

NOTES

Abbreviations and Short Citations

CINS	Cumberland Island National Seashore, St. Marys, Ga.
CPSU	Cooperative Park Studies Unit
DSC	Denver Service Center of the National Park Service, Denver
Ga. Archives	Georgia Archives, Atlanta
NA	National Archives, College Park, Md.
NPS	National Park Service
SERO	Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, Atlanta
Thornton Morris Papers	Thornton Morris Papers, Morris Law Firm, Atlanta
UGa	University of Georgia, Athens

Introduction

1. The concept of “biography of place” is a useful means by which historical geographers focus on place as a complex entity formed by diverse processes that dynamically changes through time. An early example of this term’s use can be found in Marwyn S. Samuels, 1979, “The Biography of Landscape,” in *Ordinary Places*, ed. Donald W. Meinig (New York: Oxford Univ. Press), 51–88. Later works include William Wyckoff, 1988, *The Developer’s Frontier: The Making of the Western New York Landscape* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press), and Gay M. Gomez, 1998, *A Wetland Biography: Seasons on Louisiana’s Chenier Plain* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press).

2. A voluminous literature exists on the national park system and its management. Classic overviews include Ronald A. Foresta, 1984, *America’s National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future); Alfred Runte, 1987, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 2d ed. (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press); Richard West Sellars, 1997, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press); and Conrad L. Wirth, 1980, *Parks, Politics, and People* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press). More specific works on managing preexisting land uses, private holdings, and park threats include John C. Freemuth, 1991, *Islands under Siege: National Parks and the Politics of External Threats* (Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas); and Joseph Sax, 1980a, *Mountains*

without Handrails: Reflections on the National Parks (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press). Administrative histories for nearly 100 individual national park units are listed at www.cr.nps.gov/history/books/admstdys/Std.htm. The only other one for a national seashore is Barry Mackintosh, 1982, “Assateague Island National Seashore: An Administrative History,” Washington, D.C.: NPS.

1. *A Richness of Resources: Cumberland Island to 1880*

1. “An Act to Establish the Cumberland Island National Seashore in the State of Georgia, and for Other Purposes,” 86 Stat. 1066, Oct. 23, 1972.
2. “An Act to Establish a National Park Service, and for Other Purposes,” 39 Stat. 535, Aug. 25, 1916.
3. NPS, 1954, *Cumberland Island Area, Georgia*, a report prepared by the NPS Seashore Recreation Area Survey, Technical Information Center Library, DSC; Hilburn O. Hillestad et al., 1975, *The Ecology of Cumberland Island National Seashore, Camden County, Georgia*, Georgia Marine Sciences Center, University System of Georgia, Skidway Island, Ga., Technical Report Series, no. 75.5, pp. 23–64 plus vegetation map in the back pocket.
4. See especially Tonya D. Clayton et al., 1992, *Living with the Georgia Shore* (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press), 13–36; William H. McLemore et al., 1981, *Geology as Applied to Land-Use Management on Cumberland Island, Georgia*, Georgia Geological Survey, prepared as part of contract no. CX5000-8-1563, reprinted in 1988 by the Cooperative Park Studies Unit, UGa, pp. 2-1 to 6-7.
5. Clayton et al. 1992, 16–19.
6. A. Sydney Johnson et al., 1974, *An Ecological Survey of the Coastal Region of Georgia*, NPS Monograph Series, no. 3, 13–23.
7. Ibid.; Clayton et al. 1992, 13–36.
8. Hillestad et al. 1975, 45–58; Daniel J. Hippe, Feb. 22, 1999, “Cumberland Island National Seashore, GA, Project Plan for Level 1 Water-Quality Inventory and Monitoring,” CINS Resource Management Files under “Water Quality”; McLemore et al., pp. 4-1 to 5-17.
9. Clayton et al. 1992, 37–39; McLemore et al. 1981, 3-1 to 5-17.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Kathleen A. Deagan, 1994, “Cultures in Transition: Fusion and Assimilation among the Eastern Timucua,” in *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia during the Historical Period*, ed. Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor (Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida), 89–100; James J. Miller, 1998, *An Environmental History of Northeast Florida* (Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida), 42–49.
13. Hillestad et al. 1975, 63–104.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 104–14.
16. Ibid., 116–47.

17. Ibid., 63–104.
18. J. M. Adovasio and Ronald C. Carlisle, 1986, “The First Americans, Pennsylvania Pioneers: Meadowcroft Rock-Shelter as a Long-Lost Chapter to American History Books,” *Natural History* 95, 2, Dec., 20–27; Brian Fagan, 2001, “The First Americans,” *American Archaeology* 5, 3, Fall, 28–32.
19. Miller 1998, 49–57.
20. Stephen A. Deutschle and Robert C. Wilson, 1975, “Known Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Cumberland Island National Seashore,” NPS, Southeast Archaeological Center, Tallahassee, Fla., 2–8; John E. Ehrenhard, 1976, *Cumberland Island National Seashore: Assessment of Archaeological and Historical Resources*, NPS, Southeast Archaeological Center, Tallahassee, Fla., 3–6.
21. Deagan 1994, 100–101; Ehrenhard 1976, 6; Jerald T. Milanich, 1972, “Tacat-acuru and the San Pedro de Mocamo Mission,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50, 3, Jan., 283–91.
22. Ehrenhard 1976, 46–50; John E. Ehrenhard interviewed by Joyce Seward, Atlanta, Aug. 14, 1995, transcript in the CINS Archives, 11; Milanich 1972, 283–91.
23. Lary M. Dilsaver, William Wyckoff, and William L. Preston, 2000, “Fifteen Events That Have Shaped California’s Human Landscape,” *California Geographer* 40, 1–76.
24. Miller 1998, 127.
25. Louis Torres, 1977, *Historic Resource Study, Cumberland Island National Seashore, and Historic Data Section of the Dungeness Area*, Technical Information Center Library, DSC, 7–60; W. Stitt Robinson, 1979, *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607–1763* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press), 185–201.
26. William H. Goetzmann and Glyndwr Williams, 1992, *The Atlas of North American Exploration* (New York: Prentice Hall), 22–23, 32–35, 46–47; Clark Spencer Larsen, 2000, *Skeletons in Our Closet: Revealing Our Past through Bioarchaeology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press), 121–78; Ann F. Ramenofsky, 1987, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press).
27. Ehrenhard 1976, 6–7; Torres 1977, 7–9.
28. Ehrenhard 1976, 10; Torres 1977, 11–16.
29. Michael V. Gannon, 1965, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513–1870* (Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida), 64.
30. Deutschle 1975, 26–31; CINS, 1996, *Draft Environmental Assessment: Alternatives for Managing the Feral Horse Herd on Cumberland Island National Seashore*, CINS Central Files, N2219.
31. Torres 1977, 18–21.
32. Ibid., 22–32.
33. Mary R. Bullard, 1992, “In Search of Cumberland Island’s Dungeness: Its Origins and English Antecedents,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 76, 1, Spring, 67–86.
34. Robinson 1979, 199–200; Torres 1977, 37–55.
35. Ben W. Fortson Jr. and Pat Bryant, n.d., “English Crown Grants for Islands

in Georgia, 1755–1775,” MS, CINS Lands Files under “Family History”; Torres 1977, 55–60.

36. Mary R. Bullard, 1993, “Uneasy Legacy: The Lynch-Greene Partition on Cumberland Island, 1798–1802,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77, 4, Winter, 757–88.

37. Ehrenhard 1976, 88–102.

38. Bullard 1993, 768–71.

39. Torres 1977, 66–75.

40. Ibid., 76–79; Bullard 1993, 773–78; Mary R. Bullard, 1995, *Robert Stafford of Cumberland Island: Growth of a Planter* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press), 1–41.

41. Bullard 1993, 757–88.

42. Ibid., 785.

43. Torres 1977, 79–90; David G. Henderson, 1977c, “Architectural Data Section [and] Historic Structure Report, Tabby House, Dungeness Historic District, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Camden County, Georgia,” issued by the DSC.

44. Lauren Lubin Zeichner, 1987, “The Historic Landscape of Dungeness, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia,” Georgia School of Environmental Design, UGa, CPSU Report no. 35; Torres 1977, 113–14, 121–23.

45. Torres 1977, 96–97; Karl Jenkins, 1996, “General Henry Lee, Also Known as Light-Horse Harry: An Enigma,” draft for an information circular, CINS Library, Subject Files under “Lee.”

46. Torres 1977, 128–35.

47. Bullard 1995.

48. Jonathan D. Sauer, 1993, *Historical Geography of Crop Plants: A Selected Roster* (Boca Raton, Fla.: Lewis Publishers), 101–2; Mary R. Bullard, 2003, *Cumberland Island: A History* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press), 3.

49. Bullard 1995, 108, 213–71; Peggy Stanley Froeschauer, 1989, “The Interpretation and Management of an Agricultural Landscape—Stafford Plantation, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia” (M.A. thesis, UGa), printed by the School of Environmental Design, UGa, as CPSU Technical Report no. 59, 27–48; Torres 1977, 153–54.

50. John E. Ehrenhard and Mary R. Bullard, 1981, “The Chimneys, Stafford Plantation, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia: Archaeological Investigations of a Slave Cabin,” NPS, Southeast Archaeological Center, Tallahassee, Fla.

51. Froeschauer 1989, 104.

52. Ibid., 96–100.

53. Ehrenhard and Bullard, 1981, vii; Bullard 1995, 249–53.

54. Bullard 1995, 246–71; Torres 1977, 153–56.

55. Torres 1977, 155–57.

2. *The Era of Rich Estates, 1881–1965*

1. Frederick A. Ober, 1880, “Dungeness, General Greene’s Sea Island Plantation,” *Lippincott’s Monthly Magazine*, Aug., 241–47; for summaries of the

Carnegie acquisition of and residence on Cumberland Island, see Nancy C. Rockefeller, 1993, “The Carnegies of Cumberland Island,” MS, Ga. Archives (a copy is also located at the superintendent’s office, CINS); Torres 1977, 159–60; Milton Meltzer, 1997, *The Many Lives of Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Franklin Watts), 87.

2. Rockefeller, 1993, 13–40.

3. Ober 1880; Rockefeller 1993, 14.

4. Torres 1977, 159–60.

5. Meltzer 1997, 90–91.

6. Rockefeller 1993, 15–16.

7. NPS, 1983, “Final National Register Nomination for Cumberland Island National Seashore,” item A, p. 1, CINS Library; Torres 1977, 271–340.

8. Torres 1977, 271–340.

9. *Ibid.*; Rockefeller 1993, 78–86.

10. Rockefeller 1993, 78–86; Torres 1977, 167–91.

11. Some writers have suggested that Lucy C. Carnegie built these homes for her children. However, historian and heir Mary Bullard wrote to the NPS that each child received a monetary gift. Some used these gift funds to build houses (CINS Central Files, L. E. Brown Papers under “Cumberland Correspondence”).

12. Torres 1977, 170–71.

13. Information on the Carnegie buildings came from these sources: Ehrenhard 1976; David G. Henderson, 1977a, “Architectural Data [and] Historic Structure Report, Plum Orchard Mansion, Plum Orchard Historic District, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Camden County, Georgia,” issued by the DSC; NPS 1983; Rockefeller 1993; Torres 1977; Zeichner 1987.

14. “Dungeness Skeletal Remains Form Island Skyline,” *Jacksonville Times-Union*, Mar. 13, 1979.

15. Rockefeller 1993, 96–100.

16. Henderson 1977a, 4–5; Rockefeller 1993, 98–100.

17. NPS 1983; Rockefeller 1993, 105.

18. Rockefeller 1993, 41–60.

19. *Ibid.*, 123–27.

20. C. B. Conyers to Andrew Carnegie II, Feb. 11, 1927, Ga. Archives, acc. no. 69-501, box 33, file 8-3-008; also see the will of Lucy C. Carnegie, *ibid.*, box 25, file 7-1-004.

21. Compiled from the records of the Carnegie estate, *ibid.*

22. Patterson, Crawford, Miller, and Arensberg, Esqs., Dec. 19, 1925, “Second and Final Account of Andrew Carnegie II, Mrs. Margaret C. Ricketson, and T. Morrison Carnegie, Surviving Trustees under the Will of Lucy C. Carnegie, Deceased,” *ibid.*, box 29, file 8-1-015.

23. Torres 1977, 215–18.

24. Andrew Carnegie II to heirs and trustees of Lucy C. Carnegie, n.d. (between 1921 and 1927), Ga. Archives, acc. no. 69-501, box 25, file 7-1-004.

25. S. J. Hall to T. M. Carnegie II, Dec. 22, 1927, *ibid.*, box 37, file 8-7-008.

26. D. A. Burnett to Forest Managers, Inc., Feb. 17, 1934, *ibid.*; J. Pat Kelly to

R. D. Ferguson, Aug. 1, 1949, *ibid.*, box 42, file 9-1-003D; Margaret J. Wright to Mr. Wallis, June 17, 1941, *ibid.*, box 45, file 9-3-024.

27. Guyton DeLoach to N. T. Collett, Apr. 1, 1953, *ibid.*, box 48, file 9-5-014; E. C. Mann to Leo P. Larkin, June 16, 1954, *ibid.*, box 49, file 9-6-021.

28. Carnegie Estate Manager to Leo P. Larkin, Oct. 16, 1950, *ibid.*, box 42, file 9-1-005E; H. H. Sloss to Leo P. Larkin, Feb. 2, 1954, *ibid.*, box 43, file 9-1-011B.

29. T. M. Carnegie II to Norbert L. Cochran, July 12, 1937, *ibid.*, box 39, file 8-8-015.

30. Charles L. Gowan to R. W. Ferguson with attached “Cattle Plan,” Apr. 29, 1952, CINS Lands Files under “Family History.”

31. “Cattle Plan Memorandum Number 3,” July 30, 1952, *ibid.*

32. Robert D. Ferguson to Robert W. Ferguson, July 30, 1952, *ibid.*; Robert M. McKey, 1958, “Appraisal: Cumberland Island Properties and Little Cumberland Island, Camden County, Georgia,” National Records Center, Denver, acc. no. 079-97-0009, box 3.

33. Susan P. Bratton and Scott G. Miller, 1992, “Historic Field Systems and the Structure of the Maritime Oak Forest,” UGa, CPSU Report no. 15; Hillestad et al. 1975.

34. All of the following correspondence comes from the Carnegie Estate Papers, Ga. Archives, acc. no. 69-501: Cumberland Island Caretaker to R. W. Ferguson, Sept. 24, 1948, box 45, file 9-4-012; J. G. Jenkins to E. M. Nix, Oct. 24, 1953, box 49, file 9-6-022; Coleman C. Johnston to Norman Collett, Feb. 11, 1953, box 45, file 9-3-026; H. M. McKay to William Page, Apr. 22, 1920, box 28, file 7-5-004; E. M. Nix to H. H. Sloss, Oct. 14, 1953, box 49, file 9-6-022; R. A. Young to William Page, May 17, 22, 1918, box 28, file 7-5-018.

35. Tung nut production reached 33,000 pounds in 1945, but subsequent competition from China badly depressed U.S. prices (Rolf Buckley to F. W. McLaren, Feb. 16, 1946, *ibid.*, box 39, file 8-8-022).

36. All of the following correspondence comes from the Carnegie Estate Papers, *ibid.*: Rolf Buckley to F. W. McLaren with attached transcript of a speech, Apr. 8, 1943, box 39, file 8-8-022; Leo P. Larkin to Norman Collett, Mar. 5, 1951, box 42, file 9-1-006; B. F. Williamson to T. M. Carnegie II, Feb. 25, 1929, Nov. 5, 1933, box 39, file 8-8-022.

37. Norman Collett to Robert D. Ferguson, Sept. 18, 1950, *ibid.*, box 42, file 9-1-005C; Edward R. Guy Jr. to John H. Stanley, Oct. 1960 (exact date not shown), CINS Lands Files under “L. E. Brown Papers.”

38. This report is among the Carnegie Estate Papers removed from the Tabby House and stored at the Ga. Archives, acc. no. 69-501, box 42, file 9-1-006. The first page and, hence, the exact date and provenance are missing. However, comments within it suggest that it was probably an inspection report by new estate manager Norman Collett in 1951 or 1952.

39. J. Pat Kelly to Robert D. Ferguson, Jan. 25, 1949, *ibid.*, file 9-1-003A.

40. J. Pat Kelly to Robert D. Ferguson, May 10, Aug. 1, 1949, *ibid.*

41. N. S. Hernandez and G. T. Davis to Estate of Lucy C. Carnegie, Apr. 3, 1952, *ibid.*, file 9-1-008.

42. “Fire Levels Carnegie’s Island Castle,” *Atlanta Constitution*, June 26, 1959.
43. Hillestad et al. 1975, 20; Leo P. Larkin to H. H. Sloss, Mar. 31, 1954, Ga. Archives, acc. no. 69-501, box 43, file 9-1-011A; “Scotch Origins Evident as Carnegies Negotiate Lease,” *Brunswick News*, Apr. 9, 1957.
44. “Scotch Origins,” Apr. 9, 1957.
45. Hillestad et al. 1975, 20–21; McKey 1958, 16; “Scotch Origins,” Apr. 9, 1957.
46. “Glidden Mining Pact Approved,” *Brunswick News*, Apr. 10, 1957; Hillestad et al. 1975, 20–21; “Scotch Origins,” Apr. 9, 1957.
47. McKey 1958, 16.
48. “Glidden Mining Pact Approved,” Apr. 10, 1957.
49. *Ibid.*; Nancy R. Copp interviewed by Joyce Seward, Cumberland Island, Ga., Mar. 25, 1996, transcript in the CINS Archives.
50. “Glidden Mining Pact Approved,” Apr. 10, 1957; “Cumberland Island Lease Approved by Supreme Court,” *Camden County Tribune*, Sept. 13, 1957; Hillestad et al. 1975, 21.
51. Hillestad et al. 1975, 21; J. B. Mertie Jr., 1958, *Zirconium and Hafnium in the Southeastern Atlantic States*, U.S. Geological Survey, Bulletin 1082-A.
52. Lt. P. N. L. Ballinger to William Page, Sept. 1, 1917, and William Page to Lt. Ballinger, n.d., Ga. Archives, acc. no. 69-501, box 28, file 7-5-019; correspondence between Thomas M. Carnegie II and A. A. Ainsworth in 1923 and 1924 and A. A. Ainsworth to Thomas M. Carnegie II, Oct. 14, 1925, *ibid.*, box 37, file 8-7-001; Elmer Dyal to F. W. McLaren, Feb. 16, 1937, *ibid.*, file 8-7-009.
53. Esther Angwin to H. H. Sloss, 1954 (no specific date), *ibid.*, box 43, file 9-2-001; Edward R. Gray Jr. to John H. Stanley, Oct. 20, 1960, CINS Central Files, “L. E. Brown Papers”; Camden County Land Records, Civil Action 391, Lis Pendens Docket 1, 1950–1977, 13–14, Woodbine, Ga.
54. “Cape Cumberland? The ‘Final Frontier’ of the Wilderness Island Could Have Been Claimed for Space Exploration,” *Camden County Tribune*, Jan. 28, 1982.
55. S. H. Brown to F. W. McLaren, June 17, 1930, Ga. Archives, acc. no. 69-501, box 37, file 8-7-005.
56. Rockefeller 1993, 41–176 (quote at 141).
57. *Ibid.*, 41–176.
58. *Ibid.*; Torres 1977, 215–19; Lucy C. S. Foster, quoted in Rockefeller 1993, 130–31.
59. James S. Rockefeller, quoted in Rockefeller 1993, 126.
60. Louis Torres (1977, 192) refers to this as the Occidental House. However, Mary Miller shows an advertisement for the “Oriental House” in her booklet, 1990, *Cumberland Island: The Unsung North End* (Darien, Ga.: Darien News), 28–29.
61. The data in this section come from: CINS, Dec. 18, 1979, “Amended Documentation on the High Point–Half Moon Bluff Historic District, Cumberland Island National Seashore”; Ehrenhard 1976, 33; Miller 1990; Torres 1977, 192–15.
62. Miller 1990, 28–53.
63. CINS, Dec. 18, 1979; Miller 1990; Torres 1977, 192–215.

64. *High Point, Cumberland Island, Auction*, 1891 (no specific date), brochure located in the Carnegie Estate Papers, Ga. Archives, acc. no. 69-501, folder 11-1-010.
65. Torres 1977, 192–215.
66. *Ibid.*, 208.
67. “Oliver Ricketson II to the four members of the first generation and the fourteen members of the second generation,” 1944 (no specific date), CINS Lands Files under “Family History.”
68. *Ibid.*
69. A framed copy of this map can be viewed in the CINS Archives. The Camden County Land Records Office in Woodbine, Ga., also has a copy on file.
70. Cumberland Island Company, Inc., Feb. 9, 1963, “Press Release,” CINS Central Files under “L. E. Brown Papers”; “Cumberland Island Divided into Five Equal Shares,” *Camden County Tribune*, July 3, 1964.
71. See Camden County Superior Court case no. 1667, July 6, 1964, and the Supplemental Decree issued June 1, 1965, CINS Lands Files under “Family History”; see also “Cumberland Island Divided,” July 3, 1964.
72. *Ibid.*; Rockefeller 1993; newspaper clipping dated July 12, 1962, Bryan Lang Historical Library, Woodbine, Ga., Subject Files under “Cumberland Island.”
73. Camden County Superior Court case no. 1667 and Supplemental Decree, July 6, 1964, and June 1, 1965.

3. *Creating Cumberland Island National Seashore*

1. “An Act to Establish a National Park Service, and for Other Purposes,” 39 Stat. 535, Aug. 25, 1916; Barry Mackintosh, 1991, *Shaping the System*, NPS, Government Printing Office.
2. Good surveys of early national park system history include: Horace M. Albright and Marian Albright Schenck, 1999, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press); Horace M. Albright and Robert Cahn, 1985, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913–1933* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers); Ronald F. Lee, 1974, *The Family Tree of the National Park System* (Philadelphia: Eastern National Park and Monument Association); Mackintosh 1991; Runte 1987; Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, 1983, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, NPS, DSC.
3. Lee 1974; Mackintosh 1991.
4. The superintendent of Sequoia National Park provided an excellent expression of this attitude of early park managers in John White, 1936, “Atmosphere in the National Parks,” reprinted in Lary M. Dilsaver, ed., 1994, *America’s National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield), 142–48.
5. Thomas R. Cox, 1988, *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press), 3–13.
6. Unrau and Williss, 1983, 106–28; “An Act to Authorize a Study of the Park,

Parkway, and Recreational Area Programs in the United States, and for Other Purposes,” 49 Stat. 1894, June 23, 1936; NPS, 1941, *A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem in the United States*, U.S. Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office.

7. Klaus J. Meyer-Arendt, 1987, “Resort Evolution along the Gulf of Mexico Littoral: Historical, Morphological, and Environmental Aspects” (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State Univ.), 5–34; A. E. Demaray to Secretary of the Interior with attached report on the seashore survey, Jan. 2, 1935, NPS Archives, Harpers Ferry, W.Va., L75, “Seashore Studies” box 1; Unrau and Williss 1983, 155–60; Wirth 1980, 192.

8. “An Act to Provide for the Establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in the State of North Carolina, and for Other Purposes,” 50 Stat. 669, Aug. 17, 1937.

9. Lary M. Dilsaver and William C. Tweed, 1990, *Challenge of the Big Trees: A Resource History of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks* (Three Rivers, Calif.: Sequoia Natural History Association), 230–32; Louis Torres, 1985, *Historic Resource Study of Cape Hatteras National Seashore*, DSC, 155–56; Unrau and Williss 1983, 156–59.

10. Unrau and Williss 1983, 159.

11. William Everhart to author, Dec. 12, 1994.

12. NPS, 1955, “Our Vanishing Shoreline,” CINS Library, 23.

13. *Ibid.*, 29.

14. Howard Chapman interviewed by author, San Rafael, Calif., Dec. 29, 1997.

15. NPS, 1965a, “Chronology of Principal Contacts Made between Service Representatives and Carnegie Heirs or Their Representatives regarding Cumberland Island,” CINS Central Files, L58.

16. William Everhart, Dec. 12, 1994.

17. The Andrew Mellon Foundation resulted from the merger and reorganization of the Avalon and Old Dominion Foundations.

18. Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, 1956, “Minutes of the Meeting of March 30, 1956,” NPS, Park History Office Files, Washington, D.C., under “Advisory Board.”

19. “Cumberland State Park to Be Asked by Odom,” *Camden County Tribune*, Jan. 28, 1955.

20. “Odom Reports to People of Camden,” *ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1955.

21. Georgia H.R. 166 is described in Cumberland Island Study Committee, 1956, “Report to the 1956 Session of the Georgia Assembly,” Georgia House of Representatives, CINS Library.

22. *Ibid.*, 3, 4.

23. Conrad Wirth to Wesley D’Ewart, Mar. 26, 1956, CINS Central Files under “L. E. Brown Papers.”

24. Conrad Wirth to Mrs. Floyd [Margaret] Wright, Mar. 30, 1956, *ibid.*

25. McKey 1958.

26. Little Cumberland Island Association, 1965, “Membership Guide,”

Coastal Georgia Historical Society, St. Simons Island, Subject Files under “Cumberland Island.”

27. S. 2010, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959; *Congressional Record—Senate*, vol. 5, 86th Cong., 1st sess., May 20, 1959, 8557–59; S. 2460, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959.

28. H.R. 8519, H.R. 8445, H.R. 8449, and H.R. 7407, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959.

29. *Cumberland Island Company Newsletter* 1, 1, Conrad Wirth Papers, box 17, folder 1, RG 79, NA.

30. NPS, 1959, “Minutes of a Meeting between Officers of the Cumberland Island Company, Inc., and Representatives of the National Park Service in Room 3218, Interior Building, Washington, D.C., Friday, Jan. 8, 1960, at 1:30 P.M.,” *ibid.*, box 9, “General Correspondence, 1960.”

31. *Ibid.*

32. S. 2636, 86th Cong., 1st sess., 1959; NPS 1959.

33. Joseph Graves to John H. Stanley, Sept. 3, 1963, CINS Central Files, L58; NPS, 1965b, “Secretary Udall to Visit Georgia’s Golden Isles, Nov. 4–5, 1965,” press release in NPS Archives, Harpers Ferry, W.Va., L75, “Seashore Studies,” box 1.

34. “Udall Says Seashore Park Would Be Tremendous Asset to State, Region,” Nov. 4, 1965, newspaper clipping in Conrad Wirth Papers, box 17, folder 1, RG 79, NA.

35. *Ibid.*

36. “Cumberland Island Fabulous Site for a National Park,” *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, Dec. 5, 1965.

37. Rockefeller 1993.

38. John McPhee, 1990, *Encounters with the Archdruid* (New York: Noonday Press), 88–96.

39. Charles Fraser to Cumberland Island Landowners, Oct. 1965 (no specific date), CINS Central Files, L58.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. John W. Bright to NPS Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, Mar. 21, 1969, *ibid.*, under “Proposed CUIS.”

43. Vincent Ellis to SERO Director, Jan. 10, 1969, and Chief Park Historian Frank Pridemore to Superintendent, Kennesaw Mountain, Feb. 17, 1969, *ibid.*, L58.

44. Putnam McDowell to Lucy Ferguson, Oct. 22, 1968, Thornton Morris Papers, file 131A.

45. Nancy C. Rockefeller to George Frazer [Charles Fraser], Mar. 10, 1969, *ibid.*, file 131A2.

46. William C. Warren III, Feb. 24, 1969, “Cumberland Property Wrangle,” *Atlanta Journal*.

47. Vincent Ellis to SERO Director, May 14, 1969, CINS Central Files under “Proposed CUIS.”

48. Thornton Morris to Cumberland Island Conservation Association Executive Committee, Apr. 18, 1969, Thornton Morris Papers, file 131 Memos; “Dr.

Masters, Charles Fraser to Address Joint Cumberland Island Meeting,” *Southeast Georgian*, Mar. 6, 1969.

49. Thornton Morris to Cumberland Island Conservation Association, Mar. 13, 1969, Thornton Morris Papers, file 131 Memos.

50. Vincent Ellis to SERO Director, Mar. 6, 1969, CINS Central Files, L58; Thornton Morris to Cumberland Island Conservation Association, Feb. 18, 1969, Thornton Morris Papers, file 131 Memos.

51. Georgia Senate Bill 229, 1969; Joseph Graves to Coleman C. Johnston, Mar. 5, 1969, Thornton Morris Papers, file 131A.

52. Georgia Senate Bill 260, 1969; Thornton Morris to Cumberland Island Conservation Association, Mar. 18, 1969, Thornton Morris Papers, file 131 Memos.

53. Thornton Morris interviewed by author, Atlanta, Oct. 6, 1999.

54. Robert R. Jacobsen to Theodore Swem, Mar. 7, 1969, CINS Central Files, L58.

55. “Fraser to Sell Cumberland Property,” *Savannah Morning News*, Aug. 8, 1969.

56. Vincent Ellis to SERO Director, Nov. 6, 1968, CINS Central Files, L58.

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