New Hope Submerged

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Acknowledgement

It only seems fitting to begin this paper with a dedication to the two individuals who are responsible for my very early introduction to Jordan Lake. From riding on the pontoon boat to camping at the lake on warm summer nights, my understanding of the lake has been forever sparked and continued to grow with each and every time I would visit. However, even as I got older, I could not help but think about my grandparents each time I visited Jordan Lake. Without their passion for the outdoors, love for camping, and general positive spirit and an almost infectious want for a good time, I am not sure that I would have grown to love and adore Jordan Lake enough to undertake this year long research project. So for that, I want to thank my Granny and Pa for my introduction and continued inspiration to understand the secrets that hide beneath Jordan’s surface.

Further, I want to make a special dedication to my Grandmother. From day one, I promised myself that I would write a thesis that would be educational but accessible. I would always say I wanted to “write something that my grandmother could read.” I wanted it to be something that told a story, was challenging academically, but also readily available to those not as well versed in anthropological theory and thinking. I believe I have done that. And although my Grandmother is not here to read the final product, I want to thank her for that key piece of inspiration, because with it, I have created a paper that not only reflects my understanding of anthropological work, but represents the welcoming and open armed nature of the community that I have dedicated time to study.

To Granny and Pa ~ Thank you for everything. This is for y’all.
Abstract

New Hope Submerged explores the complex histories of Jordan Lake and how these histories interact with the “public”. This paper is guided by two important questions: 1) who lived in the New Hope Valley before Jordan Lake’s creation and 2) who was the lake built for. This paper answers the first question in two parts, first examining the relationships inhabitants had with the physical qualities of land. The second method takes a narrative approach and uses both archival and interview data to paint a picture of the people impacted by Jordan Lake’s creation. The final chapter examines the relationship the Army Corp of Engineers and the North Carolina State Park System have with the “public” (those who visit the lake). The goal of this paper is to create an anthropological work that explores the nuanced impact Jordan Lake had on many different groups of people, while also pushing for more in-depth cultural history education by both the Army Corp of Engineers and North Carolina State Park System.
**Introduction**

_They’re back._

_Who?

_The men in suits._

_What is this, the third time or something?

_Yea, third time... Do you think maybe it’s time to..._  

_No, we can’t give up that easy._

_But you’ve heard the stories._

_I know, but this is home._

_Not for much longer._¹

This melancholy dialogue may seem like a page out of a short story, but this type of interaction was all too real for the people of New Hope, North Carolina. Though we have no way of knowing if this dialogue actually happened verbatim, I have heard stories of the “men in suits” coming to offer families money for their land on behalf of the government. Stories like this are not unique. Tales of eminent domain and government land takings are as relevant today as they were 50 years ago. However, in this thesis, I want to take a look at one community in particular to better understand how land (and its taking) shape understandings of home within a greater community.

New Hope is a small, rural farming community in North Eastern Chatham County. Near the New Hope River, it has an abundance of fertile land for crops and timber. As of 2010, New Hope had 2,930 residents (US Census Bureau 2010). It has existed for many generations – as far

¹ Note: This is an interpretation from an interview, where the interviewee described the “men in suits” coming back multiple times to purchase land, before finally seizing it through Judicial process.

² I wanted to mention the Order of the Long Leaf Pine, because it is one of the highest civic
back as the late 18th century, and in most of this time, it has remained a farming community. However, if you were to travel to the New Hope Valley in North Eastern Chatham County today, you might be surprised to find, in place of farms, a large and expansive lake filled with park-goers enjoying the warm water, plentiful fish, and beautiful shoreline. The making of this beautiful lake, however, was far from easy. For many, the Jordan Lake Project was a painful creation and the dialogue at the beginning of this introduction was their reality. However, for others, Jordan Lake, created by the New Hope Dam, represents advancement and security, including safety from widespread and disastrous flooding. In this thesis, I explore the relationship that current and former inhabitants of the Jordan Lake site have with the land. Ultimately, this is done to understand the history of the lake and to examine how that history is used within the present-day park system.

Juxtapose the narrative of the men in suits with the following visualization: You park at the Martha’s Chapel observation desk armed with your best pair of binoculars. A soaring bald eagle, large and majestic, flies high above the water. At the deck, you manage to see the eagle swoop down and grab a fish from the water – pure, unfiltered nature. You watch the eagle fly across the lake to roost in its nest. Perhaps there are some young eaglets in there? While that is not clear, you are well aware that what you are watching is something of mystery and power. The national bird, the bald eagle, represents the strength and resilience of the American People. Flying high, roosting in its own nest, and living unaffected by the world around – that’s the nature of the bald eagle.

Jordan Lake offers a lively population of bald eagles that can be observed from many of sites around the lake. Much like the narrative above, the eagles can be seen soaring high and living unaffected by the environment around them. A mainstay of Jordan Lake attractions, the
Bald Eagles allow visitors a glimpse at something both natural and nationalist. However, the bald eagle is not simply a lifetime inhabitant, but instead a transplant of sorts. Whereas the bald eagle roosts high above in a twig-bound nest, the brown, placid waters that slosh below are reminiscent of a previous life. The land and sites that are now home to the eagles are the same sites where children were born and people were laid to eternal rest. What is now commonly seen (and enjoyed) as a site of natural beauty, grace, and strength used to be a lively community of farmers and families. Below the nests and below the water’s surface are the old markers of a community come and gone. Often all that is left of this community of the past are the remains of a road or an old pylon, disappearing under the water’s surface.

These paragraphs introduce narratives that can seem universal in nature. The notion of the “outsiders” coming to take away one’s home is a long-standing archetype reminiscent of the settlers stealing the land around Jordan Lake and Durham from the Eno and the Occaneechi. However, the image of the towering and mighty bald eagle manages to incorporate something equally American – the resilience and strength of the American People. The United States is built on an idea that land ownership is essential to “personhood” due in part because an original qualification for a (male) citizen to vote was landholder. In the words of founding father James Madison, “Allow the right [to vote] exclusively to property” (Farrand 1787, 450). Often, familial wealth was and continues to be passed down in the form of land ownership. I want to explore how notions of home are intimately tied to ownership and use of land. In this thesis, I will focus this argument within the historical realm of Jordan Lake, North Carolina. I begin this paper with the following questions: Why does its land still feel like home to its previous inhabitants? How was that narrative crafted? How does the Army Corps of Engineers and the State Park Service continue to shape these narratives within the park? These are not simple questions. Exploring
potential answers allows us to understand Jordan Lake and acknowledge the invaluable and complex history that exists below the surface.

Jordan Lake’s origin story begins with a hurricane that struck the piedmont region of North Carolina in 1945. This hurricane, referred simply as “Hurricane Number 9” rocked the region, devastating the lower half of the Cape Fear River and caused serious damages. Though the region had been explored as a possible location for a flood control dam prior to 1945, Hurricane Number 9 put significant pressure on congress to act (Wallace 2010: 8). The following year, Congress instructed the Army Corps of Engineers to undergo a comprehensive study assessing the water and flood control needs of the Cape Fear River Basin. The results of this study ultimately led to congressional approval of the New Hope Dam and Lake Project in 1963. It was determined that the appropriate location of the dam would be just below the confluence of the New Hope and Haw Rivers. Construction began in 1967 by the Army Corps of Engineers. The project was not simple, and though original plans had a two-year plan-to-completion for the lake, the New Hope Dam and Lake project was not completed until 1982. During that time, a myriad of community watchdogs and an overall concern for cultural heritage prompted a full and in-depth archaeological dig of the New Hope Dam site to locate and determine any cultural artifacts of both the prehistoric and historic eras.

Jordan Lake is still owned and managed by the Army Corps of Engineers. One can travel just outside of Apex, NC and visit their federally owned and operated side of the lake. This section, just above the physical dam, is near the southern portion of Chatham County. A small visitors center is operated there with an Army Corps Engineer on site and staff to answer questions relating to Jordan Lake. The North Carolina State Park system also makes use of a significant portion of Jordan Lake with a lease from the Army Corps of Engineers. The NC Park
Service has created a vast park network of camping and recreational resources available to visitors at Jordan Lake including over 1000 camping sites and over 14 miles of hiking trails (North Carolina State Parks 2018: para. 1).

Much of the congressional support for Jordan Lake comes from the late Senator B. Everett Jordan, North Carolina Senate representative from 1958 through 1973. After his death, a motion was passed to rename the New Hope Dam and Lake to the B. Everett Jordan Dam and Lake, in Senator Jordan’s honor. For simplicity’s sake, I will refer to the lake as Jordan Lake, however, I also use quotes and documents that explicitly refer to the New Hope Dam.

**Research Question**

This project focuses on the stories of the individuals and families displaced because of the creation of Jordan Lake. More specifically, this project seeks to find how individuals create a “home” with the land that they use. 224 families were displaced when the lake was impounded (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30 2017). I do not argue that the lake is a negative creation, but instead I seek to identify and elevate the stories of those who lost their home in the making of the lake.

I want to spend a moment discussing the topic of this paper and how it interacts with human rights. This paper is dedicated to the ideas of memory and how preserving history is essential in moving forward as a people. Though it may not be explicitly stated in every chapter, each topic discussed directly relates to preserving memory. Memory rights are human rights, and it is a firm belief within my writing that the stories and livelihoods remembered here are motivations and examples of the strength and importance created by educating the present and remembering the past.
Also important to mention before moving forward is word choice. When discussing Jordan Lake and similar reservoirs, the word impoundment may be used. The term impoundment is used largely by the Army Corps of Engineers in documents describing Jordan Lake. Impoundment in this sense refers to a dam that impounds, or holds water, upstream. In a sense, Jordan Lake is an impoundment, because the dam holds water on the upstream side of the dam. The dam impounds the water.

Fieldwork Setting And Brief History of Jordan Lake

Since starting at Duke University, I have traveled back to my own home countless of times. During my travels home, I always cross a little creek. However, it was not until I began this project that I understood the importance of this creek. The creek is named “New Hope Creek.” Seems simple enough, right? I began this project in spring of 2017, but it was not until I was traveling back to Duke after my summer away that I finally made the connection. This New Hope Creek, one that I traversed and traveled on a very regular basis, was the same New Hope Creek that would meet with the Haw River only a third of a mile upstream of the Jordan Dam. Four years of travel, and over a decade of fun spent at Jordan Lake, and it was only in this project that I realized this creek was the same creek that represented home and security for hundreds of residents prior to the creation of Jordan Lake. I begin with this anecdote because it reminds me that even as a relative insider, I was still unaware of the legacies disrupted by the creation of Jordan Lake, and the public history that was, quite literally, flooded.
Partial Map of Jordan Lake. Pea Ridge Road extends off Beaver Creek Road in lower Right Map. The names of the previous townships are stared as they have been reused to name boat ramps and lake access points. Ebenezer recreation area marks the spot of the original Ebenezer Methodist, and later, Ebenezer AME Zion Church. 

Courtesy of the North Carolina State Park System.

Above is a realization that I made this past year during my time working on this project. Understanding Jordan Lake as a fieldsite is much more than acreage and what can be seen on a simple map. It’s a realization in its own. However, the fieldsite must begin somewhere. Today, Jordan Lake is a man-made reservoir covering over 46,768 acres (14,000 of which is water) (Wilmington District 2018: para. 1). Jordan Lake occupies much of the eastern portion of Chatham County, NC with a small portion clipping the southern edge of Durham County. The lake was built as a means for flood control in the lower Cape Fear River Basin. Jordan Lake is flat-water, with rocky, clay filled shores. Much of the land surrounding the lake are planted pine groves. However, it doubles as a large recreation area with spaces dedicated to both day and extended stay travelers. Jordan Lake is designed for the average North Carolinian in mind. It is a place meant to relax, connect with nature, and enjoy outdoor recreation (Recreation 1989: 26).

However, before this mighty lake was in place, before there was a dam towering 240 feet tall, there were farming communities: New Hope, Seaforth, New Hill, Bells, Crosswinds and others. These communities were home to churches, schools, businesses, and community centers. Today, often the only indicators that these places ever existed are the boat ramps and campsites included in the name of the Recreation Areas. You can camp at “New Hope” and launch your pontoon at “Seaforth.” The fieldsite is just as much about the historical communities as the very current Jordan Lake. These farming communities represent the people that were displaced from their land, their households were forced to relocate – some down the street and some across the state.
Jordan Lake is a vast location, but there are some physical spots that are of particular importance to the project. Pea Ridge Road acts as a physical marker of the effort that people who lived in this area were able to impart during the Lake’s Construction (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30 2017). Throughout the research, articles and interviews have referred to Pea Ridge as a sight of emotional triumph as well.

The Ebenezer AME Zion Church is a site that also has importance in understanding nuances of Jordan Lake’s Creation. These community locations are the physical markers of a previous way of life for the people displaced. As a result, it is my intention to explore these community spaces – to gather how the lake’s creation changed the way those displaced interacted with Jordan Lake. It is within the greater theme of this project to understand how these particular markers – often some of the only remaining physical markers of a previous way of life – continue to educate and remind others of the particular history and heritage of Jordan Lake.

The people who lived in the New Hope Valley contributed to the success of these organizations, and, as a result, they are as important to the physical landscape as the lake itself.

The fieldsite will have to expand to include the new residences of those interviewed. Many of the individuals displaced from the New Hope region had to move to different residences. As the project expands and the interviews continue, the historical fieldsite stays the same, but the “modern fieldsite” changes a bit. As this project explores the lives of those displaced and their relationships with “home,” the fieldsite will have to change as well. Ideally, this will allow for a deeper understanding of how the feeling of “home” is tied to one’s residences in multiple different ways (Farrar, Personal Communication, September 29, 2017).

Ultimately, the fieldsite will revolve around this question of “home” and a “place of belonging.” For some, “home” will always be the valley, even when submerged under 30 feet of
water. For others, their “home” is the place of residence in the forty years since the impoundment of Jordan Lake (Farrar, personal communication, September 29 2017). As a result, this fieldsite, much like the lake levels, ebb and flow, as the people, the inhabitants, the participants and the land changes with every rainfall.

**Human Rights and its Place at Jordan Lake**

Before diving deeply into the literature for this section, there is a topic that is important to discuss: human rights. This paper is about human rights. It is rooted in the fundamental ideas of memory and the recognition of the past. Human rights as it pertains to truth have been used in different ways in the past. Discussions of memory have often been used in the past to describe and understand the impact that trauma can have on an individual. In “The Truth About Dictatorship” (1998), Timothy Garton Ash argues, “there is the political idea that this will help [remembering] to prevent a recurrence of the evil,” particularly in the concept of remembering the past. In essence, it is the act of remembering that will stop the negative from happening again. In the larger connect of genocide and gross human rights violations this begins to make sense. Pulling from Martha Minows “Vengeance and Forgiveness” there is the central idea of there being “too much memory” and “too much forgiving.” In post-genocide South Africa, the question of what the goals and responses should be post atrocity fell in a rhetorical grey area – somewhere between remembering everything (remaining vengeful) and forgiving too much. Later in this paper, there will be stories that fall on both ends of this response spectrum. There may not be a concrete answer, but the people interviewed and examined allow an insight that connects Minows large-scale work to something much smaller. I have chosen to start this discussion with these two pieces because they a) give an introduction into the complexity that
memory invokes b) aides in understanding the scope of the conversation that memory exists within.

One must asks, where does memory work in action? Historically, truth commissions have occurred after mass genocides. These commissions seek to aid those impacted by modern atrocities. However, where does one see memory exist outside of the truth commission? Memory is becoming an ever-important conversation piece – as museums uncovering the legacy of slavery and lynching in the United States are being opened. The vehicles of memory are also being questioned. In the museums mentioned above, artefacts are sometimes impossible to find, and people must move to something more natural and location-specific (soil samples) to create a physical vessel to which memory is carried. Amongst the monument debate in the United States, one must ask which memory is right? Is all memory important?

Ultimately this leads to the question: where does this paper fit. This paper is about memory. Though people were displaced, Jordan Lake was not a modern, large scale, genocide. Efforts were made to be as accommodating to those displaced as possible. However, what this paper does similarly is seek to uncover the stories and histories of those who may not have had the chance to thrive as a result of Jordan Lake’s creation. This paper addresses the effect that Jordan Lake had on the communities displaced. Taking from Garton Ash’s ideas of remembrance, this paper demonstrates how remember and acknowledging the past can help incorporate the stories into the present state of mind. Not only does this paper explore how the landowners responded, there is also an examination of how the people without resources (sharecroppers) or the people historically disenfranchised reacted to the lakes creation as well. Though this paper is not a result of a truth commission, it does act in a similar paper. This paper also seeks to find a balance between “too much memory” and “too much forgiveness”. This
paper does not seek to answer the question of whether or not Jordan Lake was a negative creation, but rather how the State Park System and the Army Corps of Engineers can work cooperatively with the past to acknowledge and remember the displaced communities impacted by Jordan Lake’s Creation.

Literature Review

This next section of the introduction is dedicated to the literature that encompasses the key themes this paper later explores. However, I want to first explain how literature falls into place with the greater scheme of this paper. I intend for the literature to provide a backbone of theoretical understanding of the themes/problems faced within the New Hope Valley and Jordan Lake. However, this paper also wrestles with the important questions of access and exclusivity that can create limited access and difficulty in understanding the analysis and writings of an academic paper. With that being said, the literature reviewed below provide a broad backbone of the themes explored by this paper, but the history and narratives uncovered are the true areas of importance and understanding. This paper will not become inundated with complex, over analyzed jargon, because this paper is written in hopes of appealing to the masses, including those existing outside of the realm of academia. This is not to say that the high level of writing and analysis that is rich in theory and theoretical does not have its place, but instead asserts this paper is not the place for deep theory. All of that aside, this paper explores the following key themes, and a few key ideas put forth by some of the influential writers in these respective areas. The primary themes explored in this paper include those of memory and preservation, and how and why it is important to tell the stories of those communities that existed before us. Running along the same vein of importance, themes of accessibility are also vital in understanding the New Hope Valley and why this particular lake is so deep in controversy. Further, understanding
some of the complexities of public lands and the naturalization of parklands is also vital to the paper’s success. These themes are broad, but with the support, the narratives of the people and collective past of the land that Jordan Lake was built on can be illuminated and explored in both a narrative and academic approach.

With that being said, let’s begin with a general understanding of the issues associated with memory and preservation of the past. Using the books *Memory Matters* (D Cobb, H Sheumaker) and *Exploring Cultural History* (Burke), I am able to build and support the foundational assertion of my paper: that memory preservation is key to understanding and learning from the past. Further, my argument takes support from these works as it creates further recommendations and expectations of the work of the government entities discussed later. Additionally, Cobb’s piece lends itself to support the notion that history is important from a perspective centered on human rights. In other words, it is cultural history that allows for us to understand how groups in the past interact, and by extension, how they may interact today. Taking these two ideas, diving into the Jordan Lake project with the effort of memory preservation in mind supports the continued education and understanding of the rich cultural heritage of the New Hope valley, and ultimately how the many worlds that have met in the valley have interacted and clashed. I also want to highlight some of the ideas put forward in the book *Exploring Cultural History*. The importance of this piece can be summed up by a quote from the introduction: “its [culture] history offers a way of refining our understanding of how different spheres of the human past relate to each other” (Burke 2010 :1). In other words it is cultural history that allows for us to understand how groups in the past interact, and by extension, how they may interact today. Taking these two ideas, diving into the Jordan Lake project, with the effort of memory preservation in mind supports the continued education and understanding of
the rich cultural heritage of the new hope valley, and ultimately how the many worlds that have met in the valley have interacted and clashed.

Memory is key, but to understand the Jordan Lake project, one must also the past and motivations of the “park” movement in the United States. The 20th century brought forth the larger ideas of public land conservation, and ultimately the growth of the national and state park movement. Robert Keiter in *To Conserve Unimpaired* argues that National Parks create a place where “people can visit nature without feeling threatened” (Keiter 2013, 263), and this will later support my interpretation of the public land and education created for the visiting “publics” to Jordan Lake.

Moving forward in time, Robert Nelson’s *Public and Private Land Rights* is a book that begins with a focus on land rights and use after WWII. Rather than conservation and creation for the sake of conservation, Keiter and Nelson put forward the idea that they are instead created and maintained in a system designed for financial and capital gain. This continues to support my argument pertaining to the non-inhabitant public, and will ultimately be used to support the effort of more historically accurate information given to the Jordan Lake’s visiting publics.

Lastly, there is a particular section of literature that exists between the realm of memory and public land. This area is dedicated to access and the greater question of “Qui Bono” or “who benefits” (Diane Nelson). For this I want to bring to discussion two works, *Who Counts?*, Diane Nelson, and William O’Brien’s *Landscapes of Exclusion: State Parks in the Jim Crow South*. These two books explore what it means to matter. My first two chapters identify groups of people who could be considered disadvantaged during the creation of Jordan Lake. O’Brien and
Nelson’s work strengthens the assertion that these people and their underrepresented stories are not only important, but essential pieces of history of New Hope Valley.

Methods

As mentioned in the Fieldwork Setting, this paper addresses what are now Jordan Lake and the people who once occupied its land. As this paper explores the environment of home - how it is made, how it is lost, and how it is preserved - resources from the present, as well as a historical time frame is essential. Primary source material acts as a substantial backbone for this paper. Newspaper articles, documentary films, and other written material constitute the majority of this primary source material. The method of “sorting” this data includes a large sweep and categorization of key terminology, and then further analysis where necessary. Some other chronologically placed documents include government reports, which put the lake in a legislative timeline. Further, resources including the strategic plans for the North Carolina State Park system, the congressional documents pertaining to the New Hope Dam project and the information released by the Army Corps of Engineers archaeological dig of the New Hope Valley.

I have collected a variety of historical sources. This includes research libraries, and historical societies dedicated to presenting the information. This includes both vernacular information - made simply to benefit and preserve the way of life that the people living in the Jordan Lake areas had, as well as material made for the preservation and education of individuals living outside of the Jordan Lake area.

To accurately understand how the story of Jordan Lake and those displaced fit in the present, I conducted two interviews and made visits to Jordan Lake. This particular involvement is two fold in its relevance to this paper. Interviewing the individuals who were
displaced/impacted allow for their experiences since Jordan Lake’s introduction to be better understood. It allows for better longitudinal understanding of what the impact the lake has had physically, mentally, and emotionally. In addition, the participant visits to Jordan Lake allow a similar placement in the relative timeline of the Jordan Lake Project. The way that both the Army Corps and State Parks educate the general public about Jordan Lake is only accessible through visiting and participating in what is offered. I have, and will continue to periodically visit the lake’s educational centers to get a better grasp of (1) how the lake is used today and (2) how the history of the lake is presented to the public.

Overview of Chapters

In Chapter One, I explore how claims to land ownership are informed by the physical nature of the land. This chapter focuses on the European-descendant residents of New Hope Valley as well as the Army Corps of Engineers and their respective claims to the land. Using physical attributes of the land, as well as the native histories tied to the land, both New Hope Residents and the Army Corps of Engineers were able to make a claim of ownership for the land. This chapter establishes the importance of the physical land, and how its almost mystic qualities allow for narratives of home to be partnered with the land.

In chapter two, I will take the stories of the people who challenged the creation of Jordan Lake. Using stories, interviews, newspaper articles and more, I will give a personal narrative to the Jordan Lake Controversy, and help in establishing who this project effects on a deeper level. This chapter uses narrative storytelling as the second basis for establishing “home” with the land. Using data primarily from the early 1960s, until the lakes impoundment in 1982, it is the hope that this chapter manages to sufficiently overview the human cost when Jordan Lake was
created. This chapter will most directly answer how current and former residents around Jordan Lake make “home” with the land, and their feelings of loss and anger during their displacements.

The final chapter of this thesis, I will examine how (and who) the lake is used by today, and how the Army Corps and State Park System have created an educational environment for a particular “public” this affects. Taking data that specifically examines the educational programs, personal support, and memory management, this chapter will showcase how the history of the lake, and its creation, is advertised and managed by the primary educators of Jordan Lake. This chapter will also explore how the lake is used today - recreation, research, drinking water, and so forth. This chapter also weaves the stories of those people explored in chapter two, in hopes of establishing the depth to which their relationships with Jordan Lake have either continued or halted.
Chapter One
Let’s Get Physical:
The Physical Claim in the Jordan Lake Project

I walk into the educational center at Jordan Lake State Recreation Area. I step into the exhibit hall, and the exhibit I see is dedicated to the Native American residents who occupied the New Hope Valley after the Ice Age. I read the descriptive board and notice the beautiful drawing of a native village, complete with a dugout canoe and a river teeming with life – native people, the native flora and fauna. The image is rather picturesque. Below this is a display that outlines native artifacts found in the area. The text that accompanies it describes the many different arrowheads discovered in the park prior to the lake’s impoundment. This display as a whole is really informative, but one crucial piece of information is missing: a name for the people, the community, who once made their home here.

The nature of physicality is incredibly complex in the increasingly digital world. In a world inundated with digital images, one can be brought to tears by simply being given a physical copy of the image. Facebook photo albums simply cannot compare to the emotional connection made with a hard copy of an image, tacked into a dollar store binder. I begin this chapter with my fieldnotes from the educational center because they highlight the fascination of the physical that this chapter will explore. Of course, the Jordan Lake Project happened in the 1970s, prior to the digital revolution, but even then, the sentiments attached to physical ownership played an important role in the way people related to this space and its transformation from home to lake.

In the United States, land ownership has been positioned historically as the gateway to success. In terms of physicality, ownership is merely a symbolic way of working with the land. However, ownership gives symbolic dominion over otherwise physical objects and is strongly associated with the American people and culture (Farrand 1787). Claims for physical rights to the New Hope Valley therefore raise questions about degrees of ownership and the demand for land.
This chapter will examine the relationship that residents of the New Hope Valley had with the physical properties of the land – whether that was working with the soil or uncovering artifacts of a lost history. Such physical acts represent the first way in which residents of the New Hope Valley laid claims to the land in their quest to establish the validity of their home within the valley.

Claim One: The Residents of the New Hope Valley

In this chapter, I will examine the ways in which individuals make claim to physical land. Public and private entities make these claims by having access to, using, or profiting off the physical land. I will begin by examining the relationship inhabitants of what is now Jordan Lake had with the land at the time of the lake’s impoundment. This population, a mostly white, European-descended, agrarian community, occupied the New Hope Valley from about 1760 onwards. In an interview, a New Hope Resident even mentioned that the community would have been forced to move from agriculture even if Jordan Lake would not have been built, the agricultural community would need to change in response to the expanding urban populations nearby (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30 2017). Different families have their own origin stories of how they came to live in the Valley. I ask, in telling these stories, how did they make their claim to the land?

The concept of land ownership -- that one person has definite authority over what can be grown or done on their land -- is something that has defined American communities for 400 years (Locke 1689: art. 51). According to the philosopher John Locke, land ownership is intimately tied to the labor placed into the land and the outcomes of that labor. In the New Hope Valley, residents labored to cultivate the land, and as they did so, they established their claim to it.
However, people of the New Hope Valley, intentionally or not, also used Native American history to promote their tie to the land. As a native Southerner, I was raised with stories of Native American heritage, though the details of these stories varied. One year it was my grandfather’s grandmother who was Native American, the next year it may have been my maternal great-great grandparent. The story of the mythical “Cherokee Grandmother” is an identity marker non-native Americans may invoke to lay claim to particular lands in the United States (Smithers 2015: para. 18). However, in the case of the New Hope Valley, “Native blood” may be claimed not only based on blood and family, but also on the resident’s ownership of physical relics of the land tied to its native past.

On May 7, 1967, an article ran in the Raleigh-based “News and Observer” titled “Blues in the New Hope Valley”. This article, written at the climax of land acquisitions, highlighted some of the families that were losing their lands and farms to the Jordan Lake Project. One of the images in the article depicts two farmers, Thomas and Billy Farrar and their children. The image shows the two men and two boys examining a table full of arrowheads. The reader infers that the arrowheads were found on the Farrars’ family lands. I conducted an interview with two members of the Farrar family who informed me that their ancestors were among the first European settlers in the New Hope Valley. They owned vast amounts of land (upwards of 600 acres in some cases), and some Farrar descendants even owned the ‘largest dairy farm in North Carolina’ at one point in time (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30, 2017). Arrowheads are physical remnants of the first inhabitants of the land the Farrars now occupy. Placing this image in the newspaper therefore represents the Farrars as the true and legitimate occupants of the land. The arrowheads, though representative of a different period and culture, take on another meaning
in this case. They represent the land, and their physical nature and mystic qualities help to establish that the Farrars’ homestead as something unique to the family.

The nature of arrowheads themselves is rather interesting. During a trip to the Jordan Lake Educational Center Chatham County Museum, I found a display dedicated to showcasing some of the different types of arrowheads found by former residents of the New Hope Valley. What was rather noteworthy is that these arrowheads are considered the personal property of the former inhabitants of the land. On display, the arrowheads are merely objects, even as they are also fetishized for their mystic, ‘native’ qualities. However, despite their significance, these objects are not treated as public goods but rather private possessions of the particular citizens who found them. This means that their display depends on the property owner’s continuing consent. The arrowheads are thus associated with ownership of the land, even if the current owners of said land are themselves descended from the people who arguably “took” it in the first place. The folks that found the arrowheads have a history of “conquering” the land, as well as farming and “taking” resources from it. For the Farrars, this relationship of arrowheads and the land’s history allows them to lay claim to the land. Yet, the public display of such artifacts at the visitors’ center also confirms that they have a particular importance to public knowledge. The Army Corps of Engineers uses that public importance to make a claim to the land as well. In essence, both the Corps’ and private individuals’ claims are rooted in the agreed-upon “native” histories of the indigenous populations of New Hope’s past.

It is also important to note the fetishization and fascination of arrowheads by both private citizens and archeological researchers. As previously established, private citizens found and kept arrowheads for their mystic and physical qualities. In the archeological records published by the Army Corps of Engineers, “Shadows from the Past,” and the information presented at the
visitors’ center, arrowheads play an important role. This collection, privately and publicly, reflects a desire to understand more about the Natives who occupied the New Hope Valley. It could also be argued that arrowheads represent a “primitive” past, more than any other collection of items. They represent the previous way of hunting and killing – a time before steel and gunpowder. These arrowheads then become the physical representation of the “primitive” legacy of the natives that occupied the valley. This has the effect of “othering” the Native American inhabitants and distancing any claims their descendants might make upon it.

Though the Native American communities are not properly identified through tribal names in the archeological resources, the sources do define their historical periods as the Paleo-Indian and Woodland periods. However, compared to tribal naming, this scientific-naming serves an entirely different purpose. Without a tribal name, the Native history becomes isolated and without connection to any modern tribe. This has the effect of reducing any claim that could be made to the land by contemporary Native Americans.

Those families who owned land in the New Hope Valley often used it in a very particular way: for farming and agriculture. Farming is a trade that implies a deep physical, as well as symbolic, tie to the land. This can be seen with the Homestead Act of 1862. Under this act, to receive title to the land, one had to show evidence of having “improved the land.” Cultivating the land was considered an improvement. (National Archives 2016: para. 6) In the article mentioned earlier, “Blues in the New Hope Valley” (originally printed: Sunday May 7, 1967 in the Raleigh-based News and Observer), journalist Dick Brown made a very particular word choice when describing the Farrar family. Brown writes, “The Farrar roots are among the deepest that will be torn out by the dam and reservoir.” Further down the page, Brown writes, “With their father, Roy, they have carved out one of the top farms in the area...” Words like roots, deepest, torn, and
carved carry a double meaning in this piece. These words have symbolism connected to the physical root. The violent image of roots being torn out is anchored in the physical realm. The idea of land being carved by a person is an image that invokes physical imagery. Both images are associated with acting on the land. Brown in essence, is able to write about the Farrars’ life as farmers, and create a visual understanding of their work with the land – something deeply tied to its physical nature.

In an effort to stop the Jordan Lake Project and keep ownership, occupants of the New Hope Valley had to make a physical claim to the land. They had to find ways to root themselves into the soil itself, in order to establish a claim greater than that offered by the Army Corps of Engineers. In later chapters, I will explore metaphysical claims rooted in storytelling and tradition. However, before I can examine how legend and lore helped shape the identity of those living in the New Hope Valley, I will show how other entities – whether people or larger organizations (government) -- began to lay claim to the very same land, thus building up a case for acquisition.

Claim Two: The Fight for Public Goods

On the other side of the debate from the farmers and residents of the Valley lie the claims of local and federal government entities, public servants, and public education institutions. The Jordan Dam project was officially authorized in 1963. Since then, over 450 archeological sites have been identified within the project’s proposed bounds. Dr. Joffre Coe of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill completed early archeological work at the site. The Army Corp of Engineers contracted Dr. Coe. His early work focused largely on identifying sites of importance in the New Hope Valley, while in the late 1970s, he focused on site-specific analysis. This information is taken directly from the published report “Shadows from the Past: Twenty-five
years of Archaeological and Historical Investigations at the B Everett Jordan Lake Project”, published by the Wilmington District of the Army Corps of Engineers. On page ten (10) of the booklet, the purpose of these archeological digs was given as “...refining the chronology of the project area.” Further down the page, it is stated that 1982 marked a shifting point in archeological research done around the Jordan Lake Project. To quote: “The 1982 survey by the Commonwealth Associates, Inc., initiated the shift in focus from the prehistoric to the historic archeological sites.” This shift occurred the same year that the lake was officially filled, thus marking the transition from the past to the “modern” era. It could also be said to represent the moment that the New Hope Valley residents' claims for the land were completely removed. As a result, rather than focusing on the history of Native Americans that occupied the land prior to the European settlers, the new archeological work focused on the “previous tenants”. More clearly, it marks the point that the residents of New Hope became the true former residents, their land and history submerged under many acres of water.

The physical nature of digging into the land is something that the residents of the New Hope Valley had done for generations. Farming, planting, and playing all involved moving across and “digging” into the land. However, this physical and symbolic action also has major importance for the work of the archeological digs done in the Jordan Lake Project. Coe’s initial archeological digs focused on establishing the historical heritage of the land that would become Jordan Lake. Coe’s work resulted in the discovery of over 300 archeological sites labeled “prehistoric”, and of these, 21 were identified as in need of further research. That means that only seven percent of sites involving Native American history were deemed important for further research.
Coe’s work provided a historical basis for the Army Corps of Engineers, as well as the State Park System, in creating a written record of the way of life of the Native Americans who occupied the New Hope Valley. However, the archaeological research does more work for government entities than simply offering a historical description. Because it laid the groundwork for the initial action of digging, it also gave rise to a breaking-of-the-earth that is as important symbolically as it is physically. This is because state-sponsored archaeological digs are “scientific” in nature. As such, they represent the primacy of “Western” science and place Native American history within the greater context of Jordan Lake. This then serves as the basis for claims that the land has value that is not merely private, but also public in nature, enabling acquisition and development of the land to proceed.

Through the Army Corps of Engineers, the state had claim to the land for purposes of flood control, and later, for recreation use. However, it is the archeological studies that mark the lake’s future site as a place of value. “Shadows from the Past,” states that these “450 sites represent the full range of prehistoric and historic cultures which have been identified for the eastern portion of the country” (US Army Corp of Engineers, 1988: 9). The presence of these sites establishes the educational value of the land, a value that belongs to a specific “public” other than those who lived in the region New Hope Valley. Scientific research is revered as being greater than the individual, something that is important to the success of many, rather than the success of a few. Coe’s early research therefore begins the process of increasing the public right to the land. Government entities are expected to act with the success and wellbeing of the public in mind, and as a result, this scientific work helps us understand how the government entities interested in the Jordan Lake Project went about increasing the public value of the land in the New Hope Valley.
Scientific research often brings to mind the image of a lab. This lab is a place of control and order, where results confirmed are meticulously achieved, and undoubtedly true, because of the environment’s sterile nature, and the detailed attention given to the work. The order of science is also an asset. Science brings order to its subject, creating something that essentially exists in a vacuum, without influence and pressures from the outside community. This order is what gives science its strength and allows one to begin to understand scientific findings as “facts”.

Keeping in mind the notion that archeology is a science, and is thus associated with the notions of order science implies, Joffre Coe’s initial research takes on particular significance. It marks the Jordan Lake project’s transition from a purely end-goal flood-control project, to a scientific project in the public interest. As Coe’s work expanded, the New Hope Valley continuously changed, slowly becoming a space of more and more scientific research and discovery. The physical land underwent a process of symbolic sterilization, in which private histories and interests had to yield to a presumed greater good. This sterilization process marks only part of the transition of the New Hope Valley, from being family owned land to a site of government intervention and recreation.

Pre-Historic, Nameless Identity: A Note on Language

“Pre-historic” carries different meanings in different contexts, but some of the sources examined in this paper use the term as a marker of pre-European settlement. This has the effect of isolating and denoting a difference between “pre-historic” Native Americans and “historic” Europeans. I therefore want to establish my personal and academic distance from this word.

In this paper, use of the word “pre-historic” outside of direct quotes will be marked with quotations (‘‘’). Because it does not accurately represent the populations that I am discussing, I
cannot in good conscience continue using the word. In the context of the primary-source documents I consulted, the term “pre-historic” exists to provide an informal separation between white, European descendant occupants and ancestral occupation of the land by Native Americans. The word “pre-historic” is thus presented as synonymous with “pre-European settlement”. As such, it use has the effect of ‘othering’ Native Americans and pre-European inhabitants of the land. Specifically in the case of “Shadows from the Past”, this othering creates cognitive dissonance for readers, delegitimizing the histories of the Native occupants.

The terms “pre-historic” and “historic” also imply two very distinct periods of settlement. When educational resources place information in this context, they present a seemingly clear separation between two populations of individuals, implying that they never overlapped as occupants of the land. That is false. Though the original Native American inhabitants of the New Hope Valley had dwindled in numbers by the time European settlers arrived – disease brought by European settlers likely eliminated a large portion of their tribe – this does not mean they were non-existent. Since the terms “pre-historic” and “historic” imply that there would not have been overlap between the two populations, the word creates cognitive dissonance and serves to delegitimize and cover the memory of the Native Americans who inhabited the New Hope Valley. Government entities sponsoring these archeological digs are then able to make a claim to having changed the land, in addition to owning the land. Because of this, individuals who lost their farms and heritage were left without a claim to the plots they tilled. Delegitimizing the history of Native Americans was an essential part of the process in moving the lake project work forward. Without “proper”, detailed, and impartial history, the understood human loss to the land was much lower.
Native American stories were silenced in other ways throughout the Jordan Lake Project. As mentioned earlier, the archeological digs were completed because they represented the “full range of prehistoric and historic cultures which have been identified of the eastern portion of the United States.” This statement indicates that the archeological resources found in the ~300 research sites in the Jordan Lake Project were representative entire of Native populations in Eastern United States. However, one key piece of information is hidden here. There is no formal name given to any of the Native American communities described (by residents of the New Hope Valley or the government entities designing the project). In the archeological resources reviewed, and the information taken from New Hope Valley residents, I found a consistent lack of naming of the Native American occupants of the land. Even in the modern visitor center, information shared with the visitor is limited by excluding the names of the native communities who lived there. Even when examining collections of arrowheads intimately tied to the former native inhabitants, modern residents do not explicitly name those who occupied the land. This could be because of a greater lack of knowledge on the subject, but this merely strengthens the notion that knowing the tribal name is not essential to the cause. Both residents and government gain strength by not naming the occupants of the land. Without a name, the claim of ownership to the land is available, and both parties are attempting to use this to their advantage.

Result One: History as a Castle

Medieval Europe could be architecturally described as the age of castles. Large stone structures dominated the physical landscape and were symbols of greater strength to the surrounding communities. When thinking of these castles, one often thinks of an image or a singular name to describe the structure, placing all of the emphasis and origin narratives onto the most current name. However, these structures often were not the original ones to occupy their
“current” site. A site for a castle may be chosen for many different reasons, possibly because it sits atop a massive hill, or it overlooks a channel essential for security. Sometimes, these spots had other cultural significance, and then sometimes the reason is not clear. However, these castles were often built atop older sites. I offer this metaphor because it is relevant to the way physical claims made by individuals and collective entities work to establish their validity. With castles, the layered structures represent a continuous building of history. Though the top “layer” is recognized as the formal layer, it is the foundation, the under layer, the sights unseen, that offer stability, connection and ties to the land on which the castle was built. This is also true for the Jordan Lake Project.

The land that Jordan Lake is built on has a layered history. The stories of the current inhabitants filled the popular media during the project’s execution. However, it is the layer of history behind the current inhabitants that offers the argument used to validate those who lived on the land. At the time of the Jordan Lake Project, the land became contested territory, where the private property owners were vying for the same land that the Army Corps of Engineers required for their work to be done.

I am not interested in stating whether the Army Corps or the residents of New Hope Valley have a more valuable claim. This paper is about understanding and preserving history, and though both claims were made (and contested by the other), I argue that the residents displaced did occupy New Hope Valley and therefore should be acknowledged, because the history of this land is important to understanding and remembering the past. The valley’s former inhabitants thrived by the land, and their sense of loss has motivated my interest in this project. Though both the Army Corps and displaced residents created claims from the Native history of
the land, as well as the work done to the land, it is important to ask how (or whether) the current occupants of the land decide to acknowledge this complex and diverse history.

There is more to understanding the complexities of land claims in the Jordan Lake project. As I have shown, the physical land itself has a very real influence on who is seen to be the rightful arbiter of the land. This in turn points to an important conclusion: claims to the lands are dependent on the history of the land. However, there is such a thing as “too much history.” In the Jordan Lake Project, understanding the land’s history without understanding too much of it allowed the project to continue.

It is worth exploring the notion of too much history. At the beginning of this chapter, I made note of the lack of tribal recognition for the Native Americans who occupied the land prior to European settlement. In fact, I argue that, had there been a name tied to the documents, the historical record would cross the boundary to too much history. Providing a tribal name humanizes the Native American residents of the New Hope Valley, and would make the European-descendant claims, as well as the government claims to land alteration, much more difficult. Thinking of this as a scale may be helpful. To acquire jurisdiction over the land, a certain entity has to provide the most appropriate history for their agenda. In the case of the Jordan Lake Project, the Army Corps of Engineers had to achieve a delicate balance. Without enough of a historical claim to the land, the Army Corps could have faced more difficulty in acquiring the land from residents. However, had too much of the history been discovered, resulting in a tribal claim to the land, then the Army Corps would have again faced more difficulty in establishing the project. The same goes for the residents. Had there been more in-depth understanding of the history of the farmland the European-descendants occupied, then there would have been a greater claim made by individuals interested in exploring the land for
educational and cultural values. The delicate balance made the Jordan Lake Project a historical tug of war, where one group wanted to win the race, without falling over.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has explored the varied relationships that different individuals and collectives had for ownership and use of the land in the New Hope Valley. Physical use of the land, as well as the physical artifacts buried beneath the surface, help stake the claims made by both residents of the New Hope Valley and by the collective entities dedicated to creating the Jordan Lake Project. Claims to the land also reveal some of the ways in which displaced residents understood the modern day site of Jordan Lake as a place they called home.

Home is a complex notion that will be explored throughout this paper. In the examples here, home exists as a product of work placed into the physical land, and the results of working with the land yield the physical product of the claims. Whether these physical results are arrowheads or timber, the physical products are thus acting as a way to validate assertions that the residents of the valley -- or the government entities -- were entitled to land ownership/acquisition.

“Home” in this chapter is something intimately tied to the physical world. For the residents of New Hope Valley, losing “home” meant losing something physical – their homesteads. Their homesteads were made and created with varying degrees of physicality. However, it is important to understand that claims to the home were not solely based in physical claims to the land. In the next chapter, I examine how storytelling and lore are used to establish claims to the land as well. While this chapter is rooted in the physical world, in the next I turn to the world that exists outside of the dirt – and inside the minds and emotions of the residents of New Hope Valley.
Chapter Two

September 27, 2017:
I arrive at the house and workshop of James Farrar. This space is one of only a few houses on a road named “Farrar Dairy Road.” Land surrounds his property as far as my eyes could see. I park my car and walk into the enclosed building, expecting to find James Farrar. We had set up a time to meet at 3:00PM. The building is void of any person, but many older “matronly” pointer-dogs are walking around and lounging in mouse-eaten sofas. I hear gunshots in the distance. About this time, I realize that James Farrar also owns a shooting range and hunting club, made obvious by the signs acknowledging stand sites and range areas for its members. I walk out to my car and give Mr. Farrar a call. He answers, and asks who I am. “Sh*t”, he proclaims “I forgot all about our meeting, I’ll be there in 20.” I sit in my car and wait. Forty-five minutes later, Mr. Farrar arrives, and my interview begins.

As this paper continues to explore how claims to Jordan Lake were made, it is important to examine the narratives of “home” which were perpetuated by the individuals who were displaced during Jordan Lake’s creation. To understand and support this notion, I will extensively use the stories told by others as a central tenet to understanding notions of home. Storytelling – whether told privately, during an interview, in a newspaper, or a state publication – is a verbal/written mode of communication that tells the story of some individuals or group of people. With the research that I have collected on the Jordan Lake matter, the stories are often grouped in families, and act as unique, specific, folklore. As I read and listen to narratives put forward, I am able to comb through the fact and fiction of the tales. Storytelling calls attention to the dynamic tension created between the people and the land in the Jordan Lake controversy.

Literature Revisited

As I move forward, I want to revisit some of the necessary literature that supports my argument as put forth in Chapter Two. This chapter explores themes of loss and storytelling, while highlighting the difference identity can make when dealing with loss and displacement.
O’Brien explores how State Parks were created in a realm that profited on the exclusion of people of color. O’Brien focuses on the history of state parks in the South, specifically the time between the Depression and the *Brown v. Board of Education*. O’Brien establishes that this reality was counterintuitive to the guiding ideology of “everyone being within 100 miles of a state park”. Ultimately, a similar effect is seen with Maano Ramutsindela’s *Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies*; Ramutsindela establishes that South African National Parks were not created for conservation, because it doesn’t fit the modern discourse (Ramutsindela 2004, 40). Ramutsindela also establishes that the National Parks disproportionately affected people of color, as they were often the folks to be displaced at their creation (Ramutsindela 2004, 46). This paper takes these works and uses it to help build a narrative of the people who lost in the creation of Jordan Lake. Loss can be physical and emotional, but the stories of the people of New Hope Valley will also represent how the displaced minority, and even the minorities (race, class) of the displaced minority begin to matter or recreate their lives.

**Voices Today**

However, before moving forward, I want to spend a moment discussing the idea of fiction within narrative storytelling. As I see it, my role is not to find truth in all of the narratives highlighted here. As I listen to people, and as I read about families and their struggles against the lake, I understand that not everything they say is true, and not everything can be completely confirmed as fact. The stories may be stuff of “myths,” but they represent the way that families saw themselves - and theirs ties to New Hope Valley. The strength of these stories is not limited to facts alone, but instead lies with how they are used. As I move forward through this chapter, I will show how individuals have used these stories to their advantage both in delaying the lake, and later, in supporting individuals who were impacted by its creation.
Rather than jumping back into time from the very beginning, I want to begin by discussing my first personal introductions to some of the people who were displaced by Jordan Lake’s creation. Mid-September 2017, I was having a conversation with my cousin, and was explaining to her the topic of my research. I mentioned that I would like to interview a few people who were displaced, in hopes of connecting the stories I found in newspapers written in the 1970s to people today. As luck would have it, my cousin knew just the person. She gave me the contact information for James Farrar, a dairy farmer and a dog breeder. Within the week, my research took me to the homestead of Mr. Farrar (my first introduction was written at the opening of this chapter), where I was able to interview him about his experience being displaced by the creation of Jordan Lake. Not only did this connection happen by chance, it continues to highlight the importance of storytelling and relationships as we continue to understand and remember the complex history of Jordan Lake.

I met with Mr. Farrar on Friday September 29, 2017. We sat on some outdoor couches while his dogs ran around. Mr. Farrar was very open and forward with his thoughts on the lake; he actually began the interview by explaining his disdain for the lake. He mentioned that he will take the “long way” around the lake to avoid having the cross it. Before discussing Farrar’s interactions with the lake, it is helpful to understand who he is. He currently lives in Harnett County NC (about 1 hour from Jordan Lake) and moved there after he and his family were displaced the year he graduated from high school in 1967 (Farrar, Personal Communication, September 27, 2017). Farrar mentioned that prior to moving, his family owned hundreds of acres of land – on both his Mother and Father’s side. In an interview with Farrar’s cousin, Paul McCoy, McCoy even mentioned that at one point in time the Farrar’s owned one of the largest dairy farms in the state of North Carolina (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30, 2017).
Both sides of Farrar’s family had been from the New Hope Valley. Farrar mentioned that his family lost everything [all land] when the lake was being built, and with the money given to them by the state, they relocated to Harnett County. However, this was because the space he lives in now was the only place they could afford to buy and still have a comparable amount of space.

This leads me to the moment I met Mr. Farrar. I already mentioned his current homestead. Mr. Farrar was eager to discuss his feelings on Jordan Lake. Within minutes of arrival, James Farrar had popped open a Pepsi, sat down in his outdoor recliner and was ready to tell me about his feeling of Jordan Lake, and by what I could gather, not much would be in positive spirits. An analysis of his interview can be found below:

“...That’s home, being kicked out of home gives you a feeling that you just don’t like. I don’t like to go up that area. I’m just not happy about it.”

Mr. Farrar’s statement offers some insight into the loss that he felt when Jordan Lake was built. It is a simple statement but with a big impact. Mr. Farrar is describing something that is not completely tangible – a feeling – but the feeling holds weight for one’s “home”. In other words, Mr. Farrar’s home is not something that is entirely based off of a physical house or a place, but rather a feeling – something that is felt but not always seen or touched. As this chapter progresses, this “feeling” will be explained in statements and narratives given by interviewees and other sources alike. Sometimes it boils down to just a statement made, rather than definitive, physical “proof”, but it does not mean that this information is any less important. Taking the physicality of the land in hand with these statements of feelings and intangibility is crucial in understanding the complexity of the Jordan Lake controversy.
After my time with Mr. Farrar ended, I asked him for names of anybody else that would be interested in speaking with me about their experience with Jordan Lake. Mr. Farrar listed out a couple of names, one of which was Paul McCoy, a distant cousin of Mr. Farrar, and a lifelong resident of New Hope. Mr. Farrar explained that Paul McCoy was a key activist in the Jordan Lake controversy and that Mr. McCoy would be an important person to speak with. As a result, I later contacted Mr. McCoy and set up an interview with him.

The first thing that I noticed about Paul McCoy was that his homestead was only located about 1 mile from the Haw River. Upon arriving for our interview, McCoy’s wife opened the door and greeted me with warmth. She led me to their “sun room” where Paul McCoy was waiting. Upon my sitting down, McCoy was eager to begin discussing the history of Jordan Lake. He began by handing me a couple of pages of notes he had scrawled on a legal pad prior to my arrival.

The McCoy interview was very detailed. We discussed the numbers and “facts” about the lake in the beginning, and then discussed McCoy’s own involvement with the Jordan Lake project. Mr. McCoy provided a very unique perspective, as he had lost land, but not his home, and was able to stay put at his homestead on Pea Ridge Road. It was after the interview that I was able to talk with Mr. McCoy more about his achievements outside of the lake, and even found out that he had worked closely with Governors and politicians alike after the Jordan Lake Project, even going so far as to be awarded the Order of the Long Leaf Pine in the 1990s.² I read many stories of Paul McCoy’s leadership in the Jordan Lake Project, and seeing this award on his desk was a reminder that his commitment was not only recognized by myself or the people of

² I wanted to mention the Order of the Long Leaf Pine, because it is one of the highest civic engagement honors bestowed by the governor of North Carolina to residents who has shown a great commitment to service in their community.
the New Hope Community, but his passion for service and support for his community was supported by the state government as well.

This chapter begins with the introduction of James Farrar and Paul McCoy for multiple reasons. I believe it is important to acknowledge the impact that Jordan Lake’s creation had on individuals over time, rather than just focusing on the experiences overviewed during the lake’s creation. It is also important to notice the difference in experiences. Farrar’s tale of displacement has resulted in very different feelings about the lake than those of McCoy’s. Jordan Lake’s creation has left a lasting, albeit varied, mark on people and the landscape alike, and before stepping back in time, I wanted to show how the impact of Jordan Lake has spanned generations.

**Going Back in Time**

I now want to take a step back in time and explore the stories that were shared during the time of the lake’s construction. Jordan Lake’s creation was documented in detail by two separate newspapers. Articles consistently ran in the Raleigh, NC based News and Observer, the state newspaper. The News and Observer is read all across central North Carolina. I collected around 60 articles from the News and Observer alone, with other local papers added throughout. However, the other major paper that provides a significant amount of data is the Chatham News/Chatham Record. The Chatham News/Record is a local newspaper based in Chatham County, North Carolina (the county primarily affected by Jordan Lake). The Chatham News/Record’s smaller size and local basis allowed for increased visibility of the rural and impacted individuals who were displaced by Jordan Lake. Both of these papers have allowed me to collect narratives of families and their own feelings and pasts while living in New Hope. Further below I will explore some of the narratives these papers published.
As of now, I have introduced two specific “key players” if you will. The first being the living individuals who were impacted by Jordan Lake. They allow for a greater understanding of how Jordan Lake’s impact on the people has changed over time. The next key players are the newspapers that allowed for local stories to be shared on a “mass” scale, either inside Chatham County or across the state of NC. The newspapers are essential to craft these narratives, because they allow for well-documented stories to be used today.

The final key players that I want to introduce are the State Park Service and the Army Corps of Engineers, and the role that they play in shaping and sharing the narratives crafted by the people displaced. Not only did the Army Corps build the lake, but they also represent an important narrative. The Army Corps created a lake for a valued “public.” Though the exact nature of this public will be discussed in later chapters, it is worth noting that the Army Corps is considered a “key player” because it also helped develop a narrative of 1) the importance of Jordan Lake and 2) how the lake benefits civilians today.

In this next section of this chapter, some of the essential questions include “what is home for the people in the New Hope Valley?” “how did people create their home?” and “what stories were told to perpetuate this notion of home?” I want to introduce these narratives by quoting an article that ran in the Durham Morning Herald on Sunday March 15, 1964, titled “A Bitter Cup For Residents of New Hope Valley,” written by Chuck Barbour. The article opens with a variety of images – old farmhouses, churches and graveyards, and even an old fishing pond. The article spends the first portion crafting a visual narrative of “home”. Halfway through the article, Barbour states: “But to thousands, it’s home – has been all their lives – and their parents before them – and their parents before them....” Barbour’s statement begins to shed light on a particular aspect of home – heritage. Barbour is establishing that “home” is something that is rooted in
familial past – in heritage. Heritage is a critical concept in relation to “home.” Heritage and identity is established through physical object and spoken histories.

Continuing on the notion of heritage, an advertisement paid for by a self proclaimed “Native of the Valley” – Marcus A. Stone – ran in the News and Observer in June of 1957. The article “Why that Dam Should Never Be Built on Haw River, Flooding New Hope Valley” was one of the earliest pieces to be written. Stone outlines many of his thoughts on the dam and begins with his “personal” thoughts. Stone is a self-proclaimed resident who “having grubbed and cleared the land” felt the consideration of building the lake to be a gross over stepping of the Army Corps of Engineers. Stone makes a claim to the land because he has worked and cleared the space; however, Stone makes use of family heritage and storytelling in the latter portion of this section.

“In 1917, my oldest brother volunteered into the United States Army. He was shot down September 29, 1918, in breaking the Hindenburg Line. He was wounded and is now a patient in the Veterans hospital. I was talking to him recently about what was going to happen to the old home place, how they were going to cover it in water and dig up mother and Father. He sat in silence and finally said, “We American soldiers who faced those machine guns in Europe thought we were fighting for freedom and security. We must have been mistaken.”

Stone makes use of two important tools here. The first tool is storytelling. Stone is crafting the narrative of loss by using a highly emotional, politicized story of his brother. In this particular instance, Stone uses his brother’s “credibility” as a United States veteran to help strengthen his claim that the lake is morally wrong.
Let’s transition to our first story that will be explored in this chapter. An article ran in the Chatham News on March 29, 1972, titled “Memories of Yesteryear.” This piece highlights the story of Moses Clark and his small country store. This article doesn’t tell us much about Clark, however it does state that it is a store with a “little bit of everything” and even mentions how on the weekend the community comes out not only to shop but also to interact with others from the area. The little that we know of this store indicates that it was a place of community interaction. It was a place where people could come together and socialize above much else. In essence, it represents of place of important memories for former community members. The article discusses what this country store was to the local community. The author discusses the farmers – and “sometimes” their wives coming to the store on Saturdays. He mentions bartering for eggs and goods; I want to begin with this story, because rather than introducing a place of one’s home only, it tells the story of the people of the New Hope Valley coming together and having a place for community development. He establishes the importance of a routine. The people of New Hope Valley had a ritual of sorts to go to the little country store. The author uses this story – this tale of a small country store – to establish the rights of the people of New Hope Valley and Moses Clark to the land. In a way, the author states that the people who have used this land, who have attended this store, and who traveled for eggs and bread on Saturdays are the people who deserve access to this land. The article contrasts the written stories with the image of Clark’s store in the present, closed down and falling apart. He takes his story and lets the reader know that change has happened to Clark’s store and that it will happen elsewhere.

**Documentary, Race, and Jordan Lake**

I want to move forward by introducing some of the stories portrayed in a documentary from this time. “Our Land, Our Lives” is a documentary made in 1973, with funding from the
North Carolina Committee on Humanities and the National Humanities Center and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The full title of the documentary is “The Cultural Impact of the New Hope Dam: OUR LAND, OUR LIVES.”

The documentary begins with a reading from the development of the Army Corps of Engineers, and specifically focuses on their commitment to provide a fair price for the land acquired. Quickly after, the documentary transitions to introducing one of the first impacted communities, Seaforth and the “best farmland in the county”. An unknown resident of Seaforth was interviewed and discusses the “community lost” in the project, and even states, “by and large, more people will be hurt by it [Jordan Lake], than will ever be helped by it.” It appears at the time of the lakes creation that the benefit the lake could have on other communities was not as obvious as the negative impact the lake was having on the displaced residents.

With this opening, Our Land, Our Lives manages to establish early on the high emotional value that the Jordan Lake Project had on the residents who were displaced. Also note, the importance of the physical farmland – an idea that is reminiscent of the claims made in Chapter One. Establishing it as the “best” is the unknown interviewee’s way of magnifying the loss. It’s an emotional way of describing the land, as his loss is something that is irreplaceable. He would not be able to replace the “best” land with anything lesser.

The documentary then continues with the story of Annie P. Hart and the Ebenezer AME Zion Church. Before exploring Annie Hart and her story, it is important to know a bit more about the contexts of the Ebenezer AME Zion Church, the AME background and how the church came to it’s present location. AME stands for the African Methodist Episcopal (Church) and is a formal denomination that split from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the late 1700s. The Church emphasized education as a community of freed-slaves in order to be productive members.
of society (Varick Memorial, 2012, para. 2). Prior to the civil war the Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal church existed as a biracial congregation. After the civil war, the congregation split and the freed slaves of the New Hope Valley formed the Ebenezer AME Zion Church. After the split the remaining white congregation of the Ebenezer Methodist Church moved locations and the original building became the possession of the AME Zion Church. The Ebenezer AME Zion church has a history rooted in oppression and separation, and as Annie Hart discusses, the Church’s complex history results in an entirely different reaction to Jordan Lake’s creation.

Annie Hart was the presiding pastor in the documentary and there is a recording of a sermon played for the viewer. Hart takes the congregation on a narrative overview of what the church experienced. She begins the story by introducing the threat of the having to move the church. Rather than discussing the reaction, she tells the congregation of the church’s history. She states that the church is over two hundred years old, and about one hundred years ago marks the split of the black and white Ebenezer churches. She then jumps forward again to the congregation in transition while moving locations due to Jordan Lake’s construction. She establishes that there were struggles in the years but thanks to the land and money given by the federal government, the church was able to build something new and better for their community. She then quickly retorts with the discomfort the community felt about the relocation of the Ebenezer cemetery and the graves of their ancestors, only to end with a statement of blessing for the new church and its resources. As a note, Hart also enforces the idea that the longevity of their church lies in the knowledge of their own history. Hart’s idea only further reveals the importance of this project and of knowing the histories of Jordan Lake’s past.

This particular section of the documentary is also interesting, because it allows insight into a collective entity – a church – rather than focusing on the story of the individual. I believe
there are a few takeaways that are key in the story of the Ebenezer AME Zion Church. The first is that it is not a story of explicit loss. A lot of stories in the Jordan Lake project result in loss and anger, but some of them do not. I want to take a moment to reiterate something that I mentioned in the introduction: this project is not meant to take a positive or negative view of the lake’s construction, but rather it should be used to elevate and understand the stories of those people who lived, died and sacrificed time and energy on it’s land. Storytelling is key in understanding the struggle of the Ebenezer AME Zion Church, because the pastor is essentially making a comparison of struggles and growth for her congregation. In the delivery of her sermon, one begins to see a parallel of having to split at the “Black Church” from the “White Church” in the 1800s to the necessity of moving their church and starting with a new building in a new location in the 1970s. The pastor makes the case that growth happens within struggle, and that the positive creation of a new church building – one that is proper and well insulated – is the growth that is born out of struggle. The story telling in this particular instance also cements the relationship that Ebenezer Church has with the surrounding land and community. This struggle is something that has happened in the past. It is a historical challenge that they have faced, and may face again. The story that the pastor tells ultimately inspires the audience while representing the church’s claim to the land and community that it is apart of.

This is an important time to acknowledge and continue the discussion of race and racial politics in the Jordan Lake Project. The Ebenezer AME Zion Church was the “Black Church” within the New Hope Community, and has its history rooted in the racial relations with the “White Church” – The Ebenezer Methodist Church. Let’s begin with a few preliminary observations and responses. Many of the farmers that were displaced were white families who made use of sharecroppers. These farmers that were displaced were often offered pages in the
newspapers or audio in documentaries to highlight their particular loss. Narratives of the sharecroppers are increasingly hard to find. Because sharecroppers did not own the land, they did not expressly benefit from the government payouts, and also did not receive the same level of media coverage that helped popularize and strengthen the narratives put forth by the white land owning families. However, what the story of the Ebenezer AME Zion Church begins to show is how differences in race and socioeconomic status can impact the response of those displaced and impacted by the Jordan Lake’s

Many of the farmers displaced by the Jordan Lake Project were land owning white families, who had hundreds of acres of farmland (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30 2017). Their payment for the land would not be able to replace centuries of familial pasts, their homes, their wells, and their livelihoods to the fullest extent (Farrar, Personal Communication, September 27 2017). However, the Ebenezer AME Zion helps understand what some of the struggles people of color faced by Jordan Lake’s Creation, as well as how the lake could in fact be perceived as something positively impacting those displaced. Generational struggle and lack of wealth meant that the previous Ebenezer AME Zion church building was insufficient at times to fully support the congregational needs – as mentioned by the Pastor Annie Hart. Hart mentioned how in certain weather conditions, the old building was insufficient in allowing for a church service to occur. The new building, created as a result of the Army Corps’ funding and land given to them was something better for their congregation. Whereas owning farmland is a way to develop and establish generational wealth, many of the sharecroppers in the community were not establishing the wealth that would trickle down to the churches. I think this is important as this chapter moves forward for a few reasons. First, it is important to acknowledge how race and socioeconomic status allowed the people of the New Hope Valley to be impacted differently
by the Jordan Lake Project. Second, everyone in the New Hope Valley establishes home and history. Some people moved far, some people moved close. Ebenezer AME Zion shows us that the Jordan Lake project is something that is as essential in establishing its “new history,” especially as it describes its historical struggles and “blessings” that allowed it to exist, grow, and change as much as it has since it’s connection with the “White” Ebenezer church in the 1800s.

Our Land, Our Lives then continues with stories of a shop owner, Mr. Darnell, and the Fearrington Lumber Mill. Now, not much is known about this former lumber mill, it would have been situated near the Chatham/Orange/Durham County borders, in the middle of the Fearrington Community. Today, Fearrington is marked by a boating access ramp, as well as marked State Park and Federally protected lands. The lumber mill refused to sell out, and the documentary explains the resulting condemnation proceedings. The documentary then allows the listener to hear a tender narrative of Robert Gardner a man who lives above the flood line in the Jordan Lake Project. His house was involved with the condemnation proceedings, as he attempted to work with the government to keep his house and just a few acres of land – seeing as it would not be under water. However, because of the need for recreation, he would not be allowed to keep any of his land.

Our Land, Our Lives focuses on the cultural education about the people of the New Hope Valley. The documentary is essentially acting as audio/visual account of the claims that individuals have to the land of the New Hope Valley. This last story, told by Mr. Gardner, establishes his claim by telling a story – something that was very recent at the time – and establishes a hierarchy of importance between him and those that surround him. Gardner tells the story of his joint work with the Government as he tries to keep the part of his land that would be
above the flood line. His story makes claim to the land by way of establishing importance. He is essentially claiming that his access to his house and homestead should supersede the use of the land for recreation’s purpose. This is not a new tactic, as many newspaper articles published during this time did the same thing. I focus on the Gardner perspective, because he uses narrative storytelling to explain his claim to the land; however, it is important to note that his story does not exist purely in the distant past. He gives another example of how his access and understanding of home was made – not by talking of the past but using stories from his “present”.

This chapter thus far has been dedicated to introducing some of the various people and stories that provide a glimpse into the lives of those displaced by the creation of Jordan Lake. Many of these stories were told and published in hopes of delaying or stopping the dam’s creation, however, the dam would not be stopped and continued forward. With that being said, in the remaining space in this chapter, I want to explore how these stories told above were put to use. Even as people lost the fight for their land and their homestead, activism began to brew as a fight for certain resources and access became the important push.

Protesting for Pea Ridge

Before I can fully dive into moments of activism, I think it is important to explain why activism and the push for resources occurred. By 1975 Jordan Lake’s impoundment had been delayed on several occasions, whether because of work done by locals, environmental groups or decisions made by members of the judiciary. However, as time moved forward, general approval of the dam increased, as people were eager to see its recreation land in place and the project/construction to finish. From the early stages of the dam, it was touted as progress – as a way to protect the Cape Fear River Basin from disastrous flooding. Over time, more and more
people would come to see the lake as progress. As families continued to sell and the amount of people in the region lessened, the signs of “progress” became more clear – a “Jordan Lake” sign was erected over an empty lake, and a visitor center was built to overlook the dam’s construction (Our Land, Our Lives 1971). Progress recruited supporters, and as the dam progressed forward, the ability for reversal and stopping it severely decreased. It is this progress that pushed the shift for activism by the community to garner resources and aid, because it was the best possible outcome, especially once the dam could not be stopped.

Cue Pea Ridge Road. This little road – State Road 1008 at the time – is the representative form of community activism that has left its mark on the people of New Hope Valley. Pea Ridge Road was a main thoroughfare for the people of the New Hope Community acting as a main form of travel between major cities, hospitals, grocery stores and so forth. However, the original
Pea Ridge Road was to be flooded by Jordan Lake’s creation. In the original plans put forth by The Army Corps of Engineers, there was not to be a replacement built for Pea Ridge Road. During my interview with Paul McCoy, he explained that without Pea Ridge Road, the quickest way to a hospital would then be an hour’s drive (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30 2017).

I was rather lucky to be able to interview Paul McCoy, because he was a key leader in organizing for the construction of Pea Ridge Road. I must admit that I already knew a little about him before I met him in October. His name was a regular occurrence in newspapers, because he was often interviewed or organizing for the New Hope Valley community. Several of these articles actually related to the Pea Ridge Project. One of these articles, actually tells the story of residents of New Hope Valley gathering into a local meeting and voicing their concerns and pleas for a new road. The article is titled “Large crowd tells Corps they want Pea Ridge Saved” and ran in the Chatham County Herald on Wednesday October 11, 1978. A community event allowed for people who would be impacted by the lack of road to voice their concerns to the Chatham County Board of Commissioners. According to the article, twenty-one citizens used this time to voice their concerns for their lack of a road. As a note, from the images included in the article, the crowd consisted mostly of older white individuals:

![Photo excerpt from Chatham County Herald, originally published November 1 1978](image-url)
After the meeting, the article explains that the voices heard, with the help of the Commissioners, Paul McCoy, Senator Jesse Helms and Rep. Ike Andrews prompted the Army Corps to move forward with a usage study of Pea Ridge Road, the first step to gaining a raised version of Pea Ridge Road. This is a first glimpse into some of the power that the community organizers have in influencing the development of Jordan Lake. Using personal experiences and stories, they were able to prompt initial action in support of their plea for Pea Ridge Road. I also want to make note of the importance of racial dynamics that were at play here. An inference that has been made in this paper is the difference in reaction of the white community of New Hill and the non-white residents. The image included in the previous page is a reminder of how this dynamic difference plays out in programs like the community organization. Additionally, it is also worth acknowledging that these racial dynamics may have also come into play with the usage study put into place for Pea Ridge Road. Though it is unknown, the question of whether or not Helms and Andrews would have responded the same way to a crowd not made of mostly white-landowners is essential to keep in mind. Given racial tensions of the south in the mid-1970s, one could imagine that Helms and Andrews would have been unsupportive or disinterested in supporting their constituents of color. It is not unlikely if the community impacted not white, then Pea Ridge Road may have been submerged permanently following Jordan Lake’s impoundment.

On December 9, according to an article in the Chatham County Herald, nearly 200 participants ran a 10000-meter race aimed at raising awareness and support for the Pea Ridge Road Construction. A resident of Pea Ridge Road, Judy Bramble, organized the race. The article states that many of the participants came from outside the area, including Durham and Chapel
Hill, NC. This article shows the ability for community members to make active decisions to support their cause. An image from the race is included below.

These latter two stories about Pea Ridge Road showcase the power that community activism and storytelling can have in the Jordan Lake Project. Pea Ridge Road was eventually approved for funding by the Army Corps of Engineers and still remains an important thoroughfare today for the residents of Pea Ridge and New Hope Valley Communities (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30 2017).

As this chapter comes to a close, I think it is important to reflect on the importance of the stories told and discussed here. This chapter does not exist to be an all-encompassing place for the stories of those displaced and impacted by Jordan Lake to exist. Rather, it is a place that introduces the idea of narrative storytelling as a tool for those of the New Hope Valley. There is both diversity in the stories of whom the lake impacted and diversity in the responses to the lake. New Hope Valley’s residents were dynamic, and are only a further reminder about the breadth of impact that Jordan Lake’s creation had. Narrative storytelling existed as a way to fight the lake, to thank the lake, and to support community development for resources to exist alongside the lake. Whereas Chapter One focused largely on the physical claims to land, this chapter has weaved in some of the stories and methods that residents used to continue their claims for the land. As this thesis moves forward, these stories and physical claims will resurface as I explore how the government bodies (the Army Corps of Engineering and State Park System) have taken these histories portrayed in chapter one and chapter two and put them to use and education in Jordan Lake resource centers.
Chapter Three

It’s late November, and I decide to drive to the Chatham County Historical Museum to purchase a book on the history of Chatham County. The Museum, located in the basement of the Historic Chatham County Courthouse was small – one room of display, the central foyer was a gift “rack” and the docent’s office was off to the right. I quickly grabbed the book I was interested in and made my way to the docent. Through polite conversation, I discuss my interest in Jordan Lake. The conversation led the docent and myself to the map in the foyer – a cemetery map. I discuss my interest in the history of the displaced graves of those who lived in New Hope’s past, and with an almost giddy excitement, the docent mentions how she has heard stories of a town existing between the lake. I laugh, knowing that it was not true, but her thoughts are what led me to my project in the first place. Leaving the museum I was once again reminded that the “Land Beneath the Lake” was something of a forgotten history that fewer and fewer individuals truly knew...

When I initially started the quest to understand the complex history of Jordan Lake and the people impacted by the lake’s creation, I kept one key question in mind: “who matters?” As this project has progressed, I have begun to unravel some of the “who’s” at stake. In Chapter One, I explored the value of physical work put into the land, and how that ultimately contributed to a claim to the land. In this particular instance the “who” could be described as individuals who are making their claims - farmers or the various agencies involved. In Chapter Two, I discussed how stories were used to better understand how individuals were living in the New Hope Valley, which individuals were the most affected, and how different methods of storytelling helped craft a narrative of home. In this particular instance, the “who” would have been the people telling the stories of the dam’s impact. Chapter Three takes the “who” to a different level, exploring questions about the “who” and the “public”. The Army Corps of Engineers and the State Park System are both in positions to serve “the public,” construed as the group of people that benefit from the organizations’ respective creations (the dam, recreational space). Therefore, I am interested in how the “who’s” mentioned above intersect with a larger definition of “public.”
I also want to discuss some guiding principles to keep in mind while this chapter progresses. The Army Corps and State Parks provide two distinct management programs at Jordan Lake - each equipped with their own space and own rules. As I explore further in this chapter, these two organizations also represent very particular types of public interactions - and that is safety and recreation specifically. The Army Corps of Engineers has an office located just uphill of the dam, only a mile or so from US Highway One. The dam is located right next to the town of Moncure, but no major resources or communities exist within a 20-minute drive of the dam. The Army Corps manages a single boat ramp and a small picnic area below the dam. There even is an observation deck next to the visitor’s center that allows one to see where the free flowing Haw River once met New Hope Creek.
The State Park Educational Center is located across the lake, much closer to Pittsboro and Apex, NC. The educational center is much larger, with event spaces and a display room that highlights some of the lake’s history and the native flora and fauna that thrive at the lake. There is also a small observational deck overlooking the main body of the lake, and one could see the US-Highway 64 from this deck, and the large bridges that were rebuilt as a result of the lake’s creation. A map below shows the locations of both centers in the context of the lake:

Though I discuss these in more detail as I go further into the chapter, I want to begin with an acknowledgment of how the difference between safety and recreation will shape the way that the Army Corps and State Park System ultimately interact with their various publics. As I talk about the public - and the organizations that create this image of public - I will spend a fair amount of time looking within the spaces that the Army Corps and State Park System have created to educate visitors on their respective purposes. This chapter takes the layout of the exhibit hall and the nature of the exhibits themselves, and examines them more broadly, from a macro perspective. The previous two chapters have established the physical and metaphysical attachment to the land, as well as how individuals created a place of home within the New Hope Valley. Moving forward with this selection, rather than thinking almost exclusively about the past, it is important to understand where Jordan Lake is today.

Literature Revisited

For the last chapter, I want to explore some of the public land literature a bit more in depth. The 20th century brought forth the larger ideas of public land conservation, and ultimately the growth of the national and state park movement. Robert Keiter in *To Conserve Unimpaired* discusses the histories and motivations of the national park movement. Keiter’s argument is that national parks
create a place where “people can visit nature without feeling threatened” (Keiter 2013, 263). As a result, many of the parks created have been made to promote ease of access and use without preserving or conserving the flora or fauna, the native inhabitants or the general history of the land. Instead, Keiter discusses the reality that parks have begun to act as commercial businesses, focusing on financial gain, rather than conservation. Keiter quotes the 1916 Organic Act, as it outlines the rules and guidelines for the creation of more national parks. This act “calls for promoting the parks as public enjoyment” (Keiter 2013, 264).

Moving forward in time, Robert Nelson’s Public and Private Land Rights is a book that begins with a focus on land rights and use after WWII. Nelson asserts that after WWII, the nation moved from existing as a unified nation to a non-unified group of bodies, with private access to public spaces (Nelson 1995, XIX). Using this, one begins to realize that Nelson and Keiter both are arguing for the structural dependence of business-like dealings within the National Park Movement. Rather than conservation and creation for the sake of conservation, Keiter and Nelson put forward the idea that they are instead created and maintained in a system designed for financial and capital gain. In fact, Nelson explicitly proposes the idea of a “Major decentralization of the responsibility for the management of public lands” (Nelson 1995, XXI). The commercialization of the public-land debate helps one understand how individuals feel lost and forgotten during the land acquisition steps in the creation of dams.

Ultimately these pieces highlighted above represent key thoughts and work done in their respective fields. This thesis combines all of these themes, while making them something unique to the New Hope Valley and Jordan Lake.
What’s In a Name

Before jumping into an overview of the Army Corps and State Park System, I think it is important to understand the power within the name. I do this because this chapter revolves largely around an understanding of “the public,” and the name is often the first way “the public” begins to interact with the lake. Beginning with a naming narrative also allows one to understand how the public (outside of those displaced by the dam) even begins to frame their understanding of the dam. Jordan Dam is the second naming iteration of the dam that sits just below the confluence the Haw and New Hope Rivers, situated in what was the New Hope Community. Intuitively, the dam was called the “New Hope Dam,” and construction began in the mid 1960s. A North Carolina Senator, and a North Carolina representative, spearheaded the project. B. Everett Jordan was the senator in question, and obtained much of the representation within newspapers and other local media outlets. Though talks for the dam spanned decades prior to its approval, the New Hope Dam project was not formally approved in congress until the year 1963. Even though Jordan was instrumental in seeing the project begin, he would inevitably not see the completion of the dam, as he passed away in 1971. In 1972, less than a decade from the dam’s approval, the dam was dedicated and named in honor of Senator B. Everett Jordan. Jordan was a lifetime resident of North Carolina, and would grow up to own mills in the town of Saxapahaw, NC (30 minutes from Jordan Lake, and named after a native American community that lived on the Haw River). Jordan served multiple terms in the US Senate before losing the primaries in 1973. Jordan served as the spearhead of the Jordan Lake project, encouraging congress to act quickly (Wallace, 2010). Though impossible to know at the time, the lake named in Jordan’s honor would still wait another decade before being filled and opened to the public.
I bring this back up in response to the question: “what’s in a name?”. As a relative insider to this project – having grown up only 30 minutes from the lake, and spending countless of summer evenings by its shore side, I still had no idea of the history of the New Hope Valley and its people prior to the project. I believe this lies in great respect to the power of the name, and how naming can impact the public interactions with the dam. The New Hope Dam Project was formally renamed the Jordan Dam and Lake project in the year 1972. That puts this project 46 years from the name change. In this time frame, using my own experience as a reference point, legacies and histories are forgotten. Besides the fact that I had no idea of the importance and connection of New Hope Creek and New Hope Valley to the greater Jordan Lake Project, even the importance of Senator Jordan is faint, as his name becomes increasingly tied and referenced almost exclusively to a landmark rather than a person. This name change may have been put in place to honor an individual North Carolinian and their impact on this project, but it also represents the way that who matters and certain members of “the public” are both forgotten and changed overtime.

Understanding the importance of naming helps understand who the public is and which public is impacted. The original name of the Jordan Dam was the New Hope Dam. This original name reflected the community that lived and occupied the land surrounding the New Hope Creek. New Hope even gained its name in a rather legendary sense. One of the earlier settlers, a distant relative of James Farrar, founded the New Hope Community as he immigrated to the area in the late 1700s. Paul McCoy mentioned that upon arriving the first settler Edward Farrar proclaimed his new community “A New Hope” because it offered a sense of hope to his future. (McCoy, Personal Communication, October 30 2017). As generations of people have interacted with Jordan Lake under the name “Jordan”, the history of the people of New Hope Valley begins
to be forgotten. Whereas one could begin to assume that the public impacted by the creation of the dam were remembered and acknowledged in the dam’s creation, the changing of the name begins to demand otherwise.

The Army Corps of Engineers and the Creation of Safety

Naming aside, there are two key players that have shaped the ways in which the public interact with Jordan Lake. The Army Corps of Engineers owns Jordan Lake; however, the lake is leased to the North Carolina State Park System. I have visited the Army Corps educational center on multiple occasions. It is nestled on top of a hill, with an observation deck designed to allow visitors a view from above the dam. This observation deck was built in the 1970s to allow for public visitors to come and watch the construction of the dam take place.

*Photo from the Jordan Lake Observation Deck at Army Corps of Engineer’s Visitor Center Courtesy of Cole Wicker Personal Collection*

Upon entering the visitors’ center, it’s clear that it is smaller than the State Parks own educational space. Only a few steps from the door a receptionist sits at their desk, while some office space can be seen behind the receptionist. Pictures line the walls – most of which appear to
have been taken during the construction of the Jordan Lake – with men lining the large spillway of the dam, or an image taken from an angle that can no longer be reached with the dam’s present levels of water. Immediately next to the door sit recreational and educational tools centered on water safety, fishing and hunting safety, as well as general rules of thumbs and park guidelines. After visiting this educational center, it became clear that the space was designed with two main goals in mind.

The first of these two goals is its commitment to recognizing the effort and history of the Army Corps of Engineers and the effort they put into the dam and the river protection. Rather than focusing on the history of the New Hope Valley region or the history of the Cape Fear River Basin (the larger basin that New Hope Creek and Haw River flow into), the focus is on educating the public on the public works project that the Army Corps sponsored. The Army Corps of Engineers’ educational center makes an effort to describe and establish the amount of time, work and energy it put in place during Jordan Lake’s Creation. Pictures line the walls, while a timeline explains the process of building the dam - focusing exclusively on the period in which the dam was being actively constructed. The observation deck was put in place by the Army Corps as a specific manner to encourage the viewing and public involvement in Lake’s creation. I highlight this as a goal because it represents the significance the values that the main governing body of Jordan Lake hold most dear. Had I not known anything about the lake or its history, visiting this part of the educational center would have allowed my understanding to be framed almost entirely in the context of the Army Corps of Engineers works and efforts done. I would not have known much, if anything, about the people who lived in the region, but instead I would have seen the physical bodies that were worked to create the lake. This is particularly important, because it brings back the question of “who” in the public matters and “how”. Work had been done to the
New Hope Valley for generations - whether that is small hunter/gatherer communities, farmers or the developers of the dam. The educational center is making a case that the builders of the dam are the public “before the lake” that is worth remembering and acknowledging, rather than those who previously inhabited the space.

This first goal led me to raise the question of “why highlight the people who built the lake, over those who lived at the lake’s site?” This could be tied back to the idea that those who work and shape the land create a claim for the land. As I have thought extensively about this project, I believe this question is one of the most important I can raise in response to the Army Corps of Engineers. Simply, I want to describe the decision to document the lake’s construction as its primary medium of historical education to be a move that is political in nature. Labeling the construction and the process in which the Army Corps built the lake 1) allows for a framing of safety and security brought forward by the Army Corps, in a way that would not be available otherwise and 2) creates a personal narrative for people that worked on the lake, rather than those that lived in the valley, resulting in a claim to the land.

The second goal is that education not related to the construction of Jordan Lake is centered on personal safety of those individuals choosing to partake in recreation at the lake – rather than general education of the lake’s history and scope of influence in the greater community. Upon entering the building, I noticed that immediately to the left of the door was a wall of brochures; these contained images of children wearing life jackets, outlines of lake policy and procedures as well as lifejackets hanging on the nearby wall. The idea of personal safety is especially important in understanding the audience of the lake, and who that “public” is. Building the space to inform those who recreate at the lake, particularly through safety measures, means the public who is recreating is the public that inherently matters the most. The center’s
A dedication to safety and wellbeing of the park goers informs us that the park goers are the people - the public - that matter the most.

The importance of framing Jordan Lake around safety and security cannot be undervalued. In doing so the Army Corps of Engineers is able to erase the dynamic history of the people and communities that lived in the New Hope Valley, while allowing for free and uninvolved recreation to occur. Should one not know anything about Jordan Lake’s History, this narrative would do great work in representing the depth of the “good” public works created by the Army Corps of Engineers. This is not to say that the lake is does not provide something “good,” but rather puts forth the idea that the lake was created in a way that exclusively promoted something in the realm of public good. The images lining the visitor’s center show people clearing the land, while building something that would change the impact of flooding on the lower Cape Fear River. This is something that seems like an obvious positive impact, if the only thing “lost” were the cleared trees and flooded land. In this particular instance, its representation is all about the great “public good” of the lake, and none of the “public bad” that partnered with it.

This project is dedicated to highlighting the narratives of those communities with history within the New Hope Valley. The previous chapter reflected on the impact of Native American and settler communities that lived in the region, because I have felt that their narratives were lacking from the educational discourse at Jordan Lake. The educational center created by the Army Corps of Engineers does something that I have not done in this project – it tells the story of those who put time and energy into making the project a reality, and ultimately begins to reflect on which public work put into the land matters.
Recreating with the State Park System

Above I have introduced the Army Corps of Engineers and the ways in which they create public places of safety and security through their work. However, sitting across from Jordan Lake is another important organization – The North Carolina State Park System. The State Park System has a large presence at the lake, with signs and recreation spots sprinkled all around the lake, north and south of their recreation spaces. However, it is important to note that the State Park System does not actually own the lake or any of the land that they subsequently developed. The Army Corps of Engineers signed a lease with the state park system to allow for the development of shoreline into campsites and recreation areas (Wilmington District, 2018). Currently the state park system has over 1000 camping sites available, multiple day-use beaches and boat launches, and a network of hiking trails around the lake.

Even with this brief introduction, it becomes clear how distinctly different the roles of the Army Corps of Engineers and the State Park System are when compared to one another. Where the Army Corps of Engineers is focused on promoting safety – for both recreation, and by lake design – the State Park System has built an image rooted in recreation. To elaborate on this concept, it is important to first introduce the official title of the State Park’s dedicated section of the lake: Jordan Lake State Recreation Area. The critical part of this title exists in the later half, with the words “recreation area”. The North Carolina State Park System designated six types of land units with the State Parks Act of 1987: State Park, State Natural Area, State Recreation Area, State Trail, State River, State Lake (System Wide Plan, 2012, 2-4). State recreation areas, by definition “are sites where the primary purpose is outdoors recreation, rather than preservation.” Compare this to the purpose of a designated state park: “generally, State Parks are expected to possess both significant natural resource values and significant recreational values.
(System Wide Plan, 2012, 2-4). Both designations are designed with recreation in mind, but a clear distinction can be made: State Parks are designed with nature in the forethought, to limit the amount of destruction and support preservation of the natural resources. However, State Recreation Areas appear to be designed with the highest intention of promoting recreation and access to the people.

The distinction between State Parks and State Recreation Areas offers the first resource in being able to understand what the State Park’s role in Jordan Lake is catered to. It is also important to mention the other recreation areas: Falls Lake (Durham Co), Kerr Lake (NC/VA Border) and Fort Fisher (NC Coast). One of these three is not like the rest. Fort Fisher is the only State Recreation Area on the list that was not constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers and subsequently leased in part to the North Carolina State Park System. Falls Lake and Kerr Lake comparatively similar to Jordan Lake, due in part to the fact that they were all created with the purpose of Flood Control in mind, as well as all being later developed to sites of recreation rather than conservation and preservation.

This introduction to recreation areas and its designation at Jordan Lake is simple enough to understand. Upon visiting Jordan Lake, its dedication to recreation can be easily understood as one can see beaches, boat ramps and observation decks all within site of one another. However, while exploring other places within the State Park System, I stumbled upon other parks, and want to raise a question. While traveling, I visited Pettigrew State Park, its big “claim to fame” being Lake Phelps, a 17000 acre natural lake. Boating in the lake is limited to electric boats, in hopes of promoting healthier wildlife. When visiting the educational center at Pettigrew State Park, a replica of a thousand year old dugout canoe sits in the middle of the space – with a plaque that describes the finding of this ancient canoe in the middle of the lake. I mention this
lake, because I believe it illustrates an important difference in the State Park System and must shape the understanding one has of Jordan Lake State Recreation Area. Pettigrew State Park helps inform us of the difference in the natural and the manmade. State Recreation Areas, aside from being largely developed recreation spaces, also often exist in spaces that have been largely shaped and molded by human influence, rather than natural creation.

Just to reiterate before going further, State Recreation Areas are 1) highly developed, 2) often created by manmade influence and 3) focus on recreation rather than preservation. I want to specifically highlight these points because I believe they create a “perfect storm” for forgetting the past. This thesis has explored the complexity of “layers” in many different lights. Most literally, I discussed the “layering” of time and history as it pertained to the land and previous occupants of Jordan Lake – both Native and Settler. However, there is also something to be noted about the man made layer of Jordan Lake. In the beginning the lake was flooded. History was physically placed below the surface, under a layer of water. History was naturalized to become a space that was more about the water and land, than the people that lived there. From there, recreation sites were developed – campgrounds created, parking lots paved, and spaces shaped to allow for a picturesque recreation space. Today, boats and inner tubes speed across the lake, kayakers explore channels and inlets, and hikers are able to catch glimpses of a soaring bald eagle high over head. All of this recreation is able to exist because of Jordan Lake’s development and the way that history and past is layered, submerged and ultimately forgotten by the people on the “surface.”

Where the Army Corps and State Park Meet

At this point, one may begin to question why I have devoted such a large chunk of this chapter to the explanation of Jordan Lake as a space for public safety and public recreation. This
brings us back to the question of who “the public” is and which “public matters.” The word public often evokes feeling of entirety and a large community of connected individuals. One could even assume that “public” in terms of safety and recreation are encompassing of all residents and park goers either directly or indirectly affected by the lake’s creations. However, I want to challenge that in the case of Jordan Lake, the “public” is much more specific than a broad “everyone”.

Their projects are created with the intention of benefitting and supporting the “public”, and in the case of Jordan Lake, it is to limit flood damage down stream. I want to argue, that in terms of “public safety” there was a primary and secondary “public” to keep safe. The primary “public” space are the people that existed downstream of the Cape Fear, namely near Fayetteville, NC. When Hurricane No. 9 ravaged North Carolina in 1945, disastrous flooding ransacked Fayetteville, and left the Army Corps with a decision to act. However, this would ultimately lead to the displacement of 224 families, relocation of over 1000 gravesites, and the flooding of many acres of farming and timberland. One could argue that because of the sheer population difference between Fayetteville and the number of people displaced by Jordan Lake, and then it was not a matter of second-class citizens and an alternatively impacted public, but just a matter of an impact on the lesser of two evils. However, this is where the push for a recreation space is a necessary nuance to the push for public safety. Early on in the Jordan Lake debate, well before its official impoundment in 1982, plans for a park in Chatham County, NC were well underway. The Army Corps of Engineers began purchasing land from farmers and New Hope inhabitants as early as 1966/1967. Noted even in its earliest days, the Army Corps of Engineers was purchasing more land than would ever exist under water.
There were also measures put in place that allowed for a very particular “public” to engage and watch the construction of the dam take place. The Army Corps of Engineers built an observation deck with the intention of garner interactions with the “public”, encouraging them to participate in Jordan Lake’s creation as onlookers. Below is an image that shows visitors engaging with the dam as it was being constructed. The question remains: who were these people? However, This “public” would have been the residents of the surrounding communities who benefited form the lakes creation, but would not have necessarily included the people displaced far from the dam site.

Chatham County Herald, September 2 1981
Who exactly is this “public”? What do they look like? What do they do? From a safety perspective, the residents of Fayetteville are the ever-important public. However, who is the public that is recreating in Jordan Lake? For this particular point, I want to reference “A Profile of the Typical North Carolina State Park Visitor” published in the 1988 version of the Systemwide Plan of the North Carolina State Park System. On page 51, the “typical visitor” is described as a “38-year old white male who attended but did not graduate from college; is employed full time; has an annual family income of between $30,000 and $34,999; and drove 75 miles one way with his family, which includes 1.5 children, to visit the park. He is familiar with the park because he visits it approximately 10 times a year. He spends $2.23 for each hour of the visit and spends more than $915.00 each year on recreation (Systemwide Plan, 1988, 51) Further down, it is explained that he visits because of convenience and lack of overpopulation, with an overall positive experience of the park. This profile was published in the first system wide plan, published by the state park system and provided important feedback on how to create the park system for this “typical visitor.” Another notable fact from this same section is that 71% of all state park visitors are families or families and friends. This is a very particular view of the public and deserves a fair discussion before moving forward.

The typical public that the state park system was serving at the time of the dam’s opening reminds us of some particularly important demographics. The average visitor was of white families of the working class. This is important because it means that recreation at Jordan Lake is not for the upper echelon of socioeconomic status. However, this group also has the proclivity to travel for its use of the state park. This would then indicate that although there is a lower socioeconomic status involved (NC Median in 1988 was around 44,000 dollars, US Census
Bureau), there is also enough of a disposable income to recreate at a place that is far enough from “home” to be exotic - in this case, on average, 75 miles. This very particular view of the public is rather interesting, because it appears to completely ignore the other identities of visitors (or non visitors) - including people of color, individuals not in a relationship, and people who are in non-traditional families. In fact, one could argue that this particular view of the visitor ultimately does not serve the publics that were impacted by the lake’s creation - those close living communities, and the people of color that were displaced.

Questioning which public matters becomes increasingly important as Jordan Lake’s purpose for public safety becomes muddled with the importance of public recreation. If the lake was designed to be a space of recreational enjoyment and development, in addition to its primarily flood-control space, then one could infer that those that benefited from the lake from a strictly recreational standpoint were members of “the public” that would be arguably more important than the “public” negatively impacted by Jordan Lake’s creation. In other words, the Lake in its modern form – highly developed recreation space, both on and off the water, cater to a very particular “public” – those who are able to boat, to camp, to lounge along the lake’s shorelines; however, in catering to this “public”, I must ask, is there a “public” that is left out, and forgotten? As I continue below, the argument that instead this “public” left out is also a “public space” that is essential to understanding the question of “who matters”.

The Public and Their Fascination with Creation

Ultimately, this discussion of safety and recreation leads me to my final, large topic of discussion. Jordan Lake has been created with a specific “public” in mind. The space exists to cater to a public that is dedicated to recreation and fascinated with nature. However, I want to challenge that the public visits Jordan Lake with only an interest in “natural” recreation; rather,
there is a push and fascination with recreation that intertwines with the human-involved history of the lake. To explain this further, I want to reference a couple of the visits that I made to Jordan Lake during November 2017. During the fall of 2017, North Carolina was experiencing a relatively serious drought, which left Jordan Lake below normal lake levels during the month of November. Having spent a large amount of time around the lake, I found myself exploring roads that I traveled less frequently to see if I could encounter something that was unique and new to myself as well. This led me to the north section of the lake, somewhere between Seaforth and Fearrington.

UNC North Carolina Maps: https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ncmaps/id/8981
This section of the lake was something rather severe to look at, as shoreline hidden by the water was exposed again. However, shoreline was not the only item exposed. Instead, previously submerged structures from a time long ago reappeared. A section of an old road that crossed an old stream could be seen, and even traversed. It was this warm Sunday in mid November that I first encountered this road. With my curiosity peaked, I decided to explore this structure, take a few pictures and explore something that I could not regularly find. I was not alone though, and many individuals, families, and pets alike were wandering the exposed shoreline and traversing the freed asphalt road.

I begin with this anecdote because I believe it helps illustrate a strange fascination “the public” and those who interact with the lake have with the history that is submerged and layered upon at Jordan Lake. Whereas the Army Corps of Engineers and the State Park System have spent millions of dollars in creating a space that is largely “natural,” there is an interest in understanding what may be created at Jordan Lake as well. Moving forward, I want to think again about the discussion from the beginning of the chapter with the museum docent. I find myself returning to this conversation, because what she conveyed to me was a thought that I grew up thinking about when I visited Jordan Lake. Though the question of how the lake came about is not asked as often, there is still a bit of curiosity in understanding what exists below the surface – or more specifically – what human (created) exists below the surface. Much in the same manner that people would traverse the old exposed road, or how the docent delighted in telling about the flooded community, or even a young child swimming in the lake while thinking about a full town existing below the surface, there is some morbid curiosity surrounding the manmade and the unseen. After all, this thesis is quite literally an iteration of a project rooted in uncovering a submerged town created by a lake in the mountains of North Carolina.
I mention all of these examples and anecdotes with the following statement in mind: nature is a huge part of recreation, but there is an odd, almost innate, fascination with the created, especially as it exists in spaces that are not always available to be seen. While Jordan Lake exists as a place of public safety and a place of natural recreation, there is also something about the lake – and it’s submerged history – that entices and draws in the public, and that is the legacy of man left behind in a place that is supposed to exist as something purely natural. As I wrap up this chapter, I just want to close with this: *the public the lake is created for is fascinated and intrigued by the created histories of the lake.*

*Exposed road during Jordan Lake’s drought in Nov. 2017*
Conclusion

As I begin the conclusion of this paper I want to reiterate the final statement of my third chapter: *the public the lake is created for is fascinated and intrigued by the created histories of the lake*. This statement is critical to keep in mind, because I believe it implies a necessity to support the expansion and depth of the historical education and recognition at the public spaces within Jordan Lake. Further, I believe it is an obligation to take the complex histories of New Hope Valley and teaches the general public about the people and land that were impacted and shaped by the creation of the Jordan Lake.

However, before I move forward, I believe it will be helpful to reiterate the ideas from my three particular chapters, their particular connections and how this ultimately helps the message at the beginning of this page. Referencing early on in this particular work, the importance of the physical spaces is my preliminary investigation into Jordan Lake. The lake’s human history is broad and complex, with occupation by indigenous peoples as well as European settlers. Both worked particularly close to the land, creating a bond with the physical ground. Consequently, the indigenous history of the land, however long and forgotten before the European settlers, also played a critical role in allowing the government entities to also establish a claim, one that would ultimately circumvent the claims made by the individual living in the New Hope Valley at the time of the dam’s construction. This particular idea is especially important, because the physical nature of the lake is the first way that visitors interact with it, and it is often the histories that are displayed and highlighted in the educational centers at the particular lakes (see visitor center overviews in the introduction). It is the very physical nature of the land that allowed for history to be created, destroyed and flooded by the lake. It is also the physical nature that claims were created and emphasized with in the battle for land ownership.
Ultimately it is the physical land that leads us to chapter two, and the importance of home, safety, and security with the land and how that is revealed in the personal narratives.

Chapter two took the claims that were made in chapter one, and provided a narrative approach to support these claims. In a clearer sense, using newspapers, documentaries, and interviews, the stories that were told overtime crafted a sense of home tied to the land of the lake. I referenced the stories of James Farrar and Paul McCoy, both of whom were impacted by the creation of the lake, and are still alive to tell the tale. After these interviews, I realized that there was a sense of “home” found with this land – and it was this “home” that led folks to “fight for activism” to try and slow down the creation of the lake. Chapter two also takes the story of the lake and explores some of the lesser-known aspects of the lake – and how minority populations were experiencing a different aftermath from the lake. The discussion of the Ebenezer AME Zion Church is incredibly important, because their story represents an alternate side to the landed debate. The Ebenezer AME Zion Church experienced a relatively profitable aftermath – and was able to build and expand an updated and modernized church from the money used to relocate their church. Ultimately, in addition to establishing a narrative approach to the land, chapter two also established that there were multiple histories of people living on the land in the New Hope Valley and all were impacted in a different and unique manner. Even though I am a relative insider to Jordan Lake, I found the research in this particular chapter to bring to light a unique and diverse perspective that I had not formally thought about in the past. This lack of knowledge on my own part reveals the importance of chapter three, and the creation and work completed for the very particular public by the Army Corps of Engineers and State Park System.

This brings the conversation back to chapter three. Chapter three examines the public organizations that created the lake – the Army Corps of Engineers and the State Park System –
and how they created the park ultimately for very specific “public”. Chapters one and two reveal
the different sets of “publics” that were impacted by the lake – the indigenous populations, the
European settlers living in the area, and the people of color and other marginalized communities
that lived in the area. It is in Chapter Three that I examined how the lake was created and
established that ultimately the “public” that Jordan Lake was created for was very different than
the “publics” that were impacted by the lake’s creation. Some of these publics include the
inhabitants of the lower Cape Fear River and the park goers that participate and recreate at
Jordan Lake. However, what Chapter Three ultimately argues, is that the people visiting the lake
– through recreation – are also interested in the layered and submerged histories of the lake. It is
this interest in the histories of the lake that bring this overview back to the initial statement at the
beginning of this chapter: the public the lake is created for is fascinated and intrigued by the
created histories of the lake.

Missing Pieces

This paper has strived to uncover the collective histories of those that once occupied the
realm of land that is not apart of the present day Jordan Lake and Dam collective. However, I
would be remiss to say that this paper is all encompassing and has examined Jordan Lake to
complete depth. I want to spend the next few paragraphs discussing some of my own areas of
growth in this project, and should the work be continued one day, I want these next points to be
an appropriate starting place. To start, I believe that there is still much to be learned about the
Native American history with the land around Jordan Lake. I attempt to begin the conversation
on Native history in this paper, however I believe there is still much to be learned. Many of the
materials that I was able to secure for this paper were created by large government organizations
that did not clearly have Native involvement. I would like to see this research to be continued
and expanded, but instead, I believe the voice of the Native American descendants of these communities would be both powerful and important in understanding what was lost, physically and historically, when the land was covered.

In addition to the Native Americans that were impacted by the lakes creation, Jordan Lake displaced many settler families in the late 1960s. I began this process with abundant newspaper sources and a couple interviews that highlighted some of the key players that I was able to secure in the timeframe of this paper. These voices are critical, and as time becomes an increasingly important factor in securing these narratives, it also becomes increasingly important to document the stories of those that were displaced – and ultimately, in a dream realm, all the stories of those who were displaced. Two hundred and twenty four families were displaced, and I believe that the only appropriate goal for the grand-academic-scheme of this paper resides in the desire to hear from all of those people that were displaced. However, I think this narrative collection could also move to encompass organizations that I was not able to gather during my project. Convenience stores and churches that lost attendance, but were not necessarily displaced, likely have a more nuanced understanding of Jordan Lake. I believe this could be critical in understanding the lake as a whole, even though it may not have been as appropriate for this short paper.

One narrative that I desperately wanted to explore, but found difficulty in finding stories telling this history were those of the sharecroppers who worked on the large farms. This particular group of people lost sustenance without compensation, and continued work to uncover these stories would be key. In addition, exploration of those who built the lake without claim to the land would likely offer a unique and diverse perspective to this project.
To reiterate, I believe further work should be done in the areas that continue to expose and uncover the voices that were not found in depth within this project. With the exception of a privileged few, there were many people that made losses and gains with Jordan Lake, but their voice has been lost to time, and to a whiter, wealthier, majority. Encompassing these narratives in further research is not only critical to well rounded academic work, but is essential to the success of this type of research as a whole.

**Human Rights**

Before I briefly finish with a call to action, I want to bring back around the idea of the importance of memory, and how this relates into a greater human rights discussion. This paper is truly about understanding and preserving the memory of those people who once occupied the New Hope Valley. Though this paper’s focus is niche, it manages to capture the importance of memory – as it tells the story of a unique community, while addressing a much bigger question (historical education). This paper has served to educate the reader on who the people of New Hope Valley were and some of their experiences as it relates to the creation of Jordan Lake. This is forever a permanent collection that represents a community’s memory of a land forever submerged. Though small in geographic area of study, this paper encompasses a large argument in the grand scheme of human rights. No matter how big, or how small, preserving a legacy, the memory, of communities in the past is important in understanding how to move forward. New Hope Valley is no different.

**It’s Time To Educate**

And as I finish this paper, I want to close with a call to action to those in the North Carolina State Park System and the Army Corps of Engineers:
It is time to educate those who visit the lake, not only on its ecological history, but to also educate the masses on what this land was before it was a lake entirely. So much of New Hope Valley’s history is rooted in the legacies of those who made home with the land, and who worked and cultivated it’s soil. Tribute to these folks need not be limited to a sentence or a small board, but instead a detailed reflection on what building the lake meant for those displaced, and for those with whom their histories became submerged. It is only appropriate for the State Park System and the Army Corps of Engineers to expand the community’s knowledge of the lakes past.

*Legacies don’t have to stay submerged forever. Research. Create. Educate.*
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