two native tribes, the Cherokee, who lived among the foothills of the Unaka Mountains, and the Catawba, who were to the east beyond the Blue Ridge. Legend has it that there was a beautiful daughter of the Catawba chief. Her name was Estatoe, and among her talents, she was a crafter of beaded jewelry.

One day, when the beautiful princess was alone by the river admiring her beadwork in the reflection of a small pool, she was surprised by a Cherokee warrior who had gotten separated from his hunting party.

It didn’t take very long before the two enemies had fallen into a forbidden love affair. When the Catawba chief learned of a Cherokee warrior trespassing on Catawba land, he set in motion a plan to catch and kill him.

When the princess learned of the plot, she found her lover to warn him and run away with him to a neutral land where they could be together. Before they could escape, the warriors from the Catawba tribe found the couple and chased them to the edge of a high cliff over a

rushing river. Her lover tried to save her, but the princess took his hand, and together they plunged into the raging waters below.

When her father, the chief, walked to where his daughter had been and looked at the river below, he raised his hands to the heavens and committed her soul to the Great Spirit.

He then proclaimed that the river that had clasped his daughter in death would forever be called the Estatoe. Centuries have passed and the name of the river has been shortened to the Toe, and now it is further labeled as the North Toe and the South Toe.

The Cherokee spoke of a massive wasp, Ulagu, which once inhabited an inaccessible cave. He moved through the air like no other insect or animal, darting, ducking, weaving, and hovering. He moved so quickly could be in one place one second and half a mile away in another. Ulagu developed a taste for children.

For many years, the yellow jacket terrorized the Cherokee by swooping down out of the sky to carry off children who were shocked into immobility by the suddenness of its attack. The giant wasp was hunted and eventually killed by warriors with help from the Great Spirit.

Could it be that the choir who sings on the winds is singing for the spirits of the warriors and the lovers?

For centuries there have been tales of strange noises on top of Roan Mountain. Some reported hearing a choir of fairies, angels or ghosts singing. Some thought the mountain music came from the spirits of Cherokee and Catawba Indians. Some people felt that what they were hearing was the mountain actually talking to them.

Some thought it was the Devil himself. Of course, one might expect the wind at the top of a 6,000-foot peak (with no trees as a buffer) to be a cause of discussion. But some say this wind carries more than an autumn chill or summer storm. Are the people hearing an otherworldly song that travels on this "devil wind?"

Most often heard after one of the violent thunderstorms this area is known for, some say it is a beautiful song while others describe it as a thousand tormented screams. Is it the voices of the Catawba and Cherokee Indians who fought a bloody battle and died on Roan? Or is it, as some believe, an angelic choir practicing their song for the judgment day?

Down the mountain a bit is a run-down cemetery along a place called Dark Hollow Road. The cemetery is small and unkempt, the majority of its graves overgrown, unmarked, and

occupied by the unknown bodies of the forgotten, but one that is known is the grave of a man named Jankins.

The story goes that sometime around the turn of the century Jankins was having a rather hot affair with a local woman named Delinda, who was known for sleeping around with pretty much anything that moved.

According to the legend, Jankins was killed one day after being shot, some say by his jealous wife who had uncovered the affair, and right after he was buried at the cemetery Delinda disappeared without a trace.

Rumors spread that she had actually been in love with Jankins and had crawled into his coffin to be with him, allowing herself to be buried alive in order to stay with her lover even in death.

Whether this is true or not, it has been reported ever since then that cars that drive by or park here will be rocked or bumped by an unseen force, said to be the restless spirit of Delinda.

There is also a stone in the same cemetery that curses pregnant women.

If you are pregnant or think you might be, do not enter this graveyard! It is said that if a woman is expecting and she passes that certain stone, her pregnancy will end in miscarriage or stillbirth!

The next story takes us back to the early settler days of the mountain. On the North Carolina side of the mountain, is the Rhododendron Gardens, considered the world's largest grove of rhododendron, which sits below the grassy balds of the mountain. These balds have provided places for early settlers to leave livestock to roam, particularly cattle.

A wealthy rancher moved into the area who was only known as "The Baron." With him came a huge herd of cattle, that quickly took to hogging up all of the best grazing lands, much to the dismay of the other ranchers in the area.

Making it even worse was that one of the Baron's herd was said to be an enormous, very aggressive bull that would ferociously chase anyone or anything away, sometimes even causing injury or death.

It was believed that the Baron had intentionally purchased this bull in order to keep other ranchers away, and his herd grew to an alarming size, threatening to put the local ranchers out of business.

This would have likely happened if it wasn't for one mysterious individual who took things into his own hands and shot and killed the bull one day as the herd was grazing near the top of Roan Mountain. Considering that the bull was so large and heavy, the Baron opted to just leave the carcass to the elements, abandoning it right where it was.

From then on, it has been said that the disembodied sounds of a bull can be heard in the area, or that the full apparition of a ghostly bull will appear, sometimes charging at people only to vanish into thin air just before impact. Since that fateful day, the mountains still echo with the animal's bellow and the ring of its cowbell.

After the Civil War in 1870 in Mitchell County, there lived a lady by the name of Judges Cook. Ever since she was a little girl it was said that Judy had a special gift.

She had the ability to sense when danger was present through premonitions. One morning, Judy's two sisters were planning on taking a trip by foot across Roan Mountain to visit relatives in Carter County Tennessee.

One of the sisters, Harriet would experience spells where she would fall dreadfully ill for days especially when she was physically exerted. She had just recovered from such a malady. The sisters, fearing bad weather and another bout of sickness from Harriet, did not want to postpone their trip any longer.

As Jane and Harriet started to depart when Judy had a premonition. She saw something so bad that she refused to talk about it. She tried to warn her sisters not to go on the trip, but they would not listen, saying that Harriet felt fine, and they did not want to cancel. After her sisters left, Judy was tormented by a nagging feeling.

There was nothing she could do. The trip across Roan Mountain into Tennessee was uneventful and went smoothly. After two days, the sisters began to walk back. In just a few hours into the trek, Harriet began to run a high fever and started to shake and vomit. They were at the bottom of the tallest peak between them and home.

Jane thought of what Judy had tried to tell them when they left. Clouds covered the skies and the weather grew ominous. They finally reached the summit of Roan Mountain at nightfall.

Harriet could go no further. She collapsed under a tree and was unconscious. Jane, unable to build a fire, tried to keep her warm during the night, and in the morning she hurried down the mountain for help. She told a farmer who hitched up his horses and went back up the mountain after Harriet with Jane in tow.

Meanwhile, Judy, who was worried sick, sent a search party out to find the two girls. They eventually ran into the farmer, Jane, and Harriet. They got Harriet home, but in a short time, she passed away. In memory of Jane's plight on the mountain caring for her sister, one of the three tallest peaks of Roan Mountain is now called Jane's Bald.

To me, every mountain remains steeped in mystery– dark ancient ground that still defies civilization. I will forever walk the mountain trails knowing there’s always a chance that I will meet something or someone unexpected.

As always feel free to Share some additional stories from the mountains either true or lore. I love to hear them all.

Thanks,
banjo
Photo Credit to Charles Hardin of Greenville, South Carolina

The Housing Crisis In Knoxville

By Lindsey Jaremko

I am one of *those* people who recently moved from Los Angeles and bought a home in Tennessee. I feel so defensive about this that I lied to my pest control person when he asked me directly if I moved from California.

I said, “no, from down the street,” which is technically accurate, as the house we’ve been renting for the last two years is roughly a mile from our new home. I eventually admitted he was right but offered lamely, “my husband went to Central,” referring to the high school he graduated from in Knoxville.

I do feel guilty, excited, and still slightly in disbelief. We are so fortunate to have purchased a home, an accomplishment I never imagined possible. I worry about the housing issues Knoxville is currently facing and will continue to face.

This is an anxiety that most people in Knoxville, especially folks who rent, are feeling. The east Tennessee rental market is up 45% in 2021 versus 2019, with home prices in Knoxville increasing by 21.4% since last May, outpacing Nashville. And people are right to be concerned because homeownership is one of the most effective pathways to financial security for working people, providing middle-class income earners with 50-70% of their net worth.

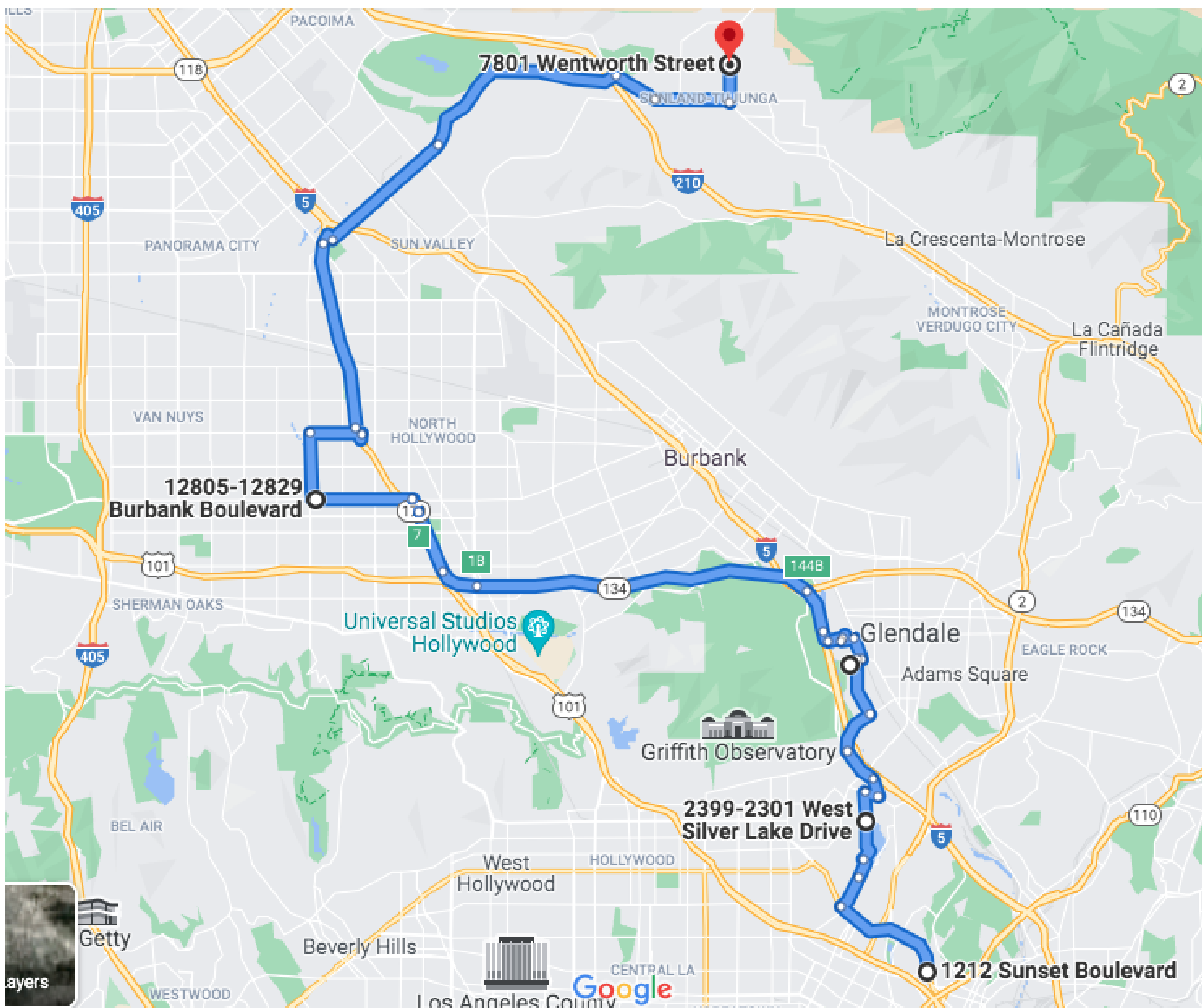
Homeownership also partially accounts for the racial wealth gap we see in this country, with pre-pandemic black American households, with 1/10th of the wealth of white households, a figure that has only gotten worse from 2020 to now.

No one can stop folks from moving in from out-of-state, and no one likely blames the person who sells their home to the highest bidder. As someone who grew up in southern California, I can relate to people’s frustration with folks from out-of-state moving to Knoxville.

The last seven years that I lived in Los Angeles, I held a relatively well-paying union job, but I could not afford to buy a home. This is partly due to the constant influx of people moving in from out-of-state, driving up the rental market, and in turn, driving up the housing market.

Having a relatively well-paying job does not guarantee you will be able to purchase a home if the market is out of control. That means that I have had to pay rent my entire adult life, with no sign of when or if I would be able to purchase a home.

In fact, I moved five times in six years- from Echo Park to Silverlake to Atwater to Valley Village to Tujunga. Drawing a line from one neighborhood to the next, you would observe something similar to a backward question mark. As neighborhoods gentrified around me, I chased lower rental prices north.



As wealthier people move in, businesses follow, driving up the property values and rent prices along with it, eventually pushing out the residents who made the neighborhood attractive in the first place. The residents then have to migrate to less expensive areas,

scattering the community to the wind. This is what happens to working-class people as neighborhoods gentrify.

So, what can neighborhoods do to protect themselves from gentrification? I offer an example of what one neighborhood did to keep their communities safe in the face of development.

The Dorchester and Roxbury neighborhoods are multi-ethnic working-class neighborhoods outside of Boston. Like many multi-ethnic neighborhoods, this community was redlined, a practice that blocked access to insurance-backed mortgages to areas deemed "risky" to investors.

As a result, many landlords turned to arson to off-load properties, vacant and occupied, and residents reported fires occurring every night. One resident, Sophia Carthy, remembered, “you had to be very careful, we had to stay up half the night hoping that they didn’t firebomb the place.” By the 80s, the neighborhood was blighted and often used as an illegal garbage dumping site.

In 1984, the Riley Foundation presented a plan for neighborhood investment in a town hall forum. Because the former Dorchester and Roxbury residents were offended that they were not included in the process, the project was scrapped and restarted to include the locals. Thus, the Dudley Street Initiative was created, and its Board of Directors was formed by the residents' election.

Of initial concern was the illegal dumping, and so began the “Don’t Dump on Us Campaign,” which included blocking illegal trash transfer stations and taking on City Hall. These efforts increased neighborhood confidence and cohesion. The DSNI invested in urban planners and lobbied Boston’s mayor for investment. Around the same time, a plan from City Hall was leaked.

The plan proposed a revitalized business district with no plans for affordable permanent housing in the Roxbury neighborhood. Resident and first president of the DSNI, Ché Madyun, said of the city’s plan:

> *“It really just sounded like a plot for gentrification. It really confirms the belief that we all had on my end of Dudley– that they’re coming through the southland, they’re going to do Dudley Square, just a few minutes they’re going to go right down Dudley Street. We’re only a hop, skip, and a jump from downtown. I can see downtown from my window. How many times are we going to allow them to push us from one place to another in this city?”*

The DSNI protested. Eventually, their plan was approved in 1987, granting 134 million dollars in public funds and the use of the eminent domain to acquire fifteen acres of vacant privately-owned lots, bringing the total to over thirty acres of land.

Today, the DSNI has 227 units of affordable housing, 98 permanently affordable homes, 77 cooperative housing units, and 53 rental units. Additionally, playgrounds, community gardens, and two commercial buildings. To learn more, please visit the Dudley neighbors website.

There are some takeaways from the Dudley Street Initiative.

First, success takes a tremendous effort with sustained community engagement.

Second, city leadership has an evident tendency to prioritize business over residents, as we see with City Hall's attempt to create a thriving business district without prioritizing affordable housing.

As attracting new businesses often accelerates the process of gentrification, any plans in this area without sustainable housing are a threat to local renters.

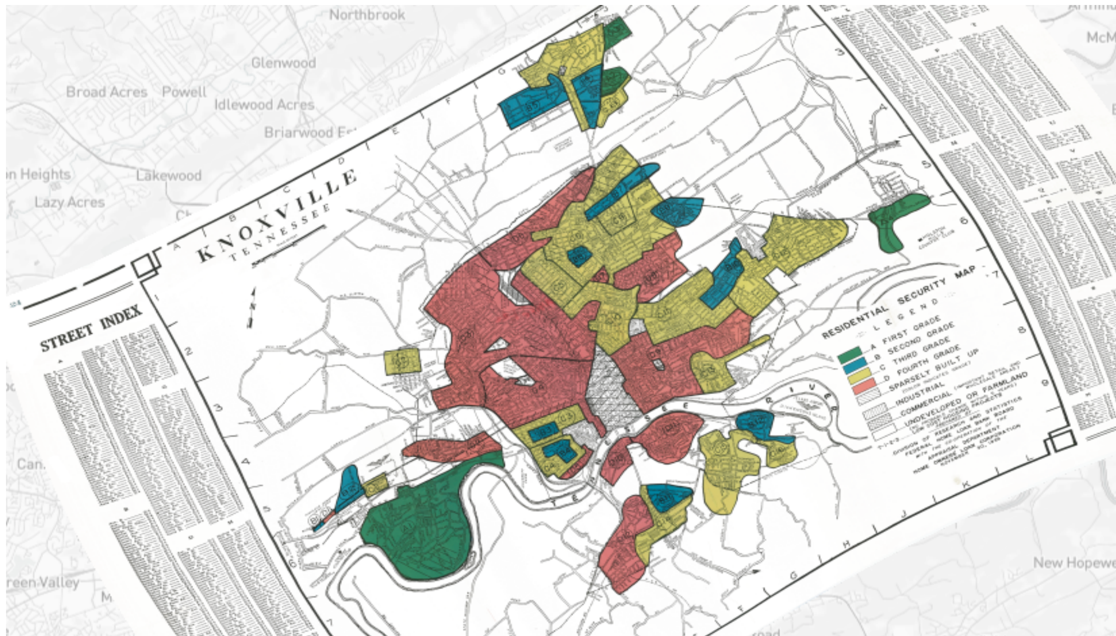
As one resident said: "Dudley Square is going to be revitalized with a hotel and office buildings or whatever. Then what's your fear? Your fear is 'oh, you're done with us', where are we going to go? Come on, I'm not going to own the hotel."

In the face of this challenge, the DSNI banded together and took on city leadership, secured the funding to improve their neighborhood, and permanently placed the land in a trust.

I argue that this victory was only possible by providing an ownership stake to residents in the community. Why work to improve a community if the improvements create a risk that you will be pushed out?

You can access the documentary on the formation of the DSNI here.

Historical Redlining in Knoxville:



Specifically South Knoxville

How did the DSNI create permanent sustainable housing? Through the community land trust model, which I believe could solve the housing crisis in Knoxville.

The Community Land Trust Model

The community land trust (CLT) is a non-profit which holds land in a trust, overseen by a Board of Directors, consisting of residents of the CLT, residents of the greater community

where the CLT resides, and experts and other stakeholders. The CLT acquires land through various sources, like city-owned property, private donors, community foundations, and federal housing subsidies.

Homes are built on the property, then sold to buyers at a reasonable rate while the land underneath the house stays in the trust.

The home price is significantly less than the nearby market value, partly because the buyer agrees to a land lease and the contractual obligation to resale the home at a sustainable price. The buyer is now a resident of the trust. In return, some repairs and improvements are provided, and each resident now has a voice in decisions made by the trust.

When they sell, they are bound to an upper limit on the home resale price set by the CLT. The trust sets the formula (learn more here).

Typically, if you cannot afford to buy a home at market value, you have no choice but to rent. The last home we rented in California was a two-bedroom in Tujunga, north of Los Angeles, where we paid $1900 a month to the homeowner.

Thankfully, in the four and a half years we lived there, our rent never increased. By the time we moved out, we had paid our genuinely lovely landlord $102,600. That money is gone from us forever. We could have built equity if we had access to a CLT property.

Most CLT homeowners are first-time buyers, earning less than 50% of the area's median income. With the CLT model, home prices are lower, making them affordable to people that would not qualify for traditional homes at market value. This makes home foreclosure less common than with conventional first-time home buyers.

The CLT model provides a path to equity that a renter could never access. Following this model, 80% of CLT homeowners use the equity created to purchase their next home at market value.

There are currently at least 277 community land trusts in the United States, with one in development in Nashville.

I remember living in Echo Park, a neighborhood north of downtown, where two shootings happened in front of my apartment. In those moments, I felt less concerned for my safety than when I started to notice more coffee shops opening in the neighborhood.

I knew that rising rental prices were more of a threat to me than gang violence. I felt a small fraction of this here in South Knoxville when the Baker Creek Reserve opened near the home we were renting. This is the renter's dilemma, rooting against the development of your neighborhood because you feel more like a visitor than a resident.

I thought owning a home would inoculate me from that fear and reservation. That familiar feeling crept in as my husband, and I walked near Suttree Landing Park and witnessed the work being done to build the new Dominion Group housing development. The new sixty million dollar project proposes ten buildings with 230 apartments, with rent estimated at $1100 for a studio, one-bedrooms for $1300, and two-bedroom units at $1900.

This apartment complex will inevitably increase rental prices in the neighborhood and nearby housing values. The project promises to address issues occurring near Sevier Ave– specifically the lack of parking and commercial space. Development projects usually promise to improve neighborhoods, but they do not consistently deliver.

A specific example is a dispute between the City of Knoxville and the One Riverwalk Properties, which became so contentious that the property group blocked access to a popular riverfront walkway because the city refused to sign off on public improvements agreed upon before development.

To ensure developers keep their promises, residents need to keep pressure on developers, as well as the city. In south Knoxville, it appears residents are doing just that. In March 2020, the community gathered 600 signatures to oppose Dominion's attempt at bypassing frontage coding requirements, with the city council denying the developer's request. I am heartened to know that the residents of this neighborhood are involved.

I hope that we address housing and community development in ways that do not rely predominantly on the preferred methods of people who already have capital to generate more wealth yet. What if the community owned the land, and the residents decided how to best address their own needs?

Community-led housing alternatives start with neighbors talking to each other about their concerns and visions for the community. Ask Brian, my pest control person, who will never get back the time I stole from him because he innocently mentioned the housing market.

Joking aside, maybe the next time the housing market comes up in conversation, you can tell someone about a "new" model you came across.

I learned about the CLT model while studying at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, as a master's student in the College of Social Work. I am concentrating on macro social work: organizational leadership and community organizing. If you are interested in discussing the CLT model, please contact me by visiting https://linktr.ee/Knox_clt.

Sources

- Knox News: Commercial real estate experts on what's next for Knoxville's market.
- Knox News: How out-of-state homebuyers are contributing to Knoxville's tight real estate market.
- Grounded Solutions: Balancing Affordability and Opportunity in Shared Equity Homeownership Programs.
- Brookings: Rethinking homeownership incentives to improve household financial security and shrink the racial wealth gap.
- Brookings: Examining the Black-White Wealth Gap.
- Community Wealth: Overview: Community Land Trusts (CLTs).
- The Housing Fund: Frequently Asked Questions.

Mountain Folk Forage: Rosehips

By Aimée LaFon

**Disclaimer: I am not a doctor, nor do I pretend to be. This article is informative and only covers the traditional uses for edible plants commonly found in the Appalachian region. It's always best to consult a health care professional or medical doctor when suffering from any ailment, disease, illness, or injury before trying any traditional folk remedies. **

There is no sport like foraging, especially in the frigid winter months. Venturing out into the cold and aimlessly wandering down the streets alone has its advantages, but walking with a purpose and meeting many colorful green-leafed friends along the way is the ultimate joy of any season.

No berry stands out against barren-looking winter brush like the rosehip, a bright pseudo-fruit (it's really a seed pod) that shines in shades of vibrant crimson. These small, round pods are versatile and incredibly healthy to eat and use on your skin.

At the store, you'll find them in all kinds of gourmet teas, tonics, cleansers, and jams. However, these sweet, citrusy berries are probably sitting right outside your door, fresh for the picking at this time in January.

So, let's walk through the properties of rosehips, a traditional Appalachian winter tonic. I'll tell you how to identify and use rosehips and share some of my favorite recipes with you so that you can reap the benefits of these cold-loving, delicious seeds.

About Rosehips

Folk Names: Hip Tree, Dog Brier, Wild Brier
Medicinal Properties: Anti-microbial, Antipyretic, Antiseptic, Anti-spasmodic, Astringent, Mild laxative

There are over 100 varieties of roses, and it's common to find them growing alongside pasture fences, near recently developed land, on the edges of wooded areas, and along highways. You might even have a few bushes in your yard.

Roses are a close relative to apples and crab apples, and they are incredibly healthy and safe to eat (as long as there are no pesticides involved).

The flowers, hips, and leaves of rose plants are edible. They are also often used in cosmetics since rosehips can soothe dry skin, alleviate symptoms of eczema, and reduce the appearance of aging.

Rosehips contain several essential vitamins, but even the smallest serving of about seven fruits can give you 100% of your daily recommended dose of vitamin C. In fact, rosehips are one of the richest sources of vitamin C in the world, and they contain 20 to 60 times more vitamin C than citrus fruits such as oranges and lemons.

This vitamin content makes them ideal for preventing sickness and relieving oxidative stress on the body, so they are the perfect winter treat!

On the Appalachian homestead, people usually used them to make a wintertime tonic since fresh, vitamin-rich produce is difficult to come by in the colder months. In addition, some of you might remember being given rosehip syrup as a child to help fight off sicknesses.

Rosehips are also used to attract fertility and wealth in some veins of Appalachian culture, and placing the seeds underneath your pillow is believed to ward off nightmares.

How To Identify and Harvest Rosehips

Unripened Rosehip

Ripe Rosehip

The Hairy, Fibrous Seeds Inside A Rosehip

When left to flower, roses leave behind a round seed pod that looks a bit like a miniature pomegranate. This seed pod is green only until the first frost of winter when the fruits

ripen and turn bright red, orange, purple, or black (which is actually a darker shade of purple).

Inside this seed pod are usually around 10 to 30 seeds with tiny hairlike fibers. These hairs are edible, but you probably won't want to touch or eat them since they are sharp and have the consistency of fine cactus needles. In fact, these hairs were traditionally used to make itching powders.

So, when you eat or process rosehips, it's always best to leave the fruits whole unless you want to scrape out the seeds from the center.

Once your rosehips change color after the first cold snap, you can pluck them off the bush.

You can eat rosehips raw as long as you scoop the seeds out first since these seeds will be scratchy and uncomfortable going down.

Otherwise, you can also make tea, syrup, jelly, a tincture, or a salve out of these red fruits. So, let's look at some traditional Appalachian recipes for rosehips.

How To Prepare and Use Rosehips

Rosehip Tea

The most popular method to use these berries is in a tea since preparing it is so simple.

To make rosehip tea, dry the fruits out using a dehydrator, a mesh screen, or your oven. If you choose to use your oven (the simplest, most effective method), bake the rosehips for around 4 hours at 100° F or until they are brittle.

This low temperature will ensure that you don't burn or steam out the enormous quantities of vitamin C in the berries.

Then, steep the dry berries in hot water for around 10 minutes. You can also add other teas to your rosehips, such as green or black tea, to get an extra boost of energy and a fantastic, balanced, and fruity taste.

Rosehip Syrup

Rosehip syrup is still a classic back-to-school immunity tonic for children since this seed's medicinal qualities can help prevent common illnesses. The syrup is also sweet, making it a delicious addition to cakes, bread, and beverages.

To make rosehip syrup:

1. Wash your rosehips and freeze them overnight to soften them.
2. The next day, defrost the berries, then slice them in half, scooping the seeds out with a spoon.
3. Crush your rosehips in a mortar and pestle, blender, or food processor until they form a paste.
4. Place the rosehips in a pot and cover them with water.
5. Simmer your rosehips and water over medium to low heat for around 10 to 20 minutes until the water turns yellow to red.
6. Strain out the rosehip pulp from your water using a coffee filter, piece of cloth, or a fine-mesh sieve.
7. Return your liquid to the pot and add 1 cup of sugar or honey for every cup of water in the pot.
8. Simmer the water and sugar/honey while constantly stirring until they have combined into a smooth, thick syrup.
9. Pour your syrup into a jar or airtight container and let it cool.
10. Store the syrup in your fridge for the longest shelf life or keep it in a cool, dark place in your pantry.

This syrup can be taken on its own, but I find that it makes a lovely addition to cocktails, teas, cakes, and anything else that deserves a touch of sweet, citrusy, floral freshness.

Rosehip Salve

My favorite way to use rosehips is to make a salve, which you can use on minor burns and scrapes for quick healing. However, I have to say that I use this moisturizer every day, especially in winter, since it fights away the dryness that always comes in with the cold months.

To make a salve, you can use any combination of oils, but I recommend using coconut oil and olive oil since both are very healthy for your skin and have a long shelf life. The coconut oil also gives the salve more thickness, making it more like a balm or body butter.

Still, for a more traditional Appalachian moisturizer, you should probably use corn oil or another type of vegetable oil, which will give you a runnier, more liquid salve.

To cook up your rosehip salve:

1. Put a 1:1 mixture of coconut and olive oil into a small saucepan or pot.
2. Warm up the mixture on low heat until the oils combine.
3. Mix in a handful of whole rosehips and any other herbs or essential oils you desire (I like to use lavender and plantain, but you can also use tea tree oil, chamomile tea, green tea, or rosemary, which are all excellent for your skin)
4. Heat the oil for around 20 minutes, ensuring that it never gets so hot that you fry your ingredients.
5. Use a strainer or cloth to strain out the rosehips and other herbs, then store your salve in a jar, plastic storage container, or anything else that you can seal.
6. Let the oils cool and solidify, then seal and store your salve.

This salve can last up to a year as long as you keep it sealed between uses. It will reduce the appearance of wrinkles and help you heal from almost any minor skin issue, from sunburns to bug bites.

More Reading

- Ritchason, Jack. *The Little Herb Encyclopedia.* "Rosehips."
- Parsi Teb: Rosehip Has Much More Vitamin C Than Lemon.
- USDA PubAg: Genetic diversity and differentiation in roses.
- Healthline: Rose Hips.
- West Virginia Public Broadcasting: Edible Mountain: Rosehips.
- Grow Eat Gift: Hip and Haw Lore.
- The Appalachian Homestead: Foraging In Central Appalachia.

The Battle of Athens

By Donald Janeway Jr.

This is my recollection of the events leading up to, and of, August 1, 1946, and how I came to know about these things.

I was raised in Athens, Tennessee, from age 5 (1933), attended grammar school, high school, and Tennessee Wesleyan College, and had walked and bicycled all over the town. My Grandparents, both paternal and maternal, were well-known and respected long-time citizens. My Father, a Doctor of Chiropractic, and my Mother, an LPN, worked together in his clinic, which was about two blocks southwest of the Court House Square in Athens.

Athens, "The Friendly City," so named by *The Daily Post-Athenian*, was a small, southern town surrounded by mostly farmlands. Within the city, textile mills provided jobs for available unskilled labor.

There were many businesses facing the four sides of the Court House Square, and a couple of blocks southeast was Mayfield's Dairy, the Ice Plant, a blacksmith shop, and a coal yard.

It was a generally quiet, peaceful town where almost everyone knew everyone and their families, business, and activities. In nice weather, the "Spit and Whittle" groups met on the Court House lawn to discuss various "matters of importance."

On Saturdays, local farmers came to town, most in horse or mule-drawn wagons, to sell produce and purchase supplies. Many items were still scarce following wartime rationing – sugar, shoes, tires, and gasoline.

Although a few families had money, most of us would have been considered poor by today's standards, but we all were about the same, so it made little difference. There were the usual small-town secrets, gossip, rumors, and scandals – perhaps interesting, but nothing world-shattering.

Was there corruption and violence in politics, government, and police or sheriff departments? Probably, but how much and who knew about it was not openly discussed.

I do recall hearing stories of Sheriff Deputies who were reportedly brutal, maybe even sadistic. One rumored story was about a Deputy (Minnis Wilburn) who got into an argument in the infamous Half Way Court (a tourist court, restaurant, and beer joint on US

11 North of Athens) with a man who lost an ear to a broken beer bottle in the hands of the Deputy. There were stories of excessive roughness during arrests, hard liquor for a price, political favoritism, and suggestions of coercion of voters for the "ins" to stay "in."

Sheriff Pat Mansfield and his wife and Tennessee State Representative George Woods and his wife were patients of my Dad, and they also became friends. Dad went deer, bear, and boar hunting in Tellico Mountains with Mansfield and Woods, and through them, he became acquainted and friends with Tennessee State Senator Paul Cantrell.

Senator Cantrell, Representative Woods, and Sheriff Mansfield were reputed to be the "heads" of the Democrat Political Machine in McMinn County. Dad had on occasions loaned them the use of our "cabin" on Watts Bar Lake. Their families had visited, too, so I knew them and was known to them.

Thursday, August 1, 1945, was voting day in McMinn County and the City of Athens. Sheriff Mansfield had contacted Dad saying he had suspicions of some "trouble brewing" and asked that we take his young daughter with us on our usual Thursday afternoon trip to our cabin.

In the late afternoon, Dad listened to the car radio and learned there had been shots fired at the Athens City Water Works Office/Fire Hall voting precinct and that Sheriff Deputies had taken ballot boxes to the Athens Court House.

Dad decided we should go back to Athens, and on the way, we heard the radio report that a large group of "citizens and returned veterans" had "stormed" the Court House, and the Sheriff, Deputies, and others had fled to the County Jail. The Jail was located two blocks north of the Court House on the West side of North White Street.

We arrived back in Athens about dusk. Dad telephoned Mrs. Mansfield and arranged to return her daughter. Our radio reported that the National Guard Armory had been broken into, and rifles and ammunition were being distributed for a siege on the Jail. It was now night, and we could hear gunfire.

Having just turned eighteen, with promises to stay out of danger, my parents reluctantly allowed me to walk across Court House Square and up North Jackson Street (which is one block East of the Jail on North White Street) to find out what was happening. Hornsby Street crosses here and goes West alongside the Southside of the Jail.

Ahead on the West side of North Jackson Street was a small Office Supplies Store, then the US Post Office. The land sloped steeply down and was covered with thick brush behind these buildings facing the Jail.

I could hear gunfire from that slope, also gunfire from the Jail. Also, I heard what sounded like automatic machine-gun fire from atop a department store building at this Northeast corner of Jackson and Hornsby Streets. I have heard conflicting accounts about a thirty caliber water-cooled machine gun being taken from the Armory and set up on that building. I walked back home, only four blocks, to report and then back here several times during the night.

We heard reports that the telephone calls for support and rescue, made from the Jail to neighboring counties, could not succeed because roadblocks had been set up, and no one could come into or go out of McMinn County that night.

As the gunfire continued sporadically throughout the night, I didn't see anyone I recognized at first, but then I began to see boys come from the brushy slope with rifles and turn them over to others.

Several of them were young boys, too young to be veterans, who came to the Saturday morning cowboy movies at the Strand.

I heard someone say that they had obtained dynamite from a local hardware store, and I saw a sailor I recognized (Bill White, he appeared drunk) lift his Navy blouse and stick several sticks of dynamite in the waist and then go into the brushy slope. A short time later, tossed dynamite exploded in the street in front of the Jail. More dynamite hit the Jail wall, which fell back and exploded beneath the jail porch. The night was just turning into the morning. The explosions and earlier injuries brought "surrender" from the Jail.

I heard later that a single rifle shot had injured one man's hand, the arm of another, and the jaw of a third (Marvin Farris, who was the warden of a prison camp). When they were injured, all telephone calls for help were refused. Sheriff Mansfield telephoned my Dad, and he was allowed to go in the back door and administer first aid treatment.

All the Jail occupants were brought out into the Jail yard, and a large crowd quickly gathered. The Jail occupants were led single file down the street toward the Court House with shouts of "Hang 'em from the Court House trees!"

Someone from the crowd jumped on one of the Deputies (Minnis Wilburn), and some said he was not harmed, but others said his throat was cut. Amidst all the crowd confusion, I saw Senator Cantrell slipping away toward Hornsby Street and heard a friend (Joe Shugart) say to his Dad, "There goes Cantrell!" His Dad said, "No, Let him go!"

I believe Senator Cantrell hid in one of several buildings behind the Post-Athenian building until he could get away.

I have never heard this event reported in any account: Bernie Hampton, Pastor of Keith Memorial Methodist Church, climbed up on the hood of a car in front of the Jail, shouted for attention, and spoke, "Boys, you have done what you came here to do. Now stop and not make this worse!". The gathered crowd must have listened because they returned the former Jail occupants to the Jail and locked them there. Reverend Hampton certainly deserved credit for stopping more harm and possible hangings.

Later that day, the roadblocks were removed, and Athens was flooded with reporters, State Police, and soldiers (probably National Guard from other counties).

So ended the so-called Battle of Athens.

There have been suggestions that Athens regained its honor, that justice prevailed, and that corruption was over.

The new Sheriff Buttram was a veteran and a Republican. One of his Deputies, the sailor who tossed the dynamite, reportedly became very aggressive. The next Sheriff after Buttram was a Republican. Both the State Representative and Senator were replaced by Republicans. Were the "ins" the Democrat Political Machine replaced by the then "outs" to become the Republican Political Machine?

By the way, my family voted as Democrats at that time. We reconsidered voting as Republicans when Ronald Reagan became President.

Was honor regained, did justice become prevalent, and did corruption end? For how long did that last? Have you read the startling "Tragedy in Tin Can Holler" by Rozetta Mowery?

Donald Janeway Jr.

The Appalachian Question:

A Historico-economic Analysis

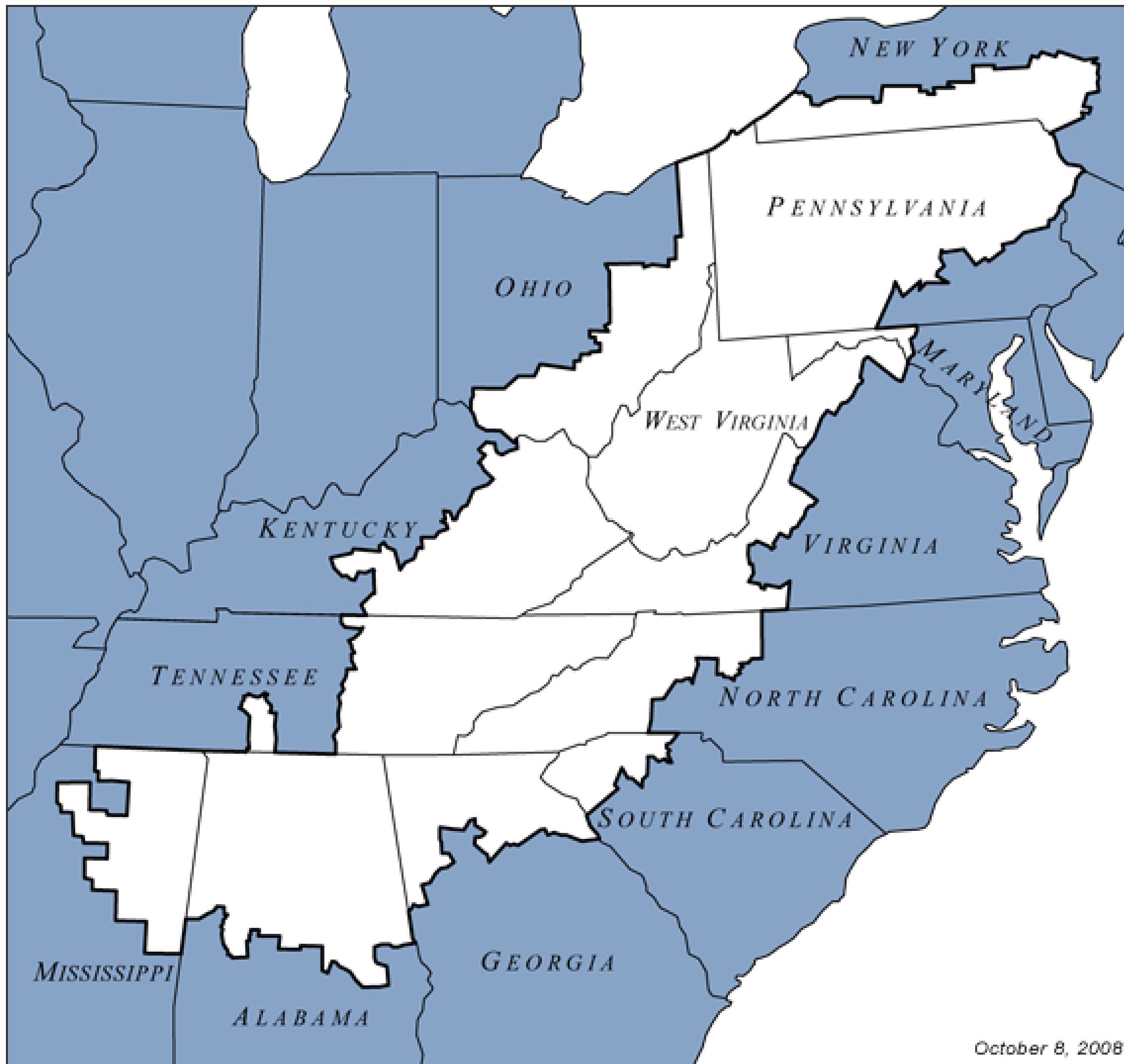
By Michael Wilder

Appalachia is a cultural region in the eastern United States, nestled in the center of the Appalachian Mountains. The region and its people are some of the most misunderstood in the United States; they are known to the rest of America, the mainstream, and even sometimes to themselves, by stereotypes. Appalachia is one of the poorest regions of the United States, and thus, contrary to the mainstream view of the region, has a rich, sometimes outright militant, tradition of organized labor. However, after McCarthyism, the New Left, and the rise of conservatism, organized labor in the United States has seen a dramatic decline. Decades later, Senator Bernie Sanders, although his movement was defeated, has rekindled the discussion on labor and socialism. Looking to the future, a socialist movement in Appalachia can only be successful if its practice is derived from a correct analysis of Appalachian history, culture, and economic conditions.

Appalachia has a mountainous terrain, leading to over a century of isolation for its populace.

We cannot correctly analyze Appalachia without first understanding what it is. When the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) was created in 1965, the definition of Appalachia was

settled in terms of American political discourse. ARC was first theorized in 1960 when the Council of Appalachian Governors, governors from Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, met with John F. Kennedy to address the poor living conditions in the mountainous parts of their states.



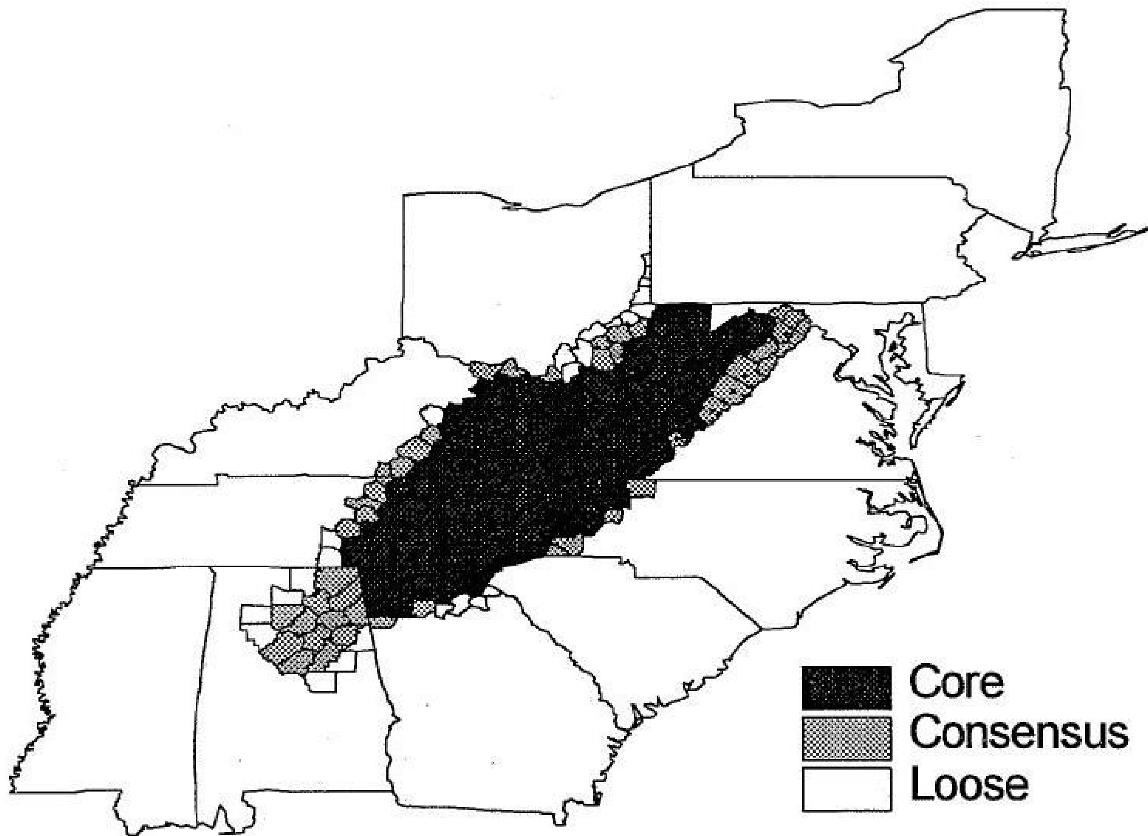
ARC *definition of Appalachia*

However, legal and otherwise abstract definitions do not necessarily reflect the objective sociological conditions of the region. ARC was created by a group of governors seeking monetary aid, so one can imagine that ARC's definition reflects political conditions and geography, rather than concrete social relations. It is undeniable that the *cultural region* of

Appalachia does not extend into Mississippi or New York; the ARC definition is much too broad to be useful to us.

Our definition of Appalachia will be derived from the Appalachian studies scholarship, specifically from John Alexander Williams, Professor of History at Appalachian State University and former director of the Center for Appalachian Studies. Williams identified six "classic" definitions of Appalachia and determined three versions of the region: Core, Consensus, and Loose. We will use the Core definition for our purposes, as it is the only version of the three whose counties are found in all six classic definitions.

MAP / THREE VERSIONS OF APPALACHIA



John Alexander Williams' Three Versions of Appalachia. We will use "Core" for our purposes, although northeastern Alabama should be seriously considered when defining Appalachia.

History of Appalachia

Early Migration

In 1603, King James VI of Scotland, through the Union of the Crowns, ascended to the English throne as King James I of England and Ireland. A year later he commissioned the King James Bible, and three years later, in 1606, he oversaw the creation of the Plantation of Ulster, the organized colonization of Ireland's northernmost province. The Plantation was useful for the new Crown in three distinct ways:

1. The creation of a large, taxable plantation.

2. The suppression of Gaelic chiefs in Ulster, which was the least culturally anglicized province in Ireland and the most independent of English political and economic control.

3. The stabilization of the Anglo-Scottish border region: the Scottish Marches.

It is estimated that 90% of Appalachia's earliest settlers originated from the Scottish Marches, a region characterized by violence and instability as a result of border clashes between England and Scotland. In this environment, group strength and cunning was needed. Locals organized into clans, close families ruled by a patriarch. Clans, regardless of which side of the border they resided, would often swap which country they held allegiance to as it suited family interests.

Some families, Border reivers, survived by raiding. Appalachian culture, even today, is reminiscent of these clan structures. After the Union of the Crowns, the clans remained and proved difficult for James to control. For this reason, the vast majority of Ulster's thousands of migrants were from the Anglo-Scottish border region. Within a few generations of the Plantation's settlement, a considerable number of settlers emigrated to the North American colonies to escape attacks from the Irish, famine, and rising rents from absentee landlords. In America, their descendants are called Scots-Irish.

At the end of the French and Indian War, King George III issued the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which forbade settlement west of the Appalachian mountains; already settled Europeans were ordered to return. In resistance, the settlers of Appalachia were almost unanimously in favor of the American Revolution.

Appalachia's history of absentee ownership began even before the Revolution. Huge tracts of land were granted to favorites of the British Crown and to wealthy colonists. The process continued and by 1810, 93% of what is now West Virginia and at least three-quarters of eastern Kentucky were owned by absentee investors. Sharecropping was a very common way to make a living in Appalachia after the Revolution.

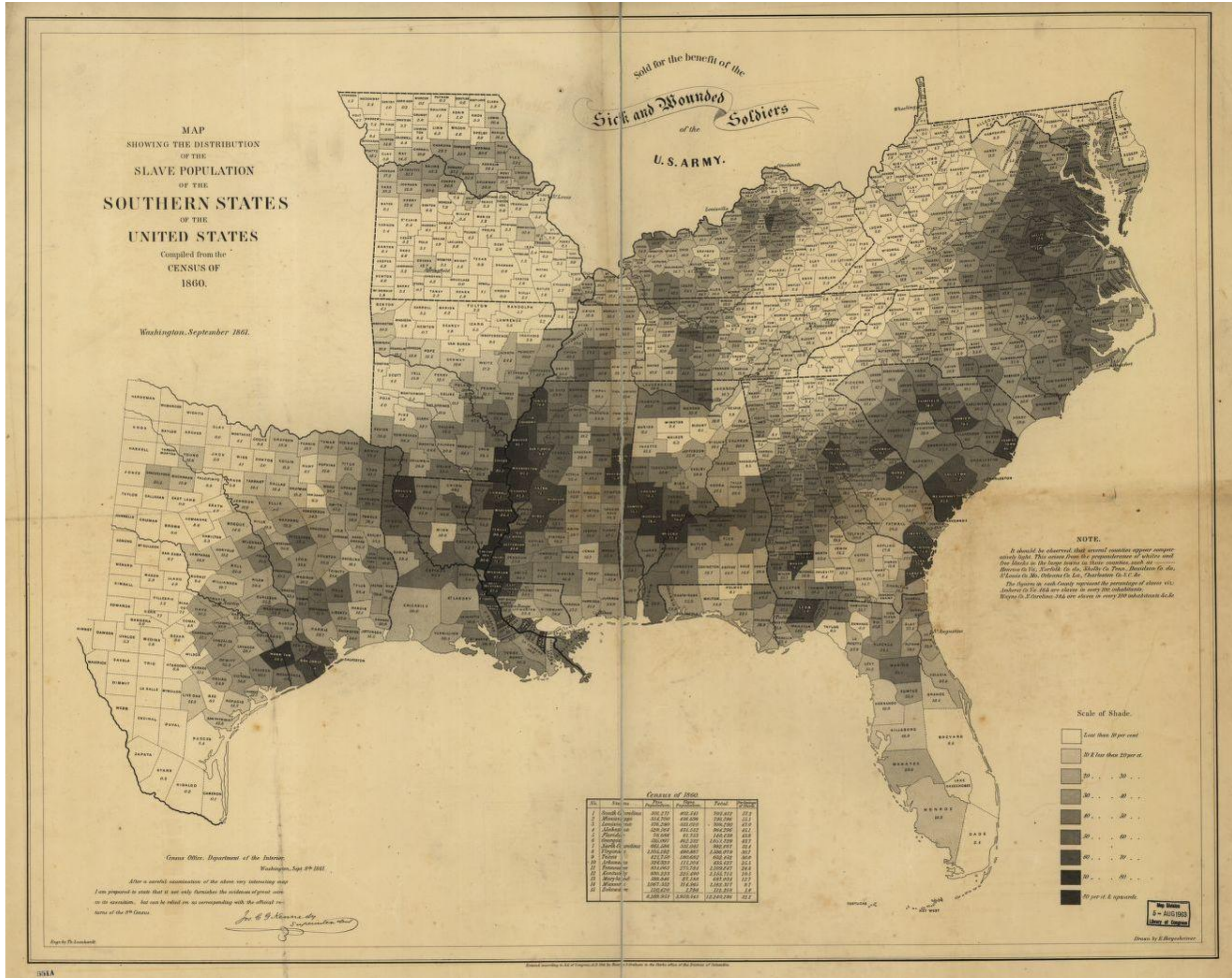
Despite unstable relations before the Revolution, the Cherokee Nation signed treaties with the newly founded United States. Some level of co-existence was enjoyed; the Cherokee Nation developed a writing system and a constitutional government, and, at times, Cherokees intermarried with white Americans and held slaves.

However, throughout this period, treaties with the US government gradually ceded away much of the Cherokee Nation's land, and finally with the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, all Cherokees, except for the Eastern Band, were forced out of Appalachia by the US government.

Sequoyah, a Cherokee residing in present day East Tennessee, developed the Cherokee written language. For a time, the Cherokee Nation had higher literacy than white settlers in the area.

The Civil War

The Civil War has defined Appalachia as culturally and historically, possibly more so than any other event. Due to the Appalachian mountains' rugged terrain, commercial agriculture was rare, and thus slave ownership was considerably lower than in other slave-holding regions of the US. “Consensus” Appalachia can be very clearly seen in a map of county-level slave population:



Map of slave population by county (Library of Congress)

Due to the lower prevalence of slavery, Unionism was strong in Appalachia during the Civil War, although not necessarily for moral reasons; the local population was impoverished and detested the slave-holding elite of the Upland and Deep South. West Virginia seceded from Virginia to avoid joining the Confederacy. East Tennessee made a similar secession attempt in 1861 at the East Tennessee Convention, but the Tennessee State Legislature denied this request and sent the Confederate Army to occupy the region. Due to this contradiction, the Republican Party, the anti-slavery party, became deeply entrenched in the area, despite a later political realignment; even today East Tennessee Congressional districts are some of the safest Republican districts in the country.

Labor Militancy

After the war, industry expanded into the South and demand skyrocketed for two key resources abundant in Appalachia: timber and coal. By the early 1900s, newly constructed railroads gave lumber and coal companies greater access to land, which had been mostly owned by absentee investors for about a century. Appalachia had entered industrial capitalism.

Child laborers in Gary, West Virginia, 1908.

Capitalism in Appalachia was entirely unfettered, and communities were isolated, meaning companies had more or less exclusive political and economic power. Company towns were common practice; that is, companies would plan settlements near a resource, such as a coal mine, that would include stores and housing, also owned by the company.

Workers were paid in a currency that was only accepted at the company store, and, without competition, company stores charged exorbitant prices relative to what was paid in cities for

the same goods. If workers made any attempt to unionize, they were evicted from company housing and forced to live in tent colonies. Many former company towns still exist, for example, Gary, West Virginia is named after steel magnate, Elbert Henry Gary, and Alcoa, Tennessee, is named after the Alcoa Corporation.

A tent colony of miners evicted from company housing during a strike.

In this environment, living conditions were poor and working conditions were dangerous. Samuel Gompers, the founder of the American Federation of Labor, compared West Virginia's conditions to those of Tsarist Russia:

> *Until some limitations are placed upon the absolutism of these absentee coal operators in West Virginia, the government of West Virginia will continue to be Russianized and the people can be naught but serfs. Organized labor has forced these conditions and perversions of justice upon public attention and now demands that the wrongs be righted.*

To prevent unionization, coal operators hired private detectives and even local law enforcement to intimidate, harass, spy on, and even assassinate those involved in union organizing. The most notorious were agents with the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency; at times, Baldwin-Felts agents were deputized within local police forces. In response to these conditions, from circa 1890 to 1930, Appalachian workers were involved in some of the most militant labor disputes in American history; the series of uprisings are now called the Coal Wars.

There were many violent labor disputes in Appalachia, but the most significant were the West Virginia Coal Wars. In Kanawha County, West Virginia, from April 1912 to July 1913, thousands of coal miners went on strike around Paint Creek and Cabin Creek, organized by the United Mine Workers of America (UMW). Mining companies responded by forcing workers into tent colonies; hiring strikebreakers, armed guards, and hundreds of Baldwin-Felts agents. They even built an armored train, equipped with a machine gun, to fire on the workers' tent colonies. The famous labor activist Mary “Mother” Jones and the Socialist Party of America visited the strike to bring organizational support and to provide weapons to the miners. Eventually, the governor of West Virginia declared martial law to ease tensions.

Mother Jones rallies miners in Montgomery, WV.

The West Virginia Coal Wars finally came to a head in 1921 at the Battle of Blair Mountain, the largest labor uprising in US history. Up to 15,000 coal miners, led by UMW officer, Bill Blizzard, gathered at Lens Creek Mountain and began marching towards Logan County. They

were seeking to bring UMW to un-unionized counties: Logan and Mingo. Many of the miners, around 2,000, were Black, contrary to stereotypes.

Sheriff Don Chafin, known for being funded by coal companies, organized a paramilitary force, nearly 2,000 men strong, at Blair Mountain. Days into the conflict, Chafin employed private planes to drop explosives and chemical weapons, leftover from World War I. As the miners neared Logan County, the governor requested aid from the federal government. The West Virginia National Guard was sent to confront the miners, aided by aerial surveillance from the US Army. The miners considered themselves patriots and often flew the American flag; many were World War I veterans. Thus, they were unwilling to fire on US troops and were directed by Bill Blizzard to end their campaign. There were similar uprisings, albeit to a lesser scale, in Anderson County, Tennessee, and Harlan County, Kentucky.

Miners pose with an unexploded pipe bomb, dropped by Chafin's planes. This bomb would later be used in court to acquit Bill Blizzard.

Even today, mining continues to have disastrous effects on Appalachia's people and environment. Areas with mountaintop removal have nearly twice the rate of birth defects compared to non-mining areas, for example.

Florence Reece, a coal miner's wife and union activist, wrote the lyrics for the folk song Which Side Are You On? in 1931 to rally coal miners during the Harlan County War.

Now that we have established Appalachia's distinctiveness from the American mainstream, let us bring a more formal, Marxist analysis of the Appalachian community into the discussion.

Appalachia: A Nation?

Some American Marxist groups have considered Appalachia to be an oppressed nation, two examples are the Communist League and the Revolutionary Organization of Labor. Overall, however, this is a contentious viewpoint due to the prominence of racism in the United States and its economic consequences. We will use the following Marxist definition of a nation to perform our analysis:

> *A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.*

-Marxism and the National Question

Historically Constituted

We must be abundantly clear that ethnicity plays no part in national character.

> *This community [a nation] is not racial, nor is it tribal. The modern Italian nation was formed from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, and so forth. The French nation was formed from Gauls, Romans, Britons, Teutons, and so on. The same must be said of the British, the Germans and others, who were formed into nations from people of diverse races and tribes.*

-Ibid.

Appalachia is often stereotyped as white, but the reality is that Appalachia is more diverse than many in the American mainstream believe. Scots-Irish is the majority ethnicity, but Germans and Irish also comprise major settler groups in the region.

Black Appalachians, termed Affrilachia, have been instrumental in the development of Appalachian culture, from the cuisine to the music. North Carolina is home to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and in recent decades the region has seen a significant arrival of Mexican immigrants seeking industrial jobs.

Finally, Appalachia is home to a unique ethnic group, the Melungeons, thought to have European, African, and Indigenous ancestry. Federal records show that Melungeons were generally well-integrated and enjoyed the same legal rights as white Appalachians, although they may have experienced racial prejudice. They often held property, voted, and served in the Army. The Melungeons, due to the material conditions of the region, have a different, more Appalachian history relative to ethnic minorities in the American mainstream.

> *Thus, a nation is not a racial or tribal, but a historically constituted community of people.*

-Ibid.

Due to geographical isolation, the unique pattern of migration by early settlers to the region, the distinct political tendencies of the region throughout US history, the intensity of class struggle, and the existence of Appalachian cultural identity, it is evident that Appalachia is a historically constituted, definite community.

Stable Community

> *On the other hand, it is unquestionable that the great empires of Cyrus and Alexander could not be nations, although they came to be constituted historically and were formed out of different tribes and races. They were not nations, but casual and loosely-connected conglomerations of groups, which fell apart or joined together according to the victories or defeats of this or that conqueror. Thus, a nation is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a stable community of people.*

-Ibid.

During the Civil War, Appalachians were separated into two states, but the strength of Unionism in Confederate-occupied Appalachia suggests resistance to this division. Thus, Appalachia is a stable community of people.

Common Language

> *What distinguishes a national community from a state community? The fact, among others, that a national community is inconceivable without a common language, while a state need not have a common language.*

-Ibid.

Appalachian English is spoken throughout Appalachia.

Common Territory

> *But people cannot live together, for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory. Englishmen and Americans originally inhabited the same territory, England, and constituted one nation. Later, one section of the English emigrated from England to a new territory, America, and there, in the new territory, in the course of time, came to*

> *form the new American nation. Difference of territory led to the formation of different nations. Thus, a common territory is one of the characteristic features of a nation.*
>
> –*Ibid.*

Appalachia is a contiguous territory.

Common Economic Life

> *But this is not all. Common territory does not by itself create a nation. This requires, in addition, an internal economic bond to weld the various parts of the nation into a single whole. There is no such bond between England and America, and so they constitute two different nations. But the Americans themselves would not deserve to be called a nation were not the different parts of America bound together into an economic whole, as a result of division of labour between them, the development of means of communication, and so forth. Take the Georgians, for instance. The Georgians before the Reform inhabited a common territory and spoke one language. Nevertheless, they did not, strictly speaking, constitute one nation, for, being split up into a number of disconnected principalities, they could not share a common economic life; for centuries they waged war against each other and pillaged each other, each inciting the Persians and Turks against the other. The ephemeral and casual union of the principalities which some successful king sometimes managed to bring about embraced at best a superficial administrative sphere, and rapidly disintegrated owing to the caprices of the princes and the indifference of the peasants. Nor could it be otherwise in economically disunited Georgia … Georgia came on the scene as a nation only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the fall of serfdom and the growth of the economic life of the country, the development of means of communication and the rise of capitalism, introduced division of labour between the various districts of Georgia, completely shattered the economic isolation of the principalities and bound them together into a single whole. The same must be said of the other nations which have passed through the stage of feudalism and have developed capitalism. Thus, a common economic life, economic cohesion, is one of the characteristic features of a nation.*
>
> –*Ibid.*

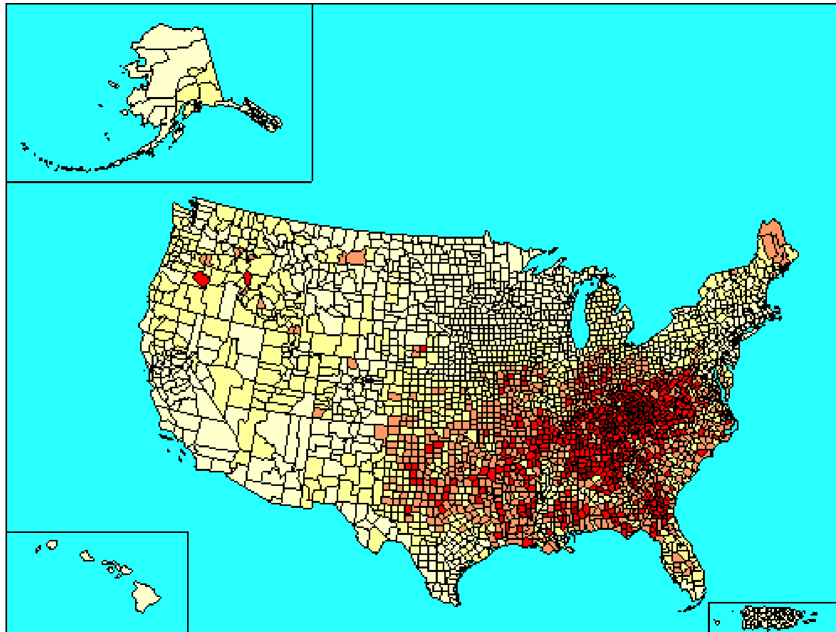
The development of capitalism in Appalachia has lagged behind the rest of the United States, due to its isolation. Throughout its history, economic life throughout Appalachia has been more or less common. The geography forced its population into subsistence farming and

sharecropping for a longer period of time than the US as a whole, which, again, led to its culture of Unionism during the Civil War. Later, the Appalachian economy was primarily extractive capitalism and absentee ownership.

Common Culture

There is an undeniable, distinct Appalachian culture. The region boasts its own musical tradition and even its own instrument, the Appalachian dulcimer, popularized by the "Mother of Folk", Jean Ritchie. The American Counseling Association published guidelines on how to [properly counsel clients of Appalachian culture]; they describe Appalachians as an "invisible minority" with a collectivist culture compared with American mainstream individualism.

Therefore, technically speaking, in Marxist terms, Appalachia is a nation. Yet, despite the essence of national character in Appalachia, there has never been an independent Appalachian national identity, even during violent labor uprisings. In fact, when polled, Appalachians are highly likely to report having "American ancestry."



Concentration of people who self-report as having "American ancestry."

Thus, Appalachians in the early 20th century may have considered themselves "more American" than the absentee capitalists exploiting them. In order to properly organize a socialist revolution in Appalachia, we need a clearer understanding of the Appalachian *quasi-nation*'s relationship to the United States overall.

A Peripheral American People

In the climate of the 1960s New Left, some radical academics and activists in Appalachia were attracted to an interpretation that Appalachia is an internal colony of the United States; this is the most intuitive conclusion after recognizing that Appalachia is a quasi-nation. For example, Helen Matthews Lewis, the "grandmother of Appalachian studies" expressed this view in her book *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case*.

Lewis was a professor at East Tennessee State University but was fired at the behest of the coal industry when she spoke publicly about patterns of unfair tax advantages in its favor and the environmental damages of mining. Much of the attention on this model in the 1960s was its cogent analysis of economic and cultural domination of Appalachia by the American mainstream.

Two important examples of cultural domination come to the front of the discussion. First, the missionary movement in Appalachia. From 1880-1940, capitalists and missionary intellectuals, primarily from northern states, came to the region in an attempt to "modernize" Appalachia by bringing mainstream American culture to the region. This "modernization" effort is constituted in the historical and economic development of capitalism in the United States; the ruling class needed a modernized workforce in order to expand into Appalachia. The local population was already devoutly Christian but followed older denominations, and, thus, religion became the ideal method of cultural domination.

The second example of cultural domination is the perpetuation of stereotypes, which have existed since the region was first settled. The Scots-Irish were always considered "savages" by the Anglo-American elite. British historian, Arnold Toynbee, featured on the cover of Time Magazine, had this to say of the Appalachian people:

> *The Appalachian 'mountain people' today are no better than barbarians. They have relapsed into illiteracy and witchcraft. They suffer from poverty, squalor and ill health. They are the American counterparts of the latter day White barbarians of the Old World—Rifis, Albanians, Kurds, Pathans and Hairy Ainus; but, whereas these latter are belated survivals of an ancient barbarism, the Appalachians present the melancholy spectacle of a people who have acquired civilization and then lost it.*

Due to sensationalist journalism in the 19th and early 20th centuries, many stereotypes of the region still exist. Two particularly harmful stereotypes come to mind. The first is the disdain

of Appalachian speech, despite it being the oldest living English dialect and entirely linguistically valid.

The second is the myth of inbreeding, which has been used by some pundits to blame Appalachians for their economic situation. A 2008 genetics study found no greater prevalence of inbreeding in Appalachia compared to the rest of the United States. These stereotypes have been harmful enough for Cincinnati, Ohio, which has a particularly large Appalachian diaspora (20-30% of its population), to adopt a human rights ordinance banning discrimination against Appalachians.

Despite its success in analyzing cultural and economic exploitation in Appalachia, the internal colony model began to come under scrutiny as Appalachian studies evolved. The model breaks down in two places. First, under capitalism, colonialism tends to be associated with racism. White Appalachians have never fallen into a legally-sanctioned, racial caste system. There has never been an "internal government," like the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to rule the so-called colony of Appalachian people.

Second, prejudice against Appalachians is intimately tied to class. For example, Black politicians can experience racism in basically the same way as working class Black Americans, but politicians in Appalachia are not stereotyped as "hillbillies." For the internal colonialism model to work, there must be domination of a group's workers and capitalists.

David Walls, an academic and activist who has made significant contributions to Appalachian studies, prefers the internal periphery model. Under capitalism, the various regions of a country will necessarily develop at an uneven rate. Underdeveloped regions, peripheries, perform two important functions for advanced capitalism. First, they provide cheap labor for more developed regions to extract profit from, similar to a colony. Second, in the US, keeping certain peripheries in poverty is crucial for advanced capitalism, as it reduces workers' bargaining power in other regions.

For example, unionization struggles in the "mainstream" United States may be compromised by the threat of moving jobs to Appalachia to take advantage of the cheaper labor. Walls notes that the federal government has denied ARC the capability to develop its subregions evenly; the Central subregions, very similar to William's "Core Appalachia", have not had the same level of assistance as the Northern and Southern subregions. This view also has greater compatibility with Appalachia's history; it was a very early settler group in the United States that has, even in the time of the Revolution, long considered itself American. Due to a century or so of isolation in the mountains, has become an "indigenized" people, who do not have the

nomadic essence that the American mainstream has. That is to say, most Americans are more likely to move around the country, but Appalachians are more likely to have connection to place, and may experience anxiety and depression if separated from "home."

Physical Quality of Life

Now that we have established what Appalachia is, we will quantify its level of development. Because it is a quasi-nation, especially with its unique economic history, we will compare it to the level of development of countries. Our metric will be Physical Quality of Life, similar to this American Journal of Public Health study that compared the level of development of capitalist countries and socialist countries. The study states:

> *Economic development is a widely studied historical process that exerts profound effects on the physical quality of life (PQL).*

PQL Index is given by:

$$PQL = \frac{LiteracyRate + 0.625(166 - InfantMortality) + 2.7(LifeExpectancy - 42)}{3}$$

Where:

- LiteracyRate: The percentage of the population that is literate.
- InfantMortality: Infant Mortality out of 1,000 births.
- LifeExpectancy: Mean number of years a population is expected to live.

Country-level Index was calculated with these data sources:

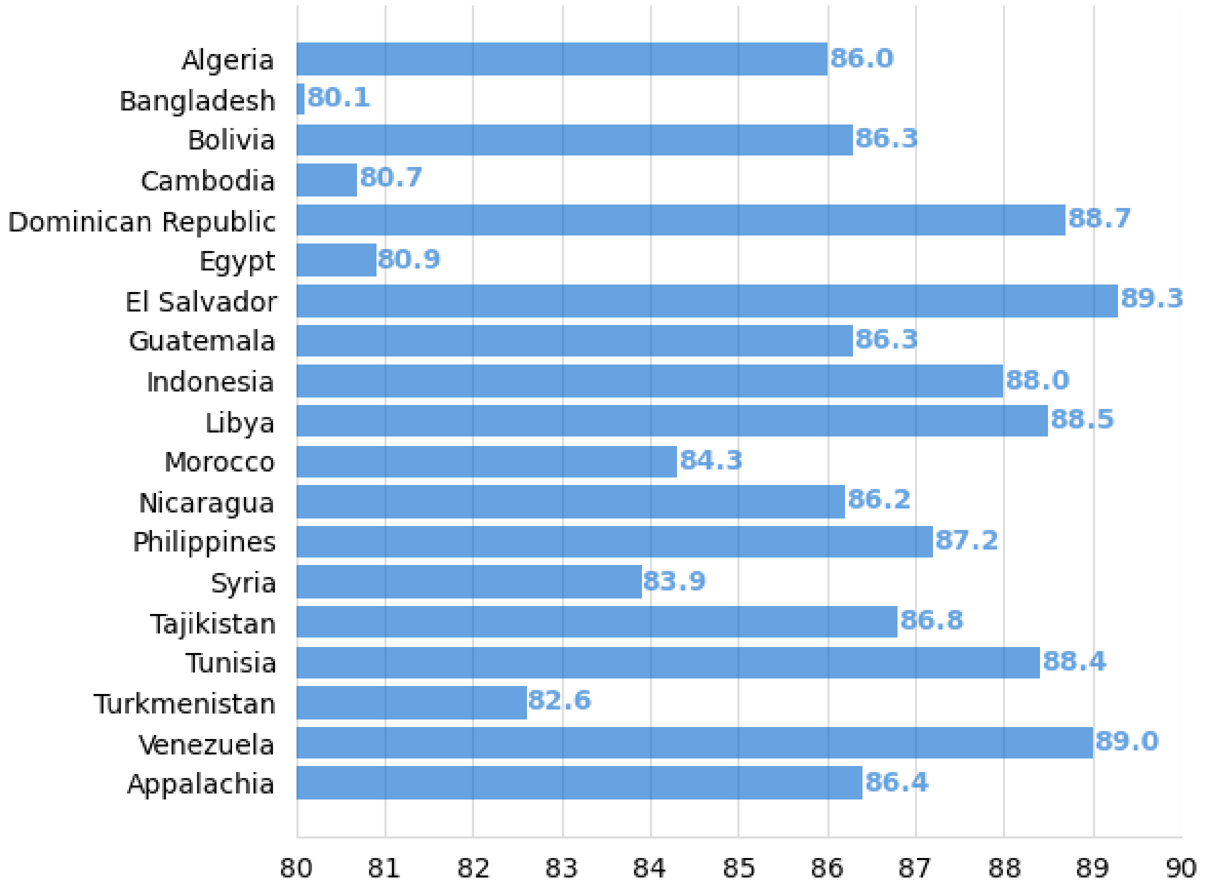
- Adult (15+) Literacy Rate by Country
- Overall Life Expectancy by Country
- Infant Mortality by Country

To calculate Appalachia's PQL, PQL Indices were calculated for counties in Core Appalachia, and those indices were averaged. Data sources:

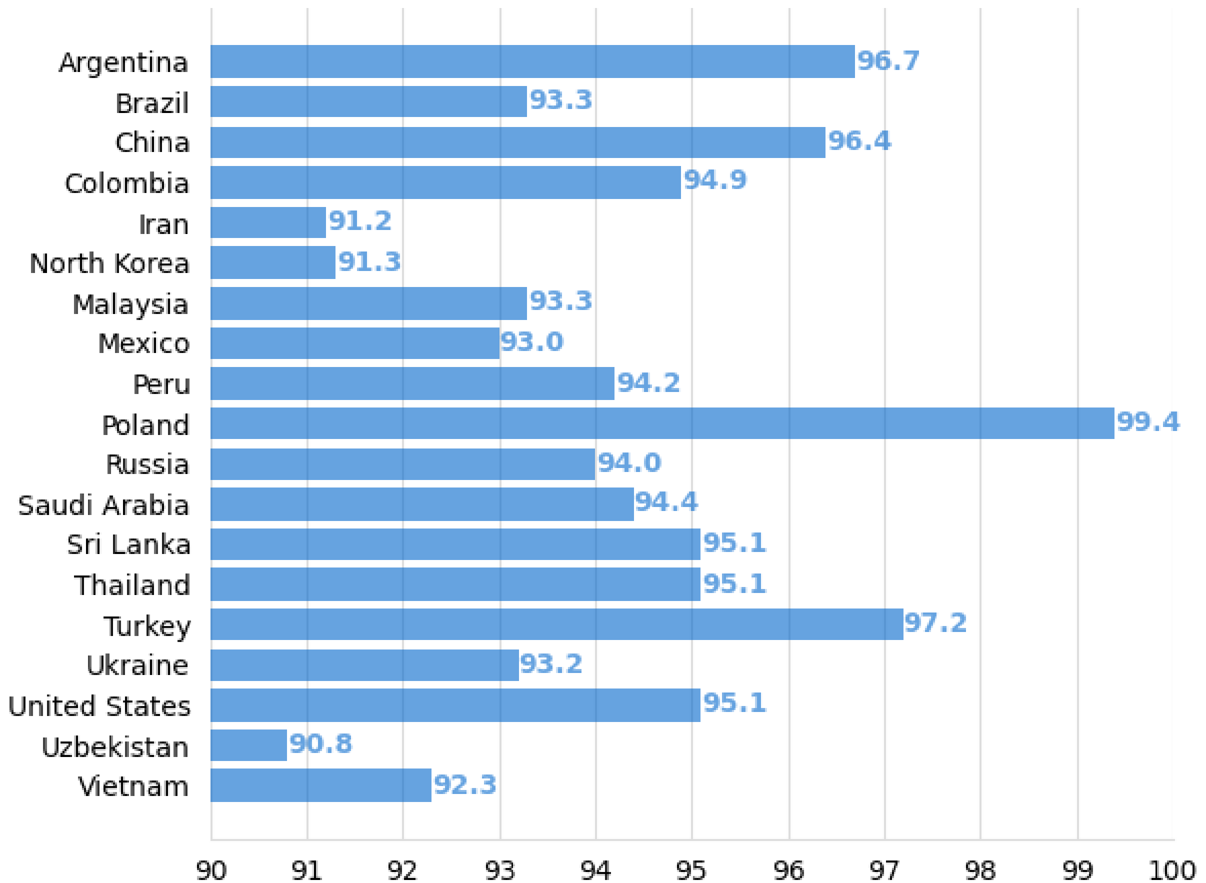
- County-level Literacy Rate
- County-level Life Expectancy and Infant Mortality

The calculations and graph generation were done by a Python script.

Results



PQL Index 80-90 by country (population ≥ 5 million) and calculated Appalachian PQL Index



PQL Index 90-100 by country (population ≥ 15 million)

Appalachia had a PQL Index of 86.4, similar to countries like Algeria, the Philippines, and Venezuela. However, the United States (including Appalachia and counties whose majority population is an ethnic minority) as a whole had a PQL Index of 95.1.

Appalachia and Socialism

To build socialism in the United States, we should, ideally, find a socialist movement that has successfully taken state power, in a country with similar conditions, and tailor their method to something that will work in America.

Nicaragua

The United States is a union-state, a union of nations under one central government, similar to Russia and China. Both of these countries had successful socialist revolutions, and a key component of their movement was to appeal to the various nationalities and ethnic groups that their countries are composed of. In contrast, the United States is not in a situation that

would warrant a violent revolution. The Bolivarian socialist countries: Venezuela, Bolivia, and Nicaragua have taken power, more or less peacefully, but have still transformed the nature of the state in a revolutionary way. Thus, socialists must win the trust of the various 'nationalities' within the US, but with legal methods.

In terms of revolutionary praxis, Appalachia has remarkably similar conditions to Nicaragua, led by The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), a Marxist and Christian socialist political party. First, it is worth noting that Nicaragua and Appalachia are similar in terms of economic development, with PQL Indices of 86.2 and 86.4, respectively. Second, Nicaraguans, like Appalachians, tend to be socially conservative and deeply religious; FSLN won with the motto: "Christianity, Socialism, and Solidarity."

A Christian socialist message would likely be well-received by the Appalachian working class. Third, Nicaragua has significant rural poverty but does not force rural Nicaraguans to move to cities for opportunity.

Instead, FSLN employs a strategy they call "grow as you are planted," where the economic development of rural areas is emphasized. As discussed previously, Appalachians may experience adverse mental health effects, or, in the case of Cincinnati, discrimination, when moving to cities. They simply do not want to leave Appalachia, and a message like "grow as you are planted" would resonate with them.

FSLN poster featuring the party's slogan: Christianity, Socialism, and Solidarity.

Modernization of Appalachia

Two institutions have played a dominant role in modernizing Appalachia: The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). TVA is a state-owned enterprise, established in 1933 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, that brought electrification to the Tennessee Valley. ARC is a federal-state partnership, established in 1965, with the purpose of economic and cultural development in Appalachia. Since its creation, ARC reduced infant mortality by two-thirds and doubled high school graduation rates in its constituent counties.

ARC reaches its goals by developing and executing five-year plans, similar to the Soviet Union and China, but on a smaller scale. American socialists should make clear to the Appalachian working class that the free market only brought colonial-style economic exploitation, environmental destruction, and cultural domination, and that Appalachia could only be developed by state planning.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves the much higher consideration.

-*Abraham Lincoln*, 1861

The Price of Power:

How the Tennessee Valley Authority Impacted Attitudes Towards Economic Development in East Tennessee

By SimplyStructural

Since the 1940s, the counties of Union and Grainger in East Tennessee have been subject to economic development projects that have been met with opposition. Evidence highlights this opposition was a response by the “displaced generation” of the Tennessee Valley Authority’s Norris and Cherokee hydroelectric projects, and the controversial eminent domain and family removal methods used in these counties by the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Rural by nature, the East Tennessee counties of Grainger and Union have histories as exurban “bedroom communities,” lacking diversified economies within their boundaries (“Grainger Census”, “Union Census”).

With the automation of their historic agricultural backbones, both counties have seen their job markets dwindle (“Comprehensive”). In 2021, both were classified “at-risk” of becoming “economically distressed,” placing them among the top 10% worst counties regarding economics nationwide, according to the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), a federal economic development agency (EDA) (“Distressed”).

For placement, the ARC would cite both counties’ per capita income, unemployment, and poverty rates (“Classifying”). This decay has triggered the ‘brain drain’ of the counties’ young adult demographic, who are flocking to progressive urban employment centers per the East Tennessee

Development District (ETDD), the region’s EDA (“Comprehensive”). Historically, the counties have been subject to economic development proposals to seek improvement. These projects have encountered recurring hesitancy and opposition.

Reactionary sentiment towards economic development, while synonymous with the larger Appalachian region’s culture, significantly strengthened in these counties following the 1940s.

Local experts suggest evidence has pinpointed this behavior to government operations that changed these counties controversially, the Norris and Cherokee hydroelectric projects by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

TVA Comes to Town

In the 1930s to 1940s, the TVA would impound the Clinch and Powell rivers in Union County, and the Holston River in Grainger County for Norris and Cherokee dams respectively as part of the Unified Development of the Tennessee River System plan (“Cherokee”, “Norris”).

Most properties acquired by TVA for their dams’ reservoirs were generational family farms, and both counties were the most significantly impacted for their respective projects, with 1,100 Union families removed for Norris, and 434 Grainger families removed for Cherokee (“Cherokee”, “Norris”).

Families forced to relocate presented strong opposition to the move, and to TVA. In the Cherokee Project’s comprehensive report, TVA cited resistance from the 400 families in the

Bean Station area of Grainger County as a major hurdle, “This stability of tenure and reluctance to move complicated the problem of relocation and removal.” (“Cherokee”).

TVA officials attempted to compromise by relocating Bean Station as a planned town, but this plan was scrapped following continued community defiance, leaving families on their own (Figure 1).

Figure 1a: The town of Bean Station in Grainger County, 1938. Source: TVA

Figure 1b: Bean Station site, 2021. Picture by author

In Union County, the Big Valley region encountered an equivalent fate for Norris Dam, but did not receive attempts to relocate as a planned community.

Big Valley families would gather for a large-scale TVA protest named the ‘Last Round-up’ in a local schoolhouse (Figure 2). Big Valley residents attempted legal action against TVA’s property acquisition division (Wilson, McDonald & Muldowny). In the 1981

historical publication, TVA and the Dispossessed, University of Tennessee professors Michael McDonald and John Muldowny investigated the struggle endured by the Big Valley families of Union County. The two would reveal that families “complained of ‘inequitable treatment at the hands of the Tennessee Valley Authority and its agents.” These acts of defiance would prompt court orders and federal lawsuits forcing the families’ removal (Stephens).

While hundreds of homes, businesses, and farms would be washed out in both counties by the TVA, the feelings from those displaced would stand firm for generations, unbeknownst to the agency and those outside of the county lines.

Figure 2: Union County families gather at Loyston School for "Last Round-up" protest against TVA, October 14, 1935. Source: Lewis Hine

Not in My Backyard

Entering the mid-century, Grainger and Union counties encountered economic development proposals that were met with opposition similar to attitudes expressed towards the TVA. With federal investments for transportation in the 1950s, the Interstate 81 highway corridor was proposed to travel along US-11W through Grainger County into Knoxville. Encountering resistance of familiar eminent domain arguments, I-81 would be rerouted (Figure 3).

Figure 3: US 11W in Grainger County, 2021. Once proposed as Interstate 81 and scheduled for widening as a four-lane expressway since the 1970s, these proposals were met with consistent opposition. Photo by author.

By the later mid-century, both counties established planning commissions identifying needs in infrastructure, land use, and economic development. For Grainger County, plans supporting regional water and wastewater systems would stall following local misinformation campaigns. Similar plans stalled in the Big Valley area of Union County, as electricity, paved roadways, and water systems wouldn't be established until the 1950s for electricity, and the 1980s for water and roadways (Gilmore,Nacke).

Decades later, both counties faced the consolidations of their school systems by the Tennessee state government. Residents in the counties voiced distaste with the closure of smaller community-based schools to no avail, as the state government would force these closures, and the construction of new regionally-based schools, using eminent domain (Gilmore).

In the suburban sprawl era of the later 20th century, incorporation disputes arose from opposition to development or annexation. In Grainger County, Blaine residents would stop the development of a landfill after incorporation, with Bean Station following suit in 1996, stopping annexation by neighboring Morristown ("Blast," Gilmore).

In Union County, Plainview became a municipality after suing bordering Luttrell for attempted annexation in 1992 (Ashley). As the 21 st century dawned, anti-development attitudes declined at large in both counties with the migration of 'snowbirds' from the northern United States for permanent residencies and the lakefront property created by the Norris and Cherokee projects. Nonetheless, anti-development sentiment found refuge in the counties' government operations, as those in power were often established, multi-generational residents. In Grainger County, officials would thwart another regional

sewer system in 2011, and county-wide land-use regulations eight years later (Littleton, Wolfe).

In Union County, officials stalled a downtown revitalization plan for its county seat of Maynardville in 2014 (Gilmore). With this recurring history of anti-development behaviors in these counties after the completion of TVA's hydroelectric projects, it is not difficult to identify the correlation between the anti-development attitudes of the mid-century onward, and the attitudes of those displaced by the TVA.

However, as time progressed, society became unaware of the profound toll the TVA's measures had on the displaced mentally and emotionally.

Understanding the Displaced

To understand how the attitudes of those displaced by the TVA impacted behavior towards economic development in Grainger and Union counties, one must understand the lifestyles of the displaced before and after displacement. In a Journal of East Tennessee History entry, historian Michael Rogers analyzed conditions of those removed for Norris and Cherokee dams. Citing TVA studies, residents in the Norris and Cherokee basins were in "dire poverty with seemingly little hope of material betterment."

Rogers pointed out families impacted by TVA for both projects exhibited diverse opinions on the agency's efforts, with the younger and more educated showing approval, and the more "established residents," i.e.,the elderly and less educated, voicing dissent (Rogers).

However, residents critical of TVA provided sufficient reasoning, as their stress would engulf them post-displacement. In the 1983 documentary, The Electric Valley, Curt Stiner, a Union County farmer turned Norris Dam worker, discussed when TVA acquired his farm:

> *"First land I ever had in my life, and bought it off my dad. I built me a house and a good barn on it. Built a good crib, good smokehouse, dug a well, and got only to use it for some 12 months after I done all that. TVA came along and made me a price on it, and they didn't offer me for what I paid to my dad for that land, and after I put all those buildings on it. I said, 'I'll never sign your contract with that price.' They came back and reappraised it. They raised the price, and I signed the contract, but I didn't get what I should've. I didn't even get enough for the buildings I built on it."*

Like Curt Stiner, families received 'just compensation' they believed did not amount to what they put into their land. Following removal, the displaced developed an insurmountable amount of stress and despondency from the losses of their homes, farms, cemeteries, and communities that felt as much a part of them as their family.

Unable to bear this stress, some took extremes to make their point clear on TVA. Residents of Union and Grainger counties refused to fish, swim, or boat on the reservoirs created on top of their former homesteads and boycotted the use of TVA-established parks. Dozens committed suicide (Wilson, Gilmore). In both counties, properties facing minimal inundation were acquired by TVA entirely, and decades later were often sold off to private developers for prices well-over those offered to the displaced (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Inundated Grainger County farm with asking price of $8.3 million, 2021. Photo by author.

Within the TVA, employees expressed skepticism of the agency's property acquisition methods. In his 1982 tell-all, Tales from the Grass Roots of TVA: 1933-1952, ex-TVA field worker Marshall Wilson, described having an "almost traumatic flood of emotions" regarding his experience with family removals in Union County for Norris Dam (Wilson).

Wilson reported instances of lawyers pocketing displacee payments, surveyors marking land for acquisition that wouldn't be inundated, documenters dismissing removed families as 'illegitimate,' and Wilson himself faced termination after publishing interviews of townsfolk expressing criticism of TVA's methods (Wilson).

It was the actions of the TVA that were cornerstones of emerging resentment towards economic development in Union and Grainger counties onward.

One Generation Suffers for Others to Prosper?

Displaced families of the Norris-Cherokee projects, while expressing negative attitudes towards economic development similar to residents ever since, did want their communities to improve, but didn't know that it would come as an unbearable cost with the loss of their homes, farms, gravesites, and communities in the name of 'progress.' Even as those displaced in Union and Grainger counties were hoping TVA's dams would do exactly as promised to bring better lives for the next generations, the Norris and Cherokee hydroelectric projects would 'set them back' despite their crucial role in the projects (Gilmore).

As the larger East Tennessee region grew overtime with increased electricity access from Norris and Cherokee dams, the displaced felt they were not acknowledged for 'their part' in the development of the region, specifically the post-World War II economic growth in the regional hubs of Knoxville, Morristown, and Oak Ridge (Gilmore).

This discontent was influenced by what the families viewed as TVA using them as 'pawns' for political purposes, as Union and Grainger counties did not experience this same growth as the larger urban centers. As cited earlier, the Big Valley area of Union County would not be electrified until two decades after the completion of Norris Dam, as electricity from Norris Dam would be 'prioritized' for the expansion of Oak Ridge and Knoxville into the 1940s (Stephen).

In Grainger County, TVA did not fund the reconstruction of utility systems at the Tate Springs resort, which served the Bean Station region, whereas the agency would cover the costs of similar facilities inundated by Cherokee Dam for the municipalities of Jefferson City and Morristown in neighboring Jefferson and Hamblen counties ("Cherokee").

For the relocated gravesites, the TVA would not fund the continued maintenance of them unlike similar sites in Great Smoky Mountains National Park by the National Park Service (Stephens). TVA promised to bring opportunities for the upcoming generations of Union and Grainger Countians with the dams but instead prioritized the aid of affluent cities such as Knoxville and Morristown.

With this, the dispossessed held their contempt for the TVA as they grew older. Mary Lynn Gilmore, a retired school teacher and the daughter of Curt Stiner, discussed why the dispossessed generation withheld their beliefs over time:

"*One generation pays the price so others can prosper. This is what my father and the thousands that were displaced for Norris and Cherokee felt, because it was the same situation with both projects. TVA promised to give new life here, but politics got in the way. Their projects' documentation of our areas only added more to the stereotypes of us as 'illegitimate hillbillies,' and 'progress' wouldn't come here until the 'snowbirds' and the Knoxville elites bought property and used the reservoirs for recreation.*"

Gilmore suggested these events led to the displaced keeping their stories "to their selves, and to their graves," as the families of the Norris-Cherokee projects felt that TVA's documentation was responsible for their dismissal by society and government personnel as 'illegitimate' and 'hillbillies'" (Gilmore)

While several like Curt Stiner had discussed their experiences, their stories largely remained within Union and Grainger counties. Even then, the stories would reach little ears as their descendants moved away for opportunities in Knoxville and Morristown with 'snowbirds' taking their places raising housing prices, out-buying local residents (Figure 4). By 2020, the Sharps Chapel area of Union County would become one of the most expensive areas in Greater Knoxville for housing sale values (Stacker).

Adding insult to injury, the Norris and Cherokee reservoirs' popularity for recreation and real estate would lead to 'snowbirds' and tourists becoming unaware of the story of the reservoirs' formations (Cook).

This was driven with the lack of the displaced opening about their ordeals, and instead many conformed to degrading stereotypes they wanted to challenge by voicing opposition to future economic development proposals, since the TVA's projects were these residents' first exposure to "economic development."

Figure 4: Luxury summer homes along the Norris Reservoir shoreline, 2021. Picture by author.

Conclusion

In Union and Grainger counties, the Tennessee Valley Authority imposed a legacy that altered the political and sociological characteristics of these counties for generations in the name of 'economic development.' To those displaced, their introduction to economic development invoked feelings of uncertainty of their families' future, dismissal from society, and broken promises to bring new life to their communities.

These feelings have been reserved amongst the displaced and their descendants, but future economic development proposals brought them back to their memories and stories of the TVA. However, there is just enough blame on the TVA for influencing these attitudes, as well as the residents struggling how to move forward. Plans supporting 'economic development' have since matured by adding in the human factor to projects.

The TVA of the present is not the imperious TVA of the Norris-Cherokee era. Nonetheless, this does not make any suffering endured by the displaced Union and Grainger families less significant, as their stories should be acknowledged.

Officials and communities must learn to move forward with economic development in these counties, with respect to the past and those that sacrificed so much.

The term 'economic development' shouldn't strike fear into the communities that it is supposed to help. In the case of those dispossessed from the Norris-Cherokee projects in Union and Grainger counties, it may never have another meaning. Society must learn from the mistakes the TVA inflicted on these counties, and from the 'established' residents that

have jeopardized these counties' economic futures because of their misinterpretations of 'economic development' based on the unfortunate events under that term.

These rural, economically endangered counties' next generations depend on learning and correcting from the past to make proactive and better choices in the future.

Works Cited

"2010 Census Summary Report for Grainger County." *East Tennessee Development District*, Apr. 2012, www.etdd.org/wp-content/uploads/Grainger-Count-2010-Census-Report.pdf.

"2010 Census Summary Report for Union County." *East Tennessee Development District*, Dec. 2012, www.etdd.org/wp-content/uploads/Union-County-2010-Census-Report.pdf.

"2020 Annual Report: Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy (CEDS)." *East Tennessee Development District*, Appalachian Regional Commission, Dec. 2020, www.etdd.org/wp content/uploads/2020-CEDS-Report.pdf.

"Classifying Economic Distress in Appalachian Counties." *Appalachian Regional Commission*, 14 Sept. 2020, www.arc.gov/classifying-economic-distress-in-appalachian-counties/.

"Blast Ends Landfill Plans." *Kingsport Times-News*, 30 May 1978, p. 6A.

"Distressed Designation and County Economic Status Classification System." *Appalachian Regional Commission*, 11 Aug. 2020, www.arc.gov/distressed-designation-and-county-economic-status classification-system/.

SimplyStructural, and Mary Lynn Gilmore. "Interview with Mary Lynn Gilmore, TVA Historian & Family Displaced by TVA." 14 June 2021.

SimplyStructural, and Ernie Roberts. "Interview with Ernie Roberts, Retired Grainger County Teacher and Economic Development Personnel." Dec. 2020.

Nacke, Philip. *Governmental Organizations of Union County, Tennessee*, East Tennessee Development District, 1969, pp. 1–8, 15–21.

Tennessee Valley Authority. *The Cherokee Project: A Comprehensive Report on the Planning, Design, Construction, and Initial Operations of the Cherokee Project*. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946, www.google.com/books/.

Tennessee Valley Authority. *The Norris Project: A Comprehensive Report on the Planning, Design, Construction, and Initial Operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority's First Water Control Project.* U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940, www.google.com/books/.

Stephen, Joesph. "Forced Relocations Presented More of an Ordeal than an Opportunity for Norris Reservoir Families." *Historic Union County*, 1 May 2018, www.historicunioncounty.com/article/forced-relocations-presented-more-ordeal-opportunit y norris-reservoir-families.

Wilson, Marshall A. *Tales from the Grass Roots of TVA, 1933-1952*. Self-Publish, 1982.

"The TVA, Norris, and Its Legacy: Community Uprooted." *Loyola University Chicago*, 2016, www.luc.edu/eminent-domain/siteessays/norristn/tva/.

Cook, Stevvi. "Those Displaced by TVA Can Never Go Home." *Knoxville News Sentinel*, 15 Oct. 2009, archive.knoxnews.com/opinion/letters-to-the-editor/those-displaced-by-tva-can-never-go-home-ep 409468109-359153541.html.

Pritchett, C. Herman. *The Tennessee Valley Authority, A Study in Public Administration*. The University of North Carolina Press, 1943.

"Valley of the Dams: The Impact & Legacy of the Tennessee Valley Authority." *U.S. National Archives Atlanta Office*, 2014, www.archives.gov/atlanta/exhibits/exhibits-tva.html.

Muldowny, John, and McDonald, Michael J.. *TVA and the Dispossessed: The Resettlement of Population in the Norris Dam Area*. United States, University of Tennessee Press, 1981.

Couto, Richard, and Melanie Maholick. *The Electric Valley*. Performance by Curt Stiner, James Agee Film Project, 1983. *Reelhouse*, www.reelhouse.org/rossspears/the-electric-valley.

Davis, Lee. "Grainger Countians Get 'New Feel' Via Rural Development Program." *Knoxville News Sentinel*, *Newspapers.com*, www.newspapers.com/clip/77534818/grainger-countians-get-new-feel via/.

Wolfe, Tracey. "Land Use Regulations Must Be Considered." *Grainger Today*, 17 Nov. 2020, www.graingertoday.com/opinion/land-use-regulations-must-be-considered/article_4873bd84-2937-11eb-b6a0-ef6369bde27f.html.

Ashley, Mike. "Plainview, a Community Built by Volunteers." *Historic Union County*, 2 Mar. 2020, www.historicunioncounty.com/article/plainview-community-built-volunteers.

Rogers, Michael. "TVA Population Removal: Attitudes and Expectations of the Dispossessed at the Norris and Cherokee Dam Sites." *The Journal of East Tennessee History*, vol. 67, 1995, pp. 89– 105.

Littleton, Wade. "Bean Station Officials Talk Sewer at Special-Called Meeting." *Citizen Tribune*, 13 Mar. 2019, www.citizentribune.com/news/local/bean-station-officials-talk-sewer-at-special-called meeting/article_c7b989c8-45ab-11e9-9333-9f97324a249a.html.

"'The Great Lakes of the South': Celebrating More than 80 Years of TVA Lake Fun." *The News Courier*, 20 May 2020, www.enewscourier.com/news/lifestyles/the-great-lakes-of-the-south-celebrating more-than-80-years-of-tva-lake-fun/article_5d31fd1a-9ad2-11ea-83e0-076c90108fd6.html.

Stacker, and Nexstar Media Wire. "Cities with the Most Expensive Homes in Knoxville Metro Area." *WATE 6 On Your Side*, WATE 6 On Your Side, 25 Aug. 2021, www.wate.com/news/cities-with the-most-expensive-homes-in-knoxville-metro-area/.

Note From The Editor

This issue of the Appalachian Free Press has been an absolute pleasure to read (and re-read) thanks to the astounding contributions that you, our readers and friends, worked so hard to develop.

I am so proud to be affiliated with this paper because of you all. Your ideas, personalities, and beliefs offer new ways of perceiving Appalachia. When your work makes it into these pages, I –and hopefully you, too– can see how much we all have in common.

Thank you for making this the most diverse, deep-diving issue yet!

As always, we want to showcase your work and help you get it published, so that we, as a people, can find accurate representation and a community while breaking down boundaries and stereotypes.

So, please reach out to us at appalachianFP@yahoo.com if you or anyone you know might be interested in contributing to our next issue. We will accept any essays, articles, stories, photographs, poems, musings, and more, so don't hesitate to reach out if you have an idea or questions.

See Y'all Next Time, And Stay Safe Out There!