

**AN EXPLORATION OF TENNESSEE'S HISTORIC HOTELS
AS CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM ASSETS**

by

Virginia Foster Cannon

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Public History**

**Middle Tennessee State University
December 2017**

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Carroll Van West, Chair

Dr. Mary A. Evins

Dr. C. Brenden Martin

Dr. Kathryn Sikes

To Lolly, Mark, Julie and Mom who embraced my journey into the world of
historic hotels as their own.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Two people launched me on my path toward historic hotels and a PhD in Public History at MTSU. Ridley Wills II friend and author of *The Hermitage at 100: Nashville's First Million Dollar Hotel* who both gave me a copy of his book as a wedding gift and raved about the report on Glen Leven Farm by Dr. Carroll Van West and the project team at the Center for Historic Preservation (CHP). Not long after Dr. Vivien Fryd at Vanderbilt showed me to how to read buildings and give voice to the stories encased in plaster and stone. I was hooked and there was no going back.

Thank you to my committee: Dr. West, Dr. Mary A. Evins, Dr. C. Brenden Martin and Dr. Kathryn Sikes. Dr. West, thank you for introducing me to fieldwork and showing me what makes Tennessee truly exceptional – its people, history and rural landscapes. Some of the best thinking I did in grad school was in preparation for our meetings. You challenged me intellectually and supported by growth in equal measure. Dr. Evins, thank you for making the Progressive era and women's history come alive. Dr. Martin, your scholarship on Southern heritage tourism and Jekyll Island influenced my conception of cultural heritage tourism and historic hotels. Your enthusiasm for my scholarship uplifted me. Dr. Sikes, thank you for introducing me to the concept of taskscape and showing me the value of polyvocal texts.

Thank you to Lee Curtis heritage guru at the Department of Tourist Development who was my mentor and friend during my professional residency. Our trips to Lynnville, Tennessee to meet Colonel Littleton and to Berea, Kentucky for the Appalachian Regional Commission workshop will never be forgotten! Thank you also to Kim Parks at Historic Lebanon for giving me the opportunity to learn more about how Main Street programs work. Lastly, thank you to the staff members at the historic hotels who gave me “backstage” tours. Climbing the clock tower at Union Station in Nashville, Tennessee, visiting the kitchen with the Duckmaster at the Peabody Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee and exploring the boiler room at the Southern Hotel in Jackson, Tennessee were highlights of my fieldwork.

Thank you to my friends and colleagues at MTSU in the History Department and the Center for Historic Preservation. Fieldwork, CHP projects and interesting conferences kept me engaged and excited about the field. My experience would have been very different without the friendship of Noel Harris, Teresa Prober, Rebekah Brummett, Kelle Knight, Jessi White, Aleia Brown, Lydia Simpson, Denise Gallagher, Susan Knowles, Savannah Grandey, Stacey Graham, Kira Duke and Antoinette Van Zelm. Jeanne Meyers at Memphis, you will always be my #1 conference buddy. Here's to our next five panels together.

Thank you to my network of friends and family who provided comfort, encouragement and distractions. Special thanks go out to Julie Wong, Amanda Parsons, Moe Loughlin, Trish Luna, Keltie Peay, Bonnie Spear, Cara Redmond, Megan Koller, Chelsae Partosan, Rene

Dilliard, Laing Ridders, Laurie & Jim Smith, John & Stephanie Foster and Mark & Betty Cannon. It truly takes a village.

Eternal thanks to my wonderful husband Mark who talked through cultural heritage tourism concepts with me almost daily for months on end. His humor and support got me through this. And lastly to my daughter Lolly who has only ever known me as a grad student. Her sense of adventure and keen eye made her an excellent fieldwork partner. Lolly's love of high tea and historic hotels rivals mine!

ABSTRACT

Partnerships are the foundation on which public history is built. As federal funding waivers, public historians must seek out partners whose interests are aligned, have access to capital and possess robust platforms to reach the public. This dissertation illustrates the intersecting interests of public historians, cultural heritage tourism professionals and historic hotel professionals namely their focus on compelling stories, preservation and authenticity using Tennessee as an example.

As “landscape artifacts” and “community symbols,” historic hotels have the potential to not only be a draw for a tourist destination but also act as anchors in community development. Historic hotels, as a platform to disseminate interpretation, hold great promise for public historians. Best practices in hotel marketing are discussed as marketing and interpretation go hand-in-hand. Building on current scholarship, a review of *Hotel Monthly*, a hotel trade journal, in the 1910s and 1920s helps to challenge the hospitality industry’s narrative that first-class hotels were rarified spaces frequented solely by the rich and powerful. Furthermore, hotels were centers of technical and managerial innovation.

Field research highlighted the thirty-one individually National Register-listed hotels and inns in Tennessee as well as cataloged their current uses, representation in Tennessee Department of Tourist Development literature and how the themes of music, transportation networks and ghost tourism link many of the hotels. The Peabody Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee and the Colored Hotel in Union City, Tennessee are used as case studies to illustrate how public historians can help to deepen the narrative at historic hotels thereby

strengthening historical interpretation and sense of place. This dissertation makes the case that shifting the lens from heritage tourism to cultural heritage tourism will broaden historic hotels' platform and thereby public historians' reach as well as help the state achieve its goal of moving from Top 10 to Top 5 tourist destination in the United States.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER ONE: BENEFITS OF A BROADENED FRAME OF REFERENCE AND PARTNERSHIP MODEL.....	7
Historic Hotels of America and Historic Hotels Worldwide.....	17
CHAPTER TWO: DEEPER DIVE INTO THE HISTORY OF HISTORIC HOTELS.....	27
Much More than Rarefied Spaces	28
The Work that Made “Modern Marvels” Possible.....	53
CHAPTER THREE: TENNESSEE’S HISTORIC HOTELS THROUGH A HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT LENS.....	71
Preliminary Heritage Development Plan for National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee.....	76
Radio Stations & Music.....	84
Transportation Networks.....	91
Ghost Tourism.....	96
CHAPTER FOUR: TENNESSEE’S HISTORIC HOTELS WRIT LARGE.....	102
CHAPTER FIVE: NARRATIVES AND OPPORTUNITIES FROM THE TENNESSEE DELTA.....	115
The Peabody.....	119
The Colored Hotel.....	141
CONCLUSION.....	158
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	161
APPENDICES.....	189
APPENDIX A: PRELIMINARY HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT PLAN NATIONAL REGISTER-LISTED HOTELS AND INNS IN TENNESSEE.....	190
APPENDIX B: CULTURAL HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PEABODY.....	284
APPENDIX C: CULTURAL HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT	

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE COLORED HOTEL.....	286
--	-----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Venn Diagram of Public Historians, Cultural Heritage Tourism Professionals and Hospitality Industry Professionals.....	7
Figure 1.2: Historic vs. Contemporary Hotels by CBRE.....	21
Figure 1.3: “American Dreams”.....	25
Figure 1.4: “American Dreams” – Heritage & Culture Sub Category.....	25
Figure 2.1: Combination Bedroom-Sample Room at the Southern Hotel in Baltimore, Maryland (1918).....	32
Figure 2.2: Typical Room at the Southern Hotel in Baltimore, Maryland (1918).....	33
Figure 2.3: Advertisement for Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City, Utah (1922).....	34
Figure 2.4: Advertisement for Multiple Hotels Statler Properties (1922).....	35
Figure 2.5: Advertisement for the Jefferson Hotel in Dallas, Texas (1922).....	36
Figure 2.6: “Ladies’ Entrance, Hotel Woodstock, New York” (circa 1910).....	39
Figure 2.7: “Ladies’ Parlor, Merritt Jones Hotel, Ocean Park, Cal.” (circa 1910).....	39
Figure 2.8: “Ladies Parlor on the Ground Floor, Hotel Pullman, Hot Springs, Ark.” (circa 1910).....	40
Figure 2.9: Detail from Hotel Directory at the Hotel Warwick in St. Louis, Missouri.....	41
Figure 2.10: Ground Floor (Left) and Second Floor (Right) of Hotel Courtland in Kokoma, Indiana (1916).....	43
Figure 2.11: Basement Floor Plan Julien-Dubuque in Dubuque, Iowa (1916).....	45
Figure 2.12: Ground Floor Floor Plan Julien-Dubuque in Dubuque, Iowa (1916).....	46
Figure 2.13: Mezzanine Floor Plan Julien-Dubuque in Dubuque, Iowa (1916).....	47
Figure 2.14: Waitress at the Pastry Wagon at the Grand Pacific Hotel in Chicago, Illinois (1918).....	51

Figure 2.15: “Male Help Dining Room” on the Left. “Employees Dining Room” and “Female Helps Dining Room” on the Right, Hotel Statler-St. Louis in St. Louis, Missouri (1916).....	52
Figure 2.16: Advertisement for Multiple Properties Managed by J.B. Pound (1922).....	56
Figure 2.17: Sample Daily Operations Report for the Engineering Department of a Large Hotel (1922).....	58
Figure 2.18: Sample Bill of Fare for a Modern Hotel in the 1920s.....	60
Figure 2.19: Kitchen Floor Plan for Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis, Indiana (1918)...	62
Figure 2.20: Lobby Floor Plan for Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis, Indiana (1918).....	63
Figure 2.21: Mezzanine Floor Plan for Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis, Indiana (1918).....	64
Figure 2.22: “Scenes in the Kitchen by the Checkers” (1897).....	66
Figure 2.23: The Black Cat Room, Hotel Chisca in Memphis, Tennessee (1922).....	68
Figure 4.1: Union Station, Exterior, in Nashville, Tennessee (2015).....	109
Figure 4.2: Union Station, Interior, in Nashville, Tennessee (2015).....	110
Figure 4.3: Chattanooga Choo Choo, Exterior and Detail of Plaques, in Chattanooga, Tennessee (2014).....	110
Figure 4.4: Armour’s, Interior, in Red Boiling Springs, Tennessee (2014).....	111
Figure 4.5: Hermitage Hotel, Interior, in Nashville, Tennessee (2015).....	112
Figure 5.1: The Peabody, Exterior, in Memphis, Tennessee (2016).....	119
Figure 5.2: Frank Schutt.....	120
Figure 5.3: Hotel Peabody Staff (1928).....	124
Figure 5.4: “Hotel Managers and Their Wives Assembled in the Italian Room, Where They Held Their Sessions” (1929).....	125
Figure 5.5: Debutants (1929).....	126

Figure 5.6: Alonzo Locke (Left) and Alonzo Locke Conference Room (Right) at the Peabody in Memphis, Tennessee (2016).....	129
Figure 5.7: Alonzo Locke (Front Row Center) and Wait Staff at the Peabody.....	134
Figure 5.8: Former Site of the Colored Hotel, in Union City, Tennessee (2015).....	141
Figure 5.9: <i>The Negro Motorist Green Book</i> (1938).....	144
Figure 5.10: The Colored Hotel in Union City, Tennessee (2014).....	150
Figure 5.11: 439 East State Street, Murfreesboro, Tennessee (2016).....	156

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee (2015).....	82
Table 3.2: Functioning Hotels as of July 2015.....	84
Table 3.3: Hotels Associated with Radio Stations & Music (2015).....	85
Table 3.4: Hotels Associated with Transportation Networks (2015).....	92
Table 3.5: Hotels Associated with Ghost Tourism (2015).....	99
Table 5.1: Tennessee Accommodations (1949).....	154

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, public historians have grappled with what public history means. How does the field compare with “regular” history and how does this impact how public historians are trained?¹ What disciplines fall under the public history umbrella?² What types of jobs are appropriate for public historians?³ Public historians remain convinced of the fundamental need for applied history in the public sphere and that it should be accomplished in a collaborative manner with “community members, stakeholders, and professional colleagues.” In fact, “some contend that collaboration is a fundamental and defining characteristic of what public historians do.”⁴ Today’s challenge centers on securing partners who have both access to capital as well as platforms capable of expanding public history’s reach.

Public history in the United States faces a funding crossroads as traditional sources are threatened with outright elimination or significant cuts. The White House’s proposal for fiscal year 2018 sought to eliminate the National Endowment of the Humanities (NEH), Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS), National Heritage

¹ “About the Field,” National Council on Public History, accessed July 12, 2017, <http://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/>; James M. Banner, “A New Era for the Discipline of History,” *Perspectives on History*, April 2005, accessed July 12, 2017, <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectivesonhistory/april-2005/a-new-era-for-the-discipline-of-history>; Robert Kelley, “Public History: Its Origins, Nature, and Prospects,” *The Public Historian*, 1 (Fall 1978): 16-28; Benjamin Filene, “Training Public Historians: Academy and Reality,” *History News*, Winter 2006, accessed July 12, 2017, <http://about.aaslh.org/training-public-historians-academy-and-reality/>.

² James B. Gardner and Peter S. LaPaglia, eds., *Public History: Essays from the Field*. *Public History Series*, (Malabar, FL: Kreiger Publishing Company, 1999).

³ Matthew Exline, “Looking For a Job in Public History: An Outsider’s Perspective,” National Council on Public History, July 4, 2013, accessed July 12, 2017, <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/looking-for-a-job-in-public-history-an-outsiders-perspective/>; Richard Anderson, “Public History, Academic History, and the ‘Job Crisis,’” National Council on Public History, April 2, 2012, accessed July 12, 2017, <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/public-history-academic-history-and-the-job-crisis/>.

⁴ “About the Field,” National Council on Public History.

Areas, and regional economic development agencies such as the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) and the Delta Regional Authority (DRA).⁵ In Tennessee, these cuts would be felt deeply especially in rural counties where alternate local sources are difficult to secure. The Tennessee Department of Economic and Community Development classifies 93% of the state as rural.⁶ Humanities Tennessee, whose largest funding source is the NEH, makes grants to rural museums and community history programs.⁷ IMLS provides financial support to libraries across the state that house archives and put on history exhibits. The Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, a program administered by the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University for the National Park Service, supports research, preservation and promotion of Civil War resources from digital collections to interpretive markers.⁸ Lastly, ARC and DRA provide critical funding and support to foster economic development in 73 of the 95

⁵ Philip Kennicott and Peggy McGlone, "Trump Wants to Cut the NEA and NEH. This is the Worst-Case Scenario for Arts Groups," *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2017, accessed May 25, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/with-elimination-of-nea-and-neh-trumps-budget-is-worst-case-scenario-for-arts-groups/2017/03/15/5291645a-09bb-11e7-a15f-a58d4a988474_story.html?utm_term=.c3e7b742b4d3; Taylor Tepper, "Trump's Budget Eliminates These 19 Federal Agencies. Here's What They Do – and Cost," *Time*, March 16, 2017, accessed May 25, 2017, <http://time.com/money/4703511/budget-cuts-donald-trump-federal-agencies/>; Elan Young, "Proposed Federal Budget Cuts Spell Trouble for NPS and Smokies," *Knoxville Mercury*, April 5, 2017, accessed May 25, 2017, <http://www.knoxmercury.com/2017/04/05/proposed-federal-budget-cuts-spell-trouble-nps-smokies>; Jackie Zubrzycki, "New Trump Budget Eliminates Arts, Humanities, Library Agencies," *Education Week*, May 23, 2017, accessed May 25, 2017, http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/curriculum/2017/05/arts_endowments_budget_cuts.html.

⁶ "Rural Areas," Tennessee Department of Health, accessed May 31, 2017, <http://tn.gov/health/article/healthy-places-rural-areas>.

⁷ "Call to Action: Oppose Elimination of the National Endowment for the Humanities," Humanities Tennessee, March 16, 2017, accessed June 13, 2017, <http://humanitiestennessee.org/article/call-action-oppose-elimination-national-endowment-humanities>.

⁸ "Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area," Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, accessed June 13, 2017, <http://www.tncivilwar.org/>; "Trials, Triumphs, and Transformations: Tennesseans' Search for Citizenship, Community, and Opportunity," Middle Tennessee State University, accessed June 13, 2017, <http://dsi.mtsu.edu/trials/>.

counties in the state.⁹ With wavering federal support, public historians must evaluate their current partnerships in light of alignment of interests and continued access to funding.

Cultural heritage tourism and historic hotel partners should top the list.

Cultural heritage tourism is not only one of the largest and fastest growing segments of global tourism market but was also a key driver of Tennessee's \$18.4 billion dollar tourism market in 2015.¹⁰ The Tennessee Department of Tourist Development (TDTD) views tourism favorably because it employed 157,000 people, contributed \$3.6 billion in payroll taxes and generated \$1.6 billion in state and local tax revenues.¹¹ While all 95 counties saw more than \$1 million in economic impact from tourism, five markets derived the maximum benefit.¹² To move up in the ranking from the Top 10 to the Top 5 travel destination in the United States, TDTD needs to support the development of rural communities into tourist destinations.¹³ As "landscape artifacts" and "community symbols," historic hotels have the potential to not only be a draw for a tourist destination but to also act as anchors of community development.¹⁴

Historic hotels, as platforms to disseminate interpretation, hold great promise for public historians. Why? Historic hotels are commercial ventures outside of public historians normal purview of academic conferences, journals and to a lesser extent

⁹ "State of Tennessee Lead Conference," Tennessee Department of Economic & Community Development, October 26, 2016, https://www.tn.gov/assets/entities/education/attachments/cte_eed_tn_landscape.pdf, 9.

¹⁰ "The Soundtrack of America: Made in Tennessee. 2016 Annual Report," Tennessee Department of Tourist Development, accessed October 26, 2016, http://industry.tnvacation.com/sites/default/files/TDTD_2016_AnnualReport.pdf, 13.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 14.

¹³ Ibid., i.

¹⁴ Karl B. Raitz and John Paul Jones III, "The City Hotel as Landscape Artifact and Community Symbol," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 9, no. 1 (1988): 17.

museums and public buildings. Working with historic hotels broadens the reach and expands the audience for public historians.

But, historic hotels are a different kind of partner. If they go out of business, the platform disappears. In a commercial venture, marketing works hand-in-hand with interpretation and preservation. Marketing, in particular internet marketing, is an essential component of the platform and marketers cannot tell the stories alone. Public historians are trained in research methods and well versed in placing stories within their historic contexts.

The literature on historic hotels is thin and even thinner in the realm of public history. Historic hotels as subject matters lend themselves to exploring difficult subjects such as race, gender and labor history. Inserting different voices will help transform hotel interpretation into “polyvocal text[s] whose divergent messages compete for our attention.”¹⁵ At its core, public history’s purpose is original scholarship, education and public engagement. This idea was expressed well in a recent TV interview: “It is not just a historic conversation but a contemporary conversation as well.”¹⁶

Historic hotels have great potential as cultural tourism assets because they root people in place and give people historic places to explore. Historic hotels want people to stay – heritage is a tool for them to engage visitors and the community. This dissertation will explore the partnership model and show how valuable it can be for public historians. Furthermore, it will show how historic hotels are potential community cultural heritage

¹⁵ Dell Upton, “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” in *Material Life in America 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1998), 362.

¹⁶ ““I am Man Plaza” Coming to Memphis,” wreg.com, August 17, 2017, accessed September 16, 2017. <http://wreg.com/2017/08/17/i-am-a-man-plaza-coming-to-memphis/>.

centers and have the potential to drive economic development in rural areas thereby enriching today's Tennesseans with authentic stories from their past.

Chapter One explores intersections between public historians, cultural heritage tourism industry professionals and hospitality industry professionals. Their shared focus on compelling stories, preservation and authenticity makes partnering together mutually beneficial. Best practices in historic hotel marketing are discussed.

Chapter Two explores how public historians can help to deepen the narrative at historic hotels thereby strengthening historical interpretation and sense of place. The first part of the chapter challenges hotel marketers' portrayal of historic hotels as rarefied spaces frequented by prominent people. That narrative only tells part of the story, and a fanciful one at that, of who could be found in these places in the early twentieth century. Hotels were full of different people, historical actors in their own right. With people of different gender, age, race, ethnic identity and class, there was understandably conflict, some out front, other hidden, most rarely acknowledged. The second part challenges the lens of nostalgia that clouds most contemporary views of historic hotels. At the turn of the century historic hotels, particularly larger ones in urban settings, were a "city within a city" and acting as "self-regulating" machines. Understanding the technical and managerial expertise required to manage these properties opens up the interpretive potential – and marketing bonanza – of historic hotels as places of rich, challenging and complex stories.

Chapters Three, Four and Five explore historic hotels in Tennessee as tourism assets. Chapter Three sets the stage by exploring tourism in Tennessee and in particular how TDTD would benefit from increasing its focus on cultural heritage tourism. It then

explores a historic preservation-centered perspective through my professional residency report titled “The Preliminary Heritage Development Plan for National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee.” Chapter Four explores the broader landscape of historic hotels in Tennessee and explores how adopting a culture heritage tourism perspective would be beneficial for public historians. Chapter Five studies the interpretation potential of two types of historic hotels in Tennessee: the Peabody Memphis, a large urban property that is a tourism destination in and of itself and the Colored Hotel, an African American hotel that shed light on African American travel during segregation. Before this dissertation was completed, the Colored Hotel was demolished. This was a missed opportunity to preserve and interpret an important chapter of Tennessee’s history. How many more resources can we afford to lose?

CHAPTER ONE: BENEFITS OF A BROADENED FRAME OF REFERENCE AND PARTNERSHIP MODEL

A sweet spot of intersecting interests exists between public historians, cultural heritage tourism professionals and the hospitality industry professionals. Despite their differences, these groups overlap in three important areas, namely their desire to tell compelling stories, preserve historic properties and focus on authenticity. To take advantage of the opportunity, all groups must broaden their frame of reference and be willing to partner with each other. Historic Hotels of America (HHA), a marketing program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, provides an interesting case of how public historians and industry professionals could work together for their mutual benefit.



Figure 1.1: Venn Diagram of Public Historians, Cultural Heritage Tourism Professionals and Hospitality Industry Professionals

In *The Americans: The National Experience* (1965) Daniel J. Boorstin identified the unique attributes of American hotels and the extraordinary role they played in shaping

the nation.¹ In the nineteenth century, American “first-class” hotels were known as “palaces of the public” or “people’s palaces” where the “the great, the rich, and the powerful” convened.² But hotels also had a public function in fledgling cities and towns as they were home to exchanges, civic committees and business associations.³

Hotels not only served cities in which they were located but also helped to create them.⁴ The presence a first-class hotel signaled the financial viability of a city thus building them was a priority for city boosters. Boorstin explained, “Even into the twentieth century, hotels typically remained among the grandest buildings in all large American cities; in medium-sized and smaller cities, they often overshadowed all other structures.”⁵ Hotels’ size and layout facilitated the development of a distinctly American and new type of gathering – the convention. By the mid twentieth century, there were eighteen thousand conventions annually accommodating ten million people and conventioners accounted for more than a third of all hotel occupancy.⁶ They also helped to pioneer the lunch counter popular with traveling businessmen and locals alike. With these new activities and types of services, social norms were challenged and became more fluid as different groups of people interacted.

But the “distinctiveness” of hotels went beyond their large size, “impressive” façades and lavish interiors to the manner in which engineering systems were

¹ Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965), 137.

² Ibid., 135.

² Ibid., 139-140.

⁴ Ibid., 142.

⁵ Ibid., 135.

⁶ Ibid., 143.

incorporated into architectural design.⁷ American hotels pioneered the incorporation of plumbing systems, cooling systems and elevators into the architectural design.⁸ By identifying hotels as “a new kind of community enterprise” with distinctive architectural and engineering features, Boorstin set the stage for much of the recent scholarship on hotels.⁹

Historians like Molly W. Berger and Lisa Pfueller Davidson view hotels as technical wonders and places where operational and managerial best practices were established and refined.¹⁰ A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, Andrew P. Haley and Susan R. Braden explore the shifting societal norms and how they turned hotels in places where gender, race and class were negotiated.¹¹ In addition to themes raised by Boorstin, another popular topic with historians is the relationship between history, “authenticity” and tourism.¹² Many historians to varying degrees appear to agree with Ted Ownby’s statement: “Tourism professionals and historians are generally at odds, with the former

⁷ Ibid., 135.

⁸ Ibid., 137.

⁹ Ibid., 135.

¹⁰ Molly W. Berger, *Hotel Dreams: Luxury, Technology, and Urban Ambition in America, 1829-1929* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins, 2011); Lisa Pfueller Davidson, “Early Twentieth-Century Hotel Architects and the Origins of Standardization,” *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (2005).

¹¹ Boorstin, *The Americans*, 147 and 144; A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2007; Andrew P. Haley, *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press), 2011; Susan R. Braden, *The Architecture of Leisure: The Florida Resort Hotels of Henry Flagler and Henry Plant* (Gainesville, FL: The University Press of Florida), 2002.

¹² Ted Ownby, “Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen, but Does Anybody Want to Hear About Them When They’re on Vacation,” in *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, & Culture in the Modern South*, edited by Richard D. Starnes (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press), 2003; Maurizio Peleggi, “Consuming Colonial Nostalgia: the Monumentalisation of Historic Hotels in Urban South-East Asia” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 46, no 3 (December 2005); Gordon Waitt, “Consuming Heritage Perceived Historical Authenticity,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4 (2000).

looking for a past that sells, and the latter seeking a past that is true.”¹³ By working together with industry professionals, public historians can help shape how the public views historic hotels.

Despite being one of the largest and fastest growing segments of the global tourism market, there is neither a universally accepted definition of “cultural heritage tourism” nor even agreement on how to refer to it (“culture and heritage tourism” and “culture/heritage tourism” are also used).¹⁴ The segment is an amalgam of “cultural tourism” focused on the arts, festivals and such intangibles as the “atmosphere of a destination” and “heritage tourism” focused on historic places and history.¹⁵ In 2005, the U.S. Department of Commerce and the President’s Committee on the Arts and Humanities defined culture and heritage tourism as:

travel directed toward experiencing the arts, heritage, and special character of a place. America’s rich heritage and culture, rooted in our history, our creativity and our diverse population, provides visitors to our communities with a wide variety of cultural opportunities, including museums, historic sites, dance, music, theater, book and other festivals, historic buildings, arts and crafts fairs, neighborhoods, and landscapes.¹⁶

¹³ Ownby, “Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen, but Does Anybody Want to Hear About Them When They’re on Vacation,” 249.

¹⁴ “Sustainable Tourism,” UNESCO; Greg Richards, “The Traditional Quantitative Approach. Surveying Cultural Tourists: Lessons from the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project,” in *Cultural Tourism Research Methods*, edited by Greg Richards and Will Munsters (Oxfordshire, UK: CAB International, 2010), 15; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, *The Impact of Culture on Tourism* (OECD, 2009), 13; U.S. Department of Commerce and the President’s Committee on the Arts and Humanities, *A Position Paper on Cultural and Heritage Tourism*, Paper developed for the 2005 U.S. Cultural and Heritage Tourism Summit, accessed February 11, 2017, http://www.pcrah.gov/sites/default/files/05WhitePaperCultHeritTourism_2.pdf.

¹⁵ Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, *The Impact of Culture and Tourism*, 13; Amy Jordan Webb, “A Decade of Heritage Tourism,” *Preservation Leadership Forum* 13, no. 4, (Summer 1999), accessed February 11, 2017, <http://forum.savingplaces.org/viewdocument/a-decade-of-heritage-tourism>.

¹⁶ U.S. Department of Commerce and the President’s Committee on the Arts and Humanities, *A Position Paper on Cultural and Heritage Tourism*.

This definition focuses on the places and types of activities cultural heritage tourism embodies. Another useful definition focuses instead on the experiential quality and motivation for cultural heritage tourists. They are “people who, in their leisure time, are to varying degrees seeking enjoyment, culturally motivated, wishing to gather new information and experiences, wanting to satisfy their human need for diversity, seeking to raise their cultural level and satisfy their cultural needs.”¹⁷ *The Cultural & Heritage Traveler Study* (2013) estimated that 129.6 million Americans were cultural/heritage travelers (defined as having participated in cultural/heritage activity on most recent trip or within last three years) and together they had a potential spending impact of \$171 billion attributable to cultural/heritage leisure in the U.S..¹⁸

There are five basic types of cultural and heritage tourists: “passionate” representing 13% of total population; “well-rounded” at 14%; “aspirational” at 27%; “self-guided/accidental” at 11%; and “keeping it light” at 11%.¹⁹ Segmentation of the market is “crucial” because some visitors have a greater “ecological or cultural footprint” and some bring in more revenue.²⁰

Cultural heritage tourism is founded on the belief that heritage professionals, tourism professionals and local host communities can and should work hand-in-hand to

¹⁷ Jon Edwards, “Managing Heritage and Cultural Tourism Resources,” *Cultural Tourism*, eds. Razaq Raj, Kevin Griffin and Nigel Morpeth, (Cabi: Oxfordshire, UK), 13.

¹⁸ Mandala Research, LLC, *The Cultural & Heritage Traveler Study 2013 Edition*, accessed February 1, 2017, http://mandalaresearch.com/images/stories/free_download_CH_2013.pdf.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ UNESCO World Heritage, *Sustainable Tourism Online Toolkit: Guide 5: Communicating with Visitors*, <http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/sites/default/files/UNESCO%20toolkit%20PDFs%20guide%205C.pdf>.

preserve culture and promote it.²¹ The federal government's position paper on culture and heritage tourism identified the "stakeholders in stewardship" as "local community leaders, resource managers, cultural and heritage institutions, artists, interpreters, performers & tourism, business and other representatives."²² United Nations World Travel Organization (UNWTO) Secretary-General Taleb Rifai explained the symbiotic relationship that can exist between tourism and heritage. He stated, "Cultural heritage tells mankind's story; it tells our story. Carefully managed, tourism can protect and enliven this heritage, generate new opportunities for local communities, and foster tolerance and respect between peoples and nations."²³ UNESCO advocates the importance of good interpretation and "storytelling" for cultural assets.²⁴ Furthermore, members of host communities should be educated about the stories because tourists spend less than 10% of their time in museums and galleries. The rest of the time is spent at transportation hubs, at hotels and restaurants and shopping. Furthermore, UNESCO advocates working with schools and educational groups within host communities so that

²¹ U.S. Department of Commerce and the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, *A Position Paper on Cultural and Heritage Tourism*, 6, 12; World Heritage Convention, "UNWTO/UNESCO World Conference on Tourism and Culture gathers Ministers of Tourism and Culture for the first time," UNESCO World Heritage, February 11, 2015, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1235>.

²² U.S. Department of Commerce and the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, *A Position Paper on Cultural and Heritage Tourism*, 12.

²³ World Heritage Convention, "UNWTO/UNESCO World Conference on Tourism and Culture gathers Ministers of Tourism and Culture for the first time."

²⁴ UNESCO World Heritage, *Sustainable Tourism Online Toolkit: Guide 4: Engaging local communities and business*, <http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/sites/default/files/UNESCO%20toolkit%20PDFs%20guide%204C.pdf>.

everyone who grows up there with become “guardians, champions, and ambassadors” of the site.²⁵

Research shows that many visitors are looking for experiences that are “distinctive,” “authentic” and “unique.”²⁶ This market expectation spurred the development of the “experience economy” and products geared to specific niche markets such as architectural tourism, wine tourism and dark tourism.²⁷ While at its worst it can be a rather “false, plastic experience, clearly put on for, or taken over by, the visitor,” UNESCO argues there are “a great deal of places where buying, consuming, or experiencing products is done in ways that respect a site and add value to the visitor experience.”²⁸ Not all experts weigh in favorably on the authenticity of cultural heritage tourism products calling it “staged authenticity.”²⁹ Communities are developing their cultural heritage assets as a means of distinguishing themselves in a crowded tourist marketplace – they enhance a local’s competitiveness and attractiveness.³⁰

Tourist departments at all levels whether that be local, state, national or international view historic hotels in economic terms and often apply cultural heritage

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ UNESCO World Heritage, *Sustainable Tourism Online Toolkit: Guide 7: Adding value through products, experiences and services*, <http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/sites/default/files/UNESCO%20toolkit%20PDFs%20guide%207C.pdf>; Cultural Heritage Tourism Exchange, “CHT Exchange Recap Report,” June 3, 2011, http://chtexchange.com.temp.realssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/chte_summary.pdf

²⁷ Greg Richards and Will Munsters, eds., *Cultural Tourism Research Methods* (Oxfordshire, UK: CAB International, 2010), 3.

²⁸ UNESCO World Heritage, *Sustainable Tourism Online Toolkit: Guide 4: Engaging local communities and business*.

²⁹ Deepak Chhabra, Robert Healy and Erin Sills, “Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism” *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, Issue 3 (July 2003): 702-719.

³⁰ “Sustainable Tourism,” UNESCO.

tourism insights in marketing them. The economic impact of historic preservation and cultural heritage tourism is often measured in terms of employment figures, income generated, and state and local taxes collected.³¹

Hotels are big business. According to the “Economic Impact of the U.S. Hotel Industry,” hotels supported 7.8 million jobs, contributed \$227.2 billion in revenue, and \$18.3 billion in lodging and sales taxes in 2015.³² The U.S. hospitality industry consisted of 54,200 properties totaling more than 4.6 million guestrooms in 2015.³³ From the industry’s perspective, historic hotels are first and foremost functioning hotels competing in a highly competitive and crowded market. As such, hospitality literature focuses on issues pertaining to operations and service excellence, strategy, marketing and financial performance.³⁴

With that said, as a subcategory, historic hotels have their own special challenges and opportunities. The properties in which they are located are old by definition. Historic hotels regularly tout the dollar amount and scope of renovations undertaken. Guests do not want to sacrifice well-appointed rooms and modern conveniences while staying at

³¹ Randal Mason, *Economics and Historic Preservation: A Guide and Review of the Literature* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2005), 15, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/20050926_preservation.pdf; Donovan Rypkema, Caroline Cheong, and Randall Mason, *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader’s Guide* (Washington, D.C. Natural Trust for Historic Preservation, 2005) <http://www.preserveamerica.gov/docs/economic-impacts-of-historic-preservation-study.pdf>.

³² Oxford Economics, “Economic Impact of the U.S. Hotel Industry,” American Hotel and Lodging Association Educational Fund, June 30, 2016, https://www.ahla.com/sites/default/files/Economic%20Impact%20Study%20%28Oxford%29_0.pdf.

³³ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁴ Michael C. Sturman, Jack B. Corgel and Rohit Verma, eds., *The Cornell School of Hotel Administration on Hospitality: Cutting Edge Thinking and Practice* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.), 2011; Enda M. Larkin, *How to Run a Great Hotel: Everything You Need to Achieve Excellence in the Hotel Industry* (Oxford, UK: How to Books Ltd), 2009; Charles R. Goeldner and J.R. Brent Richie, *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 11th edition (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.), 2009.

historic hotels. Industry surveys indicated that internet service ranked as one of the most important amenities for both leisure and business travelers.³⁵ Prior to the advent of wi-fi, it was difficult for historic hotels to deliver on customers' expectations for a wired experience. The walls of buildings literally stood in the way.³⁶

Historic hotels differentiate themselves from the competition by showcasing their history. The properties and the stories connected with them are uniquely their own and are irreplicable. History is used to craft the "About Us" and "History" tabs on hotel websites as well as the stories that staff members tell at the hotel. Recognized good preservation practices, such as inclusion in state and national historic registers establish the significance of the property's history. The most prestigious programs are the National Park Service-administered National Historic Landmarks and National Register of Historic Places. Communicating a hotel's story using the hotel's historic architecture and historic objects, in person at the property and via marketing material, also helps to establish a sense of place and its authenticity.

Over the last decade, industry research has bolstered the perceived value of historic preservation and historical interpretation within the hospitality industry. Traditionally, the financial benefits of historic preservation for hotels were associated with tax credits, the fact it costs less to rehabilitate existing properties than build new

³⁵ Goeldner and Richie, *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 156; "2015 TOURISM & TRAVEL TRENDS REPORT," Resonance Consultancy, February 4, 2015, accessed February 18, 2017, <http://www.slideshare.net/chrisfair/15-024-res-webinar-tourism-2020-high-res-opt>.

³⁶ Paul Burnham Finney, "A Place with Some History: Executives Find the Hidden Appeal of Older Hotels," *New York Times*, February 5, 2008, accessed February 13, 2017, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/05/business/05historic.html/>.

ones from scratch, and property values typically remain stable or increase with National Register designation.³⁷

In 2016, Fairmont Hotels & Resorts with its worldwide collection of more than 70 “heritage and iconic properties” including the Plaza Hotel in New York, New York, the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City, Canada and the Savoy in London, United Kingdom released a report titled “Stewardship of Iconic and Historic Buildings: Luxury Insights Report (Volume 1),” based on extensive customer research.³⁸ Fairmont found that “guests have a great appreciation for not only knowing, but feeling, the history behind its properties. This desire to commune not only with destinations, but with Fairmont hotels, is a testament to the brand’s successful integration of history, sense of place and modern luxury.”³⁹ Alexandra Blum, Vice President, Public Relations & Partnerships, spoke to the company’s commitment to historic preservation and historical interpretation and how it distinguishes it from the competition. She stated, “Fairmont’s expertise in the stewardship of remarkable buildings worldwide is powerful and ownable competitive advantage for our brand.”⁴⁰

Lawrence Horwitz, Executive Director of HHA and Historic Hotels Worldwide (HHW) reacted to the Fairmont report by saying, “I was surprised at how enthusiastic [Fairmont’s] customer base is for historic hotels.... We’ve been giving a presentation for

³⁷ Mason, *Economics and Historic Preservation*; Robert E. Stipe, *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of Carolina Press, 2003); Rypkema, Cheong, and Mason, *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader’s Guide*.

³⁸ “Welcome to Fairmont Hotels and Resorts,” Fairmont Hotels and Resorts, <http://www.fairmont.com/about-us/>.

³⁹ “Stewardship of Iconic and Historic Buildings: Luxury Insights Report,” Fairmont Hotels and Resorts, 18, <http://www.fairmont.com/pdf/stewardship-of-iconic-historic-buildings>.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 19.

five or six years, talking about the annual market in the U.S. of travelers who are predisposed to a historic hotel or historic, heritage, or cultural travel experience.”⁴¹ The report “validates” cultural heritage tourism for historic hotels for Horwitz and “shows what customers want.”⁴² A closer look at HHA provides an interesting case of how such a partnership could work and the benefits it affords.

Historic Hotels of America and Historic Hotels Worldwide

In 1989, the National Trust for Historic Preservation founded HHA as a marketing organization with 32 charter member hotels.⁴³ The program was simple: hotels were promoted in a printed directory that was mailed to a captive, highly qualified, preservation-minded audience. Each listing in the directory contained a single color photo along with a short description including room rate and mailing address for the property. The program basically assumed that preservation savvy travelers would recognize the hotel and place and “know” its history. Omega Travel, who split the 10% booking commission with the National Trust, took reservations from a central location via a toll-free 800 number.⁴⁴ The National Trust billed the directory a member benefit and sent it on a complementary basis to its full membership of 250,000 people. Nonmembers could purchase the directory by mail order for \$2.00. This straightforward and low risk

⁴¹ Deanna Ting, “The Ultimate Authentic Travel Experience? Historic Hotels are a Candidate,” *Skift*, March 31, 2016, <https://skift.com/2016/03/31/the-ultimate-authentic-travel-experience-historic-hotels-are-a-candidate/>.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ “About Historic Hotels of America,” Historic Hotels of America, accessed July 1, 2017, <http://www.historichotels.org/about-historic-hotels/>.

⁴⁴ “National Trust Sponsors Hotels,” *New York Times*, September 24, 1989.

proposition had the potential to increase occupancy rates for member hotels at the industry standard booking fee.

Over the subsequent quarter century, HHA has grown into a much larger and more sophisticated program. By the end of 2016, the program boasted 295 historic hotels in 46 states, the District of Columbia, the U.S. Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico. Twenty-three of the hotels were National Historic Landmarks and 126 were listed on the National Register. The remaining hotels met the eligibility requirements for the National Register including age (at least 50 years old), significance (historic context), and historic integrity comprised of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.⁴⁵ While “more than 30 of the world’s finest hospitality brands, chains, and collections are represented,” HHA is comprised of “mostly independently owned and operated properties” all of whom have maintained their “authenticity,” “sense of place” and “architectural integrity.”⁴⁶ In 2008, HHA estimated that of the 30,000 hotels in the U.S., approximately 6,000 were independent and of those 600 to 900 were historic.⁴⁷ Using these figures, HHA may have up to 50% market share of its peer group.

HHA launched a sister program Historic Hotels Worldwide promoting “heritage and cultural travel by featuring a prestigious collection of historic treasures, including historic hotels, castles, chateaus, palaces, academies, haciendas, villas, monasteries, and

⁴⁵How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” National Register Bulletin, National Park Service, accessed February 15, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_8.htm.

⁴⁶ National Park Service, “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.”

⁴⁷ Paul Burnham Finney, “A Place with Some History: Executives Find the Hidden Appeal of Older Hotels.”

other historic lodging.”⁴⁸ Criteria to join include a property must be presently used as a historic accommodation, the structure is at least 75 years, it is historically significant and is recognized by a local or national preservation group. Furthermore, a hotel must “celebrate its history by showcasing memorabilia, artwork, photography, and other examples of historic significance.”⁴⁹ Forty-four hotels were added into the program in 2016 including eighteen hotels located in the United States. To be accepted into the program, a United States-based hotel must be a member of HHA as well as meet the more stringent criteria for HHW.

Given that HHA neither publishes its fee structure nor responds to queries requesting it, scholars must rely on older, dated sources. In his 2004 masters thesis titled, “Preserving a Room at America’s Grand Hotels,” David R. Arning indicated that membership dues included a one-time \$5,000 initiation fee and \$30 per guestroom annual fee. The minimum annual fee was \$3,990 and the maximum was \$8,990.⁵⁰ More recent sources indicate that the fee structure has become more complex and heftier.⁵¹ The 2011 Hotel Franchise Fee Guide published by HVS Global Hospitality Services reported that the initiation fee for HAA was \$6,000 and there were also fees associated with royalties, reservation, marketing and a miscellaneous category. For example, a total ten-year franchise fee for a HHA hotel with 300 rooms would be \$613,586 or 0.06% of total room

⁴⁸ “About Us,” Historic Hotels Worldwide, <http://www.historichotelsworldwide.com/about-historic-hotels-worldwide.php>.

⁴⁹ Ibid.,.

⁵⁰ David R. Arning, “Preserving a Room at America’s Grand Hotels: A Developmental History and Preservation Resource for Historic Hotels,” (Master’s Thesis, University of Georgia, 2004).

⁵¹ Linda K. Nathan, “Best Historic Hotels in America,” *Conde Nast Traveler*, February 3, 2012, accessed February 16, 2017, <http://www.cntraveler.com/stories/2012-02-03/historic-hotels-america-vintage-best-renovations-boston-washington-dc>; “Our Mission, Our Benefits,” Historic Hotels of America, 2008, <http://www.historichotels.org/docs/OurMissionOurBenefits.pdf>.

revenue, the smallest percentage brand franchise fee within the first class hotel segment in the U.S..⁵² To put this in perspective, the average franchise fee as a percentage of total room revenue was 9.6% for first class hotels and the median was 10.9%.⁵³ According to HVS Global Hospitality Services, “Most hotel lenders believe that to be competitive in today’s hotel market, a strong franchise affiliation is essential. Customers want to know the level of quality for which they are paying and would rather not risk an unpleasant surprise from a “no name” lodging facility.”⁵⁴ HHA provides “recognition” by placing historic hotels along side more well-known and iconic properties.⁵⁵ What’s more, HHA re-evaluates hotels in its network every two years and those that score less than 70% are removed from the program.⁵⁶

HHA commissioned a study by CBRE Hotels’ Americas Research (CBRE) that clearly documented the relationship of mutuality that exists between history done well and financial performance. “The data strongly supports the idea that many consumers favor and will pay more for the unique hotel experience historic properties can offer.”⁵⁷ History is no longer a nice to have but is credited with boosting financial performance.

The chart below is a useful tool for evaluating the growth of “historic hotels.” It uses a sample from 2015 of hotels that has an occupancy rate of \$256.

⁵² Steve Rushmore, Michael L. Mele, and Chu Y. Xu, “2011 Hotel Franchise Fee Guide” (Mineola, NY: HVS Global Hospitality Services, 2011), 13, <https://www.hvs.com/content/3224.pdf>.

⁵³ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 15.

⁵⁵ Julia Gsell, “The Goerges inducted into Historic Hotels of America,” *Rockbridge Report*, December 01, 2016, <http://rockbridgereport.academic.wlu.edu/2016/12/01/georges-inducted-historic-hotels-america/>.

⁵⁶ Linda K. Nathan, “Best Historic Hotels in America.”

⁵⁷ “CBRE: U.S. Lodging Outlook to Remain Strong,” Historic Hotels of America, <http://www.historichotels.org/press/cbre-issues-us-lodging-forecast-at-historic-hotels-of-america-annual-conference>.

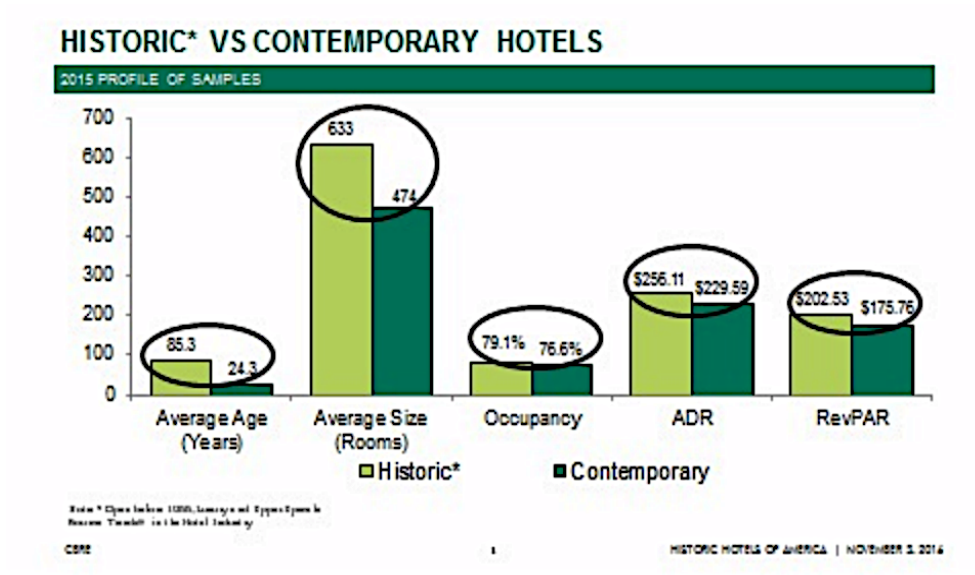


Figure 1.2: Historic vs. Contemporary Hotels by CBRE

Source: Historic Hotels of America, “CBRE: U.S. Lodging Outlook to Remain Strong.”

The *percentage of occupancy* is defined as “the percentage of available rooms occupied for a given period. It is calculated by dividing the number of rooms occupied for a period by the number of rooms available in the same period.”⁵⁸ *Average daily room rate* is defined as “total guestroom revenue for a given period divided by the total number of guests accommodated for the same period.”⁵⁹ This chart illustrates that for the 2015 sample historic hotels, both participants in HHA and those who were not, despite being older and larger, historic hotels fared better than contemporary hotels in the three key benchmarking metrics of the hospitality industry. Historic hotels had 2.5% higher occupancy rates. Historic hotels also had 11.6% higher average daily room rates and 13.2% higher *revenue per available room* (defined as “total guest room revenue for a

⁵⁸ Goeldner and Richie, *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 159.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

given period divided by the total number of guest rooms during the same period. A simple way to calculate is to multiply occupancy times the room rate.”⁶⁰ The CBRE forecasted that over the next five years the revenue per available room for historic hotels in the U.S. would grow at a compound average annual rate of 2.7% that is higher than the revenue per available room forecasts for the upper-upscale hotels (2.0%) and luxury hotel (1.7%) categories. Most of the revenue per available room growth was expected to come from increases in average daily room rates. Hotels are able to increase room rates as demand increases.

Furthermore, participating in HHA provided incremental benefit in market position and financial performance. For the first three quarters of 2016, the revenue per available room for HHA hotels was between the national average of upper-upscale hotels and luxury hotels in the United States. CBRE estimated that occupancy levels for HHA hotels will remain eight to ten percentage points above the national average through 2020.⁶¹ Horwitz stated, “For the third year in a row, historic hotels inducted into and participating in Historic Hotels of America realize a competitive advantage as well as substantial premium with their rates, occupancy, and revenue per available room compared to other hotels.”⁶² Industry research demonstrated the financial benefits historic hotels derive from doing history well both in terms of preservation and interpretation.

How does HHA promote its hotel members today? In keeping with trends in hospitality and cultural heritage tourism, the internet and social media are HHA’s

⁶⁰ Goeldner and Richie, *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 159.

⁶¹ “CBRE: U.S. Lodging Outlook to Remain Strong,” Historic Hotels of America.

⁶² Ibid.

primary marketing tools.⁶³ Not only do 70% of leisure travelers use the internet to gather information on travel but 56% of people book their travel plans online.⁶⁴ Websites are considered the “most efficient” means of building pre-awareness, which in turn influences consumers’ “intent to visit” and how they “experience” cultural heritage assets in person.⁶⁵ Social media is an essential component of travel marketing in the twenty first century and is highly compatible with story-based advertorials that link back to websites.⁶⁶

In 2015, to complement and supplement its primary website (www.historichotels.org), HHA launched a new portal named American Dreams (<http://americandreams.historichotels.org/index>) to great fanfare and acclaim.⁶⁷ American Dreams used a mix of insights and approaches gleaned from the hospitality industry, cultural heritage tourism industry and public history to position historic hotels individually and collectively. It transformed booking a hotel room from a purely transactional act into an experiential one. Visitors sifted through information by experience types – “family vacation,” “road trip,” “national parks & sites,” “heritage &

⁶³ Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction*, (Bristol, UK: Channel View, 2011), 297, 544; Philip Kotler et al., *Marketing for Hospitality and Tourism*, 7th ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2017), 8, 23; Rosemary Rice McCormick, *Marketing Cultural & Heritage Tourism: A World of Opportunity*, (London: Routledge, 2017), 86-87, 114-119.

⁶⁴ Rice, *Marketing Cultural & Heritage Tourism*, 118.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 120-121.

⁶⁷ “2012 Magellen Awards Silver Winners,” Travel Weekly Awards, accessed January 15, 2017, https://www.travelweeklyawards.com/winners/list/?l=M&pageNum_winners=3&totalRows_winners=99&event=&category=

culture,” “culinary destinations” and “urban adventures.”⁶⁸ Information was also presented in “hotel advertorials, which solely feature participating hotels, and topical editorials, which highlight select destinations based on editorial content.”⁶⁹ American Dreams provided context by focusing on compelling stories, historic preservation and authenticity.

History was no longer a nice-to-have but an essential ingredient shaping how the portal was structured. The heritage and culture tab explicitly targeted cultural heritage tourists as did the national parks and sites tab. The advertorials further segmented the market by experiences or interests. For example, a person interested in dark tourism might click through to learn more about “Rural American Ghost Stories” or “Top American Civil War Sites.” While someone interested in music and festivals might click on “Jazz and Live Music in New Orleans.” After clicking through to an advertorial then other related stories were presented. Retailers commonly use this marketing to cross-sell and upsell related products.⁷⁰ The product being sold was both the hotel room but also the experience one could have while visiting the hotel and its environs. According to a study commissioned by the National Trust, “nearly 80 percent of American travelers prefer to stay in historic neighborhoods and buildings to experience a sense of authenticity in a destination.”⁷¹

⁶⁸ “American Dreams,” Historic Hotels of America, accessed January 15, 2017, <http://americandreams.historichotels.org/index>.

⁶⁹ “Historic Hotels of America 2015 Awards of Excellence Winners Announced,” Moral Compass, December 22, 2015, <http://moralcompasstravel.info/tag/historic-hotels-of-america/>.

⁷⁰ “Amazon.com,” Amazon, accessed July 1, 2017, www.amazon.com; “Brooks Brothers,” Brooks Brothers, accessed July 1, 2017, www.brooksbrothers.com; “Home Depot,” Home Depot, accessed July 1, 2017, www.homedepot.com.

⁷¹ Nathan, “Best Historic Hotels in America.”



Figure 1.3: “American Dreams”
Source: “American Dreams,” Historic Hotels of America.



Figure 1.4: “American Dreams” – Heritage & Culture Sub Category
Source: “American Dreams,” Historic Hotels of America, Heritage & Culture tab.

In addition to a commitment to historic preservation and authenticity, HHA stressed the importance of compelling, history-based stories. In a promotional video HHA stated, “But historic hotels are more than buildings. They are stewards of stories. That is why tens of millions of people have been drawn to historic hotels over the last twenty five years.”⁷² HHA and Fairmont have established best practices and identified key insights that would be beneficial to other historic hotels. Public historians can do their part by delving into the themes identified by Boorstin and subsequent scholars. It will help deepen the understanding of the important roles hotels have played in the nation over time. In addition, public historians can make use of newspaper clippings, archival sources and material culture to help individual hotels better understand their rich histories.⁷³ Broadening and deepening the narratives told at historic hotels will benefit all parties and will strengthen them as significant cultural heritage tourism assets.

⁷² Historic Hotels of America, “Historic Hotels of America Celebrates 25 Years,” YouTube video, 3:34, posted October, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kKoXojJAjy8>.

⁷³ Stanley Turkel, *Built to Last: 100+ Year-Old Hotels East of the Mississippi*, (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2013); Ridley Wills II, *The Hermitage at One Hundred: Nashville’s First Million-Dollar Hotel*, (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 2009); Hotel del Coronado, *Hotel Del Coronado History*, (Coronado, CA: Hotel del Coronado Heritage Department, 2013); Larry Johnson, *The Seelbach: A Centennial Salute to Louisville’s Grand Hotel*, (Louisville: Butler Books, 2011).

CHAPTER TWO: DEEPER DIVE INTO THE HISTORY OF HISTORIC HOTELS

By delving deeper into the history of historic hotels, public historians can further extend their mission of public interpretation into a vibrant industry. The hospitality industry has learned to value the history of historic hotels. This openness creates an opportunity.¹ But public historians need to help hospitality industry professionals to move beyond the traditional narrative that first-class hotels in the early twentieth century were rarefied spaces frequented solely by “the great, the rich, and the powerful.”² Hotels were awash in activity; frequented by a range of people who inhabited the space, both front of the house and back of the house, in distinct ways depending on their gender, race, ethnic identity and class.

Public historians can also challenge the lens of nostalgia that clouds certain historians’ perceptions that the “distinctiveness” of historic hotels was only skin deep, related to their attractive architectural facades and extravagant interiors.³ Historic hotels were in fact “a new kind of community enterprise” that depended on cutting edge technology and managerial practices to deliver the first-class hotel luxury experience.⁴ Dispelling the aura of nostalgia surrounding historic hotels and the people who inhabited

¹ “About: An Iconic Hotel: Discover the Blackstone,” The Blackstone Hotel, accessed August 2, 2017, <http://www.theblackstonehotel.com/#-section>; “The Hotel,” The Hermitage Hotel, accessed August 2, 2017, <https://www.thehermitagehotel.com/the-hotel.htm>; “Del History: America’s Beachfront Legend,” Hotel Del Coronado, accessed August 2, 2017, <https://hoteldel.com/about/history/>; “About The Breakers,” The Breakers Palm Beach, accessed August 2, 2017, <https://www.thebreakers.com/about-breakers/>.

² Boorstin, *The Americans*, 135.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

them will leave in its place a more nuanced and complex understanding of the history of historic hotels. This understanding in turn will be a boon for interpreting and marketing the properties individually and collectively as cultural heritage assets.

Much More than Rarefied Spaces

Hospitality marketers' portrayal of historic hotels as rarefied spaces frequented by "prominent personages" defined as "famous actors, actresses, politicians, businessmen and society leaders" only tells part of the story, and a fanciful one at that, of who could be found in these places in the early twentieth century. Because hotels were full of different types of people, there was understandably conflict, some out front, other hidden, most rarely acknowledged.⁵ Scholarship and trade journals from the 1910s and 1920s demonstrate that hotels were bustling with activity and inhabited by people from all walks of life.⁶ With the advent of inexpensive, quick-serve food options – cafeterias, lunchrooms and the like – a greater variety and number of people regularly frequented hotels. In addition, hotel staffs were large, highly specialized and typically equaled or outnumbered the number of transitory and permanent guests.⁷

⁵ George W. Sweeney, "What Does the Hotel Business Offer?" *Hotel Management* 1, no. 5 (June 1922): 200.

⁶ Timothy B. Spears, *100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); John A. Jackle and Keith A. Sculle, *America's Main Street Hotels: Transiency and Community in the Early Auto Age* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2009); Lisa Pfueller Davidson, "Consumption and Efficiency in the 'City with a City': Commercial Hotel Architecture and the Emergence of Modern American Culture, 1890-1930," (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 2003); R. Stephe Sennott, "Roadside Luxury: Urban Hotels and Modern Streets along the Dixie Highway," in *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture*, ed. Claudette Stager and Martha Carver (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006); Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979).

Within these “Palaces of the Public” the different peoples who stayed, visited, or worked at hotels also experienced them in physically different ways.⁸ A combination of gender, race, ethnic identity and social standing determined who could access particular spaces within hotels, both in the front and back of the house, and for what purpose. From early twentieth century through the 1960s throughout the United States, African Americans were denied access as guests to first-class hotels due to Black Codes. Of course they were in the buildings by the thousands, as low-paid, discriminated employees.⁹ (Chapter 5 addresses African American travel lodging options during this period.)

First-class hotels in urban areas catered to two principal types of overnight guests: permanent residents and transitory guests. In most states, a permanent resident was defined as someone who resided in the same place for a month or longer.¹⁰ According to historian Paul Groth in *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*, permanent residents at first-class hotels were typically “first- or second-generation wealth – newly successful entrepreneurs in retail, investment, industrial, or mining.”¹¹ The Warwick of St. Louis, with a population of half transient and half permanent guests,

⁷ Molly W. Berger, *Hotel Dreams: Luxury Technology, and Urban Ambition in America, 1829-1929* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 107; Catherine Cocks, *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁸ Boorstin, *The Americans*, 135.

⁹ Jackle and Sculle, *America's Main Street Hotels*, 45; Mia Bay, “Traveling Black / Buying Black: Retail and Roadside Accommodations during the Segregation Era,” *Race and Retail: Consumption Across the Color Line*, ed. Mia Bay and Ann Fabian (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015); Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*; Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 222.

¹⁰ Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in The United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 32; Susan R. Braden, *The Architecture of Leisure: The Florida Resort Hotels of Henry Flagler and Henry Plant* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002).

supported Groth's assertion as a "number of railroad presidents" "made it their family residence" for typically part of the year.¹² They probably moved between resorts, urban hotels in other cities, and their own country houses.¹³ The wealthy were attracted to hotel living because it was "convenient luxury" and was less expensive than maintaining a house with many servants who would provide a similar level of service.¹⁴ Services offered at hotels included food preparation and serving, housekeeping, laundry, communications, mail and travel assistance. By the 1920s, first-rate hotels also offered the services of a dedicated "social hostess" who helped plan parties of any size or scope.¹⁵ In addition, more often than not, there were main dining rooms, ballrooms, bars, barbershops, newspaper and cigar stands, grill rooms, writing rooms, ladies' lounges, quick service food options and retail stores on the premise. On an infrequent basis, to cater to female guests and young families, hotels added ladies' floors as well as playrooms and separate dining rooms for children and their caretakers.¹⁶ In urban markets, hotels focused on specific demographics – women, single men known as "stags," and families – provided an alternative to standard first-class hotels.¹⁷ The

¹² "The Warwick, Newest of St. Louis Hotels," *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 274 (January 1916): 42.

¹³ Groth, *Living Downtown*, 48.

¹⁴ Ibid., 27; Cocks, *Doing the Town*, 73 and 99; "Demand for High and Low Price Accommodations," *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 305 (August 1918): 38; "The New Haddon Hall and Boardwalk Pavilion, Atlantic City," *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 347 (February 1922): 60.

¹⁵ Helen O'Rourke, "The Social Hostess," *Hotel Monthly* 20, no. 247: 60-61.

¹⁶ "Women's Floor in the Hotel McAlpin," *Hotel Monthly* 29 (December 1921): 245; Davidson, "Consumption and Efficiency in the 'City with a City'," 135-142; "A Nursery for Younger Guests," *Hotel Management* 1, no. 1 (February 1922): 42; Fred C. Kelly, "How Women Help Hotels," *Hotel Management* 1, no. 2 (March 1922); "Palace Hotel, San Francisco," *Hotel World* (April 1, 1922): 14; "The Grace Dodge Hotel of Washington, D.C.," *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 357, (December 1922): 21.

services and features of first-class hotels also appealed to transient guests to varying degrees.

In addition to prominent personages, first-class hotels targeted and catered to two other segments of transient guests: traveling salesmen and conventioners. According to Timothy B. Spears in *100 Years on the Road: Traveling Salesmen in American Culture*, the number of commercial travelers increased significantly in the first quarter of the century.¹⁸ Luxury hotels catered to this group by offering a special class of room called a “sample room.” These rooms allowed salesmen to display their wares on folding tables and set up temporary “shops.” To save money, most salesmen chose to sleep in same room as they displayed their wares.¹⁹ These rooms often had Murphy beds that folded down from the wall or roll away beds as well as folding tables that could be stowed in a closet.²⁰

Floor plans of hotels in Baltimore, Maryland, Chattanooga, Tennessee, Fort Worth, Texas and Trenton, New Jersey illustrate that sample rooms were larger than regular guest rooms.²¹ (Figures 2.1 and 2.2) Sample rooms were distinct because they were typically grouped together. Some hotels placed sample rooms on the mezzanine

¹⁷ “The Word Hotel, Its Use and Abuse,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 348 (March 1922), 25; “Hotel Hayes and Annex,” advertisement, *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 347, (February 1922): 101; “The Windermere,” advertisement, *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 347, (February 1922): 99; Cocks, *Doing the Town*, 99; *Hotel Monthly*, “The Word Hotel, Its Uses and Abuse,” 25; “Westbrook, Fort Worth,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 349 (April 1922): 45.

¹⁸ Spears, *100 Years on the Road*, 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 100.

²⁰ Davidson, “Consumption and Efficiency in the ‘City within a City’,” 121-123.

²¹ “The Southern Hotel of Baltimore, Maryland,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June 1918): 53; “Chattanooga, Tennessee,” *Hotel Monthly* 17, no. 197, (March 1909): 50; “The New Read House of Chattanooga, Tenn,” *Hotel Monthly* 35 (August 1926): 36; “The Texas of Fort Worth,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 348 (March 1922): 38; “The Stacy-Trent of Trenton, New Jersey,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 30.

with public and semi private rooms such as the ballroom and private dining rooms. Others devoted sections of regular guest floors while others still had whole floors devoted to sample rooms.²² Despite the method, spatially separating sample rooms from regular guest rooms was important because of the constant coming and going of customers. It helped to maintain the semi-private nature of floors where guests slept.



Figure 2.1: Combination Bedroom-Sample Room at the Southern Hotel in Baltimore, Maryland (1918)

Source: "The Southern Hotel of Baltimore, Maryland," *Hotel Monthly* 26, no 303 (June 1918): 53.

²² "Hotel Hermitage of Nashville, Tennessee," *Hotel Monthly* 20 (June 1912): 60-64; "The Kemp Hotel of Wichita Falls, Texas," *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 350 (May 1922): 38.



Figure 2.2: Typical Room at the Southern Hotel in Baltimore, Maryland (1918)
Source: "The Southern Hotel of Baltimore, Maryland," *Hotel Monthly*, 55.

Many first-class hotels explicitly courted salesmen in their advertisements. The Chisca Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee noted that it had the "best lighted and best ventilated sample rooms."²³ While the Chittenden in Columbus, Ohio proclaimed itself to be the "Leading Commercial Hotel" in the city suggesting that multiple commercial hotels existed and that competition was fierce.²⁴ Luxury hotels were not the only ones courting salesmen.

²³ "Hotel Chisca," advertisement, *The Official Hotel Red Book & Directory* (New York: American Hotel Association Directory), 1920.

²⁴ "The Chittenden," advertisement, *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 347 (February 1922), 106.

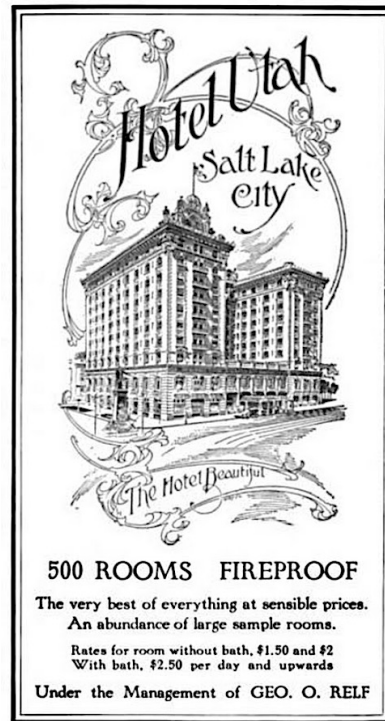


Figure 2.3: Advertisement for Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City, Utah (1922)

Source: "Hotel Utah," advertisement, *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 350 (May 1922): 121.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, E.M. Statler created a hotel industry model, focused on commercial travellers, which revolutionized the hotel industry. His first few hotels were temporary establishments geared toward visitors at specific attractions: Statler's Hotel at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York (1901); Inside Inn at the St. Louis World's Fair in St. Louis, Missouri (1904); and Inside Inn at the Jamestown Exposition in Jamestown, Virginia (1907).²⁵ The ability to provide excellent service, manage large-scale operations (e.g., there were 2,257 rooms at Inside the Inn in St. Louis) and make a profit were hallmarks of Statler's approach.

Beginning in 1908 with the Hotel Statler-Buffalo, Statler launched a chain of hotels focused on commercial travelers. "Statler Service Codes" were geared towards

²⁵ "Elsworth M. Statler, President," *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 299 (February 1918): 68.

giving people the room they wanted, provide prompt delivery of communications (e.g., mail, telegrams and calls), and living by the golden rule (e.g., treating people with fairness).²⁶ Furthermore, many “luxuries” of the day (e.g. in-room bath and circulating cold water) were standard in every room.²⁷ (See Figure 2.4) A *Hotel Monthly* article titled, “Statler Hotels Systems Growing Fast: 2,300 Rooms to be Added with the Next Eighteen Months, and 500 More in the Near Future,” captured the dramatic success of the company.²⁸ The company was able to live up to its motto of “A Room and a Bath for a Dollar and a Half” by focusing on “uniformity of practice” as a way of “promoting economies in operation.”²⁹



Figure 2.4: Advertisement for Multiple Hotels Statler Properties (1922)
 Source: “Hotel Statlers,” advertisement, *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 356 (November 1922), 107.

²⁶ “Statler’s Service Codes,” *Hotel Monthly* 23, no. 266 (May 1915): 30-32; Emily Post, *By Motor to the Golden Gate* (New York: A. Appleton and Company, 1916), 27.

²⁷ “Hotels Statler,” advertisement, *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 351 (May 1922): 115.

²⁸ “Statler Hotels System Growing Fast,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 351 (June 1922): 50.

²⁹ “A Stop-Over in Buffalo,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 353 (August 1922): 33; Cocks, *Doing the Town*, 86.

By the turn of the twentieth century, conventions of all sorts gained in popularity and hotels were there to serve them. Veterans, fraternal organizations, political parties, business, trade and professional groups as well as social welfare and progressive minded-organizations all held conventions at hotels.³⁰ These groups required large and small meeting spaces as well as the sample rooms popular with salesmen.³¹ They cared less about an abundance of well-appointed parlors. Conventioneers were a coveted group because they rented meetings spaces, made use of catering services, and often stayed multiple nights at the convention hotel. They were a large and captive audience for rooms, food service and on-site retail shopping. Trade journals addressed how to attract conventions and what it required to manage them.³² Hotel advertisements targeted conventioneers as well. (See Figure 2.5)



Figure 2.5: Advertisement for the Jefferson Hotel in Dallas, Texas (1922)

Source: "The Jefferson Hotel," advertisement, *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 351 (June 1922): 113.

³⁰ Cocks, *Doing the Town*, 85.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Lisa Pfueller Davidson references a number of convention related articles. "The Convention Manager's Job," *Hotel Monthly* 101 (1 August 1923): 5; "Capturing Conventions," *Hotel World* 81 (July 31, 1915): 5; "The Solicitation and Handling of Conventions by Hotels," *Hotel Monthly* 35 (January 1927): 406.

In the 1910s and 1920s, hotels maximized their revenue model by adding lunchrooms, cafeterias, and coffee shops to serve hotel guests. These popular eating choices also helped grow their local customer base of businessmen, department store clerks, stenographers and “society women.”³³ This was critical in face of Prohibition as hotels lost regulars from bars. According to a 1918 article titled “Feeding the Nooners,” lunchrooms and cafeterias at hotels were popular because they were open to both men and women – bars were typically only open for men – offered a large selection of food, provided fast service at a reasonable price, and there was no possibility of a tip because most were self service.³⁴ They also were typically open all day long.³⁵ The need to tip at meals had driven cost conscious customers, in particular, salesmen to take their meals outside of hotels.³⁶ Customers who wanted more elaborate fare at a higher price point and had ample time for lunch frequented the dining rooms, clubrooms and tearooms at hotels, restaurants in department stores or private clubs.³⁷

While permeable, space within a hotel in the first quarter century was segmented and access depended on a person’s position (hotel guest, community member or staff member), gender, race and ethnic identity. In *Hotel Dreams: Luxury, Technology, and Urban Ambition in America, 1829-1929* (2011) Berger emphasized that, “it would be

³³ “The Hotel Coffee Room: How to Make it Pay,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 306 (September 1918): 59; “The Sinton Hotel’s Super Lunch Counter,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 350 (May 1922): 46-49.

³⁴ “Feeding the Nooners,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 300 (March 1918): 80-81.

³⁵ “Up-to-Date Lunch Room in Havlin Hotel, Cincinnati,” *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 274 (January 1916): 84-86; *Hotel Monthly*, “The Texas of Fort Worth,” 33-35.

³⁶ “Beckel House, Dayton, Ohio,” *Hotel Monthly* 27, no. 303 (June 1918): 66.

³⁷ *Hotel Monthly*, “Feeding the Nooners,” 81.

impossible to comprehend the building's design without an understanding of shifting gender, class and race relations."³⁸

Gender specific spaces were prevalent in first-class hotels in America beginning in the Victorian era.³⁹ Women and groups traveling with women and children, entered hotels through ladies' entrances and proceeded to a ladies' parlor. This special division allowed women to maintain "separate spheres" and to avoid the male dominated "public sphere" of the lobby in favor of the "private sphere." From the ladies' parlor, the group would proceed directly to their rooms. Other female areas of the hotel included tearooms, writing rooms, rotundas, and ladies' reception rooms. They were semi-private areas set apart from the hustle and bustle of lobby and areas frequented by men who were both guests and visitors of the hotel. Men traveling with women could be invited to join their group within the ladies' parlor and reception area.⁴⁰ Female dominated spaces were often decorated in a "dainty" fashion and felt more "homelike" and "intimate."⁴¹ Women typically only ate in the main dining room when accompanied by a male companion. Unaccompanied women in public places could be mistaken for prostitutes.⁴²

³⁸ Berger, *Hotel Dreams*, 7.

³⁹ Braden, *The Architecture of Leisure*, 89; Carolyn Brucken, "In the Public Eye: Women and the American Luxury Hotel," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 203-220.

⁴⁰ Cocks, *Doing the Town*, 78.

⁴¹ *Hotel Monthly*, "The Warwick, Newest of St. Louis Hotels," 44; Braden, *The Architecture of Leisure*, 88; "Equipment and Furnishings of Modern Hotel," *Hotel Monthly* 94, no 7 (February 1922): 7 and 9.

⁴² Haley, *Turning the Tables*, 148.

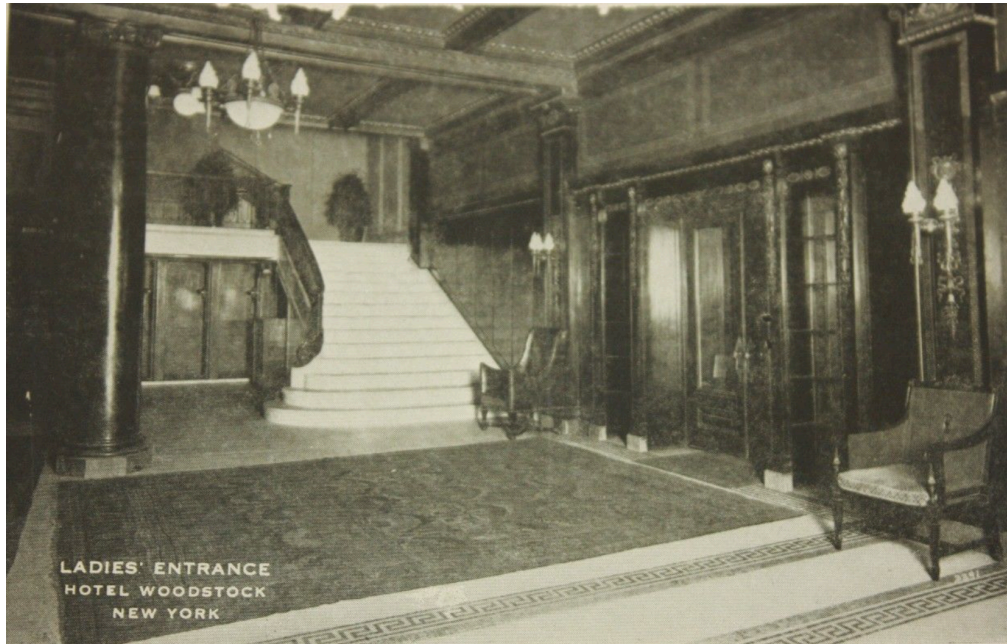


Figure 2.6: "Ladies' Entrance, Hotel Woodstock, New York" (circa 1910)
Source: Author's collection.



Figure 2.7: "Ladies' Parlor, Merritt Jones Hotel, Ocean Park, Cal." (circa 1910)
Source: Author's collection.



Figure 2.8: “Ladies Parlor on the Ground Floor, Hotel Pullman, Hot Springs, Ark.” (circa 1910)

Source: Author’s collection.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, social norms eased for women but space within hotels remained contested. According to Groth, “as late as the 1890s, hotel managers barred single women from registering and staying alone for fear they would be prostitutes and damage the respectability of a proper hotel.”⁴³ In 1907, Harriot Stanton Blatch filed a lawsuit against the Hoffman House in New York, New York for refusing to serve two unaccompanied women. Haley argued that the lawsuit had as much to do with protesting decorum and aristocratic mores as it did with upholding rights for women.⁴⁴ The gender lines in hotels blurred as more quick-serve meal options were made available within the hotel. The addition of quick-serve food options at hotels gave female hotel

⁴³ Groth, *Living Downtown*, 46.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

guests more dining options and encouraged both male and female community members to make use of the hotel's facilities.

Gendered space for men, whether specifically designated or merely implied, included the lobby, newsstand, bar, grille room, rathskeller, billiard room, and barber shop.⁴⁵ These areas were considered public and open to well-heeled male guests and community members.

Grille

For gentlemen; on main floor opposite bar.
Luncheon a la carte served 11:30 a. m. to
2:00 p. m.

Head Porter

Lobby, south of room clerk's desk.

Hair Dresser and Ladies' Manicurist

Will wait upon ladies in their rooms. Ask
telephone operator.

Shampoo	\$0.50
Hair Dressing	.50
Scalp Treatment	.35
Face Massage	.35
Vibratory Face Massage	.50
Manicure	.50

Ladies' Waiting Rooms

Off main lobby near elevator, also under
stairway on dining-room floor.

Figure 2.9: Detail from Hotel Directory at the Hotel Warwick in St. Louis, Missouri
Source: "The Warwick, Newest of St. Louis Hotels," *Hotel Monthly*, 44.

The floor plan for the Hotel Courtland, a small country hotel in Kokomo, Indiana, demonstrates many of the patterns discussed in this chapter (See Figures 2.7-2.10). There was a ladies' entrance (labeled "side ent. Hall" on the plan but referred to as "ladies entrance" in the text of the article) on left hand side that was easily accessible to both the

⁴⁵ Braden, *The Architecture of Leisure*, 89.

stairs and passenger elevator which lead to the “parlor” on the second floor. As was typical, the ladies’ entrance was located on a side street in this case Taylor Street. Male gendered spaces are visible: note the “hotel lobby,” “writing alcove” and “barber shop” face Main Street. It was not a coincidence that the area set aside for salesmen, the “sample rooms,” abut and connect with the other male gendered spaces. Furthermore, the sample rooms were grouped together, set apart from standard guest rooms, and were significantly larger in size than standard guest rooms.⁴⁶ They were also distinctive because they had wide doors (4.5 feet) that opened directly to the alley. These features ameliorated the drop off and pick up of heavy sample trunks and spoke to the hotel’s goal of attracting salesmen and servicing their needs.

⁴⁶ “Interesting Journeys to Country Hotels: A Visit to Hotel Courtland in Kokomo, Ind. Where the Management is Catering Successfully, European Plan, to Commercial and Automobile Trade,” *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 274 (January 1916): 70-74.

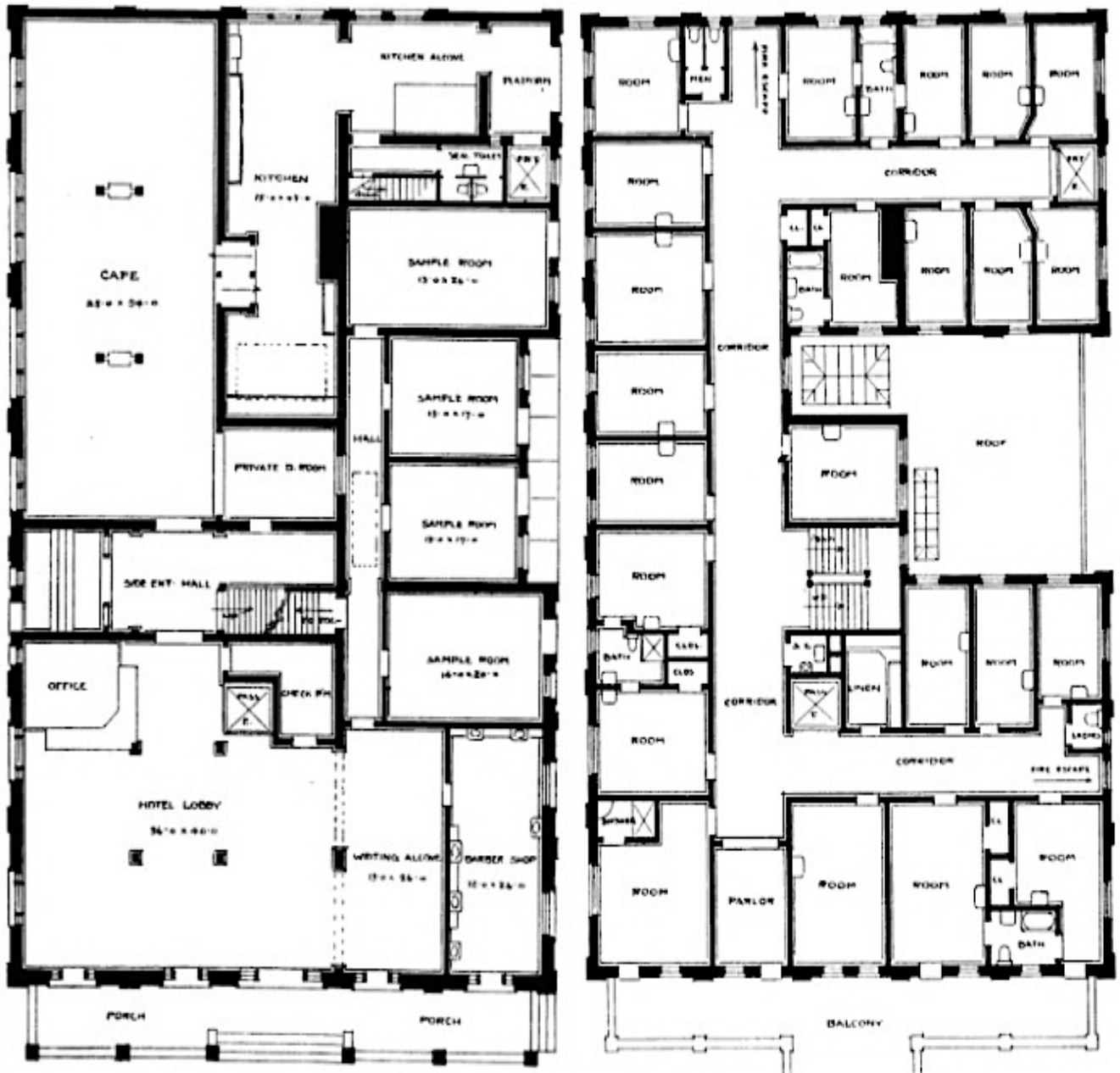


Figure 2.10: Ground Floor (Left) and Second Floor (Right) of Hotel Courtland in Kokomo, Indiana (1916)

Source: "Interesting Journeys to Country Hotels: A Visit to Hotel Courtland in Kokomo, Ind. Where the Management is Catering Successfully, European Plan, to Commercial and Automobile Trade," *Hotel Monthly*, 74.

An examination of the floor plans for the Julien-Dubuque in Dubuque, Iowa (1916) provides insight into the division between front and back of the house. The staff dominated the basement level: approximately three-quarter of the space was comprised of the kitchen, boiler room, staff locker rooms, work shop, assorted storage rooms and fan room. The male guests and visitors frequented grill room, public toilets, and barber shop which comprised the remainder of the basement. The ground floor by contrast was primarily front of the house. Approximately one-sixth of the space was dedicated to the staff including offices, servants' bedrooms, check room, bell boys hall, bar storage, freight elevator and back stairs. An even smaller portion of the mezzanine was back of the house: service pantry, fan room, freight elevator and back stairs.

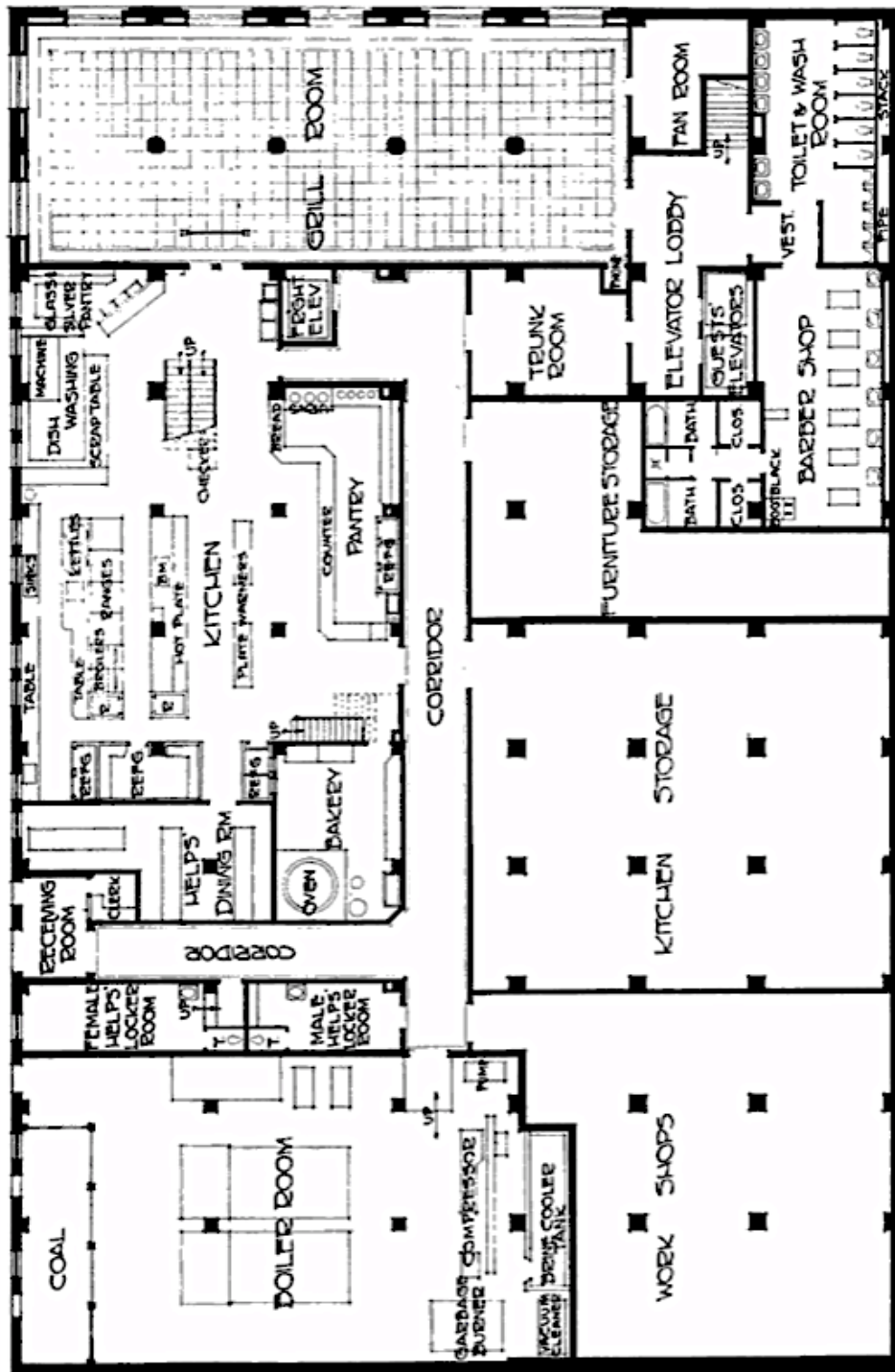


Figure 2.11: Basement Floor Plan Julien-Dubuque in Dubuque, Iowa (1916)
 Source: "Hotel Julien-Dubuque of Dubuque, Iowa," *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 275 (February 1916), 61.

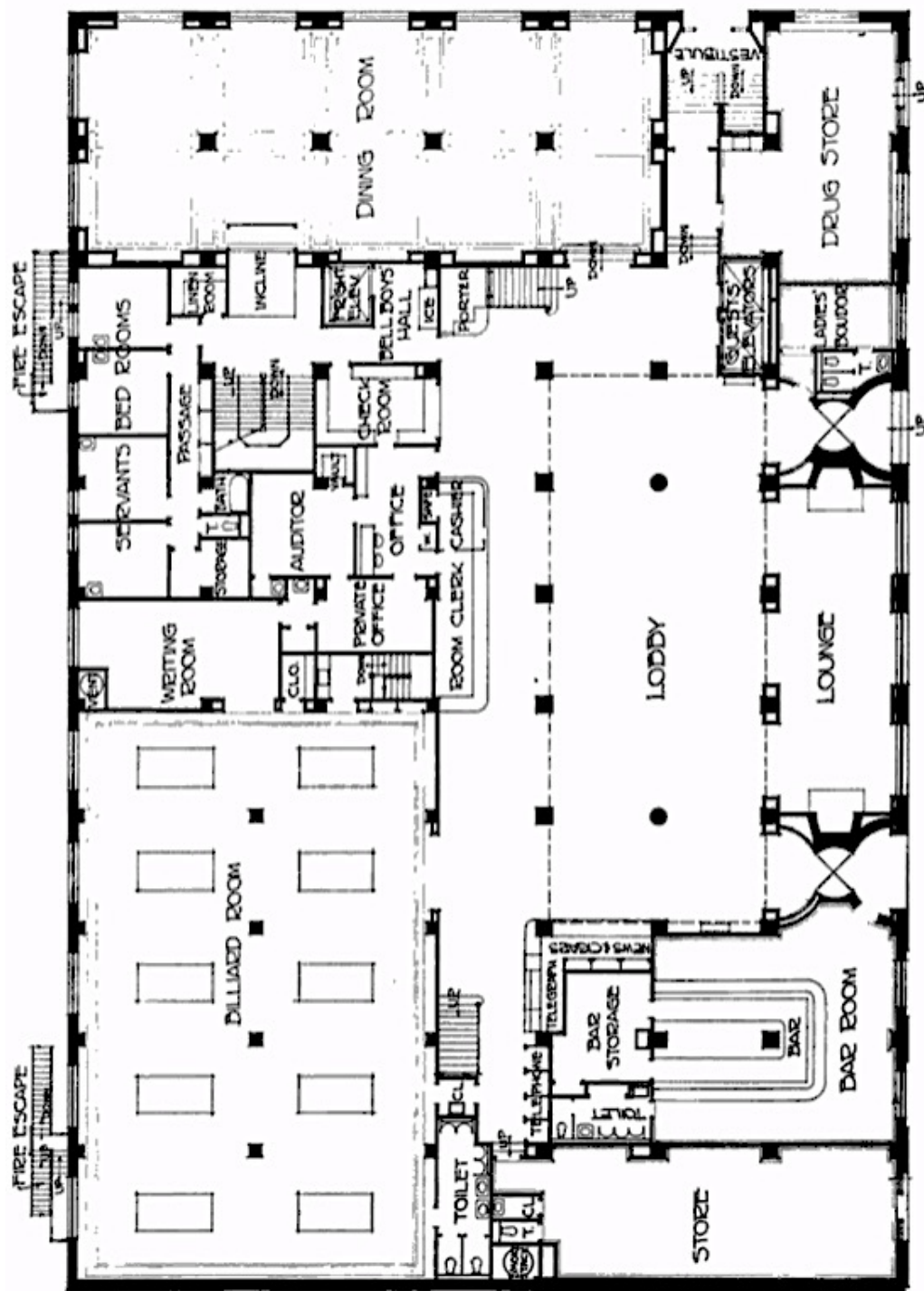


Figure 2.12: Ground Floor Floor Plan Julien-Dubuque in Dubuque, Iowa (1916)
Source: Ibid, 58.

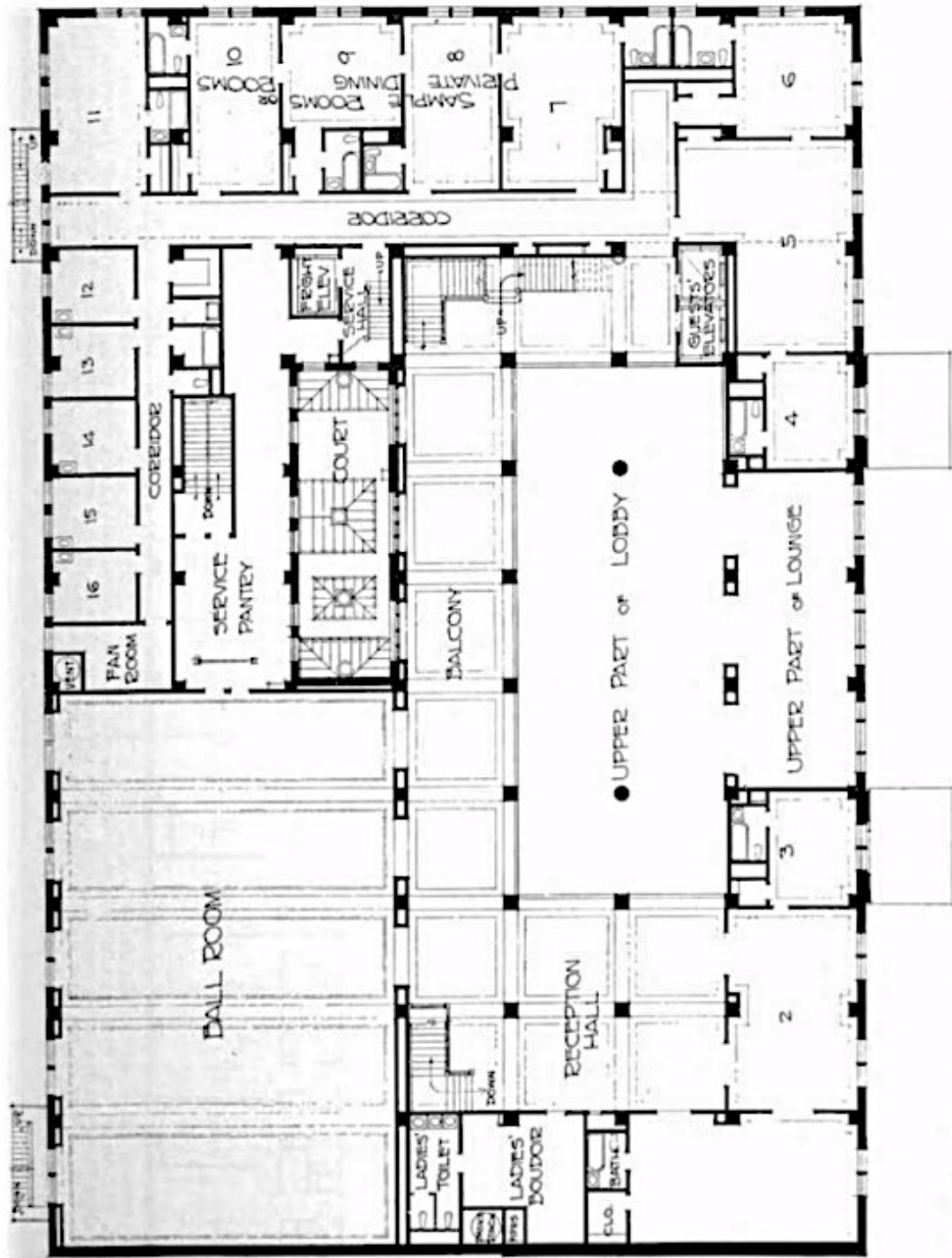


Figure 2.13: Mezzanine Floor Plan Julien-Dubuque in Dubuque, Iowa (1916)
Source: Ibid, 59.

First-class hotels employed large, highly specialized staffs to provide the “luxury” experience guests demanded. But, only a small percentage of the hotel staff was visible to guests – they saw hotel managers, clerks, bellboys, elevator operators, housekeepers and wait staff.⁴⁷ It took scores of people behind the scenes to operate a hotel. A *Hotel Monthly* article titled “Demand for High and Low Price Accommodations” (1918) provides a window into staffing levels: it suggested that first-class hotels should have a staff to guest ratio of 2:1 while 1:7 was appropriate for budget hotels.⁴⁸

Staffs at first-class hotels regularly included engineers to maintain the industrial sized machines (e.g., boilers, cooling systems and elevators), carpenters and upholsters to mend furniture, plumbers, laundresses, housekeepers, kitchen workers (e.g., principal chef, chef de garde, pastry chef, oyster shucker, checker, and dishwashers) along with tailors, printers, florists, barbers, and a dozen other trades and specialties.⁴⁹ Most of the work of the hotel and the people who did the work were hidden from view – it heightened the feeling of luxury.

Class divisions occurred within hotel staffs. Some of the class division can be attributed to functional requirements. As hotels became increasingly complex from a technical and managerial standpoint, functions became highly specialized and some required extensive training (e.g., hotel managers, engineers and classically trained French chefs). As one hotel manager put it, “There is an aristocracy of employees and they draw a finer line than any caste system in Europe.”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Groth, *Living Downtown*, 41.

⁴⁸ “Demand for High and Low Priced Accommodations,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 306 (September 1918), 38.

⁴⁹ Groth, *Living Downtown*, 41.

⁵⁰ “The William Penn Hotel Pittsburgh,” *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 281 (August 1916): 52.

Wage scales reflected the hierarchy. White men were paid the most; African American men, white women and African American women were paid significantly less.⁵¹ African American men held positions as waiters, bellboys, dishwashers, janitors, cooks and barbers.⁵² Books, vocational schools and first-class hotels taught waiters to serve with “military precision.”⁵³

During World War I, women were given the opportunity to hold a wider assortment of jobs at hotels.⁵⁴ White women held positions as waitresses, bellhops, elevator operators, housekeepers.⁵⁵ On a less frequent basis they were also employed as room clerks, executives in the catering department and in the boiler room.⁵⁶ Increased opportunities, to a limited degree, were open to African American women. In “Colored Bell Girls Improved Service” a hotelier in Indianapolis noted that African American

⁵¹ Michael K. Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 38; *Behind the Scenes in a Hotel*, New York: National Consumers' League, 1921. C. Brenden Martin, *Tourism in the Mountain South: A Double-Edged Sword* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 24 and 36.

⁵² “Walter Baker visits Hotel Where First Employed,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346, (January 1922): 62; “Baltimore, Maryland,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June 1918): 58; “Indiana’s Resort Hotel,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 352 (July 1922): 60; “Waiters’ Strike Ill Advised,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 309 (December 1918): 42; “The Waiting Business for Colored,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 301 (April 1918), 70.

⁵³ “The Commodore of New York,” *Hotel Monthly* 29, no. 334 (January 1921): 29; “The Most Famous of the Marshal Foch Feasts,” *Hotel Monthly* 29, no. 345 (December 1921): 43. “Alonzo Locke Memorial Institute, Inc., Announces Expansion Program with Mrs. Locke Endorsing Project,” *Memphis World*, April 27, 1948. John B. Goins, *The American Waiter: Instructions in American and European Plan Service, Banquet and Private Party Work* (Chicago: The Hotel Monthly Press, 1914).

⁵⁴ Dorothy Cobble, *Dishing it Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the 20th Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 19; “How to Solve the Waiter Problem,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 304 (July 1918); “The Woman as Chief Porter in Hotels,” *Hotel Monthly*, 26, no. 306 (September 1918): 69.

⁵⁵ “The Southern Hotel of Baltimore, Maryland,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June 1918): 56; “The Hotel Winton of Cleveland, Ohio,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 302, (May 1918): 56; “Anxieties,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June 1918), 38; *Hotel Monthly*, “How to Solve the Waiter Problem,” 76; *Hotel Monthly*, “The Sinton Hotel’s Super Lunch Counter,” 46; *Hotel Monthly*, “Waiters’ Strike Ill Advised,” 42.

⁵⁶ “The Story of a Woman Room Clerk,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 24; “Women Executives for Hotel Catering Department,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 62.

women were serving as both bellhops and elevator operators to great success.⁵⁷ African American women typically served as maid and on a less frequent basis served as cooks and waitresses in quick serve dining facilities.⁵⁸ In “Girlirizing Hotel Business” the editor of *Hotel Monthly* commented on how women are suited for occupations they had never been considered for in the past including “running passenger elevators, working in storerooms, waiting on tables, and doing more in the kitchen than is customary.”⁵⁹

Concurrently, hotels were fighting labor legislation and argued that “labor in a hotel is mostly of a domestic character and in no way could be called manufacturing or mercantile.”⁶⁰ According to Dorothy Cobble, in the post war era, women were used as strike breakers when male workers from waiters to cooks and others in the culinary profession walked out.⁶¹ Catherine Cocks argued, “Hotel managers manipulated the existing hierarchies of race, class, and gender in order to secure self-effacing servants without endangering the characteristic American dedication to egalitarianism.”⁶²

⁵⁷ “YMCA Bell Girls Improved the Service,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 305 (August 1918): 74.

⁵⁸ *Hotel Monthly*, “Walter Baker visits Hotel Where First Employed,” 62; *Hotel Monthly*, “The Hotel Winton of Cleveland, Ohio,” *Hotel Monthly*, “The Grace Dodge Hotel of Washington D.C,” 21; “Colored Bell Girls Improved the Service,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 305 (August 1918): 74.

⁵⁹ “Girlirizing the Hotel Business,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June 1918): 71.

⁶⁰ “Why Hotels Should be except from Certain Labor Legislation,” *Hotel Monthly* (March 1916): 35.

⁶¹ Cobble, *Dishing it Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the 20th Century*, 19.

⁶² Cocks, *Doing the Town*, 89.



Figure 2.14: Waitress at the Pastry Wagon at the Grand Pacific Hotel in Chicago, Illinois (1918)

Source: “Table d’Hote Served from Wagon,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 306 (September 1918), 57.

The stratification in hotel staff’s is visible in physical layout of the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh. The “ordinary help” was served from two cafeterias: men on the parlor floor and women on the seventeenth floor. They served themselves and sat at tables for four. In close proximity were the kitchens and dining rooms for the “higher grade of employees” such as “captains, bar men, checkers, cashiers, parlor maids, linen room girls” who were served by waitresses.⁶³ Management estimated that approximately two-thirds of the employees were fed in the hotel.⁶⁴ Furthermore, there were dormitories for women employees on the nineteenth and twentieth floors.⁶⁵

⁶³ “The William Penn Hotel Pittsburgh,” *Hotel Monthly*, 52.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

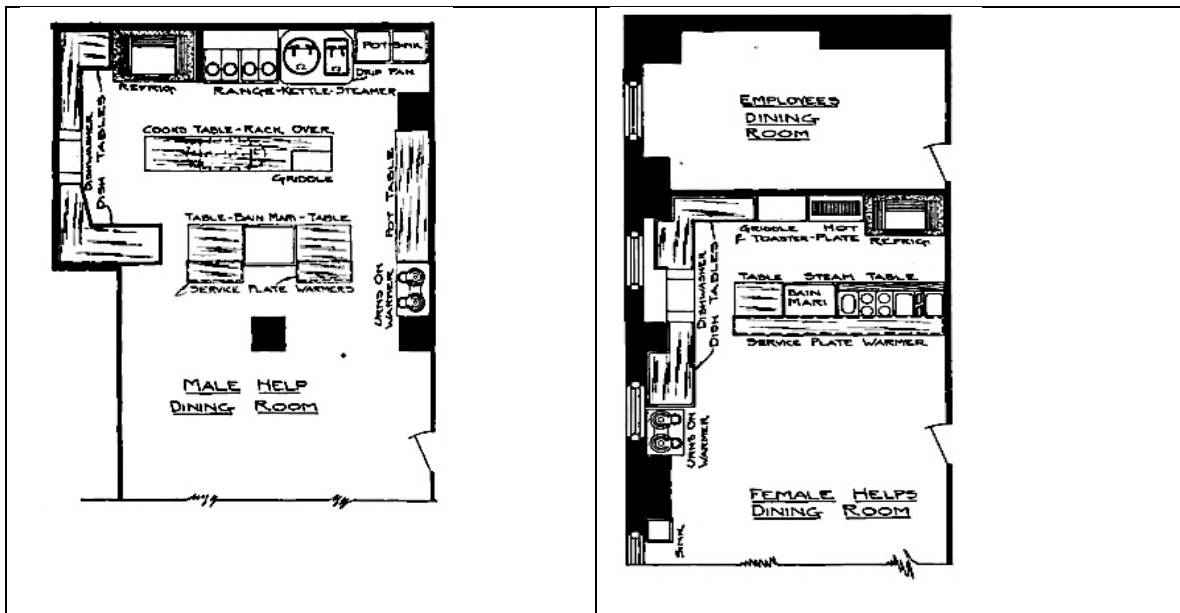


Figure 2.15: “Male Help Dining Room” on the Left. “Employees Dining Room” and “Female Helps Dining Room” on the Right, Hotel Statler-St. Louis in St. Louis, Missouri (1916)

Source: *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 299 (February 1918): 63.

Gender boundaries loosened with the advent of women’s suffrage, Prohibition and as more women took jobs outside of the house in the late teens and early twenties. Space segmented by race for the staff existed throughout the Jim Crow era.⁶⁶

The Civil Rights movement targeted hotels like lunch counters in department stores as places to protest segregation. Protests at hotels were known as “sleep-ins.” One such attempted sleep-in occurred at the Hermitage Hotel in Nashville in February 1962.⁶⁷ In the “I Have a Dream” speech (1963), Martin Luther King specifically mentioned that African Americans would “never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highway and the hotels of the

⁶⁶ “The New Ocean House of Swanpscott, Mass,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 354 (September 1922): 24.

⁶⁷ “Attempt to Integrate Hotel Here Fails,” *The Tennessean*, February 15, 1962.

cities.”⁶⁸ The Supreme Court upheld the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in its ruling on the *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States* by affirming African Americans’ right to participate in interstate commerce and thereby have access to travel-related services including lodging.⁶⁹

The Work that Made “Modern Marvels” Possible⁷⁰

The lens of nostalgia that clouds most contemporary views of first-class urban hotels in the early twentieth century also clouded most historians’ perceptions of these “modern marvels.”⁷¹ Braden’s study of Florida resort hotels, for instance, looked intently at the architectural styles and lavish interiors of the Sunshine State’s resort hotels. She quickly passed over how the hotels actually worked – what the hospitality industry calls operational requirements.⁷² Over the last decade and a half, there has been a shift in scholarship as Berger epitomizes. In her 2005 article titled, “The Rich Man’s City: Hotels and Mansions of Gilded Age New York,” she focused primarily on the “magical surroundings” including the “elaborately decorated set” of Peacock Alley at the Waldorf-

⁶⁸ Martin Luther King, “I have a Dream,” quoted in Sandoval-Strausz’s *Hotel: An American History*, 306.

⁶⁹ Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History*, 309.

⁷⁰ Jesse Lynch Williams, “A Great Hotel,” *Scribner’s Magazine*, February 1897.

⁷¹ Robert B. Ludy, *Historic Hotels of the World*, (Philadelphia: Donald McKay Company, 1927); Catherine Donzel, Alexis Gregory, and Marc Walter, *Grand American Hotels* (New York: The Vendome Press, 1989); Donald W. Curl, *Florida Architecture of Addison Mizner* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1992); Donald Curl, ed., *Palm Beach County: In a Class by Itself* (Fort Lauderdale: Copperfield Publications, Inc., 1998); Stanley Turkel, *Built to Last 100+ Year Old Hotels East of the Mississippi* (Bloomington: Authors’ House, LCC., 2013); Scott Faragher and Katherine Harrington, *Images of America: The Peabody Hotel* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2011); Tracy J. Revels, *Sunshine Paradise* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011).

⁷² Braden, *The Architecture of Leisure*, 93-96.

Astoria Hotel in New York, New York.⁷³ By *Hotel Dreams* (2011) Berger's focus shifted to "a modern hotel's ingenuity" and the architectural, technological and service innovations that made a luxury hotel experience possible.⁷⁴ As the guest editor of the "American Hotel" issue of *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* (2005) Berger was likely influenced by the work of Davidson ("Early Twentieth-Century Hotel Architects and the Origins of Standardization") as well as by George E. Thomas and Susan Nigra Snyder ("William Price's Traymore Hotel: Modernity in the Mass Resort") and began to see hotels in a new light.⁷⁵

A 1921 issue of *Architectural Forum* described hotels as "one of the most complex building operations" confronting the architectural profession.⁷⁶ Successful hotel architecture was a "combination of art and affairs."⁷⁷ Hotel management, architects and engineers of all types (e.g., structural, mechanical, electrical, gas, plumbing and kitchen) cooperated to craft aesthetically pleasing buildings that nevertheless adhered to complex technical specifications. Costs for the technical systems were not insignificant. One contemporary expert estimated that "the heating, plumbing, refrigeration, electric wiring and ventilation work or what is generally classed as mechanical equipment for strictly modern, up-to-date, fireproof hotel amounts to an average about 20% of the total cost of

⁷³ Molly W. Berger, "The Rich Man's City: Hotels and Mansions of Gilded Age New York," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* "The American Hotel Issue" 25 (2005): 136-159.

⁷⁴ Berger, *Hotel Dreams*, 178.

⁷⁵ Lisa Pfeuller Davidson, "Early Twentieth-Century Hotel Architects and the Origins of Standardization," *The American Hotel: Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (2005): 72-103; George E. Thomas and Susan Nigra Snyder "William Price's Traymore Hotel: Modernity in the Mass Resort," *The American Hotel: Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (2005): 186-215.

⁷⁶ Daniel P. Ritchey, "Practical Points in Hotel Planning," *Architectural Forum* 35 (December 1921): 221.

⁷⁷ *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 300 (March 1918): 80.

the building.”⁷⁸ Steel-frame construction, introduced in Chicago in the 1880s and popularized in subsequent decades as the price of steel decreased, pushed hotels skywards. Ten-plus story hotels, with more than a hundred rooms, were not uncommon in small and medium sized cities across the United States.⁷⁹ Elevators were common features in hotels and at minimum two were required: one for guests and the other for the staff. Furthermore, regardless of their height, hotels required complex plumbing, gas, electrical, ventilation, heating and cooling systems as well as sophisticated kitchens to keep guests, diners and staff members satisfied, comfortable and safe.⁸⁰ Steel-frame construction solved another problem that had plagued hotels up to that point – massive fires that burned hotels to the ground on a regular basis.⁸¹ In fact, even into the 1920s *Hotel World* had a regular column titled “Fires” to document loss of life, property damage and hotels that were recently destroyed.⁸² It is little wonder that hotels regularly advertised themselves using such terms as “fireproof,” “absolutely fireproof” and “an absolutely fireproof structure.”⁸³

⁷⁸ B.R. Gibson, “The Designing and Planning of the Hotel: The Architect should have an insight into the hotel’s operator’s problems to make the perfect hotel – work together to reduce operating costs – bad engineering practices,” *Hotel World* (September 2, 1922): 16.

⁷⁹ Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 125.

⁸⁰ Berger, *Hotel Dreams*, 178.

⁸¹ Charles B. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (Winter 1970-71): 334, 341 and 347; Jeanette Keith, “Good Times,” in *Rural Life and Culture in the Upper Cumberland*, ed. Michael E. Birdwell and W. Calvin Dickinson (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 182; Berger, *Hotel Dreams*, 159-160.

⁸² “Fires,” *Hotel World* (October 7, 1922): 46; and “Fires,” *Hotel World* (September 2, 1922): 57.

⁸³ “The Exchange,” The Exchange, advertisement, *Hotel World*, August 5, 1922, 51; “The Claypool,” The Claypool, advertisement, *Hotel World*, August 5, 1922, 47; “The Chittenden,” The Chittenden, advertisement, *Hotel World*, August 5, 1922, 47.



Figure 2.16: Advertisement for Multiple Properties Managed by J.B. Pound (1922). Notice the first selling point is “fireproof” and all of the hotels are at least six stories high.

Source: Properties managed by J.B. Pound, advertisement, *Hotel World*, August 26, 1922, 26.

Beginning in the mid-1890s, scientific management principals, popularized by Frederick Winslow Taylor and similar to those used at factories, were utilized on an adhoc basis by mid to large-size hotels across the U.S. Each hotel devised its own method of measurement and standardization in pursuit of profits and service excellence. Some well-run, first-class hotels even prepared daily balance sheets.⁸⁴ They were the only large businesses to do so other than banks. But the hotels as a whole were slow to adopt industry-wide standards. In the early 1920s, the American Hotel Association (AHA) complained, “In efficiency and service, are our hotels up to the standards of other industries in the matter of trained employees, executive talent and education, and the possession of classified and ready-to-use technical statistics that insure maximum profitable operation? No!”⁸⁵ In pursuit of industry-wide standards, the AHA advocated the creation of a Research Bureau to collect and analyze data on costs, controls,

⁸⁴ Williams, “A Great Hotel,” 154.

⁸⁵ “What the American Hotel Association is Trying to Do to Educate the Hotel Fraternity,” *Hotel World* (September 30, 1922): 47.

purchasing and general operations and share the findings on an aggregate basis with member hotels who contributed data.⁸⁶ The clearinghouse would allow individual hotels to compare themselves with industry averages and identify areas of both waste and efficiency in their operations. The data would help in managing daily operations as well as forecasting for the future.⁸⁷ But before the data could be collected, uniform cost accounting standards needed to be adopted.⁸⁸ Cost accounting is a powerful tool because it assigns a cost to everything from space (e.g., guest room or kitchen) to maintenance (e.g., labor costs plus electrical and plumbing costs) to meals served in the Grille Room. It also assigns revenue where possible. Cost accounting allowed each department to be its own separate entity from an operational, financial and management standpoint.

The engineering department was responsible for three major areas within a hotel. It administered the switchboard that controlled the power and lighting, ran the refrigeration system responsible for brine cooling, air cooling and temperature, and operated the water supply system that controlled water pressure and temperature.⁸⁹ One industry expert stated:

The average person does not stop to consider that much of the efficiency, comfort and attractiveness of the modern hotel is directly traceable to the perfect operation of the engineering department, and the efficient or inefficient handling of this department has a great bearing on the financial success of the hotel.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ "Unusual Possibilities in Research Bureau," *Hotel World* (September 2, 1922): 22.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ "Uniform Cost Accounting Bound to Come," *Hotel World* (October 7, 1922): 43.

⁸⁹ "The Engineering Department of the Large Hotel: its relation to the comfort and convenience of the Guests – its care and maintenance – special appliances and devices that aid in perfect operation," *Hotel World* (September 2, 1922): 12.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

To maintain efficient operations, the department needed to monitor and calculate a significant amount of data on a daily, monthly and seasonal basis. The “Daily Operations Report” provides insight into the data collected from the amount of coal burned to the average uptake temperature to staffing levels.

Daily Operation Report				
ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT				
PLANT				
DATE.....	19...	WEATHER.....	TEMP.....	*
Coal received today.....				Tons
Coal received this month.....				Tons
Coal burned today.....				Tons
Water evaporated today.....				Lbs.
Water evaporated per lb. coal.....				Lbs.
Current for power.....				K.W.H.
Current for lighting.....				K.W.H.
		Total.....		K.W.H.
Maximum current demand.....				K.W.
Total water consumption.....				Cu. Feet
Condenser water to sewer.....				Cu. Feet
Refrigeration.....				Tons
Total gas consumption.....				Cu. Feet
Air refrigeration on.....				Hours
Live steam on.....				Hours
Boilers, on number of days	No. 1....	No. 2....	No. 3....	No. 4....
Average up-take temperature	No. 1....	No. 2....	No. 3....	No. 4....
Average CO ₂	No. 1...%	No. 2...%	No. 3...%	No. 4...%
No. of Men Working:				
Engine room.....				Men
Electricians.....				Men
Carpenters.....				Men
Painters.....				Men
Plumbers.....				Men
Steamfitters.....				Men
Machinists.....				Men
Locksmiths.....				Men
Laborers.....				Men
Misc. Labor.....				
		Total.....		Men
Outside Men.....				
	Signed.....			
(Additional Remarks Over)				

Figure 2.17: Sample Daily Operations Report for the Engineering Department of a Large Hotel (1922)

Source: “The Engineering Department of the Large Hotel: its relation to the comfort and convenience of the Guests – its care and maintenance – special appliances and devices that aid in perfect operation,” *Hotel World*, 11.

Management applied the same sort of exacting standards in the kitchen. Why? Food service at a first-class hotel could equal or even exceed revenue from room reservations.⁹¹ Food service moved from a cost center into a revenue center in the first decades of the twentieth century as first-class hotels transitioned from the “American Plan” (four meals a day were included in room charge) to the “European Plan” (room charge only).⁹² With the new model, hotels no longer had a completely captive audience and instead had to compete on price, quality and service with food service options offsite.⁹³

Cost accounting allowed the kitchen department to better understand costs, increase revenue and make more accurate projections for supply orders in the future. The document below, “Table Showing Seven Days Bill of Fare,” provides a myriad of information. The far left column provides the gross profits for each course in percentages for the month of November. Relishes for example had a gross profit of 280%. This percentage means that for every \$100 spent on ingredients \$380 in revenue was collected resulting in a gross profit of \$280. The expert promoting cost accounting in the kitchen reported that gross profits of 100-150% are fair, 150-200% are good and above 200% are very good.⁹⁴ The second column labeled “Monday” provides the number of total customers (1,823), the number of each dish served and percentage of customers who ordered the dish. The most popular items on Monday were the apple turnover (710 portions), spinach side item (436), mashed potatoes (312) and roast pork (269). The chef

⁹¹ Jackle and Sculle, *America's Main Street Hotels*, 119; Berger, *Hotel Dreams*, 190.

⁹² Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Housing in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 29; Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 168; Haley, *Turning the Tables*, 122.

⁹³ Haley, *Turning the Tables*, 123.

⁹⁴ Leopold Granitz, “The Productive Bill of Fare,” *Hotel World*, August 5, 1922, 24.

would use this information in planning future menus and in purchasing supplies. Cost accounting coupled with rigorous training of the kitchen and wait staff allowed hotels to push profitable items on the menu over those that were less profitable. Articles in industry journals such as *Hotel World* were helpful in promoting common standards and in sharing best practices.

Table Showing Seven Days Bill of Fare, With Number of Diners Each

November, 1921	14. Monday ^{7th} 1823.	15. Tuesday 1780.	16. Wednesday 1619.
Relishes 280%			
Soup 300%	Cream of Corn 148 7½% Consomme 56 3½%	Navy Bean 305 17% Tomato Bouillon 72 4%	Cream of Tomato 280 17½% Consomme 40 2½%
Fish 275%	Brd. Lake Trout 195 10½% Brd. Whitefish 146 8%	Baked Fil. Halibut 84 5% Steam Whitefish 132 7½%	Steam Fil. Bass 76 4½% Fried Whitefish 126 7½%
Entrees 176%	Breast of Chicken 122 6½% Grilled Club Steak 251 14% Stewed Lamb 126 6½% Swedish Apple 26 1½% Pork & Beans 54 3%	Chick. Maryland 176 10% Brd. Brisket Beef 202 11% Fr. Calfs Liver 186 10% Peaches & Rice 32 2% Pork & Beans 60 3½%	Cream Chick. King 111 7% Hung. Goulash 135 8% Br. Pork Tenderloin 261 16% Pineapple Fritters 39 2½% Pork & Beans 62 3½%
Roast	Roast Pork 269 14½% " Beef 175 9½% Short Ribs 46 2½%	Roast Mutton 114 6% " Beef 146 8% Short Ribs 52 3%	Roast Lamb 222 14% " Beef 140 8½% Short Ribs 49 3%
Vegetables 208%	Spinach 436 24% Fried Parsnip 201 11%	Cream Cabbage 312 17% Mashed Carrots 190 10½%	Stewed Turnips 160 10% Puree of Peas 412 25%
Potatoes 260%	Mashed 312 17%	French fried 436 24%	Au gratin 356 22%
Dessert 209%	Cocoanut Custard 262 14% Apple Turnover 710 39%	Steamed Fig Pudding 300 17% Neap. Cream Slice 470 6½%	Cabinet Pudding 320 20% Choc. Tree Cake 410 25%
Ice Cream 300%			
Coffee 525%			

Figure 2.18: Sample Bill of Fare for a Modern Hotel in the 1920s
Source: Granitz, "The Productive Bill of Fare," 24.

From an operational standpoint, the kitchen was considered the “heart of everything” because it connected to all the rooms where food was served.⁹⁵ *Hotel Monthly* regularly published kitchen floor plans. The floor plan for the Lincoln Hotel in Indianapolis, Indiana provides insight into how kitchens were laid out, the categories of equipment used, and the major kitchen suppliers. Burton Range Co. equipped the kitchen with a 10-foot Burton range, a Black Diamond oven, and two Burton steel top cook’s tables to name a just a few of the major pieces of equipment.⁹⁶

Equipment providers worked closely with hotel management and architects to create spaces that adhered to scientific management principals. *Hotel Monthly* drew particular attention to:

the Smith Buffalo meat chopper; the Crescent dishwashing machine; the Curtis egg boiler; the Streeter peelers; the Kellum urns; aluminum kettles and utensils; International meat slicer; Reinhold cooler, and the Chocolate Cooler Co. (Grand Rapids), ice cream cabinet. In the bake shop there is a Roberts Portable oven, gas fuel, which was highly complimented; also a Hilbert ice cream machine, motor driven, capacity five gallons in fifteen minutes.⁹⁷

The range and specific nature of the equipment speaks to the complexity of the operation. Kitchen staffs were large and required a mix of professionally trained (e.g., chef, pastry chef and garde manager) and unskilled (e.g., dishwashers and vegetable peelers) workers. Each person, or groups of persons, had a specialized task.

⁹⁵ “The New Fireproof Hotel Lincoln, Indianapolis, Indiana,” *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 305 (August 1918): 54.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

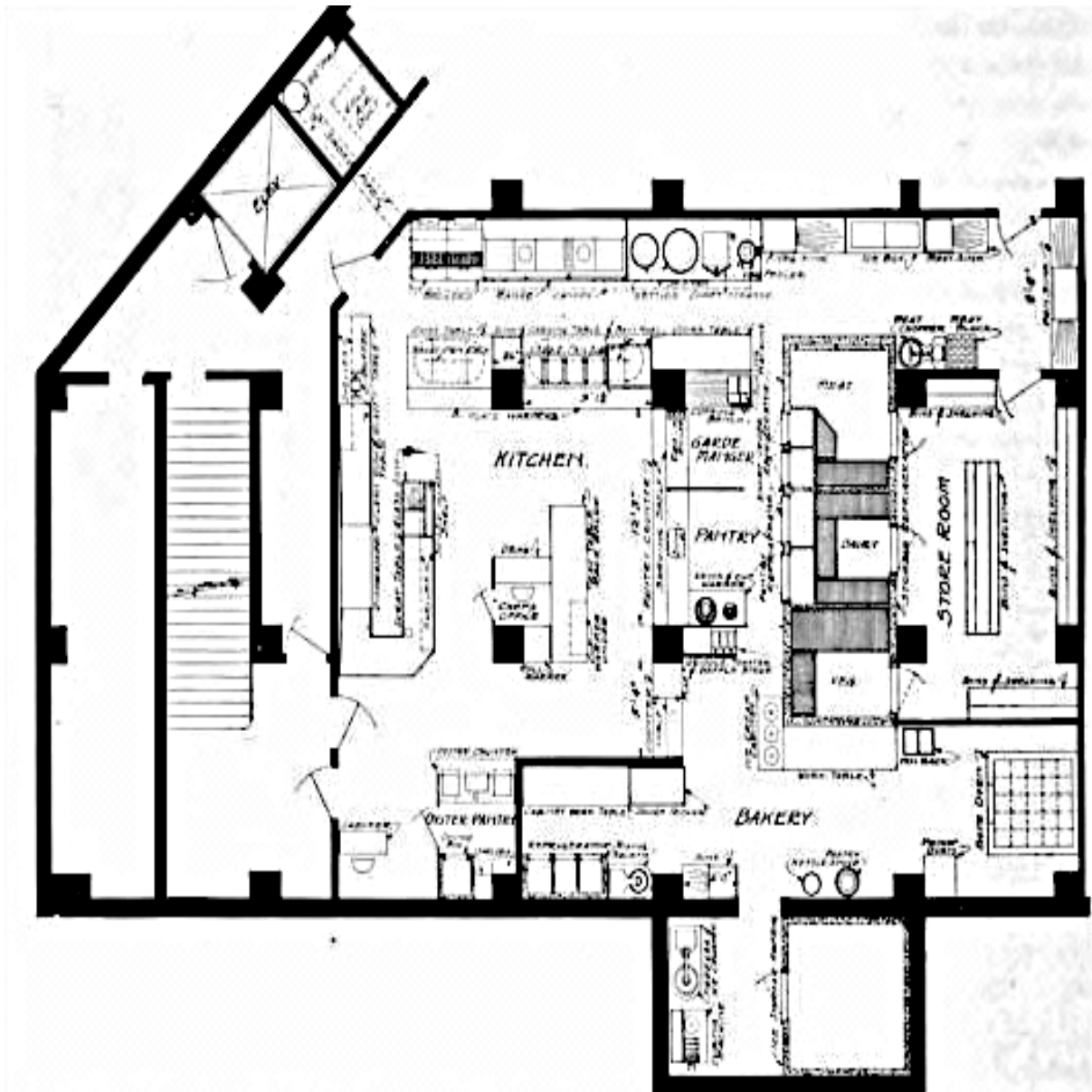


Figure 2.19: Kitchen Floor Plan for Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis (1918)
 Source: "The New Fireproof Hotel Lincoln, Indianapolis, Indiana," *Hotel Monthly*, 53.

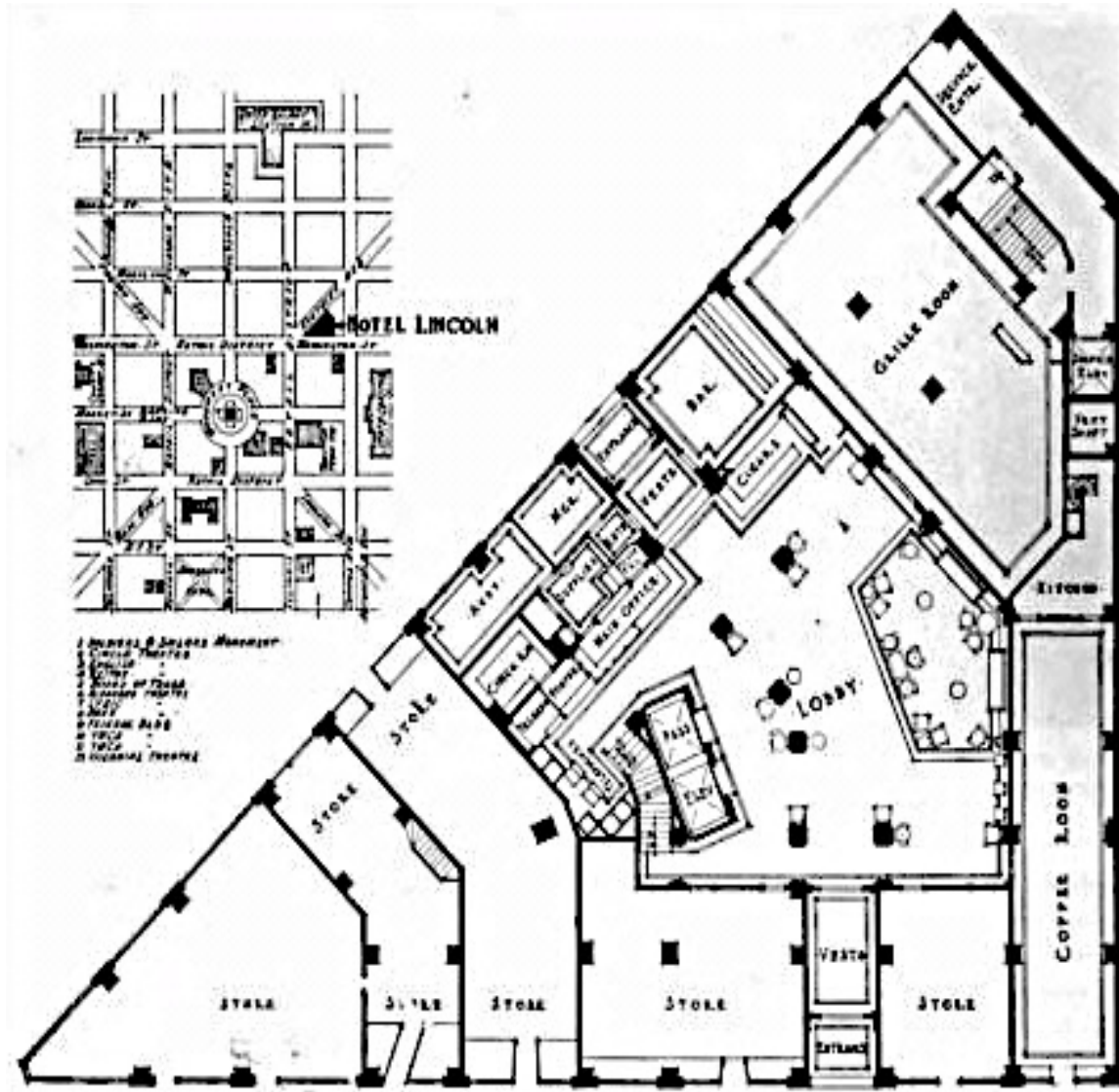


Figure 2.20: Lobby Floor Plan for Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis, Indiana (1918). Notice how the kitchen is located beneath the grille room (to line kitchen plan up with this one you need to orient yourself by the service stairs and elevator and rotate in your mind accordingly).

Source: Ibid, 46.



Figure 2.21: Mezzanine Floor Plan for Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis, Indiana (1918). Notice how the banquet room is directly above the bar and grille room. Source: Ibid, 48.

The above floor plans for the Hotel Lincoln in Indianapolis, Indiana also provide insight into the methodical approach to modern luxury. Tim Ingold, a social anthropologist, defined the process as “taskscape.” He explained, “Every task takes its meaning from its position within an ensemble of tasks, performed in series or in parallel, and usually by many people working together.”⁹⁸ The meat chopper and meat block were stationed next to the store room and easily accessible to the section of the refrigerator housing meat. Grouping like activities together made them more efficient and helped to minimize work groups getting in each other’s way as they performed their tasks. But as meat is typically cooked, it makes sense that the meat station is in close proximity to the oven and ranges and is not located next to bakery or oyster pantry as those tasks are not interrelated.

Another taskscape relates to fulfilling a diner’s order. Details for this scenario are based on the process described in *Scribner’s* article “A Great Hotel” (1897).⁹⁹ First, the customer seated in the Grille Room would hand write an order and give it to the waiter. Then the waiter would descend to the kitchen in the basement and take the order to a checker who would make a copy of the order on a “blank order” with three removable parts. The checker would keep one section for his records, stamp the second and leave the third blank. Without a stamp, the waiter would not be able to pick up food in the kitchen. The kitchen staff would prepare the meal. After retrieving the food, the waiter would again stop by the checker who would review the contents of the order. Then the waiter would either takes the service stairs or service elevator to the Grille Room to deliver the

⁹⁸ Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 195.

⁹⁹ Williams, “A Great Hotel,”152.

food. At the end of the meal, the waiter would give the customer the check and then take the payment to the cashier who was stationed separate from the checker. The cashier would tally the total again, keep one of the removable parts of the check and give the waiter the third section. The last step of the process was the original order in the customer's handwriting and the three sections of the order form would be reviewed and cataloged in the auditing department. This taskscape clearly shows how scientific management principals and design of space worked hand-in-hand.



Figure 2.22: “Scenes in the Kitchen by the Checkers” (1897). Note the flurry of activity and the large vents.

Source: Williams, “A Great Hotel,” 148.

Hotel managers and architects critically examined public and semi-public space within hotels to see if they could be converted into revenue generating space.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ “Arkansas Hotel Keepers Meet and Discuss Problem,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 298 (January 1918): 56.

According to a 1922 article in *Hotel Monthly*, after management at the Hotel Gayoso in Memphis deemed itself “over parlored,” it transformed two parlors into a dining room and a club room with a total seating capacity of 150 people.¹⁰¹ While a parlor served a function, it did not generate revenue. By contrast, at seventy-five cents per person, a full lunch crowd would have generated \$113 in incremental revenue for the hotel and did not meet the needs of salesmen and conventionners.¹⁰² The rooms’ conversion made sense from an operational standpoint as well because the main dining room was also located on the parlor floor as was the kitchen that served it. Placing the kitchen and dining rooms on the same level provided “rapid access from one to the other” and saved the wait staff from climbing stairs or taking an elevator, a hotel best practice.¹⁰³ Taken together, operational efficiencies supported a faster and superior level of service. Hotel Gayoso’s management also transformed half of the billiards room into a lunchroom with 90 seats at a horseshoe counter and another 109 seats at tables.¹⁰⁴

As discussed earlier in the chapter, lunchrooms, cafeterias and coffee shops helped hotels maintain and grow their regular customer base that included hotel guests and community members.¹⁰⁵ (See Figures 2.14 and 2.23) The final change management made was to install “coin-in-slot” toilets in the public lavatory. Not only did repair costs decrease to \$10 per month from \$25 to \$100 level, but the toilets generated \$150 in

¹⁰¹ “The Hotels of Memphis, Tennessee,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 349 (April 1922): 55.

¹⁰² Jackle and Sculle, *America’s Main Street Hotels*, 31.

¹⁰³ Ritchey, “Practical Points in Hotel Planning,” 223.

¹⁰⁴ “The Hotels of Memphis, Tennessee,” *Hotel Monthly*, 55.

¹⁰⁵ “The Hotel Coffee Room: How to Make it Pay,” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 306 (September 1918): 59.

revenue per month.¹⁰⁶ Prior to the change, the bathroom had been “infested with dope fiends” who caused significant damage and were likely disruptive to hotel operations and an inconvenience to other hotel guests.¹⁰⁷ The Hotel Gayoso was on trend in converting public bathrooms into revenue centers.¹⁰⁸ The AHA dubbed modern hotels “tremendous organizations” thanks in large part to “efficiency engineering.”¹⁰⁹



Figure 2.23: The Black Cat Room, Hotel Chisca in Memphis, Tennessee (1922)
Source: “The Hotels of Memphis, Tennessee,” *Hotel Monthly*, 57.

A closer examination of “modern” hotels documented in the trade magazines the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries illuminates the complex web of the systems

¹⁰⁶ “The Hotels of Memphis, Tennessee,” *Hotel Monthly*, 55.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ “Coin in Slot for Toilets?” *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 308 (November 1918): 38; “Lycoming Hotel Williamsport, PA,” *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 356 (November 1922): 57.

¹⁰⁹ “Hotel Urges less Waste,” *Hotel World* (July 1, 1922): 44.

that were required to operate them efficiently and effectively. The systems were essential in maintaining the physical plant, fiscal stability and smooth workflows. Without the systems, the staff would not have been able to deliver high levels of service for which the hotels were known. While the service may have been “Old World,” the delivery of it required a modern machine.

This chapter focused on the people who inhabited first-rate hotels and the operational requirements necessary to deliver the high levels of service for which they were known. Why? Because understanding how these properties were both conflicted spaces as well as “city within a city” acting as their own “self-regulating” machine is a key to understanding the interpretive potential – and marketing bonanza – of historic hotels as places of rich, challenging, and complex stories.¹¹⁰

By delving into the history of historic hotels, public historians provide context and suggest some possible avenues for hospitality industry professionals to explore as they re-examine how they interpret and market the history of their hotels. It is not to say that all avenues will be pursued to the same degree, some may be overlooked entirely. It would be relatively easy to incorporate the operational and managerial innovations because they support service excellence, a tradition of luxury that hotels continue to pride themselves on today.¹¹¹

Exploring the gendered nature of space within hotels can be address on site with simple plaques and/or compelling stories shared by the staff. Addressing race, ethnic

¹¹⁰ Berger, *Hotel Dreams*, 19 and 179; Davidson, “Consumption and Efficiency in the ‘City within a City,’” xviii.

¹¹¹ “The Jefferson,” Jefferson Hotel, accessed July 8, 2017, <http://www.jeffersonhotel.com>; “About The Breakers,” The Breakers Palm Beach, accessed August 2, 2017, <https://www.thebreakers.com/about-breakers/>; “The St. Regis New York,” The St. Regis New York, accessed July 8, 2017, <http://www.stregisnewyork.com>.

identity and labor history may prove more challenging but by doing so hospitality industry professionals will develop multi-dimensional narratives that strengthen the authenticity of the historical narratives and sense of place. (See Chapter 5 for examples of how race and labor history can provide a more nuanced and complex interpretation of historic hotels.) Broadening the narrative will allow more people to see themselves as part of the hotels' histories and encourage them to make their own memories at the hotel. A more inclusive and nuanced interpretation of historic hotels' histories reinforces the important role they played in shaping American society in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER THREE: TENNESSEE’S HISTORIC HOTELS THROUGH A HERITAGE DEVELOPMENT LENS

With an economic impact of more than \$18.4 billion in 2015, tourism in Tennessee is big business.¹ It is also one of the largest industries in the state contributing \$1.6 billion in state and local sales tax and employing more than 157,400 individuals.² Tennessee is one of the top 10 travel destinations in the United States with 105.3 million person-stays in 2015 thanks in part to the success of its award winning brand campaign “Soundtrack of America. Made in Tennessee.”³

In many respects, the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development (TDTD) positions the state in cultural heritage tourism terms. Its 2016 marketing plan stated that visitors are seeking places, experiences and people who are “real,” “genuine” and “authentic.”⁴ Music epitomizes cultural heritage because it encompasses the music itself, the people who made/make music, and places that celebrate music whether that be festivals, music venues or museums. Tennessee Tourism Commissioner Kevin Triplett described the state in cultural heritage tourism terms when he stated,

We are the global music destination of choice; an authentic American experience rooted in the blues, bluegrass, country, gospel, soul, rockabilly and rock ‘n’ roll, at the crossroads of American history and renowned scenic beauty.⁵

¹ *The Soundtrack of America: Made in Tennessee. 2016 Annual Report*, i.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 17.

⁴ Ibid., 1.

⁵ Ibid., 2.

Culture, heritage and natural beauty are the hallmarks of Tennessee and differentiate it from other more homogenous travel destinations. One of the three main ways to navigate the Tnvacation.com website is by Experiences. Like HHA's website, the history tab dubbed "Uncover a Piece of the Past" draws users in with short stories featuring cultural tourism assets. "10 Places in Tennessee to Explore African American History" and "Knoxville Historic Landmarks" are examples of the types of stories posted on the history tab.⁶

Partnerships are key to the state's success in tourism. "The Tennessee Department of Tourist Development is a partner to the Tennessee Tourism Committee, to each county's respective Chambers of Commerce and CVBs (convention bureaus), to each destination and facility designed to entertain our guests."⁷ TDTD encourages its in-state tourism partners (e.g., chamber of commerce, convention bureaus and regional tourism organizations) to develop programs that leverage the "Soundtrack of America. Made in Tennessee" brand as well as increase visitation and tourist-related revenue through the Developmental Co-Op Program. For fiscal year 2015-2016, the TDTD awarded eighty matching grants totaling \$855,000 to its tourism partners.⁸ TDTD also hosted fifteen tourist development workshops in conjunction with regional tourism organizations in Spring 2015.⁹ Historians are singled out as important partners on the Tennessee Civil War Trails Program. "Under the leadership of Dr. Carroll Van West, Tennessee state historian, each marker is vetted for authenticity and edited to meet the multi-state

⁶ "Uncover a Piece of the Past." Tennessee Vacation, accessed March 29, 2017, <https://www.tnvacation.com/experiences/history>.

⁷ *The Soundtrack of America: Made in Tennessee. 2016 Annual Report*, 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

program requirements.” The TDTD could help its partners even more if it expanded its market research capacity.

While the TDTD provides some interesting statistics and market research data, taken together they provide a shallow and incomplete picture of visitors to Tennessee. Visitor information is key in developing tourist products and marketing products to distinct cohorts. The average visit to Tennessee was 2.03 nights and the average daily spend was \$124 per person.¹⁰ Leisure travelers stayed slightly longer at 2.24 days and their average party size was 2.27 people.¹¹ By generation, GenExers aged 35-50 spent the most per average party at \$462. Summer is the dominant travel season in Tennessee.¹² Tennessee is the largest origin market followed by Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Ohio, North Carolina, Florida, Missouri, Mississippi and Arkansas.¹³ Lastly, the five most popular activities are shopping, culinary/dining, visiting friends/relatives, national/state parks, touring/sightseeing and historic sites.¹⁴ Because of the scattershot nature of the information provided, it is not possible to get a grasp the similarities and differences of business and leisure travelers. It is not possible to grasp the proportion of travelers to the state by age cohort. It is not possible to determine to determine the percentage of travelers that partake in multiple popular activities and in what combination. Despite raising far more questions that it answers, the information provided by TDTD suggests that cultural heritage tourists as a cohort need to be better understood.

¹⁰ Ibid., 17-18.

¹¹ Ibid., 18.

¹² Ibid., 17.

¹³ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴ Ibid.

With aspirations to rank among the Top 5 travel destinations in the United States, the TDTD needs to invest in developing tourist products and conducting additional market research on the economic impact of cultural heritage tourism on the state. One step in developing additional tourist products is working with partners to inventory the state's cultural, heritage and natural assets. The inventories will show common themes that exist across asset type and across the state. The TDTD can support dialog among partners by hosting training sessions on cultural heritage tourism and by further investing in Co-Op marketing programs. In addition, the TDTD needs to invest in market research that looks specifically at the economic impact of cultural heritage tourism on the state, breaks down it down by cultural heritage tourism segment type and provides profiles for each segment type. Hiring Mandala Research, LLC who authored *The Cultural & Heritage Traveler Study* (2013) discussed in Chapter 1 would be ideal because then the state's statistics could be understood within the context of the national statistics.¹⁵ Knowing the type of cultural heritage tourist (passionate, well-rounded, aspirational, self-guided/accidental and keeping it light) would help in positioning individual properties as well as developing tourist properties.

During my professional residency at the TDTD Fall 2014 through Summer 2015 I wrestled with the question of how Tennessee could make the most of its historic hotels as heritage assets. My report "The Preliminary Heritage Development Plan for National Register-listed Historic Hotels and Inns in Tennessee" established that the historiography was thin and what there was narrowly focused on stagecoach inns in East Tennessee, defunct mineral spring resorts, and three large, urban hotels. Conducting an inventory of National Register-listed hotel properties heightened awareness of individual

¹⁵ Mandala Research, LLC, *The Cultural & Heritage Traveler 2013 Edition*.

properties and the category as a whole as well as determined how individual properties were represented within existing TDTD products. Furthermore, historical research showed that three major themes – radio station & music, ghost tourism and transportation networks – linked multiple hotel properties. The report's recommendations focused on incorporating historic hotels into TDTD's products focused on music as well as developing the ghost tourism and transportation network themes into future tourist products. My approach of using fieldwork, primary and secondary research is standard practice for a public historian and was methodologically sound.

Today, when I consider the question of how Tennessee can make the most of its historic hotels as tourism assets I think about the sweet spot that exists between public historians, cultural heritage tourism professionals and hospitality industry professionals with their shared focus on storytelling, authenticity and saving historic properties. My lens shifted from heritage tourism focused on historic places and history to cultural heritage tourism that incorporates both heritage tourism and cultural tourism focused on the arts, festivals and other intangibles including the atmosphere of a destination. The partnership model works equally well for other categories of cultural heritage tourism assets including museums, state and national parks, festivals and music venues to name a few.

By investing in cultural heritage tourism market research and expanding the focus of its Developmental Co-Op program to include more than just music, TDTD could provide the tools and incentives to promote growth of the overall tourism market in the state. Armed with good market research on the types of cultural heritage tourists who

visit Tennessee and financial incentives, locally based tourism partners would likely develop new tourism products that incorporate historic hotels with their compelling stories and distinctive, historic architecture into larger multidimensional products.

Preliminary Heritage Development Plan for National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee

As a category, historic hotels and inns in Tennessee have not historically received the attention they deserve. My report titled “The Preliminary Heritage Development Plan for National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee” was the first comprehensive survey of historic hostelrys across the state.¹⁶ This is in stark contrast to the number of surveys published on Tennessee courthouses, a property type whose historical and architectural significance is widely accepted and celebrated.¹⁷ The purpose of the study was threefold: to increase awareness of historic hotels and inns as a category; to provide an updated inventory of National Register-listed properties within the state; and to provide an assessment of the properties as heritage development assets.

The body of research on historic hotels and inns in Tennessee is thin and what exists is narrowly focused. The studies fall into three categories: mineral springs resorts; early inns and taverns of East Tennessee; and individual first-class hotels. By far and away, the most popular subject of research has been historic mineral springs resorts. In

¹⁶ Virginia Foster Cannon, “The Preliminary Heritage Development Plan for National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee,” Tennessee Department of Tourist Development, 2015 (revised 2017).

¹⁷ Herbert L. Harper, “The Antebellum Courthouses of Tennessee,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (March 1971): 3-23; John W. Carpenter, *Tennessee Courthouses: A Celebration of 200 Years of County Courthouses* (London, KY: John W. Carpenter, 1996); Sophie Crane and Paul Crane, *Tennessee Taproots: Courthouses of Tennessee* (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 1996); National Society of the Colonial Dames, “Tennessee Court House Survey,” Manuscript, TSLA, 1966.

the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mineral springs typically located in higher altitudes were popular destinations for southerners looking to escape the oppressive heat of the summer in Tennessee and throughout the region. People were driven by the desire to “take the waters” believed to have medicinal value, participate in the active social life of the resorts or some combination of the two. An advertisement for Bon Aqua Springs in June 1874 stated that the waters were “A CERTAIN CURE for Dyspepsia, Chronic Diarrhea, Liver and Kidney Affections and General Debility and Kindred Disorders.”¹⁸ Entertainment was also a great draw with the resorts. An advertisement for Beaver Spring in 1858 proclaimed it had “a large ballroom, ten-pin alleys, fine trout stream and deer in great abundance.”¹⁹

East Tennessee boasted the first mineral spring resort, Montvale Springs, officially developed in 1830s but the sick had been using the spring since the early 1790s.²⁰ It claimed to be the “Saratoga of the South,” a hopeful comparison to the famous East Coast resort.²¹ Other springs were developed primarily into cottage communities, although they had a hotel too, such as Beersheba Springs (1830s) and Primm Springs (1830s).²² According historian to Charles B. Thorne, Middle Tennessee alone boasted thirty-one mineral springs resorts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²³

¹⁸ “Ad for Bon Aqua Springs,” *Public Ledger*, June 16, 1874.

¹⁹ “Ad for Beaver Dam,” *Memphis Daily Appeal*, August 6, 1858.

²⁰ C. Brenden Martin, “Historic Resorts,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, accessed March 3, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1120>.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Charles B. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (Winter 1970-71): 349.

²³ Ibid., 324.

Despite being the “foundation for Tennessee’s tourist industry,” historic mineral springs resorts have been largely “forgotten by modern society.”²⁴

So what happened to all of these resorts? Due to their wooden construction, fires destroyed many of the hotels. Some hotels, like the Tyree Springs Hotel in Tyree Springs and the Donoho Hotel in Marble Springs were rebuilt, while many were not.²⁵ The early resorts and cottage communities that thrived during the antebellum period were negatively impacted by the Civil War – some properties were destroyed and others fell into financial ruin.²⁶ Many Southerners who had visited the resorts for long stretches in the summer (many weeks to months) no longer had the means to do so or had died during the war. The resorts built in the 1880s and early 1900s benefited from the improved transportation networks in the state, in particular the expansion of the railroads and later the Good Roads Movement. They also benefited from the strength of the economy on both a national and regional basis.²⁷ The ultimate decline of the resorts was credited to a change in tastes; the medical establishment questioned the therapeutic value of drinking and bathing in mineral spring water.²⁸ Also developments in travel industry from the

²⁴ Martin, “Historic Resorts.”

²⁵ The Tyree Springs Hotel burned several times and was rebuilt at least two times. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 334. Fire destroyed the original Donoho Hotel in December 1915. Donoho was rebuilt in time for 1916 summer season. Jeannette Keith, “Good Times: Vacationing at Red Boiling Springs,” in *Rural Life and Country in the Upper Cumberland*, eds. Michael Birdwell and W. Dickinson (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2009), 178. The hotel at Crisp Springs was destroyed by fire in the 1930s and was never rebuilt. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 341. The hotel at Pylant Springs was destroyed by fire circa 1900 and was never rebuilt. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 347.

²⁶ The buildings at Bon Aqua, a popular spa, were destroyed during the Civil War. Thorne, “Water Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 339. Beersheba Springs was put up for sale in March 1867 by its trustees. *Nashville and Union Dispatch*, February 3, 1867.

²⁷ Keith, “Good Times,” 179.

²⁸ Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 322.

adoption of cars to the creation of the modern highway stem allowed people to visit more far flung destinations such as Florida. Lastly, a shift in vacation habits negatively impacted mineral spring resorts: vacations shortened and many people no longer went to resorts for long stretches of time. Over the years, many of the springs have been covered over by new roads and construction or have run dry.²⁹

Studies on the early inns and taverns of East Tennessee provide a window into the cultural and commercial development of region today known as Tennessee (statehood was granted in 1796). The antecedents of inns were homes of families willing to take in travelers for the night. Having made the arduous trip across the Cumberland Gap and through the wilderness, the chance to stay in the warmth and safety of a log cabin would have been welcome. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, better-known stops along the trail added rooms and services and began placing advertisements. These establishments were known by a variety of names including inns, taverns, ordinaries, stops, stands, stations, public houses, necessities, way-stations and houses of entertainment.³⁰ In addition to providing food and lodging for people and horses, inns more often than not acted as community centers “serving as post office, polling place, and occasionally as church or courthouse.”³¹ Their importance to travelers and locals alike increased with the advent of stagecoaches that transported both people and goods. As more women traveled by stagecoach, inns responded by expanding the sleeping

²⁹ Ibid, 335, 338, 341, 346, 353.

³⁰ LaReine Warden Clayton, *Stories of Early Inns and Taverns of the East Tennessee County*, (Nashville: National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Tennessee, 1995), 4.

³¹ Jane Gray Buchanan, *Early Inns and Taverns of East Tennessee: A Photo Essay*, Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1996, 1.

options. Up to that point, it had not been unusual for up to three men to share a bed.³²

Entertainment options also expanded to include dance halls as women became more prevalent in the region.

The last category of studies pertains to individual first-class hotels in three of Tennessee's largest cities: Memphis, Nashville and Chattanooga. The Peabody Memphis ("The Peabody") in Memphis has been the focus of the majority of the studies.³³ In 1980, the U.S. Department of Interior, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service selected the Peabody as the preservation case study for rehabilitating historic hotels. Developing strong public-private partnerships and taking advantage of Federal tax incentives, were key components of the rehab project. Furthermore, the Peabody served as the anchor in revitalizing downtown Memphis by acting as a magnet to attract visitors, stabilizing the tax base, and encouraging new investment in the area.³⁴

The Peabody is the focus of two more commemorative books as well which are on sale at numerous establishments in Memphis.³⁵ In Nashville, there is the Hermitage Hotel (1910) named after United States President Andrew Jackson's home. In honor of its 100th birthday, the Hermitage Hotel commissioned local historian Ridley Wills II to write *The Hermitage Hotel at One Hundred* (2009). The book is featured at the hotel's gift shop and many of the photos and newspaper clippings used within it are displayed in the "history shrines" around the hotel.

³² Clayton, *Stories of Early Inns and Taverns of the East Tennessee County*, 14.

³³ Brown, "Preservation Case Studies."

³⁴ Ibid., 39.

³⁵ Scott Faragher and Katherine Harrington, *The Peabody Hotel* (Mount Pleasant, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2002); The Peabody, *The Peabody: A History of the South's Grand Hotel* (Memphis: Peabody Hotel, 2007).

Chattanooga was a railroad town. One of its remaining grand hotels is the colonial revival styled Read House Historic Inns and Suites (“The Read House”). It is featured in “Roadside Luxury: Urban Hotels and Modern Streets Along the Dixie Highway,” a chapter in a book on the Dixie Highway.³⁶ Given its prominence in the community and the increased media attention Chattanooga has received over the last five years, it is surprising there is no book length study on the Read House.³⁷

In *The Preservation Case Study for the Peabody*, the National Parks Service identified the five categories of historic hotels: palace hotels, main street hotels, historic resort hotels and country inns, new hotels out of recycled historic buildings, and hotels of earlier days being converted into new uses.³⁸ As of July 2015, there were three palace hotels, two main street hotels, three resort and country inns, two new hotels in recycled buildings, fourteen historic hotels converted to new uses and seven vacant on the National Register in Tennessee. As of June 2015, only ten of the properties were currently functioning as hotels. (As of Spring 2017, three vacant properties in Nashville – the James Robertson, Noel Hotel and Utopia Hotel – were being renovated for use as hotel.)³⁹

³⁶ R. Stephen Sennott, “Roadside Luxury: Urban Hotels and Modern Streets Along the Dixie Highway” in *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture*, ed. Claudette Stager and Martha Carver, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 115-136.

³⁷ Chloe Morrison, “Chattanooga: Outside Magazine’s Best Town Ever,” Nooga.com, June 5, 2015, accessed June 30, 2015, <http://nooga.com/170152/chattanooga-outside-magazines-best-town-ever>; “Chattanooga Makes New York Times’ Intergalactic Travel List,” *Chattanooga Times Free Press*, January 6, 2012, accessed June 30, 2015, <http://www.timesfreepress.com/news/local/story/2012/jan/06/chattanooga-makes-new-york-times-intergalactic-tra/67675>.

³⁸ Brown, “Preservation Case Studies,” 4.

³⁹ Getahn Ward, “Dream Nashville Hotel Coming to Printers Alley,” *The Tennessean*, June 22, 2016, accessed May, 29, 2017, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/real-estate/2016/06/22/dream-nashville-hotel-coming-printers-alley/86242122/>; Getahn Ward, “Sneak Peak at \$30M James Robertson Hotel

National Register-listed historic hotels are found in each of the three Grand Divisions across the state. Middle Tennessee hosts 45% followed by East Tennessee with 32% and West Tennessee with 23% as documented in the following chart.

Table 3.1: National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee (2015)

National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee		
Property	Address	City
Alexander Inn	201 E. Madison Road	Oak Ridge
Andrew Johnson Hotel	912 S. Gay Street	Knoxville
Carmichael Inn	600 Hackberry Street	Loudon
Colored Hotel	208 Nash Street	Union City
Cloyd Hotel	520 East Main Street	Red Boiling Springs
Counts Hotel	321 East Main Street	Red Boiling Springs
Donoho Hotel	500 East Main Street	Red Boiling Springs
Grand Central Hotel	295 Main Street	Lynchburg
Halbrook Hotel	100 Clement Place	Dickson
Hale House-Patterson Hotel	116 Depot Street	Watertown
Hermitage Hotel	231 6th Avenue North	Nashville
Hotel Brumley	111 North Main Street	Greeneville
Hotel Claridge	109 N. Main Street	Memphis
Hotel Lindo	116 West Liberty Street	Covington
Hotel Overall	101 Spring Street	Wartrace
James Robertson Hotel	118 7th Avenue North	Nashville
John P. Raines Hotel	106-108 Tennessee Avenue South	Parsons
Kingston Springs Hotel and Buildings Complex	West Kingston Springs Road	Kingston Springs
Lamar House Hotel - Bijou Theater	803 Gay Street South West	Knoxville
Neely House	545 S. Royal Street	Jackson
New Southern Hotel	112-120 East Baltimore Street	Jackson
Noel Hotel	200-204 4th Avenue North	Nashville
Old Deery Inn.	Main Street	Blountville
Peabody Hotel	149 Union Avenue	Memphis
Read House	827 Broad Street	Chattanooga
Rhea-Mims Hotel	335 East Broadway	Newport
Stagecoach Inn	Colony Road	Gruetli-Laager
Terminal Station	1400 Market Street	Chattanooga
The Netherland Inn and Complex	2144 Netherland Inn Road	Kingsport
Union Station	1001 Broadway	Nashville
Utopia Hotel	206 4th Avenue North	Nashville

Source: Table by author using information from National Register.

Makeover,” *The Tennessean*, August 19, 2016, accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/real-estate/2016/08/19/sneak-peek-30m-james-robertson-hotel-makeover/88976452/>; Getahn Ward, “Upscale Tribute Portfolio Hotel Planned for downtown Nashville,” *The Tennessean*, April 16, 2016, accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/real-estate/2016/04/16/starwood-project-includes-hotel-planned-noel-place/25875559/>.

The TDTD promoted individual National Register-listed hotels by including them in its tourism products. Fifty-two percent of the hotels were listed on one of the state's eighteen Trails & Byways. Six of the properties are located on the Civil War Trail, with five of those located in East Tennessee. More than 2.25 million Civil War Trail maps were distributed as of 2015.⁴⁰ All ten of the functioning hotels in the state were listed in the *2015 Vacation Guide*.

Yet, given their size and prominence it is surprising that neither the Read House nor the Hermitage Hotel had featured listings and/or stand-alone ads. The Netherland Inn (museum) was listed as an attraction as was the Halbrook Hotel (Clement Railroad Hotel Museum). The Old Deery Inn should be added as an attraction for Blountville as should Grand Central (Miss Bobo's) for Lynchburg. With a combined print and electronic circulation of over 600,000, the *2015 Vacation Guide* could act as a prompt to learn more about historic hotels.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ibid., 49.

⁴¹ "The Soundtrack of America: Made in Tennessee. 2016 Annual Report," 35.

Table 3.2: Functioning Hotels as of July 2015

Property	Name in 2015	Listed in TN Vacation Guide	Member of HHA
Cloyd Hotel	Thomas House Hotel	Accommodation	No
Counts Hotel	Armours Hotel	Accommodation	No
Donoho Hotel	Donoho Hotel	Accommodation	No
Hermitage Hotel	Hermitage Hotel	Accommodation	Yes
Hotel Brumley	General Morgan Inn & Convention Center	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad (part of Greeneville Ad)	Yes
Hotel Overall	Walking Horse Hotel	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad	No
Peabody Hotel	Peabody Hotel	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad	Yes
Read House	Read House	Accommodation	No
Terminal Station	Chattanooga Choo-Choo Hotel	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad	Yes
Union Station	Union Station Hotel	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad	Yes

Source: 2015 Vacation Guide, Tennessee Department of Tourist Development

Radio Stations & Music

Though its roots lay in the late nineteenth century, modern broadcasting was born in 1920 when KDKA, the first commercial station owned by Westinghouse Electric, was granted a license by the Department of Commerce and went on the air in Pittsburgh.⁴² The industry experienced tremendous growth in its first decade. By the end of 1922, there were over five hundred and fifty licensed radio stations across the country.⁴³ Furthermore, the large national broadcasting companies that still dominate today were created during this period: National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1926, American Broadcast Company in 1927 (NBC operated two stations called Red and Blue. Blue was sold off in 1941 and changed its name to ABC), and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1928.⁴⁴ From the start, hotels played an important role in broadcasting. NBC

⁴² Eric Rhoads, *Blast from the Past: A Pictorial History of Radio's First 75 Years* (West Palm Beach, FL: Streamline Press, 1996), 38.

⁴³ Ibid., 39.

did its first official broadcast at the Waldorf-Astoria, one of New York City's grand hotels.

Table 3.3: Hotels Associated with Radio Stations & Music (2015)

Property	Radio Station	Musical Association
Andrew Johnson Hotel	WNOX	Roy Acuff and Homer & Jethro "The Midday Merry-Go Round." Many believe that Hank Williams may have died at the hotel.
Colored Hotel	N/A	Regular stop for Tina Turner, Carla & Rufus Thomas, BB King and John Lee Hooker. Hotel had a dance hall.
Hermitage Hotel	WSM and WNAH	Popular location for dinner and dancing. Francis Craig Orchestra performed at the hotel from 1929-1945. Dinah Shore made debut with Craig.
Hotel Claridge	N/A	Popular location for dinner and dancing. Employed nationally known big bands and performers including Jimmy Dorsey, Tommy Dorsey, Clyde McCoy and Vaughn Monroe
James Robertson Hotel	WNAH	N/A
Lamar House - Bijou Theater	N/A	Bijou Theater hosted performances by Dizzy Gillespie and long list of others. Also presented various vaudeville performances and operas.
Peabody Hotel	WREC	Popular location for dinner and dancing. Performers included George Hamilton, Les Brown, Benny Goodman, Harry James, Dorothy Lamour and Andrew Sisters.
Terminal Station	N/A	Made famous in 1940s by Glen Miller's song "Chattanooga Choo-Choo"

Source: West, "WNOX;" Montague and Beadles, "Colored Hotel;" WNAH, "WNAH Station History and Photo Gallery;" Robert W. Ikard, "Francis Craig," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, December 30, 2009, accessed March 1, 2015; "About Us," The Claridge House, accessed March 1, 2015; Peabody Memphis, "History of the Peabody Memphis;" Chattanooga ChooChoo, "Our History."

The link between hotels and radio stations was visible in the survey of National Register-listed hotels and inns in Tennessee – 13% had radio stations. The Francis Craig Orchestra, the house band at the Hermitage Hotel from 1924-1947, was featured on the first broadcast of National Life & Accident Insurance Company's We Shield Millions

⁴⁴ John Dunning, *On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old Time Radio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), xvi.

(WSM) broadcast in October 1925.⁴⁵ For twelve years, the orchestra had a weekly show on WSM, airing nationally on NBC, recorded live at the hotel.⁴⁶ The detailed description of Craig's career in *The Hermitage Hotel at One Hundred* shed light on what it took to be a successful big band leader. The orchestra not only played for the lunch and dinner crowd at the Grille Room at the Hermitage Hotel but also at special events at university frat parties, country clubs and other hotels across the South. Over the years, the orchestra helped to launch the careers of such nationally recognized entertainers as James Melton, Snooky Lanson, Kenny Sargent, Phil Harris, and Dinah Shore.⁴⁷ Radio exposure helped to make Craig's songs "Red Rose" "Near You," and "Beg Your Pardon" into mega hits. In fact, "Near You" was the first song out of Nashville to top a national chart, "The Honor Roll of Hits" on *Your Hit Parade*, as well as the first recording from Nashville to sell a million copies.⁴⁸ Eventually, Craig's recording of "Near You" would sell over 2.5 million copies. In 1974, the song became a hit again when it was covered by George Jones and Tammy Wynette.⁴⁹ Craig also wrote the fight song "Dynamite" for his alma mater Vanderbilt University in 1938 that still sung at sporting events today.⁵⁰ The

⁴⁵ Craig Havighurst, *Air Castles of the South: WSM and the Making of Music City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 15.

⁴⁶ "Hotel Highlights," Hermitage Hotel's Media Kit, accessed March 1, 2015, http://www.thehermitagehotel.com/press_room/media-kit-downloads/11-02-02/Hotel_Highlights.aspx.

⁴⁷ "Francis Craig Collection," Finding Aid at Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Vanderbilt University; "Francis Craig Papers, 1920-2003" Finding Aid at the Special Collections Division, Nashville Public Library.

⁴⁸ Ridley Wills II, *The Hermitage at One Hundred* (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 2009), 97; "Francis Craig Collection," Vanderbilt University.

⁴⁹ Peter Cooper, "Trying for a Third-Time Hit for Near You," *Tennessean*, July 20, 2012, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://blogs.tennessean.com/tunein/2012/07/20/trying-for-a-third-time-hit-for-near-you>.

⁵⁰ "Fight Songs," Vanderbilt University's Spirit Programs, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/cheer/fight-song>.

Hermitage Hotel also housed the radio station With News About Heaven (WNAH) during the period 1961 to 1973.⁵¹

From its founding in 1949 to 1961, WNAH was based at the James Robertson Hotel in Nashville. It was the first station to accept regular religious programming that it sourced from the Fatherland Baptist Church.⁵² The church remained active on WNAH in July 2015 with almost six hours of weekly airtime including “The Old Country Church Hour,” “The Gospel Hour,” and “The Hour for the Shut-Ins.”⁵³

According to Knox Heritage, for much of the 1930s WNOX broadcast from the 17th floor of the Andrew Johnson Hotel in Knoxville.⁵⁴ The station broadcasted the country music variety show “Mid-Day Merry Go-Round” from the hotel (it later moved to its own 600-seat auditorium on Gay Street.) This show launched the careers of both Roy Acuff, who later became one of the Grand Ole Opry’s “brightest stars,” as well as the musical comic duo Homer & Jethro who were inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 2001.⁵⁵ The popularity of the programming – approximately 1,000 fans gathered at the hotel daily to watch the live in-studio performances – resulted in the station having to relocate.⁵⁶ The fans swamped the elevators, a major inconvenience for paying hotel guests. In the “WNOX” entry in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and*

⁵¹ “WNAH Station History and Photo Gallery,” WNAH, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www.wnah.com/index_files/Page316.htm.

⁵² WNAH, “WNAH Station History and Photo Gallery.”

⁵³ W. W. Miles, “Fatherland Baptist Church, Tennessee,” Baptist History Homepage, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/tn.fatherland.b.c.history.html>.

⁵⁴ “Andrew Jackson Hotel,” Knox Heritage, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://knoxheritage.org/our-work/neighborhood-tours/historic-downtown-knoxville-walking-tour/andrew-johnson-hotel-2/>.

⁵⁵ Dunning, *On the Air*, 292; Dave Samuelson, “Homer and Jethro,” Country Music Hall of Fame, accessed June 08, 2015, <http://countrymusichalloffame.org/Inductees/InducteeDetail/homer-and-jethro>.

⁵⁶ “Andrew Jackson Hotel,” Knox Heritage.

Culture, West described WNOX as playing “a significant role in showcasing major talents in the burgeoning hillbilly--or country--music field from the 1930s through the 1950s.”⁵⁷

The Peabody has been associated with radio since its current building opened in 1925.⁵⁸ Wooten’s Radio Electric Company was one of the first stores in the hotel’s arcade. Having received the first commercial radio license in Mississippi in 1922, Hoyt B. Wooten incorporated WREC in Tennessee in 1926 (call sign taken from its retail store’s name). In 1929, the WREC studio moved into the basement of the Peabody and the station became an affiliate of CBS. [In 1956, WREC-TV launched on Channel 3 in Memphis and kept its studios at the Peabody until the mid-1970s.⁵⁹]

Representation by CBS artist’ bureau and twice weekly broadcasts airing nationally on WREC helped to turn the Beale Street Boys into “Radio’s Latest Sensation.”⁶⁰ All members of the quartet had been part of the Peabody chorus composed of employees who were selected by headwaiter Alonzo Locke and trained by L.J. Searcy, a former Fisk University professor.⁶¹

In 1938, the Peabody spent \$100,000 to enclose 10,000 square feet on the east side of the roof (Union Avenue to alley) to create a combination “ballroom and

⁵⁷ Carroll Van West, “WNOX,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1526>.

⁵⁸ “History of WREG-TV,” News Channel Three, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://wreg.com/contact/the-history-of-wreg-tv/>.

⁵⁹ “History of WREG-TV,” News Channel Three.

⁶⁰ Charles Isaac Bowen, “Beale Street Boys, Radio’s Latest Sensation, Gaining High Popularity,” *News Journal and Guide* (1916-2004): June 16, 1934.

⁶¹ “CBS Signs Quartet Trained by Fiskite,” *News Journal and Guide* (1916-2003); May 19, 1934.

nightclub.”⁶² George Hall and orchestra headlined the opening night on January 31, 1938.⁶³ The Skyway (originally called the Rendezvous) and the adjoining Plantation Roof were popular locations for big bands including George Hamilton, Les Brown, Benny Goodman, Harry James, Dorthoy Lamour and the Andrew Sisters.⁶⁴ From its opening through 1940s, the Skyway was one of only three national broadcast sites for CBS.⁶⁵ Sam Phillips, who later founded Sun Records, hosted his radio program “Saturday Afternoon Tea Dance” from the Skyway from 1945-1950.⁶⁶

The Peabody’s association with music extends beyond radio. According to its website: “Blues musicians like Furry Lewis, Frank Stokes, Rufus 'Speckled Red' Perryman, Tommy Johnson, Robert Wilkins, Garfield Akers, Walter Vinson and Kid Bailey all recorded in rooms at the Peabody in the late '20s and early '30s, playing for talent scouts from big record labels like Vocalion and Paramount. Others, including Gus Cannon, Blind Lemon Jefferson, Jim Jackson and "jug bands" fronted by Will Shade, Jack Kelly and Jed Davenport all performed at the hotel.”⁶⁷ The Peabody’s proximity to Beale Street helped reinforce its position as a premier music venue.

Like the Peabody, the Hotel Claridge in Memphis was a popular venue for big band dancing. According to the *Commercial Appeal*, the Balinese Ball Room (originally known as the 20th Century Room) was “a center of Memphis nightlife” for over twenty

⁶² “Peabody New Room to Open in January,” *Commercial Appeal*, November 6, 1938.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ James F. Williamson, Jr., “Hotel Peabody,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*, June 1977, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/77001290.PDF>.

⁶⁵ “History of the Peabody Memphis,” Peabody Hotel, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.peabodymemphis.com/history/>.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

years⁶⁸ It featured such big bands as Jimmy Dorsey, Tommy Dorsey, Clyde McCoy and Vaughn Monroe.⁶⁹ The hotel manager cited the 20% federal cabaret tax as hurting business for years and resulting in many hotels discontinuing big band service much to the dismay of the bandleaders and dancers alike.⁷⁰

In 1909, the Lamar House in Knoxville was transformed into an event venue with the addition of the Bijou Theater. Over the years, the venue has hosted famous musicians as well as presented various vaudeville performances and operas (see photo of banner listing entertainers under Lamar House-Bijou Theater entry). According to the author of the nomination, it became the “finest theater in Knoxville, featuring legitimate theater productions and concerts.”⁷¹

The Colored Hotel in Union City was the only African American hotel or inn listed on the National Register in Tennessee. For this reason, its significance is amplified because it sheds light on the difficulty of African American travel during Jim Crow, the music industry (many famous musicians stayed at the establishment), and the importance of hotels as community gathering places. Located on U.S. 51, Union City was a popular stopping point between Memphis and Chicago. According Nathan Montague and Brain Beadles in the nomination, it was a “regular stop for Ike and Tina Turner, Carla and Rufus Thomas, BB King, and John Lee Hooker. These performers often stayed here and

⁶⁸ Robert Johnson, “Claridge Balinese Room to be Dark this Winter,” *Commercial Appeal*, September 7, 1954.

⁶⁹ Lloyd Ostby and Kay Benton, “Hotel Claridge,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*, December 1981, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/82004045.PDF>.

⁷⁰ Johnson, “Claridge Balinese Room to be Dark this Winter.”

⁷¹ William J. McCoy, III, M.D., “Lamar House Hotel and Bijou Theater,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*, May 1975, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/75001763.PDF>.

either played here or next-door at the now-demolished dance hall.”⁷² During the weekends, the Colored Hotel often served up to 200 people offering music, food and fellowship.⁷³ See Chapter 5 for more on the Colored Hotel and African American travel during segregation.

Transportation Networks

In *Tennessee's Historic Landscape: A Traveler's Guide*, West explored the three types of historic landscapes – vernacular (“reflects an evolving tradition of land use” including settlement patterns along natural features such as rivers), political (boundaries established by political entities such as state or cities lines), and engineered (use of technology and invention to “reshape nature’s contours”).⁷⁴ The Transportation networks theme fosters the exploration of both the vernacular landscape with stagecoach roads and engineered landscape with railroads and interstates.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Carroll Van West, *Tennessee's Historic Landscapes: A Traveler's Guide* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 4-5.

Table 3.4: Hotels Associated with Transportation Networks (2015)

Property	Transportation Network Type
Carmichael Inn	Stagecoach
Lamar House-Bijou Theater	Stagecoach
Netherland Inn	Stagecoach
Old Deery Inn	Stagecoach
Stagecoach Inn	Stagecoach
Halbrook Hotel	Railroad
Hale-Patterson Hotel	Railroad
Hotel Overall	Railroad
Hotel Brumley	Railroad
Neely House	Railroad
Terminal Station	Railroad
Union Station	Railroad
Hermitage Hotel	Automobile Travel
Read House	Automobile Travel
Rhea-Mims Hotel	Automobile Travel
Colored Hotel	Automobile Travel

Source: Author Classified Hotels by Transportation Network Type

In 1795, the territorial legislature gave George Walton the commission to cut a wagon road from Knoxville to Nashville.⁷⁵ In 1801, Walton Road was upgraded into a turnpike (a principal thoroughfare) that required adding mile markers and widening the road to fifteen feet.⁷⁶ It soon became known as the Great Stage Road and connected Nashville to Washington D.C. The arrival of the stagecoach helped to make Tennessee more accessible and significantly increased trade and communication outside the region.⁷⁷ Four of the National Register-listed inns are located on the Great Stage Road – Carmichael Inn, Lamar-Bijou, Netherland Inn and Old Deery Inn. According to the *WPA Guide to Tennessee*, the Netherland Inn was the “center of the gay social life of upper East Tennessee in the early nineteenth century and a regular stopping place for Andrew Jackson on his trips from the Hermitage to Washington.”⁷⁸ The remaining inn, the

⁷⁵ David Ray Smith, “Historic Trails,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 26, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1395>.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Clayton, *Stories of Early Inns and Taverns of the East Tennessee Country*, 15.

⁷⁸ *The WPA Guide to Tennessee*, 283.

Stagecoach Inn, was located on the stagecoach road between McMinnville and Chattanooga.⁷⁹ The Stagecoach Inn was located in Gruetli, an established Swiss farming community in Grundy County.

The Nashville and Chattanooga (N&C) was the first railroad completed in the state; it was incorporated in 1845, reached Chattanooga in 1854, and built out various branch lines.⁸⁰ During the 1850s, thanks to the addition of new railroad companies (e.g., Memphis & Charleston, Louisville & Nashville and Mobile & Ohio), Tennessee's commercial economy broadened beyond local exchange.⁸¹ It made it relatively easy to ship goods across the state and within the region. Much of the commerce was agricultural based. While railroad allowed for commercial centers away from rivers, they mostly solidified existing commercial centers such as Knoxville, Nashville and Memphis.⁸²

By the 1890s, the railroad network in Tennessee had undergone a major transformation – it was almost three times larger, had been converted from Southern broad gauge track to national standard gauge, was controlled by outside capital, and was focused on extractive industries (e.g., timber, mining and coal).⁸³

Thirty years later, the railroad industry in the state began its “long decline” due to improved roads that allowed for cheaper and more flexible travel options for products and passengers alike. Passenger rail service in Chattanooga ceased in 1971 and in

⁷⁹ Claudette Stager, “Gruetli,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 26, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=574>.

⁸⁰ Edward A. Johnson, “Railroads,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1104>.

⁸¹ Don H. Doyle, “Commerce and Urban Development,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=298>; Johnson, “Railroads.”

⁸² Doyle, “Commerce and Urban Development.”

⁸³ Johnson, “Railroads.”

Nashville in 1979.⁸⁴ As of July 2015, Amtrack made stops at only two locations in Tennessee (Memphis and Newbern-Dyersburg) on the Chicago to New Orleans line.⁸⁵

There are seven National Register-listed hotels associated with railroads. Built at the turn of the century, the stations in Nashville and Chattanooga were grand and imposing terminals – in terms of size and architectural style - and acted as important landmarks. They were quite literally the gateway to their respective cities and spoke to their wealth and aspirations of being large commercial centers. They also spoke to the power and influence of the railroads. The National Register nomination for Nashville’s Union Station, built by L&N, referred to it as a “monument to the New South which emerged after the Civil War.”⁸⁶ Chattanooga’s Terminal Station, built by Southern Railway, “symbolized the key role that railroads played in the economic development of Chattanooga.”⁸⁷ In the late twentieth century, Union Station and Terminal Station were converted into hotels.

The remaining railroad hotels tell a different albeit equally interesting story about the commercial growth and settlement patterns of Tennessee. As the nexus of local politics, county seats were often the most populous towns in the area. With the arrival of the railroads, these towns grew in terms of population, types of businesses, and commercial importance. Two of the hotels were based in county seats – Hotel Brumley in

⁸⁴ Carroll Van West, “Nashville Union Station,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, December 25, 2009, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=974>. Carroll Van West “Chattanooga Choo-Choo,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, December 25, 2009, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=229>.

⁸⁵ “Interactive Route Atlas,” Amtrack, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://www.amtrak.com/interactive-route-atlas>.

⁸⁶ Stephen S. Lawrence. “Nashville Union Station,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/69000178.PDF>.

⁸⁷ West, “Chattanooga Choo-Choo Hotel.”

Greeneville (Greene County) and Neely House in Jackson (Madison County). Dickson began as a water stop at Mile Post 42 during the Civil War.⁸⁸ The Union Army expanded railroad line west from Nashville to the Tennessee River. By the 1890s, Dickson was a major railroad hub promoted as “one of the star towns of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St Louis Railroad.”⁸⁹ The Halbrook Hotel in Dickson located across the street from the depot served drummers (traveling salesmen) and railroad workers. Drummers brought not only goods for sale but also news from far and wide. Watertown with the Hale House-Patterson House and Wartrace with the Hotel Overall are examples of towns impacted by the railroad. As material culture, the railroad hotels are well positioned to tell the story of the importance of railroads on Tennessee’s history.

In the “Good Roads Movement in the South” (1910), Joseph Hyde Pratt eloquently argued for the relationship between railroads and good roads. He stated:

railways are simply the main arteries of travel, and public roads are the veins, each being a necessary part of the other in our system of transportation, and without good road, railroads fail in accomplishing what is required and demanded of them. Improvements in railway transportation facilities have reached a high state of efficiency, while the public highways have in many states been greatly neglected.⁹⁰

This description aptly described Tennessee the 48,982 miles of roads in Tennessee. In 1909, only a small portion had been improved - 3% were surfaced with stone and another 5% with gravel.⁹¹ Originally, farmers advocated for good roads because they demanded a less expensive mode of transportation to get their goods to market. With increased access

⁸⁸ “History of Hotel Halbrook,” Clement Railroad Hotel Museum, panel.

⁸⁹ “The Railroad in Dickson,” Clement Railroad Hotel Museum, panel.

⁹⁰ Joseph Hyde Pratt, “Good Roads Movement in the South,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 35, no. 1 (January 1910): 105-106.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 109.

to cars (Henry Ford introduced the Model T in 1908), by the mid-teens city dwellers began pushing for good roads to spur economic development and satisfy their desire to travel. A prime example in Tennessee is the Dixie Highway that was built from 1915 to 1927. The Dixie Highway linked Ontario, Canada to Miami, Florida with both the Eastern and Western branches running through Tennessee. The Dixie Highway Association, based in the Patten Hotel in Chattanooga, was the “driving force” behind getting it built.⁹² Both the Read House and the Hermitage Hotel were located on the Western branch and Rhea-Mims on the Eastern. According to Leslie Sharp, with Federal legislation and the support of Governor Austin Peay by the late 1920s,

Tennessee had satisfied the demands of both farmers and urban businessmen by completing a paved highway connecting Memphis to Bristol, building for state highways that crossed the state north to south, constructing seventeen bridges over major rivers, and completing most of a statewide system of over 4,000 miles of paved roads that connected every county. These roads transformed the state. They brought millions to visit Tennessee attractions like the newly established Great Smoky Mountains State Park, Rock City, Ruby Falls, and the Grand Ole Opry.⁹³

Ghost Tourism

Ghost tourism is a subset of the field known as dark tourism or thanatourism (Thanatology is the scientific study of death). Philip Stone, Executive Director of the Institute for Dark Tourism at the University of Central Lancashire (UK), defined dark

⁹² Leslie Sharp, “Dixie Highway Association,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=382>.

⁹³ Ibid.

tourism as “travel to sites of death, disaster, or the seemingly macabre.”⁹⁴ Well-known sites associated with dark tourism include Auschwitz-Birkenau (Poland) and the Robben Island Prison Museum (South Africa). This interdisciplinary field examines how death is interpreted at sites, how tourists experience sites, and how death is commoditized by tourism. Dark tourism is increasing in popularity and has over the last decade received increased media coverage.⁹⁵

In *Haunted Heritage: The Cultural Politics of Ghost Tourism, Populism, and the Past*, Michele Hanks defined ghost tourism as “any form of leisure or travel that involves encounters with or the pursuit of knowledge of the ghostly or haunted.”⁹⁶ In her research, Hanks found that ghost tourism typically focuses on “public ghosts” associated with “lives and stories as a matter of local, regional, or national history rather than family history.”⁹⁷ Ghost tourism, and ghost themed walking tours in particular, is considered a growth sector domestically and abroad.⁹⁸

Mark Nesbitt, author of *Ghosts of Gettysburg* Volumes I-VII, is often credited as the father of ghost themed walking tours in the United States.⁹⁹ Certain cities in the

⁹⁴ “Home page,” Institute for Dark Tourism, accessed June 15, 2015, <http://dark-tourism.org.uk>.

⁹⁵ Will Coldwell, “Dark Tourism: Why Murder Sites and Disaster Zones are Proving Popular,” *The Guardian*, October 31, 2013, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2013/oct/31/dark-tourism-murder-sites-disaster-zones>; Debra Kamin, “The Rise of Dark Tourism: When War Zones Become Travel Destinations,” *The Atlantic*, July 15, 2014, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/07/the-rise-of-dark-tourism/374432/>.

⁹⁶ Michele Hanks, *Haunted Heritage: The Cultural Politics of Ghost Tourism, Populism, and the Past* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2015), 13.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Hanks, *Haunted Heritage*, 16; Glenn W. Gentry, “Walking with the Dead: The Place of Ghost Walk Tourism in Savannah Georgia,” *Southeastern Geographer* 47, no. 2, (November 2007): 222-238.

United States are known for their ghost tours – Gettysburg, Savannah, and New Orleans. Tennessee has its fair share of ghost tours. In addition to tours in the largest markets of Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga and Memphis, a host of smaller towns in East Tennessee have ghost tours thanks to Appalachian Ghost Walks.¹⁰⁰ Seven of the National Register-listed hotels are included in ghost tours (see Figure 3.5).

In addition to ghost tours, ghost tourism in Tennessee is fueled by the plethora of books published on the subject of ghosts, ghost hunters and haunted places. While scholarly presses published some of the books, niche presses such as The History Press, Cherisy Press and Nine Lives Publishing published the majority of them.¹⁰¹ Five of the National Register-listed hotels are included in books about ghosts. Exhibit interpretation at library further supported ghost tourism. The Tennessee State Library and Archives developed an exhibit titled “Tennessee Myths and Legends.” In the ghost theme section of the exhibit the library described the Read House in Chattanooga.¹⁰² The Chattanooga Public Library exhibit titled “Haunted Chattanooga” also included the Read House.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Panelists on National Council of Public History’s “Haunted Histories: Ghost Lore Interpretation at Historical Sites (April 2015); Robert C. Thompson, “Am I Going to See a Ghost Tonight? Gettysburg Ghost Tours and the Performance of Belief,” *The Journal of American Culture* 33, no. 2 (June 2010), 79-91.

¹⁰⁰ “Ghost and History Tour Description,” Appalachian Ghost Walks, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.appalachianghostwalks.com/tennessee-ghost-walks/east-tn-ghost-tours.html>.

¹⁰¹ William Lynwood Montell, *Ghosts Along the Cumberland* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975); Alan Brown, *Haunted Places in the American South* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002); Alan Brown, *Ghost Hunters of the South* (Jackson, MA: University Press of Mississippi, 2006). Jessica Penot and Amy Petulla, *Haunted Chattanooga* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011); Jeff Morris, Garrett Merk, and Donna Marsh, *Nashville Haunted Handbook* (Cincinnati, OH: Cherisy Press, 2011); Tammy J. Poore, *Chasing Ghost Tales in Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: Nine Lives Publishing, 2011).

¹⁰² “Ghosts,” Tennessee State Library and Archive’s Myths and Legends, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/myth/ghosts.htm>

¹⁰³ “Haunted Chattanooga,” Chattanooga Public Library, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://chattlibrary.org/local-history/exhibits/subject/haunted-chattanooga>.

Table 3.5: Hotels Associated with Ghost Tourism (2015)

Property	Citations for Ghost Stories	Located on Ghost Tour	Other
Andrew Johnson Hotel	Knoxville Walking Tour	Knoxville Walking Tour's "Shadow Side Ghost Tour"	
Cloyd Hotel	Ghost Hunt Weekends; Syfy Channel's "Ghost Hunters"; and CNN's List of Most Haunted Places in America	no	Ghost Hunt Weekends are regularly scheduled at the hotel
Guest House	<i>Chasing Ghost Tales in Tennessee</i>	no	
Hermitage Hotel	Nashville Ghost Tour	Nashville Ghost Tour's "Haunted Downtown Nashville Tour"	
Hotel Overall	<i>Nashville Haunted Handbook. Haunted Tennessee: Ghost Stories and Strange Phenomena of the Volunteer State. Dinner & Spirits: A Guide to America's Most Haunted Restaurants, Taverns and Inns.</i>	no	Hotel restaurant is called Spooky Pizza. Sells t-shirts with "Haunted Walking Horse Inn"
Lamar House- Bijou Theater	FAQs Bijou Theater refers to report by East Tennessee Paranormal Society (ETPS)	Knoxville Walking Tour's Shadow Side Ghost Tour"	Ghost Tours and Knox Heritage did an event. Also ETPS has done many investigations.
Old Deery Inn	Appalachian Ghost Walk	Appalachian Ghost Walk's "Haunted Historic Greeneville Ghost Walk"	
Read House Hotel	Tennessee State Library and Archives' exhibit "Tennessee Myths and Legends." Chattanooga Public Library's exhibit "Haunted Chattanooga." <i>Chasing Tales in Tennessee. Ghosts of the Southern Tennessee Valley. Haunted Chattanooga.</i>	Chattanooga Ghost Tour's "Ghost Hunt"	
Terminal Station	<i>Haunted Chattanooga.</i> Chattanooga Ghost Hunt.	Chattanooga Ghost Tour's "Ghost Hunt - Extended"	
Union Station	<i>Nashville Haunted Handbook</i>	Nashville Ghost Tour's "Hearse Tour"	

Source: "Shadow Side Ghost Tour," Knoxville Walking Tours, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://knoxvillewalkingtours.com/ghost-html/>; "Ghost Hunt Weekends at the Thomas House Hotel," Ghost Hunt Weekends, accessed June 16, 2015, http://www.ghosthuntweekends.com/ghw/thomas-house_main.html; Jessie Williams, "Syfy Channel's 'Ghost Hunters' to Feature Thomas House Hotel," *Macon County Chronicle*, December 13, 2011, accessed June 16, 2015, <https://www.maconcountychronicle.com/news/2861-syfy-channels-ghost-hunters-to-feature-thomas-house-hotel>; Adam Carlson, "9 haunted spots across America," CNN Travel, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/travel/article/haunted-spots-across-america/index.html>; Tammy J. Poore, *Chasing Ghost Tales in Tennessee*, (Knoxville, TN: Nine Lives Publishing, 2011); "Haunted Downtown Nashville Tour," Nashville Ghost Tours, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.nashvilleghosttours.com/haunted-downtown-nashville-tours.html>; Donna Marsh, Jeff Morris, and Garrett Merk, *Nashville Haunted Handbook* (Covington, KY: Clerisy Press, 2011); Alan Brown, *Haunted Tennessee*:

Ghosts and Strange Phenomena of the Volunteer State (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009); Robert and Anne Wlodarski, *Dinner and Spirits: A Guide to America's Most Haunted Restaurants, Taverns, and Inns* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000); "Plan Your Visit: FAQs," Bijou Theater, accessed June 16, 2015, <https://knoxbijou.com/plan-your-visit/faqs/>; "Appalachian Ghost Walks," Appalachian Ghost Walks, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://appalachianghostwalks.com>; "Haints and Witches and Legends...Oh my! Tennessee Folklife Myths and Legends," Tennessee State Library and Archives, October 31, 2014, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://tslablog.blogspot.com/2014/10/haints-and-witches-and-legends-oh-my.html>; "Haunted Chattanooga," Chattanooga Public Library, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://chattlibrary.org/local-history/exhibits/subject/haunted-chattanooga>; Georgiana C. Kotarski, *Ghosts of Southern Tennessee Valley* (John F. Blair, 2006); Jessica Penot and Amy Petulla *Haunted Chattanooga* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011); "Chattanooga Ghost Tours," Chattanooga Ghost Tours, accessed June 16, 2015, <https://chattanoogaghosttours.com>; "Nashville Hearse Tours," Nashville Ghost Tours, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.nashvilleghosttours.com/nashville-hearse-tours.html>.

The recommendations and next steps section of the report (See Appendix A) focused on standard public history solutions namely creating stand-alone, academically-heavy work products that would appeal to a small sub-set of heritage tourists as well as injecting more history into existing tourism products. There is nothing wrong with this approach: it is valid, has its place and adds incremental value. Nevertheless, the approach curtails the potential impact public historians can have on public discourse.

Imagine instead forgoing a heritage development perspective, with its primacy on heritage and placed-based interpretation, in favor of cultural heritage tourism one focused on tourists' total experience and desire to "raise their cultural level and satisfy their cultural needs."¹⁰⁴ Cultural heritage tourism would better leverage the strengths of historic hotels by pairing them with other cultural heritage assets. This in turn would increase the audience who would be exposed to the rich history of historic hotels. The goal of cultural heritage tourism is to create meaningful tourist experiences that tell

¹⁰⁴ Edwards, "Managing Heritage and Cultural Tourism References," 13.

compelling stories, preserve historic properties and focus on authenticity. The resulting economic development will enrich communities by funding further preservation efforts.

CHAPTER FOUR: TENNESSEE'S HISTORIC HOTELS WRIT LARGE

What happens when a public historian adopts a cultural heritage tourism perspective while examining historic hotels in Tennessee? The assets under consideration multiply and the potential reach of a public historian's work expands exponentially.

This chapter examines the marketing of historic hotels in Tennessee. Are historic hotels in Tennessee adhering to the industry's best practices explored in Chapter 1? In what ways are they deviating and what might be the cause of these deviations? Broadening the definition of historic hotels beyond those eligible/listed on the National Register will increase the potential impact they can have as an asset class in cultural heritage tourism.

Despite its many strengths, the Historic Hotels of America network is not representative of historic hotels in Tennessee. First and foremost, only five hotels in the state participate: the Peabody, the Hermitage Hotel, Union Station Hotel, the Chattanooga Choo Choo Hotel and the General Morgan Inn & Conference Center.¹ HHA hotels are eligible/listed on the National Register, have more than 50 rooms, are independently owned and operated, and abide by strict service standards. The majority of historic hotels in Tennessee cannot support the hotel size and service standards mandated by HHA. Furthermore the vast majority of the state is classified as rural.² With the exception of the

¹ "Search Results: Tennessee," Historic Hotels, accessed May 15, 2017, <http://www.historichotels.org/hotels-resorts/results.php?search=rezconsole&advanced=tennessee&mon=198154-A1>.

² "Rural Areas," TN Department of Health, accessed May 31, 2017, <http://tn.gov/health/article/healthy-places-rural-areas>.

General Morgan Inn located in Greeneville with a population of approximately 15,000 people, HHA hotels in Tennessee are in large urban markets.³

What would be a better proxy of historic hotels in the state? In “The Preliminary Heritage Development Plan for National Register-Listed Historic Hotels and Inns in Tennessee” I used purpose-built hotels that were individually listed on the National Register (plus the Chattanooga Choo Choo Hotel, Union Station Hotel and Miss BoBos because of their prominence within the tourism industry). That list could be expanded to include hotels within historic districts like the Hale Springs Inn in Rogersville, the Historic Eureka Inn in Jonesborough and the Historic Newbury House in Rugby as well as properties currently operating as hotels in adaptive re-use properties like the Residence Inn in Memphis and the Courtyard by Marriott in Nashville. While this would increase the scope of historic hotels under consideration, it would not address the underlying issue.

There are distinct advantages to jettisoning the purest historic preservation perspective in favor of the more inclusive cultural heritage tourism one while examining historic hotels in Tennessee. Public historians are biased towards the criteria embedded in the National Register nomination process namely a focus on historic significance and the “integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.”⁴ Instead public historians should consider adopting a more expansive definition of historic hotels to include hotels that are self-professed historic properties and those that may not

³ “Quick Facts Greeneville Town, TN,” United States Census Bureau, accessed May 16, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/4730980,47059/accessible>.

⁴ “National Register Bulletin: How to Apply The National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” National Park Service, National Register Publications, accessed May 16, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_2.htm.

abide by integrity of material, feeling and association.⁵ It would scoop up into the mix a host of small inns and bed and breakfasts markets (e.g., Walton Hotel in Carthage, the Olde Mill Inn Bed & Breakfast in Cumberland Gap and Lauren Springs Lodge B&B in Gatlinburg), hotels in adapted re-use buildings that do not meet integrity standards (e.g., Commodore Hotel in Linden, Dwell Hotel in Chattanooga and Madison Hotel in Memphis), and properties that are currently in development which may or may not abide by historic preservation renovation guidelines (e.g., Farragut Hotel in Knoxville and Utopia Hotel in Nashville). Seven properties in Tennessee list themselves as “historic” on BedandBreakfast.com, a marketing network, and yet little to no history is provided within their descriptions. It suggests that smaller establishments would benefit from incorporating historic hotels best practices that differentiate historic properties from ones that are just old.

Historic hotels serve as anchors for tourism: they attract visitors and give them a reason to extend their stays in a particular location. They also serve as anchors for communities because they employ residents, add to the tax base and act as community meeting places.⁶ The 24-hour usage of hotels and restaurants contribute significantly to

⁵ “Historic Northeast Bed and Breakfasts,” BedandBreakfast.com, accessed June 6, 2017, <https://www.bedandbreakfast.com/historic-northeast-tennessee.html?cid=15550&cod=15551&nor=0&nog=2&dst=74967>; “The Dwell Hotel,” The Dwell Hotel, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.thedwellhotel.com>; “Madison Hotel,” Madison Hotel Memphis, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.madisonhotelmempis.com>.

⁶ “Welcome to Armour’s Hotel,” Armour’s Hotel, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://armourshotel.com>; “The Walton Hotel,” Walton Hotel, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.waltonhotelttn.com>; “Weddings and Receptions,” General Morgan Inn and Conference Center, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.generalmorganinn.com/weddings-and-receptions/>; “Meetings & Events,” The Read House Hotel Historic Inn and Suites, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.thereadhousehotel.com/meetings/>; “Memphis Wedding Venue,” Peabody Memphis, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.peabodymemphis.com/weddings-en.html>.

the vitality of rural communities.⁷ Their value as anchors or “community symbols” is not determined by eligibility/inclusion on the National Register.⁸ There are other funding avenues available including Tennessee Department of Economic Development’s enhancement grants. A great example is the Commodore Hotel, which is a “historic downtown centerpiece” for the town of Linden, the county seat of Perry County.⁹ Perry County Mayor Terry Richardson stated that the Commodore Hotel “helped tourism, helped our economy” because it brought people to stay in Linden whereas before when they would stay at motels off the interstate more than 20 miles away.¹⁰ Perry County is very rural with a total estimated population of 7,964 people in 2016.¹¹ For TDTD to breach the top 5 travel destinations in the U.S. it will need to increase night-stays and maximize the potential of rural communities. Historic hotels are well positioned to help on both of these fronts.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Fairmont Hotels & Resorts, a world-class historic hotel group, credits its brand success with its ability to integrate modern luxury, history and sense of place.¹² While only the Hermitage Hotel, Peabody, Union Station Hotel and Madison Hotel would arguably live up to Fairmont’s exacting luxury and service levels,

⁷ “Success Starts on the Square,” Historic Lebanon Revitalization Initiative Master Plan, Historic Lebanon, TN, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://historiclebanontn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/MASTER-PLAN-ORIGINAL-Historic-Lebanon-Success-Starts-on-the-Square-Master-Plan-2007.pdf>.

⁸ Raitz and Jones, “The City Hotel as Landscape Artifact and Community Symbol,” 17.

⁹ Barbara Biehler, “Linden Revitalized With Community Art, Hotel Restoration,” *Tennessee Home & Farm*, February 10, 2012, accessed May 30, 2017, <https://www.tnhomeandfarm.com/travel/linden-revitalized-with-community-art-hotel-restoration/>.

¹⁰ Trish Milburn, “Main Street Makeover,” *Tennessee Magazine*, March 26, 2016, accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.tnmagazine.org/main-street-makeover>.

¹¹ “Quick Facts Perry County, Tennessee,” United States Census Bureau, accessed May 31, 2017, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/perrycountytennessee,TN/PST045216>

¹² “Stewardship of Iconic and Historic Buildings: Luxury Insights Report,” vol. 1 (2016), 18.

it provides a useful model to examine historic hotels in Tennessee. It identifies the three separate components of successful historic hotel marketing. It goes farther by saying that these components must be integrated together.

Traditionally, hospitality industry professionals defined “luxury” by the elegance of the buildings and furnishings as well as by the level of service provided. Third-party rating systems continue to adhere to this traditional definition.¹³ Historic hotels that receive either four or five diamonds from AAA or the equivalent number of stars from Forbes Travel Guide (formerly Mobil Travel Guide), with five being the highest score possible, showcase the rankings in their marketing material.¹⁴ The Hermitage Hotel touts on its home page that it is “The only Forbes Five-Star, AAA Five-Diamond Hotel is Tennessee.”¹⁵ The Peabody also showcases its ratings: “our historic Forbes Four-Star, AAA Four-Diamond hotel offers a one-of-a-kind experience.”¹⁶ Typically, those that receive lower marks do not.¹⁷ A case in point is the Union Station Hotel that received AAA Four-Diamonds but only is “Recommended” by Forbes (The Recommended level is below Four-Stars.)¹⁸ An exception to the rule is Courtyard Marriot downtown

¹³ “Diamond Rating Definitions,” AAA, accessed May 30, 2017, <http://newsroom.aaa.com/diamond-ratings/diamond-rating-definitions/>; “About Forbes Travel Guide,” Forbes Travel Guide, accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.forbestravelguide.com/about/forbes-travel-guide/>.

¹⁴ “The Hermitage Hotel,” Hermitage Hotel, accessed May 30, 2017, <https://www.thehermitagehotel.com/>; “Peabody Memphis,” Peabody Memphis, accessed May 30, 2016, <http://www.peabodymemphis.com>; cessed 5-30-17; “Madison Hotel,” Madison Hotel Memphis.

¹⁵ Hermitage Hotel, “The Hermitage Hotel.”

¹⁶ Peabody Memphis, “Peabody Memphis.”

¹⁷ “The Read House Historic Inn & Suites,” The Read House Historic Inn & Suites, accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.thereadhousehotel.com>; “Chattanooga Choo Choo More than a Hotel,” Chattanooga Choo Choo More than a Hotel, accessed May 3, 2017, <http://choochoo.com>; “Residence Inn Memphis Downtown,” Marriott, accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.marriott.com/hotels/travel/memri-residence-inn-memphis-downtown/>.

Nashville that lists it is AAA Three-Diamond on its website.¹⁹ Smaller historic hotels often skip third-party rating systems and instead use a more fluid definition of luxury.

Some historic hotels define luxury as the ability to slow down from the rush of modern society, a strategy that is particularly popular in rural areas. The Donoho Hotel in Red Boiling Springs dubs itself a “rural oasis,” the Thomas House in Red Boiling Springs refers to its “peaceful atmosphere” and the Commodore Hotel states that the hotel will “give your brain a rest & restore your soul.”²⁰ Historic hotels in small towns and rural substitute nostalgia for traditional attributes associated with luxury. Others use a construct that is similar to the Fairmont’s in defining luxury as a pairing the old and the new. While the properties are historic, the service and amenities are up to twenty-first century standards. The Historic Eureka Inn states, “Luxury & Authenticity. Enjoy the charm & beauty of a 19th century structure without sacrificing modern conveniences.”²¹ The Hale Springs Inn positions itself as offering “all the modern-day amenities and convenience for the sophisticated traveler while still preserving its historical significance.”²² Lastly, the Read House Hotel markets itself as “A hotel with a rich

¹⁸ “Accommodations,” Union Station Hotel Nashville, accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.unionstationhotelnashville.com/nashville-accommodations/>. “Travel Guides, Search Hotels: Nashville, TN,” AAA, accessed May 30, 2017, <https://www.aaa.com/travelguides/hotels/Nashville-TN>; “Forbes Travel Guide 2017 Star Award Winners,” Forbes Travel Guide, accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.forbestravelguide.com/about/awardwinners>.

¹⁹ “Courtyard Nashville Downtown,” Marriott, accessed May 30, 2017, <http://www.marriott.com/hotels/travel/bnadt-courtyard-nashville-downtown/>.

²⁰ “The Donoho,” The Donoho, accessed October 21, 2015, <http://www.thedonoho.com/home.html#about>; “The Thomas House Hotel,” The Thomas House Hotel, accessed May 3, 2017, <http://Thomashousehotel.com>.

²¹ “About,” Historic Eureka Inn, accessed May 3, 2017, <http://www.eurekajonesborough.com/about>.

²² Hale Spring Inn, “Home,” accessed May 3, 2017, <https://halespringsinn.com>.

history and contemporary amenities.”²³ To hammer home the idea that the hotels are historic rather than just old, many of them list the dollar value and date or length of time measured in years it took to complete major renovations.²⁴

Not surprisingly, history features prominently in the marketing of historic hotels in Tennessee as elsewhere. History is multidimensional encompassing not only the material culture but also the people, events and stories associated with a hotel. Sense of place is distinct from history and yet closely related. Sense of place is the emotional connection visitors feel towards a property and its history. The National Trust for Historic Preservation’s “This Place Matters” campaign that encourages “people across the country to celebrate places that are meaningful to them and their communities” embodies the idea of sense of place perfectly.²⁵

Websites for historic hotels, the principal marketing interface, incorporate history in a variety of ways from taglines that unite history and luxury to separate pages dedicated to exploring the hotels’ rich histories. It is common for historic hotels to list when the hotel was built, architect if known, famous people associated with the hotel, and tradition of service excellence is long standing. Material culture and historic photos in particular are used to illustrate and illuminate elements of a hotel’s history. Historic black and white photos are paired with modern color photos of the hotel to establish while the hotel is old it is not run down. The history a hotel marketer incorporates into a hotel’s

²³ The Read House Historic Inn & Suites, “The Read House Historic Inn & Suites.”

²⁴ Historic Eureka Inn, “About;” “Our History,” Chattanooga Choo Choo More than a Hotel, accessed May 3, 2017, <http://choochoo.com/our-history>; “Transformation,” Union Station Hotel Nashville, accessed May 3, 2017, <http://www.unionstationhotelnashville.com/transformation/>; Peabody Memphis, “Peabody Memphis.”

²⁵ “This Place Matters,” National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed June 7, 2017, www.savingplaces.org/this-place-matters.

website sets the stage for what a visitor will find when she arrives at the property. If a hospitality industry professional has done a good job, a visitor will approach the property with the sense of place firmly established prior to ever walking in the door.



Figure 4.1: Union Station, Exterior, in Nashville, Tennessee (2015)
Source: Photo by Ginna Foster Cannon, March 12, 2015.



Figure 4.2: Union Station, Interior, in Nashville, Tennessee (2015)
Source: Photo by Ginna Foster Cannon, March 12, 2015.



Figure 4.3: Chattanooga Choo Choo, Exterior and Detail of Plaques, in Chattanooga, Tennessee (2014)
Source: Photo by Ginna Foster Cannon, December 19, 2014.

When a visitor arrives, it is the building's façade and lobby that signals that the property as a historic hotel. A hotel's history is expressed in the architecture itself and the manner in which it has been preserved. Qualifying historic hotels market their landmark status by displaying plaques commemorating their designation on the National Register. The plaques are purely ornamental – they are paid for and designed by the properties' owners. The National Park Service, which administers the National Register program, does not require plaques but provides sample wording for properties that want them.²⁶ Examples of hotels that display plaques by their front entrances include the Peabody, the Chattanooga Choo Choo Hotel, the Hermitage Hotel and the Read House. (Hotels that do not want to purchase a plaque will sometimes display a framed paper copy of the designation. An example of this can be found at Armour's. See Figure 4.4.) The General Morgan Inn and Union Station Hotel appear to use the HHA plaque as a proxy for a National Register plaque by their front entrances. These plaques bring attention to the buildings as well as their historical significance.



Figure 4.4: Armour's, Interior, in Red Boiling Springs, Tennessee (2014)
Source: Photo by Ginna Foster Cannon, September 29, 2014.

²⁶ "National Register of Historic Places Program: Frequently Asked Questions," National Park Service, accessed October 3, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/faq.htm#plaque>.



Figure 4.5: Hermitage Hotel, Interior, in Nashville, Tennessee (2015)
Source: Photo by Ginna Foster Cannon, March 17, 2015.

Historic hotels use a variety of methods to market and promote their history in person at the hotel. One of the most common is creating an area, typically in the lobby, that features historic memorabilia, photos, and newspaper articles as well as any modern preservation awards they have received. While the size, location and apparent expense of assembling the collections varies greatly, they all share a similar purpose – to actively promote nostalgia with material culture from the past.

Historic Hotels Worldwide mandates the celebration of its history through the display of material culture. As historic sites, historic hotels are fortunate because there is a plethora of material culture associated with them that holds interest. Common pieces of memorabilia include historic postcards, china and silver service items, menus, room keys, and vinyl records or sheet music of the famous musicians who played at the hotel. These pieces are not only interesting curiosities but more importantly serve as a physical link

between the past and the present. They make visitors think of the people who inhabited the space and thereby humanize the past. Historic photos of people serve a similar function as those displayed typically feature the rich, powerful and famous. Historic photos of hotels themselves as well as newspaper accounts help to establish a sense of place and change over time.

The Peabody described its history shrine in these terms. “The Peabody Memorabilia Room honors the rich heritage of the hotel and the city and is filled with historic artifacts such as old menus, news clippings and photographs donated by guests and friends of the Peabody.”²⁷ Notice how the act of donating items positions the Memorabilia Room as personal and community history. Knoxville’s Farragut Hotel, currently under renovation, uses a similar approach. It has requested personal anecdotes and information about famous guests.

The rebirth of one of Knoxville’s most historic and beloved hotels is currently underway and we need your help! Will you share your memories with us? We’re looking for personal stories, information about famous people who stayed here and any other interesting anecdotes you’d like to share. We’ll compile everything we gather together and use it to help tell the story of its rebirth.²⁸

Even before it opens, hospitality industry professionals for the Farragut Hotel are working hard to promote its history and establish its sense of place within Knoxville on a personal and community basis.

To varying degrees, historic hotels in Tennessee display components of best practices related to history and sense of place. A handful of the larger, urban hotels

²⁷ “The Peabody Memphis,” Historic Hotels, accessed October 4, 2015, <http://www.historichotels.org/hotels-resorts/the-peabody-emphis/history.php>.

²⁸ “Share Your Memories of the Farragut Hotel,” The Farragut Hotel, accessed May 3, 2017, <http://www.thefarraguthotel.com>.

successfully integrate the three components identified by the Fairmont Hotels & Resorts. Most fall short and the shortfall is attributable in large part to hotel size and service levels. Smaller establishments, especially those in rural areas, struggle to maintain luxury service levels given their lower occupancy rates. But this is a chicken-and-egg problem. How will these smaller properties fund re-investment without more visitors staying the night? And why would visitors be attracted to stay the night unless the properties were better maintained? It has to do with making the destinations more attractive for visitors and residents alike. A historic hotel is a community anchor but only one asset among many. Investment needs to come from programs such as Main Street that value historic hotels for the 24-hour vitality they bring.

CHAPTER FIVE: NARRATIVES AND OPPORTUNITIES FROM THE TENNESSEE DELTA

This chapter illustrates the value of delving into the history of individual historic hotels through an examination of two properties in the Tennessee Delta. To the unstudied eye, the Peabody and the Colored Hotel appear to share little in common. Yet as new avenues for interpretation emerge, their standings as cultural heritage tourism assets increase. Compelling, authentic stories reinforce the sense of place and could be a marketing boon for industry professionals.

The Peabody known as “South’s Grand Hotel” is a nationally recognized, luxury hotel with 464 rooms, located in Memphis with a population of approximately 655,770 as of July 2015.¹ Thanks to the popularity of the twice-daily march of the ducks – the hotel’s mascots – the Peabody is a tourist destination in and of itself. The hotel has a wide platform on which to disseminate its marketed history. The “newer” and “grander” Peabody located on Union and Second Streets opened its doors in 1925.² The original Peabody was built in 1869 and was located on Main and Monroe Streets in Memphis. In 1976, Belz Enterprises purchased the bankrupt hotel, placed it on National Register in 1977 and gave it a seventeen million dollar renovation before its reopening in 1981.³

¹ “Rooms & Suites,” The Peabody Memphis, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.peabodymemphis.com/rooms-en.html>; “Quick Facts Memphis City, TN,” United States Census Bureau, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/4748000>; Katia Hetter, “Best U.S. Historic Hotels for 2015,” CNN.com, accessed December 12, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/10/09/travel/historic-hotels-america-2015-awards/>.

² “Peabody Memphis,” Peabody Memphis, accessed December 12, 2016, <http://www.peabodymemphis.com>.

³ Floy A. Brown, *Rehabilitating Historic Hotels: Peabody Hotel, Memphis, TN*, (Washington, DC: US Department of Interior Heritage Conservation and Recreation Technical Preservation Services, 1980), 23.

Saving the Peabody was a group effort; it required the collaboration and commitment of private lenders, the federal government, and city officials. A syndicate of nine Memphis banks provided the bulk of the financing, the Department of Commerce's Economic Development Administration guaranteed the loans, the Internal Revenue Service's Tax Reform Act of 1976 section 2124 provided historic preservation tax incentives and the city of Memphis provided a \$1 million dollar HUD Community Development Block Grant and provided significant tax breaks through the creation of the Center City Revenue Finance Corporation.⁴ The partners shared the belief that the project would help to revitalize downtown Memphis with new jobs and new investment.⁵

The Peabody was not just any hotel; it was re-incorporated into the fabric of people's lives. *The Commercial Appeal* articulated its importance. "The Peabody is the most important victory to date because what it meant to all of us in the past, what it said of our present when it was closed and what it said about our future if we could not save it."⁶ The editors went on to state, "The Peabody has been more than a mere landmark or institution or symbol. It has been a living, breathing part of generations of Memphians."⁷

By contrast, prior to its demolition in 2015 and removal from the National Register in 2016, the Colored Hotel was vacant and in disrepair. Union City, with a population of just over 10,000, has a single major tourist attraction – the Discovery Park

⁴ Ibid., 24-29.

⁵ Ibid., 40.

⁶ "A Future in the Ducks," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, September 2, 1981.

⁷ Ibid.

of America.⁸ During its tenure on the National Register (2008-2016), the Colored Hotel was the only African American built hotel listed in Tennessee. Built in approximately 1945 in the African American section of town to serve an African American clientele, the modest concrete block construction housed ten bedrooms three of which were added in the 1965 addition.⁹ It stood mere blocks from U.S. Highway 51, the region's primary north-south highway, which had been dedicated as the Jefferson Davis Highway. The hotel served as a "social center of the community" and was a stop for numerous African American entertainers. The Tennessee Historical Commission determined it was an "important building in African American social history in Obion County."¹⁰

In 2008, Earnest Cooper Daniel and a group of committed citizen created the Colored Hotel Heritage Foundation, a 501(c)(3), to restore and rehabilitate the building and turn it into the Colored Hotel Museum and Outreach Center.¹¹ They planned to set the second floor up as a replica of a bed and breakfast with one room dedicated to preserving memorabilia from Miles High School, one to honor the area's African American churches, one to honor "what was" and another to honor businesses of "today.. They also planned to provide services and job skill training to people who experienced domestic abuse or battled drug and alcohol addiction. Lastly, the site would be used as a

⁸ "Quick Facts Union City city, Tennessee," United States Census Bureau, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/4775940,4748000>; "Home Page," Discovery Park of America, accessed December 12, 2016, <http://www.discoveryparkofamerica.com/>.

⁹ "Colored Hotel, Union City, Obion County, Tennessee," National Register of Historic Places, National Register #08000284, 2.

¹⁰ "Nine Tennessee Sites Added to the National Register of Historic Places, September 14, 2008," Tennessee State Government News, accessed December 11, 2016, <https://www.tn.gov/news/25393>.

¹¹ "Colored Hotel in Obion County Added to National Register of Historic Places," *NWTN Today*, September 9, 2008, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.nwtntoday.com/contentitem/339446/2220/colored-hotel-in-obion-county-added-to-national-register-of-historic-places>.

meeting place for Miles Alumni Association, Casey-Johnson Lions Club and the Obion County Ministerial Fellowship.¹²

Unfortunately for the community, the plans never came to fruition and the Internal Revenue Service revoked the group's tax exempt status in 2011.¹³ It is not clear why. With the exception of the National Register nomination itself and some local media coverage focused on the nonprofit, the hotel's history is not told, much less celebrated. The silence in the narrative is bigger than that of a single hotel. The property tells the story of African American travel in the Jim Crow era thus illuminating an important yet relatively unknown chapter of American history. While the building is not extant, a latent desire to preserve the history of Union City's African American history remains. The search is on to find another way to tell the story of African American travel on the Jefferson Davis Highway.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "Home Page," The Colored Hotel Heritage Foundation, accessed December 6, 2016, <http://coloredhoteltn.blogspot.com/>; "Colored Hotel Heritage Foundation," Find the Company, accessed December 6, 2016, <http://nonprofits.findthecompany.com/l/1465228/Colored-Hotel-Heritage-Foundation>; *NWTN Today*, "Colored Hotel in Obion County Added to National Register of Historic Places."



Figure 5.1: The Peabody, Exterior, in Memphis Tennessee (2016)

Source: “History of the Peabody Memphis,” The Peabody Memphis, accessed December 12, 2016, PeabodyMemphis.com.

The Peabody

The Peabody presents visitors with many historic stories, but two of their standard presentations address not the famous people who stayed there but acknowledge instead two of the staff members who in the past contributed significantly to the hotel’s success. In the marketing material for the hotel, the speech that proceeds the famous twice daily march of the ducks, and in material culture throughout the hotel, why does the Peabody focus on stories about Frank Schutt, Manager/General Manager (1925-1956) and W. Alonzo Locke, Headwaiter (1925-1946)? Commemorating staff members at historic hotels is not common, but do the current depictions actually say anything? Do they take the opportunity to highlight the complexity of the systems within which they operated and leadership roles they held within their professional orbits? To be fair, telling the story of a working class African American broadens the narrative of the Peabody and makes it more relatable to those who visit the hotel. In a city where African Americans comprise a

majority of the population (63.3% as of April 2010) and the Peabody is a popular school field trip destination, it is particularly important to highlight African American history.¹⁴ Furthermore, UNESCO encourages historic sites to work with schools and educational groups to turn members of the host communities into “guardians, champions, and ambassadors.”¹⁵ Clark Porteous in the *Memphis Press-Schmitar* said of Locke in 1947; he “was a Memphis institution and one of the leading ambassadors of goodwill not only for the negro race but for all mankind.”¹⁶



Figure 5.2: Frank Schutt

Source: The Peabody, “History of the Peabody Memphis.”

Frank Schutt, however, is at the center of the hotel’s presentations. In its materials, Schutt comes across as a bit of a buffoon who liked drinking and pulling stunts. He and a friend were responsible for placing the original live ducks in the travertine marble fountain in the lobby of the hotel. The hotel’s website stated:

The tradition of the famous Peabody marching ducks began in 1933. Peabody General Manager Frank Schutt, an avid sportsman, and a

¹⁴ United States Census Bureau, “Quick Facts Memphis City, TN.”

¹⁵ UNESCO World Heritage, *Sustainable Tourism Online Toolkit: Guide 7*.

¹⁶ Clark Porteous, “Hotel Peabody’s Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era,” *The Memphis Press-Schmitar*, August 4, 1947.

friend, Chip Barwick, returned empty-handed from a weekend hunting trip in Arkansas. The two friends had a bit too much Tennessee sippin' whiskey and decided to play a prank and put their live duck decoys (which were legal at the time) in the fountain in the hotel's grand lobby. Three English call ducks were placed in the fountain, and the reaction from hotel guests was nothing short of enthusiastic.¹⁷

Add such a choice of words (“a bit too much Tennessee sippin' whiskey” and “prank”) to Duckmaster’s tone as he narrates the march, and the impression is made: alcohol and tom foolery was responsible for the hotel’s famous duck tradition.¹⁸ A lobby plaque, “Legend of the Ducks,” along with a folded card labeled “Frank Schutt” in the Memorabilia Room reinforce the story. In the 1981 renovation, owners named a conference room on the mezzanine in his honor. Neither biographical details for Schutt nor interpretation is presented within the conference room.

Visitors learn of Schutt, the buffoon or prankster. What they do not learn about is the man who was publicly celebrated for his work ethic. “Friends say Mr. Schutt has the hardest working hours of any man in town. He is at the hotel every morning at 6am and with a few hours off in the afternoon returns at 6 in the evening to remain until midnight.”¹⁹ He not only successfully managed the Peabody for thirty-one years, but also held countless leadership positions within professional, social and civic organizations. Far from a buffoon, Schutt was a pillar of the business community.

Born in the Tarrytown, NY on May 1, 1890, Schutt got his start in the hotel business working for the Henry Flager hotels in Florida.²⁰ After sixteen years, he left to

¹⁷ Peabody Memphis, “History of the Peabody Memphis.”

¹⁸ Ibid.,

¹⁹ “Birthdays,” *The Memphis Press-Scimitar*, May 1, 1933.

become the associate manager of the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta. In 1925, A.L. Parker, President and General Manager of the Peabody and Gayoso Hotels, recruited Schutt to manage the “newer and grander” Peabody on Union Street.²¹ It replaced the original Peabody built in 1869 at the corner of Main and Monroe Streets. In 1934, investors dissolved the Memphis Hotel Corporation and formed the Peabody Hotel Company. The new owners fired Parker and promoted Schutt to General Manager of the Peabody and Vice-President.²²

Examining issues of *Hi-Lites*, a weekly magazine published by the Peabody for its hotel guests and other “favored persons whom it is our privilege to serve,” provides a window into the size and complexity of the hotel’s operations. On the back of the cover of the cover page was a staff list which highlighted approximately fifty people by name and function.²³ The full staff was significantly larger. For example, the magazine listed the head housekeeper but it did not name all of the staff in that department. It would have taken scores of maids and chambermaids to clean 636 guest rooms (the 1981 and subsequent renovations decreased the total number of guestrooms to 464 by 2016).²⁴ The same held true for other departments including the kitchen staff, wait staff and engineering staff. First class hotels like the Peabody employed hundreds of people, more than the city’s average. In 1936, nine hotels in Memphis with aggregated business of

²⁰ Ibid.; “Frank Schutt Dies at 69 in Florida Peabody Executive, Civic Leader Press,” *The Memphis Press-Scimitar*, March 22, 1958.

²¹ Peabody Memphis, “History of the Peabody Memphis;” “Parker will Quit Peabody Management,” *The Memphis Press-Scimitar*, August 29, 1934.

²² “Hotel Peabody and Gayoso to Change Hands,” *The Memphis Press-Scimitar*, August 20, 1934; “Parker will Quit Peabody Management.”

²³ *Hi-Lites* 2, no. 92 (November 3, 1929): inside front cover.

²⁴ Brown, *Rehabilitating Historic Hotels: Peabody Hotel, Memphis, TN*, 33.

\$2,500,000 employed 1,750 workers averaging 194 workers per hotel.²⁵ A 1940 article about Memphis hotels discussed the “invisible army which the public seldom sees” as ranging in size 200-600 people, depending on the size of the hotel.²⁶

The staff list also suggests a customer service orientation. It allowed a guest to ask for a person by name and organizes services into easy to understand categories. For example, if there were a problem at the tea room one would ask to be connected with Mrs. Nell McIntyre. A later configuration of the staff list added headings and grouped staff members by department (i.e., “catering”, “auditing” and “service” departments).²⁷ The staff lists encouraged guests to “know” and “recognize” the staff by name.²⁸ Personal connections contributed to service excellence as well as helped to forge brand loyalty.

²⁵ “Fine Accommodations Here for Delegates,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, March 29, 1936.

²⁶ “Complex – This Hotel Business,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, June 23, 1940.

²⁷ *Hi-Lites* 2, no. 92: inside front cover.

²⁸ *Hi-Lites* 1, no. 5 (March 11, 1928): inside front cover; *Hi-Lites* 2, no.92: inside front cover.

HOTEL PEABODY STAFF	
MR. A. L. PARKER, <i>Pres. & General Mgr.</i> MR. F. R. SCHUTT, <i>Mgr.</i>	
Miss Mary Pelham, <i>Manager's Secretary</i>	
It is gratifying to see patrons and guests of the Hotel Peabody daily knowing and recognizing the staff of the Hotel. It is the wish of Mr. Schutt, the manager, that you become better acquainted; his assistants are always glad to serve you. Do not hesitate to call upon them.	
R. D. BEMISS	First Assistant Manager
ARTHUR SCHOEMBS	Assistant Manager—Purchases
LOUIS WEIL	Assistant Manager
T. J. MCGINN	Assistant Manager
W. P. HALLIDAY, JR.	Assistant Manager
ROY FARROW	Night Manager
ERNEST VOLLRATH	Maitre d'Hotel
GILBERT BLANC	Chef-Steward
ALEX GUIGOU	Grill Manager
Mrs. Marie McLendon	Social Secretary
J. B. Lindsay	General Auditor
H. M. Wisotzky	General Auditor
Miss Gertrude L. Perce	Auditor
Miss Mary Walsh	Housekeeper
C. H. Stanton	Chief Engineer
Mrs. Nell McIntyre	Tea Room
H. Toscano	Pastry Chef
Mrs. E. B. Frayser	Catering
Joe H. Roulhac	Mgr. Printing Dept.
Mrs. Bernice Hurdle	Telephone Supervisor
Miss May Baldrige	Supt. Cigar Dept.
Blue Steele	Musical Director
L. S. Loyd	Valet Service
Miss Bernice Fort	General Cashier
H. O. Gardner, Geo. Prenzel	Room Clerks
Misses Ruth Lipsey, Tempe Wills	Cashiers
Miss Alma Perry, Mrs. Martha Smith	Secs.
Lillian Vanpool, Cherry Wilcox	Bill Clerks
W. H. Caldwell	Night Clerk
E. W. Arwood, E. Hoeffler	Information
E. A. Campbell, Bob White	Mail Clerks
J. R. Cooper	House Carpenter
J. W. Dicky	Laundry
R. S. Barrett	Time Keeper
Miss Nell DeZonia	Public Stenographer
Head Waiter	W. Alonzo Lock
Head Porter	Jack Powell
Chief Bell Captain	W. P. Snelson

Figure 5.3: Hotel Peabody Staff (1928)

Source: *Hi-Lites* 1, no. 5: inside front cover.

Hi-Lites contained a wealth of information useful to hotel guests; it now provides public historians with a snapshot of the activities contained within the Peabody's walls in a given week. The Hotel Directory speaks to the range of shops and services available in the lobby, mezzanine and 2nd Avenue storefronts as well as the number of leases that needed to be managed.²⁹ Shops included a furrier, florist, milliner, drug store, sports shops, men's shoes and clothes, women's gowns and a cigar stand. Services included air service, taxis, lending library, phones, stenography, postal and telegraph, railroad office, accountancy, beauty parlor, dentistry, notary public, photography and framing. The "Civic Clubs Meetings" provided a list of the meetings being held at various hotels in Memphis including the details of those being held at the Peabody.³⁰ An article titled

²⁹ Ibid., 8.

“Tennessee Hotel Men Meet in Memphis” provided insight into management issues facing the industry including “dogs and radios,” “standardized bed sheets,” and “tourist camps.”³¹ The “Affairs and Functions” section provided flowery accounts (“bewitching dinner-dance,” “superlatively happy evening,” and “a very sparkling affair”) of social and professional functions both large and small.³² The stores, services, professional and civic meetings as well as social functions helped to make the Peabody a beloved and central institution for white guests and white Memphians alike.



Figure 5.4: “Hotel Managers and Their Wives Assembled in the Italian room, Where They Held Their Sessions” (1929)
Source: “Tennessee Hotel Men Meet in Memphis,” *Hi-Lites* 2, no. 95: 3-4.

³⁰ *Hi-Lites* 2, no. 92:15.

³¹ *Hi-Lites* 2, no. 95 (December 1, 1929): 3-4.

³² *Hi-Lites* 2, no. 92: 11-13.



Figure 5.5: Debutants (1929)
Source: *Hi-Lites* 2, no. 92: 11.

Complex social issues were negotiated during Schutt's tenure as General Manager. The Southern Historical Association (SHA) hammered out a deal with the Peabody to allow African American scholars access to its annual conference there in 1955. While the SHA allowed African American scholars to attend any and all conference sessions and meals sponsored by the Association, they were not permitted to eat meals as individuals at the hotel's restaurants or stay the night as hotel guests.³³ Furthermore, African American operated taxis were granted special permission to pick up and drop off conference attendees at the hotel. Despite the limitations and hardships for African American attendees, the conference was a landmark. The SHA succeeded in holding the first integrated banquet at the Peabody on November 10, 1955.³⁴ Its large attendance amplified the significance of the banquet was amplified by its large size (600 people), the subject matter ("The Segregation Decisions" and *Brown v. Board of Education*) and keynote speakers (Cecil Sims, a Nashville lawyer; Dr. Benjamin Mays,

³³ Fred A. Bailey, "The Southern Historical Association and the Quest for Racial Justice, 1954-1963," *The Journal of Southern History* LXXI, no. 4 (November 2005): 841.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 833 and 843; "To the Historians of 2000 A.D." *Commercial Appeal*, November 12, 1955, 6.

an African American scholar from Morehouse College and ordained Baptist minister; and William Faulkner, novelist and Nobel Laureate).³⁵ Faulkner, impassioned, railed against segregation by arguing that:

It is our white man's shame that in our present Southern economy, the Negro must not have economic equality; our double shame that we fear giving him more social equality will jeopardize his present economic status; our triple shame that even then, to justify ourselves, we must becloud the issue with the purity of white blood.³⁶

At the last minute, the Peabody allowed the head banquet table to be integrated “a historical first” but prohibited photographs.³⁷ The *Commercial Appeal* denounced the decision and remarked that a “pictorial supplement might have added something to the record of this unusual event, but historians of 1955 had to yield to other considerations. Their research heirs and assigns are the losers, more or less.”³⁸ As a research heir, I concur with the *Commercial Appeal*'s assessment of more than sixty years ago and yet nevertheless applaud the willingness of the Peabody's management to host its first integrated banquet in particular given Faulkner's “controversial” reputation and the attention his speech was sure to garner in the media.³⁹ Within the context of the Civil Rights Movement, 1955 was early for an integrated function at a major hotel in the South. The first sit-ins in Tennessee did not occur for another five years: Nashville

³⁵ George Sisler, “Mixed Crowd Hears Faulkner Hit ‘Shame’ of Segregation,” *Commercial Appeal*, November 11, 1955, 1.

³⁶ William Faulkner, “Equal Right To Opportunity Emphasized in Faulkner Text,” *Commercial Appeal*, November 11, 1955, 8.

³⁷ “To the Historians of 2000 A.D.,” *Commercial Appeal*, 6.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Sisler, “Mixed Crowd Hears Faulkner Hit ‘Shame’ of Segregation.”

(February 13, 1960), Chattanooga (February 19, 1960), Knoxville (March 7, 1960) and Memphis (March 19, 1960).⁴⁰

The hotel also was Schutt's home. Married to Grace Fritz Schutt for forty-six years, they had one son, Louis. They lived on site in an apartment at the Peabody until Schutt's retirement in 1957. Schutt came from a family of hoteliers. His grandfather started the famed Laurel House in the Catskills Mountain, his grandfather worked at the Casa Marina in Key West, two uncles also were in the hotel business and his son Louis began his career as a clerk at the Astor Hotel in New York.⁴¹ Schutt held professional positions as organizer of the Dixie Motor Club, Vice President of the American Hotel Men's Association (AHMA) and President of the Tennessee Chapter of AHMA, and director of the Chamber of Commerce in Memphis. He also participated in a numerous civic and social clubs: Commodore of the Memphis Yacht Club, member of the Memphis Colonial Country Club, lifetime member of the Harmonica Masonic Lodge in Palm Beach, Kiwanis Club, Rotary Club, Shriners, Knights of Templar and named a honorary Colonel of Governor Frank Clement's staff in 1955.⁴² His obituary stated:

He was known to and popular not only Memphians and Mid-Southerners but visitors to the hotel from all over the world and hotel men all over the nation. It was under his direction that the Peabody became famous and a favorite stopping place for celebrities and executives in all fields. It became the center of much of Memphis and the MidSouth social life under his guidance.⁴³

⁴⁰ "The Sit-In Movement," International Civil Rights Center and Museum, accessed July 27, 2017, <https://www.sitinmovement.org/history/sit-in-movement.asp>.

⁴¹ "Reminiscences Are in Order As Innkeeping Schutts Meets," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, October 1, 1939.

⁴² "Birthdays;" "Frank Schutt Dies at 69 in Florida. Peabody Executive, Civic Leader," *The Memphis Press-Scimitar*, March 22, 1958.

⁴³ "Frank Schutt Dies at 69 in Florida."

Schutt was an accomplished and respected man in life. He deserves to be remembered as such in representations at today's Peabody, especially his values of work, family, community that reflect the Peabody's current management philosophy.



Figure 5.6: Alonzo Locke (Left) and Alonzo Locke Conference Room (Right) at the Peabody in Memphis, Tennessee

Source: "A Man Who Takes Pride in Serving," *Hotel World: The Hotel and Travelers Journal* 93, no. 1 (July 2, 1921): 43; Photo credit Ginna Foster Cannon, April 5, 2016.

Despite being honored in obituaries as a "Memphis institution and one of the leading ambassadors of goodwill" by the *Commercial Appeal* Memphis' leading white newspaper and "one of the world's best-known and most popular hotel men" by *Memphis World* a leading African American newspaper in Memphis, Alonzo Locke and his story appear to be all but forgotten at today's Peabody.⁴⁴ It has not always been the case. In fact, the Peabody celebrated Locke by naming one of the dozen-odd conference rooms on

⁴⁴ "Famed Alonzo Locke Dies At Home Following Long Illness – National Figure," *Memphis World*, August 5, 1947, 1. Clark Porteous, "Hotel Peabody's Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, August 9, 1947.

the mezzanine in his honor on its reopening in 1981. Soon after, the hotel and New York City's public TV station made a public appeal for home videos and request to interview Locke's friends and family members.⁴⁵ Beyond the hotel walls, Locke's name was kept alive in the community at large as generations of children in the Vance Ponotoc area of Memphis attended Alonzo Locke Elementary. In 2013, Mayor A.C. Wharton labeled the abandoned school as "contributing to blight" and the city tore it down.⁴⁶ How long will the general public remember Locke if the Peabody does not reintegrate his story into its interpretative and marketing materials?

Telling Locke's story is far from easy: he was a conflicted figure during his life. Whites heralded Locke for his work ethic, "humble yet proud demeanor," and "remarkable memory" for names as documented in the *Commercial Appeal*, *Memphis Press-Scimitar* and *Hotel World*.⁴⁷ Beyond being a good manager, Locke prospered as the headwaiter at the Hotel Gayoso and later the Peabody because he worked hard, possessed "good manners," displayed "tactful understanding," and "gauge[d] his daily success by the extent of satisfaction registered on the faces of his patrons."⁴⁸ According to a *Memphis World* article, Locke "has the respect of all white men who know him, and

⁴⁵ "Locke on TV," *The Memphis Press-Scimitar*, May 20, 1982.

⁴⁶ Cindy Wolff and Dennis Turner, "Tearing Down the Old to Lift a Community," *WREG*, September 11, 2013, accessed December 7, 2016, <http://wreg.com/2013/09/11/tearing-down-the-old-to-lift-up-a-community/>; Bill Dries, "10 Months Later, Cash Still Grapples with School District's Scope," *The Daily News*, June 1, 2009, accessed December 7, 2016, <https://www.memphisdailynews.com/news/2009/jun/1/10-months-later-cash-still-grapples-with-school-districts-scope/>.

⁴⁷ Porteous, "Hotel Peabody's Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era;" "Alonzo's Memory is Proven-Recalls Name After 32 Years," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, November 14, 1946; "Alonzo of the Peabody Helps Negro Boy Scouts," *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, April 14, 1942; "A Man Who Takes Pride in Serving," *Hotel World: The Hotel and Travelers Journal* 93, no. 1 (July 2, 1921): 43.

⁴⁸ "A Man Who Takes Pride in Serving."

enjoys a position of dignity.”⁴⁹ These descriptions of Locke suggest that whites may have considered Locke a “Good Negro” for his courteous manners and desire to satisfy white patrons’ wants and needs.

According to articles in *Memphis World*, African Americans viewed Locke’s position as an influential and prominent community leader with mixed emotion. On the one hand, the African American applauded Locke for being a self-made man who achieved the trappings of bourgeois respectability.⁵⁰ He accrued wealth for himself and his family.⁵¹ He shared his material wealth and wealth of knowledge by assuming leadership positions.⁵² *The Chicago Defender*, a leading African American newspaper in the nation, touted Locke an “ambassador of goodwill for our race.”⁵³ Others may have considered him an “Uncle Tom” who was unwilling to take a stand on African American labor issues.⁵⁴

Locke remains a conflicted figure in present-day literature focused on Memphis’ history.⁵⁵ Given his prominence within the African American community from the 1910s

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ 1940 United States Federal Census, Memphis, Shelby, Tennessee; Roll: T627_3965; Page: 10B; Enumeration District: 98-159. Ancestry.com

⁵¹ Alonzo Locke, Famed Headwaiter, Dies; Was Ambassador of Goodwill,” *The Chicago Defender*, August 16, 1947.

⁵² “Alonzo of Peabody is Dead – Race’s Good Will Ambassador,” Earnestine Lovelle Jenkins, *Images of America: African Americans in Memphis* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 44; Margaret McKee and Fred Chisenhall, *Beale Black & Blue: Life and Music on Black America’s Main Street* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 49

⁵³ “Alonzo Locke, Famed Headwaiter, Dies; Was Ambassador of Goodwill.”

⁵⁴ “Randolph Speaks at STFU Conclave-Mass Meeting Cancelled,” *Memphis World*, November 12, 1947, 1; McKee and Chisenhall, *Beale Black & Blue*, 49.

through the 1940s, it is not surprising that he is mentioned regularly. However, no source presents a detailed or complete picture of Locke. At most he is described in a page-long profile or in a caption accompanying his photo. While it is impossible to know Locke's motivations, contemporaneous primary sources and newspaper accounts allow a more complex portrait of the man and his legacy to emerge.

According to the Tennessee, Deaths and Burial Index, 1874-1955, Walter Alonzo Locke was born on March 28, 1878 in Cairo, Illinois.⁵⁶ Locke described himself as an “underprivileged child” reared in an orphanage who never knew where his next meal was coming from. At age thirteen, L.P. Parker took Locke in and he worked at the Parkers’ family hotel Halliday House in Cairo as a bus and errand boy.⁵⁷ In the early 1900s (dates vary in accounts ranging from 1905 to 1915), Locke took over as headwaiter at the Hotel Gayoso in Memphis after the Parker family purchased it.⁵⁸ When the new Peabody opened in 1925, officials hired Locke as headwaiter, a position he held until his retirement.

⁵⁵ Bobby L. Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee: A Narrative History* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 242; Lester C. Lamon, *Black Tennesseans, 1900-1930* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1977), 197; McKee and Chisenhall, *Beale Black & Blue*, 49; G. Wayne Dowdy, *On This Day in Memphis History* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2014); Drs. Beverly G. Bond and Janann Sherman, *Images of America: Beale Street*, Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 36; George A. Sewell and Margaret L. Dwight, *Mississippi Black River Makers* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984), 166; Cynthia Sadler, “On Parade: Race, Gender, and Imagery in the Memphis Mardi Gras, Cotton Carnival, and Cotton Makers’ Jubilee” in *Tennessee Women: Their Lives and Times*, vol. 2, eds. Beverly Greene Bond and Sarah Wilkerson Freeman (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 139; Jenkins, *Images of America: African Americans in Memphis*, 44.

⁵⁶ “Tennessee, Deaths and Burials Index, 1874-1955,” Ancestry.com, accessed July 19, 2017, ancestry.com.

⁵⁷ “Alonzo of the Peabody Helps Negro Boy Scouts.”

⁵⁸ “Alonzo of Peabody is Dead – Race’s Good Will Ambassador,” Porteous, “Hotel Peabody’s Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era.”

Two years later, disaster struck, threatening Locke's future. The African American Fraternal and Solvent Savings Bank of which Locke was a bank director failed and he and his wife Emma lost all of their savings "except the \$3 in his pocket."⁵⁹ The Lockes were not alone in sustaining devastating losses. According to historian Teresa Biddle-Douglass, "twenty-eight thousand depositors lost nearly 90 percent of their savings, and numerous African American businesses and organizations sustained severe losses."⁶⁰ The bank president, Alfred P. Ward, was jailed for embezzlement after bank regulators found a shortage of more than a half million dollars.⁶¹ The African American community's reaction "ranged from shock to scorn."⁶² It is not clear whether the fallout from the scandal tarnished Locke and the other directors' reputations. At around this time, Emma Locke took a job as a probation officer with the Memphis Juvenile Court and worked there for the next two decades.⁶³

The white community celebrated Locke for his "phenomenal memory of faces and names" and allegedly was able to remember guests' names after more than twenty-year absences.⁶⁴ While possessing a gift, Locke knew the value and pleasure it gave

⁵⁹ Porteous, "Hotel Peabody's Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era."

⁶⁰ Teresa Biddle-Douglass, "Fraternal and Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Company," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed July 28, 2017, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=510>.

⁶¹ Perre Magness, "Solvent Savings Bank and Trust," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified February 28, 2011, accessed September 8, 2017, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1225>

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ "Alonzo Locke, Famed Headwaiter, Dies; Was Ambassador of Goodwill."

⁶⁴ "Famed Alonzo Locke Dies At Home Following Long Illness – National Figure;" Porteous, "Hotel Peabody's Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era;" "Alonzo, of Peabody, Very Proud to Have Served Mrs. F.D. Roosevelt," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, November 25, 1937; "Alonzo's Memory is Proven-Recalls Name After 32 Years," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, November 14, 1946.

guests to be called by name as he gave a “quick half-bow.”⁶⁵ When he forgot a name, he called newspapermen, secretaries and front desk clerks to get it.⁶⁶ The *Hotel World* article “A Man Who Takes Pride in Serving” lauded Locke’s commitment to service excellence as head waiter at the Hotel Gayoso.⁶⁷ The writer stated, “Alonzo has long been a convert to the gospel of success through service. It has paid him well.”⁶⁸ Locke put that same attention into selecting new waiters and training them.⁶⁹ As a good manager, Locke ruled his “army of waiters with stern discipline and kindness.”⁷⁰



Figure 5.7: Alonzo Locke (Front Row Center) and Wait Staff at the Peabody
Source: “Alonzo Locke” Memphis and Shelby County Room, Memphis Public Library & Information Center.

⁶⁵ “Alonzo of Peabody is Dead – Race’s Good Will Ambassador.”

⁶⁶ Porteous, “Hotel Peabody’s Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era.”

⁶⁷ “A Man Who Takes Pride in Serving.”

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Bob Marks, “Alonzo to Miss New Year’s First Time in Two Decades,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, December 31, 1946.

⁷⁰ “Alonzo, of Peabody, Very Proud to Have Served Mrs. F.D. Roosevelt.”

In 1939, Locke worked 84 hours per week, all 52 weeks of the year, for an annual salary of \$1,800.⁷¹ According to the 1940 Census, Locke and his wife owned their home at 699 Edith Avenue in Memphis, valued at \$4,500, located in the Southside neighborhood of Memphis.⁷² At his death seven years later the couple also owned several other properties suggesting they were able to recover financially from the Fraternal and Solvent Savings Bank bankruptcy.

At his death, *Memphis World* called Alonzo Locke “one of the city’s best known civic, social and religious leaders. He was an outstanding symbol of his profession.”⁷³ *Memphis World* further stated that he was “active in local civic and social activities: his name being sought in all sorts of city-wide activities to promote the general welfare.”⁷⁴ Locke was a member of numerous organizations including the Hotel’s Men Improvement Club which he helped found in 1924, NAACP, Urban League, LeMoyne College, Harmony Club, the Red Cross, the Avery Chapel AME Church and Elks.⁷⁵ Locke was “respected and admired by all.”⁷⁶

According to the 1940 Census, Locke had two years of college education.⁷⁷ He had “great pride of race and strongly advocated wide and better education for Negroes.”⁷⁸

⁷¹ 1940 United States Federal Census, Memphis, Shelby, Tennessee; Roll: T627_3965; Page: 10B; Enumeration District: 98-159. Ancestry.com

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ “Famed Alonzo Locke Dies At Home Following Long Illness-National Figure.”

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ “Alonzo of Peabody is Dead – Race’s Good Will Ambassador;” Jenkins, *Images of America: African Americans in Memphis*, 44; McKee and Chisenhall, *Beale Black & Blue*, 49.

⁷⁶ Alonzo Locke, Famed Headwaiter, Dies; Was Ambassador of Goodwill.”

⁷⁷ 1940 United States Federal Census.

As such, he gave several commencement addresses in which he advocated graduates “to dignify labor, own a home, practice honesty, thrift, sobriety, dependability, save money, do the better job than anyone else”⁷⁹ He practiced these traits in his own life.

Present-day literature presents a conflicted view of African American community leaders during segregation. According to Margaret McKee and Fred Chisenhall in *Beale Street Blue: Life and Music on Black America’s Main Street*:

A position of service to the rich, aristocratic, and powerful was valued and respected. The rank of the person employed derived from the rank of the employer or the prestige of the hotel or club where he worked.⁸⁰

On the one hand, Locke leveraged his position as the headwaiter at the Peabody to help found the Hotel’s Men Improvement Club, the leading social club for African American Memphians that held the “swankiest affairs.”⁸¹ Yet on the other, it rankled some community members that the “most cultured and refined group of men in the race were, on the whole, just those self-same me who earned their livelihood by slinging hash.”⁸² Regardless of the perception of him, Locke was able to use his “elevated status” for good by helping members of the African American community find work.⁸³

But, not all of the jobs were equal. In “On Parade,” Cynthia Sadler critically condemned African American leaders and Locke in particular for their role in reinforcing

⁷⁸ “Alonzo of Peabody is Dead – Race’s Good Will Ambassador.”

⁷⁹ Porteous, “Hotel Peabody’s Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era.”

⁸⁰ McKee and Chisenhall, *Beale Black & Blue*, 49.

⁸¹ Jenkins, *Images of America: African Americans in Memphis*, 44. McKee and Chisenhall, *Beale Black & Blue*, 36.

⁸² McKee and Chisenhall, *Beale Black & Blue*, 49.

⁸³ Bond and Sherman, *Images of America: Beale Street*, 36; McKee and Chisenhall, *Beale Black & Blue*, 36.

false stereotypes of American Americans.⁸⁴ Locke helped John Crump, son of Mayor E.H. Crump, recruit African American women who fit the “mammie” stereotype to dress up in costumes and sit on bales of hay on street corners during the Cotton Carnival.⁸⁵ Crump paid the women \$1.50 a day to work from 10:00am through 6:30pm and during the night parade.⁸⁶ According to a 1936 article in the *Press-Scimitar*, Locke told African American women to “conduct themselves in keeping with the traditions of the old mammies.”⁸⁷ Locke was also able to help African Americans within the hospitality field. According to Beverly Bond and Janann Sherman:

Through his connections with prominent whites, Locke was able to secure jobs for blacks in the hotel system. In the 1960s, men like David Franklin provided this same kind of mentoring for young black men at the Parkview and Rivermont Hotels.⁸⁸

Locke’s social network in the hospitality industry stretched nationwide because during the summer months he traveled around first-class hotels and observed best practices.⁸⁹ He then brought the best practices back and implemented them at the Peabody.

According to Earnestine Lovelle Jenkins in *Images of America: African Americans in Memphis*, Locke trained “generations of young black men in the finer skills of efficiency, attention to detail, courtesy, and self-esteem required in the business of

⁸⁴ Sadler, “On Parade,” 139.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 139-140.

⁸⁷ “Chairman of Negro Mammies,” *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, May 5, 1936, cited in Sadler, “On Parade,” 139.

⁸⁸ Bond and Sherman, *Images of America: Beale Street*, 36.

⁸⁹ Porteous, “Hotel Peabody’s Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era;” “Alonzo of the Peabody Helps Negro Boy Scouts.”

satisfying elite clientele, a profession now called hotel management.”⁹⁰ As headwaiter at the Peabody, Locke supervised three hundred.⁹¹

In *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee*, Bobby L. Lovett explored the perils African American community leaders faced during segregation.⁹² At times, the Crump administration held African American leaders accountable for the African American community as a whole. In late October and early November 1943, *Memphis World* reported a number of times about the mass meeting planned at Mt. Nebo Baptist Church featuring “Attorney A. Phillip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the Number 1 labor leader of the race in America” at Mt. Nebo Baptist Church on November 7th.⁹³ Randolph had gained “world-wide recognition” for organizing Pullman porters “against tremendous odds and terrific opposition.”⁹⁴ *Memphis World* heralded the Randolph’s visit as a “milestone in the progress of the Memphis Negro.”⁹⁵ On November 9th, *Memphis World* printed a somewhat cryptic short piece saying that the mass meeting had been canceled “following a conference of the Memphis Negro leaders with city and county officials here Saturday.”⁹⁶ In the conference, city officials - sheriff, police commissioner and local attorney general - called Randolph “radical” and expressed fear

⁹⁰ Jenkins, *Images of America: African Americans in Memphis*, 44.

⁹¹ Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee*, 242.

⁹² Ibid, 242.

⁹³ Ibid, 242; “A. Philip Randolph Speaks in Memphis November 7th,” *Memphis World*, October 29, 1943, 1; “A. Phillip Randolph Noted Labor Leader Speaks Here Sunday,” *Memphis World*, November 5, 1943, 1.

⁹⁴ “A. Philip Randolph Speaks in Memphis November 7th,” 1; “A. Phillip Randolph Noted Labor Leader Speaks Here Sunday,” 1.

⁹⁵ “A. Phillip Randolph Noted Labor Leader Speaks Here Sunday,” 1.

⁹⁶ “Memphis Calls off Mass Meet,” *Memphis Globe*, November 9, 1943, 1.

that a “race riot would result should the meeting be held.”⁹⁷ On November 12th, *Memphis World* reported that African American leaders had not been told of the purpose of the conference beforehand and were kept “virtually behind jail bars” while being told to cancel the mass meeting.⁹⁸ Furthermore Police Commissioner Joe Boyle “informed the men that he had a list of Negroes in his office, and should trouble start they would be the first to be seized.”⁹⁹ In addition to Locke, Professor B.T. Hunt, Attorney A. Latting, Lt. G.W Lee and president Patton, head of the Memphis District of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters were named as some of the twenty leaders assembled.¹⁰⁰ While the mass meeting was canceled, Randolph gave a speech to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union on the November 9th; it did not appear to cause blow back for the African American leaders.

Locke died on August 3, 1947 and was survived by his wife, two brothers - Harbert King and Bernio King - and a sister Margaret Banks.¹⁰¹ Locke’s obituary stated:

In a volume published by the Memphis Negro Chamber of Commerce some years ago – “a man of admirable and unimpeachable character” “an idol standing with the scratch of an unkind word” and “he is what he is, a representative of the working class, the race’s ambassador of goodwill.”¹⁰²

After Locke died, two institutions in Memphis took his name. On September 2, 1947, St. Paul School was renamed W. Alonzo Locke Elementary School in his honor.¹⁰³ Lovett

⁹⁷ “Memphis Calls off Mass Meet,” 1; Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee*, 242.

⁹⁸ “Randolph Speaks at STFU Conclave-Mass Meeting Cancelled.”

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Porteous, “Hotel Peabody’s Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era.”

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Dowdy, *On This Day in Memphis History*.

argued that the “machine” named the school in Locke’s honor ostensibly to reward him for his leadership, deference to the white power structure and position as “Race Ambassador of Goodwill at the South’s Largest and Finest Hotel.”¹⁰⁴

The second institution that took Locke’s name was a training school called the Alonzo Locke Memorial Institute, Inc. established in 1947. Founded by white men who wanted to take advantage of the funding from the GI Bill, the school trained African American men and women in hotel work in particular as waiters. By April 1948, more than 200 students were enrolled and space was tight necessitating an addition that Emma Locke, Alfonzo’s widow, endorsed.¹⁰⁵ Typically, the course ran 8-12 months and enrollees were generally veterans of World War II.¹⁰⁶

To have Locke’s name on a conference room as the sole reminder of this great man who along with the ducks was, “the two things about the Peabody that persons who met Memphians in distant cities were certain to inquire about” speaks to the racial blindness at today’s Peabody.¹⁰⁷ The complex and more nuanced portrait of Locke reveals his importance to the success of the Peabody as well as the long-term impact he had on Memphis’ African American community, both positive and negative.

¹⁰⁴ Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee*, 242.

¹⁰⁵ “Alonzo Locke Memorial Institute, Inc., Announces Expansion Program with Mrs. Locke Endorsing Project,” *Memphis World*, April 27, 1948.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Porteous, “Hotel Peabody’s Famed Alonzo Dies – Symbol of an Era.”

Colored Hotel



Figure 5.8: Former Site of the Colored Hotel, in Union City, Tennessee, September 28, 2015.

Source: National Register of Historic Places, Colored Hotel, Union City, Obion County, Tennessee, Register #08000284, Figure 13, accessed 12-01-16, NPS.gov.

The Colored Hotel shed light on little known aspects of African American cultural history from the difficulties and indignities African Americans faced while traveling during segregation (circa 1900 through 1960s) to the black owned and operated businesses that arose to meet market needs imposed by segregation. The hotel's demolition and subsequent removal from the National Register is a stark reminder to preservationists and public historians that historic resources are perishable and there is an urgency to document those that remain before they too disappear from the landscape. Hopefully, the increased number of scholarly publications, public history projects and general interest pieces focused on African American travel during the segregation era will

improve the likelihood that new projects get funded as well as increase the public's receptiveness to learning more about this important chapter in American history.¹⁰⁸

While the Civil Rights Act of 1875 granted African Americans equal access to transportation networks and public facilities including restaurants and hotels, select local and state laws known as the Black Codes continued to restrict access for the next two decades. The Supreme Court upheld the legality of segregation and its promise of "separate but equal" facilities for African Americans in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). African Americans experienced "divisive racial geographies" resulting in unique challenges and hardships when they travelled regardless of the mode of transportation or destination.¹⁰⁹

In "Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings: American Tourist Spaces through the Lens of Black Pleasure – Travelers 1880-1950," Myra B. Young Armstead explored how access to mainstream travel destinations was typically denied to African Americans and when service was extended it was on a limited basis either by distinct hours or distinct locations.¹¹⁰ African American entrepreneurs, many of who were women, stepped in to

¹⁰⁸ Lyell Henry, "Accommodations for Colored," *Journal for Commercial Archaeology* 23, no. 2, (Fall 2005); Mia Bay, "Traveling Black / Buying Black: Retail and Roadside Accommodations during the Segregation Era," in *Race and Retail: Consumption Across the Color Line*, ed. Mia Bay and Ann Fabian (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015); "Green Book Helped African-Americans Travel Safely," *Talk of the Nation*, NPR.org, September 15 2010, accessed November 23, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=129885990>; Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division, The New York Public Library, "The Negro Motorist Green Book Collection," New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed November 23, 2016, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/the-green-book-legacy-a-beacon-for-black-travelers.html?ref=oembed&_r=0; Calvin Alexander Ramsey and Necky Wible Searles, "The Green Book Chronicles," <https://greenbookchronicles.com/>; Eve M. Kahn, "The Green Book Legacy, A Beacon for Black Travelers," *The New York Times*, August 6, 2016, accessed November 1, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/07/arts/design/the-green-book-legacy-a-beacon-for-black-travelers.html?ref=oembed&_r=0.

¹⁰⁹ Mia Bay, "Traveling Black / Buying Black," 19.

fill the void with hotels and boarding houses catering to black tourists and travelers.¹¹¹ In addition, some white-owned establishments in large metropolitan areas and along busy thoroughfares emerged catering exclusively to African Americans.¹¹²

In “Traveling Black / Buying Black: Retail and Roadside Accommodations during the Segregation Era in Race and Retail: Consumption Across the Color Line,” Mia Bay argued that while finding an accommodation was difficult even bigger problems loomed for African American travelers including “getting lost, cars that broke down, traffic accidents and getting pulled over by the police.”¹¹³ While segregated accommodations were just one piece of the puzzle, they were an important one because they represented a temporary safe harbor in a hostile landscape. Across the United States, thousands of towns dubbed “sundown towns” kept out African Americans by force, law or custom.¹¹⁴

Given the scarcity of accommodations open to African Americans, knowing how to locate them was of paramount importance especially for those traveling by car. Multiple directories and guidebooks geared to African Americans were published in the 1930s-1960s: *Hackley and Harrison’s Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* (1930-1931); *Grayson’s Guide*; *Negro Motorist Green Book* (1936-1967); *United States*

¹¹⁰Myra B. Young Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings: American Tourist Spaces through the Lens of Black Pleasure – Travelers 1880-1950,” *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, no. 25, (2005): 139.

¹¹¹ Armstead, “Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings,” 140. Catherine Zipf, e-mail message to author, “Guidelines for “You Will Find it Handy:” African American Travel Guides,” October 4, 2016.

¹¹² “Hotels on the Highway,” *Ebony*, June 1955 quoted in Henry, “Accommodations for Colored,” 9; “Tourist Courts Worth Millions Beckon Negro Tourists,” *Ebony*, May 1955, 93.

¹¹³ Mia Bay, “Traveling Black / Buying Black,” 26.

¹¹⁴ James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: The New Press, 2006).

Travel Bureau: A Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses (1939-1941); *The Go Guide to Pleasant Motoring* (1952-1959); and *Travel Guide* (1947-1963).¹¹⁵

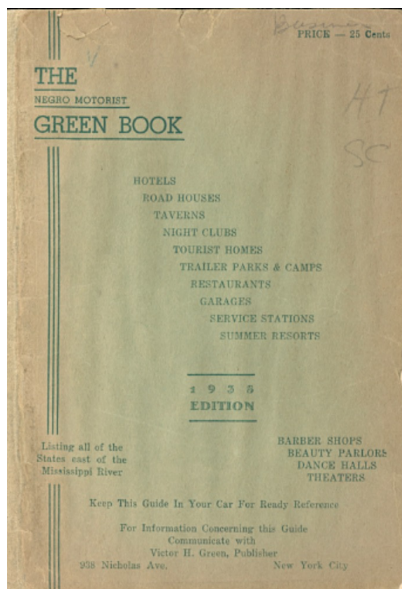


Figure 5.9: *The Negro Motorist Green Book* (1938)

Source: Victor Green, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1938," New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed November 23, 2016. NYPL.org.

The difficulty of securing lodgings while on the road as an African American was a nation-wide problem and not limited to the South as is often believed.¹¹⁶ In fact, the most widely circulated travel guide, Victor H. Green's *The Negro Motorist Green Book* typically referred to as *The Green Book*, was founded by a New Yorker and originally listed "all of the states east of the Mississippi River."¹¹⁷ In addition to lodging information, the guide listed restaurants, beauty parlors, barbers, gas stations and other services a traveler was likely to need. An early non-digital version of what is known

¹¹⁵ Armstead, "Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings," 24; Gregory Smith, "Finest for Negroes: Lodgings in Jim Crow Era," *Texas Journal for Commercial Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 13.

¹¹⁶ *Talk of the Nation*, "Green Book Helped African-Americans Travel Safely."

¹¹⁷ Victor Green, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1938," New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed November 23, 2016, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/f56e0d60-847a-0132-8e19-58d385a7bbd0>.

today as crowdsourcing played a part in putting the guide together; readers were asked to contribute recommendations as well as provide updates to existing listings including requests to delete listings if they were not up to “standards of a first class business place.”¹¹⁸ This practice, along with working in conjunction with the United States Travel Bureau, a division of the National Park Service that published “A Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses,” allowed *The Green Book* to rapidly expand coverage nationwide (1937) and a decade later internationally (1947). However, the listings were not always complete. A property might be listed as a street name without a corresponding street number or at the corner of two named streets.¹¹⁹ *The Green Book* promoted itself as a resource “to give the Negro traveler information that will keep him from running into difficulties, embarrassment and to make his trip more enjoyable.”¹²⁰ *The Green Book* was available for purchase by mail order, through the Negro Urban League, in black churches as well as at Esso gas stations.¹²¹

General awareness of *The Green Book* and the difficulties African Americans faced while traveling during the segregation era has increased in recent years. *The Green Book* featured prominently in multiple creative endeavors by Calvin Alexander Ramsey. He penned a children’s book titled, *Ruth and the Green Book* (2010) that followed an African American family’s road trip in the 1950s from Chicago to Alabama as well as a

¹¹⁸ Ibid; Victor Green, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1947," New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed January 2, 2017, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/29219280-892b-0132-4271-58d385a7bbd0>.

¹¹⁹ Victor Green, "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1949," New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed November 23, 2016, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/29219280-892b-0132-4271-58d385a7bbd0>, 66.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 1.

¹²¹ Zipf, e-mail message to author.

play titled “The Green Book” (2010) set in an African America tourist home in Jefferson City, Missouri the night W.E.B DuBois was scheduled to speak.¹²² Ramsey and Becky Wible Searles are currently working on an interview style documentary titled “The Green Book Chronicles” (2016) detailing what it was like to be an African American traveler and/or business owner.¹²³ *The Green Book* was also featured in an episode of *Soul Food Junkies* on PBS (first aired in January 2013 and still airing in October 2016) where filmmaker Byron Hurt described “how blacks would take along boxed lunches in order to avoid being turned away from restaurants or dining cars.”¹²⁴ The projects garnered media attention that in turn increased general awareness of the subject matter.¹²⁵

The Green Book as a primary source is also gaining in popularity within public history circles. Candacy Taylor, a photographer and cultural historian, is currently working with the National Park Service Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program to

¹²² Calvin Alexander Ramsey, *Ruth and the Green Book* (Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books, 2010); Celia McGee, “The Open Road Wasn’t Quite Open to All,” *The New York Times*, August 22, 2010, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/23/books/23green.html>; *Talk of the Nation*, “Green Book Helped African-Americans Travel Safely.”

¹²³ Ramsey and Searles, “The Green Book Chronicles”; Eve M. Kahn, “The Green Book Legacy, A Beacon for Black Travelers.”

¹²⁴ Mara Goodavage, “Green Book Helped Keep African Americans Safe on the Road,” *Independent Lense Blog*, PBS.com, January 10, 2013, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/blog/green-book-helped-keep-african-americans-safe-on-the-road/#more-2817>.

¹²⁵ Danielle Moodie-Mills, “The Green Book was Travel Guide Just for Black Motorists,” NBC.com, October 11, 2016, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/green-book-was-travel-guide-just-black-motorists-n649081>; McGee, “The Open Road Wasn’t Quite Open to All;” Jacinda Townsend, “How the Green Book Helped African American Tourists Navigate A Segregated Nation,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 2016, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/history-green-book-african-american-travelers-180958506/?no-ist>; Emma Lacey-Bordeaux and Wayne Drash, “Travel Guide Helped African-Americans Navigate Tricky Times,” CNN.com, February 25, 2011, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2011/US/02/24/green.book.black.history/index.html>; *Talk of the Nation*, “Green Book Helped African-Americans Travel Safely.”

document the architecture of *The Green Book* listings.¹²⁶ Taylor described *The Green Book* as an “incredible archive and trove of history and black business and all of these things that even most black people I knew didn’t know about.” Equally if not more importantly, *The Green Book* helps the public engage with history and think about the present in historical terms. Taylor stated, *The Green Book* “teaches us how far we’ve come but also how far we haven’t come.”¹²⁷

Magazines also did their part by acting as clearinghouses of travel information for African Americans. *Ebony* magazine published an annual travel guide geared towards holidaymakers. For example, the “Annual Summer Vacation Guide – Seashore Resorts” listed twenty-eight accommodations in nine states noting their names, activities offered, room rates and how to contact the establishments to make reservations.¹²⁸

Accommodations were clustered for the most part in the popular resort locations of Miami, Florida, Oakbluff on Martha’s Vineyard in Massachusetts, and Atlantic City, New Jersey. According to Mark S. Foster in “In the Face of Jim Crow: Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945,” most black resorts and recreational areas were limited to the Midwest and Atlantic states.¹²⁹ Research shows that California was also a popular resort location.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Kahn, “The Green Book Legacy, A Beacon for Black Travelers;” Dan Brekke, “The Negro Motorist Green Book Window on Yesterday, Lesson for Today,” KQED, August 13, 2016, accessed November 1, 2016, <https://www.kqed.org/news/2016/08/13/the-green-book-project-route-66-candacy-taylor/>.

¹²⁷ Brekke, “The Negro Motorist Green Book Window on Yesterday, Lesson for Today.”

¹²⁸ “Annual Summer Vacation Guide: Seashore Resorts,” *Ebony*, July 1954, 47.

¹²⁹ Mark S. Foster, “In the Face of Jim Crow: Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945,” *The Journal of Negro History* 84, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 140.

¹³⁰ “What to See in the Golden State,” *Ebony*, July 1947, 51. “Where to Go Vacationing,” *Ebony*, July 1947, 49-50.

Knowing where to stay on holiday was of paramount importance because segregation not only existed throughout the county but it was strictly upheld at resorts.

An article in the July 1947 issue of *Ebony* magazine stated,

Summer Resorts maintain the color line perhaps more rigidly than any other American institution. From Palm Springs, California to Palm Beach, Florida, extends a vast stretch of “Caucasian only” and “Restricted Clientele” signs on vacation spots. One recent survey on the Eastern seaboard showed that only one of 100 advertised resorts would welcome a Negro family.¹³¹

Eight years later, *Ebony* magazine reported on the paucity of motels that accepted African Americans travelers. “In 1955, for example, 3,500 white motels would put up dogs, but less than 50 unhesitatingly said they would house Negroes.”¹³² Despite the brevity of the list, African Americans valued knowing those motels that did. In a Letter to the Editor in August 1955, Mrs. Robert Ferguson of Memphis, Tennessee thanked *Ebony* for providing motel recommendations. She and her husband had found only two motels on their trip from California to Tennessee to spend the night “without being insulted” and they “hated to inquire at the various ones we did see because of fear of being insulted.”¹³³ The language of insult and embarrassment is reminiscent of that found in *The Green Book*.¹³⁴

The divisive racial geography extended to the types of lodging options open to African Americans. First, there were fewer commercial establishments available. To circumvent this many African American professionals made rooms available for fellow professionals in their homes free of charge and received reciprocal welcome in others

¹³¹ “Atlantic Coast has Most Negro Summer Resorts,” *Ebony*, July 1947, 47-48.

¹³² “Tourist Courts Worth Millions Beckon Negro Tourists,” *Ebony*, May 1955, 93.

¹³³ “Letter to Editor,” *Ebony*, August 1955, 6.

¹³⁴ Victor Green, “The Negro Travelers' Green Book: Fall 1956,” New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed November 16, 2016. <http://digitalcollections.nysl.org/items/9c454830-83b9-0132-d56a-58d385a7b928>; Green, “The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1938,” “Correspondence with the Editor.”

homes when they traveled.¹³⁵ The same held true for professionals associated with colleges and fraternal orders. Second, the types of establishments varied. Typically, hotels and YMCA/YWCAs could only be found in mid to large-sized cities. A review of *The Green Book* suggests that the most common lodging option was the tourist home, a for-profit venture where travelers stayed for a fee on a short to medium term basis. Tourist homes were located in large hubs and along popular transportation corridors. Third, the return on investment for travelers appears to have been sorely lacking or “tenth-rate” according to one acerbic newspaper editor.¹³⁶ African Americans often paid high prices for inferior rooms and service than those available to whites.¹³⁷ Langston Hughes stated, “There are a great many Negro travelers today – bands like Duke Ellington’s theatrical companies, professional men and women, government representatives – all of them complain bitterly about bad accommodations available to colored travelers in most of our large cities.”¹³⁸ The description of African American accommodations found across America throughout the era of segregation helps to put the Colored Hotel in context.

¹³⁵ Smith, “Finest for Negroes Lodging in Jim Crow Era Texas,” 14; Henry, “Accommodations for Colored,” 7.

¹³⁶ George Schuyler, “Traveling Jim Crow,” *The American Mercury*, August 1930: 423, quoted in Henry’s “Accommodations for Colored,” 7.

¹³⁷ Langston Hughes, “Miracle of the Gotham,” *Ebony*, August 1947, 30; Schuyler, “Traveling Jim Crow.”

¹³⁸ Hughes, “Miracle of the Gotham,” 30.



Figure 5.10: The Colored Hotel in Union City, Tennessee (2014)
Source: Photo by Ginna Foster Cannon, December 16, 2014.

Colored Hotel’s modest appearance – two-story structure of concrete block – and deteriorated condition belied its historical significance. The National Register nomination labeled it a “monument to the history of segregation” and “symbol of an African-American community that actively resisted oppression by finding a way to take part in the growing national trend of automobile travel.”¹³⁹ It was listed as significant under Criterion A for “Ethnic Heritage: Black Social History” with a period of significance circa 1945-1975.¹⁴⁰

During the Jim Crow era, it was the only African American hotel in Union City, a popular stopping point between Memphis and Chicago on U.S. Route 51. Oral history asserted that the Colored Hotel was a regular stop for Ike and Tina Turner, Carla and Rufus Thomas, B.B. King, and John Lee Hooker as a place to stay the night and play at

¹³⁹ National Register of Historic Places, Colored Hotel, 6.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

its dance hall or the one next door.¹⁴¹ With a restaurant and dance hall, the hotel was also an important meeting place within the “sizable and active” African American community in Union City.¹⁴² The building was built circa 1945 with additions made in the 1960s and 1970s. The period of significance ended circa 1975 with the change of ownership and shift in business model from hotel to entertainment.¹⁴³ With the end of segregation, there was less of a need for accommodations catering exclusively to African Americans. Black owned and operated accommodations had to compete with other all other lodging options in a highly competitive market.¹⁴⁴

The case for the importance of preserving African American travel accommodations from the segregation era and an explanation of why more were not left standing was presented in a special issue of the *Journal of Commercial Archaeology* titled “Segregation on the Road” in Fall 2005. (This scholarship has influenced the decision to include the Colored Hotel on Tennessee Preservation Trust’s Ten in Tennessee Endangered Properties List in 2006.¹⁴⁵) Lyell Henry made a strong call to action:

An eminently worthwhile step now would be for state historic preservation offices to identify any other early lodging accommodations ‘for colored’ that may still stand. Students of commercial archeology should then get busy documents these places, as well as some of the vanished ones, from that not-so-long ago era of Jim Crow on the highways.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 6.

¹⁴² Ibid, 4.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 4.

¹⁴⁴ Henry, “Accommodations for Colored,” 9.

¹⁴⁵ “Ten in Tennessee: 2006 Ten in Tenn,” Tennessee Preservation Trust, accessed November 16, 2016, <http://www.tennesseepreservationtrust.org/ten-in-tn/2006-ten-in-tn/?property=the-colored-hotel>.

¹⁴⁶ Henry, “Accommodations for Colored,” 10.

Many urban areas where African American accommodations were located were cleared in “urban renewal projects” and construction of intra-city freeways.¹⁴⁷

Fortunately, the Texas Historical Commission provided Tennessee and other state SHPO offices a viable model to emulate in their work in Dallas, Austin and Amarillo.¹⁴⁸ Texas created a basic inventory of accommodations from listings in African American guidebooks (1930s-1960s) and supplemented it with data gleaned from oral histories, city directories and telephone books, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, newspapers, photographs and postcards.¹⁴⁹ The sources “reveal a complex story of discrimination, exclusion, and a people’s determination to travel freely and strive for economic success in the face of an unjust and inequitable system of segregation.”¹⁵⁰ Gregory Smith concluded,

Despite the small number of extant lodgings discovered thus far, the Texas survey is valuable not only as a means to identify and preserve significant buildings associated with the Jim Crow era in Texas, but as an opportunity to discover properties in historically black neighborhood that have not been extensively surveyed until now. While looking for hotels, motels, and rooming houses, the survey has turned up churches, school, fraternal halls, restaurants, theaters and commercial buildings that also merit study and preservation. Related surveys should also include the identification of building whose design reflect the “separate but equal” philosophy of Jim Crow, such as theaters, railroad stations, and public buildings with secondary entrances and spaces intended to keep the races apart.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 9. Smith, “Finest for Negroes,” 16.

¹⁴⁸ Smith, “Finest for Negroes,” 13.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 13-14.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 13.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 18-19.

From Smith's description, it is clear that the Texas Historical Commission's goal was to both preserve historic sites and expand scholarship on African American culture thereby expanding the view of what constitutes Texas's rich history and heritage.

In Fall 2016, I conducted fieldwork to determine how many African American lodgings were extant in Tennessee from *The Green Book* (1949). While not a perfect proxy because it was a single year and a single resource, it suggests that as a property type they are far from plentiful either then or now. Only two structures of twenty-seven listed remained extant and both were occupied: 439 East State Street in Murfreesboro and 500 Poston Street in Clarksville. It is likely that three other structures may be extant but additional research needs to be conducted using city directories, deed searches, other travel guides and oral histories. The uncertainty comes from the lack of specificity in the individual listings – the tourist home in Lexington was listed as “Holly Street,” a tourist home in Murfreesboro as being located at “University & State St.,” and a hotel in Nashville as “White Creek's Pike.” The dearth of extant African American accommodations in Chattanooga and Knoxville from the 1949 issue is reflective of urban renewal projects that cleared traditionally African American neighborhoods and built interstates through them.

Table 5.1: Tennessee Accommodations (1949)

Tennessee Accommodations in <i>The Green Book</i> (1949)		
Location	Type of Accommodation as Categorized by <i>The Green Book</i>	Extant in 2016
Bristol		
A.D. Henderson – 301 McDowell	Tourist Home	No
Chattanooga		
YMCA – 793 E. 9 th St.	Hotel	No
Lincoln – 1101 Carter St.	Hotel	No
Martin – 204 E. 9 th St.	Hotel	No
Peoples – 1104 Carter St.	Hotel	No
Mrs. J. Baker – 843 E. 8 th St.	Tourist Home	No
Mrs. E. Brown – 1129 E. 8 th St.	Tourist Home	No
Y.W.C.A. – 839 E. 8 th St.	Tourist Home	No
J. Carter – 1022 E. 8 th St.	Tourist Home	No
Clarksville		
Mrs. H. Northington – 717 Main St.	Tourist Home	No
Mrs. Kate Steward – 500 Poston St.	Tourist Home	Yes
Knoxville		
Y.W.C.A – 329 Temperance St.	Hotel	No
Hartford – 219 E. Vine St.	Hotel	No
Rollins – 302 E. Vine St.	Tourist Home	No
Anderson’s – 501 E. Church St.	Tourist Home	No
Lexington		
C. Timberlake – Holly St.	Tourist Home	Maybe
Memphis		
Travelers – 347 Vance	Hotel	No
Mitchells – 160 Hernando St.	Hotel	No
Marquette – 507 Linden	Hotel	No
Murfreesboro		
Mrs. M.E. Howland – 439 E. State	Tourist Home	Yes
R. Moore – University & State St.	Tourist Home	Maybe
Nashville		
Carver – 1122 Charlotte Ave.	Hotel	No
Y.M.C.A – 4 th & Charlotte Ave.	Hotel	No
Carver Courts – White’s Creek Pike	Hotel	Maybe
Y.W. CA / Y.M.C.A– 436 5 th Ave. N.	Hotel	No
Bryant – 500 8 th Ave. S.	Hotel	No
Brown’s – 1610 Jefferson St., North	Hotel	No

Source: *The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1949*, 66-67.

The Green Book was the focus of a poster session at the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians Conference in September 2016. Titled “You Will Find It Handy”: African-American Automobile Travel Guides, 1935-1963” the posters covered Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Rhode Island and Virginia.”¹⁵² As part of an effort to create posters for every state in the country spearheaded by architectural historian Catherine W. Zipf, a research team made up of Kelli Gibson, Robbie Jones, Susan Knowles, Tiffany Momon, Gavin Townsend and myself developed a poster for Tennessee. My contribution to the poster focused on the extant tourist home in Murfreesboro as detailed below:

The Green Book as a primary source is as interesting for what it tells us as for the questions it raises. Deed research indicates that on November 25, 1938, Elbert Howland and his wife, Minnie Ester Howland, paid \$950 in cash to Bruce H. Elrod and his wife Mabel Elrod for the lot “fronting 54 feet of East State Street and running back between parallel lines 160 feet more or less” in Murfreesboro.¹⁵³ Yet *The Green Book* lists Mrs. F. Hoover at this address from 1939-1941. Was Mrs. F. Hoover a family member, an original resident of the home, or a renter? Did the Howlands originally buy the property as an investment? We do not have the answers. What we do know is that Mrs. M.E. Howland’s name is associated with this two-story, single-family home in the 1947 through 1960 editions of *The Green Book*.¹⁵⁴ Her first and middle names are known to us only through the 1938 deed.

The Sanborn Map for 1931-1945 shows that this “boarding house” was well positioned for travelers, as there were two “filling stations” within

¹⁵² Susan C. Allen et al., “Poster Q&A “You Will Find it Handy: African-American Auto Travel Guides, 1935-1963,” Southeast Chapter of the Society for Architectural Historians September 29-October 1, 2016, accessed November 1, 2016, <http://sesah.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/SESAH2016ProgramPreview.pdf>.

¹⁵³ Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, Tennessee, Deeds, Book 528: page 246, Bruce H. Elrod and Mabel Elrod to Elbery Howland and Minnie Ester Howland, deed, November 25, 1938; Rutherford County Register of Deeds.

¹⁵⁴ Green, “The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1947,” 74; Victor Green, “The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1960,” New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed January 2, 2017, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a7bf74e0-9427-0132-17bf-58d385a7b928>, 103.

close proximity on South Maney St.¹⁵⁵ It was one of two options for African American lodgings in Murfreesboro during this time. Murfreesboro City Directories listed Elbert (1908-1976) as a “diner waiter” for the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railroad (later the L&N).¹⁵⁶ Minnie Howland (1909-2004), a widow, sold the parcel to Willie Chaney and Jimmy Chaney for \$9,500 in cash on June 1, 1977.¹⁵⁷



Figure 5.11: 439 East State Street, Murfreesboro, Tennessee
Source: Photo by Ginna Foster Cannon, August 25, 2016.

The poster and the research that supported it is an important step in heightening awareness of Tennessee’s cultural resources – extant and demolished – related to African American travel during the segregation era. Hopefully, shedding light on the paucity of lodging options that remain will spur activity towards documenting and preserving them.

¹⁵⁵ Digital Sanborn Fire Map, Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, Tennessee, January 1931-July 1945, sheet 20.

¹⁵⁶ Murfreesboro City Directory, News Journal & Rutherford Courier, Murfreesboro, 1908. Murfreesboro City Directory, News Journal & Rutherford Courier, Murfreesboro, 1976. CHECK

¹⁵⁷ Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, Tennessee, Deeds, Book 256: page 534, Minnie Howland to Willie Chaney and Jimmy Chaney, deed, June 20, 1977; Rutherford County Register of Deeds.

As the Colored Hotel in Union City clearly shows these resources are perishable and once they are wiped from the landscape our cultural heritage landscape is poorer for it.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation explored how and why historic hotels are key cultural heritage tourism assets that have the potential to drive tourism and economic development in Tennessee. Historic hotels are significant because they are not only “material landscape artifacts” and “community symbols” but also beloved places to those who experience them.¹ The emotional response to the hotels can be attributed in part to a feeling that “This Place Matters.”² Improving how history is done at historic hotels adds to their sense of place and authenticity.

A handful of the state’s historic hotels already garner national attention.³ According to a July 2017 Readers’ Poll by *USA Today*, Tennessee boasts two of the top ten historic hotels in the United States (the Peabody at #3 and the Hermitage at #4) and all ten hotels listed are members of Historic Hotels of America.⁴ The public’s interest in historic hotels appears to be on the rise across the South. In “Old-Fashioned Hospitality: Across the South, historic hotels are regaining their former grandeur,” Jennifer C. Cole reported, “Thoughtful hoteliers are turning their attention to reviving the region’s century-old grande dames and midcentury marvels, transforming onetime bellwethers of

¹ Raitz and Jones, “The City Hotel as Landscape Artifact and Community Symbol.”

² “This Place Matters,” National Trust for Historic Preservation.

³ Joshua Duvauchelle, “Historic Hotels in Downtown Memphis,” *USA Today*, accessed September 17, 2017, <http://traveltips.usatoday.com/historic-hotels-downtown-memphis-2954.html>; USA Today 10Best, “2017 10Best Readers’ Awards,” *USA Today*, July 2017; Jennifer V. Cole, “Old-Fashioned Hospitality: Across the South, historic hotels are regaining their former grandeur,” *Garden & Gun*, April/May 2017, accessed August 5, 2017, <http://gardenandgun.com/articles/old-fashioned-hospitality/>; Katia Hetter, “Best U.S. Historic Hotels for 2015,” CNN, October 9, 2015, accessed September 17, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/travel/article/historic-hotels-america-2015-awards/index.html>.

⁴ USA Today 10Best, “2017 10Best Readers’ Awards.”

luxury into some of the most transporting stays in the county.”⁵ The increased interest in historic hotels bodes well for the preservation of historic properties both purpose-built hotels and those that have adaptive-reuse potential.

But as Martin warns in *Tourism in the Mountain South: A Double- Edged Sword* over reliance on tourism can bring its own set of problems.⁶ Tourism increases the local revenue base, but it also can increase the cost of living, cause traffic problems and increase infrastructure costs for the host community.⁷ With its recent status of “It” city, Nashville has experienced many of these factors as more tourists visit and more people decide to move here.⁸ As Nashville and the state as a whole continues to invest in tourism it is important to invest in its cultural heritage assets to preserve the history of the state and its people through stories, buildings and landscapes.⁹

Public historians have a vital role to play in helping Tennessee preserve and interpret its legacy. The strong partnership model with cultural heritage tourism professionals and hospitality industry professionals provides public historians the subject

⁵ Cole, “Old-Fashioned Hospitality: Across the South, historic hotels are regaining their former grandeur,” *Garden & Gun*.

⁶ Ibid., 137-138.

⁷ Ibid., 138.

⁸ Courtney Seiter, “Nashville: ‘It’ City,” *Tennessean*, October 8, 2014, accessed August 7, 2017, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/local/davidson/2014/10/09/nashville-city/16929585/>; “Nashville is the new ‘It’ City, says New York Times,” WSMV, updated January 23, 2013, accessed August 7, 2017 <http://www.wsmv.com/story/20547410/nashville-is-the-new-it-city-says-new-york-times>; WKRN Web Staff, “New Study Ranks Nashville’s Traffic among Worst 25 in Country,” WKRN, February 20, 2017, accessed August 7, 2017, <http://wkcrn.com/2017/02/20/new-traffic-study-ranks-nashvilles-traffic-among-worst-25-in-country/>; Cherish Lombard, “Cost of Living in Nashville growing faster than any other city,” WKRN, July 25, 2017, accessed August 7, 2017, <http://wkcrn.com/2017/07/24/cost-of-living-in-nashville-growing-faster-than-any-other-city/>.

⁹ Chris Miller, “As Nashville Grows, some wonder if city is losing identity,” WRCB, February 28, 2017, accessed August 7, 2017, <http://www.wrcbtv.com/story/34504008/as-nashville-grows-some-wonder-if-city-is-losing-identity>.

matter, financial means and platform to inform and engage the public in new and exciting ways.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Ancestry.com. "Tennessee, Deaths and Burials Index, 1874-1955." Accessed July 19, 2017. [Ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com).

Armour's Hotel. "Welcome to Armour's Hotel." Accessed June 6, 2017. <http://armourshotel.com>.

BedandBreakfast.com. "Historic Northeast Bed and Breakfasts." BedandBreakfast.com. Accessed June 6, 2017. <https://www.bedandbreakfast.com/historic-northeast-tennessee.html?cid=15550&cod=15551&nor=0&nog=2&dst=74967>.

Bijou Theater. "History." Bijou Theater. Accessed March 1, 2015. <http://knoxbijou.com/history/>.

---. "Plan Your Visit: FAQs." Bijou Theater. Accessed June 16, 2015. <https://knoxbijou.com/plan-your-visit/faqs/>.

The Blackstone Hotel. "About: An Iconic Hotel: Discover the Blackstone." The Blackstone Hotel. Accessed August 2, 2017. <http://www.theblackstonehotel.com/#-section>.

The Breakers. "About The Breakers," The Breakers Palm Beach. Accessed August 2, 2017. <https://www.thebreakers.com/about-breakers/>.

Beaver Dam. "Beaver Dam." Advertisement. *Memphis Daily Appeal*. August 6, 1858.

Casey Jones Home & Railroad Museum. "Home." Casey Jones Home & Railroad Museum. Accessed June 25, 2015. <http://caseyjones.com>.

Chattanooga Choo Choo. "Chattanooga Choo Choo More than a Hotel." Chattanooga Choo Choo More than a Hotel. Accessed May 3, 2017. <http://choochoo.com>.

---. "Our History." Accessed May 3, 2017. <http://choochoo.com/our-history>.

Chattanooga Ghost Tours. "Chattanooga Ghost Tours." Chattanooga Ghost Tours. Accessed June 16, 2015. <https://chattanoogaghosttours.com>.

The Chittenden. "The Chittenden." Advertisement. *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 347 (February 1922): 106.

The Claridge House. "About Us." The Claridge House. Accessed March 1, 2015. http://www.claridgehousehoa.com/sub_category_list.asp?category=8&title=About+Us.

Clement Railroad Hotel Museum. "History of Hotel Halbrook." Panel.

---. "Home." Clement Railroad Hotel Museum. Accessed June 25, 2015. <http://www.clementrailroadmuseum.org>.

---. "The Railroad in Dickson." Interpretive panel.

Colored Hotel Heritage Foundation. "Home Page." Colored Hotel Heritage Foundation. Accessed December 6, 2016. <http://coloredhoteltn.blogspot.com/>.

Cookeville Depot Museum. "Home." Cookeville Depot Museum. Accessed June 25, 2015. <http://cookevilledepot.com>.

Cowan Railroad Museum. "Home." Cowan Railroad Museum. Accessed June 25, 2015. <http://cowanrailroadmuseum.org/index.html>.

Discovery Park of America. "Home Page." Discovery Park of America. Accessed December 12, 2016. <http://www.discoveryparkofamerica.com/>.

The Dwell Hotel. "The Dwell Hotel." The Dwell Hotel. Accessed June 6, 2017. <http://www.thedwellhotel.com>.

Ebony. "Atlantic Coast has Most Negro Summer Resorts." *Ebony* (July 1947).

---. "Letter to the Editor," *Ebony* (August 1955).

---. "Tourist Courts Worth Millions Beckon Negro Tourists." *Ebony* (May 1955).

---. "What to See in the Golden State." *Ebony* (July 1947).

---. "Where to Go Vacationing." *Ebony* (July 1947).

Fairmont Hotels and Resorts. "Stewardship of Iconic and Historic Buildings: Luxury Insights Report." <http://www.fairmont.com/pdf/stewardship-of-iconic-historic-buildings/>.

---. "Welcome to Fairmont Hotels and Resorts." Fairmont Hotels and Resorts. <http://www.fairmont.com/about-us/>.

The Farragut Hotel. "Share Your Memories of the Farragut Hotel." The Farragut Hotel. Accessed May 3, 2017. <http://www.thefarraguthotel.com>.

Find the Company. "Colored Hotel Heritage Foundation." Find the Company. Accessed December 6, 2016. <http://nonprofits.findthecompany.com/l/1465228/Colored-Hotel-Heritage-Foundation>.

Forbes Travel Guide. "About Forbes Travel Guide." Accessed May 30, 2017. <http://www.forbestravelguide.com/about/forbes-travel-guide/>.

---. "Forbes Travel Guide 2017 Star Award Winners." Accessed May 30, 2017. <http://www.forbestravelguide.com/about/awardwinners>.

"Francis Craig Collection." Finding Aid at Jean and Alexander Heard Library. Vanderbilt University.

"Francis Craig Papers, 1920-2003." Finding Aid at the Special Collections Division. Nashville Public Library.

General Morgan Inn and Conference Center. "Weddings and Receptions." General Morgan Inn and Conference Center. Accessed June 6, 2017. <http://www.generalmorganinn.com/weddings-and-receptions/>.

Ghost Hunt Weekends. "Ghost Hunt Weekends at the Thomas House Hotel." Ghost Hunt Weekends. Accessed June 16, 2015. http://www.ghosthuntweekends.com/ghw/thomas-house_main.html.

Gibson, B.R. "The Designing and Planning of the Hotel: The Architect should have an insight into the hotel's operator's problems to make the perfect hotel – work together to reduce operating costs – bad engineering practices." *Hotel World* (September 2, 1922): 16.

Granitz, Leopold. "The Productive Bill of Fare." *Hotel World*, August 5, 1922, 24.

Graphiq. "Heritage Foundation." Graphiq. Accessed December 6, 2016. <http://nonprofits.findthecompany.com/l/1465228/Colored-Hotel-Heritage-Foundation>

Victor Green. "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1938." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed November 23, 2016. <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/f56e0d60-847a-0132-8e19-58d385a7bbd0>.

---. "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1947." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed January 2, 2017. <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/29219280-892b-0132-4271-58d385a7bbd0>.

---. "The Negro Motorist Green Book: 1949." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed November 23, 2016. <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/9dc3ff40-8df4-0132-fd57-58d385a7b928>.

---. "The Negro Motorist Green Book Collection." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed November 23, 2016.
<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/f56e0d60-847a-0132-8e19-58d385a7bbd0>.

---. "The Negro Travelers' Green Book: Fall 1956." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed November 16, 2016.
<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/9c454830-83b9-0132-d56a-58d385a7b928>.

---. "The Negro Travelers' Green Book: 1960" New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed January 2, 2017.
<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/a7bf74e0-9427-0132-17bf-58d385a7b928>.

Hermitage Hotel. "The Hermitage Hotel." Accessed May 30, 2017.
<https://www.thehermitagehotel.com/>.

---. "Hermitage Hotel." Advertisement. New York: American Hotel Association Directory, 1920.

---. "The Hotel." The Hermitage Hotel. Accessed August 2, 2017.
<https://www.thehermitagehotel.com/the-hotel.htm>.

---. "Hotel Highlights." Hermitage Hotel's Media Kit. Accessed March 1, 2015.
http://www.thehermitagehotel.com/press_room/media-kit-downloads/11-02-02/Hotel_Highlights.aspx.

Hi-Lites 1, no. 5 (March 11, 1928).

Hi-Lites 2, no. 92 (November 3, 1929).

Hi-Lites 2, no. 95 (December 1, 1929).

Historic Eureka Inn. "About." Historic Eureka Inn. Accessed May 3, 2017.
<http://www.eurekajonesborough.com/about>.

Historic Hotels of America. "2017 Fact Sheet." Historic Hotels of America.
http://phgcdn.com/pdfs/uploads/Historic_Hotels_of_America_Fact_Sheet_2017.pdf.

---. "About Historic Hotels of America." Historic Hotels of America. Accessed July 1, 2017. <http://www.historichotels.org/about-historic-hotels/>.

---. "American Dreams." Historic Hotels of America. Accessed June 23, 2017.
<http://americandreams.historichotels.org/index>.

- . "CBRE: U.S. Lodging Outlook to Remain Strong." Historic Hotels of America. <http://www.historichotels.org/press/cbre-issues-us-lodging-forecast-at-historic-hotels-of-america-annual-conference>.
 - . "Historic Hotels of America Celebrates 25 Years." YouTube video, 3:34. Posted October, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kKoXojJAjy8>.
 - . "Our Mission, Our Benefits." Historic Hotels of America. 2008. <http://www.historichotels.org/docs/OurMissionOurBenefits.pdf>.
 - . "The Peabody Memphis." Historic Hotels of America. Accessed July 28, 2017. <http://www.historichotels.org/hotels-resorts/the-peabody-emphis/history.php>.
 - . "Search Results." Historic Hotels of America. Accessed May 15, 2017. <http://www.historichotels.org/hotels-resorts/results.php?search=rezconsole&advanced=tennessee&mon=198154-A1>.
 - . "Why Book on HistoricHotels.org." Historic Hotels of America. <http://www.historichotels.org/why-book-on-historichotels.php>.
- Historic Hotels Worldwide. "About Us." Historic Hotels of America. <http://www.historichotelsworldwide.com/about-historic-hotels-worldwide.php>.
- Historic Lebanon, TN. "Success Starts on the Square." Historic Lebanon Revitalization Initiative Master Plan. Accessed June 6, 2017. <http://historiclebanontn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/MASTER-PLAN-ORIGINAL-Historic-Lebanon-Success-Starts-on-the-Square-Master-Plan-2007.pdf>
- Hotel Chisca. "Hotel Chisca." Advertisement. New York: American Hotel Association Directory, 1920.
- Hotel del Coronado. *Hotel Del Coronado History*. Coronado, CA: Hotel del Coronado Heritage Department, 2013.
- . "Del History: America's Beachfront Legend." Hotel Del Coronado. Accessed August 2, 2017. <https://hoteldel.com/about/history/>.
- Hotel Monthly. "Anxieties." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June 1918): 38.
- . "Arkansas Hotel Keepers Meet and Discuss Problem." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 298 (January 1918): 56.
 - . "Baltimore, Maryland." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June 1918): 58.
 - . "Beckel House, Dayton, Ohio." *Hotel Monthly* 27, no. 303 (June 1918): 66.

- . "Capturing Conventions." *Hotel World* 81 (July 31, 1915): 5.
- . "Chattanooga, Tennessee." *Hotel Monthly* (March 1909): 50.
- . "Coin in Slot for Toilets?" *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 308 (November 1918): 38.
- . "Colored Bell Girls Improved the Service." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 305 (August 1918): 74.
- . "The Commodore of New York." *Hotel Monthly* 29, no. 334 (January 1921): 29.
- . "The Convention Manager's Job." *Hotel Monthly* 101 (1 August 1923): 5.
- . "Demand for High and Low Priced Accommodations." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 306 (September 1918): 38.
- . "Elsworth M. Statler, President." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 299 (February 1918): 68.
- . "Equipment and Furnishings of Modern Hotel," *Hotel Monthly* 94, no 7 (February 1922): 7, 9.
- . "Feeding the Nooners." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 300 (March 1918): 80-81.
- . "Fires." *Hotel World* (September 2, 1922): 57.
- . "Fires." *Hotel World* (October 7, 1922): 46.
- . "Girlirizing the Hotel Business." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June 1918): 71.
- . "The Grace Dodge Hotel of Washington, D.C." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 357 (December 1922): 21.
- . "Hotel Chisca." Advertisement. *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 107.
- . "The Hotel Coffee Room: How to Make it Pay." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 306 (September 1918): 59.
- . "Hotel Gayoso." Advertisement. *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 107.
- . "Hotel Hayes and Annex." Advertisement. *Hotel Monthly* 30, no 347, (February 1922): 101.
- . "Hotel Hermitage of Nashville, Tennessee." *Hotel Monthly* 20 (June 1912): 63.
- . "Hotel Julien-Dubuque of Dubuque, Iowa." *Hotel Monthly* 24 (February 1918).

- . "The Hotel Winton of Cleveland, Ohio." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 302, (May 1918): 56.
- . "Hotel Utah." Advertisement. *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 351 (June 1922): 113.
- . "The Hotels of Memphis, Tennessee." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 349 (April 1922): 55.
- . "Hotels Statler." Advertisement. *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 351 (May 1922): 115.
- . "How to Solve the Waiter Problem." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 304 (July 1918).
- . "Interesting Journeys to Country Hotels: A Visit to Hotel Courtland in Kokomo, Ind. Where the Management is Catering Successfully, European Plan, to Commercial and Automobile Trade." *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 274 (January 1916): 70-74.
- . "Indiana's Resort Hotel." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 352 (July 1922): 60.
- . "The Kemp Hotel of Wichita Falls, Texas." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 350 (May 1922): 38.
- . "Lycoming Hotel Williamsport, PA." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 356 (November 1922): 57.
- . "The Most Famous of the Marshal Foch Feasts." *Hotel Monthly* 29, no. 345 (December 1921): 43.
- . "The New Fireproof Hotel Lincoln, Indianapolis, Indiana." *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 305 (August 1918): 54.
- . "The New Haddon Hall and Boardwalk Pavilion, Atlantic City." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 347 (February 1922): 60.
- . "The New Ocean House of Swanpscott, Mass." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 354 (September 1922): 24.
- . "The New Read House of Chattanooga, Tenn." *Hotel Monthly* 35 (August 1926): 36.
- . "A Nursery for Younger Guests." *Hotel Monthly* 1, no. 1 (February 1922): 42.
- . "The Sinton Hotel's Super Lunch Counter." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 350 (May 1922): 46-49.
- . "The Solicitation and Handling of Conventions by Hotels." *Hotel Monthly* 35 (January 1927): 406.
- . "The Southern Hotel of Baltimore, Maryland." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 303 (June

1918): 53.

- . "The Stacy-Trent of Trenton, New Jersey." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 30.
- . "Statler Hotels System Growing Fast." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 351 (June 1922): 50.
- . "Statler's Service Codes." *Hotel Monthly* 23, no. 266 (May 1915): 30-32.
- . "A Stop-Over in Buffalo." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 353 (August 1922): 33.
- . "The Story of a Woman Room Clerk." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 24.
- . "The Texas of Fort Worth." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 348 (March 1922): 33-35.
- . "Up-to-Date Lunch Room in Havlin Hotel, Cincinnati." *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 274 (January 1916): 84-86.
- . "Waiters' Strike Ill Advised." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 309 (December 1918): 42.
- . "The Waiting Business for Colored." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 301 (April 1918): 70.
- . "Walter Baker visits Hotel Where First Employed." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 62.
- . "The Warwick, Newest of St. Louis Hotels." *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 274 (January 1916): 42.
- . "Westbrook, Fort Worth." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 349 (April 1922): 45.
- . "The William Penn Hotel Pittsburgh." *Hotel Monthly* 24, no. 281 (August 1916): 52.
- . "The Windermere." Advertisement. *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 347, (February 1922): 99.
- . "Why Hotels Should be except from Certain Labor Legislation." *Hotel Monthly* (March 1916): 35.
- . "The Woman as Chief Porter in Hotels." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 306 (September 1918): 69.
- . "Women Executives for Hotel Catering Department." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 346 (January 1922): 62.
- . "Women's Floor in the Hotel McAlpin." *Hotel Monthly* 29 (December 1921): 245.
- . "The Word Hotel, Its Uses and Abuse." *Hotel Monthly* 30, no. 348 (March 22): 25.

---. "YMCA Bell Girls Improved the Service." *Hotel Monthly* 26, no. 305 (August 1918): 74.

Hotel World. "A Man Who Takes Pride in Serving." *Hotel World: The Hotel and Travelers Journal* 93, no. 1 (July 2, 1921): 43.

---. "The Engineering Department of the Large Hotel: its relation to the comfort and convenience of the Guests – its care and maintenance – special appliances and devices that aid in perfect operation." *Hotel World* (September 2, 1922): 12.

---. "Hotel Urges less Waste." *Hotel World* (July 1, 1922): 44.

---. "Palace Hotel, San Francisco." *Hotel World* (April 1, 1922): 14.

---. "Properties managed by J.B. Pound. Advertisement." *Hotel World* (August 26, 1922): 26.

---. "Uniform Cost Accounting Bound to Come." *Hotel World* (October 7, 1922): 43.

---. "Unusual Possibilities in Research Bureau." *Hotel World* (September 2, 1922): 22.

---. "What the American Hotel Association is Trying to Do to Educate the Hotel Fraternity." *Hotel World* (September 30, 1922): 47.

Hughes, Langston. "Miracle of the Gotham." *Ebony*, August 1947, 30.

Institute for Dark Tourism. "Home page." Institute for Dark Tourism. Accessed June 15, 2015. <http://dark-tourism.org.uk>.

Jefferson Hotel. "The Jefferson." Jefferson Hotel. Accessed July 8, 2017. <http://www.jeffersonhotel.com>.

Johnson, Robert. "Claridge Balinese Room to be Dark this Winter." *Commercial Appeal*. September 7, 1954.

Kelly, Fred C. "How Women Help Hotels," *Hotel Management* 1, no. 2 (March 1922).

Knox Heritage. "Andrew Jackson Hotel." Knox Heritage. Accessed June 8, 2015. <http://knoxheritage.org/our-work/neighborhood-tours/historic-downtown-knoxville-walking-tour/andrew-johnson-hotel-2/>.

Knoxville Walking Tours. "Shadow Side Ghost Tour." Knoxville Walking Tours. Accessed June 16, 2015. <http://knoxvillewalkingtours.com/ghost-html/>.

Madison Hotel Memphis. "Madison Hotel." Madison Hotel Memphis. Accessed June 6, 2017. <http://www.madisonhotelmemophis.com>.

- Marriott. "Courtyard Nashville Downtown." Marriott. Accessed May 30, 2017.
<http://www.marriott.com/hotels/travel/bnadt-courtyard-nashville-downtown/>.
- . "Residence Inn Memphis Downtown." Marriott. Accessed May 30, 2017.
<http://www.marriott.com/hotels/travel/memri-residence-inn-memphis-downtown/>
- Miles, W. W. "Fatherland Baptist Church, Tennessee," Baptist History Homepage.
 Accessed June 8, 2015.
<http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/tn.fatherland.b.c.history.html>.
- Nashville Ghost Tours. "Haunted Downtown Nashville Tour." Nashville Ghost Tours.
 Accessed June 16, 2015. <http://www.nashvilleghosttours.com/haunted-downtown-nashville-tours.html>.
- . "Nashville Hearse Tours." Nashville Ghost Tours. Accessed June 16, 2015.
<http://www.nashvilleghosttours.com/nashville-hearse-tours.html>.
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. "About TBR." National Academies of Sciences. Accessed November 14, 2016.
<http://www.trb.org/AboutTRB/AboutTRB.aspx>.
- O'Rourke, Helen. "The Social Hostess." *Hotel Monthly* 20, no. 347 (February 1922): 60-61.
- The Peabody. *The Peabody: A history of the South's Grand Hotel*. Memphis: Peabody Hotel, 2007.
- Peabody Memphis. "Floorplans." Peabody Memphis. Accessed December 14, 2016.
<http://phgcdn.com/pdfs/uploads/peabody-meetings-floor-plan.pdf>.
- . "History of the Peabody Memphis." Peabody Memphis. Accessed June 10, 2015.
<http://www.peabodymemphis.com/history/>.
- . "History of the Peabody Memphis." Peabody Memphis. Accessed July 28, 2017.
<http://www.peabodymemphis.com/about-en.html>.
- . "Memphis Wedding Venue." Peabody Memphis. Accessed June 6, 2017.
<http://www.peabodymemphis.com/weddings-en.html>.
- . "Peabody Memphis." Peabody Memphis. Accessed May 30, 2017.
<http://www.peabodymemphis.com>.
- . "Rooms & Suites." Peabody Memphis. Accessed December 11, 2016.
<http://www.peabodymemphis.com/rooms-en.html>.

Public Ledger. "Bon Aqua Springs." Advertisement. *Public Ledger*, June 16, 1874.

Post, Emily. *By Motor to the Golden Gate*. New York: A. Appleton and Company, 1916.

The Read House Hotel Historic Inn and Suites. "Meetings & Events." The Read House Hotel Historic Inn and Suites. Accessed June 6, 2017. <http://www.thereadhousehotel.com/meetings/>.

---. "The Read House Historic Inn & Suites." The Read House Historic Inn & Suites. Accessed May 30, 2017. <http://www.thereadhousehotel.com>.

Sanborn. Digital Sanborn Fire Map. Murfreesboro, Rutherford County, Tennessee. January 1931-July 1945, sheet 20.

Sweeney, George W. "What Does the Hotel Business Offer?" *Hotel Management* 1, no. 5 (June 1922): 200.

The Thomas House Hotel. "The Thomas House Hotel." The Thomas House Hotel. Accessed May 3, 2017. <http://Thomashousehotel.com>.

Thompson, Robert C. "Am I Going to See a Ghost Tonight? Gettysburg Ghost Tours and the Performance of Belief." *The Journal of American Culture* 33, no. 2 (June 2010): 79-91.

United States Census Bureau. "Quick Facts Greeneville Town, TN." Accessed May 16, 2017. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/4730980,47059/accessible>.

---. "Quick Facts Memphis City, TN." Accessed December 11, 2016. <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/4748000>.

---. "Quick Facts Perry County, Tennessee." Accessed May 31, 2017. <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/perrycountytennessee,TN/PST045216>.

---. "Quick Facts Union City, TN." Accessed December 11, 2016. <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/4775940,4748000>.

Union Station Hotel Nashville. "Accommodations." Union Station Hotel Nashville. Accessed May 30, 2017. <http://www.unionstationhotelnashville.com/nashville-accommodations/>.

---. "Transformation." Accessed May 3, 2017. <http://www.unionstationhotelnashville.com/transformation/>.

Walton Hotel. "The Walton Hotel." Walton Hotel. Accessed June 6, 2017.
<http://www.waltonhoteltn.com>.

Williams, Jesse Lynch. "A Great Hotel." *Scribner's Magazine*. February, 1897.

Zillow. "439 E State Street, Murfreesboro, TN." Zillow. Accessed November 14, 2016.
http://www.zillow.com/homes/439-E-State-ST-Murfreesboro-TN-37130_rb/.

Secondary Sources:

AAA. "Diamond Rating Definitions." Accessed May 30, 2017.
<http://newsroom.aaa.com/diamond-ratings/diamond-rating-definitions/>.

---. "Travel Guides, Search Hotels: Nashville, TN." Accessed May 30, 2017.
<https://www.aaa.com/travelguides/hotels/Nashville-TN>.

Allen, Susan C., Anne E. Bruder, Susan Hellman, Rachel Jacobson, Jason Norris, Alicia Ebbitt McGill, Kathryn Shinabeck, Catherine W. Zipf. "Poster Q&A "You Will Find it Handy: African-American Auto Travel Guides, 1935-1963." Southeast Chapter of the Society for Architectural Historians. September 29-October 1, 2016. Accessed November 1, 2016. <http://sesah.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/SESAH2016ProgramPreview.pdf>.

Amtrak. "Interactive Route Atlas." Accessed June 29, 2015.
<http://www.amtrak.com/interactive-route-atlas>.

Anderson, Richard. "Public history, academic history, and the 'job crisis.'" National Council on Public History. April 2, 2012. Accessed July 12, 2017.
<http://ncph.org/history-at-work/public-history-academic-history-and-the-job-crisis/>.

Appalachian Ghost Walks. "Appalachian Ghost Walks." Appalachian Ghost Walks. Accessed June 16, 2015. <http://appalachianghostwalks.com>.

---. "Ghost and History Tour Description." Accessed June 16, 2015.
<http://www.appalachianghostwalks.com/tennessee-ghost-walks/east-tn-ghost-tours.html>.

Armstead, Myra B. Young. "Revisiting Hotels and Other Lodgings: American Tourist Spaces through the Lens of Black Pleasure – Travelers 1880-1950." *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, no. 25, (2005): 139.

Arning, David R. "Preserving a Room at America's Grand Hotels: A Developmental History and Preservation Resource for Historic Hotels." Master's Thesis, University of Georgia, 2004.

- Aron, Cindy S. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Bailey, Fred A. "The Southern Historical Association and the Quest for Racial Justice, 1954-1963." *The Journal of Southern History* LXXI, no. 4 (November 2005): 841.
- Banner, James M. "A New Era for the Discipline of History." *Perspectives on History*. April 2005. Accessed July 12, 2017. <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectivesonhistory/april-2005/a-new-era-for-the-discipline-of-history>.
- Bay, Mia. "Traveling Black / Buying Black: Retail and Roadside Accommodations during the Segregation Era." In *Race and Retail: Consumption Across the Color Line*, edited by Mia Bay and Ann Fabian (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 26.
- Belasco, Warren James. *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979.
- Berger, Molly W. *Hotel Dreams: Luxury, Technology, and Urban Ambition in America, 1829-1929*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- . "The Rich Man's City: Hotels and Mansions of Gilded Age New York." *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts "The American Hotel Issue"* 25 (2005): 136-159.
- Biddle-Douglass, Teresa. "Fraternal and Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Company." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. Last modified January 1, 2010. Accessed July 28, 2017. <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=510>.
- Biehler, Barbara. "Linden Revitalized With Community Art, Hotel Restoration." *Tennessee Home & Farm*. February 10, 2012. Accessed May 30, 2017. <https://www.tnhomeandfarm.com/travel/linden-revitalized-with-community-art-hotel-restoration/>.
- Bond, Dr. Beverly G. and Dr. Janann Sherman. *Images of America: Beale Street*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2006.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Americans: The National Experience*. New York: Random House, 1965.
- Braden, Susan R. *The Architecture of Leisure: The Florida Resort Hotels of Henry Flagler and Henry Plant*. Gainesville, FL: The University Press of Florida, 2002.

- Brown, Alan. *Ghost Hunters of the South*. Jackson, MA: University Press of Mississippi, 2006.
- . *Haunted Places in the American South*. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002.
- . *Haunted Tennessee: Ghosts and Strange Phenomena of the Volunteer State*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009.
- Brown, Floy A. *Rehabilitating Historic Hotels: Peabody Hotel, Memphis, TN*. Washington, DC: US Department of Interior Heritage Conservation and Recreation Technical Preservation Services, 1980.
- Brucken, Carolyn. "In the Public Eye: Women and the American Luxury Hotel." *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 203-220.
- Buchanan, Jane Gray. *Early Inns and Taverns of East Tennessee: A Photo Essay*. Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1996.
- Cannon, Virginia Foster. "Preliminary Heritage Development Plan National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee," Nashville: Tennessee Department of Tourist Development, 2015 (revised 2017).
- Carlson, Adam. "9 haunted spots across America." CNN Travel. Accessed June 16, 2015. <http://www.cnn.com/travel/article/haunted-spots-across-america/index.html>.
- Carpenter, John W. *Tennessee Courthouses: A Celebration of 200 Years of County Courthouses*. London, KY: John W. Carpenter, 1996.
- Chattanooga Public Library. "Haunted Chattanooga." Chattanooga Public Library. Accessed June 16, 2015. <http://chattlibrary.org/local-history/exhibits/subject/haunted-chattanooga>.
- Chhabra, Deepak, Robert Healy, and Erin Sills. "Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 3 (July 2003): 702-719.
- Clayton, LaReine Warden. *Stories of Early Inns and Taverns of East Tennessee Country*. Nashville: National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Tennessee, 1995.
- Cobble, Dorothy. *Dishing it Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the 20th Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Cocks, Catherine. *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850-1915*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

- Cole, Jennifer V. "Old-Fashioned Hospitality: Across the South, historic hotels are regaining their former grandeur." *Garden & Gun*, April/May 2017. Accessed August 5, 2017. <http://gardenandgun.com/articles/old-fashioned-hospitality/>.
- Coral Court Hotel. *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. March 1989. Accessed August 7, 2017. <https://dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/89000311.pdf>.
- Cox, Karen L., ed. *Destination Dixie: Tourism & Southern History*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.
- Crane, Sophie and Paul Crane. *Tennessee Taproots: Courthouses of Tennessee*. Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 1996.
- Cultural Heritage Tourism Exchange. "CHT Exchange Recap Report." June 3, 2011. http://chtexchange.com.temp.realssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/chte_summary.pdf.
- Curl, Donald W. *Florida Architecture of Addison Mizner*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1992.
- . ed. *Palm Beach County: In a Class by Itself*. Fort Lauderdale: Copperfield Publications, Inc., 1998.
- Davidson, Lisa Pfueller. "Consumption and Efficiency in the 'City with a City': Commercial Hotel Architecture and the Emergence of Modern American Culture, 1890-1930." PhD. diss., George Washington University, 2003.
- . "Early Twentieth-Century Hotel Architects and the Origins of Standardization." *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (2005): 72-103.
- Donzel, Catherine, Alexis Gregory, and Marc Walter. *Grand American Hotels*. New York: The Vendome Press, 1989.
- Dowdy, G. Wayne. *On This Day in Memphis History*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2014.
- Doyle, Don H. "Commerce and Urban Development." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. Last modified January 1, 2010. Accessed June 29, 2015. <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=298>.
- Dunning, John. *On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old Time Radio*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

- Edwards, Jon. "Managing Heritage and Cultural Tourism Resources." *Cultural Tourism*. Edited by Razaq Raj, Kevin Griffin and Nigel Morpeth. Oxfordshire, UK: Cabi, 2013.
- Exline, Matthew. "Looking for a job in public history: an outsider's perspective." National Council on Public History. July 4, 2013. Accessed July 12, 2017. <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/looking-for-a-job-in-public-history-an-outsiders-perspective/>.
- Faragher, Scott and Katherine Harrington. *Images of America: The Peabody Hotel*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2011.
- . *The Peabody Hotel*. Mount Pleasant, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2002.
- Filene, Benjamin. "Training Public Historians: Academy and Reality." *History News*. Winter 2006. Accessed July 12, 2017. <http://about.aaslh.org/training-public-historians-academy-and-reality/>.
- Foster, Mark S. "In the Face of Jim Crow: Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945." *The Journal of Negro History* 84, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 140.
- Gardner, James B. and Peter S. LaPaglia, eds. *Public History: Essays from the Field*. *Public History Series*. Malabar, FL: Kreiger Publishing Company, 1999.
- Gassan, Richard H. *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790-1830*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.
- Gentry, Glenn W. "Walking with the Dead: The Place of Ghost Walk Tourism in Savannah Georgia." *Southeastern Geographer* 47, no. 2, (November 2007): 222-238.
- Goeldner, Charles R. and J.R. Brent Richie. *Tourism: Principles, Practices, Philosophies*, 11th edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2009.
- Goodavage, Mara. "Green Book Helped Keep African Americans Safe on the Road." *Independent Lense Blog*. PBS.com. January 10, 2013. Accessed November 1, 2016. <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/blog/green-book-helped-keep-african-americans-safe-on-the-road/#more-2817>.
- Groth, Paul. *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in The United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Haley, Andrew P. *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880-1920*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

- Hanks, Michele. *Haunted Heritage: The Cultural Politics of Ghost Tourism, Populism, and the Past*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2015.
- Harper, Herbert L. "The Antebellum Courthouses of Tennessee." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (March 1971): 3-23.
- Havighurst, Craig. *Air Castles of the South: WSM and the Making of Music City*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- Henry, Lyell. "Accommodations for Colored." *Journal for Commercial Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 7.
- Hirsch, Jerrod. "New Introduction" to *The WPA Guide to Tennessee*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1986.
- Honey, Michael K. *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Humanities Tennessee. "CALL TO ACTION: Oppose Elimination of the National Endowment for the Humanities." March 16, 2017. Accessed June 13, 2017. <http://humanitiestennessee.org/article/call-action-oppose-elimination-national-endowment-humanities>.
- Ikard, Robert W. "Francis Craig." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*. December 30, 2009. Accessed March 1, 2015.
- Ingold, Tim. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- International Civil Rights Center and Museum. "The Sit-In Movement." Accessed July 27, 2017. <https://www.sitinmovement.org/history/sit-in-movement.asp>.
- Jakle, John A. and Keith A. Sculle. *America's Main Street Hotels: Transiency and Community in the Early Auto Age*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2009.
- . *Remembering Roadside America: Preserving the Recent Past and Landscape as Past*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011.
- Jakle, John A., Keith A. Sculle, and Jefferson S. Rogers. *The Motel in America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Jackson Recreation and Parks. "Historic Downtown NC & St. Louis Depot & Railroad Museum.." Accessed June 25, 2015. http://jacksonrecandparks.com/leagues/custom_page.cfm?clientid=3046&leagueid=0&pageid=1112.

- Jenkins, Earnestine Lovelle. *Images of America: African Americans in Memphis*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2009.
- Johnson, Edward A. "Railroads." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. Last modified January 1, 2010. Accessed June 29, 2015. <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1104>.
- Johnson, Larry. *The Seelbach: A Centennial Salute to Louisville's Grand Hotel*. Louisville: Butler Books, 2011.
- Kamin, Debra. "The Rise of Dark Tourism: When War Zones Become Travel Destinations." *The Atlantic*. July 15, 2014. Accessed June 16, 2015. <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/07/the-rise-of-dark-tourism/374432/>.
- Keith, Jeannette. "Good Times: Vacationing at Red Boiling Springs." In *Rural Life and Culture in the Upper Cumberland*, edited by Michael E. Birdwell and W. Calvin Dickinson, 182. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004.
- Kelley, Robert. "Public History: Its Origins, Nature, and Prospects." *The Public Historian*, 1 (Fall 1978): 16-28.
- King, Jr., Martin Luther. "I have a Dream," quoted in A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 306.
- Kotarski, Georgiana C. *Ghosts of Southern Tennessee Valley*. John F. Blair, 2006.
- Kotler, Philip, John T. Bowen, James C. Makens, and Seyhmus Balaglu. *Marketing for Hospitality and Tourism*, 7th ed. Boston: Pearson, 2017.
- Lacey-Bordeaux, Emma and Wayne Drash. "Travel Guide Helped African-Americans Navigate Tricky Times." CNN.com. February 25, 2011. Accessed November 1, 2016. <http://www.cnn.com/2011/US/02/24/green.book.black.history/index.html>.
- Lamon, Lester C. *Black Tennesseans, 1900-1930*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1977.
- Larkin, Enda M. *How to Run a Great Hotel: Everything You Need to Achieve Excellence in the Hotel Industry*. Oxford, UK: How to Books Ltd, 2009.
- Lawrence, Stephen S. "Nashville Union Station." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/69000178.PDF>.

- Lennon, Beth. "[Retro Roadmap] The Wigwam Motel in San Bernadino, California." National Trust For Historic Preservation. March 27, 2014. Accessed August 7, 2017. https://savingplaces.org/stories/reflecting-native-american-roots-wigwam-motel#.WYiY_saZORs.
- Loewen, James W. *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*. New York: The New Press, 2006.
- Cherish Lombard. "Cost of Living in Nashville growing faster than any other city." WKRN. July 25, 2017. Accessed August 7, 2017. <http://wkrn.com/2017/07/24/cost-of-living-in-nashville-growing-faster-than-any-other-city/>.
- Lovett, Bobby L. *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee: A Narrative History*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2005.
- Ludy, Robert B. *Historic Hotels of the World*. Philadelphia: Donald McKay Company, 1927.
- Mandala Research, LLC. *The Cultural & Heritage Traveler 2013 Edition*. Accessed February 1, 2017. http://mandalaresearch.com/images/stories/free_download_CH_2013.pdf.
- Marsh, Donna, Jeff Morris, and Garrett Merk. *Nashville Haunted Handbook*. Covington, KY: Clerisy Press, 2011.
- Martin, C. Brenden. "Historic Resorts." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*. Last modified February 24, 2011. Accessed March 3, 2015. <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1120>.
- . *Tourism in the Mountain South: A Double-Edged Sword*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007.
- Mason, Randal. *Economics and Historic Preservation: A Guide and Review of the Literature*. Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution, 2005.
- McCormick, Rosemary Rice. *Marketing Cultural & Heritage Tourism: A World of Opportunity*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- McCoy, III, M.D., William J. "Lamar House Hotel and Bijou Theater." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*. May 1975. Accessed June 10, 2015. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/75001763.PDF>.
- McKee, Margaret and Fred Chisenhall. *Beale Black & Blue: Life and Music on Black America's Main Street*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981.

- Middle Tennessee State University. "Trials, Triumphs, and Transformations: Tennesseans' Search for Citizenship, Community, and Opportunity." Middle Tennessee State University. Accessed June 13, 2017. <http://dsi.mtsu.edu/trials/>.
- Milburn, Trish. "Main Street Makeover." *Tennessee Magazine*. March 26, 2016. Accessed May 30, 2017. <http://www.tnmagazine.org/main-street-makeover>.
- Miller, Chris. "As Nashville Grows, some wonder if city is losing identity." WRCB. February 28, 2017. Accessed August 7, 2017. <http://www.wrcbtv.com/story/34504008/as-nashville-grows-some-wonder-if-city-is-losing-identity>.
- Moodie-Mills, Danielle. "The Green Book was a Travel Guide Just for Black Motorists." NBC.com. October 11, 2016. Accessed November 1, 2016. <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/green-book-was-travel-guide-just-black-motorists-n649081>.
- Montague, Nathan and Brian Beadles. "Colored Hotel." *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. August 2007. Accessed June 10, 2015. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/08000284.PDF>.
- Montell, William Lynwood. *Ghosts Along the Cumberland*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975.
- Morris, Jeff, Garrett Merk, and Donna Marsh. *Nashville Haunted Handbook*. Cincinnati, OH: Cherisy Press, 2011.
- MTSU Center for Historic Preservation and the James E. Walker Public Library. "Southern Places." Accessed July 27, 2017. <http://digital.mtsu.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15838coll4>.
- MTSU Center for Historic Preservation. "Preserving African American Historic Places Suggestions and Sources." February 2016. Accessed November 14, 2016. <http://www.mtsuhistpres.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Preserving-African-American-Historic-Places.pdf>.
- Nathan, Linda K. "Best Historic Hotels in America." *Conde Nast Traveler*. February 3, 2012. Accessed February 16, 2017. <http://www.cntraveler.com/stories/2012-02-03/historic-hotels-america-vintage-best-renovations-boston-washington-dc>.
- National Council of Public History, Panelists. "Haunted Histories: Ghost Lore Interpretation at Historical Sites." April 2015.
- National Council on Public History. "About the Field." Accessed July 12, 2017. <http://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/>.

- National Park Service. "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation." National Register Bulletin. Accessed February 15, 2017.
https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_8.htm.
- . "National Register of Historic Places Program: Frequently Asked Questions." National Park Service. Accessed October 3, 2015.
<http://www.nps.gov/nr/faq.htm#plaque>.
- National Register of Historic Places, Colored Hotel, Union City, Obion County, Tennessee. Register #08000284, Figure 13. Accessed 12-01-16.
https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/RN_08000284.pdf.
- National Society of the Colonial Dames. "Tennessee Court House Survey." Manuscript. TSLA, 1966.
- National Trust for Historic Preservation. "This Place Matters." National Trust for Historic Preservation. Accessed June 7, 2017. www.savingplaces.org/this-place-matters.
- News Channel Three. "History of WREG-TV." Accessed June 8, 2015.
<http://wreg.com/contact/the-history-of-wreg-tv/>.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. *The Impact of Culture on Tourism*. OECD, 2009.
- Ostby, Lloyd and Kay Benton. "Hotel Claridge." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*. December 1981. Accessed June 10, 2015.
<http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/82004045.PDF>.
- Ownby, Ted. "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen, but Does Anybody Want to Hear About Them When They're on Vacation." In *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, & Culture in the Modern South*, edited by Richard D. Starnes. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2003.
- Oxford Economics. "Economic Impact of the U.S. Hotel Industry." American Hotel and Lodging Association Educational Fund. June 30, 2016.
https://www.ahla.com/sites/default/files/Economic%20Impact%20Study%20%28Oxford%29_0.pdf.
- Peleggi, Maurizio. "Consuming Colonial Nostalgia: the Monumentalisation of Historic Hotels in Urban South-East Asia." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 46, no. 3 (December 2005): 255-265.
- Penot, Jessica and Amy Petulla. *Haunted Chattanooga*. Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011.

- Poore, Tammy J. *Chasing Ghost Tales in Tennessee*. Knoxville, TN: Nine Lives Publishing, 2011.
- Pratt, Joseph Hyde. "Good Roads Movement in the South." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 35, no. 1 (January 1910): 105-113.
- Raitz, Karl B. and John Paul Jones III. "The City Hotel as Landscape Artifact and Community Symbol." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 9, no. 1 (1988): 17-36.
- Ramsey, Calvin Alexander. *Ruth and the Green Book*. Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books, 2010.
- Ramsey, Calvin Alexander and Necky Wible Searles. "The Green Book Chronicles." <https://greenbookchronicles.com/>.
- Resonance Consultancy. "2015 TOURISM & TRAVEL TRENDS REPORT." February 4, 2015. Accessed February 18, 2017. <<http://www.slideshare.net/chrisfair/15-024-res-webinar-tourism-2020-high-res-opt>>.
- Revels, Tracy J. *Sunshine Paradise*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011.
- Rhoads, Eric. *Blast from the Past: A Pictorial History of Radio's First 75 Years*. West Palm Beach, FL: Streamline Press, 1996.
- Richards, Greg. "The Traditional Quantitative Approach. Surveying Cultural Tourists: Lessons from the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project." In *Cultural Tourism Research Methods*. Edited by Greg Richards and Will Munsters. Oxfordshire, UK: CAB International, 2010.
- Ritchey, Daniel P. "Practical Points in Hotel Planning." *Architectural Forum* 35 (December 1921): 221.
- Rushmore, Steve, Michael L. Mele, and Chu Y. Xu. "2011 Hotel Franchise Fee Guide." Mineola, NY. HVS Global Hospitality Services, April 2011. <https://www.hvs.com/content/3224.pdf>.
- Rypkema, Donovan, Caroline Cheong, and Randall Mason. *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide*. Washington, D.C. National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2005. <http://www.preserveamerica.gov/docs/economic-impacts-of-historic-preservation-study.pdf>.
- Sadler, Cynthia. "On Parade: Race, Gender, and Imagery in the Memphis Mardi Gras, Cotton Carnival, and Cotton Makers' Jubilee." In *Tennessee Women: Their Lives and Times*. Vol. 2, edited by Beverly Greene Bond and Sarah Wilkerson Freeman. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015.

- Samuelson, Dave. "Homer and Jethro." Country Music Hall of Fame. Accessed June 8, 2015. <http://countrymusichalloffame.org/Inductees/InducteeDetail/homer-and-jethro>.
- Sandoval-Strausz, A. K. *Hotel: An American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Schuyler, George. "Traveling Jim Crow." *The American Mercury*, August 1930, 423. Quoted in Lyell Henry, "Accommodations for Colored." *Journal for Commercial Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 7.
- Sennott, R. Stephe. "Roadside Luxury: Urban Hotels and Modern Streets along the Dixie Highway," in *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture*. Edited by Claudette Stager and Martha Carver. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006.
- Sewell, George A. and Margaret L. Dwight, *Mississippi Black River Makers*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984.
- Shaffer, Marguerite S. *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.
- Sharp, Leslie N. "Dixie Highway Association." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. Last modified January 01, 2010. Accessed June 29, 2015. <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=382>.
- Smith, David Ray. "Historic Trails." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. Last modified January 1, 2010. Accessed June 26, 2015. <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1395>.
- Smith, Gregory. "Finest for Negroes: Lodgings in Jim Crow Era." *Texas Journal for Commercial Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 13.
- Spears, Timothy B. *100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- The St. Regis New York. "The St. Regis New York." The St. Regis New York. Accessed July 8, 2017. <http://www.stregisnewyork.com>.
- Stager, Claudette. "Gruetli." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. Last modified January 1, 2010. Accessed June 26, 2015. <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=574>.
- State of Tennessee Department of Highways. *Highway Progress in Picture and Words* (State of Tennessee Department of Highways, 1960). Accessed August 7, 2017. <https://www.tn.gov/assets/entities/tdot/attachments/HighwayProgress1960.pdf>.

- Stipe, Robert E. *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*. Chapel Hill. The University of Carolina Press, 2003.
- Sturman, Michael C., Jack B. Corgel, and Rohit Verma, eds. *The Cornell School of Hotel Administration on Hospitality: Cutting Edge Thinking and Practice*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2011.
- Talk of the Nation*. "Green Book Helped African-Americans Travel Safely." NPR.org. September 15 2010. Accessed November 23, 2016.
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=129885990>.
- Teicher, Jordan G. "The Historic Midcentury Modernist Motels of the New Jersey Coast." Slate.com. August 19, 2016. Accessed August 5, 2017.
http://www.slate.com/blogs/ behold/2016/08/19/tyler_haughey_photographs_motels_in_his_series_ebb_tide.html.
- Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area. "Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area." Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area. Accessed July 27, 2017.
<http://www.tncivilwar.org/>.
- Tennessee Department of Economic & Community Development. "State of Tennessee Lead Conference." Accessed October 26, 2016.
https://www.tn.gov/assets/entities/education/attachments/cte_e cd_tn_landscape.pdf.
- Tennessee Department of Health. "Rural Areas." Accessed May 31, 2017.
<http://tn.gov/health/article/healthy-places-rural-areas>.
- Tennessee Department of Tourist Development. "2015 Vacation Guide." January 2015.
- . "The Soundtrack of America: Made in Tennessee. 2015 The Economic of Travel on Tennessee Counties." Accessed August 30, 2016,
http://industry.tnvacation.com/sites/default/files/2015_Economic_Impact_of_Travel.pdf.
- . "The Soundtrack of America: Made in Tennessee. Annual Report 2016." Accessed October 26, 2016.
http://industry.tnvacation.com/sites/default/files/TDTD_2016_AnnualReport.pdf.
- Tennessee Preservation Trust. "Ten in Tennessee: 2006 Ten in Tenn." Tennessee Preservation Trust. Accessed November 16, 2016.
<http://www.tennesseepreservationtrust.org/ten-in-tn/2006-ten-in-tn/?property=the-colored-hotel>.
- Tennessee Railroad Valley. "Tennessee Railroad Valley." Tennessee Railroad Valley. Accessed June 25, 2015. <http://www.tvrail.com>.

- Tennessee State Government. "Nine Tennessee Sites Added to the National Register of Historic Places, September 14, 2008." Tennessee State Government News. Accessed December 11, 2016. <https://www.tn.gov/news/25393>.
- Tennessee State Library and Archives. "Ghosts." Tennessee State Library and Archive's Myths and Legends. Accessed June 16, 2015. <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/myth/ghosts.htm>.
- . "Haunts and Witches and Legends...Oh my! Tennessee Folklife Myths and Legends," Tennessee State Library and Archives. October 31, 2014. Accessed June 16, 2015. <http://tslablog.blogspot.com/2014/10/haints-and-witches-and-legendsoh-my.html>.
- Tennessee Vacation. "Uncover a Piece of the Past." Tennessee Vacation. Accessed March 29, 2017. <https://www.tnvacation.com/experiences/history>.
- Tepper, Taylor. "Trump's Budget Eliminates These 19 Federal Agencies. Here's What They Do – and Cost." *Time*. March 16, 2017. Accessed May 25, 2017. <http://time.com/money/4703511/budget-cuts-donald-trump-federal-agencies/>.
- Thomas, George E. and Susan Nigra Snyder. "William Price's Traymore Hotel: Modernity in the Mass Resort." *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 25 (2005): 186-215.
- Thorne, Charles B. "The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (Winter 1970-71): 334, 341, and 347.
- Three Rivers Rambler. "Home." Three Rivers Rambler. Accessed June 25, 2015. <http://www.threeriversrambler.com>.
- Timothy, Dallen J. *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction*. Bristol, UK: Channel View, 2011.
- Ting, Deanna. "The Ultimate Authentic Travel Experience? Historic Hotels are a Candidate." *Skift*, March 31, 2016. <https://skift.com/2016/03/31/the-ultimate-authentic-travel-experience-historic-hotels-are-a-candidate/>.
- Townsend, Jacinda. "How the Green Book Helped African American Tourists Navigate A Segregated Nation." *Smithsonian Magazine*. April 2016. Accessed November 1, 2016. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/history-green-book-african-american-travelers-180958506/?no-ist>.
- Travel Features Syndicate. "Historic Hotels of America Presents its Most Haunted Hotels." *Travel Writers Magazine*. October 14, 2014. <http://travelwritersmagazine.com/historic-hotels-of-america-presents-its-most-haunted-hotels/>.

Travel Weekly Awards. "2012 Magellen Awards Silver Winners." Travel Weekly Awards. Access date January 15, 2017.
https://www.travelweeklyawards.com/winners/list/?l=M&pageNum_winners=3&totalRows_winners=99&event=&category=

Turkel, Stanley. *Built to Last: 100+ Year-Old Hotels East of the Mississippi*.
 Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2013.

United States Department of Commerce and the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, *A Position Paper on Cultural and Heritage Tourism*. Paper developed for the 2005 U.S. Cultural and Heritage Tourism Summit. Accessed February 11, 2017.
http://www.pcah.gov/sites/default/files/05WhitePaperCultHeritTourism_2.pdf.

UNESCO World Heritage. "Sustainable Tourism." <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tourism>.

---. *Sustainable Tourism Online Toolkit: Guide 4: Engaging local communities and business*.
<http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/sites/default/files/UNESCO%20toolkit%20PDFs%20guide%204C.pdf>.

---. *Sustainable Tourism Online Toolkit: Guide 5: Communicating with visitors*.
<http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/sites/default/files/UNESCO%20toolkit%20PDFs%20guide%205C.pdf>.

---. *Sustainable Tourism Online Toolkit: Guide 7: Adding value through products, experiences and services*.
<http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/sites/default/files/UNESCO%20toolkit%20PDFs%20guide%207C.pdf>.

University of Missouri-Kansas Libraries. "Day of Infamy – December 7th, 1941." Accessed June 10, 2015. <http://library.umkc.edu/spec-col/ww2/pearlharbor/ph-txt.htm>.

Upton, Dell. "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Material Life in America 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.

USA Today 10Best, "2017 10Best Readers' Awards," *USA Today*, July 2017.

Vanderbilt University. "Fight Songs." Vanderbilt University's Spirit Programs. Accessed June 9, 2015, <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/cheer/fight-song>.

Waitt, Gordon. "Consuming Heritage Perceived Historical Authenticity." *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 4, (2000): 835-862.

- Webb, Amy Jordan. "A Decade of Heritage Tourism." *Preservation Leadership Forum* 13, no. 4, (Summer 1999). <http://forum.savingplaces.org/viewdocument/a-decade-of-heritage-tourism>.
- West, Carroll Van. "Chattanooga Choo-Choo." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. December 25, 2009. Accessed June 29, 2015. <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=229>.
- . "Nashville Union Station." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. December 25, 2009. Accessed June 29, 2015. <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=974>.
- . *Tennessee Historic Landscapes: A Traveler's Guide*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.
- . "WNOX." *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. December 25, 2009. Accessed June 8, 2015. <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1526>.
- Williamson, Jr., James F. "Hotel Peabody." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*. June 1977. Accessed June 10, 2015. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/77001290.PDF>.
- Wills II, Ridley. *The Hermitage at One Hundred: Nashville's First Million-Dollar Hotel*. Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 2009.
- Wlodarski, Robert and Anne Wlodarski. *Dinner and Spirits: A Guide to America's Most Haunted Restaurants, Taverns, and Inns*. Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000.
- WNAH. "WNAH Station History and Photo Gallery." WNAH. Accessed June 8, 2015, http://www.wnah.com/index_files/Page316.htm.
- WREG. "'I am Man Plaza' coming to Memphis." WREG. August 17, 2017. Accessed September 16, 2017. <http://wreg.com/2017/08/17/i-am-a-man-plaza-coming-to-memphis/>
- WSMV. "Nashville is the new 'It' City, says New York Times." WSMV. Updated January 23, 2013. Accessed August 7, 2017. <http://www.wsmv.com/story/20547410/nashville-is-the-new-it-city-says-new-york-times>.
- WKRN Web Staff. "New Study Ranks Nashville's Traffic among Worst 25 in Country." WKRN. February 20, 2017. Accessed August 7, 2017. <http://wkrn.com/2017/02/20/new-traffic-study-ranks-nashvilles-traffic-among-worst-25-in-country/>.

Young, Elan. "Proposed Federal Budget Cuts Spell Trouble for NPS and Smokies." *Knoxville Mercury*. April 5, 2017. Accessed May 25, 2017.
<http://www.knoxmercury.com/2017/04/05/proposed-federal-budget-cuts-spell-trouble-nps-smokies>.

Zubrzycki, Jackie. "New Trump Budget Eliminates Arts, Humanities, Library Agencies." *Education Week*. May 23, 2017. Accessed May 25, 2017.
http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/curriculum/2017/05/arts_endowments_budget_cuts.html.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

Preliminary Heritage Development Plan

National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee



July 2015 (Revised Spring 2017)

Preliminary Heritage Development Plan

National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee

Prepared for:
Tennessee Department of Tourist Development

Prepared by: Center for Historic Preservation at MTSU
Virginia Foster Cannon, Graduate Research Assistant and
Professional Resident at the Tennessee Department of
Tourist Development



Table of Contents

• Acknowledgements and Methodology.....	164
• List of NR-Listed Hotels and Inns in TN.....	165
• Introduction.....	166
• NR-Listed Hotels and Inns in TN.....	171
• NR-Listed Hotels and Inns as Heritage Development Assets.....	175
• Recommendations and Next Steps.....	196
• NR-Listed Hotels and Inns Listed Alphabetically.....	198

Acknowledgements and Methodology

Ginna Foster Cannon prepared this report during her professional residency at the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development under the auspices of Lee Curtis, Legislative Liaison and Director of Project Development. Middle Tennessee State University requires that doctoral candidates in Public History complete a yearlong professional residency to augment the classroom experience.

Special thanks to the librarians across the state who maintain archives and put together “vertical files” on individuals hotels, the hosts at the individual properties who gave informative tours and provided additional research material, and the staff at the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development who shared their knowledge of the state and its Trails & Byways. This report would not have been possible without Lee Curtis whose knowledge of Tennessee’s heritage development is without rival and who is one of most generous people I know. Antoinette Van Zelm, Assistant Director of the Center for Historic Preservation, acted as a sounding board for the structure of the report at a critical juncture for which I will always be indebted. Lastly, I would like to thank my dissertation committee, Dr. Carroll Van West, Dr. Mary Evins, Dr. Brenden Martin, and Dr. Kathryn Sikes, for their continued support and guidance.

The bulk of the study is made up individually listed National Register properties in Tennessee whose historical primary function was a hotel or inn. If a hostelry was listed as part of a historic district (and not also individually listed), it is not included in the study with the exception of the Brumley Hotel (known today as the General Morgan Inn) in Greeneville as it is one of five historic properties in the state included in the Historic Hotels of America, “the official program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation for recognizing and celebrating the finest Historic Hotels.”¹ Also included in the study are Terminal Station (known today as the Chattanooga Choo-Choo) in Chattanooga and Union Station (known today as Union Station Hotel) in Nashville that are listed on the National Register and were converted into hotels. They are both included in Historic Hotels of America and are major historic hotels within Tennessee. Lastly, the Carmichael Inn in Loudon is included in the study even though it was removed from the National Register in the mid-1980s after it moved to a new location. The Carmichael sheds light on the importance of stagecoaches in early Tennessee history.

After establishing the universe of National Register-listed hotels and inns, field visits were conducted at each of the sites. Where possible, tours were taken of the interior of the buildings focusing on public spaces.

¹ “About Historic Hotels of America,” Historic Hotels of America, accessed March 22, 2015, <http://www.historichotels.org/about-historic-hotels>.

National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee		
Property	Address	City
Alexander Inn	201 E. Madison Road	Oak Ridge
Andrew Johnson Hotel	912 S. Gay Street	Knoxville
Carmichael Inn	600 Hackberry Street	Loudon
Colored Hotel	208 Nash Street	Union City
Cloyd Hotel	520 East Main Street	Red Boiling Springs
Counts Hotel	321 East Main Street	Red Boiling Springs
Donoho Hotel	500 East Main Street	Red Boiling Springs
Grand Central Hotel	295 Main Street	Lynchburg
Halbrook Hotel	100 Clement Place	Dickson
Hale House-Patterson Hotel	116 Depot Street	Watertown
Hermitage Hotel	231 6th Avenue North	Nashville
Hotel Brumley	111 North Main Street	Greeneville
Hotel Claridge	109 N. Main Street	Memphis
Hotel Lindo	116 West Liberty Street	Covington
Hotel Overall	101 Spring Street	Wartrace
James Robertson Hotel	118 7th Avenue North	Nashville
John P. Raines Hotel	106-108 Tennessee Avenue South	Parsons
Kingston Springs Hotel and Buildings Complex	West Kingston Springs Road	Kingston Springs
Lamar House Hotel - Bijou Theater	803 Gay Street South West	Knoxville
Neely House	545 S. Royal Street	Jackson
New Southern Hotel	112-120 East Baltimore Street	Jackson
Noel Hotel	200-204 4th Avenue North	Nashville
Old Deery Inn.	Main Street	Blountville
Peabody Hotel	149 Union Avenue	Memphis
Read House	827 Broad Street	Chattanooga
Rhea-Mims Hotel	335 East Broadway	Newport
Stagecoach Inn	Colony Road	Gruetli-Laager
Terminal Station	1400 Market Street	Chattanooga
The Netherland Inn and Complex	2144 Netherland Inn Road	Kingsport
Union Station	1001 Broadway	Nashville
Utopia Hotel	206 4th Avenue North	Nashville

National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee (2015)

Source: Table by author using information from National Register.

Introduction

A key building in the American past is the hotel, whether urban, resort, or country inn. Business-people, vacationers, and community residents have mingled together over the years in these structures; many hotels have acquired historical and architectural significance, having served as visual and social focal points from the past into the present.

– U.S. Department of the Interior, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service²

As a category, historic hotels and inns in Tennessee have not historically received the attention they deserve. “The Preliminary Heritage Development Plan for National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee” is the first comprehensive survey of historic hostelry across the state. This is in stark contrast to the number of surveys published on Tennessee courthouses, a property type whose historical and architectural significance is widely accepted and celebrated.³ The purpose of the study is threefold: to increase awareness of historic hotels and inns as a category; to provide an updated inventory of National Register-listed properties within the state; and to provide an assessment of the properties as heritage development assets.

The body of research on historic hotels and inns in Tennessee is thin and what exists is narrowly focused. The studies fall into three categories: mineral springs resorts; early inns and taverns of East Tennessee; and individual first-class hotels. By far and away, the most popular subject of research has been historic mineral springs resorts. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mineral springs typically located in higher

² Floy A. Brown, “Preservation Case Studies: Rehabilitating Historic Hotels, Peabody Hotel, Memphis, Tennessee” U.S. Department of the Interior Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, Washington, DC: Technical Services Division, 1980, 1.

³ Herbert L. Harper, “The Antebellum Courthouses of Tennessee,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (March 1971): 3-23; John W. Carpenter, *Tennessee Courthouses: A Celebration of 200 Years of County Courthouses* (London, KY: John W. Carpenter, 1996); Sophie Crane and Paul Crane, *Tennessee Taproots: Courthouses of Tennessee* (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 1996); National Society of the Colonial Dames, “Tennessee Court House Survey,” Manuscript, TSLA, 1966.

altitudes were popular destinations for southerners looking to escape the oppressive heat of the summer in Tennessee and throughout the region. People were driven by the desire to “take the waters” believed to have medicinal value, participate in the active social life of the resorts or some combination of the two. An advertisement for Bon Aqua Springs in June 1874 stated that the waters were “A CERTAIN CURE for Dyspepsia, Chronic Diarrhea, Liver and Kidney Affections and General Debility and Kindred Disorders.”⁴ Entertainment was also a great draw with the resorts. An advertisement for Beaver Spring in 1858 proclaimed it had “a large ballroom, ten-pin alleys, fine trout stream and deer in great abundance.”⁵

East Tennessee boasted the first mineral spring resort, Montvale Springs, officially developed in 1830s but the sick had been using the spring since the early 1790s.⁶ It claimed to be the “Saratoga of the South,” a hopeful comparison to the famous East Coast resort.⁷ Other springs were developed primarily into cottage communities, although they had a hotel too, such as Beersheba Springs (1830s) and Primm Springs (1830s).⁸ According historian to Charles B. Thorne, Middle Tennessee alone boasted thirty-one mineral springs resorts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹ Despite

⁴ “Ad for Bon Aqua Springs,” *Public Ledger*, June 16, 1874.

⁵ “Ad for Beaver Dam,” *Memphis Daily Appeal*, August 6, 1858.

⁶ C. Brenden Martin, “Historic Resorts,” *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, accessed March 3, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1120>.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Charles B. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (Winter 1970-71): 349.

⁹ Ibid., 324.

being the “foundation for Tennessee’s tourist industry,” historic mineral springs resorts have been largely “forgotten by modern society.”¹⁰

So what happened to all of these resorts? Due to their wooden construction, fires destroyed many of the hotels. Some hotels, like the Tyree Springs Hotel in Tyree Springs and the Donoho Hotel in Marble Springs were rebuilt, while many were not.¹¹ The early resorts and cottage communities that thrived during the antebellum period were negatively impacted by the Civil War – some properties were destroyed and others fell into financial ruin.¹² Many Southerners who had visited the resorts for long stretches in the summer (many weeks to months) no longer had the means to do so or had died during the war. The resorts built in the 1880s and early 1900s benefited from the improved transportation networks in the state, in particular the expansion of the railroads and later the Good Roads Movement. They also benefited from the strength of the economy on both a national and regional basis.¹³ The ultimate decline of the resorts was credited to a change in tastes; the medical establishment questioned the therapeutic value of drinking and bathing in mineral spring water.¹⁴ Also developments in travel industry from the

¹⁰ Martin, “Historic Resorts.”

¹¹ The Tyree Springs Hotel burned several times and was rebuilt at least two times. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 334. Fire destroyed the original Donoho Hotel in December 1915. Donoho was rebuilt in time for 1916 summer season. Jeannette Keith, “Good Times: Vacationing at Red Boiling Springs,” in *Rural Life and Country in the Upper Cumberland*, eds. Michael Birdwell and W. Dickinson (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2009), 178. The hotel at Crisp Springs was destroyed by fire in the 1930s and was never rebuilt. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 341. The hotel at Pylant Springs was destroyed by fire circa 1900 and was never rebuilt. Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 347.

¹² The buildings at Bon Aqua, a popular spa, were destroyed during the Civil War. Thorne, “Water Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 339. Beersheba Springs was put up for sale in March 1867 by its trustees. *Nashville and Union Dispatch*, February 3, 1867.

¹³ Keith, “Good Times,” 179.

¹⁴ Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 322.

adoption of cars to the creation of the modern highway stem allowed people to visit more far flung destinations such as Florida. Lastly, a shift in vacation habits negatively impacted mineral spring resorts: vacations shortened and many people no longer went to resorts for long stretches of time. Over the years, many of the springs have been covered over by new roads and construction or have run dry.¹⁵

Studies on the early inns and taverns of East Tennessee provide a window into the cultural and commercial development of region today known as Tennessee (statehood was granted in 1796). The antecedents of inns were homes of families willing to take in travelers for the night. Having made the arduous trip across the Cumberland Gap and through the wilderness, the chance to stay in the warmth and safety of a log cabin would have been welcome. By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, better-known stops along the trail added rooms and services and began placing advertisements. These establishments were known by a variety of names including inns, taverns, ordinaries, stops, stands, stations, public houses, necessities, way-stations and houses of entertainment.¹⁶ In addition to providing food and lodging for people and horses, inns more often than not acted as community centers “serving as post office, polling place, and occasionally as church or courthouse.”¹⁷ Their importance to travelers and locals alike increased with the advent of stagecoaches that transported both people and goods. As more women traveled by stagecoach, inns responded by expanding the sleeping

¹⁵ Thorne, “The Watering Spas of Middle Tennessee,” 335, 338, 341, 346, 353.

¹⁶ LaReine Warden Clayton, *Stories of Early Inns and Taverns of the East Tennessee County*, (Nashville: National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Tennessee, 1995), 4.

¹⁷ Jane Gray Buchanan, *Early Inns and Taverns of East Tennessee: A Photo Essay*, Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1996, 1.

options. Up to that point, it had not been unusual for up to three men to share a bed.¹⁸

Entertainment options also expanded to include dance halls as women became more prevalent in the region.

The last category of studies pertains to individual first-class hotels in three of Tennessee's largest cities: Memphis, Nashville and Chattanooga. The Peabody Memphis ("The Peabody") in Memphis has been the focus of the majority of the studies.¹⁹ In 1980, the U.S. Department of Interior, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service selected the Peabody as the preservation case study for rehabilitating historic hotels. Developing strong public-private partnerships and taking advantage of Federal tax incentives, were key components of the rehab project. Furthermore, the Peabody served as the anchor in revitalizing downtown Memphis by acting as a magnet to attract visitors, stabilizing the tax base, and encouraging new investment in the area.²⁰

The Peabody is the focus of two more commemorative books as well which are on sale at numerous establishments in Memphis.²¹ In Nashville, there is the Hermitage Hotel (1910) named after United States President Andrew Jackson's home. In honor of its 100th birthday, the Hermitage Hotel commissioned local historian Ridley Wills II to write *The Hermitage Hotel at One Hundred* (2009). The book is featured at the hotel's gift shop and many of the photos and newspaper clippings used within it are displayed in the "history shrines" around the hotel.

¹⁸ Clayton, *Stories of Early Inns and Taverns of the East Tennessee County*, 14.

¹⁹ Brown, "Preservation Case Studies."

²⁰ Ibid., 39.

²¹ Scott Faragher and Katherine Harrington, *The Peabody Hotel* (Mount Pleasant, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2002); The Peabody, *The Peabody: A History of the South's Grand Hotel* (Memphis: Peabody Hotel, 2007).

Chattanooga was a railroad town. One of its remaining grand hotels is the colonial revival styled Read House Historic Inns and Suites (“The Read House”). It is featured in “Roadside Luxury: Urban Hotels and Modern Streets Along the Dixie Highway,” a chapter in a book on the Dixie Highway.²² Given its prominence in the community and the increased media attention Chattanooga has received over the last five years, it is surprising there is no book length study on the Read House.²³

National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns in Tennessee

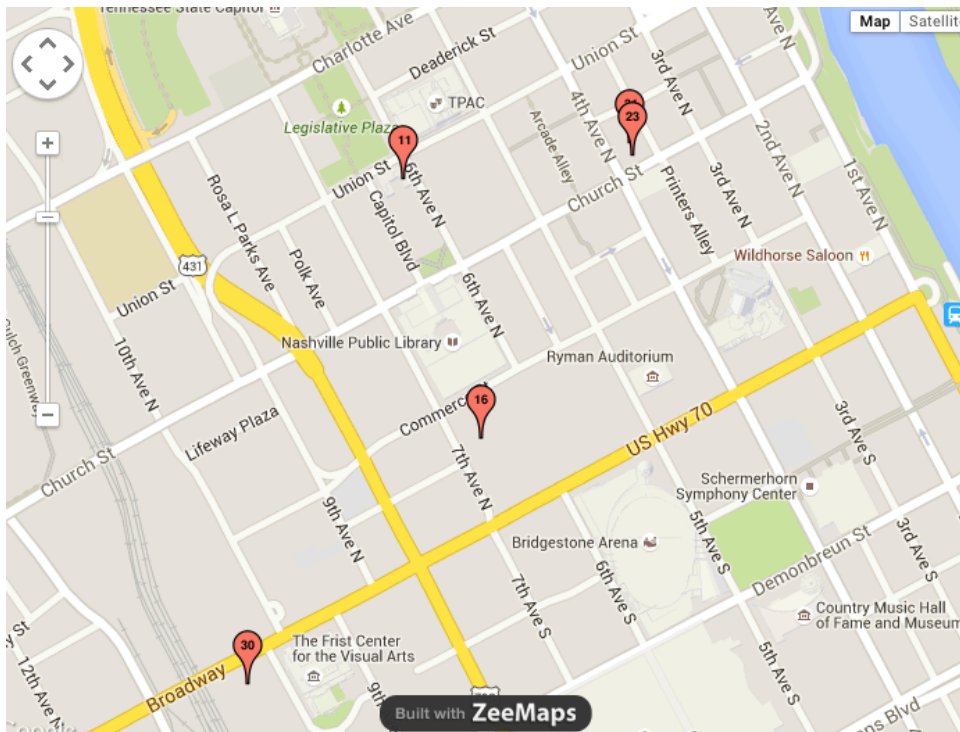
In *The Preservation Case Study for the Peabody*, the National Parks Service identified the five categories of historic hotels: palace hotels, main street hotels, historic resort hotels and country inns, new hotels out of recycled historic buildings, and hotels of earlier days being converted into new uses.²⁴ As of July 2015, there were three palace hotels, two main street hotels, three resort and country inns, two new hotels in recycled buildings, fourteen historic hotels converted to new uses and seven vacant on the National Register in Tennessee. As of June 2015, only ten of the properties were currently functioning as hotels. (As of Spring 2017, three vacant properties in Nashville – the James Robertson, Noel Hotel and Utopia Hotel – were being renovated for use as

²² R. Stephen Sennott, “Roadside Luxury: Urban Hotels and Modern Streets Along the Dixie Highway” in *Looking Beyond the Highway: Dixie Roads and Culture*, ed. Claudette Stager and Martha Carver, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 115-136.

²³ Chloe Morrison, “Chattanooga: Outside Magazine’s Best Town Ever,” Nooga.com, June 5, 2015, accessed June 30, 2015, <http://nooga.com/170152/chattanooga-outside-magazines-best-town-ever>; “Chattanooga Makes New York Times’ Intergalactic Travel List,” *Chattanooga Times Free Press*, January 6, 2012, accessed June 30, 2015, <http://www.timesfreepress.com/news/local/story/2012/jan/06/chattanooga-makes-new-york-times-intergalactic-tra/67675>.

²⁴ Brown, “Preservation Case Studies,” 4.

hotel.)²⁵ The demand for additional hotel space speaks to the popularity of Nashville as a destination with tourists and businesspeople alike. It also speaks to the value assigned to historic structures by commercial ventures. (National Register-listing does not prevent an owner from razing a property. As long as she is not applying for federal tax credits, an owner can do what she wants with it.) Today, only ten of the properties are currently functioning as hotels.



Detail of National Register-listed hotels in Nashville. #11 is Hermitage Hotel, #16 James Robertson Hotel, #23 is Noel Hotel, #30 is Union Station, and #31 is Utopia Hotel.²⁶

²⁵ Getahn Ward, "Dream Nashville Hotel Coming to Printers Alley," *The Tennessean*, June 22, 2016, accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/real-estate/2016/06/22/dream-nashville-hotel-coming-printers-alley/86242122/>; Getahn Ward, "Sneak Peak at \$30M James Robertson Hotel Makeover," *The Tennessean*, August 19, 2016, accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/real-estate/2016/08/19/sneak-peek-30m-james-robertson-hotel-makeover/88976452/>; Getahn Ward, "Upscale Tribute Portfolio Hotel Planned for downtown Nashville," *The Tennessean*, April 16, 2016, accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/real-estate/2015/04/16/starwood-project-includes-hotel-planned-noel-place/25875559/>.

²⁶ <http://j.mp/1Ie3CFP>.

What are some other ways we can look at the National Register-listed hotels in the survey? First, is to consider them by Grand Division. The distribution is as follows: East TN 32%; Middle TN 45%; and West TN 23%. This suggests that historic hotels are a Tennessee story and not one about a particular region. Second, is to examine whether they are located on the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development's established Trails & Byways (Appendix A for list of Trails & Byways) and if so on which ones. Fifty-two percent of the hotels are listed on a Trail or Byway (Appendix B). Six of the properties are located on the Civil War Trail, with five of those located in East TN (see Appendix C for text of markers). With over 2.2 million maps distributed, inclusion on the Civil War Trail packs the most promotional punch. The Trails & Byways are one way in which the Department is promoting individual National Register-listed hotels. Lastly, is to analyze whether the properties are listed in the 2015 Vacation Guide and in what manner. All ten of the functioning hotels in the state are currently listed in the 2015 Vacation Guide. Yet, given their size and prominence it is surprising that neither the Read House nor the Hermitage Hotel have featured listings and/or stand alone ads. The Netherland Inn (museum) is listed as an attraction as is Halbrog Hotel (Clement Railroad Hotel Museum). The Old Deery Inn should be added as an attraction for Blountville as should Grand Central (Miss Bobo's) for Lynchburg. The Vacation Guide is yet another way the Department is promoting individual National Register-listed hotels.

The TDTD promoted individual National Register-listed hotels by including them in its tourism products. Fifty-two percent of the hotels were listed on one of the state's eighteen Trails & Byways. Six of the properties are located on the Civil War Trail, with

five of those located in East Tennessee. More than 2.25 million Civil War Trail maps were distributed as of 2015.²⁷ All ten of the functioning hotels in the state were listed in the *2015 Vacation Guide*.

Yet, given their size and prominence it is surprising that neither the Read House nor the Hermitage Hotel had featured listings and/or stand-alone ads. The Netherland Inn (museum) was listed as an attraction as was the Halbrook Hotel (Clement Railroad Hotel Museum). The Old Deery Inn should be added as an attraction for Blountville as should Grand Central (Miss Bobo's) for Lynchburg. With a combined print and electronic circulation of over 600,000, the *2015 Vacation Guide* could act as a prompt to learn more about historic hotels.²⁸

Property	Name in 2015	Listed in TN Vacation Guide	Member of HHA
Cloyd Hotel	Thomas House Hotel	Accommodation	No
Counts Hotel	Armours Hotel	Accommodation	No
Donoho Hotel	Donoho Hotel	Accommodation	No
Hermitage Hotel	Hermitage Hotel	Accommodation	Yes
Hotel Brumley	General Morgan Inn & Convention Center	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad (part of Greeneville Ad)	Yes
Hotel Overall	Walking Horse Hotel	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad	No
Peabody Hotel	Peabody Hotel	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad	Yes
Read House	Read House	Accommodation	No
Terminal Station	Chattanooga Choo-Choo Hotel	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad	Yes
Union Station	Union Station Hotel	Accommodation (featured listing) and Ad	Yes

Functioning Hotels as of July 2015

Source: 2015 Vacation Guide, Tennessee Department of Tourist Development

²⁷ Ibid., 49.

²⁸ *The Soundtrack of America: Made in Tennessee*. 2016 Annual Report, 35.

National Register-Listed Hotels and Inns as Heritage Development Assets

During my professional residency at the Tennessee Department of Tourist Development, I analyzed thirty-one National Register-listed hotels and inns across the state in order to assess their heritage development potential. Three major heritage themes emerged: Radio Stations & Music; Transportation Networks; and Ghost Tourism. A fourth topic, African American hostelrys and travel during Jim Crow, surfaced but to date there is not sufficient research to develop it into a heritage development theme pertaining to National Register-listed Hotels and Inns in TN. Today, the “Colored Hotel” is the only property listed.

Radio Stations & Music

Though its roots lay in the late nineteenth century, modern broadcasting was born in 1920 when KDKA, the first commercial station owned by Westinghouse Electric, was granted a license by the Department of Commerce and went on the air in Pittsburgh.²⁹ The industry experienced tremendous growth in its first decade. By the end of 1922, there were over five hundred and fifty licensed radio stations across the country.³⁰ Furthermore, the large national broadcasting companies that still dominate today were created during this period: National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in 1926, American Broadcast Company in 1927 (NBC operated two stations called Red and Blue. Blue was sold off in 1941 and changed its name to ABC), and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in 1928.³¹ From the start, hotels played an important role in broadcasting. NBC

²⁹ Eric Rhoads, *Blast from the Past: A Pictorial History of Radio's First 75 Years* (West Palm Beach, FL: Streamline Press, 1996), 38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

did its first official broadcast at the Waldorf-Astoria, one of New York City's grand hotels.

Property	Radio Station	Musical Association
Andrew Johnson Hotel	WNOX	Roy Acuff and Homer & Jethro "The Midday Merry-Go Round." Many believe that Hank Williams may have died at the hotel.
Colored Hotel	N/A	Regular stop for Tina Turner, Carla & Rufus Thomas, BB King and John Lee Hooker. Hotel had a dance hall.
Hermitage Hotel	WSM and WNAH	Popular location for dinner and dancing. Francis Craig Orchestra performed at the hotel from 1929-1945. Dinah Shore made debut with Craig.
Hotel Claridge	N/A	Popular location for dinner and dancing. Employed nationally known big bands and performers including Jimmy Dorsey, Tommy Dorsey, Clyde McCoy and Vaughn Monroe
James Robertson Hotel	WNAH	N/A
Lamar House - Bijou Theater	N/A	Bijou Theater hosted performances by Dizzy Gillespie and long list of others. Also presented various vaudeville performances and operas.
Peabody Hotel	WREC	Popular location for dinner and dancing. Performers included George Hamilton, Les Brown, Benny Goodman, Harry James, Dorothy Lamour and Andrew Sisters.
Terminal Station	N/A	Made famous in 1940s by Glen Miller's song "Chattanooga Choo-Choo"

Hotels Associated with Radio Stations & Music (2015)

Source: West, "WNOX;" Montague and Beadles, "Colored Hotel;" WNAH, "WNAH Station History and Photo Gallery;" Robert W. Ikard, "Francis Craig," *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History & Culture*, December 30, 2009, accessed March 1, 2015; "About Us," The Claridge House, accessed March 1, 2015; Peabody Memphis, "History of the Peabody Memphis;" Chattanooga ChooChoo, "Our History."

The link between hotels and radio stations was visible in the survey of National Register-listed hotels and inns in Tennessee – 13% had radio stations. The Francis Craig Orchestra, the house band at the Hermitage Hotel from 1924-1947, was featured on the first broadcast of National Life & Accident Insurance Company's We Shield Millions

³¹ John Dunning, *On the Air: The Encyclopedia of Old Time Radio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), xvi.

(WSM) broadcast in October 1925.³² For twelve years, the orchestra had a weekly show on WSM, airing nationally on NBC, recorded live at the hotel.³³ The detailed description of Craig's career in *The Hermitage Hotel at One Hundred* shed light on what it took to be a successful big band leader. The orchestra not only played for the lunch and dinner crowd at the Grille Room at the Hermitage Hotel but also at special events at university frat parties, country clubs and other hotels across the South. Over the years, the orchestra helped to launch the careers of such nationally recognized entertainers as James Melton, Snooky Lanson, Kenny Sargent, Phil Harris, and Dinah Shore.³⁴ Radio exposure helped to make Craig's songs "Red Rose" "Near You," and "Beg Your Pardon" into mega hits. In fact, "Near You" was the first song out of Nashville to top a national chart, "The Honor Roll of Hits" on *Your Hit Parade*, as well as the first recording from Nashville to sell a million copies.³⁵ Eventually, Craig's recording of "Near You" would sell over 2.5 million copies. In 1974, the song became a hit again when it was covered by George Jones and Tammy Wynette.³⁶ Craig also wrote the fight song "Dynamite" for his alma mater Vanderbilt University in 1938 that still sung at sporting events today.³⁷ The

³² Craig Havighurst, *Air Castles of the South: WSM and the Making of Music City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 15.

³³ "Hotel Highlights," Hermitage Hotel's Media Kit, accessed March 1, 2015, http://www.thehermitagehotel.com/press_room/media-kit-downloads/11-02-02/Hotel_Highlights.aspx.

³⁴ "Francis Craig Collection," Finding Aid at Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Vanderbilt University; "Francis Craig Papers, 1920-2003" Finding Aid at the Special Collections Division, Nashville Public Library.

³⁵ Ridley Wills II, *The Hermitage at One Hundred* (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 2009), 97; "Francis Craig Collection," Vanderbilt University.

³⁶ Peter Cooper, "Trying for a Third-Time Hit for Near You," *Tennessean*, July 20, 2012, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://blogs.tennessean.com/tunein/2012/07/20/trying-for-a-third-time-hit-for-near-you>.

³⁷ "Fight Songs," Vanderbilt University's Spirit Programs, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/cheer/fight-song>.

Hermitage Hotel also housed the radio station With News About Heaven (WNAH) during the period 1961 to 1973.³⁸

From its founding in 1949 to 1961, WNAH was based at the James Robertson Hotel in Nashville. It was the first station to accept regular religious programming that it sourced from the Fatherland Baptist Church.³⁹ The church remained active on WNAH in July 2015 with almost six hours of weekly airtime including “The Old Country Church Hour,” “The Gospel Hour,” and “The Hour for the Shut-Ins.”⁴⁰

According to Knox Heritage, for much of the 1930s WNOX broadcast from the 17th floor of the Andrew Johnson Hotel in Knoxville.⁴¹ The station broadcasted the country music variety show “Mid-Day Merry Go-Round” from the hotel (it later moved to its own 600-seat auditorium on Gay Street.) This show launched the careers of both Roy Acuff, who later became one of the Grand Ole Opry’s “brightest stars,” as well as the musical comic duo Homer & Jethro who were inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 2001.⁴² The popularity of the programming – approximately 1,000 fans gathered at the hotel daily to watch the live in-studio performances – resulted in the station having to relocate.⁴³ The fans swamped the elevators, a major inconvenience for paying hotel guests. In the “WNOX” entry in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and*

³⁸ “WNAH Station History and Photo Gallery,” WNAH, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www.wnah.com/index_files/Page316.htm.

³⁹ WNAH, “WNAH Station History and Photo Gallery.”

⁴⁰ W. W. Miles, “Fatherland Baptist Church, Tennessee,” Baptist History Homepage, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://baptisthistoryhomepage.com/tn.fatherland.b.c.history.html>.

⁴¹ “Andrew Jackson Hotel,” Knox Heritage, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://knoxheritage.org/our-work/neighborhood-tours/historic-downtown-knoxville-walking-tour/andrew-johnson-hotel-2/>.

⁴² Dunning, *On the Air*, 292; Dave Samuelson, “Homer and Jethro,” Country Music Hall of Fame, accessed June 08, 2015, <http://countrymusichalloffame.org/Inductees/InducteeDetail/homer-and-jethro>.

⁴³ “Andrew Jackson Hotel,” Knox Heritage.

Culture, West described WNOX as playing “a significant role in showcasing major talents in the burgeoning hillbilly--or country--music field from the 1930s through the 1950s.”⁴⁴

The Peabody has been associated with radio since its current building opened in 1925.⁴⁵ Wooten’s Radio Electric Company was one of the first stores in the hotel’s arcade. Having received the first commercial radio license in Mississippi in 1922, Hoyt B. Wooten incorporated WREC in Tennessee in 1926 (call sign taken from its retail store’s name). In 1929, the WREC studio moved into the basement of the Peabody and the station became an affiliate of CBS. [In 1956, WREC-TV launched on Channel 3 in Memphis and kept its studios at the Peabody until the mid-1970s.⁴⁶]

Representation by CBS artist’ bureau and twice weekly broadcasts airing nationally on WREC helped to turn the Beale Street Boys into “Radio’s Latest Sensation.”⁴⁷ All members of the quartet had been part of the Peabody chorus composed of employees who were selected by headwaiter Alonzo Locke and trained by L.J. Searcy, a former Fisk University professor.⁴⁸

In 1938, the Peabody spent \$100,000 to enclose 10,000 square feet on the east side of the roof (Union Avenue to alley) to create a combination “ballroom and

⁴⁴ Carroll Van West, “WNOX,” Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1526>.

⁴⁵ “History of WREG-TV,” News Channel Three, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://wreg.com/contact/the-history-of-wreg-tv/>.

⁴⁶ “History of WREG-TV,” News Channel Three.

⁴⁷ Charles Isaac Bowen, “Beale Street Boys, Radio’s Latest Sensation, Gaining High Popularity,” *News Journal and Guide* (1916-2004): June 16, 1934.

⁴⁸ “CBS Signs Quartet Trained by Fiskite,” *News Journal and Guide* (1916-2003); May 19, 1934.

nightclub.”⁴⁹ George Hall and orchestra headlined the opening night on January 31, 1938.⁵⁰ The Skyway (originally called the Rendezvous) and the adjoining Plantation Roof were popular locations for big bands including George Hamilton, Les Brown, Benny Goodman, Harry James, Dorthoy Lamour and the Andrew Sisters.⁵¹ From its opening through 1940s, the Skyway was one of only three national broadcast sites for CBS.⁵² Sam Phillips, who later founded Sun Records, hosted his radio program “Saturday Afternoon Tea Dance” from the Skyway from 1945-1950.⁵³

The Peabody’s association with music extends beyond radio. According to its website: “Blues musicians like Furry Lewis, Frank Stokes, Rufus 'Speckled Red' Perryman, Tommy Johnson, Robert Wilkins, Garfield Akers, Walter Vinson and Kid Bailey all recorded in rooms at the Peabody in the late '20s and early '30s, playing for talent scouts from big record labels like Vocalion and Paramount. Others, including Gus Cannon, Blind Lemon Jefferson, Jim Jackson and "jug bands" fronted by Will Shade, Jack Kelly and Jed Davenport all performed at the hotel.”⁵⁴ The Peabody’s proximity to Beale Street helped reinforce its position as a premier music venue.

Like the Peabody, the Hotel Claridge in Memphis was a popular venue for big band dancing. According to the *Commercial Appeal*, the Balinese Ball Room (originally known as the 20th Century Room) was “a center of Memphis nightlife” for over twenty

⁴⁹ “Peabody New Room to Open in January,” *Commercial Appeal*, November 6, 1938.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ James F. Williamson, Jr., “Hotel Peabody,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*, June 1977, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/77001290.PDF>.

⁵² “History of the Peabody Memphis,” Peabody Hotel, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.peabodymemphis.com/history/>.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

years⁵⁵ It featured such big bands as Jimmy Dorsey, Tommy Dorsey, Clyde McCoy and Vaughn Monroe.⁵⁶ The hotel manager cited the 20% federal cabaret tax as hurting business for years and resulting in many hotels discontinuing big band service much to the dismay of the bandleaders and dancers alike.⁵⁷

In 1909, the Lamar House in Knoxville was transformed into an event venue with the addition of the Bijou Theater. Over the years, the venue has hosted famous musicians as well as presented various vaudeville performances and operas (see photo of banner listing entertainers under Lamar House-Bijou Theater entry). According to the author of the nomination, it became the “finest theater in Knoxville, featuring legitimate theater productions and concerts.”⁵⁸

The Colored Hotel in Union City was the only African American hotel or inn listed on the National Register in Tennessee. For this reason, its significance is amplified because it sheds light on the difficulty of African American travel during Jim Crow, the music industry (many famous musicians stayed at the establishment), and the importance of hotels as community gathering places. Located on U.S. 51, Union City was a popular stopping point between Memphis and Chicago. According Nathan Montague and Brain Beadles in the nomination, it was a “regular stop for Ike and Tina Turner, Carla and Rufus Thomas, BB King, and John Lee Hooker. These performers often stayed here and

⁵⁵ Robert Johnson, “Claridge Balinese Room to be Dark this Winter,” *Commercial Appeal*, September 7, 1954.

⁵⁶ Lloyd Ostby and Kay Benton, “Hotel Claridge,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*, December 1981, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/82004045.PDF>.

⁵⁷ Johnson, “Claridge Balinese Room to be Dark this Winter.”

⁵⁸ William J. McCoy, III, M.D., “Lamar House Hotel and Bijou Theater,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*, May 1975, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/75001763.PDF>.

either played here or next-door at the now-demolished dance hall.”⁵⁹ During the weekends, the Colored Hotel often served up to 200 people offering music, food and fellowship.⁶⁰ See Chapter 5 for more on the Colored Hotel and African American travel during segregation.

Transportation Networks

In *Tennessee's Historic Landscape: A Traveler's Guide*, West explored the three types of historic landscapes – vernacular (“reflects an evolving tradition of land use” including settlement patterns along natural features such as rivers), political (boundaries established by political entities such as state or cities lines), and engineered (use of technology and invention to “reshape nature’s contours”).⁶¹ The Transportation networks theme fosters the exploration of both the vernacular landscape with stagecoach roads and engineered landscape with railroads and interstates.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Carroll Van West, *Tennessee's Historic Landscapes: A Traveler's Guide* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 4-5.

Property	Transportation Network Type
Carmichael Inn	Stagecoach
Lamar House-Bijou Theater	Stagecoach
Netherland Inn	Stagecoach
Old Deery Inn	Stagecoach
Stagecoach Inn	Stagecoach
Halbrook Hotel	Railroad
Hale-Patterson Hotel	Railroad
Hotel Overall	Railroad
Hotel Brumley	Railroad
Neely House	Railroad
Terminal Station	Railroad
Union Station	Railroad
Hermitage Hotel	Automobile Travel
Read House	Automobile Travel
Rhea-Mims Hotel	Automobile Travel
Colored Hotel	Automobile Travel

Hotels Associated with Transportation Networks (2015)

Source: Author Classified Hotels by Transportation Network Type

In 1795, the territorial legislature gave George Walton the commission to cut a wagon road from Knoxville to Nashville.⁶² In 1801, Walton Road was upgraded into a turnpike (a principal thoroughfare) that required adding mile markers and widening the road to fifteen feet.⁶³ It soon became known as the Great Stage Road and connected Nashville to Washington D.C. The arrival of the stagecoach helped to make Tennessee more accessible and significantly increased trade and communication outside the region.⁶⁴ Four of the National Register-listed inns are located on the Great Stage Road – Carmichael Inn, Lamar-Bijou, Netherland Inn and Old Deery Inn. According to the *WPA Guide to Tennessee*, the Netherland Inn was the “center of the gay social life of upper East Tennessee in the early nineteenth century and a regular stopping place for Andrew Jackson on his trips from the Hermitage to Washington.”⁶⁵ The remaining inn, the

⁶² David Ray Smith, “Historic Trails,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 26, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1395>.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Clayton, *Stories of Early Inns and Taverns of the East Tennessee Country*, 15.

Stagecoach Inn, was located on the stagecoach road between McMinnville and Chattanooga.⁶⁶ The Stagecoach Inn was located in Gruetli, an established Swiss farming community in Grundy County.

The Nashville and Chattanooga (N&C) was the first railroad completed in the state; it was incorporated in 1845, reached Chattanooga in 1854, and built out various branch lines.⁶⁷ During the 1850s, thanks to the addition of new railroad companies (e.g., Memphis & Charleston, Louisville & Nashville and Mobile & Ohio), Tennessee's commercial economy broadened beyond local exchange.⁶⁸ It made it relatively easy to ship goods across the state and within the region. Much of the commerce was agricultural based. While railroad allowed for commercial centers away from rivers, they mostly solidified existing commercial centers such as Knoxville, Nashville and Memphis.⁶⁹

By the 1890s, the railroad network in Tennessee had undergone a major transformation – it was almost three times larger, had been converted from Southern broad gauge track to national standard gauge, was controlled by outside capital, and was focused on extractive industries (e.g., timber, mining and coal).⁷⁰

Thirty years later, the railroad industry in the state began its “long decline” due to improved roads that allowed for cheaper and more flexible travel options for products

⁶⁵ *The WPA Guide to Tennessee*, 283.

⁶⁶ Claudette Stager, “Gruetli,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 26, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=574>.

⁶⁷ Edward A. Johnson, “Railroads,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1104>.

⁶⁸ Don H. Doyle, “Commerce and Urban Development,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=298>; Johnson, “Railroads.”

⁶⁹ Doyle, “Commerce and Urban Development.”

⁷⁰ Johnson, “Railroads.”

and passengers alike. Passenger rail service in Chattanooga ceased in 1971 and in Nashville in 1979.⁷¹ As of July 2015, Amtrack made stops at only two locations in Tennessee (Memphis and Newbern-Dyersburg) on the Chicago to New Orleans line.⁷²

There are seven National Register-listed hotels associated with railroads. Built at the turn of the century, the stations in Nashville and Chattanooga were grand and imposing terminals – in terms of size and architectural style - and acted as important landmarks. They were quite literally the gateway to their respective cities and spoke to their wealth and aspirations of being large commercial centers. They also spoke to the power and influence of the railroads. The National Register nomination for Nashville’s Union Station, built by L&N, referred to it as a “monument to the New South which emerged after the Civil War.”⁷³ Chattanooga’s Terminal Station, built by Southern Railway, “symbolized the key role that railroads played in the economic development of Chattanooga.”⁷⁴ In the late twentieth century, Union Station and Terminal Station were converted into hotels.

The remaining railroad hotels tell a different albeit equally interesting story about the commercial growth and settlement patterns of Tennessee. As the nexus of local politics, county seats were often the most populous towns in the area. With the arrival of the railroads, these towns grew in terms of population, types of businesses, and

⁷¹ Carroll Van West, “Nashville Union Station,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, December 25, 2009, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=974>. Carroll Van West “Chattanooga Choo-Choo,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, December 25, 2009, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=229>.

⁷² “Interactive Route Atlas,” Amtrack, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://www.amtrak.com/interactive-route-atlas>.

⁷³ Stephen S. Lawrence. “Nashville Union Station,” *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form*, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/69000178.PDF>.

⁷⁴ West, “Chattanooga Choo-Choo Hotel.”

commercial importance. Two of the hotels were based in county seats – Hotel Brumley in Greeneville (Greene County) and Neely House in Jackson (Madison County). Dickson began as a water stop at Mile Post 42 during the Civil War.⁷⁵ The Union Army expanded railroad line west from Nashville to the Tennessee River. By the 1890s, Dickson was a major railroad hub promoted as “one of the star towns of the Nashville, Chattanooga & St Louis Railroad.”⁷⁶ The Halbrook Hotel in Dickson located across the street from the depot served drummers (traveling salesmen) and railroad workers. Drummers brought not only goods for sale but also news from far and wide. Watertown with the Hale House-Patterson House and Wartrace with the Hotel Overall are examples of towns impacted by the railroad. As material culture, the railroad hotels are well positioned to tell the story of the importance of railroads on Tennessee’s history.

In the “Good Roads Movement in the South” (1910), Joseph Hyde Pratt eloquently argued for the relationship between railroads and good roads. He stated:

railways are simply the main arteries of travel, and public roads are the veins, each being a necessary part of the other in our system of transportation, and without good road, railroads fail in accomplishing what is required and demanded of them. Improvements in railway transportation facilities have reached a high state of efficiency, while the public highways have in many states been greatly neglected.⁷⁷

This description aptly described Tennessee the 48,982 miles of roads in Tennessee. In 1909, only a small portion had been improved - 3% were surfaced with stone and another 5% with gravel.⁷⁸ Originally, farmers advocated for good roads because they demanded a

⁷⁵ “History of Hotel Halbrook,” Clement Railroad Hotel Museum, panel.

⁷⁶ “The Railroad in Dickson,” Clement Railroad Hotel Museum, panel.

⁷⁷ Joseph Hyde Pratt, “Good Roads Movement in the South,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 35, no. 1 (January 1910): 105-106.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 109.

less expensive mode of transportation to get their goods to market. With increased access to cars (Henry Ford introduced the Model T in 1908), by the mid-teens city dwellers began pushing for good roads to spur economic development and satisfy their desire to travel. A prime example in Tennessee is the Dixie Highway that was built from 1915 to 1927. The Dixie Highway linked Ontario, Canada to Miami, Florida with both the Eastern and Western branches running through Tennessee. The Dixie Highway Association, based in the Patten Hotel in Chattanooga, was the “driving force” behind getting it built.⁷⁹ Both the Read House and the Hermitage Hotel were located on the Western branch and Rhea-Mims on the Eastern. According to Leslie Sharp, with Federal legislation and the support of Governor Austin Peay by the late 1920s,

Tennessee had satisfied the demands of both farmers and urban businessmen by completing a paved highway connecting Memphis to Bristol, building for state highways that crossed the state north to south, constructing seventeen bridges over major rivers, and completing most of a statewide system of over 4,000 miles of paved roads that connected every county. These roads transformed the state. They brought millions to visit Tennessee attractions like the newly established Great Smoky Mountains State Park, Rock City, Ruby Falls, and the Grand Ole Opry.⁸⁰

Ghost Tourism

Ghost tourism is a subset of the field known as dark tourism or thanatourism (Thanatology is the scientific study of death). Philip Stone, Executive Director of the Institute for Dark Tourism at the University of Central Lancashire (UK), defined dark

⁷⁹ Leslie Sharp, “Dixie Highway Association,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, last modified January 1, 2010, accessed June 29, 2015, <http://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=382>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

tourism as “travel to sites of death, disaster, or the seemingly macabre.”⁸¹ Well-known sites associated with dark tourism include Auschwitz-Birkenau (Poland) and the Robben Island Prison Museum (South Africa). This interdisciplinary field examines how death is interpreted at sites, how tourists experience sites, and how death is commoditized by tourism. Dark tourism is increasing in popularity and has over the last decade received increased media coverage.⁸²

In *Haunted Heritage: The Cultural Politics of Ghost Tourism, Populism, and the Past*, Michele Hanks defined ghost tourism as “any form of leisure or travel that involves encounters with or the pursuit of knowledge of the ghostly or haunted.”⁸³ In her research, Hanks found that ghost tourism typically focuses on “public ghosts” associated with “lives and stories as a matter of local, regional, or national history rather than family history.”⁸⁴ Ghost tourism, and ghost themed walking tours in particular, is considered a growth sector domestically and abroad.⁸⁵

Mark Nesbitt, author of *Ghosts of Gettysburg* Volumes I-VII, is often credited as the father of ghost themed walking tours in the United States.⁸⁶ Certain cities in the

⁸¹ “Home page,” Institute for Dark Tourism, accessed June 15, 2015, <http://dark-tourism.org.uk>.

⁸² Will Coldwell, “Dark Tourism: Why Murder Sites and Disaster Zones are Proving Popular,” *The Guardian*, October 31, 2013, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2013/oct/31/dark-tourism-murder-sites-disaster-zones>; Debra Kamin, “The Rise of Dark Tourism: When War Zones Become Travel Destinations,” *The Atlantic*, July 15, 2014, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/07/the-rise-of-dark-tourism/374432/>.

⁸³ Michele Hanks, *Haunted Heritage: The Cultural Politics of Ghost Tourism, Populism, and the Past* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2015), 13.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Hanks, *Haunted Heritage*, 16; Glenn W. Gentry, “Walking with the Dead: The Place of Ghost Walk Tourism in Savannah Georgia,” *Southeastern Geographer* 47, no. 2, (November 2007): 222-238.

⁸⁶ Panelists on National Council of Public History’s “Haunted Histories: Ghost Lore Interpretation at Historical Sites (April 2015); Robert C. Thompson, “Am I Going to See a Ghost Tonight? Gettysburg

United States are known for their ghost tours – Gettysburg, Savannah, and New Orleans. Tennessee has its fair share of ghost tours. In addition to tours in the largest markets of Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga and Memphis, a host of smaller towns in East Tennessee have ghost tours thanks to Appalachian Ghost Walks.⁸⁷ Seven of the National Register-listed hotels are included in ghost tours (see Figure 3.5).

In addition to ghost tours, ghost tourism in Tennessee is fueled by the plethora of books published on the subject of ghosts, ghost hunters and haunted places. While scholarly presses published some of the books, niche presses such as The History Press, Cherisy Press and Nine Lives Publishing published the majority of them.⁸⁸ Five of the National Register-listed hotels are included in books about ghosts. Exhibit interpretation at library further supported ghost tourism. The Tennessee State Library and Archives developed an exhibit titled “Tennessee Myths and Legends.” In the ghost theme section of the exhibit the library described the Read House in Chattanooga.⁸⁹ The Chattanooga Public Library exhibit titled “Haunted Chattanooga” also included the Read House.⁹⁰

Ghost Tours and the Performance of Belief,” *The Journal of American Culture* 33, no. 2 (June 2010), 79-91.

⁸⁷ “Ghost and History Tour Description,” Appalachian Ghost Walks, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.appalachianghostwalks.com/tennessee-ghost-walks/east-tn-ghost-tours.html>.

⁸⁸ William Lynwood Montell, *Ghosts Along the Cumberland* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1975); Alan Brown, *Haunted Places in the American South* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002); Alan Brown, *Ghost Hunters of the South* (Jackson, MA: University Press of Mississippi, 2006). Jessica Penot and Amy Petulla, *Haunted Chattanooga* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011); Jeff Morris, Garrett Merk, and Donna Marsh, *Nashville Haunted Handbook* (Cincinnati, OH: Cherisy Press, 2011); Tammy J. Poore, *Chasing Ghost Tales in Tennessee* (Knoxville, TN: Nine Lives Publishing, 2011).

⁸⁹ “Ghosts,” Tennessee State Library and Archive’s Myths and Legends, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/myth/ghosts.htm>

⁹⁰ “Haunted Chattanooga,” Chattanooga Public Library, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://chattlibrary.org/local-history/exhibits/subject/haunted-chattanooga>.

Property	Citations for Ghost Stories	Located on Ghost Tour	Other
Andrew Johnson Hotel	Knoxville Walking Tour	Knoxville Walking Tour's "Shadow Side Ghost Tour"	
Cloyd Hotel	Ghost Hunt Weekends; Syfy Channel's "Ghost Hunters"; and CNN's List of Most Haunted Places in America	no	Ghost Hunt Weekends are regularly scheduled at the hotel
Guest House	<i>Chasing Ghost Tales in Tennessee</i>	no	
Hermitage Hotel	Nashville Ghost Tour	Nashville Ghost Tour's "Haunted Downtown Nashville Tour"	
Hotel Overall	<i>Nashville Haunted Handbook. Haunted Tennessee: Ghost Stories and Strange Phenomena of the Volunteer State. Dinner & Spirits: A Guide to America's Most Haunted Restaurants, Taverns and Inns.</i>	no	Hotel restaurant is called Spooky Pizza. Sells t-shirts with "Haunted Walking Horse Inn"
Lamar House- Bijou Theater	FAQs Bijou Theater refers to report by East Tennessee Paranormal Society (ETPS)	Knoxville Walking Tour's Shadow Side Ghost Tour"	Ghost Tours and Knox Heritage did an event. Also ETPS has done many investigations.
Old Deery Inn	Appalachian Ghost Walk	Appalachian Ghost Walk's "Haunted Historic Greeneville Ghost Walk"	
Read House Hotel	Tennessee State Library and Archives' exhibit "Tennessee Myths and Legends." Chattanooga Public Library's exhibit "Haunted Chattanooga." <i>Chasing Tales in Tennessee. Ghosts of the Southern Tennessee Valley. Haunted Chattanooga.</i>	Chattanooga Ghost Tour's "Ghost Hunt"	
Terminal Station	<i>Haunted Chattanooga.</i> Chattanooga Ghost Hunt.	Chattanooga Ghost Tour's "Ghost Hunt - Extended"	
Union Station	<i>Nashville Haunted Handbook</i>	Nashville Ghost Tour's "Hearse Tour"	

Hotels Associated with Ghost Tourism (2015)

Source: "Shadow Side Ghost Tour," Knoxville Walking Tours, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://knoxvillewalkingtours.com/ghost.html/>; "Ghost Hunt Weekends at the Thomas House Hotel," Ghost Hunt Weekends, accessed June 16, 2015, http://www.ghosthuntweekends.com/ghw/thomas-house_main.html; Jessie Williams, "Syfy Channel's 'Ghost Hunters' to Feature Thomas House Hotel," *Macon County Chronicle*, December 13, 2011, accessed June 16, 2015, <https://www.maconcountychronicle.com/news/2861-syfy-channels-ghost-hunters-to-feature-thomas-house-hotel>; Adam Carlson, "9 haunted spots across America," CNN Travel, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/travel/article/haunted-spots-across-america/index.html>; Tammy J. Poore, *Chasing Ghost Tales in Tennessee*, (Knoxville, TN: Nine Lives Publishing, 2011); "Haunted Downtown Nashville Tour," Nashville Ghost Tours, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.nashvilleghosttours.com/haunted-downtown-nashville-tours.html>; Donna Marsh, Jeff Morris, and Garrett Merk, *Nashville Haunted Handbook* (Covington, KY: Clerisy Press, 2011); Alan Brown, *Haunted Tennessee: Ghosts and Strange Phenomena of the Volunteer State* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2009); Robert and Anne Wlodarski, *Dinner and Spirits: A Guide to America's Most Haunted Restaurants, Taverns, and Inns* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000); "Plan Your Visit: FAQs," Bijou Theater, accessed June 16, 2015, <https://knoxbijou.com/plan-your-visit/faqs/>; "Appalachian Ghost Walks," Appalachian Ghost Walks,

accessed June 16, 2015, <http://appalachianghostwalks.com>; “Haints and Witches and Legends...Oh my! Tennessee Folklife Myths and Legends,” Tennessee State Library and Archives, October 31, 2014, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://tslablog.blogspot.com/2014/10/haints-and-witches-and-legendsoh-my.html>; “Haunted Chattanooga,” Chattanooga Public Library, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://chattlibrary.org/local-history/exhibits/subject/haunted-chattanooga>; Georgiana C. Kotarski, *Ghosts of Southern Tennessee Valley* (John F. Blair, 2006); Jessica Penot and Amy Petulla *Haunted Chattanooga* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011); “Chattanooga Ghost Tours,” Chattanooga Ghost Tours, accessed June 16, 2015, <https://chattanoogaghosttours.com>; “Nashville Hearse Tours,” Nashville Ghost Tours, accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.nashvilleghosttours.com/nashville-hearse-tours.html>.



Nashville Ghost Tours’ “Haunted Downtown Nashville Tour” begins in front of the Hermitage Hotel. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, on May 18, 2015.



Ghost Hunt Weekends @ the Thomas House Hotel in Red Boiling Springs
Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, May 15, 2015.

African American Hostelties and Travel during Jim Crow

Travel for African Americans during the Jim Crow era was difficult and even dangerous for a host of reasons. Those traveling by rail often faced humiliation, substandard service and segregated railway cars.⁹¹ It is little wonder that automobiles were the preferred mode of transport beginning in the 1910s and 1920s. Kathleen Franz argued that the African American middle class chose automobiles because they were both a way to escape segregation as well as provide a visible sign of racial uplift.⁹² But “freedom of the road” came at a price: it could make African Americans “particularly irresistible targets for trouble-making whites.”⁹³ Discriminatory practices made it difficult for African Americans to purchase automobile insurance, obtain roadside assistance coverage, and secure financing to buy automobiles.⁹⁴ Once on the road, additional challenges faced them from locating restaurants, beauty parlors, barber shops, service stations and accommodations for the night. Often travelers spent hours looking for accommodation and when they could not be found spent the nights in haylofts or in their cars.⁹⁵ In response, Victor Green established *The Negro Motorist Green Book* in 1936 to “give the Negro traveler information that will keep him from running into difficulties,

⁹¹ In 1884, Ida B. Wells won a circuit court case against the Chesapeake, Ohio and Southwestern Railroad for expelling her from the women’s coach. It was later overturned by the Tennessee Supreme Court. Mirian DeCosta-Willis, “Ida B. Wells-Barnett,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*, accessed June 30, 2015, <http://tennesseencyclopedia.net/entry.php?rec=1488>.

⁹² Kathleen Franz, “The Open Road: Automobility and Racial Uplift in Interwar Years,” *Technology and the African American Experience* ed. Bruce Sinclair (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), 132.

⁹³ Mark S. Foster, “In the Face of Jim Crow: Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945,” *The Journal of Negro History* 84, no. 2 (Spring 1999), 143.

⁹⁴ Franz, “The Open Road: Automobility and Racial Uplift in Interwar Years,” 145.

⁹⁵ Foster, “In the Face of Jim Crow: Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945,” 142.

embarrassment and to make his trips more enjoyable.”⁹⁶ The 1949 edition covers only eight cities in Tennessee – Bristol, Chattanooga, Clarksville, Knoxville, Lexington, Memphis, Murfreesboro and Nashville – and a total of 65 statewide listings for all services, 25 of which were accommodations.⁹⁷ Accommodations were grouped as “tourist homes” and “hotels” that included Y.M.C.As and Y.W.C.A.s. There were no motels listed for Tennessee. A 1948 article titled “Auto is the Best Way to Travel” noted many of the 20,000 motels nationwide discriminated against African Americans.⁹⁸ Other directories available included the United States Travel Bureau’s “Directory of Negro Hotels and Other Guest Houses” (1939) and vacation guides put out by *Ebony* magazine.⁹⁹ The Lorraine Motel in Memphis, where Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, is the most famous African American hostelry in the state. Today, the property houses the National Civil Rights Museum and Dr. King’s room is preserved as an exhibit.

⁹⁶ http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Race/R_Casestudy/87_135_1736_GreenBk.pdf

⁹⁷ Victor Green, *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, http://www.autolife.umd.umich.edu/Race/R_Casestudy/87_135_1736_GreenBk.pdf

⁹⁸ “Where to Go for A Vacation” *Ebony*, July 1947. “Where to Vacation in Florida” May 1948.

⁹⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10150307219565250&set=a.10150307219500250.383891.150117595249&type=3&theater>. “Where to Go for A Vacation,” *Ebony*, July 1947. “Where to Vacation in Florida,” *Ebony*, May 1948.



National Civil Rights Museum, Memphis, TN. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 11, 2015.



Dr. King's Room at the Lorraine Hotel, National Civil Rights Museum.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ "King's Last Hours," National Civil Rights Museum, accessed July 2, 2015, <http://civilrightsmuseum.org/project/kings-last-hours/>



Plan Your Visit interpretation panel at the National Civil Rights Museum. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 11, 2015.

In 1875, Tennessee’s General Assembly passed Chapter 130 giving any “Hotel or public means of transportation or place of amusement” the right to “control access & admittance or exclusion of persons to or from their public Houses – means of Transportation & places of amusement shall be as perfect and complete as that of any private person over” his personal property.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Chapter 130 barred those excluded from seeking legal recourse in the courts. The discriminatory nature of Chapter 130 paved the way for the 1881 statute in Tennessee mandating separate rail cars for African Americans and whites, referred to as the first Jim Crow law or at the very least the first Jim Crow railroad law.¹⁰² While the Civil Rights Act of 1875 made it a crime to deny anyone “full and equal enjoyment” of railways, hotels and other places of public amusement, despite the best efforts of the NAACP and Urban League, in subsequent

¹⁰¹“This Honorable Body: African American Legislators in 19th century Tennessee,” Tennessee State Library and Archives’ Exhibits, accessed July 1, 2015, <http://tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/blackhistory/pdfs2/1875%20Chapter%20130,%20Acts%20of%20TN.pdf>

¹⁰² “This Honorable Body,” TSLA, <http://tn.gov/tsla/exhibits/blackhistory/jimcrow.htm>, Bobby L. Lovett, *The Civil Rights Movement in Tennessee: A Narrative History* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 414.

cases the court upheld the right of hotels to deny access as they saw fit.¹⁰³ The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title II in particular, prohibited discrimination at motels, hotels, theaters and the like. But it was not until *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States* (1964) that the rights guaranteed under the Civil Rights Act were upheld at hostelrys throughout the nation including in the South.¹⁰⁴ The success hinged on Interstate Commerce laws. The Solicitor General stated, “overwhelming evidence that discrimination by hotels and motels impedes interstate travel by Negroes, and interstate travel is, of course, a form of interstate commerce. The plain truth is that in many places lodging is simply not available to Negro travelers.”¹⁰⁵

Recommendations and Next Steps

- Develop the material on National Register-listed hotels into a self-guided driving tour (print version). Each property will have an entry including a photo, short description, and indication of whether it is listed on other Trails and Byways developed by Tennessee Department of Tourist Development. In addition, the pamphlet will include symbols indicating if the property is associated with Radio Stations & Music; Transportation Networks; and Ghost Tourism (eventually). The print version will be supplemented by an online version including an interactive map linked to TDTD’s website, www.tnvacation.com.

¹⁰³ Franz, “The Open Road: Automobility and Racial Uplift in Interwar Years,” 145.

¹⁰⁴ A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 308-309.

¹⁰⁵ Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 308.

- Incorporate properties associated with Radio Stations & Music into the TDTD's larger Music Trail initiative. Music is at the core of TDTD's positioning of the state as the tagline, "Soundtrack of America. Made in Tennessee."¹⁰⁶
- Tennessee has a large number of transportation related properties and attractions. Evaluate how best to incorporate National Register-listed hotel properties associated with Transportation Networks into a larger product. A self-guided driving tour would be a simple way to link like properties and attractions. Preliminary research suggests that those related to railroads are promoted most actively.¹⁰⁷
- Evaluate how best to promote and grow Ghost Tourism within the state. The plethora of books and number of ghost tours indicate there is both supply and demand. This could possibly lead to the development of a self-guided driving tour or even a new trail. From a PR point of view, Ghost Tourism could be added as a track on a familiarizing tour ("fam tour" as they are called in house) or pitched as a story to journalists. Whether or not you believe in ghosts, Ghost Tourism is a great way to get people interested in history and give them a sense of place.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 17, 34.

¹⁰⁷ "Tennessee Railroad Valley," Tennessee Railroad Valley, accessed June 25, 2015, <http://www.tvrail.com>; "Home," Clement Railroad Hotel Museum, accessed June 25, 2015, <http://www.clementrailroadmuseum.org>; "Home," Cookeville Depot Museum, accessed June 25, 2015, <http://cookevilledepot.com>; "Home," Cowan Railroad Museum, accessed June 25, 2015, <http://cowanrailroadmuseum.org/index.html>; "Home," Casey Jones Home & Railroad Museum, accessed June 25, 2015, <http://caseyjones.com>; "Historic Downtown NC & St. Louis Depot & Railroad Museum," Jackson Recreation and Parks, accessed June 25, 2015, http://jacksonrecandparks.com/leagues/custom_page.cfm?clientid=3046&leagueid=0&pageid=1112; "Home," Three Rivers Rambler, accessed June 25, 2015, <http://www.threeriversrambler.com>.

Hotels and Inns Listed Alphabetically

ALEXANDER INN within the Oak Ridge Historic District
 201 East Madison Road
 Oak Ridge, Tennessee 37230
 Anderson County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, October 12, 2014.

Other Name(s): Guest House

Name Today: Alexander Guest House Retirement & Assisted Living Facility

Year Added to National Register: 1991

Date of Construction: 1943. Additional rooms 1949.

Position on Landscape: Oak Ridge Historic District

Current Owner: Dover Development Corp

Historic Use of Property: inn

Current Use of Property: senior living facility

Architectural Style: Neo Classical

National Register Significance: as part of Oak Ridge Historic District – see TN
 Historical Commission Marker

Endangered?: Listed on Ten in Tenn 2002-2003. Listed on East Tennessee Preservation Endangered List 2013 (removed 2014). Nominated for the National Trust/Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Award for Federal Partnerships in Historic Preservation in 2014.¹⁰⁸

Preservation Level: excellent. fully renovated in 2014

Trails, Byways, Markers: Tennessee Historical Commission marker

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Social Media: 327 Facebook likes as of May 21, 2015,

Heritage Theme: N/A

Other: The National Defense Authorization Act of 2015 authorized the Manhattan Project National Historical Park – three location park in Oak Ridge, TN, Los Alamos, NV and Hanford, WA.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ “Preservation at Oak Ridge,” Atomic Heritage Foundation, accessed May 21, 2015, <http://www.atomicheritage.org/preservation-oak-ridge>.

¹⁰⁹ “Manhattan Project National Historical Park,” U.S. Department of Energy, accessed May 21, 2015, <http://energy.gov/management/office-management/operational-management/history/manhattan-project/manhattan-project-0>.



Tennessee Historical Commission Marker. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, October 12, 2014.

ANDREW JOHNSON HOTEL

912 South Gay Street
 Knoxville, Tennessee 37902
 Knox County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, October 11, 2014.

Name Today: Andrew Johnson Office Tower

Year added to National Register: 1980

Date of Construction: 1930

Position on Landscape: downtown Knoxville commercial district

Current Owner: Knox County

Historic Use of Property: Hotel

Current Use of Property: offices

Architectural Style: Simplified Renaissance Revival

National Register Significance: landmark building (tallest in Knoxville 1930-1978) representing downtown's southern boundary at the Tennessee River. Largest and most prestigious hotel in Knoxville but never financially successful. Period significance is 1926-1930

Endangered?: no

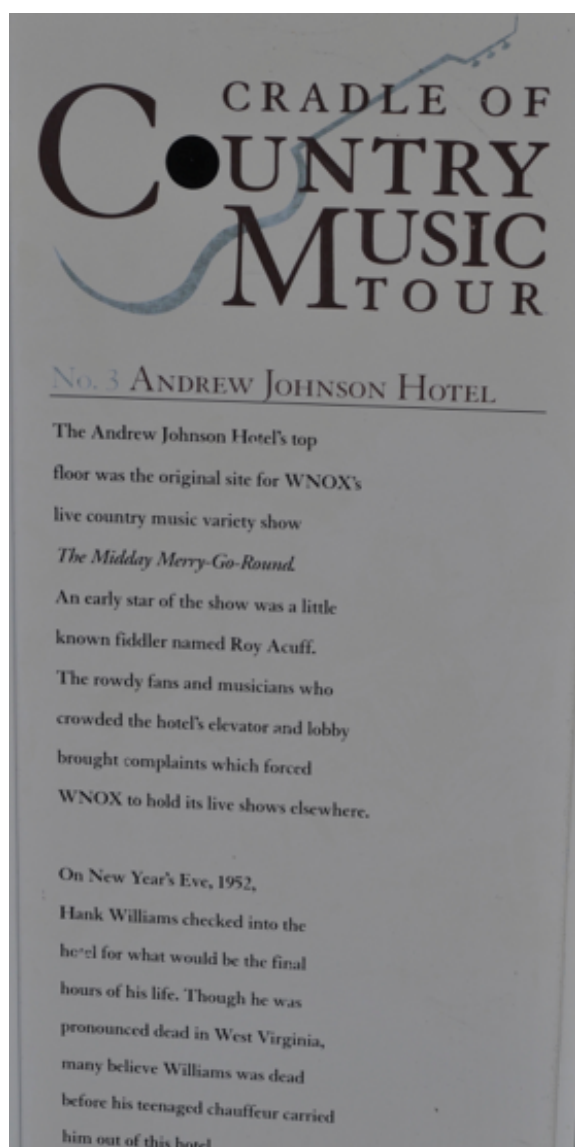
Preservation Level: good / fair

Trails, Byways, Marker: White Lightning. Cradle of Country Music Walking Tour (East TN Historical Society). Historic Downtown Knoxville Walking Tour (Knox Heritage)

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Social Media: N/A

Heritage Theme: Radio Stations & Music



Plaque displayed in front of building. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, October 11, 2014.

CARMICHAEL INN

600 Hackberry Street

Loudon, Tennessee 37774

Loudon County / East Tennessee



Photo Credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, October 23, 2014.

Name Today: Carmichael Inn**Year added to National Register:** Added 1977. removed from NR late 1980s-early 1990s.**Date of Construction:** c. 1810**Position on Landscape:** Located historically on banks of river. Moved to one block from courthouse¹¹⁰**Current Owner:** Dover Development Corp**Historic Use of Property:** inn**Current Use of Property:** event space**Architectural Style:** Log cabin**National Register Significance:** early development of “Blair’s Ferry” (renamed Loudon when railroad line was complete in 1852) and transportation history¹¹¹**Endangered?:** Yes that’s why Loudon County Heritage purchased it and moved it in 1987 along with Orme-Wilson Warehouse.¹¹² Two buildings housed the Loudon County Museum (opened July 1991).

¹¹⁰ “History of the Carmichael Inn,” Historic Loudon, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://weloveloudon.com/pdfs/Carmichael.pdf>

¹¹¹ *Goodspeed’s History of Tennessee 1887* (Nashville: Charles and Randy Edler Booksellers), 826.

¹¹² Joe E. Spence, ed. *Landmarks of Loudon County: Its History Through Architecture* (Gloucester Point, VA: Hallmark Publishing Company, Inc. 1997), 22.

Preservation Level: good

Trails, Byways, Marker: Rocky Top. Civil War Trail Marker

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Social Media: 613 Facebook likes as of 5/21/15

Heritage Theme: Transportation (stagecoach)



Carmichael Inn (circa 1979). Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

CLOYD HOTEL

520 Main Street

Red Boiling Springs, Tennessee 37150

Macon County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, September 30, 2014.

Other Name(s): Cloyd's Place**Name Today:** Thomas House Hotel**Year Added to National Register:** 1986**Date of Construction:** 1927**Position on Landscape:** Salt Lick Creek – All three hotels on Main Street and listed in the Early Twentieth Century Resort Buildings of Red Boiling Springs.**Current Owner:** The Cole Family**Historic Use of Property:** hotel, camp**Current Use of Property:** hotel**Architectural Style:** Victorian**National Register Significance:** 1 of 3 remaining resort hotels in town. Period of significance 1927-1952.**Endangered?:** no.**Preservation Level:** good/ fair**Trails, Byways, Marker:** Ring of Fire**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** accommodation**Social Media:** 3,545 likes on Facebook (May 14, 2015)**Heritage Theme:** Ghosts Tourism

 **The Thomas House Hotel in Red Boiling Springs, TN**
shared Ghost Hunt Weekends's photo.
February 12 · 🌐



GHOST HUNT WEEKENDS

thomas house hotel
RED BOILING SPRINGS, TN

overnight lodging
full dinner
presentations
all night ghost hunting
full breakfast

www.GHOSTHUNTWEEKENDS.com
1-800-604-9101

2015 DATES

january: 23 & 24
february: 20 & 21
march: 27 & 28
april: 17 & 18
may: 15 & 16
june: 26 & 27
july: 17, 18, 24 & 25
august: 21 & 22
september: 18 & 19
oct: 2, 3, 16, 17, 29
30 & 31

Ghost Hunt Weekends

NEXT WEEKEND: February 20 & 21

Come stay the night in the #2 Most Haunted Location in the US.

Located just outside of Nashville, TN

Dinner | Overnight Lodging | Presentations | Breakfast | All-Night Ghost Hunting \$99
Per-Person

http://www.ghosthuntweekends.com/ghw/thomas-house_main.html

Source: "Ghost Hunt Weekends," Facebook.com, accessed May 14, 2015,
<https://www.facebook.com/ghosthuntweekends>. Ghosthuntweekends had 87,450 likes on
Facebook as of May 14, 2015.



Cloyd Place Cottages. Postcard from the Collection of Ridley Wills II.

COLORED HOTEL

208 Nash Street

Union City, Tennessee 38261

Obion County / West Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, December 16, 2014.

Other Name(s): Ezell Patterson's; Patterson's Hotel. American Legion Post No. 188.

Name Today: "Colored Hotel"

Year added to National Register: 2008

Date of Construction: c. 1945

Position on Landscape: "sparsely developed commercial and residential area" (per NR)

Current Owner: Mohamed Faiz Alamori¹¹³

Historic Use of Property: hotel

Current Use of Property: vacant

Architectural Style: simple, two-story concrete block building

National Register Significance: Black Social History. During segregation it was the only hotel open to African Americans in Union City. Also served food and drink. Important to local community. Only African American hotel on the National Register in Tennessee. Built in circa 1945, the Colored Hotel stands as a monument to the history of segregation and a symbol of a community that actively resisted oppression by finding a way to take part in the growing nation trend of automobile travel." Period of significance is circa 1945-1975.

Endangered?: Placed on Ten in Tenn list in 2006. Purchased by Earnest Daniels and donated to the Colored Hotel Heritage Foundation for the future Museum & Outreach Center. Spoke to Glenda Caudle author of "Colored Museum a Dream Moving toward

¹¹³ Name provided by Obion Assessor's Office on May 19, 2015 This contradicts with research that suggests that the Colored Hotel Heritage Foundation owns the building.

Reality” dated December 9, 2010 article on May, 14, 2015 who stated that nothing is being done. There was opposition from neighbors.¹¹⁴

Preservation Level: deteriorated

Trails, Byways, Marker: no

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Social Media: N/A

Heritage Theme: Radio Station & Music. Transportation (automobile travel). African American Hotelries and Travel during Jim Crow.



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, December 16, 2014.

¹¹⁴ Glenda Caudle, “The Colored Hotel Museum a Dream Moving Towards Reality,” NWTN Today, accessed May 16, 2015, <http://www.nwtntoday.com/contentitem/314185/2220/the-colored-hotel-museum-a-dream-moving-toward-reality>.

COUNTS HOTEL

321 East Main Street
 Red Boiling Springs, Tennessee 37150
 Macon County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, September 30, 2014.

Name Today: Amour's Hotel

Year added to National Register: 1986

Date of Construction: 1924

Position on Landscape: Salt Lick Creek – All three hotels on Main Street and listed in the Early Twentieth Century Resort Buildings of Red Boiling Springs.

Current Owner: Dennis and Debra Emery

Historic Use of Property: hotel

Current Use of Property: hotel

Architectural Style: Victorian

National Register Significance: 1 of 3 remaining resort hotels in town. Only spa offering traditional mineral baths in the state. 1924-19

Endangered?: no

Preservation Level: good / fair

Trails, Byways, Marker: Ring of Fire

Tennessee Vacation Guide: accommodation. Listed on Tnvacation.com.

Social Media: 353 likes on Facebook as of May 14, 2015.

Heritage Theme: N/A

DONOHO HOTEL HISTORIC DISTRICT

500 East Main Street

Red Boiling Springs, Tennessee 37150

Macon County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, September 30, 2015.

Name Today: Donoho Hotel

Year added to National Register: 1986

Date of Construction: 1916

Position on Landscape: Salt Lick Creek – All three hotels on Main Street and listed in the Early Twentieth Century Resort Buildings of Red Boiling Springs.

Current Owner: Mike and Wendy Askins

Historic Use of Property: hotel

Current Use of Property: hotel

Architectural Style: Greek Revival

National Register Significance: Excellent example of mineral resort architecture. One of three remaining resort hotels in town.

Endangered?: no

Preservation Level: good / fair

Trails, Byways, Marker: Ring of Fire

Tennessee Vacation Guide: accommodation. Listed on tnvacation.com

Social Media: 729 Facebook likes as of May 14, 2015.

Heritage Theme: N/A

GRAND CENTRAL HOTEL

295 Main Street

Lynchburg, Tennessee 37352

Moore County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, January 27, 2015.

Other Name(s): Bobo Hotel**Name Today:** Miss Mary Bobo's Boarding House**Year Added to National Register:** 1994**Date of Construction:** 1867**Position on Landscape:** One town off town square**Current Owner:** Brown-Forman Corporation**Historic Use of Property:** restaurant**Current Use of Property:** hotel, single dwelling, boarding house.**Architectural Style:** mid-19th century Greek Revival**National Register Significance:** town's best known hotel & boarding house 1867-early 1980s; Mary Evans Bobo only woman-operated and owned commercial hotel & restaurant in Lynchburg. Period of significance 1867-1943.**Endangered?:** no**Preservation Level:** good / fair**Trails, Byways, Marker:** The Jack Trail**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no but should be. Listed on tnvaction.com.**Social Media:** 7,113 Facebook likes as of May 14, 2015.**Heritage Theme:** N/A



Send your birthday card or note anytime in June or July to Mrs. Mary Bobo, Main Street, Lynchburg, Tennessee. We thank you.

MRS. MARY BOBO is the most special person in Lynchburg, Tennessee. This July, she's more special than ever.

Mrs. Bobo has run the boarding house in town since 1908. And though she's never served a drop of whiskey in it, she's been a friend of our distillery every one of those years. This year, Miss Mary will be 99 years old. Everyone at the distillery will be sending her a card. If you're a friend of Jack Daniel's, we hope you might like to send her one too.



CHERRY HILL
OLD NO. 7
Tennessee Whiskey
BY DROP

1982

Ad placed by Brown-Forman Corporation in *Playboy Magazine* (1982).
Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, January 27, 2015.

HALBROOK HOTEL

100 Clement Place

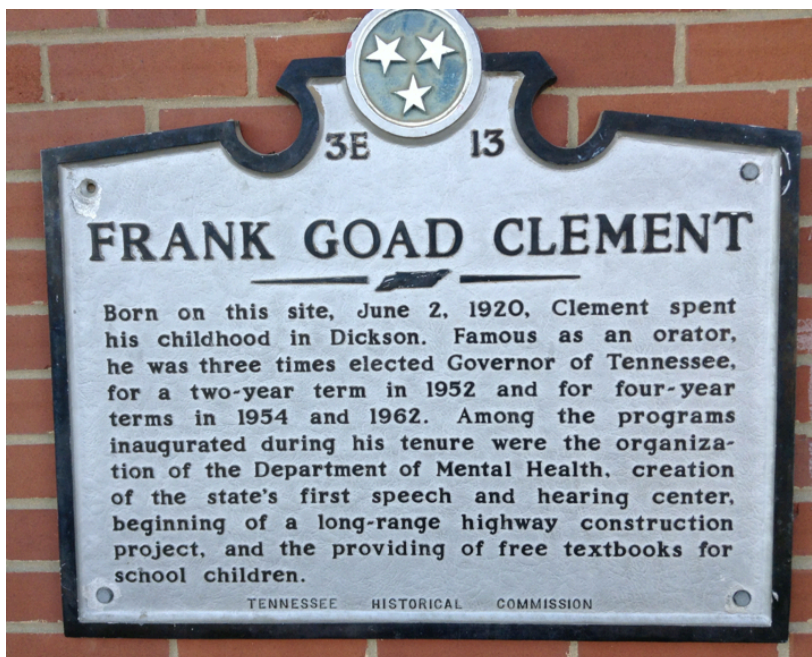
Dickson, Tennessee 37055

Dickson County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, January 24, 2015.

Other Name(s): Edwards Hotel; Frank G. Clement Birthplace**Name Today:** Clement Railroad Hotel Museum**Year added to National Register:** 1990**Date of Construction:** 1913**Position on Landscape:** downtown Dickson in commercial district, one block off Main street**Current Owner:** owned by the state**Historic Use of Property:** hotel**Current Use of Property:** museum**Architectural Style:** 20th century commercial**National Register Significance:** Hotel erected across from depot to serve passengers, railway personnel and drummers. Much of Dickson's growth and development was dependent on railroad. Frank Goad Clement, three time Governor of Tennessee, was born in the hotel in 1920. Family moved in 1922 and then lived there another 9 months in 1933. Period of significance is 1913-1940.**Endangered?:** no.**Preservation Level:** good**Trails, Byways, Marker:** Screaming Eagle. Civil War Trail marker. Tennessee Historical Commission marker.**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** attraction**Heritage Theme:** Transportation (railroad).



Tennessee Historical Commission marker. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, January 24, 2015.

HALE HOUSE – PATTERSON HOTEL

116 Depot Street

Watertown, Tennessee 37184

Wilson County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, September 30, 2015.

Other Name(s): Patton Hotel**Name Today:** Watertown Bed & Breakfast**Year added to National Register:** 1997**Date of Construction:** c. 1898**Position on Landscape:** downtown Watertown commercial district.**Current Owner:** Bob and Sharon McComb**Historic Use of Property:** domestic single dwelling, commercial hotel**Current Use of Property:** domestic single dwelling. Operated as a B&B until summer 2014.**Architectural Style:** Queen Anne / Classical Revival**National Register Significance:** local significance in the development of the town.

Locally significant example of Queen Anne dwelling updated to present Classical Revival. Period of significance 1898-1946.

Endangered?: no**Preservation Level:** good / fair**Possible Theme:** Transportation (railroad)**Trails, Byways, Marker:** no**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no. Listed on TNvacation.com – should not be listed.**Heritage Theme:** Transportation (railroad)

HERMITAGE HOTEL231 6th Avenue North

Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Davidson County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 20, 2015.

Name Today: Hermitage Hotel**Year Added to National Register:** 1975**Date of Construction:** 1910**Position on Landscape:** downtown Nashville commercial district. Close proximity to state capital**Current Owner:** Historic Hotels of Nashville. Façade easement = Historic Nashville**Historic Use of Property:** hotel and shops**Current Use of Property:** hotel and shops**Architectural Style:** Beaux Arts

National Register Significance: Beaux-Arts style. It's the last of the prestigious hotels and one of the few early 20th commercial structures near the state Capital. 1920 headquarters for the suffragettes and antis located at the Hermitage. Also popular spot for lobbyists. Social center including banquet to honor President William Howard Taft. Also home to exclusive social functions and Capital Club. Period of Significance is 1908-1910.

Endangered?: not currently. Historic Nashville, Inc. helped to save the hotel in the late 1970s.¹¹⁵

Preservation Level: excellent

Trails, Byways, Marker: TN Historical Commission – votes for women.

Tennessee Vacation Guide: accommodation

Social Media: 15,361 likes on Facebook as of May 21, 2015

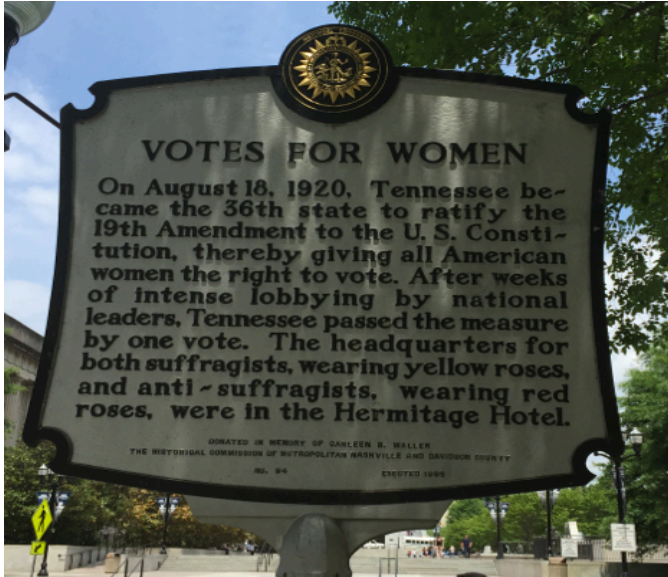
Heritage Theme: Radio Station & Music. Transportation (automotive). Ghost Tourism.

Other: Member of Historic Hotels of America.



Union Street. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

¹¹⁵ Wills, *The Hermitage at 100*, 172.



Tennessee Historical Commission Marker. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, May 15, 2015.



Francis Craig Orchestra Display at Hermitage Hotel. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 20, 2015.

HOTEL BRUMLEY within the Greeneville Historic District
 111 North Main Street
 Greeneville, Tennessee 37743
 Greene County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 17, 2015.

Other Name(s): Grand Central Hotel

Name Today: General Morgan Inn & Convention Center

Year Added to National Register: 1974

Date of Construction: 1890

Position on Landscape: downtown commercial district

Current Owner: General Morgan Corporation

Historic Use of Property: hotel and shops

Current Use of Property: hotel, shops and convention center

Architectural Style: 4 story brick

National Register Significance: railroad hotel

Endangered?: In 1983, Main Street Greeneville one of five Tennessee towns selected to be part of National Trust Main Street Program. One of the first non-profit community efforts of its kind.

Preservation Level: Main hotel in excellent / good conditions. Two adjoining buildings deteriorated

Trails, Byways, Marker: Sunny Side Early Country Trail. Civil War Trail in Greene County.

Tennessee Vacation Guide: accommodation. ads (featured listing and as part of Greeneville's)

Heritage Theme: Transportation (railroad)

Other: Member of Historic Hotels of America.



Tennessee Historical Commission marker. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 17, 2015.

HOTEL CLARIDGE

109 North Main Street

Memphis, Tennessee 38193

Shelby County / West Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 10, 2015.

Other Name(s): Claridge House Apartments**Name Today:** The Claridge House**Year Added to National Register:** 1982**Date of Construction:** 1924**Position on Landscape:** downtown Memphis in the commercial district.**Current owner:** Claridge House Condominiums**Historic Use of Property:** hotel**Current Use of Property:** condominiums**Architectural Style:** Commercial style with Italian Renaissance details**National Register Significance:** representative of the grand hotel era in Memphis in 1920s-1930s. Major center for travelers, businessmen and social life 1924-1950s. Work of Jones and Furbringer (Memphis) and Barnett Haynes, Barnett (St. Louis)**Endangered?:** no**Preservation Level:** good**Trails, Byways, Marker:** no**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no**Heritage Theme:** Radio Station & Music.

HOTEL LINDO

116 West Liberty Street
 Covington, Tennessee 38019
 Tipton County / West Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon March 10, 2015

Name Today: Jamieson & Fisher

Year Added to NR: 1982

Date of Construction: 1901

Position on Landscape: downtown Covington commercial district. Immediately west of public square

Current Owner: Fisher Trust, Gordon Trust and Forrester

Historic Use of Property: hotel

Current Use of Property: offices

Architectural Style: Italianate and Romanesque influences

NR Significance: only hotel in town 1901-1950 therefore a hub of social life.

Architecturally, it had strong impact on public square. Local landmark. Financed by three of the most prominent and progressive men in town.

Endangered?: no

Preservation Level: good

Trails, Byways, Marker: no

TN Vacation Guide: no

Social Media: N/A

Heritage Theme: N/A

HOTEL OVERALL

101 Spring Street
Wartrace, Tennessee 37183
Cheatham County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, September 10, 2015.

Name Today: Walking Horse Hotel

Year Added to National Register: 1984

Date of Construction: 1917

Position on Landscape: situate on railroad square in the middle of Wartrace

Current Owner: Chaise Enterprise LLC

Historic Use of Property: Hotel

Current Use of Property: hotel and music venue

Architectural Style: commercial

National Register Significance: Associations with the development of TN Walking Horse industry and local significance to Wartrace and Bedford County in architecture and local history. First TN Walking Horse Grand Champion, Strolling Jim trained and kept at hotel stables and is buried on the ground.

Endangered?: no

Preservation Level: good / fair

Trails, Byways, Marker: The Jack Trail. Tennessee Historical Commission marker.

Tennessee Vacation Guide: yes

Heritage Theme: Transportation (railroad). Ghost Tourism.

Social Media: 1,117 Facebook likes as of May 16, 2015.



Tennessee Historical Commission marker. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, September 10, 2015.



Source: Walking Horse Hotel-Chaise Music Hall page, Facebook.com, accessed May 16, 2015.



Horses and riders in front of Walking Horse Hotel, March 22, 1938. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

JAMES ROBERTSON HOTEL118 7th Avenue North

Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Davidson County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 6, 2015.

Name Today: James Robertson Apartments**Year added to National Register:** 1984**Date of Construction:** 1929**Position on Landscape:** downtown Nashville commercial district**Current Owner:** 10th Avenue Multifamily Partners, LLC**Historic use of Property:** hotel. Affordable senior housing 1978- April 2015.**Current use of Property:** vacant. Apartments? Hotel?¹¹⁶**Architectural Style:** Art Deco**National Register Significance:** Marr and Holman architects. 1929**Endangered?:** no**Preservation Level:** good / fair**Trails, Byways, Marker:** no**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no**Heritage Theme:** Radio Station & Music.

¹¹⁶ “James Robertson Apartments Building Sells for \$9.2M,” *Nashville Post*, January 30, 2015, accessed June 16, 2015,

https://www.nashvillepost.com/news/2015/1/30/james_robertson_apartments_building_sells_for_92m

Getahn Ward, “James Robertson Apartments Sold for \$9.2M,” January 30, 2015m accessed June 16, 2015, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/real-estate/2015/01/30/james-robertson-apartments-sold/22612609/>.

JOHN P. RAINES HOTEL

106-108 Tennessee Avenue South
 Parsons, Tennessee 38363
 Decatur County / West Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 7, 2015.

Other Name(s): Colwick Hotel

Name Today: Townsend Building

Year Added to National Register: 1978

Date of Construction: 1898

Position on Landscape: downtown Parsons

Current Owner: Farmers Bank

Historic Use of Property: hotel, dry goods and grocery store. retail and commercial space

Current Use of Property: Vacant

Architectural Style: 20th century commercial

National Register Significance: railroad hotel. 1898.

Endangered?: no

Preservation Level: good / fair

Trails, Byways, Marker: no

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Heritage Theme: N/A

KINGSTON SPRINGS HOTEL AND BUILDINGS COMPLEX

West Kingston Springs Road
Kingston Springs, Tennessee 37082
Cheatham County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 1, 2015.

Name Today: Kingston Springs Hotel

Year added to National Register: 1979

Date of Construction: c. 1890s

Position on Landscape: location of mineral spring. Walking distance to commercial district

Current Owner: Priscilla and Richard Dorris

Historic Use of Property: mineral springs resort

Current Use of Property: vacant

Architectural Style: Hotel – Victorian and Guest Houses – dog trot

Endangered?: yes. Placed on TN Preservation Trust's Ten in Tenn Endangered list 2009.

National Register Significance: representative of 31 major health spas known in Middle TN – it is one of 4 remaining. 1800s-1900s.

Preservation Level: deteriorated

Trails, Byways, Marker: no

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Other: Owner does not want to property publicized. Private property and deteriorated condition of the buildings

Heritage Theme: N/A

LAMAR HOUSE HOTEL – BIJOU THEATER

803 South Gay Street
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902
Knox County / West Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, October 11, 2015.

Other Name(s): Knoxville Hotel; Jackson's Hotel; Pickett's City Hotel; Coleman House; White House Hotel

Name Today: Bijou Theater

Year Added to National Register: 1993

Date of Construction: prior to 1816. Bijou added in 1909.

Position on Landscape: downtown Knoxville in commercial district

Current Owner: Bijou Theater Company

Historic Use of Property: inn, tavern, residence, storehouse

Current Use of Property: theater and restaurant

Architectural Style: late Georgian / early Federal

National Register Significance: listed as a hotel offering public accommodation c. 1823-1970. Occupied by military during the Civil War.

Endangered?: not currently. Saved by a group of concerned citizens in early 1970s.¹¹⁷

Preservation Level: good

Trails, Byways, Marker: Top Secret. Historic Downtown Knoxville Walking Tour (Knox Heritage)

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Heritage Theme: Transportation (stagecoach). Radio Station & Music. Ghost Tourism.

¹¹⁷ "Bijou Theater," Knox Heritage, accessed May 21, 2015, <http://knoxheritage.org/our-work/neighborhood-tours/historic-downtown-knoxville-walking-tour/lamar-house-1816-bijou-theater-1909/>.



Signage on Bijou Theater. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, October 11, 2015.

NEELY HOUSE

545 South Royal Street

Jackson, Tennessee 38301

Madison County / West Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, December 15, 2015.

Other Name(s): Murphy Hotel**Name Today:** Neely House**Year Added to National Register:** 1933**Date of Construction:** c. 1911**Position on Landscape:** across the street from the historic train depot**Current Owner:** HCB Corp**Historic Use of Property:** hotel**Current Use of Property:** offices and restaurant**Architectural Style:** Neoclassical**National Register Significance:** excellent example of a railroad hotel and Neo classical design**Endangered?:** no**Preservation Level:** good**Trails, Byways, Marker:** no**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no**Heritage Theme:** Transportation (railroad)

NETHERLAND INN AND COMPLEX

2144 Netherland Inn Road
Kingsport, Tennessee 37660
Sullivan County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 17, 2015.

Name Today: Netherland Inn Museum

Year Added to National Register: 1969

Date of Construction: 1802 and 1808

Position on landscape: on Great Old Stage Coach Road

Current Owner: Netherland Inn Association

Historic use of property: tavern and inn

Current use of property: museum (open Saturday & Sundays 2-4pm May – October)

Architectural Style: Federal architectural influence

Endangered?: no

National Register Significance: growth of Kingsport, John Netherland important in TN politics in mid-late 1800s. Civil War site. Stagecoach inn hosted many important people.

Preservation Level: good / fair

Trails, Byways, Marker: Sunny Side Early Country Trail. Civil War Trail.

Tennessee Vacation Guide: attraction

Heritage Themes: Transportation (stagecoach)



Netherland Inn. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

NEW SOUTHERN HOTEL

112-120 East Baltimore Street

Jackson, Tennessee 38301

Madison County / West Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, December 15, 2015.

Name Today: New Southern Building; New Southern Apartments**Year Added to National Register:** 2002**Date of Construction:** 1928**Position on Landscape:** downtown Jackson in commercial district. On courthouse square**Current Owner:** Jackson Downtown Development (event space & shops); New Southern Senior Center (apartments)**Historic use of property:** hotel and retail space**Current use of property:** event space, retail, affordable housing for the elderly**Architectural Style:** Renaissance Revival**Endangered?:** no**National Register Significance:** well preserved example of mid-twentieth century hotel**Preservation Level:** good**Trails, Byways, Marker:** no**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no**Heritage Theme:** N/A



Branded hotel soap. From the collection of Crocker Construction. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, December 15, 2015.

NOEL HOTEL200-204 4th Avenue North

Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Davidson County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 6, 2015.

Name Today: Noel Place

Year Added to National Register: 1984

Date of Construction: 1930

Position on Landscape: downtown Nashville in commercial district

Current Owner: R.B. Nashville Inc.

Historic use of Property: hotel

Current use of Property: offices. Currently under renovation - Boutique hotel. "It's currently going to be an independent four-star property. Our goal is to create a really great hotel experience that's authentic to Nashville, that has great food and beverage and a great bar scene, and really try to make it the place to be in Nashville."¹¹⁸ Hotel expected to open in 2016.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ E.J. Boyer, "Why Rockbridge Sees Opportunity to turn Noel Place into Four-Star Independent Hotel," *Nashville Business Journal*, December 22, 2015, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.bizjournals.com/nashville/blog/2014/12/why-rockbridge-capital-sees-opportunity-toturnnoel.html>.

Architectural Style: Neo-Classical

National Register Significance: One of the last Neo-classical designs by architects Marr and Holman. A major hotel in Nashville during the early 20th century. Contributing to Printer's Alley Historic District.

Endangered?: no

Preservation Level: in process of being renovated.

Trails, Byways, Marker: no

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Heritage Theme: N/A



Noel Hotel neon sign visible. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

¹¹⁹Getahn Ward, "Upscale Tribute Portfolio Planned for Downtown Nashville," *The Tennessean*, April 16, 2015, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/money/real-estate/2015/04/16/starwood-project-includes-hotel-planned-noel-place/25875559/>

OLD DEERY INN

Main Street

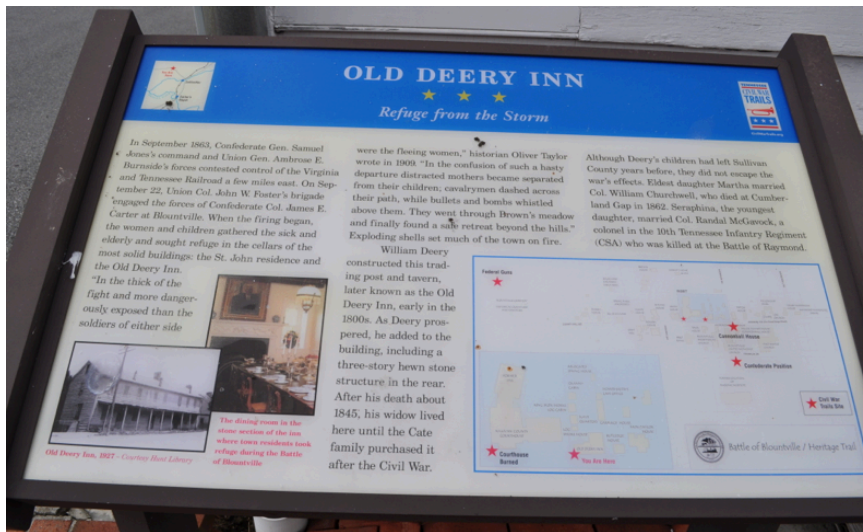
Blountville, Tennessee 37617

Sullivan County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 17, 2015.

Other Name(s): The Old Tavern; The Mansion House and Store; Cates' Hotel**Year Added to National Register:** 1973**Name Today:** Old Deery Museum**Date of Construction:** c. 1794-1795**Position on Landscape:** main street Blountville**Current Owner:** Sullivan County**Historic Use of Property:** inn, tavern, residence, storehouse**Current Use of Property:** museum (tours available on request)**Architectural Style:** Two story clapboard with Federal facade**National Register Significance:** Major landmark in East Tennessee, stop on Great Stage Road and now a historic site for locals and visitors. In 1940, Mrs. Joseph A. Caldwell purchased the property with the main building in derelict condition. Mrs. Caldwell's one woman struggle to save the inn has meant the preservation of Blountville a small and quiet town with many early 20th century houses along Main Street.**Endangered?:** no**Preservation Level:** good / fair**Trails, Byways, Marker:** Sunny Side Early Country Trail. Civil War marker.**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no – should be added as attraction.**Heritage Theme:** Transportation (stagecoach). Ghost Tourism



Civil War Trail Market. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 17, 2015.



Old Deery Inn. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

PEABODY HOTEL

149 Union Avenue

Memphis, Tennessee 38103

Shelby County / West Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 11, 2015.

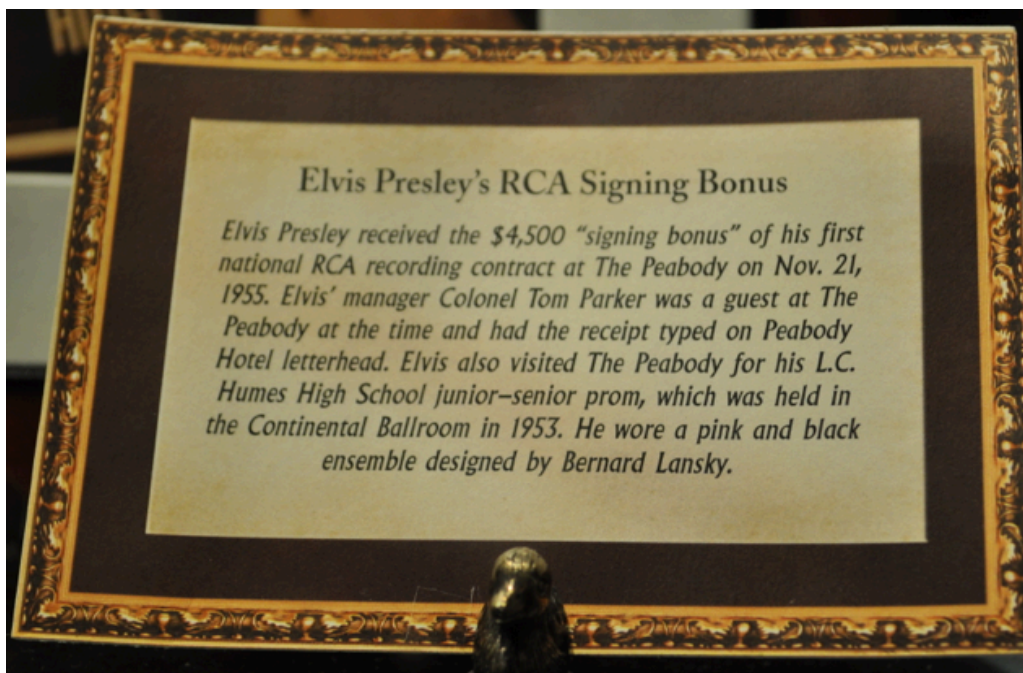
Name Today: Peabody Hotel**Year added to National Register:** 1977**Date of Construction:** 1925**Position on Landscape:** downtown Memphis in the commercial district**Current Owner:** Memphis Center City Revenue Finance Corp (Belz Enterprise)**Historic Use of Property:** hotel and retail space**Current Use of Property:** hotel and retail space**Architectural Style:** Italian Renaissance Revival

National Register Significance: it was the largest and most elegant hotel in the South and for 50 years it was the symbolic center of the social, cultural, and commercial life in Mid-South region. Grand Hotel. Famous for its music starting in 1920s. Beginning in 1937 music broadcast on CBS Radio. Also prime convention hotel mid-1930s through 1960s. HQ for chamber of commerce, rotary, Kiwanis, civilian clubs and 40 retail shops and offices.

Endangered?: no**Preservation Level:** excellent**Trails, Byways, Marker:** Cotton Junction**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** accommodation, ad, and featured in ad for Cotton Junction**Heritage Theme:** Radio Station & Music**Other:** Member of Historic Hotels of America.



Radio Station WREC 1932 from the memory room at the Peabody Hotel. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 11, 2015.



Music interpretation in the memory room at the Peabody Hotel. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 11, 2015.

DANCE ORCHESTRAS PERFORMING IN THE PEABODY FROM THE HOTEL'S REORGANIZATION ON
 SEPTEMBER 1, 1934 THROUGH MAY 30, 1964
 (Researched and compiled by Cecil Philip Ramer of Corinth, Mississippi)

DANCE ORCHESTRAS	YEARS AND NUMBER OF ENGAGEMENTS*	DANCE ORCHESTRAS	YEARS AND NUMBER OF ENGAGEMENTS*
-A-		-F-(Continued)	
Agnew, Charlie	1935-1943 2	Foster, Chuck	1943-1964 38
Alexander, Tommy	1960 1	Fotino, Larry	1950 1
Allen, Barclay	1948 1	Franklin, Buddy	1943-1944 2
Anthony, Ray	1949-1950 2	Friml, Rudolph, Jr.	1938 1
Arden, Ben	1957 1	-G-	
Arnheim, Gus	1936-1939 2	Galante, Al	1957 1
Ayres, Mitchell	1941 2	Garber, Jan	1939-1942 3
-B-		Garland, Gabe	1957 1
Bair, Buddy	1960-1963 7	Gayler, Joy	1954 1
Barron, Blue	1941-1945 2	Glasser- Costello	1954-1964 18
Belasco, Leon	1936 2	Gordan, Herb	1936 1
Bello, Dan	1961-1962 2	Green, Larry	1958 1
Berger, Jack	1936 1	Gregg, Wayne	1949 1
Berkey, Bob	1945-1949 4	Grier, Jimmy	1938 1
Beston, Don	1937 1	Gray, Glenn	1950 1
Bills, Warren	1962-1963 2	-H-	
Bishop, Billy	1945-1952 8	Hall, George	1939 1
Brown, Les	1937 1	Hamilton, George	1937-1943 9
Bundy, Rudy	1935 1	Hamp, Johnny	1936-1939 3
Burkhardt, Johnny	1935 1	Harris, Ken	1949-1950 2
Busse, Henry	1953-1954 3	Hadch, Carlton	1945 1
-C-		Hayes, Sherman	1948-1949 2
Cabot, Chuck	1953-1961 12	Heckscher, Ernie	1942-1943 2
Cappo, Joe	1940 1	Hefti, Neal	1952 1
Carlyle, Russ	1951-1964 10	Herbeck, Ray	1940-1946 3
Carr, Jimmy	1935 1	Himber, Richard	1942-1943 2
Childs, Reggie	1945 1	Hoagland, Everett	1942 1
Christian, Bobby	1960-1961 2	Howard, Eddy	1942 1
Clinton, Larry	1941 1	Hudson, Dean	1947-1956 8
Cool, Harry	1937 1	Hutton, Ina Ray	1942 1
Courtney, Del	1948 2	-J-	
Cramer, Tex	1951 1	Jarrett, Art	1942-1947 2
Crawford, Jack	1937-1938 2	Jones, Isham	1941-1942 2
Crawford, Jesse	1937 1	Joy, Jimmy	1943-1947 6
Cummins, Bernie	1938-1958 5	Jurgens, Dick	1937 1
-D-		-K-	
DeFranco, Buddy	1951 1	Kassel, Art	1942 1
Denny, Jack	1956-1938 2	Kavlin, Al	1939 1
Doerr, George	1961-1964 4	Kay, Herbie	1940-1942 3
Donahue, Al	1942-1959 2	Keller, Leonard	1936 1
Dornberger, Charles	1937 1	Kelner, Leon	1960 1
-E-		Kemp, Hal	1940 1
Faith, Larry	1954-1956 3	King, Henry	1939-1940 3
Featherstone, Jimmy	1951-1954 4	Note: Henry King's Orchestra played for the grand opening of The Skyway on 1/30/39	
Felton, Happy	1939 1	-L-	
Fidler, Dick	1937 1	Lane, Jerry	1961 1
Fields, Shep	1949-1952 4	Lanin, Lester	1960-1962 2
Fina, Jack	1948 1	Lawrence, Elliott	1948 1
Fio Rito, Ted	1938-1939 2	Ledbetter, Andy	1960 1
Fisher, Buddy	1935 1	LeBaron, Eddy	1941 1
Fitzpatrick, Ed	1938 1		
Flanagan, Ralph	1958-1959 3		

*Each engagement ranged from a period of six weeks to a minimum of two weeks with the bands playing six nights each week. In the earlier years, the bands also played daily luncheon sessions in the Venetian Dining Room.

Source: Peabody Hotel internal files

READ HOUSE

827 Broad Street

Chattanooga, Tennessee 37402

Hamilton County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, December 19, 2015.

Name Today: Peabody Hotel**Year Added to National Register:** 1976**Date of Construction:** 1926**Position on Landscape:** downtown Chattanooga in commercial district**Current Owner:** Read House Investors Sovereign**Historic Use of Property:** hotel and retail**Current Use of Property:** hotel, retail and tourist attraction**Architectural Style:** Georgian Revival**National Register Significance:** Only Holabird and Roche designed in TN. Architectural style is both transitional and representative of the era.**Endangered?:** no**Preservation Level:** good**Trails, Byways, Marker:** Tanasi. Civil War Trail Marker as Crutchfield Inn**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** accommodation**Heritage Theme:** Ghost Tourism. Transportation (Dixie Highway)**Other:** Member of Historic Hotels of America.



Read House. Postcard from the collection of Ridley Wills II.



This is the Crutchfield Inn that predated the Read House. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

RHEA-MINS HOTEL

335 East Broadway

Newport, Tennessee 37821

Cocke County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 17, 2015.

Other Name(s): Millstone Inn; Mims Hotel**Name Today:** Newport Housing Authority**Year added to National Register:** 1988**Date of Construction:** 1923. Annex added 1939**Position on Landscape:** downtown Newport across from Cocke County Courthouse**Current Owner:** Newport Housing Authority**Historic Use of Property:** hotel and later offices.**Current Use of Property:** low income housing.**Architectural Style:** Craftsman**National Register Significance:** Dixie Highway / development of interstate road system. Craftsman style and only example of hotel in this style in Cocke County. Period of significance 1923-1948.**Endangered?:** no**Preservation Level:** good / fair**Trails, Byways, Marker:** Sunny Side Early Country Trail**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no**Heritage Theme:** Transportation (automobile)



Rhea-Mins Hotel. Postcard from the collection of Ridley Wills II.

STAGECOACH INN

Colony Road

Gruetli-Laager, Tennessee 37339

Grundy County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, April 28, 2015.

Name Today: Marugg Stagecoach Inn**Year added to National Register:** 1987**Date of Construction:** c. 1875**Position on landscape:** old Stagecoach Road**Current owner:****Historic use of Property:** inn and later individual residence.**Current use of Property:** vacant**Architectural Style:** early swiss colony building style**Endangered?:** yes. Placed on Tennessee Preservation Trust's Ten in Tenn list on 2010**National Register Significance:** Swiss settlement in Gruetli. Christian Marugg and sons were prominent and influential residents of Swiss settlement. Only known remaining example of early swiss colony building for a commercial setting. Period of significance: c. 1875-1915.**Preservation Level:** deteriorated**Trails, Byways, Marker:** no**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** no**Heritage Theme:** Transportation (Stagecoach)

TERMINAL STATION

1400 Market Street

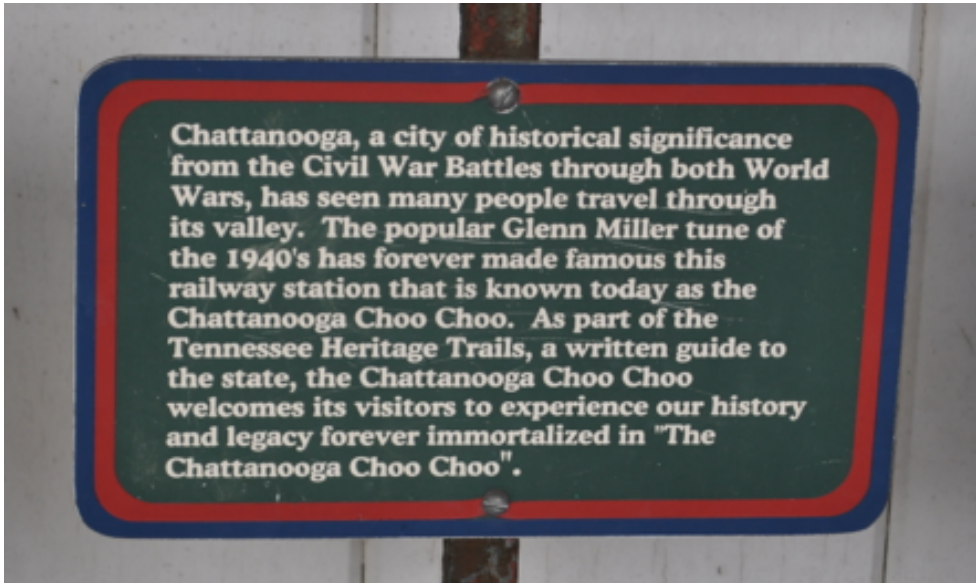
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37402

Hamilton County / East Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, December 19, 2014.

Name Today: Chattanooga Choo-Choo**Year added to National Register:** 1973**Date of Construction:** 1909**Position on Landscape:** downtown Chattanooga**Current Owner:** Choo Choo Partners LP**Historic Use of Property:** railroad station**Current Use of Property:** hotel, convention center and tourist attraction**Architectural Style:****National Register Significance:** architecture and importance of railroads to Chattanooga. 1906-1908**Endangered?:** no**Preservation Level:** undergoing \$8 million dollar renovation**Trails, Byways, Marker:** Tanasi, Pie in the Sky, Civil War Trail marker.**Tennessee Vacation Guide:** lay of land, accommodation, ad**Heritage Theme:** Radio Station & Music. Ghosts Tourism. Transportation (railroad)**Other:** Member of Historic Hotels of America.



Historical Marker. Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, December 19, 2014.



Terminal Station. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

UNION STATION

1001 Broadway

Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Davidson County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 12, 2015.

Name Today: Union Station Hotel

Year added to National Register: 1969

Date of Construction: 1900

Position on Landscape: downtown Nashville

Current Owner: Metro Government HDHA

Historic Use of Property: train station

Current Use of Property: hotel, office, retail

Architectural Style: Richardson Romanesque

National Register Significance: Little left in Nashville representing 19th century architecture. Excellent example of Richardson Romanesque – inspired by Allegheny County courthouse and Jail. Monument to Louisville and Nashville railroad. Art in central waiting room illustrates agricultural, mechanical and commercial interests of TN.

Endangered?: yes in late 1960s and 1970s

Preservation Level: excellent

Trails, Byways, Marker: no

Tennessee Vacation Guide: accommodation. Ad.

Heritage Theme: Transportation (railroad), Ghost Tourism.

Other: Member of Historic Hotels of America.



Union Station. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

UTOPIA HOTEL within Printers Alley Historic District
 206 4th Avenue North
 Nashville, Tennessee 37219
 Davidson County / Middle Tennessee



Photo credit: Ginna Foster Cannon, March 6, 2015.

Name Today: Downtown Cleaners; Brass Stables

Year Added to National Register: 1979

Date of Construction: 1890

Position on Landscape: downtown Nashville in commercial district

Current Owner: 4Pants, LLC

Historic Use of Property: hotel. later cleaners and club

Current Use of Property: vacant. Being converted into a hotel.¹²⁰

Architectural Style: Romanesque Revival

National Register Significance: fine example of Romanesque Revival. Reflected the prosperity and growth of Nashville and need to accommodate travellers. Part of men's quarter known as Cherry Street.

Endangered?: no

Preservation Level: under renovation.

Trails, Byways, Marker: no

Tennessee Vacation Guide: no

Heritage Theme: N/A

¹²⁰ Nate Rau, "Printers Alley Project Brings 1891 Hotel Back to Life," *The Tennessean*, November 27, 2014, accessed June 12, 2015, <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/2014/11/27/printers-alley-project-brings-hotel-back-life/19559125/>.



Utopia Hotel. Courtesy of the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

APPENDIX B:

Cultural Heritage Development Recommendations for The Peabody

- The Peabody does a good job in displaying material culture related to its past - historic photos grace the walls of the hotel and are featured throughout the in-room dining menu, hotel related memorabilia is showcased in the Memorabilia Room on the Gallery and in display cases in the lobby, and the ducks themselves swimming in the travertine marble fountain in the lobby are a direct link to the tradition started in the 1930s. The hotels needs to focus on interpretation to provide historical context and stories around its rich display of material culture. It should consider ways various ways the interpretation could be shared with hotel guests including QRR codes placed at strategic places throughout the hotel, an expanded section of the website focused on history and handouts available in the Memorabilia Room and within hotel guest rooms. Furthermore, additional interpretation could be included in the historic tour offered on a daily basis at 11:30 am by the Duckmaster.¹

- The hotel should consider publishing a quarterly newsletter in the vein of the Hermitage Hotel. In addition to soliciting stories from the community and people who have association with the hotel, it could also feature more substantial interpretation on the hotel's material culture and the staff members who

¹ "History of the Peabody Memphis," Peabody Memphis, accessed July 28, 2017, <http://www.peabodymemphis.com/about-en.html>.

contributed to its lasting legacy. To keep costs low, the newsletter could be an electronic resource. As the duck march attracts school groups, it could be a way to deepen the historical narrative and help turn children into advocates for the historic property.

- The hotel should consider developing interpretative panels focusing on key employees after whom the conference rooms are named. Schutt and Locke are natural candidates as are George Peabody the philanthropist for whom the Peabody was named and Colonel Robert C. Brinkley who founded the hotel in 1869.² This would help provide a sense of place and heighten the hotel's authenticity. Tear sheets on each of the people the conference rooms are named after could be added to sales material for room rentals.
- The hotel should consider inviting scholars from West Tennessee Historical society, the University of Memphis and the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle State University to do a joint public history project. A lesson plan using the HABS model and/or Teaching with Primary sources could be valuable resource to the community and to the hotel. Such projects make good academic articles as well as general interest pieces in local newspapers and travel magazines.

² "The Peabody Memphis," Historic Hotels, accessed July 28, 2017, <http://www.historichotels.org/hotels-resorts/the-peabody-emphis/history.php>.

APPENDIX C:

Cultural Heritage Development Recommendations for the Colored Hotel

- Work with current owner of property where Colored Hotel was located, community and Tennessee Historical Commission to install a historic marker to commemorate the place and tell its rich history.

- Add to *The Green Book* inventory assembled by the Tennessee-based poster research team using Texas Historical Commission as model (e.g., telephone directories, other travel guides, oral histories). Develop GIS map of properties linked to primary resources and Southern Places.¹ Conduct fieldwork to see which ones are extant. Develop statewide preservation strategy to work with owners and communities to document and preserve identified properties.

- Work with local communities and Tennessee Department of Tourist Development to develop and promote driving tours of these historic sites. In addition, add properties where appropriate to existing Trails and Byways systems. Explore with partners how African American historic properties can be best incorporated into new and existing cultural tourism products.

- Forge partnerships with TDTD, Tennessee Historical Commission, research centers (e.g., Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State

¹ “Southern Places,” MTSU Center for Historic Preservation and the James E. Walker Public Library, accessed July 27, 2017, <http://digital.mtsu.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15838coll4>.

University, Tennessee Historical Society, Tennessee State Library and Archives and Nashville Public Library) and media outlets (e.g., Nashville Public Television and WPLN) to produce content promoting the stories and properties associated with African American travel during the segregation era. The partnership and products forged by the Civil War Sesquicentennial Committee provides a useful model. The Committee created documentaries, books and events commemorating different aspects of the Civil War in Tennessee.²

- Continue to collaborate with scholars, preservationists, public historians and public in the South and across the nation to weave Tennessee story into larger context.

² “Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area.” Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area.