

**At Home in the Blue Ridge Mountains:**

***Memory, Music, and the Front Porch***

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Tom Dooley	Frank Proffitt	Old-Time	Kentucky, USA	1920s
Tom Dooley	Doc Watson; the Kingston Trio	Bluegrass	Kentucky, USA	1950s
Gospel Plow	Bob Dylan	Gospel	Appalachia	1960s
Gospel Plow	Chance McCoy & the Appalachian String Band	Gospel	Tennessee, USA	1990s
There Ain't No Grave Gonna Hold My Body Down	Brother Claude Ely	Gospel	Appalachia	1940s
Ain't No Grave	Crooked Still	Folk	Appalachia	1960s/1980s
Ain't No Grave (Can Hold My Body Down)	Johnny Cash	Country	Tennessee, USA	2000s
Up On Cripple Creek	Flatt & Scruggs	Bluegrass	Kentucky, USA	1940s
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Brilliancy Medley	Fairport Convention	Reel	Scotland/Ireland	1973
Brilliancy	Sam Bush	Reel	Scotland/Ireland	2006
Coo Coo Bird	Clarence Ashley	Old-Time	Appalachia	1800s/1920s/1950s
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Dink's Song	Dave Van Ronk, Bob Gibson, Pete Seeger	Old-Time	Appalachia	1940s
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<b>Pretty Polly; The Gosport Tragedy</b>	<b>Ralph Stanley, Patty Loveless</b>	<b>Bluegrass</b>	<b>Tennessee, USA</b>	<b>1980s</b>
<b>Pretty Polly; The Gosport Tragedy</b>	<b>Vandaveer</b>	<b>Americana</b>	<b>Kentucky, USA</b>	<b>2010s</b>
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Wild Mountain Thyme	Ed Sheeran	Folk	England/Ireland	2010s
<b>Front Porch Swing Afternoon</b>	<b>Jamey Johnson</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Nashville, Tennessee</b>	<b>2008</b>
On The Front Porch	Burl Ives	Country	Tennessee, USA	1992

\* These are not exclusive examples of this music, but a survey of the examples and research done for this thesis. Those in **bold** are referenced specifically in the analysis in Chapter Three.

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I would like to thank my advisory team, Louis Nelson, Shiqiao Li, and Andrew Johnston, for their help and encouragement throughout the thesis process. They spent many hours editing my work, suggesting readings, and organizing ideas, and, most importantly, giving direction for the paper and my own personal research. Their consistent accessibility and individual insights are what really made this thesis possible. I would also like to thank other students, professors, and friends who gave me ideas, let me run information by them, and acted as readers to ensure that this piece makes sense. Special thanks to Hannah Glatt, who has been by my side since our first year at UVA.

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I especially want to thank my mother, Mary Sproles Martin, for editing this thesis and every piece of writing I have ever written, teaching me what good writing is, how to edit, and how to enjoy doing both. Her unwavering support, musical talents and interest, and our rural Washington County, Virginia heritage helped to fuel this thesis. My father, Preston Martin, as well, for his consistent interest in history, encouragement of me to reach my goals, and our shared Blue Ridge Mountain, Nelson and Augusta County heritage. My heart-filled thanks goes out to my husband, Michael, for feeding me through all of those late-nights reading and writing, tolerating my constant discussion of my own research, and for loving and supporting me as complete my masters' degree.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the driving force behind this thesis: the Appalachian communities and support that have been by my side and within my family since before I was born. I have spent nearly 12 years of my life following the death of my grandmother ignoring and attempting to hide my Appalachian heritage. The resulting loss of my mountain accent is just one sign of the disconnect I felt from the history and heritage of my family. With my mother's family coming from the small Virginia town of Mendota, just northwest of Bristol in Washington County, and my father's family as long-time Blue Ridge Mountain residents in Nelson County, Virginia, Appalachia is mixed deep into my blood.

This thesis is the result of an increasing desire to understand my heritage through an academic lens, and to shed more light on the history of the ongoing social plight faced by Appalachians from their arrival in the USA to today. The current situation in Southwest Virginia and the rest of the central-southern Appalachias is steeped in a long history of mistreatment and misrepresentation by the rest of America — a history that is represented by the living memory of the log cabin, not as a symbol of the American heartland, but as a symbol of Appalachian heritage and values.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Music is often overlooked as a critical resource in historical, architectural, and other forms of physical and cultural analysis. This is unfortunate, as music can offer excellent insight into community formation and ideologies through the group participation that performance entails — from both artists and audience. The locations where these participatory interactions take and have taken place and their use are indicative of their roles within the community. Figure 1, the cover of *LIFE* magazine published in the mid- to late-1940s, is representative of the themes and ideas explained throughout this thesis: music, architecture, and memory.<sup>1</sup> The idea of constructed memory runs throughout this paper in reference mainly to the current American image of the log cabin as archetypal of the American dream. This notion is contrary to the treatment of Appalachia and the Appalachian identity from the time the Scots-Irish first settled in the Blue Ridge Mountains all the way up to the present day, where the term “Appalachia” emits images of illiterate, opioid-addicted, impoverished, and unmotivated people to the average American.<sup>2</sup> Though opinions and perceptions of Appalachia are changing, this transformation is slow-moving. Music has always been the most easily accepted aspect of Appalachian culture throughout America in its various forms from country, folk, and bluegrass to honky-tonk and old-time. This music drew people from Britain to study Appalachian culture in the early 1800s and it was the first connection the rest of America had with its mountain neighbors, starting in the early 1920s with bluegrass and country music, and continuing to today through the current folk movement.<sup>3</sup>

The idealized image of the log cabin and the idea of the front porch as a place of leisure, gathering, and musicmaking was created and popularized around this time, connecting mountain

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<sup>1</sup> Eddie Dean, “These Badass Bluegrass Sisters Ruled DC’s Honky-Tonk Bars,” *Washingtonian*, December 16, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> J. D. Vance, *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis* (Harper, 2016).

<sup>3</sup> “Cecil Sharp in Appalachia,” Educational, Cecil Sharp in Appalachia, n.d..

or Appalachian people to their homes and giving the rest of America an image of quaintness and of making a life out of nothing — the American Dream. This picture and its accompanying identity originated with an idealization of Abraham Lincoln and other great American founders and presidents who were born in the country but achieved greatness.<sup>4</sup> The National Park Service continued perpetuating this romantic image with the restoration and recreation of log cabins in the West. Westward expansion and its cabins are intertwined with those of Appalachia, with American frontiersmen confused with earlier Scots-Irish mountaineers. However, the cabins and their inhabitants vary greatly between the two locations, making their equal comparison an incorrect one. This comparison is a major factor in the prevalence of the log cabin and the front porch in the American imagination, especially in its mistaken view as a place of unfettered freedom — the root of American national identity. The Scots-Irish, as will be explored later, were not seen as American upon their arrival, and Appalachia is similarly looked down upon and discredited today as somehow not part of greater America.<sup>5</sup> Constructed memory and identity is wound throughout this thesis along with the history of the log cabin, particularly when it comes to the image of the front porch.

Figure 1 represents these ideas and the creation of the American national identity as exemplified by these rustic cabin-dwelling people who move up in the world through their own hard work, as well as connected to the formation of the front porch as the center of this new American culture and musical heritage. As the cover of *LIFE* magazine in the late-1940s, it appeared in American homes on a respected magazine at the height of interest in “hillbilly” music.<sup>6</sup> Following WWII, Americans were incredibly interested in the idea of home and the creation of a

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<sup>4</sup> Carolyn Neale Hickman, “‘What to Throw Away/What to Keep’: Mobilizing Expressive Culture and Regional Reconstruction in Appalachia” (Ph.D., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> “The Luck of the [Scots] Irish: A Glimpse of Appalachia History” (Vincent Properties, March 1, 2018).

<sup>6</sup> Dean, “These Badass Bluegrass Sisters Ruled DC’s Honky-Tonk Bars.”

national identity. With the radio and other forms of collective music dissemination, country and bluegrass music were becoming well-known throughout the USA at the time, and interest in this separated culture in their own country was steadily growing. This image represents a cozy, clean 1940s home with the addition of plants, a well-swept porch, and frilled curtains in the windows — not at all indicative of the lived-situation within the majority of Appalachia.

Many cities at this time has a growing population of Appalachian transplants. This close contact further instilled a curiosity about mountain life in city-dwelling Americans.<sup>7</sup> However, publishing a photograph of the real situation in Appalachia would have destroyed the image of the American Dream. Instead, this photo has been cleaned up, with the addition of the curtains and plants, and the Stoneman family is even dressed in their nicest clothes, with the girls' hair curled and sporting ribbons. Similarly, they are seated in a line as if ready to perform (Fig. 1, 7), despite the fact that the front porch was not a place of performance, but one of female work, musical instruction, and cultural exchange. In reality, a family playing music together would normally be seated in a circle in order to better learn from one another, and probably covered in the dirt and sweat from working all day in the fields or mines, where they earned a living and raised their food — another example of the sanitizing of Appalachia to create a clean American identity.<sup>8</sup> This family was famous for their music and for teaching all 13 of their children to play, so their appearance on the cover of *LIFE* was not just for their mountain culture, but focused mainly on the music from the region rather than its people or culture (Fig. 1).

Finally, the architecture pictured in Figure 1 is much grander than that normally found in Appalachia at that time or in earlier years (Fig. 14-48). The aforementioned curtains are one way

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<sup>7</sup> Phylis Geller, *The Appalachians: Fight for Land and Work*, Online Video (Films Media Group, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> James G. Leyburn, "The Scotch-Irish - The Melting Pot: The Ethnic Group That Blended," *American Heritage: Trusted Writing on History, Travel, Food and Culture Since 1949* 22, no. 1 (December 1970).

this is represented, together with the well-framed roof structure, the existence of flashing, and the number of glazed windows together with the legitimate framing of the house rather than a simpler and more rustic log cabin. The porch is being used here as a stage rather than as a place of collaboration and or as female workspace (Fig. 4, 44-48). However, the gender dichotomy is still present in this photo, with the central figure of Mrs. Stoneman seen as the only one without a seat as she stands halfway inside and halfway out of the house.<sup>9</sup> Though she is still playing an instrument along with the rest of her family, she is blurred and is wearing an apron, ready to resume her work inside. This clear delineation of role by gender as a part of this new American identity was common in the 1940s and continues to show the constructed nature of this image. However, overall this picture is not truly one of Appalachian culture but is instead a representation of a sanitized version of Appalachia presented for the entertainment of Americans who were not yet ready to accept the poverty of their neighbors, nor accept responsibility for their situation.<sup>10</sup>

The making of music is greatly important and old-time music has a close relationship with the front porch (Fig. 1-3, 7-8). The front porch, in turn, is important in relation to the interiors of the homes themselves, the local churches, barns, and other community centers such as small country stores and fields. Music has the ability to make a location feel more like home through the memories it evokes.<sup>11</sup> This thesis will examine the role of old-time music performance, melodies, and lyrics in communities, the definition of “home” to mountain-dwelling Americans from 1880 to 1910, the importance of the front porch in communities, and the roles of family, genders, and landscape.<sup>12</sup> Looking at what is known as the South-Central Appalachian Mountains — from the

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<sup>9</sup> “The Women Feminism Forgot: Rural and Working-Class White Women in the Era of Trump,” UVA Library, Virgo.

<sup>10</sup> Estelle Sommeiller and Mark Price, “The New Gilded Age: Income Inequality in the U.S. by State, Metropolitan Area, and County,” *The Economic Institute*, July 19, 2018.

<sup>11</sup> Duncan Foster, “Music and Community Development: Perspectives on Relationships, Roles and Structures in Music in Community” (Master of Education, Victoria University, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> Jocelyn Hazelwood Donlon, “Porches: Stories: Power: Spatial and Racial Intersections in Faulkner and Hurston,” *Journal of American Culture*, n.d. This article, though more interested in the racial tension of the front helped very



Blue Ridge Mountains into the Great Smoky Mountains (Fig. 9, 11, 13) — the particular landscape created by these Scottish/Irish Americans, their memories, and their roles in the development of American Folk music will emphasize exactly how important learning the music of a community can be when trying to understand and interpret its architecture.<sup>13</sup>

However, it is important to note here that music scholarship, analysis, and interpretation is not the focus of this thesis. The ideas of nostalgia, memory, and the representation of, and reference to, physical buildings and locations, as well as the presence and descriptions of home and homesickness are really the main focus of the song “analysis” presented within this piece. The songs themselves, listed on page 5, and their categorizations as bluegrass, old-time, Scottish/Irish/British, or mountain music are all references from previous scholarship and their existing analysis based on instruments, music style, and other criteria, which will be explained briefly in Chapter Two. Not all of the songs will be examined or even mentioned, but the list serves as a survey of the breadth of examples easily accessible to the public online; those in bold will be specifically mentioned in Chapter Three. Though the musical compositions are not the focus, the origins of the songs — rhythmic, melodic, and lyrical — are a core source of analysis, most especially the lyrics and the origins of the songs themselves, as connections to the British Isles in American music is a part of the journey of these Scottish/Irish communities.

Emotional and physical changes in communities result in architectural and environmental changes, and vice versa.<sup>14</sup> As cultural landscape scholars have shown, the landscape affects people,

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much to begin the idea of this paper and is an excellent source of a current as well as literary and racial view of the front porch and its role in American culture and identity.

<sup>13</sup> “A Rich History: The Music of Appalachia,” Blue Ridge Music Trails, 2018. The NPS and other sources have a “trail,” more ideological than real, detailing the movements of Appalachian music that is still in progress today.

<sup>14</sup> Chris Holtkamp, “Social Capital, Place Identity, and Economic Conditions in Appalachia” (Ph.D., Texas State University - San Marcos, 2018).

and these people affect their landscapes.<sup>15</sup> Tradition also played a major role in the development of this region, creating subtle and extreme differences within small areas. Though the Appalachians are often referred to and thought of as a cohesive ethnic and cultural group, this is far from true. Because the Appalachian Mountains stretch from Maine to Georgia (Fig. 10-11), encompassing numerous cultures and music types that settled there over various periods of time, the focus will remain on the section from the middle of Virginia through the Smoky Mountains in Tennessee and into Asheville, North Carolina (Fig. 11) — also called the Blue Ridge Mountains (Fig. 9, 11) — an area settled by people from similar backgrounds and origins. This space is now defined by the Blue Ridge Parkway, an infrastructural project undertaken from 1935–1987 to take advantage of the views and create more access to parks by the US National Parks Service. The Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) defines the Parkway as “a 469-mile linear reservation linking [the] Shenandoah National Park in Virginia and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina.”<sup>16</sup> Some aspects of Appalachian music and culture were greatly influenced by African heritage, but that history and exploration would be the makings of a much longer and larger project.<sup>17</sup> African influences on music will be mentioned solely in regard to the introduction of specific instruments in the music history introduction section (Fig. 19). Similarly, this study has been narrowed to the architectural remnants and known music traditions from 1880–1910.

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<sup>15</sup> David Haas, “Blue Ridge Parkway, Between Shenandoah National Park & Great Smoky Mountains, Asheville, Buncombe County, NC,” Historic American Engineering Report, Blue Ridge Parkway (North Carolina, USA: The National Park Service, 1987 1935), Library of Congress. The HAER report on the Blue Ridge Parkway utilized throughout this whole thesis was created by David Haas — if more interest or information on the construction of the parkway, its engineering, ideologies, etc. this report is a primary source for that, as would be the NPS website and a view other articles including: “Re-Creating the Wilderness: Shaping Narratives and Landscapes in the Shenandoah National Park by Justin Reich (2001) from the American Society for Environmental History Journal and “The Blue Ridge Parkway: Road to the Modern Preservation Movement” by Ian Firth (2005) within the book *Design with Culture: Claiming America’s Landscape Heritage*.

<sup>16</sup> Haas.

<sup>17</sup> Chris Durman, “African American Old-Time String Band Music: A Selective Discography,” *Notes* 64, no. 4 (May 23, 2008): 797–808. This is an excellent essay and music list with a great bibliography for more information on African American old-time music, examples, and its contributions to the music discussed here.

However, because the origins and connections of these musical traditions is essential to understanding the importance of music as a form of aid in architectural and community interpretation, that history will be reviewed briefly as well. Memory, emotions, and the cultural ideas of family and home, together with traditional, passed-down building methods, play vital roles in the interpretation and validity of this analysis and in grasping the impact of music and all the memories and ideas it holds in the development of architecture.

Throughout this thesis, music will be discussed in detail as a form of intangible heritage and culture that affects the built environment and is powered by and representative of emotions, the foremost being nostalgia, closely followed by homesickness (Fig. 2). However, music is an experiential form of heritage, much like storytelling or food — it can't be fully understood without listening to it or playing it. No matter how much they are described, analyzed, or compared, songs cannot be fully comprehended or appreciated without being heard. Therefore, as an addendum to this piece, a YouTube playlist entitled “At Home in the Blue Ridge Mountains: Thesis” was created to go along with this thesis to allow greater and more extensive access to the songs listed and their variations.<sup>18</sup> This option give the reader the opportunity to better understand and experience the music written about here, and to truly see and hear the changes this music went through as it travelled in time and across the Atlantic Ocean, the United States, and back across the pond. Further research into other songs and their variations throughout history is both welcomed and encouraged. The Smithsonian Folkways recordings are an excellent place to begin, as they have

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<sup>18</sup> The YouTube playlist created for this thesis entitled “At Home in the Blue Ridge Mountains: Thesis” that contains songs of multiple versions for comparisons and examples of change that are easily located on YouTube without much effort. Though not entirely compared thoroughly or matching in types, these songs give an excellent survey and feel of the nostalgia, homesickness, and the pervasiveness of both of these throughout the thesis here and through those time periods.

old-time, bluegrass, and country examples as well as Irish, English, and Scottish recordings, and folk performances of both new and historic songs occur all the time (Fig. 50).<sup>19</sup>

## Methodologies

Before the history of these Appalachian homes and music-ways are described in more detail, the reasons for this research must be explained along with the methodologies utilized. Methodology has been largely the placing of various previous scholarship and records into conversation with one another. To date, a great deal of work has been done regarding the musical history and typologies that exist along the Appalachian Mountain range. Looking into this previous scholarship was not purely book work, but also included listening to various songs recorded from the early 1900s through the era of Bluegrass and Country music in the 1940s through the '60s, and into the folk, country, bluegrass, and even rock and Americana music showing links to the past through melodies and lyrics.<sup>20</sup> As mentioned, the folk or "Mountain" music produced by new Americans has been an incredible source of interest for musical and historical scholars since the age of music recordings began (Fig. 1-3, 7-8, 49). Cecil Sharp and Maud Karples' work has been integral to beginning this research, demonstrating the continued connection of these immigrants to their homelands in Ireland, Scotland, and Great Britain.<sup>21</sup> Also, since their images (Fig. 2, 3) and songs were recorded in the early 1910s, they represent the tail end of old-time music before its split into country and bluegrass, as well as the rising British interest in American changes and

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<sup>19</sup> Various Artists, *Classic Mountain Songs from Smithsonian Folkways*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, accessed September 13, 2018, <https://folkways.si.edu/classic-mountain-songs-from-folkways/american-folk-old-time/music/album/smithsonian>.

<sup>20</sup> Debbie McClatchy, "Appalachian Traditional Music: A Short History," *Musical Traditions*, 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Maud Karpeles and A. H. Fox Strangeways, *Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work*, Chicago, Illinois (University of Chicago Press, 1967). Karpeles, Sharp's partner through his forays into Appalachia, and Strangeways biography of Cecil Sharp showing some of his recorded songs, interests, and reasonings for doing this research. This is definitely worth reading to understand why Sharp was in America as well as to begin research on his recorded songs and life.

personalization of music.<sup>22</sup> Sharp and Karples were not the only musical recordings utilized for this thesis. The Smithsonian Institution has done extensive work on recording American folk and old-time music through the Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, which is an ongoing project begun in 1987. The project is a part of the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, made possible by the family of Moses Asch who founded the Folkways Records label.<sup>23</sup>

While Old-Time music still exists today, it is less tied to the British Isles and much more to an American history (now called folk, Americana, country, or bluegrass music) creating a nostalgic look at itself and the idea of these Blue Ridge Mountains as home rather than the United Kingdom. Because of this, both historical and contemporary research into the regional music scene was necessary to get a true understanding of the impact this music had on Americans and British citizens at the time of its creation and even to today. The main source of information on this topic was through Kevin Donleavy's book *Strings of Life — Conversations with Old-Time Musicians from Virginia and North Carolina* (2004).<sup>24</sup> This book looked at counties surrounding the Virginia and North Carolina border and included interviews with musicians, song lists and analyses, as well as descriptions of the histories of the various music types that evolved from old-time, together with how old-time music came to be in those areas. Though Donleavy went into greater depth on the variations of music typologies and instruments used, the book was invaluable in this research and supported the case study decisions in Chapter Four, which are taken from near these counties.

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<sup>22</sup> "Cecil Sharp in Appalachia."

<sup>23</sup> Various Artists, *Classic Mountain Songs from Smithsonian Folkways*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, accessed September 13, 2018. All of these recordings are accessible at [www.folkways.si.edu](http://www.folkways.si.edu) and includes many different genres, utilized extensively by ethnomusicologists for the "people's music" they represent. They can also be listened to on YouTube.com as well as Spotify.

<sup>24</sup> Kevin Donleavy, *Strings of Life - Conversations with Old-Time Musicians from Virginia and North Carolina* (Blacksburg, Virginia: Pocahontas Press, Inc., 2004). This book has been the authority and inspiration for the choice of location and music identification throughout this essay, as well as for oral histories and narratives. I would like to thank my Aunt Sharon for loaning the book to me when the tentative thesis topic was mentioned. Donleavy did an incredible job documenting and researching the areas, songs, musicians, and instruments mentioned in the book. He focused on a few counties in North Carolina and Virginia, all around the border.

Duncan Foster's Master of Education thesis for Victoria University also aided in providing thoughts on the relationship between music and community landscapes which helped illustrate the importance of combining music with cultural studies.<sup>25</sup> The most effective way to look at Appalachia in general, especially the Blue Ridge Parkway, is through cultural landscapes studies. In this vein, Susan Yarnell's report dealing with the landscape of Appalachia for the United States Department of Agriculture helps readers understand the area's natural, geological, and agricultural landscape.<sup>26</sup>

The Historic American Engineering Report (HAER) and the Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS) have also been instrumental in this research for their reports, physical and cultural descriptions, as well as the images associated with these reports.<sup>27</sup> These reports are provided by the National Park Service (NPS) and are essential for a study such as this for a few reasons, most importantly for the existence of the Blue Ridge Parkway (Fig. 11) and the studies done pre- and post-construction. The Blue Ridge Parkway runs between two national parks — the Shenandoah National Park from central to northern Virginia and the Great Smoky National Park that straddles the Tennessee and North Carolina border. These Parkway studies present the geological, natural, and architectural situation of the Blue Ridge Mountains, which are essential for the architectural survey of the area for both the physical building remains and the natural environment. These then give clues to why regional architecture was constructed the way it was based off the climate as well as other geological and natural situations. For cultural information the best place to turn is always members of the culture. For this study, a few culturally based pieces of literature were

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<sup>25</sup> Foster, "Music and Community Development."

<sup>26</sup> Susan L Yarnell, "The Southern Appalachians: A History of the Landscape," General Technical (Asheville, NC: United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1998). An interesting and helpful report on the geological, architectural, and biological landscape of the Southern Appalachias (VA, NC, TN, KY, SC, GA).

<sup>27</sup> Haas, "Blue Ridge Parkway."

referenced, most importantly *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and a Culture in Crisis* by J. D. Vance. As a memoir, this book was extremely important for the firsthand views as well as the stories Vance told of his mother, grandparents, and great-grandparents. As a second-generation Appalachian born outside of Appalachia, his perspective also allowed for some insight into these histories from the positions of nostalgia, romanticism, and second-hand information — similar to the information received through the music being examined here. Donleavy's book was extremely important here as well because of the interviews and the deeper cultural understanding of the music it provides. Finally, Cecilia Conway's multiple articles and Charles Martin's book on the Hollybush, Kentucky Appalachian community's social and community changes are important cultural studies about mountain culture.<sup>28</sup>

However, the architectural remnants, studies, histories, and analyses are the glue holding together these cultural, musical, and landscape aspects of the Appalachian Blue Ridge area (Fig. 14-44). The architectural histories and typologies of Appalachia are touched on in the NPS surveys, but they are not examined in any real detail. For these histories, Henry Glassie's *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* was important along with his work on log houses.<sup>29</sup> Glassie is a renowned American architectural historian and early vernacular scholar. His book came with some excellent photographs as well as diagrams talking about framing, typologies, and architectural evolution throughout vernacular Virginia. Dell Upton's article on wood framing in *Material*

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<sup>28</sup> Charles E. Martin, *Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1993). Though this community is located in Kentucky, the housing typologies and community formation is similar to those seen throughout Appalachia, as referenced both in this book and within Henry Glassie's research. Hollybush is a well-documented community and is worth reading about if there is interest in Appalachian financial and familial changes.

<sup>29</sup> Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historical Artifacts* (University of Tennessee Press, 1975). Though this book is not written about the areas of Virginia being discussed throughout the rest of this thesis, Glassie's work does show a distinct connection between the architecture of poor middle Virginia and that of mountain people. Kim Hoagland's book *The Log Cabin* (University of Virginia Press) is also an excellent survey and summary of the architecture in question here.

*Culture of the Wooden Age* aids greatly in terminology and understanding of framing origins.<sup>30</sup> Though no one is entirely sure of the origin of the log cabin, a knowledge of framing and its connection to culture is important for seeing and understanding variations in the buildings throughout the region as well as for really grasping the vernacular of the log cabin (Fig. 15-20, 23-24, 26-32, 35-37, 39-42) as a typology related to framing (Fig. 21-22, 25, 33-36). Because the log cabin is a much more basic form of framing, needing almost no training to execute due to its use of simple joints and uncut lumber, it was easily constructed by the families living within them who most likely learned from observation and family practice how to construct them. As an uncomplicated form of framing and building, the incredible abundance of wood in Virginia, and the need for quick and temporary housing led to the rise of this building type.<sup>31</sup>

Since many of these buildings (Fig. 14-44) no longer exist, are extremely inaccessible, or are too far away to be analyzed in the field within the space and time of this thesis, images were relied upon for the structural and building analyses to connect all of the different scholarship and areas of studies. There are two important repositories used for photographs within this essay: The Library of Congress and the National Park Service surveys and reports. The NPS images are excellent for their relationship with existing sites that have been reinterpreted and preserved by the NPS as well as for their direct connection to the Blue Ridge Parkway (Fig. 16, 21, 23-24, 37-43). Within the Library of Congress, the Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South (CSAS) is the main source for the majority of images used for the study (Fig. 14-15, 18-20, 22, 25-36).<sup>32</sup> This

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<sup>30</sup> Dell Upton, "Wood Framing," in *Material Culture of the Wooden Age*, ed. Brook Hindle (Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981). For a more engineering-based historical understanding of the types of wooden houses found throughout America, this book and particularly Upton's chapter is a great resource.

<sup>31</sup> Charles E. Brownell, *The Making of Virginia Architecture* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1992). The history and development of Virginia architecture relied heavily on the untrained worker and the abundance of trees and woods is discussed here in length.

<sup>32</sup> Frances Benjamin Johnston, "Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South - About This Collection," Library of Congress, 1926. Johnston's work is important due to her heritage as an Appalachian woman as well as her changing focus and complete survey of architectural typologies throughout the American South.



survey was undertaken by the well-noted architectural photographer, Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) throughout the 1930s, mainly, and contains over 7,100 images and 1,700 structures and locations in both rural and urban locations throughout Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland, and six other nearby Southern states. Johnston was interested in both vernacular and high style buildings and areas, taking both exterior and interior photographs ranging from log cabins and mills to churches and plantations houses. All of her negatives were digitized in 2008, making possible the survey and analysis done here. These photos are the meat of this thesis, providing the data as well as the supporting evidence for all of the ideas and information presented here, together with those by Frances Courtenay Baylor (1848–1920) and William Gedney.<sup>33</sup>

## **Music and Architecture**

Though Old-Time music never truly went out of fashion (Fig. 50), other forms rose to the forefront as mountain people moved out from their Blue Ridge homes (Fig. 12, 13) to the coal fields and, eventually, to cities and towns nearby, always in search of work. The act of listening allows for a personalization of the music as well as aural comparison. The lyrical analysis was the main form of methodology within music study that was undertaken without prior scholarship. This entailed listening to, comparing, and locating many different songs within the genre, and related ones such as Bluegrass and contemporary Folk music, in order to identify references to home as both a physical location as well as an imagined or nostalgic place. These references were further searched for the idea of home in a) America and b) the British Isles, and what each of these ideas

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<sup>33</sup> “Barnum, Frances Courtenay Baylor (1848–1920),” Library of Congress, 1926. More photographs can be found within Baylor’s collection. The abundance of female photographers of Appalachian vernacular architecture is an interesting fact that should be looked into further and would make for an interesting paper of its own.

entailed, along with the ideas of homesickness. The culture of the Appalachian Mountains has fascinated people past and present because of their stubbornness and unchanging cultural ideas and identities.<sup>34</sup> This stubbornness was sometimes viewed as uncivilized, one of the reasons these Scottish and Irish settlers moved into the mountains in the first place — to separate themselves.<sup>35</sup>

The homes being studied here (Fig. 14–44) are usually log or wood, one to five rooms, one story (with a loft), cabins, most of which were not meant to last more than ten to twenty-five years (Fig. 15) — often less than a lifetime due to changes in the landscape, growing families, and even the search for new pasture.<sup>36</sup> Figure 15 shows the winter quarters of the rebel army in 1862 — log cabins, built specifically for temporary use. Many of the houses from even the early 1900s no longer exist because families moved on, outgrew them, or built better homes where the cabins once stood. Because of this, site visits and the idea of specific case studies were impossible within the scope of this study, which is a general survey, both visual from records and photographs as well as through the conclusions and drawings of previous scholars, especially the work of Fred Kniffen, Henry Glassie, and other folk/vernacular housing specialists.<sup>37</sup> The National Park Service's Historic American Building Survey (HABS), Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), and Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS) have all been excellent sources of photographs, house and landscape analysis, as well as some interpretations and dating of these different locations. The record on the Blue Ridge Parkway construction (HAER No. NC-42) demonstrated

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<sup>34</sup> Geller, *The Appalachians: Fight for Land and Work*.

<sup>35</sup> John Alexander Williams, "Introduction," and "Chapter One: The Road to Qualla," in *Appalachia: A History* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2002). An excellent introduction to Appalachian culture, together with *Our Appalachia: An Oral History* by Shackelford and Weignberg (1988) and the dissertation "Social Capital, Place Identity, and Economic Conditions in Appalachia" by Chris Holtkamp (2018).

<sup>36</sup> Carolyn Neale Hickman, "'What to Throw Away/What to Keep': Mobilizing Expressive Culture and Regional Reconstruction in Appalachia" (Ph.D., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999).

<sup>37</sup> "Log House Architecture in the Eighteenth-Century Virginia Piedmont," by Fred Kniffen together with other essays on log architecture is essential, though written on the Virginia Piedmont rather than mountain area, the connections are undeniable and, again, demonstrate the closeness of the mountain folk with the rest of Virginia despite their separateness.

not only its construction and engineering importance, but it also documented existing and removed buildings and homesteads from along its length.<sup>38</sup> At the beginning of its construction in 1935, many people still lived along the parkway's planned parks and roadways, and many other locations held abandoned houses and homesteads from the beginning of the coal mining rush. These buildings, both displaced and abandoned, were recorded within the survey as well as by the previously mentioned photographers whose work is now located in the Library of Congress. Though many of the abandoned ones only had photos recorded with little accompanying information, the visual evidence is what was necessary for analysis, looking especially at the building forms and contexts (i.e. figures 35 and 36). This was then also compared, through references specifically from Glassie's work, to folk housing in both Britain and America in order to find relationships to each building within the studied region, as well as potentially to ones abroad.<sup>39</sup>

A display of power and wealth and the sharing of excess leisure time were not things and uses the people and settlers of the Appalachias needed to perform, unlike their wealthy, plantation-owning counterparts (Fig. 4, 25, 32-33, 43-48). Because they often lived in familial groups in the first place, the knowledge of who was in charge was always shared and known, often the oldest head of the family or even equally split among the community itself. They hired no one and knew their place in the world at all times, in a world of their own devising. However, the final reason for and use of a front porch was shared by all involved: the separation and delineation of spaces between the public and the private.<sup>40</sup> This mattered in plantation houses because of the large

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<sup>38</sup> Haas, "Blue Ridge Parkway."

<sup>39</sup> Bryan Clark Green, Calder Loth, and William Rasmussen, *Lost Virginia: Vanished Architecture from the Old Dominion*, 1st ed. (Howell Pr, 2001). This book has great images and varying examples of architecture within Virginia that no longer exists. Though it is based around specific case studies and buildings, the types represented in regard to log cabins are representative of their temporary nature as well as different physical traits.

<sup>40</sup> Joan A. Malerba-Foran, "The Architectural and Social Space of the American Front Porch," *Yale-New Haven Teachers Institute*, 2005/

variety of people visiting from various social, economic, and racial positions. The front porch was a display of power through the separation, restriction, and filtering of spaces. This filtering was not the issue in the mountain communities, as everyone was of the same or similar class, but the separation between public and private did matter greatly. Most buildings were one room, or if they were more than one each was inhabited as an intensely private space as the Scottish/Irish of America were known for having large families and needing as many beds as possible, a fact that bothered many English colonists upon their arrival.<sup>41</sup> This means that almost all available space within their homes would be entirely personal, utilized as bedrooms, eating spaces, and often even worship and workspaces (Fig. 5, 43). The porch enabled these families and homes to have some separate space away from their personal areas for gathering, working, and welcoming guests, all while being covered from the rain. Though this gathering and working is extremely different from the leisure and power of the plantation porches, their existence is related both to community and culture, giving a great deal of information about the development of these communities, their inhabitants, and their heritage (Fig. 4, 8, 14).<sup>42</sup>

Music played a large role in this community's cultural continuance and even in the sharing of the front porch into the architecture of the Appalachian Mountains — and, subsequently, into the hearts and minds of Americans years afterwards. One of the most famous recorders and researchers of Appalachian music, known as “song catchers,” was Cecil Sharp and his partner Maud Karples, who travelled the Appalachian region from early 1916 to late 1918 recording songs

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<sup>41</sup> “Chapter 10 of *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America* by John Davis (1803).” Davis gives an account of his travels through the US in 1803 — what he saw, and how that compared to Britain.

<sup>42</sup> Scott Cook, “The Cultural Significance of the American Front Porch,” *Educational, The Evolution of the American Front Porch: The Study of an American Cultural Objects*. Again, the front porch ought to be discussed far more within another piece of writing devoted to the front porch as an aspect of American cultural identity — another thesis for another time.

and taking photos of mountain musicians (Fig. 3).<sup>43</sup> Sharp and Karples were British music and cultural scholars, looking at the new songs and ways of life showing up as variations of their own country's music and folkways, with the interest of a people investigating an unknown impoverished people group completely separated from their own culture despite the close relation of these two cultures. This fascination with Appalachian music and culture began in the early 1900s, but it continues today, joined and maintained by the nostalgic and romanticized idea of the mountain log cabin.<sup>44</sup> The romanticizing of history has existed for centuries, leading to the creation of movements both intellectual and artistic, including the Arts and Crafts Movement of the late 1880s in Europe and America as well as, most notably, the Enlightenment, both of which looked backwards in order to make advances in their time periods. However, in looking back, each movement suffered from the unintentional idealization of the past. For the Arts and Crafts, it was an idealized Middle Ages, and for the Enlightenment, an idealized Renaissance, both seen through modern lenses and technologies — the same has been done for the Appalachias. Images of “quaint” log cabins, tranquility, and a banjo stand clearly in the minds of all American, with the idea of music being played and shared from a front porch while a group of people relaxes, drinking juleps and watching the sunset (Fig. 1-3, 7, 49).<sup>45</sup>

Though these relaxing gathering events may have taken place in these front porch and log cabin settings, the reality of mountain life from 1880–1910, just like before and after, was

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<sup>43</sup> Maud Karples and A. H. Fox Strangeways, *Cecil Sharp: His Life and Work*, Chicago, Illinois (University of Chicago Press, 1967). The book series *Foxfire* and the movie *Songcatchers* are both great examples of Appalachian culture and this idea of musical interest and recordings.

<sup>44</sup> Scott Eiler, Terry Eiler, and Carl Fleischhauer, eds., *Blue Ridge Harvest: A Region's Folklife in Photographs*, Blue Ridge Parkway Folklife Project (American Folklife Center, 1978). These photographs demonstrate not only the continuance of mountain culture well into the 1970s but also the persistence of its architecture and the use of the front porch.

<sup>45</sup> Lynn Freehill-Maye, “America Rediscovered Its Love of the Front Porch,” *CityLab*, November 20, 2017. This article touches on the romanticism associated with the front porch in relation to architecture, community, and music in the folk and architecture scene today.

exceedingly difficult day-to-day (Fig. 5). There was no plumbing long into the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were no hospitals, difficult dirt roads that climbed hills and plunged into valleys, and education and rates of literacy were very low.<sup>46</sup> Houses were wallpapered with newspapers and magazine pages, arranged like art and repapered annually, like whitewashing, to keep walls clean and insulated (Fig. 43).<sup>47</sup> Most everyone had a small farm, whether that was their primary occupation or not, simply to survive, and with farms came the everyday, consistent and difficult work accompanying them. This hard work was increased by the mountainous terrain, karst topography, harsh soil, and the extreme weather conditions associated with the area along with its isolation from the greater American or even state society (Fig. 5).

This separation furthermore created pockets of culture that, together with the lack of literacy, remained virtually untouched until around 1850 when better roads were established. Though many had existed since the late 1700s, they were only travelled by mountain folk and other mountaineers (Fig. 12). This lack of communication allowed for the persistence of cultural traditions from the settlers' countries of origin in traditional ways through oral exchanges.<sup>48</sup> The illiteracy almost enabled and, in some ways, enforced the memorization of these exchanges which usually occurred in the form of stories and songs — often as both in the form of ballads. This music was passed down generationally, as people still do today by just sharing music they like with their friends and children (Fig. 1, 4-5, 42-44, 46-48).<sup>49</sup> As with most families, each generation changed the music they were taught, be it for personal vocal or instrumental preference, or because times or situations changed. These changes were often subtle, related to the new country and

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<sup>46</sup> Martin, *Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community*.

<sup>47</sup> Martin.

<sup>48</sup> Warren Hofstra, "Backcountry Frontier of Colonial Virginia," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Also, the Walker Sisters were well-known for their "continuance of the old ways" of mountain culture.

<sup>49</sup> Various Artists, "Old-Time Smoky Mountain Music: 34 Historic Songs, Ballads, and Instrumentals Recorded in the Great Smoky Mountains by 'Song Catcher' Joseph S. Hall," *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, Reviews, 17, no. 1 & 2 (2010): 291–94.

landscape in which these settlers now lived as well as still referring to the countries they had left. Their architecture did the same thing — changing with the generations as it was passed down through experience and families, carrying the evidence of the past with it as well as revealing future changes and adaptations (Fig. 35, 36).<sup>50</sup>

These similarities exist because of the shared method of exchange between architectural techniques and musical ideas. Further connections between music and architecture can also be found in the existence and proliferation of the front porch in the Appalachian Mountains, and in its continued existence in the American memory and imagination as a place representative of home, music, and family. This thesis will use the ideas of memory, nostalgia, music, and architectural framing methods to link music and architecture both physically and theoretically from the UK to America's Blue Ridge Mountains. Music, as an intangible form of heritage and culture, is representative of these groups' beliefs without any physical or easily noticeable evidence of this culture.<sup>51</sup> However, the lyrics within these songs that speak of homesickness, longing, and mistreatment, that describe physical homes and the feelings associated there, can be seen etched on the landscape through maps, its journey evident in its mere presence, and its existence responsible for new architectural forms and ideas.<sup>52</sup> Always changing and yet always relating back to its roots, music is one of the greatest tools for mapping the presence and journey of architecture and community, but most importantly, it defines the idea of home within those communities — and what is a house if it is not a home?

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<sup>50</sup> Sarah Edwards, "Vernacular Architecture and the 21st Century," *ArchDaily*, August 12, 2011.

<sup>51</sup> McClatchy, "Appalachian Traditional Music: A Short History." There are a large number of histories, articles, explorations, and summaries of Appalachian music traditions, heritage, and changes out there. This abundance has made choosing articles extremely difficult, but the conclusions found in most of them are similar.

<sup>52</sup> Lee Connor, "'Down These Hollers and Hills:' The Scots-Irish Influence on Appalachia Through Its Music," *Medium*, December 12, 2017.

## Chapter Summaries

This thesis will present a survey of the regional architecture, through music, in relationship to itself as well as to its original cultures overseas. This connection mimics that of the musical history and survey both in heritage and in searching for regional/continental variation patterns and similarities. All of these observations are then fitted together to attempt to visualize the relationship between music, architecture, culture, and memory along the Blue Ridge Parkway, and to provide evidence of their interconnectedness in order to prove the importance of each of these things, especially music, in architectural interpretation as well as in mapping and understanding cultural landscapes. The similarities between the music and architecture of the Parkway are at the heart of this research with the hope of drawing out the aforementioned comparisons. This research is also important for its synthesis of existing information. Taking multiple forms of pre-existing scholarship — such as photos, maps, research/texts, and songs — and putting them together creates a cohesive story and map of the Blue Ridge Mountain area and pieces together the history of this area that is held so tightly in the American imagination. With folk music on the rise and an increased interest in the Appalachias as a prime example of sustainable building and living, it is important that the context of this area be explored fully to avoid any further romanticism of a culture that still exists.

Chapter Two (Fig. 7–13) will expand the history already presented in this introduction while going more deeply into the origins of the music, culture, and architecture of the Appalachian region. This will provide a background for the musical and architectural analyses to follow. Though the time period under review architecturally ranges from 1880 to 1910, Chapter Two will begin around the 17<sup>th</sup> century and go through to the 1960s with brief explanations of the 1980s and



today in order to understand the evolution of the music, the region and, eventually, the architecture despite the impoverished nature of the people and their rapidly vanishing architecture.

Chapter Three (Fig. 1–6, 49–50) takes a deep dive into the importance of music as a form of cultural interpretation, looking specifically at the role of memory in music continuance and its connection to architecture. Song lyrics will be analyzed and broken down at the end of this chapter to show exactly how they connect to and directly reference the architecture, emotions, and cultures of the British Isles as well as their evolutions to American versions. The changing references within the lyrics to American landmarks, culture, landscape, and the log cabin itself is the most obvious example of the music following the architecture as well as maintaining its memory long after many of the buildings have disappeared.

Chapter Four (Fig. 14–50), the final chapter, is the full analysis of the buildings in the case studies, starting with the log cabin construction, moving to the importance of the front porch, and ending with gathering spaces. Each of these case studies will have a few buildings as the main source of data coupled with more photographic evidence supporting those analyses. The buildings are the backbone of this thesis as well as the basis of the rest of America's understanding and memory of Appalachia. These case studies will be followed by a discussion of space use and music focusing on the gendered nature of the front porch during the day as well as its inclusiveness in the evening. Finally, the conclusion will finish the chapter, rounding out the conversation and bringing the connection back between the history, music, culture, and architecture. The conclusion will connect all of the arguments presented here throughout history and into today. All of this will be done to prove that music is an integral part of architectural historical and cultural consideration and interpretation.

## CHAPTER TWO: MUSIC and REGIONAL HISTORY

Though a brief history of the Blue Ridge Mountains and its people has already been given, a more in-depth exploration is necessary to fully understand the importance of home and culture to the architecture and music created there (Fig. 1-4). The history of old-time music and of the Blue Ridge Parkway is deeply tied to American colonization and English cultural identity together with Scottish, Irish, and German heritage. The dominating culture within the Central-Southern Blue Ridge (Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee) is the Scots-Irish, a unique cultural group with a deep history of hurt and loss of home. The region is connected culturally, and this culture is represented through the music (page 5) and architecture (Fig. 14-44) of its people.<sup>53</sup>

### Blue Ridge Parkway

The most effective way to view and study the Blue Ridge Parkway (Fig. 9, 11) as a location and region is as a cultural landscape. Since the Parkway spans three states, incorporates homes past and present, and is one of the longest nature reserves in America. It holds the histories and heritage of indigenous groups, early settlers, and others who immigrated to the melting pot of America in hopes of gaining new fortune, wealth, land, and freedom. The Parkway also holds difficult heritages, representing the Native American past that no longer exists, as well as a safe haven for many neglected and mistreated people groups within America's history, from African enslaved, German immigrants, and the Scots-Irish indentured servants and slaves to the impoverished and often uneducated remnants of those groups remaining today.<sup>54</sup> Cultural

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<sup>53</sup> Celeste Ray, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (North Carolina: Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

<sup>54</sup> Vance, *Hillbilly Elegy*. This novel is a quick read, but a necessary view of the changing yet persistent culture of Appalachia through the ages, and its presence despite change and movement of families from one location to another.

landscapes like the Appalachias (Fig. 10-11) encompass entire areas, looking not only at material cultural remains but also at the intangible forms of heritage located and related to those cultures and materials. These are often themed, or based off of a particular set of criteria, people groups, locations, or any combination of these to create a cohesive map of the cultures involved and their heritage, both tangible and intangible (Fig. 10–11).<sup>55</sup>

Music is an incredibly important aspect of this cohesion (Fig. 1, 7-8, 49). This form of cultural expression includes descriptions of both physical and emotional landscapes and community features, describing things through memory, nostalgic emotions, geographical features, and physical and imagined locations.<sup>56</sup> These descriptions give first-hand accounts of the emotions being collectively experienced within these communities from country of origin to settlement and into today (Fig. 2). Clearly, these emotional and physical locations and ideas still hold weight and power today as these songs continue to be sung, recorded, created, and celebrated, and these mountain homes and cultures remain fixed in the American heart and mind as home (Fig. 50). The Appalachian Mountains are sometimes referred to as the Virginia “homeland” or “heartland,” despite the near invisibility of their residents since the time of settlement by the original colonists and other members of the newly created United States of America. In the early 1820s, many Scottish people were relocated to Ulster, Ireland in an effort to keep Scotland calm and to continue maintaining control over its people and its culture — to further facilitate assimilation after the British takeover — following the creation of the United Kingdom.<sup>57</sup> By the 1840s, Ireland was suffering from a potato blight, leading to nationwide starvation of the lower-

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<sup>55</sup> Leyburn, “The Scotch-Irish - The Melting Pot: The Ethnic Group That Blended.”

<sup>56</sup> John R. Gold and George Revill, “Gathering the Voices of the People? Cecil Sharp, Cultural Hybridity, and the Folk Music of Appalachia,” *GeoJournal* 65, no. 1 (February 1, 2006): 55–66.

<sup>57</sup> “Scots-Irish Heritage,” Governmental, Blue Ridge National Heritage Area, n.d. The Scots-Irish heritage has always been an integral part of the Blue Ridge Parkway and the Shenandoah and Smoky Mountain National Parks and is recognized and researched as much by the government.

middle and lowest classes. At the same time, Ireland was dealing with a religious war, pitting Catholics and protestants against one another, with the Catholics the winning party.

Many people had already come over to America following the defeat of Scotland as well as the religious turmoil in Ireland. A steady trickle of Scottish and Irish people emerged in the U.S. from the late 1700s and early 1800s until the burst in the 1840s after the potato blight, cramming a large number of people from the same cultural group with similar difficult past experiences into a new, unknown world.<sup>58</sup> However, America was not the land of dreams these Ulster Scots believed it was. Instead, they were consistently persecuted once again, treated badly for their late arrival, for their accents, for their religion (anything but Anglican was often viewed badly), and most specifically for being poor. These Scots-Irish mainly worked as indentured servants, when they were paid at all, and many of them migrated further west into the Appalachias to avoid contact with the cruel society into which they had moved. Most of the Americans at the time, especially in Virginia and North Carolina, were from a British upper class. They found these newcomers to be uncivilized and even went so far as to consider them non-white, treating them with similar distaste and disrespect to their African enslaved. The Appalachian Mountains were an escape for these early Scots-Irish Americans, but the weather and terrain there were extremely difficult to maneuver and work, so it is largely rural even today, with the majority of surviving settlements currently existing in small hollows (“hollers”) or valleys, all of which are rural.<sup>59</sup>

These communities would normally be very small, almost entirely constructed of one or two close-knit families, and would be completely subsistence-based, making a living off of the land and often from their own crafts (Fig. 4-5).<sup>60</sup> Their dwellings would be loosely formed around

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<sup>58</sup> Cecilia Conway, “Celtic Influences,” in *Encyclopedia of Appalachia*, February 28, 2011.

<sup>59</sup> Lee Connor, “‘Down These Hollers and Hills:’ The Scots-Irish Influence on Appalachia Through Its Music,” *Medium*, December 12, 2017.

<sup>60</sup> David Holt, *The Stories and Song of Appalachia*, TEDx, 2008.

a local church by the 1840s, which, if there was one at all, would have usually been a Primitive Baptist Church — a more legalistic and conservative sect of Baptist protestants, maintaining a connection to their conservative pasts (Fig. 23).<sup>61</sup> This similarity in community construction as well as denomination shows how closely connected the members of these immigrant communities were, despite being so geographically fractured. It is this type of deep cultural connection that relates to even deeper memories and are then recalled through the emotion of nostalgia, tightly tying each of these people to the other.<sup>62</sup> The new American Scottish/Irish had been stripped of their identity in Scotland through defeat, loss of control, and the outlawing of the bagpipes, and again in Ireland due to religious persecution, loss of land, and starvation. They then endured further loss through immigration to a foreign country where they were mistreated and lacked many resources.<sup>63</sup>

The Blue Ridge Parkway is 469 miles long, linking the Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, through the western end of Tennessee, and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina (Fig. 10–13).<sup>64</sup> It follows near the Great Valley Road, which helped to populate the entirety of the Blue Ridge bringing people from Pennsylvania down the Shenandoah Valley almost all the way to Georgia, and helping those from middle Virginia to reach Tennessee and beyond (Fig. 12–13). These roads were the backbone for early Appalachia, and eventually the guide for its later resurrection.<sup>65</sup> Construction of the Parkway began in the early 1930s, and it continues to be used heavily today both as a scenic and hiking route as well as a through road. The history of the Parkway is steeped in difficulty, however, from the mistreatment of those who

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<sup>61</sup> Martin, *Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community*.

<sup>62</sup> Martin.

<sup>63</sup> “The Luck of the [Scots] Irish: A Glimpse of Appalachia History.”

<sup>64</sup> Haas, “Blue Ridge Parkway.”

<sup>65</sup> Lyman Stone, “A Brief Population History of Central Appalachia,” *Medium*, June 2, 2016.

originally fled to the mountains in search of a home to the displacement of these same people in the construction of the Parkway. Though progress was stopped temporarily in the early 1940s during WWII, the majority of its infrastructural creation and construction was already complete. As Firth states in his chapter “The Blue Ridge Parkway: Road to the Modern Preservation Movement,” the Parkway was not the pristine, untouched landscape it has long been purported to be.<sup>66</sup>

In fact, the parkway is an extremely designed space through the landscape and infrastructural design work of Stanley Abbott. This was seen as necessary not just to create a thoroughfare, but to construct a narrative and specific views pertaining to landscape and culture (Fig. 9). These created a sense of nostalgia themselves through the imitation of an untouched landscape with specific plantings and the creation of views and the tailoring of speed through engineering and specific curvatures of the road. Nostalgia and a sense of American identity through romanticism was also manufactured through the preservation and interpretation of log cabins along the mountains.<sup>67</sup> Though the architecture of the mountains was virtually looked down upon throughout history up to this point in history, seen as primitive, ugly, and not truly categorized as architecture yet, as Thomas Jefferson stated in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*.<sup>68</sup> In the early 1900s the log cabin became representative of the plight of America — an example of becoming something from nothing, the American Dream (Fig. 1). The romanticizing of log cabins in

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<sup>66</sup> Ian Firth, “The Blue Ridge Parkway: Road to the Modern Preservation Movement,” in *Design with Culture: Claiming America’s Landscape Heritage* (University of Virginia Press, 2005), 179–202. This chapter is incredibly insightful in its study of the history of the Blue Ridge through the lens of engineering and landscape design. Stanley Abbott’s genius and the creation of the National Park Service’s ideas of historic preservation and vernacular interpretation demonstrate a growing interest in Appalachian culture in the early 1900s.

<sup>67</sup> “Parkway Land Use Maps: Visualizing the Character of the Blue Ridge Parkway (U.S. National Park Service),” accessed March 23, 2019. The use of the Parkway’s lands has been analyzed for decades, though each time the conclusions are different as American and historical ideas of the representation of landscapes changes, like the constantly evolving ideologies of preservation.

<sup>68</sup> “Chapter 10 of Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America by John Davis (1803),” accessed March 23, 2019.

Appalachian culture began within American National Parks when their architecture was turned into tourist attractions despite the truth — that it represented the displacement of hundreds of families from the mountains (Fig. 14-44). As mentioned earlier, this log cabin romanticism began by the National Park Service with restoration that began on Westward Expansion sites, which are not at all the same in terms of population or purpose, as those of the Appalachias.

The landscape itself showed a romanticism of the natural environment. At the time of its construction, the landscape of the Parkway was replanted to create a sense of naturalism, of the untouched, and of the hardworking American.<sup>69</sup> This replanting was necessary due to the lumber boom in the mountains at the time that devastated the landscape, together with coal mining and years of damaging farming practices that left land depleted and bare. After the removal of residents from the Blue Ridge, the creation of the roadway, and the replanting and preserving of the natural landscape throughout the new Parkway called for a new relationship with its inhabitants. For tourists, this meant infrastructure as well as the curated views and interpretational plaques. For past residents, however, it called for the creation of different relationships with both people and the land — a relationship for which rules were made by Abbott dictating the way land was to be used in order to preserve the “patchwork landscape” which was so representative of the farmed landscape that is the base of rural Virginian.

### **Old-Time Music History**

Old-time music originated as traditional folk music in the British Isles and travelled to America with Scots-Irish immigrants during this time of starvation, religious and political

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<sup>69</sup> Justin Reich, “Re-Creating the Wilderness: Shaping Narratives and Landscapes in Shenandoah National Park,” *Environmental History* 6, no. 1 (January 2001): 95. An environmental look at the Shenandoah National Park as well as the Blue Ridge Parkway, introducing a study of the American ideas of national parks.

persecution, and financial hardship. The need to create and experience a new cultural identity, both individually and collectively, after the loss of their own was massive. Their homes, now wooden with front porches and not the white-washed stone and thatched huts of their Scottish and Irish homelands, reminded them further of their distance from home.<sup>70</sup> The historic combination of war, famine, and religious and cultural persecution led to the mass migration of Ulster Scots or Scots-Irish to America as an escape from these hardships and persecution in search of new opportunities — and with them came the fiddle, and hundreds of years of musical and cultural history (Fig. 2, 8). Music was their ability to step into this void and create a new identity using pieces of their old ones taken with them from Ireland (Fig. 3, 7, 49). Though physical locations and objects were stripped from these people, their cultural, religious, and ideological memories and pasts remained — along with the fiddle. This longing for home and for an identity led to the creation of Appalachian versions of Scottish music — also known as old-time music, after the term “hillbilly music” stopped being used in the mid-1970s after it was deemed offensive. The separation gained from living in the mountains where most others were not brave enough to venture also allowed these “mountain folk” to maintain many cultural aspects from their original homes well into the late 1990s and early 2000s, as well as additional ones they gathered themselves over the years, including the wooden house construction and their new music styles (Fig. 4-7).<sup>71</sup>

Old-time music is most recognized aurally by its clear connections to Irish, Scottish, and/or British folk music as well as its relationship to bluegrass and country music from the 1920s-1960s. However, it is most well-defined by its dissemination. Oral tradition has forever been a hallmark

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<sup>70</sup> Christopher C Fennell, “Log House Architecture in the Eighteenth-Century Virginia Piedmont,” *Educational, Historical Archaeology and Public Engagement: Illinois Department of Anthropology*, 2003.

<sup>71</sup> Meghan, “Mountain People...The Faces of Appalachia,” *CVLT Nation*, June 18, 2015. A great article on musical, cultural, and lingual influences within Appalachia. There are more on the lingual heritage represented within “The History of Appalachian English: Why We Talk Differently” in the *Appalachian Magazine* (2017).



of vernacular and folk cultures, and the creation of old-time music is no different. This tradition allowed for the changing and personalization of songs, as well as the maintenance of traditions that would have been long lost, were they not past down from one generation to the next.<sup>72</sup> The Walker sisters, whose home will be discussed further in Chapter Four, are a longer-lasting example of this sharing of tradition and persistence of mountain folk (Fig. 39-43). They were known for the continuance of older ways of cooking, constructing, crafting, and living well into the 1960s.<sup>73</sup> Old-time music has existed similarly, changing to create other forms of music (e.g., bluegrass, country) without totally disappearing. The folkways of the Appalachias have been recorded since the early 1900s with the work of Cecil Sharp and continue to be of interest. Though all of these recordings have happened within the same regions and under the same generalized genres, the changes over time continue still today.

### **Development of Bluegrass**

Bluegrass is just one of the many variations of old-time music that developed over the years. The appearance of bluegrass and early country music was almost simultaneous, coinciding with the founding of coal mines in the Appalachias and the oncoming Industrial Revolution, exasperated by the Great Depression. During the early 1920s, coal mines were founded in different areas throughout Appalachia, drawing workers from the impoverished counties around them. Because of the Industrial Revolution, roadways were improved, allowing mountain people to travel from their hollows to the mines (Fig. 12-13). If it weren't for the difficulties of farming on

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<sup>72</sup> Laurel Shackelford and Bill Weignberg, *Our Appalachia: An Oral History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988).

<sup>73</sup> Lily Rowan, "The Story of the Walker Sisters in the Smoky Mountains," *History Daily*. The sisters were also known to welcome any tourists with fried apple pies and distinct, Southern hospitality right up until the death of the last sister in the early 1960s.

the mountainside and the depletion of the land by over farming, many of these people may not have left their homes to work on the mines. However, by the early 1920s the situation in the mountains was dire, and many men flocked to the mines in search of money to send back home. As they moved away from home, these men took with them the music that reminded them of home, and all they had was their instruments, their talents, and their memories.<sup>74</sup> Out of this combination, bluegrass was born, thriving off of competition between new musicians hoping to impress and represent their friends and family back home (Fig. 49).

Because bluegrass developed within the gendered space of the coal mines, it became a male-dominated genre filled with competition of skill rather than a source of familial bonding and remembrance. The desire to perform and make a living outside of the world of manual labor outweighed the nostalgia for home, and the country's great interest in the Appalachian music and culture through the emergence of country that was happening at the same time created an incredible market for the music and culture of the mountains — quickly drawing away people who left home in search of prosperity in the first place.<sup>75</sup> Old-time music, on the one hand, consisted of anywhere from one person to entire families, varying greatly by region and even by household. Bluegrass, on the other hand, contained “proper” methods of performance and a trained and practiced skill set not required by families and old-time musicians or by church congregations who also performed this music.

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<sup>74</sup> Neil V. Rosenberg, *Bluegrass: A History* (The Trustees of the University of Illinois, 1985). Rosenberg is incredibly thorough in his survey of bluegrass — its beginnings, musical types, and bands while still being concise and understandable to those who do not study music exclusively.

<sup>75</sup> Richard D. Smith, *Bluegrass: An Informal Guide* (a cappella books, 1995). This guide is indeed informal, but it makes an excellent companion piece to Rosenberg's more in-depth history while providing informative descriptions of the music's various sounds and the bands' many differences as well as purposes for performing.

### CHAPTER THREE: MUSIC and MEMORY

The most intangible and arguably the most significant aspect of this thesis is this chapter on the importance and impact of memory and emotions on communities and architecture through the lens and vessel of culturally derived music and musical traditions. If landscapes are shaped and influenced by culture, then the contents and aspects of this culture are essential for understanding the material culture left behind. These contents and aspects are often intangible, consisting of things like oral traditions, music, and language.<sup>76</sup>

#### Nostalgia

Fully understanding the term nostalgia, its emotions, and its relationship to music is essential for identifying the ideas of home for members of Appalachian communities. These thoughts inevitably affect the outcome of the architecture of home in an attempt to manifest these identities physically. This particular chapter will look at the nostalgic effects of memory, how it is displayed and evidenced through music, and finally how the idea of nostalgia and homemaking through identity creation in music is shown through the old-time music of the Appalachian Mountains. This is displayed through the music itself — its melodies and their connection to historical folk music from the British Isles — as well as through the lyrics and the tunes themselves — references to home, to architectural features, and specific geographical locations. People and stories also play a huge role here, appearing in titles, lyrics, and creating the basis of the ballad format for which Old-Time Music is so well-known.<sup>77</sup> Understanding the role of nostalgia and memory is key to understanding the development of communities, which always gives clues for understanding their architectural preferences and decisions. The term “nostalgia,” though a

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<sup>76</sup> McClatchy, “Appalachian Traditional Music: A Short History.”

<sup>77</sup> “A Rich History: The Music of Appalachia.”

common term, often used and well known by the average person, also makes consistent appearances when it comes to music — especially pop music and other widely heard music genres.<sup>78</sup>

As a feeling, the use of the term in music analysis and description is common, but what are the authors who use this word really trying to say or describe with it? Leon Botstein looks into this use of the term “nostalgia” with respect to both musical and historical research in social and cultural studies. According to Botstein, nostalgia is a phenomenon, “of course not memory,” that is not really identifiable or describable, but often implied within aesthetics, visual and aural, (i.e., neoclassicism, Bach, Mozart, gothic, punk) and only became an ideology by the nineteenth century with Matthew Arnold and Max Nordau.<sup>79</sup> Within “Memory and Nostalgia as Music-Historical Categories” by Botstein, nostalgia seems to be loosely defined as the act of referring to recognizable aesthetics or melodies, etc. of the past, particularly those in a large movement or associated with a particularly renowned person. “One of its [nostalgia’s] social forms is as a facet of and strategy within cultural politics. ... There is no shortage of prophets of cultural and moral decline whose arguments and works of art are based on a suggestion and presentation of better days long gone whose status is largely mythological.”<sup>80</sup> Socio-cultural status, past experiences, religious beliefs, country of origin — all of these are factors that can create connections between various groups and are often the topics of songs. For example, country music often talks about agricultural work, drinking young, being or getting married, etc. — all physical and cultural traits

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<sup>78</sup> Andy Bennett and Susanne Janssen, “Popular Music, Cultural Memory, and Heritage,” *Popular Music and Society* 39, no. 1 (January 2016): 1–7.

<sup>79</sup> Leon Botstein, “Memory and Nostalgia as Music-Historical Categories,” *The Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (January 1, 2000): 531–36.

<sup>80</sup> Botstein.

of many small-town Southern locations, which makes them relatable to people who grew up in or near those areas.

### *Memory and Emotions*

The biggest questions when dealing with nostalgia are these: Whose past is being evoked? What does the formation of community have to do with music? What does this look like in architecture? Everyone's different understanding of nostalgia lies in the differences between the experiences — backgrounds, cultures, lives, and tastes — each person feeling the nostalgia has been through. This being the case, not any one person who experiences nostalgia will experience or feel the same thing, thoughts, emotions, or memories. Popular music is one of the main topics within musicology that comes up when talking about nostalgia. Since popular music is usually only popular within a specific time period, society, and set of conditions that changes constantly — those who grew up with the Beatles feel differently about them than those who grew up with punk rock, boy bands, or other forms of music that elicit particular emotions and points of view from a certain time. Long after that period is gone, people still experience this nostalgia, or a longing for those times and memories, when they hear the familiar music. Why, however, has not fully been explored yet, and neither has its political use.<sup>81</sup>

Leon Botstein views the term “nostalgia” in musical literature and ideologies and comes to the conclusion that nostalgia is a highly loaded word filled with complications, most stemming from the highly individualized nature of the word. He defines it loosely as “the act of referring to recognizable aesthetics or melodies, etc. of the past, particularly those in a large movement or

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<sup>81</sup> Kathleen Stewart, “Nostalgia - A Polemic,” *Cultural Anthropology* 3, no. 3 (August 1988): 227–41.

associated with a particularly renowned person.”<sup>82</sup> Nostalgia viewed this way is often used as a form and method of finding cultural and personal identity as well as a form of remembering, even if the nostalgia has been “passed down,” in a sense, from one generation to another. A few questions appear here: Why are they trying to remember times past — are current situations difficult? And were they forced to leave somewhere that they now must remember fondly (i.e., American Irish immigrants who still remember Ireland many generations later)? Though nostalgia in and of itself is not a memory, it is created, felt, and known through memories and past experiences.<sup>83</sup> The feeling of nostalgia can also be described as a longing for the past, for the way things were. Often, nostalgia is the feeling related to or connected with the phrase “the old times,” or “the good old days,” or “the golden age.” As ages, cultures, and backgrounds change, so, too, would these experiences that were longed for, and thus the feeling of nostalgia itself. One person’s nostalgia can be harmful to another, such as white supremacists who long for a time when African-Americans were not Americans or for Germans who agreed with Hitler’s opinion on the Jewish people.

Similarly, nostalgia is used to move people in particular directions, with different motivations, because the memories it evokes are both moving and unifying through the experiences and intensity of emotions they bring to the surface. But, again, as Botstein stated, the idea of “better days long gone ... is largely mythological.”<sup>84</sup> Nostalgia is unifying when spoken and used in order to pull people of the same or similar experiences, backgrounds, or ideas together. Music can also be used in this way, bringing people together through similar tastes and opinions. Music is personal, cultural, and political. It may sometimes cross all three of these boundaries by

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<sup>82</sup> A. van der Hoeven, *Popular Music Memories: Places and Practices of Popular Music Heritage, Memory and Cultural Identity* (Rotterdam: ERMeCC, 2014).

<sup>83</sup> Stewart, “Nostalgia - A Polemic.”

<sup>84</sup> Botstein, “Memory and Nostalgia as Music-Historical Categories.”

being personal to multiple people, cultural to different cultures, and political to multiple positions. Classical music is a good example of something that crosses all three levels. Popular music, however, is mainly popular during its particular time period. Music is one of the best ways to create nostalgia through memories, as sound is the sense most often associated with easy memory recall, second only to smell.<sup>85</sup> This has been understood since the 1990s at least, and it is also known that music can become “associated with an event from a person’s life so that hearing the piece of music evokes memories of the original experience.”<sup>86</sup> Popular music is an excellent example of this, as it is often an explicit expression of the time period it was popular and of the opinions held at that time (by at least one group). Also, popular music is often political, used as a form of speaking out on issues by people who feel incapable of working with the system in other, more politically charged ways.

Kathleen Stewart’s article “Nostalgia—A Polemic” looks at nostalgia from a different perspective than Botstein. While Botstein views nostalgia as a means of emotionalizing memory and unanimity in people and, especially, as a way for students and scholars of music to “not only revise the standard narrative of the past, but [also] to illuminate the continuities between the past and the present.”<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile, Stewart believes that nostalgia comes in many different forms, some damaging in the forms of “hegemonic and resistant nostalgias.”<sup>88</sup> A polemic is defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary as “an aggressive attack on or refutation of the opinions or principles of another.”<sup>89</sup> Some forms of nostalgia, or at least the experiences or time periods remembered in that way, are capable of harming others, as was previously mentioned. Stewart

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<sup>85</sup> Fritz Weaver, *Music and Memory* (South Burlington, Vermont: Pacific Street Films, 1999).

<sup>86</sup> Hans Baumgartner, “Remembrance of Things Past: Music, Autobiographical Memory, and Emotion,” ed. John F. Sherry, Jr. and Brian Stemthal, *Advances in Consumer Research* 19 (1992): 613–20.

<sup>87</sup> Botstein, “Memory and Nostalgia as Music-Historical Categories.”

<sup>88</sup> Stewart, “Nostalgia - A Polemic.”

<sup>89</sup> “Polemic,” in *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, n.d.

cites three examples of these differences that affect nostalgia: life-style, spectacle, and loss. The larger problem here, however, is a cultural problem. With the rise of globalization and the decentering of culture away from individual nations to a worldwide cultural idea, nostalgia can be used to gain the unity mentioned by Botstein and to blur the existing, important lines of cultural and positional differences. In America, for example, the memories and experiences of people are never the same — people are from all over the world, in different social classes, and have grown up sometimes in entirely different ways from the people living next door to them.<sup>90</sup>

These lines are blurred most often by politicians in an attempt to get votes from various groups of people: a method used to get existing and potential constituents focused on their own nostalgic memories rather than real, divisive issues. Nostalgia can also be used to create more political division and to increase these divisive lines by bringing about memories of a more destructive type, such as racist ideas, or by attacking or invoking religion without a necessity to do so. By invoking such emotionally laced memories as those brought about by nostalgia, politicians and others are messing with idealized points as well — it is this idealization that causes such blurring.<sup>91</sup> When older people refer to “the good old days,” it tends to be in attempts to deal with current situations that are strange or difficult by remembering times when things were familiar and seemingly more simple and idealizing them, as often happens with remembered events. This is evident in songs and in acts by older people, especially the more traditional older people, to try to stop new music movements, claiming the new sounds are not as good as the old, etc. Idealization is one of the largest issues with the feeling of nostalgia, causing undue attachment to the events surrounding the memories as well as distortions about both the times remembered and the events currently happening. This disconnect causes further issues when nostalgia is pulled into political

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<sup>90</sup> Hoeven, *Popular Music Memories*.

<sup>91</sup> Baumgartner, “Remembrance of Things Past.”



situations, creating a disconnect within the issues being discussed in relation to the nostalgia. Similarly, other issues and decisions involving nostalgia such as musical taste and cultural and personal identity can be easily skewed by the emotions connected with nostalgia, all of which are further affected overall by differences in experiences, social status, and home culture, as stated in the beginning of this piece and throughout Botstein's short article.<sup>92</sup>

### *The Role of Music*

Though Botstein never mentioned Stewart's negative side of nostalgia, his research did not refute her point of view. Likewise, Stewart's findings are valid and do not refute Botstein's. Both authors would agree, but Stewart seems to have numerous issues with nostalgia as a term and its rampant use by everyday people and by politicians alike — meaning the term's use itself and the meanings it has come to embody, namely an over-generalization of feelings and events past, in a decentralized and globalized culture. So, what does this word mean musically? Music has already been shown to elicit intense emotions and memories in connection with emotions in various studies and in popular ideology to the point that it isn't always referenced as anything other than common knowledge in studies even in the 1990s.<sup>93</sup> As is the case with many terms that combine emotion and memory, nostalgia and its definition are extremely vague and have been idealized to mean things other than the strict definition — implying things and feelings about music that are not necessarily true or are only selectively so. The term nostalgia deserves more looking into on its own, but especially in relationship to music, politics, and in particular the two in congruence. The manipulative possibilities here are vast and are constantly put to use by both politicians and musicians to form groups or gain support for a cause — music is common in political campaigns,

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<sup>92</sup> Botstein, "Memory and Nostalgia as Music-Historical Categories."

<sup>93</sup> Stewart, "Nostalgia - A Polemic."

and it has been proven that people who listen to the same styles of music automatically feel a connection when talking about their love of music.<sup>94</sup>

Similar connections often occur between the artist and the audience, with feelings of awe and respect by the audience in the presence of the artist whether they are actively performing or not, creating a connection that way, which is inherent in the music itself. Music can also be family-oriented, especially folk music. Like religious music, it allows every member of the family or community to participate with or without prior musical skill. Most of this music involves a few instruments that can be combined or interchanged, and the rest is down to vocals — repeated verses and melodies coupled with harmonization similar to hymns — leaving a way for everyone to interact and participate in the music even if that way is only through clapping or stomping, both of which are common in Appalachian music and folk music even today.<sup>95</sup> Music is also used as a form of cultural identity-making through these connections. Regional variations of songs are common, and even though the majority of the people who settled the Blue Ridge and Appalachian Mountains came from similar backgrounds and had similar experiences, they still changed their traditional songs dramatically in reaction to their new circumstances and locations.<sup>96</sup> These songs were further changed by region and, often, even by family. Since most traditional music was passed along orally, changes were made with each retelling, making each community unique.

This same power of manipulation and connection can also be used for unification. Music brings people together, both those performing and those in the audience. Communities develop around music with performances taking place in homes, at local churches through hymns and

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<sup>94</sup> Editor, “This Music Has No Borders: Scots-Irish Music in Appalachia,” NPR: National Public Radio, WBAA, October 1, 2014.

<sup>95</sup> Charles W. Perryman, “Africa, Appalachia, and Acculturation: The History of Bluegrass Music” (D.M.A Research Project, College of Creative Arts at West Virginia University, 2013).

<sup>96</sup> Editor, “This Music Has No Borders: Scots-Irish Music in Appalachia.”

cantatas, as well as in more public venues for holiday celebrations and other large events. The people who lived in these mountains from the early 1700s to the 1930s shared similar immigrant backgrounds and mistreatment experiences, and they were normally the only people living in the communities. Their similar experiences and backgrounds mean that there were deeper meanings and emotions — nostalgia — mentioned in the songs they sang and performed together. However, nostalgia changes and differs from person to person, most drastically from one generation to the next as cultures and ideologies evolve. These changes are a large reason why music changes over time. Since folk music is passed down orally, it morphs with each new generation as they put their own experiences, interactions, and ideas of nostalgia into the songs to make them more relatable to the current performers or audience.<sup>97</sup>

### **Homemaking and Homesickness**

This creation of identity is tied closely to a desire to be at home somewhere, stemming from the loss of their home country, ancestral land, and their mistreatment. Scottish music is famous for the lonesomeness and homesickness it evokes in both sound and lyrics. This emotion, though its presence in the music was for different reasons back in Scotland and Ireland, was heavily relevant to these new mountain settlers. Scottish music is also known especially for its ballad-style construction, where stories are told through the course of the song — a format for which Appalachian music is also well known, and which is still prominent in American folk music. Irish music also made its presence known, normally through faster fiddle tunes and dance songs known as “reels,” which result in the stereotypical “hillbilly stomp” in relationship to music. All of these aspects enable the sharing and accessing of memories, as well as group participation and

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<sup>97</sup> Ralph Lee Smith and Madeline MacNeil, “The Seeds of Love: Twenty-Four English Folk Songs with Twelve American Versions from the Cecil Sharp Collection” (Roots & Branches Music, 2014).

celebration, and particularly the storytelling aspect, which also allowed for the telling of their own stories through the music they created and participated in. By changing things that were familiar from their old homes into new songs that incorporate aspects of their new homes, these new settlers found and created a home for themselves and made it real, memorializing it through their music and creating new memories out of the nostalgia.

Music is not just a form of community connection and development, but of identity making and of reliving memory. The only tangible evidence here lies within the history, as seen above, and the songs themselves. A few songs (see pp. 27–28) in particular are noteworthy, and as this essay is short, only these will be briefly examined: Pigtown Fling (Irish, no date, multiple names); Wayfaring Stranger (American, early 1800s, Scottish ballad roots); Cabin On the Hill (Bluegrass by Mississippi writer B.L. Shook, performed by Flatt and Scruggs, both from Appalachia); and Pretty Polly (British Isles, early 1700s, multiple names).<sup>98</sup> The first, Pigtown Fling, goes by a wide variety of names and has no set origination date, location, or name. According to the Traditional Tune Archive, the main ideas of its original location are in Ireland, especially in either County Donegal or County Kerry. As a reel, it was created for dancing, so the variations and different names are normally regionally specific, and most well-known violinists and fiddlers know at least one version or name of the tune. It is extremely popular in America, with versions recorded in Pennsylvania under multiple names and throughout the Blue Ridge Mountain area. Pigtown Fling is the common New England name, but in the South it retained far more local names, including Cotton Patch, a distinctly Southern name. The presence of the reel's tune and its popularity in America are simply proof of a musical link between the U.S. and the British Isles, and the regional variations in name are examples of the personalization that occurred to these musical pieces.

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<sup>98</sup> Donleavy, *Strings of Life - Conversation with Old-Time Musicians from Virginia and North Carolina*.

Adapting to America and its differences did not always include changing the tunes, but often did include changing song names and lyrics.<sup>99</sup>

### *Song Analysis*

Wayfaring Stranger is number 3339 in the Roud Folk Song Index, “a database of around 250,000 references to nearly 25,000 songs collected from oral tradition in the English language all over the world,” compiled by Steve Roud around 1970. Wayfaring Stranger is an incredible song about a traveler wandering in a world filled with suffering, searching for a land of plenty, called “home,” watched over by God, where he will see his family again. The lyrics are as follows (*emphasis mine*):

“I’m just a poor *wayfaring stranger*  
A *traveler* through this world of woe  
But there’s no sickness, toil nor danger  
In that fair land to which I go

I’m going there to see my father  
I’m going there no more to *roam*  
I am just going over Jordan  
I am just going over *home*

• • •

I’m going *home* to see my mother  
She said she’d meet me when I come  
I’m only going over Jordan  
I’m only going over *home*  
I’m just going over *home*”<sup>100</sup>

As an American gospel-folk song created in the early 1800s, this piece holds no particular obvious musical relation to Ireland or Scotland, but its ballad-style lyrics, the fiddle associated with it in

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<sup>99</sup> Andrew Kuntz and Valerio Pelliccioni, “Traditional Tune Archive,” Music/Educational, The Traditional Tune Archive, January 9, 2017.

<sup>100</sup> *Down in the Old Belt: Voices from the Tobacco South* (New York, New York: Swinging Gate Productions, 2005).

performances, and the mournful lyrics filled with homesickness show its relevance to these new settlers. The search for home is very obvious in this song, and its author remains unknown — a commonality of most folk music as it is passed down orally and changes over time. Though this constantly changing aspect of folk music changed dramatically after the advent of the radio, it was the invention and extensive use of the radio in America that allowed for more widespread knowledge and appreciation of Appalachian music.

Even though most mountain people have been known for their fierce loyalty to home, many of them still considered themselves wanderers in the early 1900s — none had fully settled, and most were still deep in poverty. Many members of these communities tried hard to make money any way they could, and during Prohibition (1920–1933) many families opened and operated secret, large scale distilleries for the production of whiskey and moonshine. The Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina mountain areas are still famous for the production of these intensely alcoholic beverages, and their consumption and production are a way of life and a proud heritage for many Appalachian community members. J. D. Vance in his memoir *Hillbilly Elegy* mentions many different misconceptions, along with difficult truths, of the impoverished Appalachian area in which he grew up.<sup>101</sup> This is a recent book, published in 2016, and the continuance of these issues from history to the present is telling of the reserved and well-preserved culture of these distant and rough communities.

In the 1930s, the Great Depression hit America, resulting in a mass migration to cities from rural communities. However, the majority of Appalachian residents were too poor to travel that far or too illiterate to function in the major cities. Around this time, mining activity increased in these areas as infrastructure and automobiles made access to the mountains easier. Because of the

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<sup>101</sup> Vance, *Hillbilly Elegy*.

conservative religious nature of the communities in question, as well as the time period and the closed-off, unreachable aspect of them, most women did not work outside of the home. When finances became increasingly rough and the land lost its ability to give as much fruit, the men and even the boys left to join mining communities nearby — creating more “wayfaring strangers” with nothing but their instruments and their hopes.

This was the birth of bluegrass, a music blend of African music and its trademark instrument, the banjo, with old-time music from back home.<sup>102</sup> Bluegrass began as a male-only musical performance with the major focus being on the musical talents of the performers — traditional bluegrass still works this way with respect to talent — and music with more folk-centric aspects or female performers was often classified as country during this early period of radio. The male-centric aspect of bluegrass is entirely because of its origination in this mining culture. Men and boys would bring their instruments and talents with them to the mines where they worked to send money back to their families. Some of these men were hoping to move to music production later on in life and were well trained by their families back home.<sup>103</sup> They would play music together out of the same homesickness that led to the creation of old-time music in the first place — the songs once again creating an architecture of community all around them, though this time, instead of it being focused on the front porch and the home as a stage, real stages were seen in their futures.

The only murder ballad out of many mentioned in this essay is the song *Pretty Polly*, which is also the only song with an actual estimated date and location of origin. In 1726, a murder happened in Gosport, UK, where a ship’s carpenter, purportedly Charles Stewart, murdered a girl

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<sup>102</sup> Thomas Goldsmith, “Bluegrass, String Music Deeply Rooted in African-American Tradition,” *The News & Observer*, February 13, 2015.

<sup>103</sup> Rosenberg, *Bluegrass: A History*.

named Molly and buried her in a church. The song appeared in the Lewis Walpole Library sometime between 1760 and 1765, as “The Gosport Tragedy,” but is also known as “The Cruel Ship’s Carpenter,” “Polly,” “Nancy’s Ghost,” “Molly the Betray’d,” and numerous other different titles. An exceedingly long version exists under the original three names (Pretty Polly, The Gosport Tragedy, and The Cruel Ship’s Carpenter<sup>104</sup>); later versions were shortened and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the protagonist’s name and the location change, but the relationship is absolutely undeniable.<sup>105</sup> This relationship continued into the mid-1920s, with John Hammond performing “Purty Polly” from 1925–1927, and with B.F. Shelton and Dock Boggs singing “Pretty Polly” both in 1927. Unlike the original song, which was a storytelling ballad in the third person, many American songs switched to first person until the retelling of the actual murder when it reverts back to third person: “I courted Pretty Polly.... He stabbed her to the heart.” Other artists, such as Woody Guthrie and Bob Dylan, used the song as a basis for others they wrote themselves.

These changes of the methods of storytelling show a personalization of the song by American artists, but its continuation in lyric and tune is equally proof of the connection these artists felt towards the British Isles. This song would have been familiar to most of the immigrants, as it was widely popular in the late 1700s, with a repetitive chorus and melody that is easy to follow. The song changed often in speed and wording, but the lyrics and deeper melody themselves were never altered beyond recognition. The current folk/Americana band, Vandaveer (2016–present), performs an impressive and moving version of the song, even using their music video to act out the story of the ballad. The song uses quick-paced Irish fiddle methods coupled with the deep, emotional chords that are so often tied to Scottish music, making its American versions

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<sup>104</sup> D. C. Fowler, “The Gosport Tragedy: Story of a Ballad,” *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 43 (1979): 157–96.

<sup>105</sup> “Folk Songs of the Blue Ridge Mountains: 50 Traditional Songs as Sung by the People of the Blue Ridge Mountains Country, UVA Library , Virgo,” accessed March 23, 2019.



beautiful examples of the ties these people still felt to their homelands, their attempted identity formation in America, as well as their constant longing and the pain which connects them to the darkness of the murder ballad.<sup>106</sup>

### Architecture in Music

“Cabin on the Hill,” written by B. L. Shook in the early 1900s, relays these feelings of wandering again, with missing home — the “cabin on the hill.” Even though this song was written in America in the early 1900s, like the songs from Scotland filled with homesickness, the idea was of being unable to return home (Fig. 21, 24, 30-31, 37). This song, renamed “Little Cabin Home on the Hill,” was performed by Flatt and Scruggs, a renowned bluegrass duo during the late 1940s in a band called the Foggy Mountain Boys — a clear reference to a mountain home which was a deep part of their personal identities. The haunting echo of the song represents a feeling of unity between all of the singers on stage, and often the audience as well, in their homesickness and feeling the loss of childhood homes.

“It would give my heart a thrill (*It would give my heart a thrill*)  
 Just to simply wander back (*Just to simply wander back*)  
 To the cabin on the hill (*To the cabin on the hill*)

Oh I want to wander back (*Oh I want to wander back*)  
 To the cabin on the hill (*To the cabin on the hill*)  
 ‘Neath the shadow of the tree (*‘Neath the shadow of the tree*)  
 I would like to linger still (*I would like to linger still*)<sup>107</sup>

The references to the cabin typology here are clear, as well as to the location within the mountains. Many of these mountain cabin homes would have been located in valleys (or hollows known as

<sup>106</sup> D.C. Fowler, “The Gosport Tragedy: Story of a Ballad,” *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 43 (1979): 157–96.

<sup>107</sup> Various Artists, *Classic Mountain Songs from Smithsonian Folkways*.

“hollers”) up on the foothills nearby to avoid flooding while still utilizing the floodplains for agricultural purposes. This also allows the cabin to maintain a good view of the land that they owned in order to feel that sense of power that most of these people never felt in their lives. This empowerment would have taken place from the front porch, which is also where female work and family relaxation would have taken place, as well home-based performances with the porch as a makeshift stage.<sup>108</sup>

Flatt and Scruggs probably first performed at their own “...cabin on the hill/’Neath the shadow of the tree.” Trees were and are often used by impoverished people groups to create “rooms” as they provide shade and structure for free.<sup>109</sup> African American cemeteries often feature a large tree near an open space at the center — the gathering location for funeral celebrations. They also provide free shade for homes, which aids in temperature maintenance for the building. “Cabin on the Hill” is an excellent example of the physical architecture of home being referenced in song form. Since the style of the song is still related to the mountain folk music from Scotland and Ireland, the integration of this music into the identities of these immigrants is proven through its continued existence.<sup>110</sup> There are many other songs throughout Appalachian history that reference the “cabin on the hill” and front porches, a few of which will be looked at briefly below (Fig. 21, 24, 30-31, 37). Though these vary greatly from their Scottish origins of loch and moor references, or heather on the hills dotted with sheep in Ireland, they are representative of the same ideas and emotions of homesickness, especially in the years following the Great Depression or the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution when more and more people left home in search of money. The similarities between each group and that importance has been discussed, but the differences

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<sup>108</sup> Kendra Langdon Juskus, “Front Porch Revival: Building Community Through a Neighborhood Mainstay,” *Flourish Magazine*, February 10, 2010.

<sup>109</sup> “Log House Architecture in the Eighteenth-Century Virginia Piedmont,” accessed March 23, 2019.

<sup>110</sup> Connor, “‘Down These Hollers and Hills:’ The Scots-Irish Influence on Appalachia Through Its Music.”

have yet to be touched on. These differences are evident not just in the stylistic changes regarding what is distinctively Appalachian or old-time music, but they are also apparent, if not more so, in the lyrics. Distinct references to American landmarks (e.g., the Blue Ridge Mountains, hollows/hollers, cities such as Charlottesville, Virginia) and building methods and styles (e.g., cabins, log cabins, front porches) within traditional song styles and techniques from Ireland and Scotland, or variations thereof, is one of the most obvious things separating the old world from the new.<sup>111</sup>

### *Song Analysis*

The following songs are three of the most obvious references to homesickness in adapted Appalachian styles from Scottish and Irish folk music that show the importance these small homes, and the use of music, had in the hearts of Appalachian people. The first, called “Little Cabin Home on the Hill,” is a bluegrass/country song written about 1965 by Ricky Skaggs based off of B. L. Shook’s “Cabin on the Hill.” Skaggs grew up in the Kentucky section of Appalachia, and he, along with other bluegrass musicians, wrote songs to continue what they already saw as a declining culture.<sup>112</sup> By the 1960s, many people had moved away from the homes they grew up in, or they were the second generation of a family removed from the mountains in search of money and a future.<sup>113</sup> These second generationers began romanticizing the mountain culture through stories told to them by their first generation parents, or through the nostalgia created by reliving their own memories. This romanticism was often displayed through the use of romance in a song to talk about loss. “Little Cabin Home on the Hill” is an excellent example of this:

“Tonight I’m alone without you my dear

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<sup>111</sup> “A Rich History: The Music of Appalachia.”

<sup>112</sup> Rosenberg, *Bluegrass: A History*.

<sup>113</sup> Connor, “‘Down These Hollers and Hills:’ The Scots-Irish Influence on Appalachia Through Its Music.”

It seems there's a longing for you still  
 All I have to do now is sit alone and cry  
 In our little cabin home on the hill

Oh, someone has taken you from me  
 And left me here all alone  
 Just to listen to the rain beat on my window pane  
 In our little cabin home on the hill."

These words use romance and the weather ("...rain beat on my window pane") to represent the nostalgia felt about home as well as the connection to the Scottish and Irish folk tradition of romantic songs and ballads. The description of home ("In our little cabin home on the hill") is equally descriptive of the Appalachian region as it is of a home in the British Isles, just change to "our little *cottage* home on the hill." A description of the physical homeplace together with its location within the landscape continues in the second example of homesickness in a song "Old Home Place," which does not have a definitive starting point, though it must have been following the early 1900s due to the existence of sawmills in Charlottesville.<sup>114</sup> There are performances recorded in the 1920s, 1940s, and 1960s:

"It's been ten long years since I left my home  
 In the hollow where I was born  
 Where the cool fall nights make the wood smoke rise  
 And the foxhunter blows his horn

I fell in love with a girl from the town  
 I thought that she would be true  
 I ran away to Charlottesville  
 And worked in a sawmill or two

What have they done to the old home place?  
 Why did they tear it down?  
 Why did I leave the plow in the field  
 And look for a job in the town?"

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<sup>114</sup> Reich, "Re-Creating the Wilderness."

This song is descriptive not just visually, but aurally and sensually as well in more ways than describing the sound of rain on a windowpane. The sounds and experience of a particular landscape, in this case the landscape of the Virginia foothills and mountains: the sound of foxhunts, the smell of wood smoke, the coolness of a night breeze, the description of home as a “hollow” (Fig. 16, 17, 20).<sup>115</sup> Each of these sights, sounds, and feelings evokes a memory and an emotion from the listener, all of which would be familiar to those living in and near the mountains.

This adaptation of song types and lyrics to the American landscape is the trademark of old-time music and the most excellent example of this music as American in nature.<sup>116</sup> This American music turned slowly into country music, but maintained references to the same landscapes, as evident here in the third and final example, called “Front Porch Swing Afternoon” by the country singer Jamey Johnson:

“Sittin’ here countin’ the cars going by  
 In a hour must a been one or two  
 The sheets are flappin’ on momma’s clothesline  
 It’s an old front porch swing afternoon

I can hear music from somewhere inside  
 The faint sound of a Hank Williams tune  
 I just caught the smell of a blackberry pie  
 On this old front porch swing afternoon

And ooh oooooh ooh  
 Feel that breeze blowin’  
 That magnolia showing her blooms  
 On this old front porch swing afternoon

That old dog is laying under grandpa’s old chair  
 He ain’t looking for nothing to do  
 And that tractor is stirrin’ up dust over there  
 On this old front porch swing afternoon

I can see grandma now in her old checkered dress  
 Beatin’ a rug with her broom

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<sup>115</sup> Connor, ““Down These Hollers and Hills:’ The Scots-Irish Influence on Appalachia Through Its Music.”

<sup>116</sup> Various Artists, *Classic Mountain Songs from Smithsonian Folkways*.

The clouds are a churnin' coming in from the west  
On this old front porch swing afternoon."

### *Section Conclusion*

These music types are still active and evolving, even after their apparent movement into alternative forms of folk, including country and, especially, during the bluegrass movements of the mid- to late-1900s, less than 100 years after the Scots-Irish migrated to the U.S. This quick-identity formation remained fairly stunted for years due to the isolation of these communities in the mountains — both a choice and a necessity at the time of their formation.<sup>117</sup> Even those people whose heritage only minorly relates to the Appalachias or who are an entire generation removed from that culture still consider this music to be a part of their heritage. Music was not the main focus of this essay, just as music is not the focus of (most) cultures. However, music both affects and is affected by the cultures and their people, reliving memories while also creating more. Sharing memories through music allows for the collective experience of nostalgia, while creating memories that will one day instigate its own nostalgia as well.<sup>118</sup>

The descriptions of homeplaces, mentions of wandering and of feeling like strangers, and the connections to both Scottish and Irish music indicates their connection to a land they lost as well as their consistent search for a new home. This resulted in a transient form of architecture, made of local materials (wood), located in places of isolation — away from harm and people of different pasts and experiences (Fig. 16-37, 39-42). These buildings were different from their homes back in Ireland and Scotland. Where once they were used to white-washed stone huts with thatched roofs in rolling, tree-less hills, they were now residing in porched wooden cabins on hills

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<sup>117</sup> Conway, "Celtic Influences."

<sup>118</sup> "A Rich History: The Music of Appalachia." Appalachia's influence on music and the influence of Scots-Irish music upon Appalachia is critical to the understanding of this thesis and, most importantly, to the understanding and interpretation of the log cabin, of mountain people, and of Appalachia itself — both historical and contemporaneous.

surrounded by forests and streams. These changes required a stage for homemaking, a place for new memories through the nostalgia and experiences of the past. For the mountain folk, those memories were in music, and their stage was the front porch. Whether in a home, or in a country store or other gathering place, or even made out of tents near the church or barn, the front porch was a place of gathering, music making, and homecoming for the people of the Blue Ridge Mountains, and with the proliferation of the music of the mountains came the persistent existence of the front porch, both physically and in the American imagination.

## CHAPTER FOUR: MUSIC and COMMUNITY

Architecture is often researched and portrayed as independent structures, when this is not the way buildings are conceived, used, or viewed in everyday life. Vernacular architecture is no exception to this, and in fact it could be argued that the architecture of everyday life is even more a product of its environment and community members than are its monumental, intricate, and professionally designed counterparts. Community interactions and development, both past and present, affect these buildings more because they are built in communities, by communities, for communities, and then are lived in and interacted with by those communities on an everyday basis. Using the Blue Ridge Parkway and adjacent counties as the basis for case study choices together with referenced music recording locations from Donleavy's *Strings of Life* book narrowed down the large number of houses to choose for analysis.<sup>119</sup> However, the list of potential case studies was small to begin with — most of these buildings have disappeared due to time and neglect, or are simply unlisted or unstudied due to their obscurity and the poverty of their occupants (Fig. 14).

### Architectural Case Studies

Each of these case studies involves one focus building for analysis and other, supporting buildings as continuing examples. There are no two buildings exactly alike in Appalachia, due to additions over time, different use of materials, and, most importantly, different builders — most families built their own homes, or had other, nearby family members build them. Each home was built for different families with specific needs, of varying sizes, skill levels, and access to materials, both physically and financially.<sup>120</sup> One of the main questions of this thesis was: How do old-time

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<sup>119</sup> Donleavy, *Strings of Life - Conversation with Old-Time Musicians from Virginia and North Carolina*.

<sup>120</sup> Eiler, Eiler, and Fleischhauer, *Blue Ridge Harvest: A Region's Folklife in Photographs*. This book also has excellent site plans of various homesteads throughout the Blue Ridge as well as numerous, incredible photos.



music and the existence and persistence of the front porch form evidence of community interaction, architecture, and the continuing, yet everchanging, cultural landscape of the Ulster-Scots in the South-Central Appalachias? The weather in the Blue Ridge Mountains is not conducive to the first most common use of the front porch in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries: relaxing outside for the betterment of health.<sup>121</sup> This is one of the main reasons for its origination in the Caribbean on sugar plantations, and the transference of that image to Virginia occurred throughout the 1700s due to the Caribbean-American interactions through the slave and sugar trades. This explains the presence of the front porch in wealthy Southern American architecture, according to Louis Nelson and many other scholars of Southern architecture.<sup>122</sup> The visual appeal and appearance of the front porch within Palladian architectural themes and motifs which were popular with both English and American aristocracy throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, though these porches were far more classical in nature, relating to the idea of a Greek or Roman temple more so than the vernacular version studied here. However, this does not explain the presence of the front porch in the mountain homes of these poor immigrants, as they were neither wealthy nor did they live in a climate where sitting on a front porch would be considered healthful (Fig. 30, 31). Leisure time was also difficult to come by as they had no hired or enslaved hands to do the hard farm work for them.<sup>123</sup>

#### *Wood Construction:*

*Puckett Cabin, Carroll County, North Carolina (Fig. 16–17); Johnson Farm, Peaks of Otter, North Carolina (Fig. 21)*

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<sup>121</sup> Brownell, *The Making of Virginia Architecture*.

<sup>122</sup> Louis Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

<sup>123</sup> Reich, “Re-Creating the Wilderness.”

The basis of all cabin architecture is wood. Wood construction, though popular and utilized throughout the world, has noticeable regional and ethnic variations. These variations are usually carried with people groups through colonization, immigration, and emigration as these construction methods are passed down from fathers to sons, joiners and carpenters to their apprentices, as well as within families, societies, and cultures. One of the most common forms of wood construction in America from the early 18-1900s, according to Dell Upton in his chapter “Timber Framing,” is an English style of framing with more roof variations than wall construction differences.<sup>124</sup> Upton points out how different variations were often used for time and labor-saving reasons, particularly in the case of plank-framing, for which he used an Appalachian Cabin built in 1800 as an example. The wooden-sided cabins that come to mind when imagining Appalachian homes is not representative of entirely plank framing, which was found mostly in Kentucky, but involves the same exterior treatment (Fig. 21-22, 25, 29, 33-37).

Other, related forms are the “classic” log-cabin typology, along with the log-plank style log cabin, both of which are popular within the American folk imagination and were found throughout the Blue Ridge. The log-plank, or hewn, style cabins often lasted longer, as the wood was thicker and cut from the interior, more rot-resistant part of the tree. They also required less millwork and carpentry or joinery knowledge (Fig. 15-20, 24, 26-28, 30-32, 39-42). Keeping the logs as close to the original size as possible and working with larger, longer pieces required far less framing and support both internally and externally. These created flat walls that were filled in or “chinked” with clay to keep out the damp and the cold in the winter, but this chinking could be removed in the heat of the summer to allow for a cross-breeze through the building. Most wooden homes produced within the Blue Ridge Mountain area from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s were

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<sup>124</sup> Ed. Brook Hindle, *Material Culture of the Wooden Age*, Chapter 1, “Timber Framing” by Dell Upton, 35–93, (Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981).

some variation of the log cabin (i.e. figures 15 through 20) or, if there was more money or skill, of the English framing system (i.e. figures 33 through 37) . They were usually lined with wooden planks on the exterior, with unfinished walls inside and riven wood-shingled roofs over one room, often with a loft in the rafters as well.

Because the climate is very cold many nights throughout the year together with a true winter, a field-stone chimney or two, were required for heat retention as well as for cooking. If there was some skill or some money in the family, brick chimneys were an option. Earlier versions of these cabins even had wooden chimneys consisting of the “wattle and daub” technique in which the clay or plaster clinking from the walls of the house are used to create a tightknit chimney structure, like this cabin photographed by Frances Benjamin Johnston c. 1900 (Fig. 14). This was an economic and sustainable way of building, since the areas were heavily wooded. It also enabled the families to rebuild or relocate easily after fire or water damage. Because relocation of families happened less often than the wood construction was designed for, the cabins were used and lived in far longer than they were originally constructed to be occupied. Due to this, damage was commonplace — even more so because the buildings were often posthole or earth fast, meaning there was no real foundation, but the building was instead built directly onto the ground. This, along with its wooden construction, created an easily burned and rotted building method could be constructed quickly and cheaply. When not built directly onto the ground, the foundation usually consisted of the same material as the chimneys, from field stones to brick to, later on, cinderblocks.

These buildings were common all over Virginia and North Carolina before the 1800s, according to both Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781–1785) and Henry Glassie’s research on folk housing and vernacular architecture.<sup>125</sup> During the preparation for the

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<sup>125</sup> Henry Glassie, “Log House Architecture in the Eighteenth-Century Virginia Piedmont.”

construction of the Blue Ridge Parkway, many people were displaced from their mountain homes, and some older buildings were fortunately considered for preservation purposes. A few of these are Puckett Cabin (1865–1939, figures 16 and 17) and the Johnson Farm at Peaks of Otter (interpreted by the NPS during the 1930s rather than its original date of construction, figure 21) in the Great Smoky Mountains section of the Blue Ridge Parkway in Asheville, North Carolina. These two make for an excellent comparison due to the age differences in their interpretations as well as their physical construction differences and similarities. Each building represents a different era, and their comparison shows the way many of these buildings changed and progressed over time. Adding other cabin examples to these two also allows for a more general understanding of Blue Ridge wood construction and its role in the cabin typology of the mountains.<sup>126</sup>

Beginning chronologically, Puckett Cabin was constructed in 1865 by John Puckett in Carroll County, North Carolina and is considered by the National Park Service to be “a good example of the one-room log cabin once common in the mountains” (Fig. 16–17). The house was inhabited by Mrs. Orlean/Oleana Puckett, a well-known and highly successful mountain midwife, until 1939 when the construction of the Blue Ridge Parkway removed her from her home, and she died soon after at the age of 102<sup>127</sup>. The cabin, together with an outbuilding, small garden, and property fences, has been preserved by the National Park Service and can be visited in Carroll County today, along with some information about Mrs. Puckett’s legacy. The building is an excellent example of a typical cabin of the time, as the NPS stated, and consists of one room with a loft, constructed of hand-hewn log pieces, a few glazed windows, riven wood-shingled roof, and a fieldstone chimney on the exterior of the cabin. This classic profile and building type is present throughout Appalachia and the Blue Ridge Mountains as well as the rest of Virginia, the South,

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<sup>126</sup> “Reich - 2001 - Re-Creating the Wilderness Shaping Narratives and.Pdf,” n.d.

<sup>127</sup> “Visit Carroll County and Puckett Cabin,” Virginia Association of Counties, February 16, 2018.

and the majority of New England as well, as can be seen in figure 20 in the abandoned cabin and Figure 15 with the construction of winter quarters for the rebel army in Virginia in 1862, though those featured board roofs, which take less time than riving (or splitting) boards.

The McIntire Log Cabin (Fig. 18–19) near Charlotte, North Carolina exhibits each of these traits, with some variation, to create another log-cabin style well-known throughout the area. The McIntire home has a brick chimney, built or redone sometime after the construction of the cabin itself. Also, this building only has one window (Fig. 19) which is unglazed and located in the loft area, presumably for a breeze and for the removal of hot air from below, and the whole structure is placed on a stone and rubble foundation. The McIntire cabin still has the same hand-hewn boarded sides with dovetail corner joints and chinked exterior walls as well as the riven-shingled roof on the Puckett Cabin, along with a lean-to shingled, boarded, and framed exterior addition that was clearly constructed later. Additions were common in cabins. Since many cabins were originally built for economic purposes and were often intended to be temporary structures, when they lasted longer than intended, and as families grew, they created extra space for children, other family members, food, and even farm animals. Though none of these three buildings (Fig. 16–20) include a front porch, they are still incredibly indicative of the “classic” log cabin of the Blue Ridge Mountains.<sup>128</sup>

Another common log cabin construction type is the saddlebag or saddleback house (Fig. 21, 26–28) which features a central chimney and hall with two seemingly separate cabins on either side connected via the roof and loft story. This was a great way for multiple families to live together, as well as a way to add an additional cabin to an existing one using the exterior chimney as the center chimney in the new construction. The Johnson Farm at the Peaks of Otter (Fig. 21)

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<sup>128</sup> Herbert Shellans, “Folk Songs of the Blue Ridge Mountains: 50 Traditional Songs as Sung by the People of the Blue Ridge Mountains Country /,” [c1968].

has been preserved and interpreted to its 1930s condition — the way it was left when the Johnsons were forced to move for the construction of the Blue Ridge Parkway. The farm can still be visited today, and the Johnson family home is one of two different buildings on the property. This building is a great example of the progression of cabins over time, showing a well-framed central building with a rear addition and divided front porch. The further, left-hand side of the building steps up with the hill, and the whole structure is painted a bright, clean white. The Johnson Farm is idyllic and reminiscent of a Southern farm, closer to a middle-class idealized farm than a mountain, rustic-cabin dwelling — complete with white picket fence and screen doors (Fig. 21). The wealthier members of the Appalachian communities managed to do well enough by the 1930s to have all of these things, but that still did not keep them from being removed from their homes with the creation of the Blue Ridge Parkway. Most people, however, did not make money off of their land — the climate and the soil were difficult to work with, and those who would buy the fruits of their labor were far away with little access. When coal mines and sawmills and other factories began to appear during the industrial revolution, many people left their “little cabin homes on the hill” in search of money. However, the basis of their homes and the iconic form of the log cabin has remained alive in the minds and hearts of Americans up to today.<sup>129</sup>

In reality, these homes were not clean, spacious, and aesthetically rustic — they were damp, cramped, and lacking many basic amenities long after their more urban neighbors had acquired them — particularly running water and electricity (Fig. 32, 43).<sup>130</sup> Scots-Irish families were known for their large number of children and for their intergenerational living style. With most homes being one or two rooms with a loft, fitting the kitchen, the children, the farm equipment, the food, and any other belongings was extremely difficult. They were not in safe,

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<sup>129</sup> Upton, “Wood Framing.”

<sup>130</sup> Hofstra, “Backcountry Frontier of Colonial Virginia.”

bright, clear-skied, and sunshine-filled areas at all times.<sup>131</sup> More often, they were located in a clearing surrounded by dense woods filled with foxes to eat their chickens, coyotes and bears after their livestock and children, and occasionally even other mountaineers looking for better land (Fig. 23-15, 30-31, 38-41). The lack of space and dangerous and dirty living conditions are not taken into account when remembering these log cabins, nor are they mentioned in the songs, leading to an idealization of these homes within the American imagination. When a place is home, it is hard not to describe it with fondness, glossing over difficulties with nostalgia.

*Front Porches:*

*Jesse Brown Cabin, North Carolina (Fig. 23); Humpback Rock, Virginia (Fig. 24); Gregg Cabin, North Carolina (Fig. 26–28)*

The use of the front porch will be more thoroughly explained in the following section on space and movement, as understanding its form is important before getting into how it is used. There are hundreds of examples of these porches throughout America, and their legacy as locations for celebration, relaxation, and performance lives on. These porches appear in many different forms, from the wide, raised, full-front spanning porches in Figures 22, 24, 26–28, 30–31 and 35–36, the ground-level full porch seen in Figure 23, to the sectioned, smaller examples in Figures 25, 29, 33–37. The Jesse Brown cabin at the E. B. Jeffress Recreational Area off of the Blue Ridge Parkway in Cool Springs, North Carolina (Fig. 23) is an excellent example of the addition of a porch onto the log cabin typology explored in the section above. It features an unglazed window, riven wooden shingles, dovetailed log sides, and a fieldstone chimney. The cabin is again a single-storied building with a loft, but now with an additional, outdoor covered space for working and

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<sup>131</sup> Chris Holtkamp, “Social Capital, Place Identity, and Economic Conditions in Appalachia” (Ph.D., Texas State University - San Marcos, 2018).

relaxing. The Humpback Rocks Visitors Center near the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia (Fig. 24) features a cabin built in 1890 that has been relocated there as an excellent example of the classic porched log cabin. Like the Jesse Brown cabin, it has all of the features of the typical log cabin without the attached porch. The addition of the porch here continues the same rustication of typical framing features, continuing the riven wood shingles down to the porch, supported by small tree trunks cut down, stripped, and cut to height only.<sup>132</sup>

The typical image of these porches involves instruments, a rocking or wooden chair, a pile of firewood, and a pipe, as in Johnston's photos of the Gregg Log Cabin in 1935 (Fig. 26–28) and others from the CSAS.<sup>133</sup> These go to further the American populace's idea of the front porch and Appalachia as a rustic location to relax reminiscent of the history of Hot Springs in Virginia as a place of relaxation for the wealthy plantation owners and upper class. The truth is, again, that these homesteads were and often remain impoverished households with too many children trying to support themselves on poor land away from a society that mistreated them. The images by Johnston of the hipped-roof cabin in Halifax County, North Carolina (Fig. 25) and McClintock's Cabin near Albemarle County, Virginia (Fig. 33) show, instead, the impoverished state of these buildings and people by the 1930s, featuring failing chimneys, sagging porches and roofs, and waif-like women in night dresses standing forlornly on the porches — not really the locations of fast fiddlers and lazy Sundays. However, there are also many contrasting, demonstrating the front porch as a location of gathering and music making (Fig. 2, 6–8, 42, 45, 49) as well as one of industry (Fig.

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<sup>132</sup> Reuben Cox, *The Work of Joe Webb: Appalachian Master of Rustic Architecture* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2009). Joe Webb is an unknown rustic Appalachian master builder whose work is barely known. However, it takes a lot of the factors mentioned throughout the wood construction and front porch section and emphasizes their rusticity as well as workmanship, showing the branches of trees in the wood that is used for fences and porches and other exaggerations of the materials.

<sup>133</sup> "Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South - About This Collection." More of these images can be found after the Bibliography in Figures 15–48.



3–4, 44, 46–48). All of these images and ideas loom large in the American imagination, and music more than most.

As some of the first settlers within and over the Appalachian Mountains, most lived in small communities or on larger tracts of land as families far away from anyone else and especially distant from any towns — very few of which existed anywhere in Virginia or North Carolina at all (at this time, any part of Tennessee that was explored belonged to Virginia as state territory). This isolated existence together with the difficult terrain, weather conditions, wildlife, and Native American encounters created very hardheaded, hardworking, poor people who barely survived day to day — leaving no real space for leisure, and what little extra time they had was often spent at church or gathering together in familial groups.<sup>134</sup> It was at these gatherings that music was often played, as well as in church or on important occasions and celebrations, such as harvest season, weddings, house construction, and barn raisings.

Though difficult to find, leisure and celebratory time were the second most common use of the front porch (and today, its primary use). After working in the fields all day, returning home to smoke their pipes and play their instruments together with their neighbors on the porch (Fig. 8) was the main form of leisure at the time, taking place on work days as well as on Sundays after church, which was held in homes or in a locally built church. These small communities were tight knit, though often the buildings were separated by farther distances than classical villages, creating a spread out, rural community that still came together to celebrate and relax.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Holtkamp, “Social Capital, Place Identity, and Economic Conditions in Appalachia.”

<sup>135</sup> Active Interest Media, “Preserving Old Cabins,” [cabinlife.com](http://cabinlife.com), March 31, 2016. This is an interesting website on the idea of preserving log cabins, their meanings today and in the past, and their importance to the American architectural, historical, and emotional past and identity.

*Gendered Space:*

*The Walker Sisters Cabin, North Carolina (Fig. 39–41); Two Cabins in Wentworth/Madison, North Carolina (Fig. 35–36)*

Though the exterior of buildings is extremely important and is often the part most recognized and remembered years later, the interior and the movement of spaces also matters a great deal, as they show how the buildings and space would have been used at the time. In order to get variations of movement within spaces people need to be involved, and in order to involve people, they need to gather together. With families as large as the ones often found in Appalachia, homes of the small sizes presented here needed a gathering space apart from their shared bedroom/kitchen/work space occupying what was often the only room of the house. For this, the front porch was used. Though the Walker Sisters place has a porch that, at first glance, is not on the “front” of the building, it is the first entrance encountered by anyone travelling on the road by it, which the Parkway followed later on (Fig. 39–43). Located in the Great Smoky Mountain National Park, the Walker Sisters place was known as the epitome of Southern mountain hospitality over 20 years after the construction of the Parkway. The Walker Sisters signed an agreement with the NPS to continue their residence at home until they all died, despite its incorporation into the Parkway’s tourism industry.<sup>136</sup> They were known to welcome tourists with fried apple pies and open arms, as well as for keeping the Appalachian “old ways of life alive.”<sup>137</sup> As mentioned briefly in the discussion on front porches, figures 2, 6–8, 42, 45, and 49 are all great examples of the front porch as a gathering spaces, the idea of which has remained most fertile and active within the minds of Americans. This gathering space is one of the most important aspects of the log cabin, lending to its use as a representation of American national identity.

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<sup>136</sup> Rowan, “The Story of the Walker Sisters in the Smoky Mountains.”

<sup>137</sup> “The Walker Sisters—Great Smoky Mountains National Park (U.S. National Park Service).”

However, the idea of the front porch as a place of industry is far less familiar or memorialized today (Fig. 3–4, 44, 46–48) due to many different factors, the first of which is the tendency of most Americans to hide symbols and evidence of manual labor at the back of the house beginning around the early 1940s following the Great Depression.<sup>138</sup> The front porch was mainly used by the women of each family, the lack of space, plumbing, and electricity within these often windowless houses made the front porch the location of many domestic activities, especially laundry and butter-churning, well into the 1960s (Fig. 44, 46–48). Both of these activities were the women’s responsibilities, especially in the late 18- and early 1900s, and images of these women doing these activities on porches are plentiful throughout historic photographs of Appalachia and elsewhere.<sup>139</sup> These daily activities were themselves a form of socializing, especially between mothers and daughters, with many stories and skills shared over the laundry or the butter churner. Because of the prominent location of these activities, as well, they were an excellent way for these women to represent their own power, relative wealth, capability, and style — a source of pride within their own households as well as amongst the other women within their small communities.

This use of the porch as a form of independent, powerful, female-dominated space is still (just as subtly) at work today throughout the ideology and mythology surrounding the front porch. The Southern culture of visiting is female-dominated, popular among the upper middle-class early on and, eventually, all throughout the class structure of the South. This visiting is one of the dominant community-driven features of the front porch today, created from this use of the porch as a work space.<sup>140</sup> Once these communities moved their homes closer together, these activities became increasingly more visible as well as accessible, allowing for the familial bonding to extend

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<sup>138</sup> “Hillbilly Highway,” Humans of Central Appalachia, accessed March 23, 2019.

<sup>139</sup> “Barnum, Frances Courtenay Baylor (1848–1920).”

<sup>140</sup> Freehill-Maye, “America Rediscovered Its Love of the Front Porch.”

to the rest of the female community members in ways similar to British village life. In a time and place filled with poverty, illiteracy, and male dominance, the past and persistent use of the front porch as a female space is a necessary part of the comprehension of the front porch and, subsequently, the log cabin.<sup>141</sup> This deeper knowledge goes along with the understanding and exploration of music to create a comprehensive picture of the Appalachian log cabin and the communities and landscapes surrounding them in the Blue Ridge Mountains historically and today. Music is an indispensable part of the story of Appalachia and the log cabin, as it is for so many other communities and pieces of architecture throughout history.

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<sup>141</sup> “The Women Feminism Forgot: Rural and Working-Class White Women in the Era of Trump,” UVA Library | Virgo.”

## Conclusion

The female aspect of Appalachia is often ignored along with its impoverished state and other social issues that continue to be faced everyday by these mountain dwelling Americans, it is extremely integral to the culture of Appalachia and the purpose of the front porch. Music is the lens through which most people have chosen to view and approach Appalachia. It was the first contact with Appalachia that most Americans had beginning in the early 1900s, and it continues to be the greatest interaction the majority of people have with the region today.<sup>142</sup> This being the case, music is an excellent point of departure for beginning the study of Appalachia: its architecture, its people, and its culture. It is also an incredible form of communication. Music can communicate feelings, ideas, and illicit images, making it one of the best starting places for beginning and continuing a discussion on the current social and economic plight facing Appalachians today. And if this is the case, then music should continue to be used as a method of understanding for architecture and communities in the future as a form of intangible heritage and cultural understanding.<sup>143</sup>

Though log cabins came in many different forms, were and are found in many different locations, and were from a wide range of backgrounds, music was an integral part of their existence, formation, and continued proliferation throughout America. As a key part of architectural interpretation, music creates an added dimension of cultural comprehension through the mapping and movement of its changes through space and time — changing and moving before the architecture and lasting far after many building styles and have come and gone. Other examples of music as an important form of architectural interpretation can be seen in the deep South through

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<sup>142</sup> “The Women Feminism Forgot: Rural and Working-Class White Women in the Era of Trump,” UVA Library | Virgo.”

<sup>143</sup> Hickman, “What to Throw Away/What to Keep.”

changing African-American architecture and communities following the creation of jazz or in the continued importance of the front porch in both African American and white Appalachian minds and lives.<sup>144</sup>

Similarly, music, as an intangible form of cultural heritage is extremely informative when it comes to more intangible things than physical architecture. Music is an integral part of cultural landscapes as an intangible form of culture that remains throughout history and, as demonstrated, helps to describe the landscape, architecture, and emotions around it. The memories and ideas associated with music create a deeper understanding of the culture itself associated with various landscapes and architectural styles.<sup>145</sup> Music has existed for millennia and has been used as a form of cultural interpretation by anthropologists, ethnologists, and ethnomusicologists for centuries — its inherent cultural value has been recognized, but not used to its full potential by architectural historians.

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<sup>144</sup> Deborah J. Thompson and Darrin Hacquard, “Region, Race, Representation: Observations from Interviews with African American Musicians in Appalachia,” *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, Conference, 15, no. 1 & 2 (April 1, 2009): 126–39.

<sup>145</sup> Botstein, “Memory and Nostalgia as Music-Historical Categories.”

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## Illustrations



**Figure 1.** Cover of a mid-1940s *LIFE* magazine showing the family of the famous Roni and Donna Stoneman, with “Pop” Stoneman pictured in the middle, learning to play on their front porch

**Source:** “These Badass Bluegrass Sisters Ruled DC’s Honky-Tonk Bars,” in the *Washingtonian* magazine, photo from Roni Stoneman’s autobiography



**Figure 2.** "I love mountain music," by William A. Barnhill between 1914 and 1917

**Source:** LC-USZ62-102688



**Figure 3:** Unknown Old-Time musicians on their porch with their dog, c. 1880s

**Source:** *The Old-Time Herald*, Vol. 12, No. 11, June-July 2011



**Figure 4.** Butter-making, Appalachia, USA, c. 1917. Photograph taken during Cecil Sharp's folk music collecting expedition: British musician Sharp (1859–1924) and his assistant Dr Maud Karpeles (1885–1976) collected folk songs from the mountain singers of the Appalachians (North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky), between 1916 and 1918.

**Source:** EFD SS/Heritage Images/Getty Images





**Figure 5.** The Faust family, Anderson County, Tennessee at spinning wheel, c. 1910

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-38193





**Figure 6.** Elderly woman with osteoporosis washing dishes in her cabin in Madison, North Carolina 1980–1990 taken by Carol M. Highsmith (1946–), who was also born in a cabin in Madison, North Carolina.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-HS503-3816





**Figure 7.** The original Tennessee Ramblers. From left: Bill Sievers, his daughter Willie, his son Mack, and Jerry Taylor on the Mandolin (no date).

**Source:** Musical Instruments of the Southern Appalachian Mountains: Part 1, Mondo Blog by William Ham, 2011





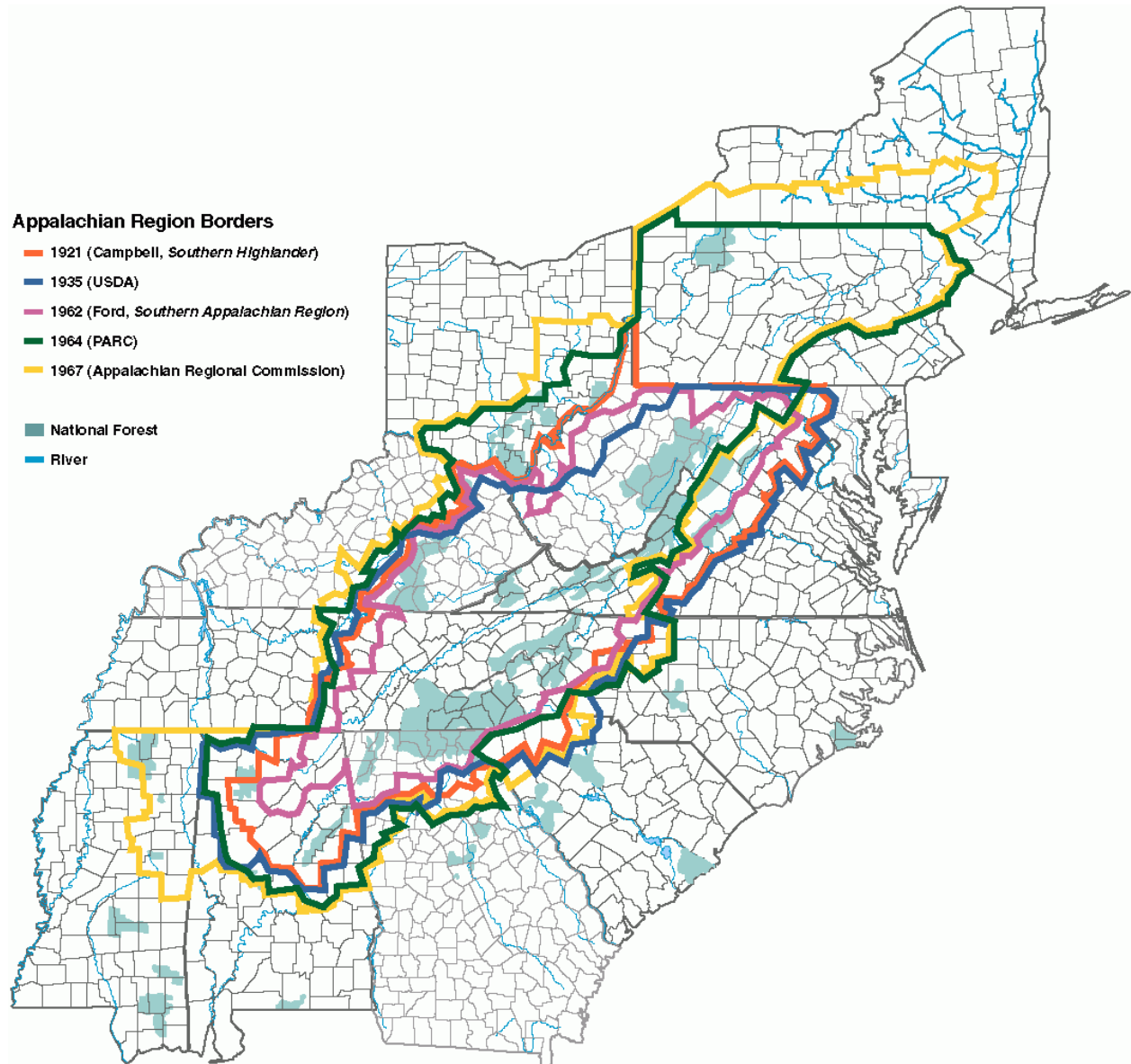
**Figure 8.** George Allen Johnson (front), dulcimer maker and player, on front porch with friends.

**Source:** Musical Instruments of the Southern Appalachian Mountains: Part 1, Mondo Blog by William Ham, 2011



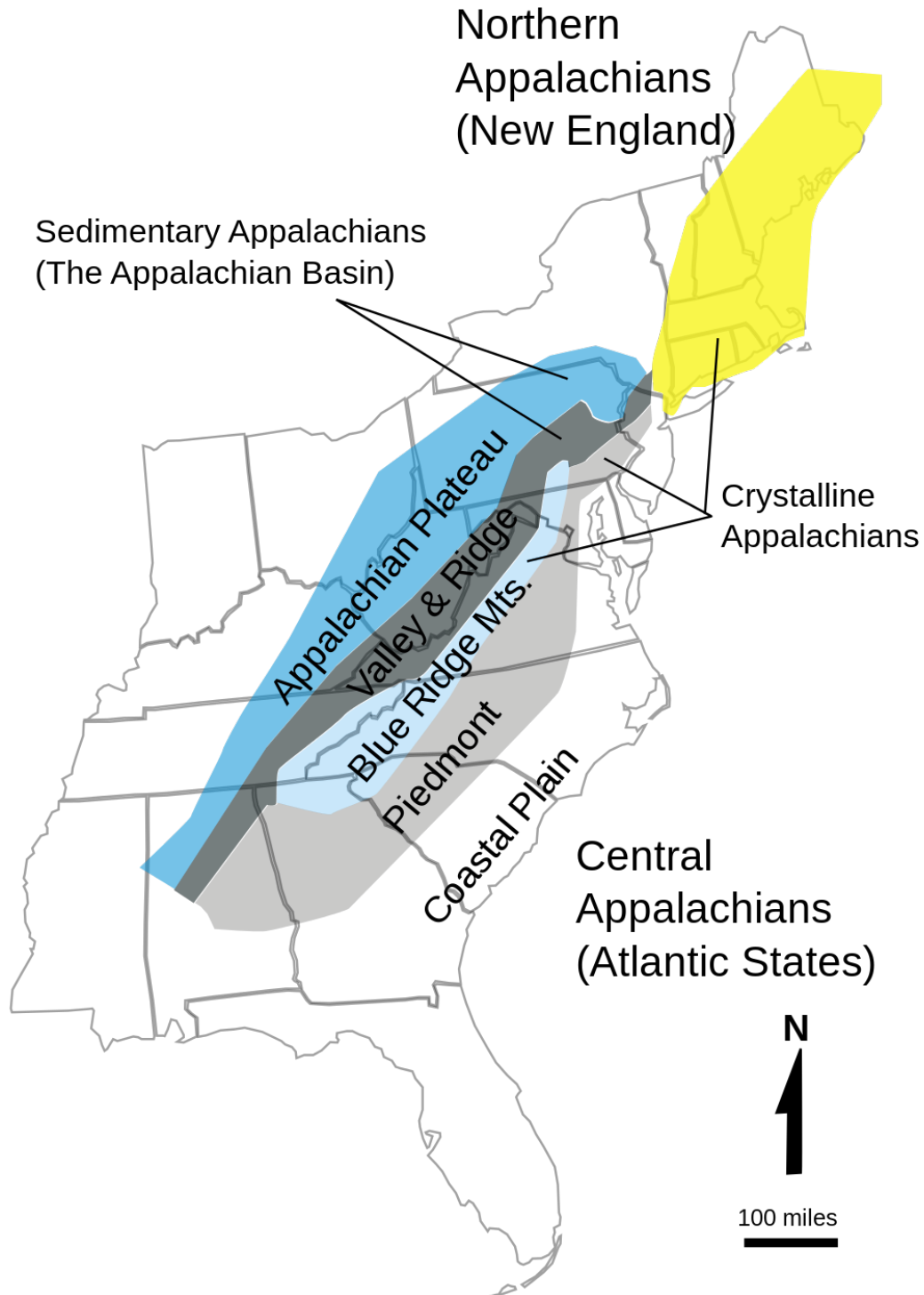
**Figure 9.** View of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the Great Smoky National Park, North Carolina.

**Source:** Hikinginthesmokys.com, a guide for the Smoky Mountain area trails and campgrounds



**Figure 10.** The changing definitions of the Appalachian region based on the year and foundation. Many people who live outside of the tightened 1960s borders in Virginia still consider themselves to be Appalachian, and the architecture is similar to the areas still within the border.

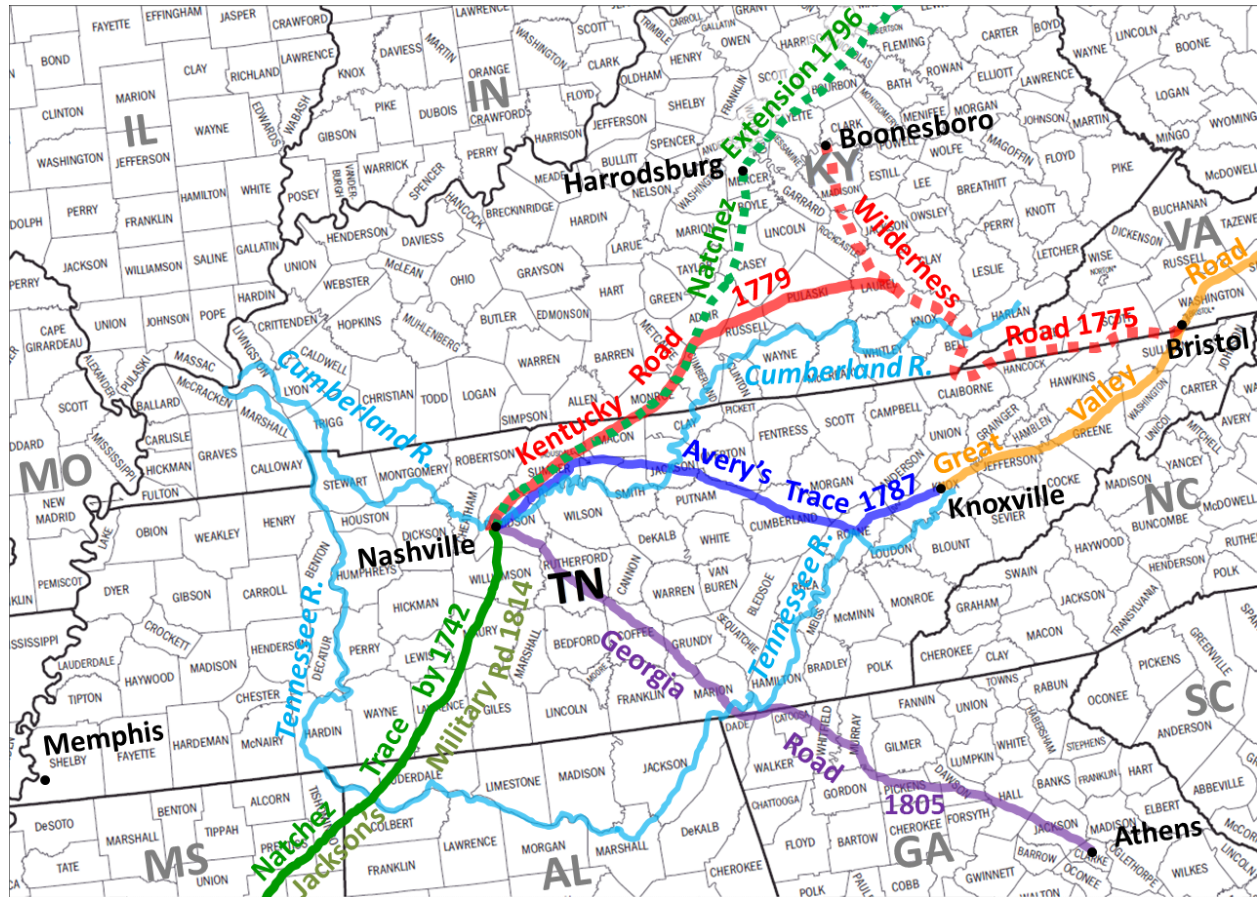
**Source:** Occidental Dissent online magazine



**Figure 11.** Appalachian regional definition map. Most Virginians consider the Valley and Ridge to be Appalachia without including the Blue Ridge Mountains, even though they were historically settled by similar people groups as people from Pennsylvania travelled down the Great Valley Road heading south, or from the Piedmont into the mountains.

**Source:** USGS Appalachian zones in the United States





**Figure 12.** Map of important roads leading throughout Appalachia, together with their dates.

**Source:** The “wilderness road US map” from roaaar.me website.



**Figure 13.** National Park Service map of Cumberland Gap's location, as well as the connection between the Great Valley Road and the Wilderness Road.

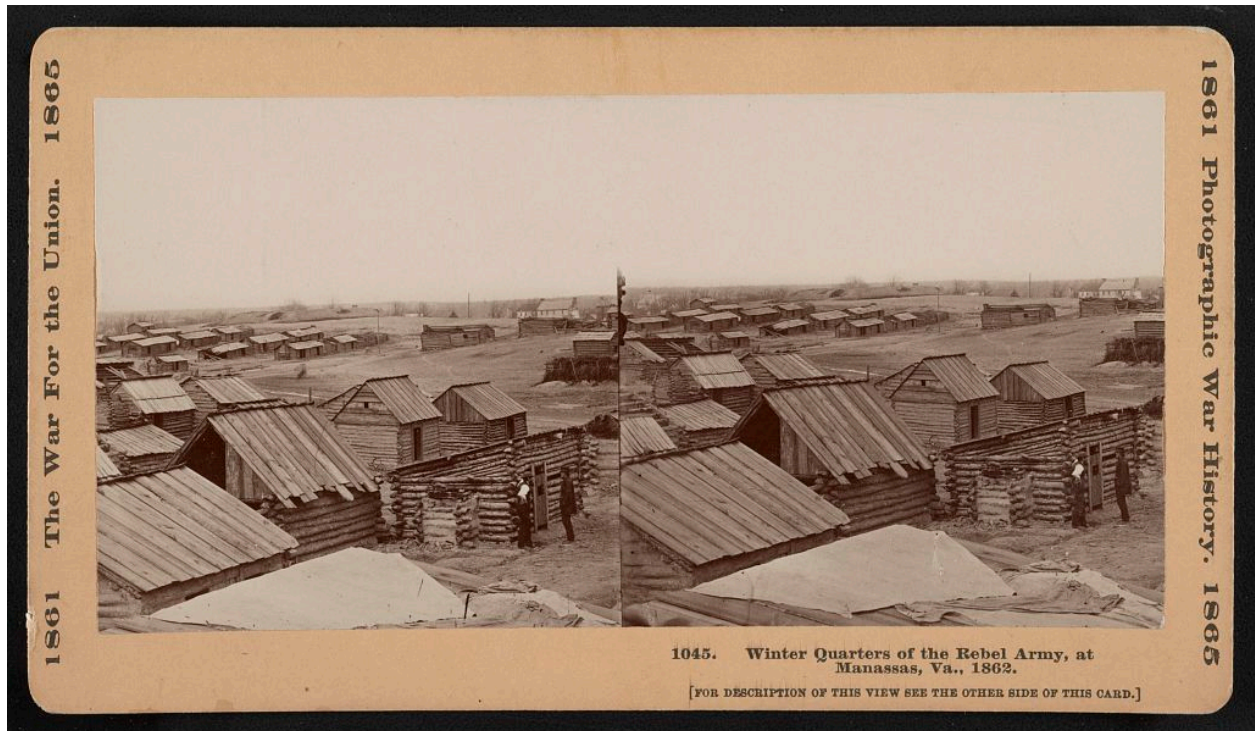
**Source:** The National Park Service via roaaar.me website.



**Figure 14.** “Old time cabin” photographed by Frances Benjamin Johnston c. 1899, showing an African American cabin with a wood and wattle-and-daub chimney. The location of the photograph is unclear.

**Source:** The Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-68312





**Figure 15.** Winter quarters of the rebel army at Manassas, Virginia in 1862 taken by George N. Barnard (1819–1902). This shows the overall knowledge of log cabin construction in the South as well as the speed and temporary nature of their construction.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-118360



**Figure 16.** Puckett Cabin, Smoky Mountains, near Asheville, North Carolina in Carroll County. The cabin constructed by John Puckett around 1865 is a good example of the one-room log cabin once common to the mountains. This was the home of Mrs. Orlean Hawks Puckett who died in 1939 at the age of 102, a well-known, charge-free midwife in the area — never losing a mother and delivering more than 1,000 children. She moved from her home in 1939 due to the construction of the Blue Ridge Parkway.

**Source:** National Park Service, HAER NC, 11-ASHV.V, 2--89





**Figure 17.** Puckett Cabin in Color, Carroll County, North Carolina, 2018, including a traditional Virginia fence.

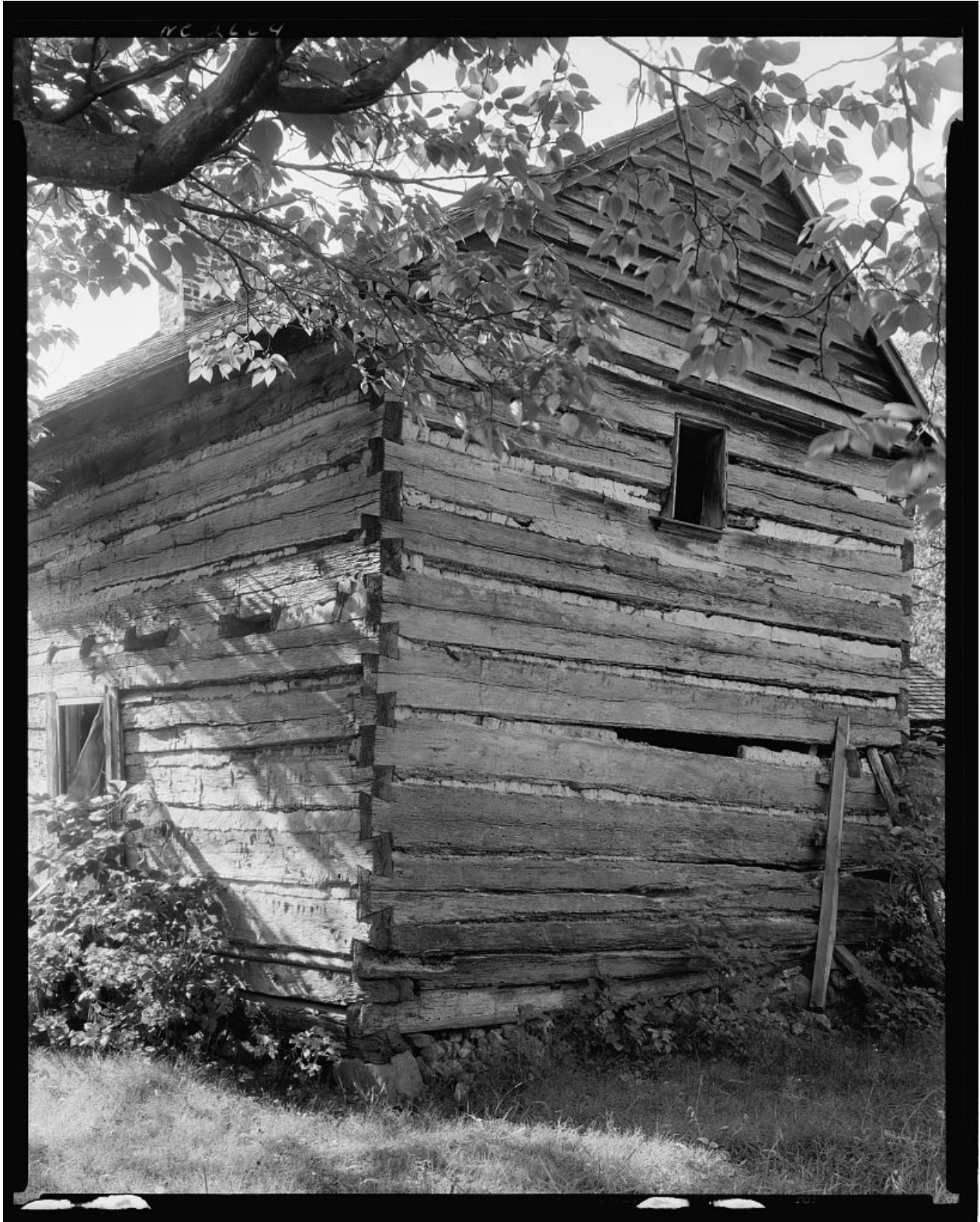
**Source:** Virginia Association of Counties, “Visit Carroll County and Puckett Cabin,” February 16, 2018



**Figure 18.** McIntire Log Cabin (front/left) near Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina (no date) photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) c. 1938. This cabin is an excellent example of what happened to many houses in the early 1900s as they were abandoned by residents moving to coal mines, mills, factories, and to more urbanized areas looking for work before and during the Great Depression as farmland became scarce and roads increased mobility.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-2663-A





**Figure 19.** McIntire Log Cabin (front/right) near Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina (no date) photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) c.1938.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-2664



**Figure 20.** “Abandoned log cabin on the hillside. Not many used now but it was the only kind used a while ago” by Lewis Wickes Hines (1874–1940), photograph taken 7 October 1921, somewhere in West Virginia.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-DIG-nclc-04412



**Figure 21.** Southeast view of the Johnson Farm at the Peaks of Otter, one of two historic structures left at this location. The farm's interpretation focuses on the 1930s.

**Source:** National Park Service, HAER NC, 11-ASHV.V, 2--46





**Figure 22.** Cabin associated with a mill near Raleigh, Wake County, North Carolina (no date), photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) c. 1938. Raised foundation, corrugated metal roof, and distinctive chimneys.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-3011





**Figure 23.** E.B. Jeffress Recreational Area (North Carolina). View of the Cool Springs Baptist Church on the left and the Jessie Brown Cabin , built before 1840 and moved in 1905, in the foreground.

**Source:** National Park Service, HAER NC, 11-ASHV.V, 2--121



**Figure 24.** Humpback Rocks Visitor Center, view of the Mountain Farm Exhibit located on the general site of the Old Charlie Carter Farm. To the left is the c. 1890 single-crib William Lawless Billy Ramsey log cabin moved from below Robinson Gap and to the right is a chicken house relocated from the John C. Clarke place about a mile north of Irish Gap.

**Source:** National Park Service, HAER NC, 11-ASHV.V, 2--244



**Figure 25.** Large German/barn-hipped roof cabin on Highway 301, Halifax County, North Carolina on the Virginia border with woman on the front porch (c. 1935–1938), photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952).<sup>146</sup>

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-2530

<sup>146</sup> Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) was the head behind the *Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South* (CSAS), a systematic record of the early American buildings and gardens, primarily through the 1930s. She created over 7,100 images of about 1,700 structures and sites in both urban and rural areas of Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana as well as Florida, Mississippi, and West Virginia. The Library of Congress gained the CSAS negatives in 1953 along with other papers and 50,000 photos from Johnston's personal works and collection. Her photos have been a crucial part of this thesis.



**Figure 26.** Gregg log cabin, Front, Blowing Rock vicinity in Caldwell County, North Carolina, (no date) photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) (c .1935).

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-2112-A/B





**Figure 27.** Gregg log cabin, Right Side, Blowing Rock vicinity in Caldwell County, North Carolina (no date) Saddleback-style cabin with large, sawn log sides, long porch, stone central chimney, and riven-shingled roof, photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) (c. 1935).

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-2113-B



**Figure 28.** Gregg log cabin, Left Side, Blowing Rock vicinity in Caldwell County, North Carolina (no date), photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) c. 1938.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC- 2113



**Figure 29.** John Knox Emigrant Cabin, Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina (c. 1938), photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952).

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7NC-2897



**Figure 30.** William Morris log cabin (front/left) in Saluda, Polk County, North Carolina, built c. 1790, photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston c. 1935 (1864–1952) as a part of the CSAS.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-2842





**Figure 31.** William Morris log cabin (front/right) in Saluda, Polk County, North Carolina, built c. 1790, photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston c. 1935 (1864–1952) as a part of the CSAS.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-2841



**Figure 32.** Interior of the William Morris log cabin (front/right) in Saluda, Polk County, North Carolina, built c. 1790, photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnston c. 1935 (1864–1952) as a part of the CSAS.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-NC-2845



**Figure 33.** Front view of McClintock's Cabin, Albemarle County, Virginia, photograph taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston around 1933 as part of the Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-VA-1224



**Figure 34.** Side view of McClintock's Cabin, Albemarle County, Virginia, photograph taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston around 1933 as part of the Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-J7-VA-1225





**Figure 35. (A)** Two log cabins in Wentworth/Madison, North Carolina (c. 1880s) taken by Carol M. Highsmith (1946–) between 1980 and 2006. Highsmith was here, and her great grandfather Pleasant Jiles Carter (1847–1931) and grandfather Yancey Ligon Carter (1873–1947) were born and lived in these cabins.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-HS503-1572



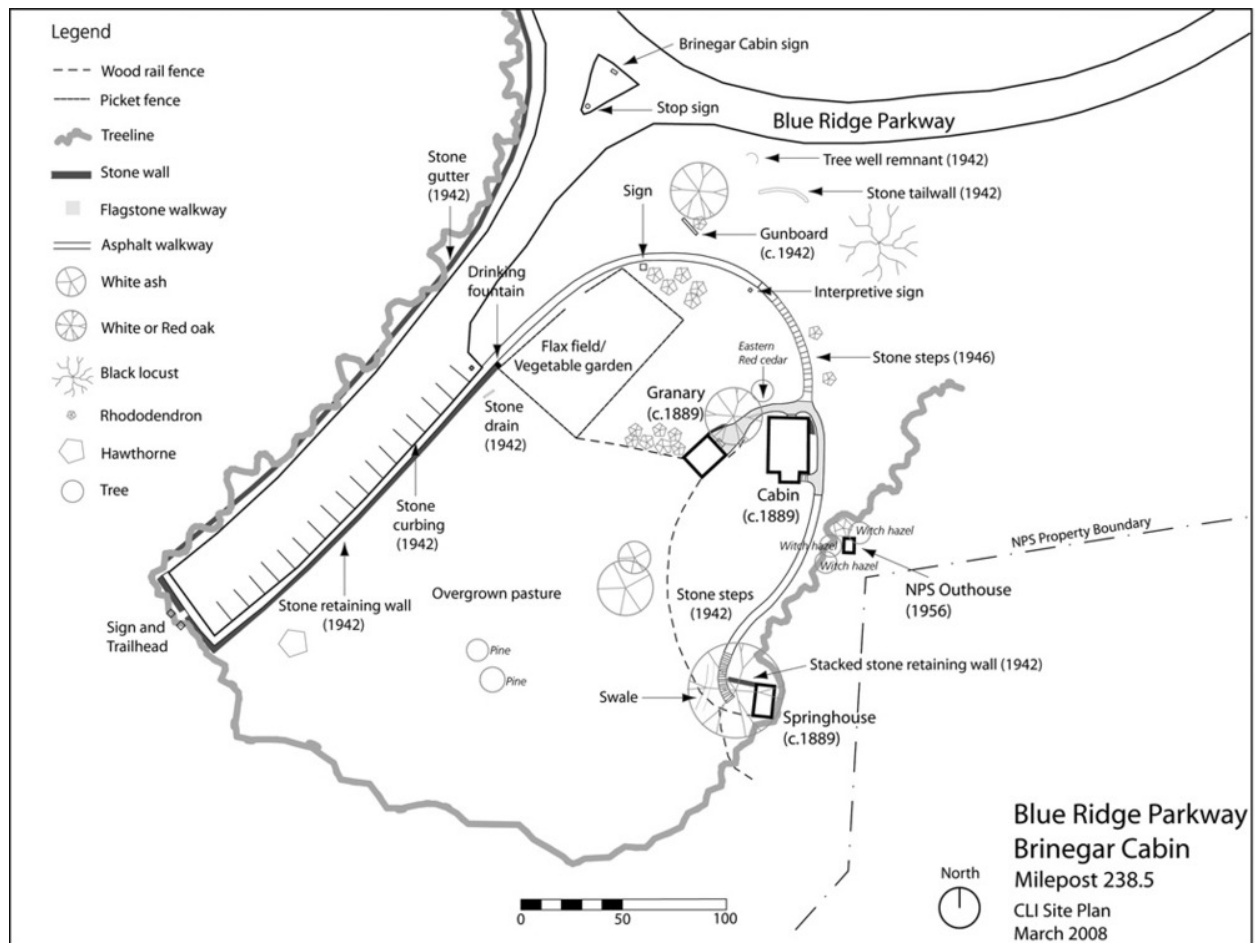
**Figure 36. (B)** Two log cabins in Wentworth/Madison, North Carolina (c. 1880s) taken by Carol M. Highsmith (1946–) between 1980 and 2006. Highsmith was here, and her great grandfather Pleasant Jiles Carter (1847–1931) and grandfather Yancey Ligon Carter (1873–1947) were born and lived in these cabins.

**Source:** Library of Congress, LC-HS503-5686



**Figure 37.** Brinegar Cabin in 1975, original building c. 1889, restored in the early 1940s as part of the Blue Ridge Parkway near Asheville, North Carolina.

**Source:** The National Park Service website



**Figure 38.** The cultural landscape surrounding Brinegar Cabin and its extant buildings preserved for the Blue Ridge Parkway tourists near Asheville, North Carolina.

**Source:** The National Park Service website





**Figure 39.** Walker Sisters Cabin (front), also known as the Walker Sisters Place, Sevier County, Tennessee, Great Smoky Mountain National Park. The surviving area includes the cabin, springhouse, and corn crib. The present cabin was built partially by Wiley King (1800–1859) and John Walker (1841–1921). The corn crib is dated to the 1870s, and the nearby Little Greenbrier School built by Mr. Walker dates to 1882. The house is c. 1830s.

**Source:** National Park Service website.



**Figure 40.** Walker Sisters Cabin (rear), also known as the Walker Sisters Place, Sevier County, Tennessee, Great Smoky Mountain National Park.

**Source:** National Park Service website





**Figure 41.** Walker Sisters Cabin and outbuilding, photo c. 1930s.

**Source:** Hikinginthesmokys.com on the Walker Sisters Place, Little Brier Gap Trail



**Figure 42.** The remaining Walker sisters outside their home in the 1940s.

**Source:** Historic American Building Survey (HABS), Photo by Jack E. Boucher



**Figure 43.** The remaining Walkers sisters quilting in their home in the 1940s.

**Source:** HABS, Photo by Jack E. Boucher



**Figure 44.** Woman churning butter outside her home, 1920s

**Source:** Pinterest.com, among other family/Appalachia-related photographs



**Figure 45:** Old woman smoking a pipe on her porch, c. 1917

**Source:** Faces of Appalachia, [flashbak.com](http://flashbak.com)





**Figure 46:** “Bidge Williams” by William Gedney, Kentucky, 1964. An excellent example of the front porch as a workplace, especially for women.

**Source:** The William Gedney collection, Duke University Libraries





**Figure 47:** “Cooper Blevins” by William Gedney, Kentucky, 1964 showing boys walking out to the field and the women doing laundry on the porch.

**Source:** The William Gedney collection, Duke University Libraries



**Figure 48:** “Family of Boyd Couch, Leatherwood, Kentucky, July 3–14, 1964” by William Gedney

**Source:** The William Gedney collection, Duke University Libraries





**Figure 49.** “Front porch string band”

**Source:** P H O N O - O P T I C A: “found photography capturing lost sounds by unknown musicians - snapshots - real photo post cards - tintypes - cabinet cards & other discarded ephemera from the late 1800’s to the early 1900’s | submissions accepted”



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**Figure 50.** Advertisement for an American folk music radio show in *The Old-Time Herald: A Magazine Dedicated to Old-Time Music*.

**Source:** *The Old-Time Herald*, Vol. 12, No. 11, June-July 2011