

plural communities

a cultural mapping project +
a framework plan for Cherokee village, arkansas

University of Arkansas Community Design Center

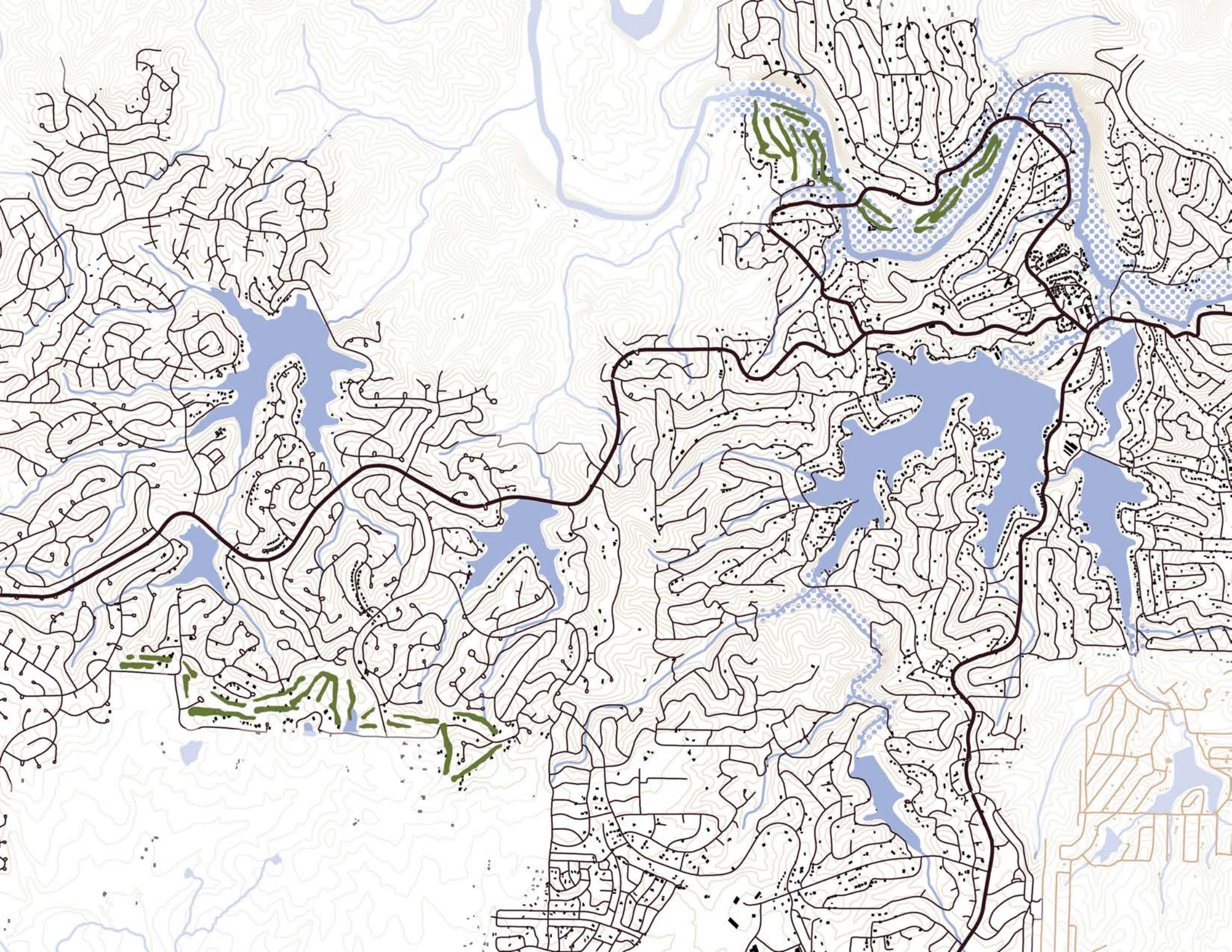


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executive summary

Urban designers rarely get the opportunity to stage a deep dive into the cultural forces shaping a place before preparing plans. Contemporary planning processes in the U.S. are primarily market-driven and subject to public participation processes neither broad nor representative. Planning has also become constrained by abstract regulatory templates designed more to ensure quick rates of building re-sales (“financial liquidity”) than good placemaking. Not only did twentieth-century forms of land development regulation—like single-use zoning (legislated in the late 1920s) and subdivision codes—prove their obsolescence within a couple of generations, they also unwittingly stymied their own markets and made cities poorer. American towns before the 1920s, almost all great places large and small, were customarily built from proven mixed-use planning patterns rather than single-use zones. The latter allows only one land use in an area. Though pre-zoning (before 1920s) cities like Hardy, Hot Springs, Rogers, and Little Rock look different from one another, their shared organic patterns of placemaking give them greater ability to change and adapt with time. Their timeless vocabulary of placemaking—business districts, main streets, town squares, urban neighborhoods of mixed housing forms and densities, suburbs, neighborhood-based parks, and rural hinterlands—offer a range of choices which facilitate continual renewal. Modern towns and cities, however, have little ability to innovate and adjust to future markets, essentially favoring insiders and the status quo. As planners have

come to understand, modern cities are stubborn social systems resistant to change.

Today, a nationwide enthusiasm for recovering a sense of place, plural ways of living, forgotten origin stories of place, and nonexploitative relations to the environment (i.e., ecological stewardship) have elevated **cultural landscape studies** in land-use planning. Cultural landscapes are places in which a recognized relationship exists among space, natural resources, and human activity according to the Cultural Landscape Foundation. As urban designers, the University of Arkansas Community Design Center (UACDC), in partnership with Cherokee Village stakeholders, were given a special opportunity to excavate the forgotten heritage surrounding an important but little-known midcentury modern planned community in Arkansas. Collectively, we conducted a cultural mapping of Cherokee Village guided by participatory forms of inquiry, research, and representation of its history. Cultural mapping is intrinsically a community-based reflection on place involving collaboration between local stakeholders and outside design professionals. Surprisingly, cultural mapping revealed a far more robust and fascinating set of underlying influences than is evident in Cherokee Village's built environment. These influences may help Cherokee Village envision new development possibilities for a community where decline has followed the passing of its first generation of property owners more than 50 years ago. What happens when a city's relationship to its history,

Surprisingly, cultural mapping revealed a far more robust and fascinating set of underlying influences than is evident in Cherokee Village's built environment. . . . What happens when a city's relationship to its history, one shaped by a mix of settler and indigenous cultural influences with modernity, is introduced into the planning process?

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project activities

In 2020, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) awarded Cherokee Village one of its coveted *Our Town* grants to undertake cultural mapping in support of a master plan (hereafter referred to as the Framework Plan) to guide future development. The initiative was led by Jonathan Rhodes who met with the NEA staff in Washington DC to organize proposal content and assemble the project team in securing the grant. Rhodes also provided intellectual leadership in recalling Cherokee's Village forgotten history through the cultural mapping initiative—a key activity important to the NEA's award decisions. The project goal is to integrate heritage and the arts into strategic planning and economic development for the Village. More than 65 years after its establishment, Cherokee Village is undertaking its first vision plan, which will address infrastructure, place-based economic development, and neighborhood planning reflective of current market demand for housing diversity. Work under this initiative integrates Cherokee Village's cultural heritage back into the fiber of community development through artist-led cultural asset mapping and a Framework Plan that supports creative placemaking. The Framework Plan will assist Cherokee Village in

building greater social capital and a collective identity necessary to attract private and public-sector investment.

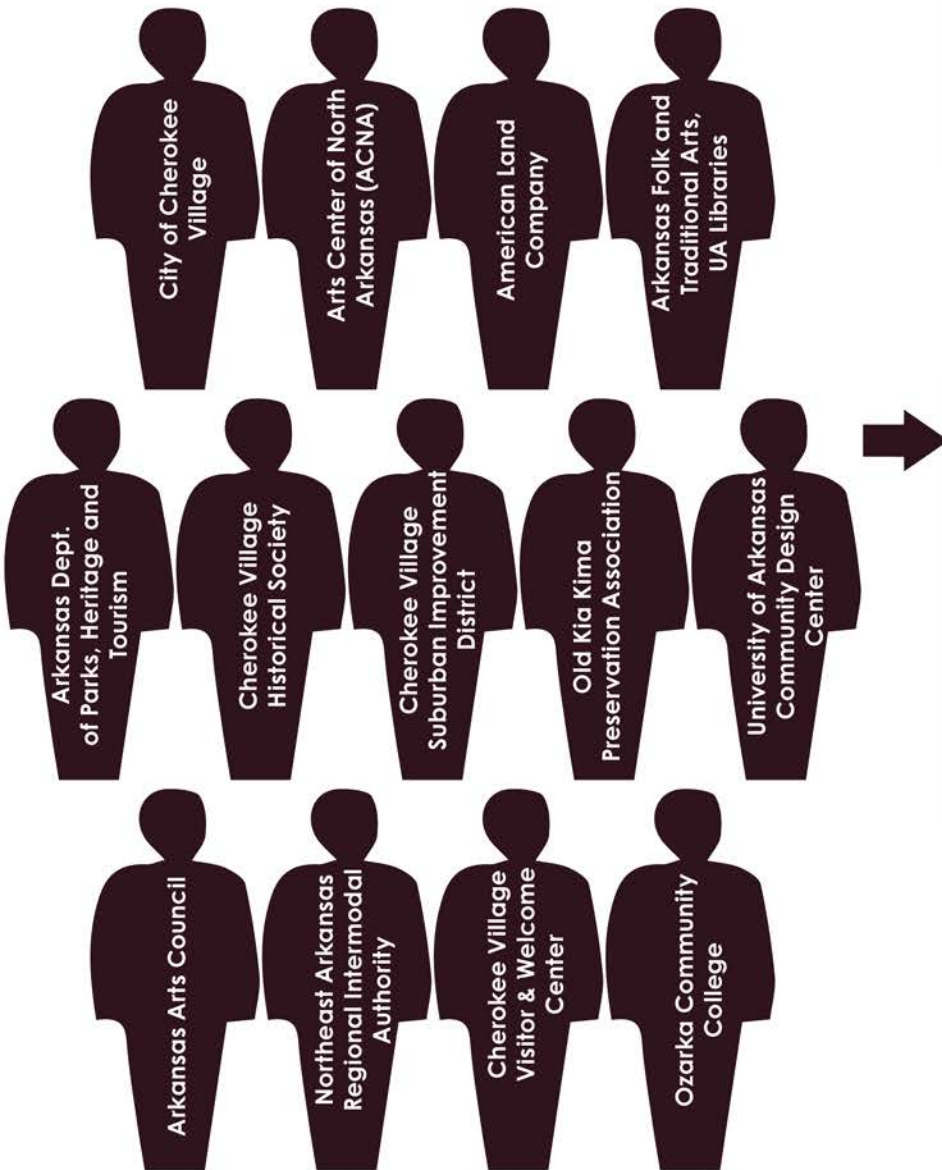
Project activities were organized into four primary tasks involving expert lectures, a folklore scholars training program, community design workshops, and multiple stakeholder meetings. First, **Community Heritage Research** was jointly undertaken by residents, artists, folklorists, the Cherokee Village Historical Society, and the UACDC. This collaboration collected primary source material and scholarship around five designated cultural frameworks constituting the mapping project. Second, **Cultural Mapping** consisting of 57 digital multi-modal drawings were developed by the UACDC depicting the five cultural forces that shaped Cherokee Village as identified by local stakeholders: Native American heritage, Ozark pioneer and folk heritage, camping and scouting, midcentury planned communities, and regional modernism in design and planning. Regionalism is a common term in design, the arts, and literature used to describe a distinct local geography and culture usually outside national centers of influence. In architecture, regional modernism refers to the synthesis of novel modern space design and planning with the identifiable and traditional building forms of a particular place. Cherokee Village is one of Arkansas' primary examples of regional modernism in planned communities, mixing glass walls, open-plan-buildings, and the cathedral ceilings of modernism with the

traditional methods of Ozark stone craft and gable roofs. Cultural mapping connects both the aspirations and realities of the past with present understandings to inform a future-oriented Framework Plan. A major objective of the Plan is to model place-based development. Third, **GIS Mapping** (Geographic Information System) coordinating depiction of roads, topography, property parcels, and building footprints into accurate base maps for Cherokee Village's permanent use was developed by the UACDC in preparation for the planning phase. Fourth, a **Framework Plan** was developed by the UACDC to strategically guide growth in population, housing development, and tourism/hospitality investments that amplify Cherokee Village's nature, ecosystems, sense of place, and heritage. This report consists of two primary components—Cultural Mapping and the Framework Plan.

the framework plan

The Framework Plan's placemaking concepts draw lessons from topics explored in the cultural mapping study prepared for the Village, *City in the Woods: Mappings of Cherokee Village, Arkansas*. Cultural mappings explored both indigenous heritage (e.g., camp, fit with landscape, natural resource management, and communal settlement patterns) and Ozark settler traditions (e.g., camp/resort, village design, midcentury planning, and modern architectural design) in creating settlement patterns of greater

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT for the ARTS



native american heritage

how might the relationship be decolonized using deeper cultural lessons like stewardship of resource commons and communal neighborhood forms?

ozark pioneer and folk

how might cherokee village confront its perceived isolation to attract a greater range of services and amenities?

camping and scouting

how might the social coherence and the physical attributes of the camp environment inform the development of new neighborhoods?

midcentury recreational and retirement communities

what new settlement patterns and infrastructure improvements are available to create a sense of place and low-density development?

fay jones, modern architecture

is there a set of architectural principles that can be codified in new nonresidential and residential construction?

CULTURAL MAPPING

Restoring the East Village Town Center: The Bowl and the Isthmus

A New West Village Town Center on the Lake

South Gateway Highway 412: Village on the Highway

Lake Omaha Housing Hill Neighborhood

Placemaking Scenarios in the Polycentric Web: New Street Typologies, New Neighborhoods

Greenways: Movement Signatures that Support Hospitality, Conservation, and Mobility

FRAMEWORK PLAN

social and economic complexity. Combining contemporary notions of placemaking with local heritage, the Framework Plan offers plural visions that parallel the midcentury plan's singular order.

Cherokee Village's lakes and arterial road network constituted a highly effective *capital web* for marketing vacant lots to future homeowners. However, the lack of place types beyond the lakefront home and a few activity nodes (town center, recreation centers, and golf courses) subverts Cherokee Village's economic and social development potential. The Framework Plan reprograms this uniform polycentric cellular web through design and planning interventions that articulate identifiable place types using established pattern languages of good town form. Pattern languages of identifiable sub-systems facilitate incremental implementation of places rather than assume that development happens all at once. Akin to ecological succession in ecosystems, urban patterns and systems evolve identifiable villages, towns, and cities through *urban succession*. Places initially grow from simple but vital centers (the pioneer stage) to expanded districts (intermediate stages) in an ever-evolving complexity. Accordingly, the Framework Plan's six urban retrofit strategies—or pattern languages—catalyze higher-order living possibilities within Cherokee Village's rural patterns and spaces.

The Framework Plan's six urban pattern languages are:

1. Restoring the East Village Town Center: The Bowl and the Isthmus
2. A New West Village Town Center on the Lake
3. South Gateway Highway 412: Village on the Highway
4. Lake Omaha Housing Hill Neighborhood
5. Placemaking Scenarios in the Polycentric Web: New Street Typologies, New Neighborhoods
6. Greenways: Movement Signatures that Support Hospitality, Conservation, and Mobility

Each brand of urbanism offers a new dimension of placemaking in alignment with contemporary demands for vibrant mixed-use and social-oriented places. The Framework Plan envisions places with diversity in housing types and ownership models supported by non-residential services including unique trail experiences for pedestrians, equestrians, cyclers, and mountain bikers. As alternatives to automobile-oriented planning, greenway and trail networks host camps, festival grounds, concerts in the grove, equestrian facilities, and botanical gardens—all and much more which can be plugged into a greenway network and scaled as investment allows. New neighborhoods may be built around existing assets like recreation centers, while monetizing fabulous hillside views of lakes through multifamily and vacation hillside housing. The



next generation of development in Cherokee Village can fulfill the vision of a “city in the woods” by fashioning discrete nodes of intensity without altering the overall environment that has attracted residents to the Village. The Framework Plan is modular and can be implemented incrementally, and in no certain sequence as a value-add to the Village's existing assets. Most importantly, the Framework Plan provides multiple visions attractive to different types of investors who all demand scaled plans beyond the single-family parcel to commit to developing in Cherokee Village.





cultural mapping project

city in the woods: cultural mapping of cherokee village, arkansas

City in the Woods is a cultural mapping project that supports a Framework Plan commissioned by the City of Cherokee Village (population: 4,900), a 21.3-square-mile planned community in rural northeast Arkansas established in 1954. Cultural mapping describes the interconnectedness of landscapes, histories, and social geographies of the Arkansas Ozarks surrounding one of America's first planned retirement-based recreational communities. The series of 57 digital drawings integrates maps, folklore materials, archival sources, and photographs, with new drawings chronicling the five cultural frameworks that through time shaped Cherokee Village: **Native American heritage, Ozark pioneer and folk heritage, camping and scouting, midcentury planned communities, and regional modernism in design and planning.** Cultural mapping visibilizes the surprising constellation of land traditions employed in imagining Cherokee Village. The layout of Cherokee Village was Arkansas's first example of a *polycentric* road network—a nondescript cellular plan structured around highway arterials and cul-de-sacs exclusively for automobile travel and residential-only land uses (Bella Vista and Hot Springs Village, Arkansas shared the same planning concept along with hundreds of other suburban bedroom communities). This midcentury modern planning invention differed substantially from traditional

town plans, like nearby Hardy, anchored by a central square or main street from which a gridded street network radiates. The novelty of Cherokee Village's award-winning modern plan was countered by fascinations with pre-modern indigenous, camp meeting, and frontier traditions embraced by Cherokee Village's developer, John Cooper. Cultural mapping resurrects a lost and far more complex development history smoothed over by time and the homogeneity of late modern automobile-oriented planning.

The 57 drawings tell a fascinating story. Retirement community magnate Del Webb is credited with having invented the retirement community industry based on his well-known Sun City, Arizona development—an age-restricted retirement community opened in 1960. Webb used innovative market segmentation techniques, including subsidized mini-vacation packages and direct-mail marketing, to recruit seniors nationwide to live in his sunbelt leisure community. But John Cooper had pioneered these techniques six years earlier in 1954 when he planned Cherokee Village in the Arkansas Ozarks and officially opened it a year later. Cooper targeted both seniors and younger households who envisioned their senior years in a forest community, though he did not employ age restrictions and even set aside land for the construction of schools. Ironically, Del Webb and his management consultants reacted with skepticism to new demographic segmentation techniques in marketing when they first learned

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of the retirement community concept through a 1957 NBC television show featuring neighboring Youngtown, Arizona. Youngtown, the first age-segregated retirement community was also opened in 1954, the same year as Cherokee Village. However, Cherokee Village differed from both Youngtown and Sun City. The latter Arizona projects committed to a consciously generic suburbanism as a business model, while John Cooper combined influences from modern and folk/regional development traditions. Cooper was particularly drawn to the American camp meeting tradition long established throughout the Ozarks with its emphasis on family and social pluralism (i.e., the embrace of multiple lifestyles whether focused on the city, frontier, nomadism, homesteading, back-to-the-land, religion, commerce, education, farming, craft, etc.). While all three progenitor planned communities were marketed around the trope of the “vacation”, only Cherokee Village embraced complexity and regionalism. Cooper aspired toward intergenerational living and associations with local settler pioneer, scouting, and Native American heritages, anachronisms to most post-war community developers.

The significance of *City in the Woods* lies in its recall of the latent and apparent cultural trajectories engaged by Cooper to conceptualize a new kind of settlement pattern: the midcentury planned special-interest community. These communities were commonly organized around the single-family home and

low-density development requiring automobile travel. The midcentury planned community signaled capital's shift from investment in the centralized infrastructure of the dense nineteenth-century industrial city of production, to suburban real estate development focused on the single-family home. The industrial city was a pedestrian-oriented city, requiring investments in transportation infrastructure like railroads and buses, dense multifamily housing, downtown workplaces, and compact mixed-use urbanism that *aggregated* goods and labor. Most people walked to work, school, and the market. Conversely, the diffused midcentury landscape relied on the automobile for mobility that *distributed* or scattered people in an emerging consumer landscape of highway shopping centers and malls. Along with peer developments in America's inaugural class of post-war planned communities—Levittown, New York being the most well-known—Cherokee Village was a real estate planning product without precedent. Community developers like Cooper were essentially winging it, devising untested forms of financing, land marketing, remote building supply chains, and community governance arrangements outside the traditional structure of the incorporated city. Most developers simply subdivided greenfield sites for development by indifferent merchant home builders, an instrumental rationality that resulted in homogenous suburban sprawl.

Cooper was the rare developer who combined then-progressivist planning and design thinking of the time with strands of countercultural American regionalism in imagining a new community consciously rooted in place—a regional modernism. The famous American architect Frank Lloyd Wright was the exemplary regional modernist given his tendencies to mix traditional building practices and placemaking with radical modern innovations like cantilevers, glass walls, and open floor plans yielding new expressions of space (see his famous Fallingwater residence in Pennsylvania or his Bachman-Wilson House meticulously relocated to Crystal Bridges Museum in 2015). Cooper hired one of Wright's favorite apprentices—the Arkansas architect E. Fay Jones, the Ozarks' signature architect. Cooper embraced these countervailing forces of modernity and regionalism present throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The original energy of modernism eventually hardened by midcentury into a formulaic uniformity characteristic of the then-new suburbanism sweeping the nation. An iconoclast, or at least as much as a developer with a lot of capital on the line could be, Cooper intellectually gravitated toward the *pluriversal*: the world as conceived through multiple economic and social narratives. Or to use the well-known Zapatistas phrase: “A world where many worlds fit.” Cooper was searching for complexity in his creation of community while mainstream developers were moving in the opposite direction.

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Ultimately, the pluralism celebrated by Cooper was never reconciled with the unyielding economics of the midcentury suburban subdivision singularly committed to the single-family home and its tacit social arrangement—the nuclear family. Sixty-five years later, 80 percent of Cherokee Village's parcels remain undeveloped with few housing starts on the horizon—17.6 percent of the Village's population lives below the poverty line (child poverty is 35.3 percent)—whereas 11 percent is the national average. Resident participation in civic groups, once numbering well over 100 in the Village, has practically evaporated. The promise of Cherokee Village was most fully experienced among its first generation of homeowners, but that promise has not persisted among successive generations. The lack of permissible mixed uses and varying housing forms over time have undermined resiliency and the capacity to adapt to shifting social arrangements beyond those built exclusively around the nuclear family. Like 90 percent of America's small towns and cities, Cherokee Village has experienced acute forms of shrinkage, whether gauged by population count, measures of social capital, job count, economic development opportunities, or all the above. Indeed, the inability to respond to the withering of America's urban settlements, whether villages, towns, or cities, remains the nation's largest socio-economic challenge.

When compared to its own origin story as devised by Cooper, Cherokee Village is an incomplete

project. Its cultural roots in American regional modernism—a future-oriented modernism tempered by indigeneity, scouting, folk, and pioneering—suggest multiple planning tactics for pivoting to *hospitality* as a development platform. Hospitality, a distinct way of conceptualizing “living together”, is the ultimate social and economic resource since it embraces plurality, and thus interest and investment. How might the unpacking of these rich cultural logics serve as a platform for envisioning new socio-environmental planning possibilities? What, then, do urban designers and architects do with culture? But first, what is cultural mapping?

cultural mapping: the problem of planning without memory

City in the Woods cuts across dominant histories defining modern-day Cherokee Village (developer economics, middle-to-upper-class homeownership, and modernism) and *minor* mostly hidden histories (Native American, camping and youth scouting, and Ozark subsistence settler and folk culture) used to market the midcentury planning approach. The blind spots in midcentury modern spatial mindsets go unchecked in what were, at the time, promising though untested development models: automobile-oriented suburbs, single-use zoning, and urban renewal. Our cultural mapping project sheds light on the diminishing returns in the midcentury modern planning model. The

problem in planning without memory, as if our geographies were blank slates, is the loss of social and ecological intelligence developed within indigenous and settler/folk cultural knowledge funds that in hindsight now look especially useful.

Despite the underutilization of the arts and culture as development resources in rural communities, cultural mapping in this case entailed a three-part process of engagement, research, and advocacy. First, collaborations between outside artists and local stakeholders led by community developers structured a comprehensive historical narrative to inform future design and planning. They identified five cultural frameworks which capture the essence of Cherokee Village—Native American heritage, Ozark pioneer and folk heritage, camping and scouting, midcentury planned communities, and regional modernism. This overarching story was essential in organizing more detailed research among stakeholders and outside design and planning professionals, recalling Michel de Certeau's important observation in his *The Practice of Everyday Life*: "What the map cuts up, the story cuts across."

Second, local stakeholders, folklorists, artists, designers, and architects collectively investigated and assembled detailed content from oral histories and interviews, primary sources, archived folklore material, and published histories of Cherokee Village, the region, and the Ozarks.

Third, designers and architects constructed exhibition-ready "maps" narrating the gathered research around the five cultural frameworks. Our cultural mapping animates diverse data sets through various representational strategies akin to a novel. Multimodal mapping strategies employed visual literacies ranging from serial "filmstrip" narratives, to collages, "thick description" drawings that reconstruct lost local heritage landscapes (e.g., camp sites and the Arkansaw Traveller Theater, now demolished), and GIS-based mappings of Cherokee Village's built environment. Mapping iterations invited community feedback in refining representations of the five spatial stories.

We also gleaned then-prevailing popular media environments to map White perceptions and myths framing indigenous and settler folk cultures—so important to understanding Cherokee Village's origin story. Here, maps chronicle past conversations and sentiment rather than objectify one data set typical in modern cartography. For instance, what was the prevailing milieu in which Cooper named most streets in Cherokee Village after Indian figures, ones amalgamated from distant tribal nations with little in common? What was the milieu in which White culture believed that Native Americans had disappeared (they are still here) and other racial-reinforcing myths? Indeed, as communications expert John Durham Peters contends in *The Marvelous Clouds: Toward a Philosophy of Elemental Media*, while we

commonly perceive media as environment, too, *environments themselves are media*. Accordingly, *media is infrastructure*—a consequential system that organizes material and socio-political life. Whereas environments, our physical worlds, are laden with intangible messages and memories that influence how the present era civilizes its landscape. Perceptions and myths, the fake news of an era(s), are important to scrutinize given their roles in framing present and future conventional wisdom, which in turn mobilize self-identity and the development processes that shape place. Cultural mapping is indispensable in planning new horizons informed by learned understandings of environments that shaped the past.

cooper's imaginary and other possible social worlds: new landscapes of hospitality in the framework plan

Born and raised in Earle, Arkansas, John Cooper, like other vacationing Memphians and West Memphians after the turn of the twentieth century, sought resort from the summer heat and humidity of the lower Mississippi delta in the eastern Ozark foothills. With the establishment of a railroad in the 1880s connecting the foothills to major metropolitan centers, the Spring River area—fed by one of the nation's largest springs—became a tourism and vacation mecca centered around clear cool rivers (great for trout

fishing) and wooded hills. Beginning in the mid-1940s, Cooper the vacationer-cum-community-developer embraced the more radicalized experiences of nature in Ozark highlands traditions as he conceptualized Cherokee Village. By the mid-1950s vacationers were converted to permanent residents, including retirees and younger families alike seeking a rural forest-lake community lifestyle.

Cooper's thinking was engaging, oscillating between strong anti-urban, even anti-modern, regionalist trends prevalent in America over the first half of the twentieth century, and new untested concepts in midcentury modern community planning. Cooper was deeply attracted to a general Native American ethos and its practice of *commoning* (shared land management and settlement without institutionalized forms of ownership) accompanied by non-Western notions of hospitality and ecosystem stewardship. While we lack access to Cooper's writings, it appears as though much of his understandings of Indian peoples were shaped by then-popular media imagery of Native Americans, rife with myths and other forms of misinformation that caricatured the Native American figure. A common invention of White understanding was the pan-tribal blending of practices and customs among the more than 500 tribal nations which differed significantly from one another in customs, values, languages, and livelihoods. The turn to the so-called "primitive" though was not

entirely pejorative. White culture was attempting to capture a lost sense of health, community, and spirituality marginalized by its own civilizing forces around the industrial city. Cooper blended remnants of Native American wisdom with White tropes of Indian culture in imagining Cherokee Village.

Another alternative to modernity upon which Cooper drew inspiration was the strong tradition of camp meeting and youth scouting in the Ozarks. Cooper venerated the uniquely American institution of camp meeting dating back to the late 1700s and its role in civilizing the Ozark frontier a century later. Hunting, fishing, and healing camps based in pragmatism and cooperation shared the woods with transcendental religious and educational camps, both giving way to later twentieth-century seasonal social resorts based around recreation. The twentieth-century river-based camp reconnected social and natural worlds alienated by cities. The nation's first generation of scouting camps were established in the Spring River basin. Summer scouting and YMCA/YWCA camps in what later became Cherokee Village were important to the socialization of middle-class urban youth who routinely experienced nature-deficit disorder common to city life. Other popular locations of Ozark camp meeting sites, like Branson, Missouri, evolved into permanent settlements and towns. Indeed, camps and cottage settlements were often starter cities as seen in the evolution of nineteenth-century

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camp meeting retreats into fully incorporated cities. Prominent examples include Wesleyan Grove and Oaks Bluff into Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts; Pitman Grove into Pitman, New Jersey; Mount Tabor into Parsippany, New Jersey; and Chautauqua, New York. Paralleling his interest in Native American ritual space, camps for Cooper were likewise primitive quasi-urban forms that offered retreat, self-expression, and play unavailable in the over-civilized industrial city. Interestingly, Cherokee Village homes with lake-front decks clustered around coves, where domestic life spills out onto decks, reproduce the intimacy and holiday environment of the old river camps.

Cooper recognized the hardscrabble Ozark pioneer and folk heritage based on pastoralism and subsistence farming. Popularized, even romanticized, by folklorists Vance Randolph and Otto Ernest Rayburn who chronicled the Ozarks in the first half of the twentieth century, its highland traditions were rooted in commons economies where prosperity was collectively derived from the land before mass settler property enclosures. Regional social customs developed without the universalizing influence of urban culture, absent in this remote geography until the twentieth century. The Arkansas Ozarks did not experience the full thrust of frontier development where westward expansion seeded the development of infrastructure, industry, and cities as theorized by historian Frederick Jackson Turner. In his excellent accounts of the Ozarks (see bibliography in

Cultural Mapping section), historian Brooks Blevins argues that urbanization in the Arkansas Ozarks was stymied by its mountainous geography and the blockage caused by mass Indian resettlement to the Oklahoma Territory directly west of Arkansas. Rayburn's popular book *Ozark Country* (1941) piqued the nation's curiosity in this remote region at a time when regionalism in America offered an alternative to a rapidly urbanizing America and the ills of overcrowding. Like author Harold Bell Wright (*The Shepherd of the Hills*, 1907) before them, the writings of Randolph and Rayburn sparked a midcentury interest among urban "back-to-landers" who sought refuge in rural lifestyles away from the bustle of city life. Incredibly, all three traditions from which John Cooper drew influence—Native American heritage, Ozark pioneer and folk heritage, and camping and scouting—were reshaped by twentieth century media environments to serve the interests of a newly urbanized and ever mobile middle class confronting their own frontier in novel consumer culture.

In the search for a grammar of belonging among an instant community of urban transplants to Cherokee Village, Cooper left an incomplete cultural legacy idealized through the figures of the pioneer, the Indian, and the frontiersman, common in American counterculture at that time. All three were mythologized in youth scouting, a middle-class socialization process embraced by Cooper and to which he made generous

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Cooper's unfulfilled imaginary remains fresh with visions of other social worlds. Indeed, our cultural mapping unearthed a subaltern tradition of camp meetings, revival grounds, artsy resort culture, scouting camps, and dinner theaters in the woods as powerful but nearly forgotten forms of urbanism in civilizing the Ozark frontier. These informal communal prototypes share a common orientation toward hospitality: moving one beyond the self and the sovereign toward being a guest as the ultimate form of citizenship.

donations. Their fictionalizations underwrote a longing for the personable social interactions and hospitality prevalent in traditional communities but lost under the abstractions of the modern city. Here, it is useful to recall German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies' well-known binary between social relations in the organic traditional community (*Gemeinschaft*) versus those in the anonymous society (*Gesellschaft*) of the modern city. The eclipse of the traditional community by the dominant modern city attends the growth of advanced Western industrial economies. In contrast to the impersonal yet rational self-interest associated with society and the modern city, Cooper as a community builder was attracted to "organic" concepts of community, *Gemeinschaft*, as defined by the folk or regional customs.

What if future development and placemaking for Cherokee Village were to be oriented around notions of hospitality and its attendant ways of living together? This would parallel the Village's current environment, hemmed in as it is around modern notions of withdrawal and privacy. Consider philosopher Jacques Derrida's existential notion of hospitality as an antidote to excessive privacy. Indeed, hospitality, as articulated in his *Of Hospitality*, is liberating in its folk-like graciousness toward the other:

absolute hospitality requires that I open up my home and that I give not only to the foreigner, but also to the absolute, unknown, anonymous other, and that I

give place to them, that I let them come, that I let them arrive, and take place in the place I offer them, without asking of them either reciprocity (entering into a pact) or even their names.

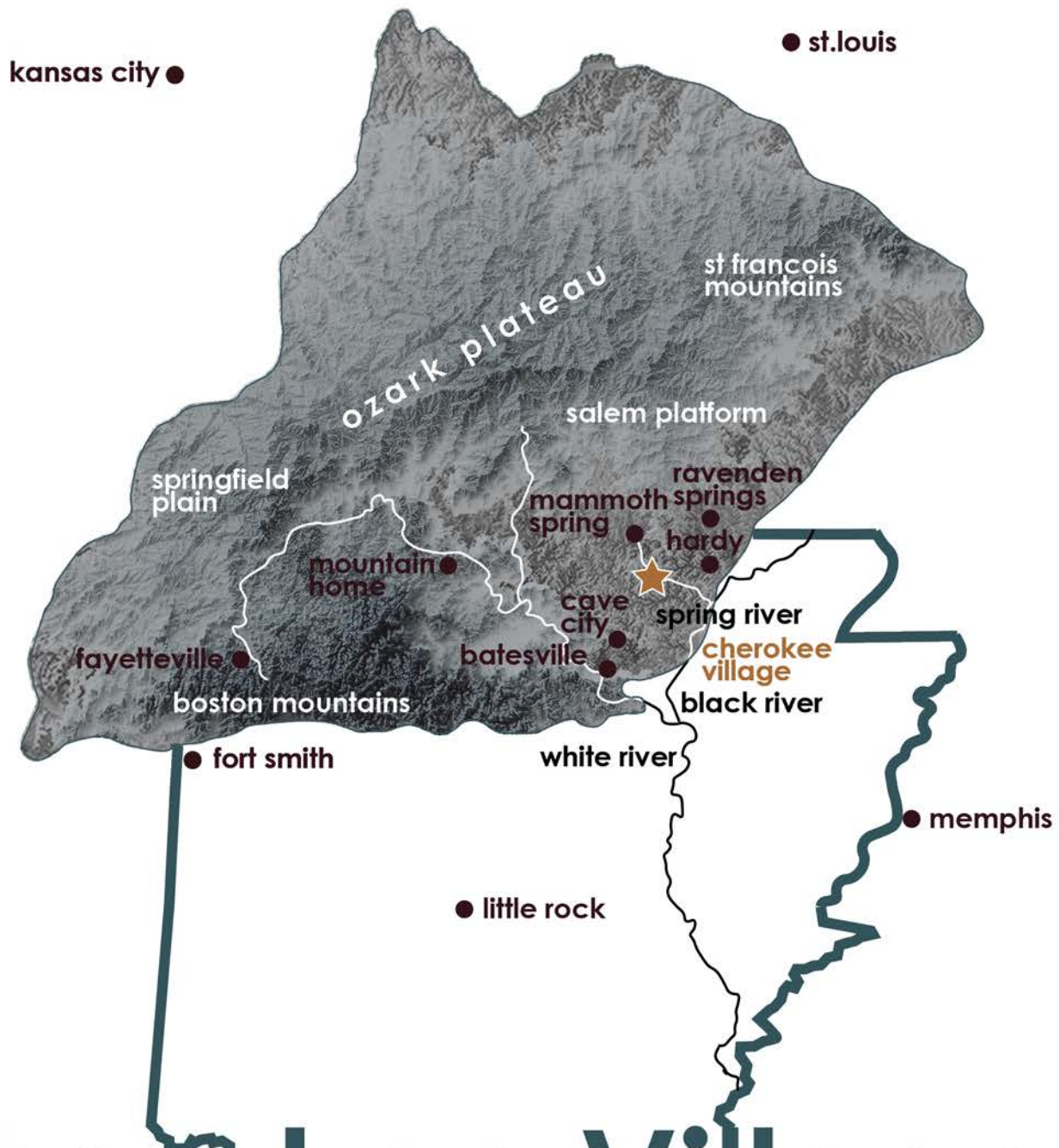
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The six forms of urbanism proposed in the Framework Plan below are structured around hospitality and its associations with diversity and social pluralism, with being a good neighbor and all that this entails. Each brand of urbanism offers a new dimension of placemaking in alignment with contemporary demands for vibrant mixed-use and social-oriented places. The Framework Plan envisions places with diversity in housing

The six forms of urbanism proposed in the Framework Plan below are structured around hospitality and its associations with diversity and pluralism—with being a good neighbor and all that this entails. . . . The Framework Plan outlines places with diversity in housing types and ownership models supported by non-residential services including unique trail experiences for pedestrians, equestrians, cyclers, and mountain bikers. Trail networks host camps, festival grounds, concerts in the grove, equestrian facilities, and botanical gardens—all and much more which can be plugged into a greenway network and scaled as investment allows.

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landscapes, stories, and social geographies of the arkansas ozarks surrounding america's first planned retirement-based recreational community

Cherokee Village

Arkansas
est. 1954

native american heritage

cherokee village: what's in a name?

cherokee (tsalagi) tribe lifeways
there were no cherokee in cherokee village: native americans and popular culture
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ozark pioneer and folk

arcadian imagery: tourism and real estate transforms the ozarks

the six development stages of the frontier in shaping the ozarks
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media images of the ozarks: the people, the land
the arkansaw traveller: from a pioneer ethos to media iconography
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camping and scouting

american camps: the city in the woods

changing concepts of tourism in the ozarks
spring river camps: the city in the woods
old kia kima in sharp county: one of america's earliest footholds in scouting
scouting in cherokee village: native american heritage in the boy and girl scouts
camp cedar valley: second generation scouting camp
order of the arrow and lodge 413

midcentury recreational and retirement communities

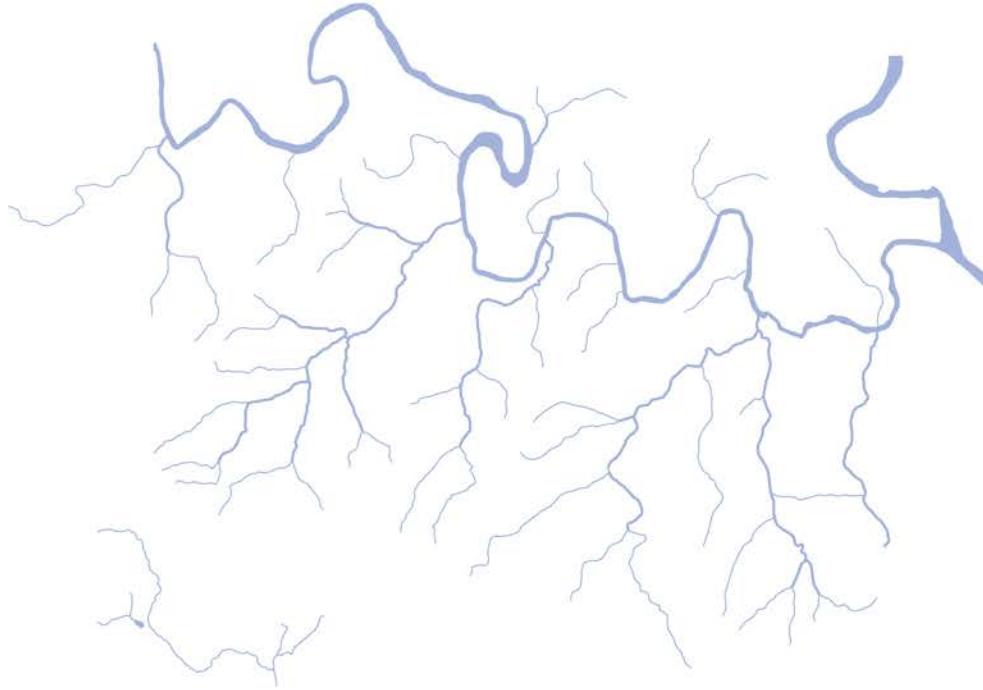
the multigenerational retirement community

john a. cooper, sr. founding architect of america's retirement community industry
john cooper and the interstate land sales industry
how were mid-twentieth-century recreational communities developed?
cherokee village: evolving governance structure
cherokee village and hardy: a comparison of street networks
subdividing the universe: the house lot as the unit of commerce
placemaking amenities: the promise of community
sitting bull restaurant: dining for recreation rather than utility
nine dams: the re-creation of camps and active lifestyles
the seven lakes of cherokee village
cherokee village patterns: a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p
cherokee village civic clubs: scripting the "active adult" lifestyle
a genealogy of midcentury planned communities: the bauhaus in the woods

fay jones, modern architecture

regional modernism in architecture and planning: topography, context, climate, and tectonic form

euine fay jones: one of america's most significant architects
e. fay jones architecture in cherokee village
e. fay jones architecture in other cooper communities
a legacy of midcentury modern architecture in cherokee village



south fork of the spring river watershed:
pre-development before 1954



south fork of the spring river watershed:
post-development after 1955

rurbanization: the urban-rural cross-section of living in cherokee village

seasonal and permanent camps dotting the spring river watershed around hardy and now cherokee village inspired the design of cherokee village, especially in the role of water as an organizing force. village design adopted the settlement vocabulary of the modern camp and its use of the smaller "unit plan" in modulating large camp populations. in cherokee village's case, nine reservoirs with extensive cove subgroupings akin to hamlets were constructed to provide waterfront homesites, an indispensable camp feature.

reservoirs



community centers



dams



coves

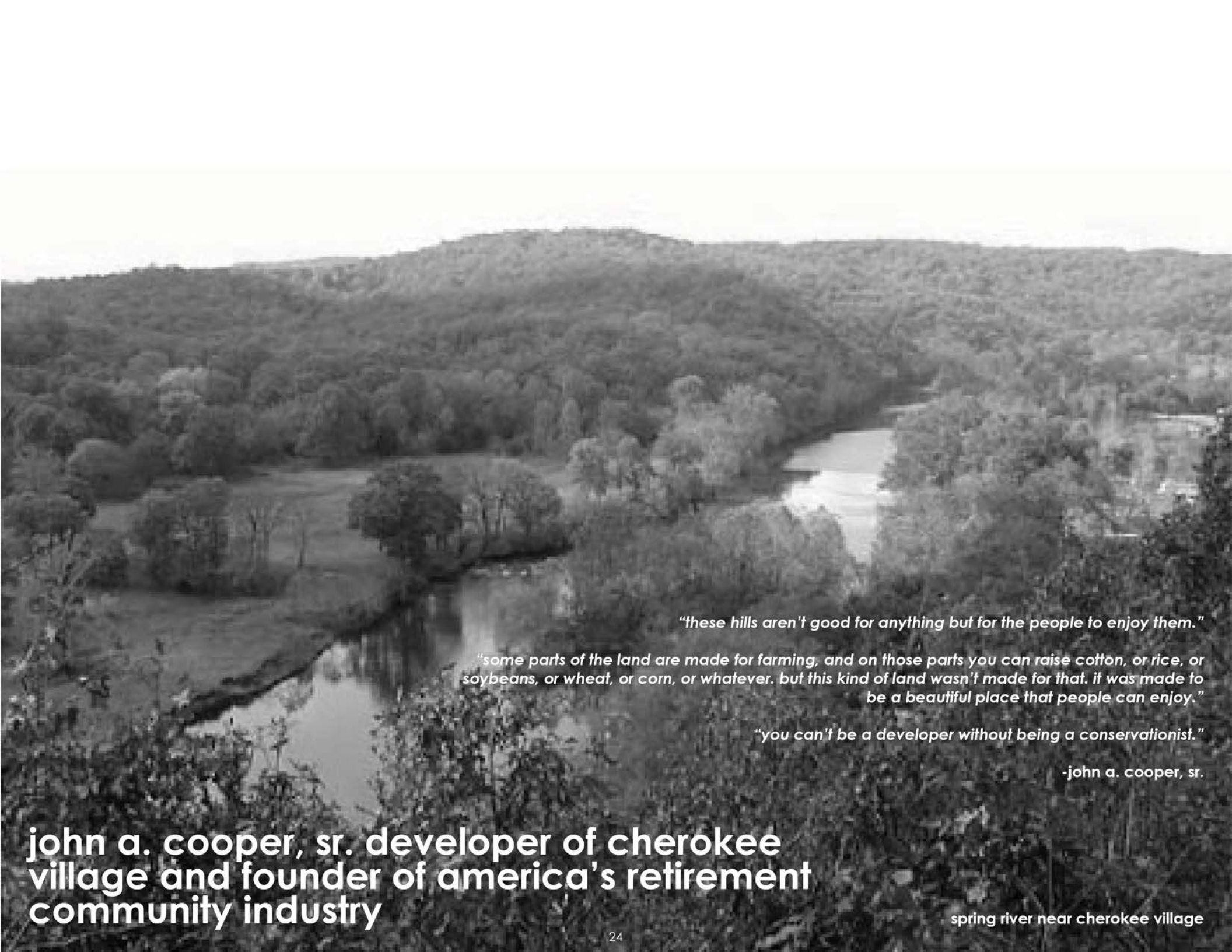


houses



interiors





"these hills aren't good for anything but for the people to enjoy them."

"some parts of the land are made for farming, and on those parts you can raise cotton, or rice, or soybeans, or wheat, or corn, or whatever. but this kind of land wasn't made for that. it was made to be a beautiful place that people can enjoy."

"you can't be a developer without being a conservationist."

-john a. cooper, sr.

**john a. cooper, sr. developer of cherokee
village and founder of america's retirement
community industry**

spring river near cherokee village

“every 12 seconds a man would be retiring”

del webb is credited with having created the retirement community industry based on his development of sun city, arizona—an age-restricted retirement community opened in 1960. webb used innovative market segmentation techniques including subsidized mini-vacation packages and direct-mail marketing in convincing seniors nationwide to relocate to his sunbelt leisure community. seniors over 55 left their families to live in this “active lifestyle” subdivision structured around recreation centers with pools, shuffleboard, lawn bowling, crafts, and golf on short courses.

but john a. cooper, sr. already accomplished all of this in 1954 when he opened cherokee village, arkansas, a planned retirement-based recreational community. while cooper mostly targeted seniors, he did not employ age restrictions and even donated land for the construction of schools. cooper had been a real estate developer since the late 1940s, and by the early 1950s recognized an emergent market opportunity in the new generation of retirees. post-war retirees were the first to enjoy full social security benefits, pensions and other savings, unprecedented mobility, and extended life expectancy, all shaping new conceptions of retirement structured around

“active lifestyles”. cooper fully grasped the scope through his own research, observing that “every 12 seconds a man would be retiring; every 12 seconds a man would be receiving a gold watch”. the cherokee village sales force—over 130 at its peak in the 1970s—was the first to deploy new marketing techniques including free vacation packages to tour home sites and direct-mail advertising. cherokee village eventually attracted thousands of property owners from all 50 states and 20 countries to this ozark foothills community.

ironically, del webb and his management consultants reacted with skepticism to demographic and market segmentation development when they first learned of the retirement community concept through a 1957 nbc show featuring youngtown, arizona. youngtown, the first age-segregated retirement community was developed in 1954, the same year as cherokee village. however, cherokee village differed from sun city and youngtown in that john cooper triangulated influences from the nineteenth century american **camp meeting movement**, the new **land sales industry**, and **regional modernism** in creating a sense of place integral to the ozark foothills landscape. cooper was drawn to the summer camp and resort tradition long established in sharp county with

its emphasis on social pluralism and family. while all three progenitor planned communities were marketed around the trope of the “vacation” only cherokee village embraced complexity, aspiring toward intergenerational living and association with local settler pioneer, scouting, and native american heritages.





"when a man's journey, at day's end brings him to this hogan, house of waters, house of abundance, may he rest in his protection and friendship and join in ceremony with the great chief."

"under the wise, watchful eye of the chief, be carefree, share the beauty, plenty of game, abundance for all, with evil spirits warded off, the prospects bright, leading to happiness, happiness for all ages shall be constant. when you must, go in peace and may our paths cross once more."

cherokee sayings selected by mildred cooper and carved on front doors of the cooper home in cherokee village

cherokee village: what's in a name?

“playing indian”

John and Mildred Cooper venerated Native American culture. Indeed, Cherokee Village was named to acknowledge an undocumented Cherokee settlement nearby while its street names adopted proper Indian names. Both were involved in the Scouting movement, which drew heavily upon Native American tropes in a return to primitivism. Postwar era appropriation of Indian names and imagery accentuated a long troubled relationship between Indians and white settler culture that displaced indigenous peoples from their homelands. As author Philip Deloria argues in *Playing Indian*, Americans have used Native American imagery and enacted Indian roles throughout the nation's history to shape white national identity. From colonial insurrectionists dressing up as Indians to carry out the 1773 Boston Tea Party and other carnivals and misrule rituals (e.g., the Whiskey Rebellion of 1791-1794, and the post-revolutionary war Tammany societies), to the formation of 19th century ethnographic studies around the ideology of the vanishing Indian (they are still here), conceptions of Indianness change over time. Revolutionary era Indianness celebrated freedom, Americanness, and the potential in open landscapes. What is clear according to Deloria is that America “desired Indianness, not Indians.”

In the 20th century invoking Indianness helped Americans confront anxieties over the environment, authenticity, cold war, and the various dislocating

effects of modernity. The Scouting youth movements originating in the early 20th century, including the Woodcraft Indians and Camp Fire Girls, were at the forefront of enacting Indianness to reestablish links to nature missing among urban youth in industrial society. Interwar period summer camps codified Indianness through practices including dressing up as Indians, performing indigenous dance rituals, and casting vows of honor around council rings among nearby tipis, totem poles, and wigwams. Taking their cues from a naturalized and an ahistorical Indian figure (“the noble savage”), education in Woodcraft—the art of living in the woods—was a primary concern of the interwar summer camp. Teachings in Woodcraft were accompanied by a focus on the development of handicraft, agriculture, and social skills. Camps generally became incubators of the middle class.

Indeed, Spring River residential camps and resorts—the area's frontline institutions in pioneering larger settlement processes—thoroughly Indianized the summer camp landscape after World War One.

The idealization of a seemingly primitive, timeless, and purifying Native American ethnography provided a counter to modernization processes that were felt to be more alienating than liberating. Playing Indian was mixed with the era's progressivist tendencies, especially mass tourism, in the social construction of modern



wigwam lodging of wampeton hill

childhood and ultimately national identity. The veneer of Indian lore and motifs deployed in camp life migrated to permanent settlements constructed in the mid-twentieth century. Citing Edward Said, a founder of postcolonial studies, Deloria thus observes a hardened

truth: that the social construction of whiteness—in all its dissonance, imperialism, and subjugation of indigenous culture—is intertwined with the construction of Indianness.

Deloria tells us that the search for the authentic is a distinctly modern condition; a quest for this

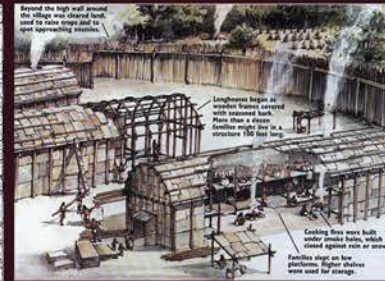
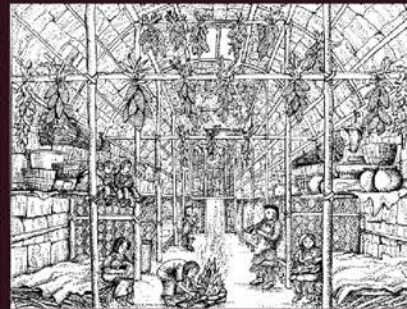
other that “can be coded in terms of time (nostalgia or archaism), place (the small town), or culture (Indianness).” Like most economic and social relationships in America, even for non-Indians, these relationships oscillated between destruction and creativity. Similarly, Cherokee Village is an unfinished project on several fronts, socially, culturally, and physically.

cherokee (tsalagi) tribe lifeways

the cherokee institutionalized hospitality and reciprocity in both their commoms and family structure. a riparian culture settling along rivers, cherokees were excellent farmers and ecosystem architects. notably, three-fifths of the world's crops now in cultivation originated from amerindians.

"anthropogenic forests" or the humanization of the forest
besides use of prescribed fires, eastern tribes (algonquian shown here) intercropped orchards or "masts" with fields, yielding fruits and nuts—persimmons, mulberries, cherries, plums, chestnuts, acorns, and walnuts. orchards maintained soil fertility while attracting birds for insect control in the fields.

prosperity
wealth was not accumulated individually to become rich: tribal citizens were never rich or poor, abundance was used to help one's extended family as prosperity was a gauge of interconnectedness with one another.



Beyond the high wall around the village was shared land used to raise crops and to hunt approaching enemies.

Longhouse design at window frames covered with intricate designs. Most like a clean function made for a structure 100 feet long.

Cooking fires were built under smoke holes, which lined against rain or snow.

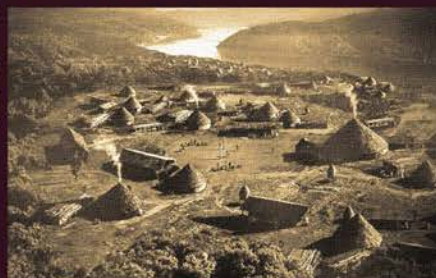
Multiple stoves and platforms, higher shelves were used for storage.



fire ecology in landscape stewardship
amerindian pyrophilia used controlled burns to revamp the wilderness akin to an "english garden". Early colonists described forest mosaics of meadows, plains, savannas, tree stands with open herbaceous understories, game management preserves, fish weirs in streams, foraging zones, orchards, raised planting fields, and irrigation networks.



extended and blended family structure
cherokee family structure was non-nuclear and fluid, as marriage was not viewed as permanent nor was unwed motherhood stigmatized. rather, serial monogamy was common, entailing the blending of families in resilient kinship structures, siblings often combined families and created intergenerational living complexes, as part of the iroquoian language family, cherokee also lived in longhouses like the iroquoian examples shown here.



commons or shared claims to territory
since cherokees did not view land as property to be owned or enclosed, land was stewarded communally, natural resources were managed and harvested collectively, mostly within the land's ecological carrying capacity, families claimed land for as long as they cultivated it.

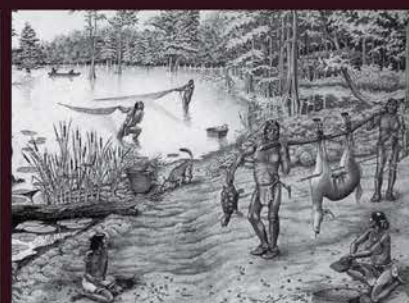


"three sisters" agriculture
indigenous americans integrated the planting of storage crops: corn (maize), climbing beans, and squash (pumpkin among cherokees) as a symbiotic plant guild. beans fix nitrogen, a necessary plant nutrient, into the soil. corn provides the structure for beans to climb, complementary to competing squash vines. squash retains soil moisture and prevents weeds. together, they contain complex carbohydrates, essential fatty acids, and all nine essential amino acids.

matriarchy and care structures
familial ties and clan affiliations passed through mothers and grandmothers, highlighting the centrality of shared intergenerational caregiving and education for both boys and girls. women decided advancement to political leadership and whether the cherokee went to war—the "red path".



The women decided if the Cherokee went to war.



egalitarianism and constitutional governance
cherokee governance was shaped by hospitality, flexibility, and decentralization necessary in sustaining hunter-gatherer-farming-trade economies. consensus and limited government were balanced by diffused authority in chiefs who executed deeds, made treaties, and chaired town councils. the haudenosaunee (iroquois) had the second oldest continuously existing representative parliaments on earth behind iceland.

justice
cherokees equated justice with the restoration of social harmony; offenders were treated with dignity under a kinship-based civic ethic—the "white path" or path of peace.



permaculture or regenerative farming
eastern tribes used whole systems thinking to maintain soil health. this includes swidden agriculture (slash-and-burn), soil fertilization with fish or eels where the soil is poor, polyculture, crop rotation, cover cropping, and no-or-low-till techniques.

scouting and wood-craft: camping

socialization of middle-class youth in industrialized urban america incorporated authentic experiences as a counter to modern lifestyles through scouting and camping. distinctly american, summer camps were total mythic spaces incorporating native american imagery, pageantry, dress, and scenery, especially among scouting and woodcraft associations after 1910. development of outdoorsmen knowledge and spiritual connection to nature were

achieved through camping, vows of honor, and ritualized instruction in wilderness skills celebrated by the awarding of merit badges. while the ethos of the pioneer, scout, and soldier of the now extinguished frontier (1893) were emulated among camp goers,

the perceived exoticism and primitivism in native americans framed larger traditions of cross-racial play. camps were laden with a mélange of pan-indian tropes and rituals like council rings, tipis, totem poles, feather headdresses (like tipis, war bonnets were only used among plains indian tribes), woodland tribes' wigwams, faux-indian names, and ceremonial dances. interwar new

deal programs during the great depression even trained assimilated native americans—many who were college students—how to be authentic indian camp counselors. as leslie paris observes, racial play was meant to be transformative among middle-class whites paying tribute to health, sincerity, simplicity, and play itself, yet its

primitivism was also a form of regimentation and ultimately pejorative, since "primitives of the past, after all, were hardy citizens of the present".



westerns tv genres

television became a mass medium by 1948 and dominated by the western genre in the 1950s. jon ketchum describes two outlooks held by white culture: negative indian stereotypes from the wild west shows offered justifications for settler colonialism, while positive stereotypes developed in the 1960s were apologies for settler colonialism. live **wild west shows** of the 19th and 20th centuries toured the u.s. and europe, including william "buffalo bill" cody's popular *pawnee*, *bill's wild west show* and *circus*.

mixed previously unassociated tribes, a uniform set of costumes, songs, shelters, and tools were used in shows, all indians were represented as being nomadic despite a rich legacy of placemaking. the **film industry** of the 20th century developed the "hollywood indian", indians only appeared in frontier settings despite most having moved to cities by midcentury. indians were portrayed as noble savages, either as warrior-like rebels or subjects compliant with assimilation. william deville's *the squaw man* fulfills this classic plot. in **television** *gunslinger* is the longest running western series with a total of 435 episodes and yet native americans appeared in only 15 episodes, according to ketchum, the

message: the west was empty of indians and its resources underutilized, and thus open for white appropriation—a classic replacement narrative. in *the lone ranger*, sidekick tonto appeared to be more of a servant than a partnering lawman, reinforcing the trope of the indian without agency.



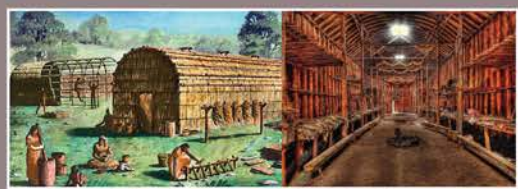
there were no cherokee in cherokee village: native americans and popular culture

"there is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism."
walter benjamin, "theses on the philosophy of history"

despite the coopers' veneration for native american culture their understanding of indigenous heritages were likely formed through the popular culture filters of postwar media. mid-twentieth century appropriations of indigenous imagery reflected a settler colonialism ever in conflict with its own ideas about the privatization of land as a commodity and the communal organizations of native american land stewardship. dispossession of indian identities is more accurately a function of settler colonialism beyond racism, perceptions of the indian's oneness with nature were mythologized by modern advertising and entertainment to naturalize their own commercial interests. jon ketchum outlines four common narratives framing popular culture's caricatures of native americans under the guise of honor.



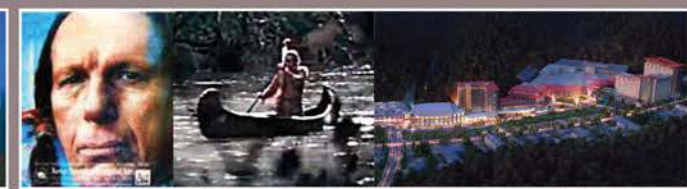
sports teams and mascots
kevin bruyneel observes the first use of indian mascots arose with the federal allotment process in the 1880s as native american communities were eliminated and tribal residents were re-assigned to land parcels in western "indian territories", honoring native americans was the justification for rationalizing use of indian mascots, despite dispossession of their land and homes. some of the better known examples include the washington redskins professional football team, the cleveland indians professional baseball team, and chief illiniwek, retired mascot of the university of illinois.



more than 500 tribes (technically nations) with different languages and cultures were reduced to simple pan-indian stereotypes. the more common tropes have created an entrenched environment of misinformation. for instance, **tipis** stand in for the wide range of regional shelter types used in tribal villages including hogans, adobe towns, longhouses, igloos, log cabins, wigwams, and domed structures among others. only the plains tribes used tipis, and then only as field shelters while hunting



and traveling between seasonal homes. the anglophile **maiden**, exemplified in the figure of pocahontas, served as a romantic interest readily available to white characters, but also doubled as a warning about miscegeny since the indian love interest usually dies. despite the image of the savage **warrior**—the treacherous brave who raided, murdered, and stole from whites—many tribes limited conflict to defensible wars to secure peace. different from european warfare, native americans used "mourning wars" or low intensity, low



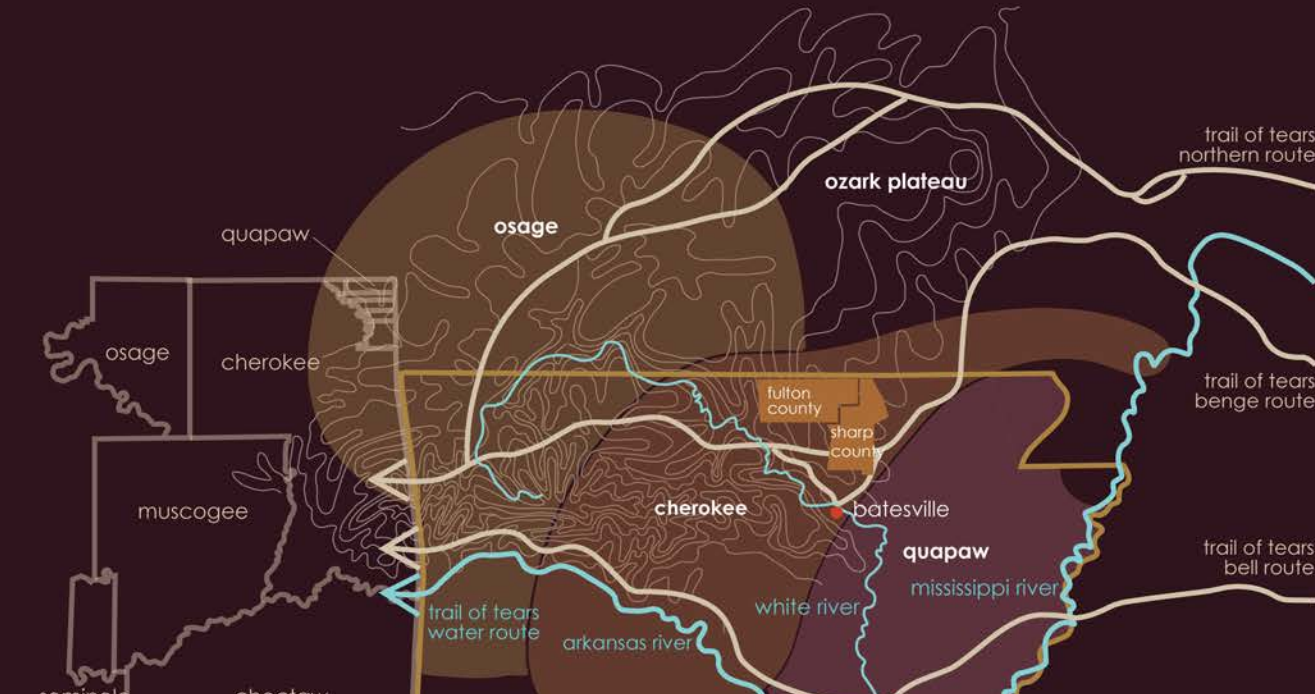
casualty conflict for social ends. alternatively, the **noble indian**—popularized by "the crying indian" in the keep america beautiful public service announcement introduced on earth day in 197—lives within a precise ecological footprint leaving little trace on the environment, another myth: indian gaming kingpins made tribes rich from running **casinos**. studies cited by dunbar-ortiz and glio-whitaker show that casinos yielded \$3,000 per capita, not enough to raise indigenous per capita income of \$4,500 to then u.s. average of \$14,400 (in 1998 figures).

pan-indian imagery

celebrated cherokee figures in the modern era

having survived broken treaties, wars, removal, and reallotment, cherokee culture consistently demonstrates its resiliency. cherokee figures continue to advance socio-cultural and political legacies within both the cherokee nation and the united states. this counters the myths that native americans had disappeared and that indian peoples' cultures are static.





on september 28, 1838, cherokee leader john benge escorted 1,079 cherokee towards present-day stilwell, oklahoma. the benge route entered arkansas at pitman's ferry on the current river in northeastern randolph county. the group travelled through old jackson road and forded the spring river just south of imboden at a spot called miller's ford. after crossing the spring river into lawrence county, the trail continued onto smithville and crossed sharp county north of batesville. from there, the group continued across the ozark mountains to near fayetteville before ending their journey in indian territory, present day tahlequah, oklahoma.



sequoyah 1770-1843
educator



nimrod jarret smith 1837-1893
cherokee principal chief



major ridge 1771-1839
cherokee leader



john ross 1790-1866
cherokee chief



stand watie 1806-1871
first native american brigadier general



will rogers 1879-1935
american film actor



joseph clark 1893-1971
u.s navy admiral



vann rogers 1839-1911
cherokee senator and judge



john marlin 1829-1907
native american civic leader



lynn riggs 1899-1954
author and poet



william penn adair 1830-1880
cherokee assistant chief



yvette herrell 1964
politician, businesswoman



quentin tarantino 1963
director, producer



robert conley 1940-2014
cherokee author



tom threepersons 1889-1969
cherokee lawman



wilma mankiller 1945
first female cherokee chief



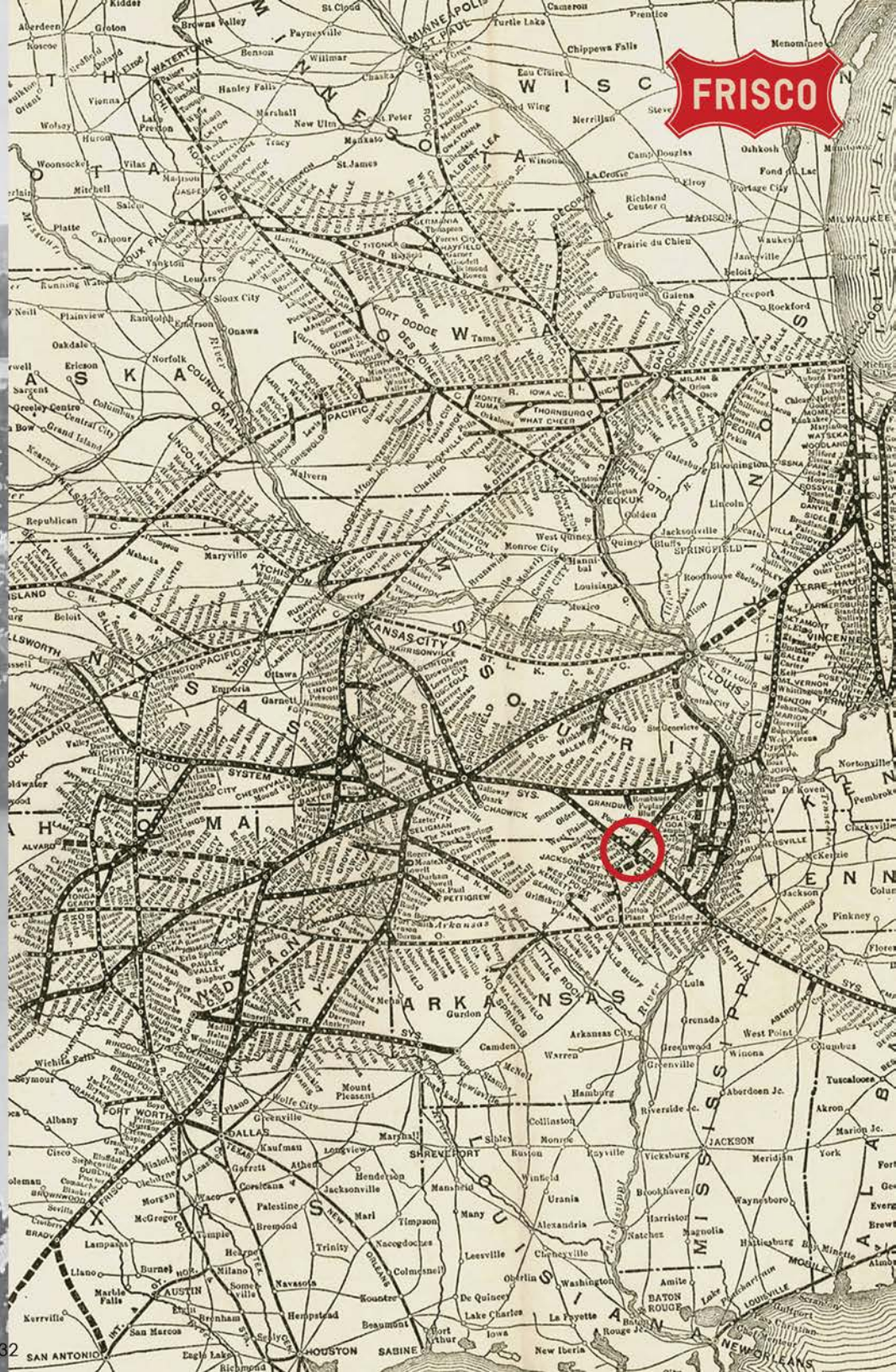
keith harper 1965
attorney



royce cornelison 1974
businessman



arcadian imagery: tourism and real estate transform the ozarks



trains, rivers, and float trips

tourism and real estate development in the ozarks were primarily a midwestern phenomenon. by the end of the 19th century, middle-and-upper-class tourists and investors from kansas city, st. louis, and other cities north were attracted by the pastoral imagery depicting the ozarks. arcadian imagery promoting classical, genteel visions of agrarian life—solidified by harold bell wright's 1907 best-seller *shepherd in the hills*—established the basis of the region's commercial tourism. railroads overcame the geographical and cultural barriers stymieing urbanization of the ozark frontier. through cave parties, river float trips, game parks, and fish camps, regional boosters including railroad companies advertised the ozarks as a continuous "pastoral playground". the ozark float trip staged by outfitters became memorialized in the region's journalism and folklore as discussed by morrow and myers-phinney in their history of tourism in the ozarks, *shepherd in the hills country*. tourist-sportsman excursions led to resort cities as rivers were dammed, which in turn brought a rush of homesteaders from across the nation to real estate developments after the 1940s.

likewise, the towns of hardy and mammoth spring on the spring river, each hosting a rail station on the "frisco" line, had their origins in entertaining urban tourists on guided float and fishing trips. mammoth spring is the headwaters of the spring river, issuing nine million gallons of cool water per hour, making it the

world's ninth-largest natural spring. the spring river became a famous ozark trout and float stream, where a federal fish hatchery maintains the world's only captive spawning population of gulf coast striped bass. camps and resorts populated the spring river and the south fork of the spring river, eventually attracting summer vacationers like memphian businessman john cooper who stayed. cooper, and real estate developers after him, constructed recreational-based communities throughout north central arkansas, particularly appealing to midwestern retirees.

the interests of urban tourist-sportsmen, mostly businessmen, influenced a strong conservation movement in the ozarks, often in battle with their fellow investor class who developed extractive industries in timber and minerals. later, real estate developers like cooper drew upon a place-based and folk-oriented conservation ethic in the planning of cherokee village—dubbed "the parent of the original vacation-retirement community" and based on sportsmen activities.



frisco railroad connecting hardy with memphis



horseback riding, ozark acres



float trip at spring river, mammoth spring



old girl scout camp, hardy



"lasalle's party at village of the illinois 1680"



"settlement of arkansas post 1686"



"father marquette" a. bobbet 1880



quapaw trade dumont de montigny 1722



quapaw trade dumont de montigny 1722



osage traders by charles banks wilson 1977



parker family ranch, newton county 1840



19th century homestead, carter county 1880



corn yield 1900, ozark culinary history 2017



first bale of cotton, mountain home 1916



mountain home tomatoes 1900-1920



drying jars for canning, missouri 1936



cotton from v.y. cook plantation 1881



cotton wagons, newport 1900



early farm machinery, miller county 1900



cornig cotton gin 1902



red ark marble quarry of white river 1920



morning star zinc mine, rush county 1890



guion glass sand factory 1922

the six development stages of the frontier in shaping the ozarks

from frederick jackson turner, "the significance of the frontier in american history" (1893)

disintegration of "savagery"

the the settler frontier advancing west after the war of 1812 pushed indigenous communities west, eventually settling indians onto oklahoma reservations by the 1830s. the ozark highlands was the first sanctuary for tribes dislocated from their eastern homelands. osage, quapaw, caddo, and cherokee tribes were dislocated from the ozarks in the 1830s, despite the cherokee's development of local trade with colonists, farming, and even the mining of salt and metals.

trading

the designation of oklahoma as indian territory prevented arkansas from becoming a primary settler migration route to the west, dampening broader trade beyond the region. only with the rise of steamboating on the white and black rivers in the 1840s was the region opened to increased trade and settlement. railroads appeared in the 1880s bringing interstate travel including shortline railroads that served local farming, timber, and mining industries.

pastoralism and ranching

the shift from frontier livestock raising in the open range toward the holistic midwestern model did not occur until after 1900. the model employed pure-bred british cattle breeds, enclosures, scientific breeding, and emphasis on pasture maintenance and foraging crops. ironically, the book *shepherd of the hills* by harold bell wright, a best-selling arcadian genre in 1907, sparked a tourism boom around ozark pastoral imagery that led to large-scale real estate development.

raising of unrotated crops—exploitation of soil

lack of fertile soil and smooth terrain limited agricultural development in north central arkansas. subsistence farming maintained a hold among hill farmers of the ozarks up to the great depression and the new deal in the 1930s. a large outmigration of ozarkers after 1918 stymied agricultural improvements in the region.

intensive agriculture of denser farm settlement

the arrival of steamboats aided the shift from subsistence farming to commercial farming near rivers, particularly in cotton production after the civil war. steamboats incited pre-civil war planters with slaves to relocate to the region, but it was not until technical expertise in the cooperative extension service arrived in northern arkansas to collaborate with railroad representatives and local farmers after 1900 did agriculture undergo a more comprehensive shift.

manufacturing and organization of city and factory

the absence of coal and lack of waterpower in the region hindered the influx of industrial capital and early modernization experienced by other highland regions in the u.s. the lack of urban centers inhibited the growth of large-scale industry and agriculture. rather, tourism, heritage, and land development became major regional economic development forces, beginning with the development of resorts around area springs in the 1880s.



louisiana colony spain 1789



louisiana purchase from france 1803



arkansas u.s. territory 1819



arkansas u.s. state 1836

see particularly brooks blevins, *hill folks: a history of arkansas ozarkers and their image*

arkansas ozark settler folkways

19th century settlers of highland landscapes often experienced arrested economic development due to the lack of urbanization, skilled specialization, and access to trade. a distinct frontier humanism persisted in the postbellum ozark forests to the 20th century. their expressions of self-sufficiency later proved attractive to subsequent generations of outsiders seeking nostalgia, escape from the city, or back-to-the-land lifestyles.

subsistence homesteads often one and a half story structures of hewn logs were built near springs for access to water (avoids the difficulty too of digging wells through rock) and for cooling purposes. spring houses separate from the main house stored perishables including milk, butter, eggs, and honey. the kitchen was sometimes detached from the main house and connected by a "dog trot" or breezeway. a nearby smokehouse stored meat and remnant salt was harvested from its dirt floors. cribs, horse/mule stables, and a hog pen were located at the spring branch for access to water, otherwise livestock was open range. in addition to vegetable gardens that supplied tubers and root crops for winter food, homesteaders would grow fruits orchards including apples, apricots, pears, plums, quinces, and peaches, house raisings became social events.



open-range economy where homesteaders shared a wooded commons for hunting, foraging, and animal grazing until railroad consolidation after 1900. fences were used only to keep animals out of vegetable gardens. an alternative to farming in poor soils, stockmen drove small herds of cattle to markets and saved less manageable hogs for family consumption. forests were a source of livelihood for foraging plants, trapping, tree tapping, timbering, fishing, and moonshining before the commodification and enclosure of land.



cabin-based crafts included basketry, tanning, woodworking, spinning and weaving, and candle making. homesteads typically had a trough for tanning animal hides, particularly to make shoes, hats, and harnesses from cowhides, deerskins, and beaver and bear pelts. thread from cotton or wool was carded



music and distinct ozark mountain sounds, including folk dance tunes, are played through the fiddle, banjo, guitar, mandolin, dulcimer, and autoharp. scots-irish immigrants who pioneered settlement of the ozarks mixed ancestral ballads with lore about the frontier involving wilderness, cowboys, soldiers, and railroad men. fiddle music, with its origins in 1600 scotland, served as the foundation for subsequent development of highland music traditions including gospel, country, and bluegrass. as john quincy wolf wrote in *life in the leatherwoods*, "the country fiddler was an important personage, looked upon with almost as much respect and reverence as the country parson." the fiddle went hand-in-hand with square dancing ("stepping" or jig dancing native to arkansas) events held weekly in many communities.

textiles were mostly made at home, as women were skilled in carding and weaving cloth from yarn made of sheep and goat wool, as well as cotton and flax. fiber cards were used to brush unspun and twisted cotton and wool fibers into soft tufts for spinning into thread. several traditions of clothmaking were used including the sewing of quilts, looms for weaving two or more sets of threads, and spinning wheels for spinning fiber into yarn. quilting bees and frolics were gatherings where participants worked together on finishing a quilt while they cooked. while men harvested crops, women and girls would conduct quilting bees, another expression of community in the frontier.



and spun at home to make clothes, curtains, quilts, rugs, and towels. tallow candles were made mostly from cows or sheep, incorporating natural dyes and herbs for aromatic effect. household articles could be obtained from traveling coopers (cedar wash tubs), woodworkers, and blacksmiths.



education and "subscription schools" occurred before 20th century education reform in arkansas that led to compulsory free school. citizens taxed themselves to fund a building, a teacher's salary, and supplies. schools convened three to six months per year, sometimes in residents' homes for communities who could not afford a building. one-room schools were ungraded, collectively housing students ages five to twenty. teacher certificates were issued after a two-week training period, mostly to men. spelling bees were the highlight of instruction and became public events attracting spectators who traveled miles to see these contests. by 1900 communities dedicated to self-improvement used their schoolhouses to host local literary societies that convened debates, spelling bees, ciphering matches, and kangaroo courts.

hunting and fishing were important sources of food and products in subsistence economies based on barter, cash exchange and crop farming (except in bottomlands) were late arrivals to the ozarks. big game such as bear, panther, deer, and wolves were available in providing food, leather products, clothing, and fat for cooking and candle making until the 1890s. fish, fresh-water mussels, and crawfish were harvested sometimes to the point of depletion through gigging (bowfishing), noodling (now illegal), and net fishing or "meat fishing". mussels were overharvested especially on the black and white rivers for pearls and button manufacturing. learning from native americans, hunter gatherer settlers kept clean open woods without under canopy growth through controlled burns and animal grazing. open range hunting camps were common and opportune for socializing and information exchange.



the pie supper is a ritual where fancily wrapped pies are auctioned to raise funds for charitable causes like subscription schools, the needy, or troops during a war. associated with the rural ozarks, pie suppers were nuanced community events where people dated, performed, played sports, conducted business, and engaged in general fellowship. some were held weekly, and pie makers—women—were expected to eat their pies with male purchasers ("married" and "unmarried" pies were separated). pie suppers disappeared as rural school districts consolidated.



herbal traditions in ozark folk healing hybridized medieval tincture recipes from european distilleries and indigenous communities' botanical knowledge. bitters were formulated from soaking plants in alcohol to create extracts, like wild cherry whiskey to make expectorants. the cherokee were an especially important source of information transfer on botanical-based medicinals—e.g., bloodroot for skins ailments, sassafras as a tonic and laxative, goldenseal as an astringent and digestive aid, and pokeroof for arthritis. indeed, the ozark's high biodiversity in plant life attracted root diggers for pharmaceutical companies nearly resulting in plant species' extinction due to over-extraction. folk healing combined science, faith, and ritual involving herbs, prayer, singing, and counseling by wives, healers, and traveling medicine vendors.

journal accounts

travel accounts constitute the earliest literary image of territorial arkansas. geologist henry rowe schoolcraft particularly established the arkansas stereotype associated with immorality and indulgence in his 1819 journal, *a tour in the interior of missouri and arkansas*. several journals would follow in its footsteps.



humorist books

on *a slow train through arkansas*, by thomas jackson, was the best-selling joke book in american history. it pushed the arkansas image into even more myopic views than previous iterations.



h.l. mencken and boosterism

mencken, a magazine writer and editor, wrote the article "the south begins to mutter", a smarmy attack on the south. this garnered a defensive response from governor charles brough, igniting a battle of words. this conflict only inspired further degradation from other northern journalists.



comic strips

'I' abner, unlike its contemporaries, offered some cultural parity in its commentary on class in america. using the ozark-dwelling yokums as the embodiment of wild, if naive purity, the comic lambasts both the hillbillies and the city-slickers looking down upon them.



"bubba"

bill clinton's campaign was fraught with opponents mining the arkansas stereotype to attack his competence. his victory would ultimately bring legitimacy to the dualistic arkansas image.



from the frontiersman to subsistence farmer to hillbilly



the bear state

arkansas post was established as the first european settlement in arkansas in 1686. visitors from neighboring territories, mostly soldiers from french and spanish forts in louisiana, described the frontiersmen as lazy and lawless. morris s. arnold accused them of being "murderers, rapists, and fugitives from justice," forming the first cultural impressions of the frontier south.



satirical press

satirical newspapers arose through the mid-to-late nineteenth century. these publications leveraged the existing stereotypes of the ozark hillbilly to disparage the frontiers people of the arkansas territory.



movies

building off the popularity of the hillbilly in vaudeville acts and Broadway shows, the silver screen iterations were perhaps the most exploitative of southern high country portrayals. radio personalities lum and abner would finally bring some dignity to their arkansas characters, highlighting the value of rural simplicity.



television

the first ten years of television would transform the image of the hillbilly from uncivilized scoundrels to romantic country folk. the *beverly hillbillies* saw great success by deploying a familiar formula: common sense hayseed outwits and exposes the ill-intentioned urbanite as a greedy and pretentious charlatan, an egalitarian story in america's image.

media images of the ozarks: the people, the land

wellness spas and resorts

a belief in the healing properties of spring waters led to an explosion of tourism for any place savvy enough to capitalize on this natural resource. resorts sprang up and swelled the economies of towns such as hot springs, raven den springs, and eureka springs. as medicinal claims lost credibility, the fervor transformed into a broader desire for a return to nature.



amusement parks

expanding upon the natural tourism economies developed at the turn of the 20th century, several amusement parks arose throughout the ozarks. the ozark folk center, dogpatch usa, and silver dollar city all offered an accessible emulation of the frontier experience. the cultural desire to reclaim the mountaineer's survivalist skills swelled park popularity until most failed due to their isolation from urban centers.



from pastoralism to wellness, back-to-the-land, and cultural tourism



pastoralist literature

harold bell wright's *shepherd of the hills* set the ozarks as a bucolic sanctuary from the city. this and several other pastoralist novels romanticized an escape to a simpler existence, and while receiving mixed critical reviews, the popularity of these books had an undeniable influence on the perception of american rural life.



subsistence farming

the agriculturalism of the ozarks was characterized by subsistence farming, as opposed to the industrial scale monocropping seen in the mississippi river valley. resourcefulness was a hallmark of the ozark farmer, who would grow a combination of food and cash crops in isolated locations with undesirable soils.



back-to-the-landers

the 1960s and 70s brought a cultural movement that created a demographic shift away from the overcrowding, consumerism, and pollution of the city. folklorist otto ernst rayburn's autobiography *forty years in the ozarks* made the region a prime destination for those looking to remake society in a simpler image.



1968

drawing from the original traveller folklore, leo rainey, with strong support from james bobo, formed the theatre to "preserve for posterity the folk music and humor of the ozarks of the 1840s."



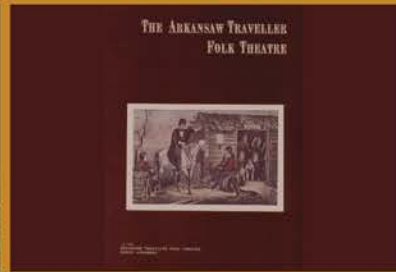
1971

"the arkansaw travellers", a band made up of theatre cast members, released their first album, echoes from the ozarks enabling them to reach a broader audience through distribution.



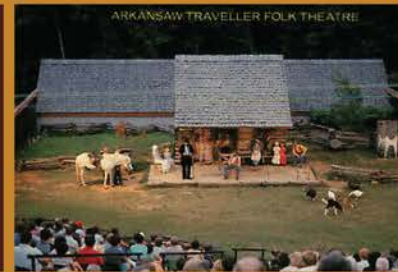
1973

the theatre moved from its original location on highways 167 and 62, just a small cabin and bleachers, to its newly constructed home on old pershing road. the 850-seat theatre also housed a restaurant, shops, and a demonstration area showcasing spinning.



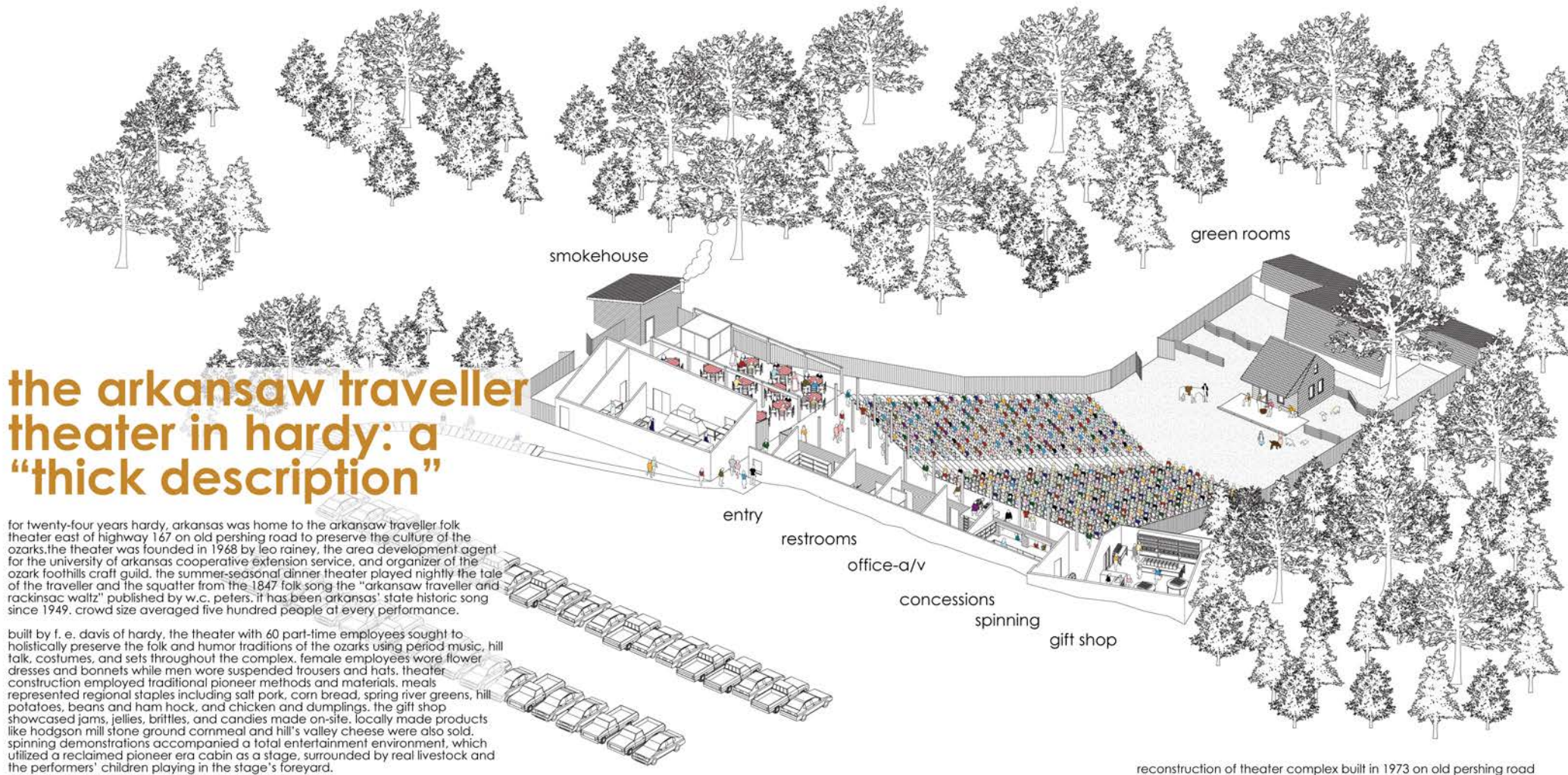
1976

at its height, the theatre drew 600 people a night, four nights a week, adding up to 25,000 visitors per season. it employed 60 part-time employees and actors, many who were descendants of local families familiar with folk knowledge and traditions.



1992

the theater closed its doors after the retirement of leo rainey.

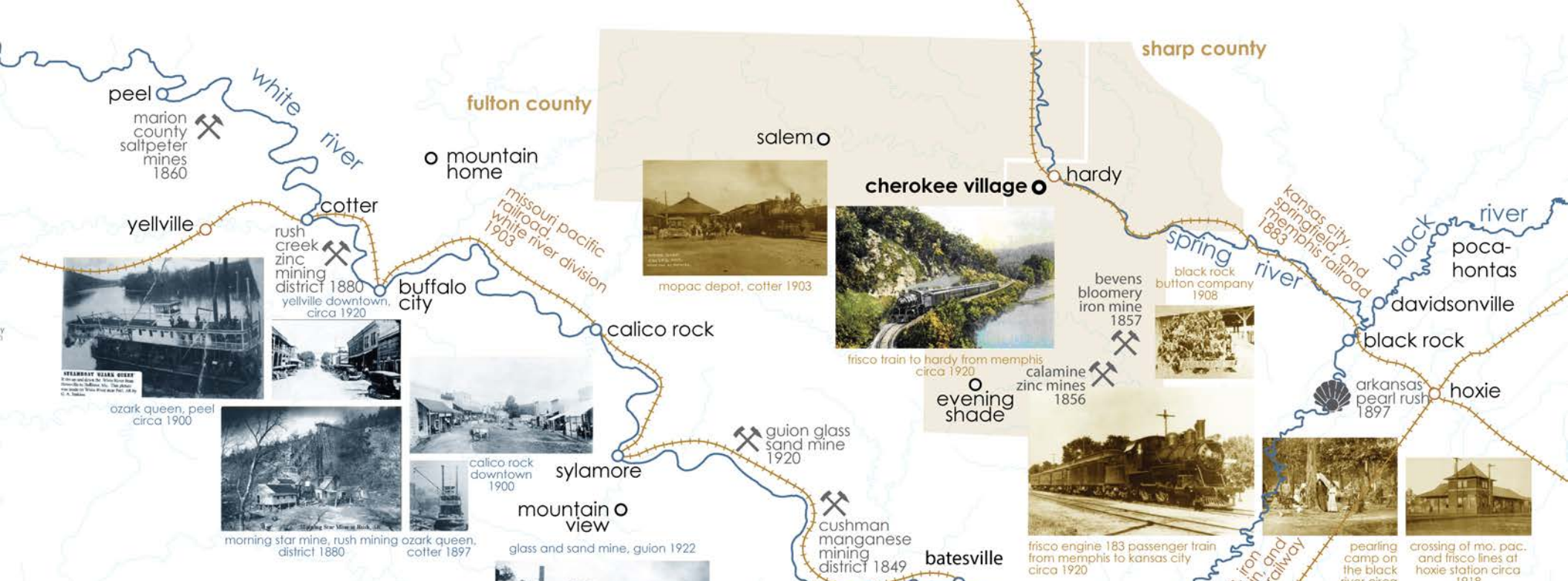


the arkansaw traveller theater in hardy: a "thick description"

for twenty-four years hardy, arkansas was home to the arkansaw traveller folk theater east of highway 167 on old pershing road to preserve the culture of the ozarks. the theater was founded in 1968 by leo rainey, the area development agent for the university of arkansas cooperative extension service, and organizer of the ozark foothills craft guild. the summer-seasonal dinner theater played nightly the tale of the traveller and the squatter from the 1847 folk song the "arkansaw traveller and rackinsac waltz" published by w.c. peters. it has been arkansas' state historic song since 1949. crowd size averaged five hundred people at every performance.

built by f. e. davis of hardy, the theater with 60 part-time employees sought to holistically preserve the folk and humor traditions of the ozarks using period music, hill talk, costumes, and sets throughout the complex. female employees wore flower dresses and bonnets while men wore suspended trousers and hats. theater construction employed traditional pioneer methods and materials. meals represented regional staples including salt pork, corn bread, spring river greens, hill potatoes, beans and ham hock, and chicken and dumplings. the gift shop showcased jams, jellies, brittles, and candies made on-site. locally made products like hodgson mill stone ground cornmeal and hill's valley cheese were also sold. spinning demonstrations accompanied a total entertainment environment, which utilized a reclaimed pioneer era cabin as a stage, surrounded by real livestock and the performers' children playing in the stage's foreyard.

reconstruction of theater complex built in 1973 on old pershing road



vectors of change: steamboating and railroading in north central arkansas

nobody associated steamboats with remote mountains. dubbed "floating palaces" by ozarkers, well over 100 boats regularly traveled the white river at the peak of steamboating in the 1870s.

ever since the waverly first steamed up the white river in 1831, the white and black rivers became highways of commerce through these ozark wilderness valleys that lacked good roads, in their book, *steamboats and ferries on the white river*, duane huddleston, et al. chronicle the role of steamboating in developing the region's economy beyond subsistence. shallow-draft steamers hauled settler-produced goods like animal hides, rendered bear oil, and cotton downriver while transporting new settlers, food products, and pioneer staples including manufactured goods upriver. steamboats also brought a level of cosmopolitan refinement to the ozark frontier. captains of these "floating palaces" with well-appointed staterooms, bars, and gambling rooms hosted excursion parties and evening celebrations with fine dining, dancing, and entertainment unavailable in river towns. ironically, the steamboats transported the material to build the railroads that eventually brought about the steamboat's demise after 1900.

the kansas city, springfield, and memphis railroad (once the st. louis and san francisco railway company, now the bnsf railway) developed along the spring river in the 1880s and gave rise to the town of hardy in 1883. hardy began as a railroad town providing a passenger station and water services for steam locomotives but grew to become a significant tourist destination for summer resorting and camping. tourists traveling by fast train from memphis to the colorado mountains to escape the mississippi delta heat and humidity became attracted to hardy and the scenic spring river environment—a closer vacation destination. memphis area entrepreneurs including george gillespie buford and john cooper a generation later built area resorts and year-round residential developments. until buses and automobiles displaced the popularity of train travel after 1930, the railroad was the catalyst of economic development in sharp and fulton counties.



"popularized by naturalist ernest thompson seton (co-founder of the american boy scouts) as the material expression of the orderliness and community orientation of indian life, the council ring fostered a new appreciation for indian culture, even as it supported the idea of indians as a dying race, denying contemporary realities of native american life and reinforcing white dominance."



"in manufacturing a new type of wilderness out of what—in many cases—had been farmland, summer camps (and to some extent, other rural resorts) seemed to turn back the clock, reversing the westward motion of the advancing frontier and returning the landscape to something that evoked its pristine natural form. indian names suggested that the land had passed into the hands of camp organizers directly from its indigenous inhabitants, and thus worked conceptually to scrub the land clean of its earlier productive manifestations . . ."

abigail van slyck, *a manufactured wilderness: summer camps and the shaping of american youth, 1890-1960*

american camps: the city in the woods

camp rio vista, hardy

camp meeting movement

the american camp meeting movement popularizing community experiences in the woods from religious revivals to cultural exchanges, became source material for a uniquely american form of settlement—the *special interest community*. this included recreational and retirement communities, resort villages, bungalow courts, pocket neighborhoods, trailer parks, and various utopian communities. contemporary examples include seasonal festivals like *burning man*, a nine-day event focused on community, art, and self-reliance held in the temporary desert city of black rock, nv.

the camp meeting has its origins in 18th century religious revivals where families built permanent cabins around a shared lawn landmarked by a tabernacle for preaching and assembly. camp families independently sustained themselves often over an entire summer. some early camps were the size of neighborhoods serviced by planned circulation networks, urban blocks, stables for livestock (pre-railroad), and porches for socializing. late 19th century camps, like wesleyan grove in oaks bluff on martha's vineyard, massachusetts, and pitman, mount tabor, and ocean grove in new jersey grew into incorporated towns.

modern camp variations favored civic, education, and leisure interests. these included the chautauquas (beginning in 1874 as a summer camp for sunday schoolteachers

on lake chautauqua, new york), health resorts popularized in the 1880s, the early 20th century resort hotel, and summer youth camps. the chautauqua movement became an american institution, a center for new ideas in the arts and public affairs with concerts and theatrical performances attended by tens of thousands summer residents seeking self-improvement. cottages were the primary housing form in campgrounds, though sites later accommodated hotels and multifamily dwellings compatible with the pedestrian scale of camps. regardless of meeting purposes, all shared a common objective to renew individuals through communal-based retreats to nature.

summer camp, a “manufactured wilderness”

the rise of the summer youth camp in the 1890s was directed at building capacity and character in urban youth without subjecting them to the adult influences of the resort hotel. led by american scouting, youth improvement stemmed from emulation of frontier soldiers and pioneers to mid-twentieth century enactment of indian roles in recovering a sense of authenticity threatened by modernity. native american motifs like the council ring and tipi became permanent imagery in the camp landscape. after the new deal in the 1930s, summer camps were thoroughly modernized but planned to look natural, more akin to suburbs than the urban neighborhoods distinguishing the camp meeting movement. while camps are not

exclusively american, they uniquely served as training grounds for prototyping new conceptions of social life in a democracy.



changing concepts of tourism in the ozarks

healing

belief in the healing power of mineral spring water, coupled with the yellow-fever epidemic in the mississippi valley that killed hundreds in the 1880s, led to the development of health resorts around ozarks springs. post-civil war resorts and camps introduced new populations and urbanisms different from the region's prevailing subsistence agricultural economy.



ravenden springs

resorting

after 1900, the kansas city, springfield, and memphis railroad passing through hardy introduced another set of entrepreneurs that transformed the spring river watershed. resorts were built for summer residents, many from memphis, earning hardy the moniker: "playground of the ozarks". one of those vacationers was john cooper who later developed cherokee village.



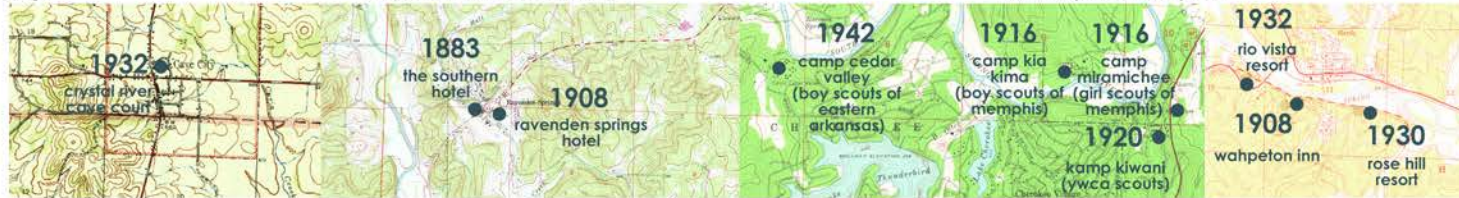
wahpeton inn on the bluff, hardy

camping and scouting

the enhanced financial ability of a growing middle class and the proliferation of automobiles allowed vacationers greater access to the same remote country destinations as the rich. the depression era back-to-the-land movement and scouting favored water-oriented vacation activities in rustic settings.



canoeing on the spring river



the southern hotel



wahpeton inn resort



cabins at old kia kima



lodge at old kia kima



dining hall kia kima



cave court - oldest motor court in arkansas



young adults pitching rocks from wahpeton hill into spring river
A View of Hotel & Cottages



rose hill resort



girl scout camp miramichée



chapel at old kia kima



ravenden springs hotel



lodge interior at old kia kima



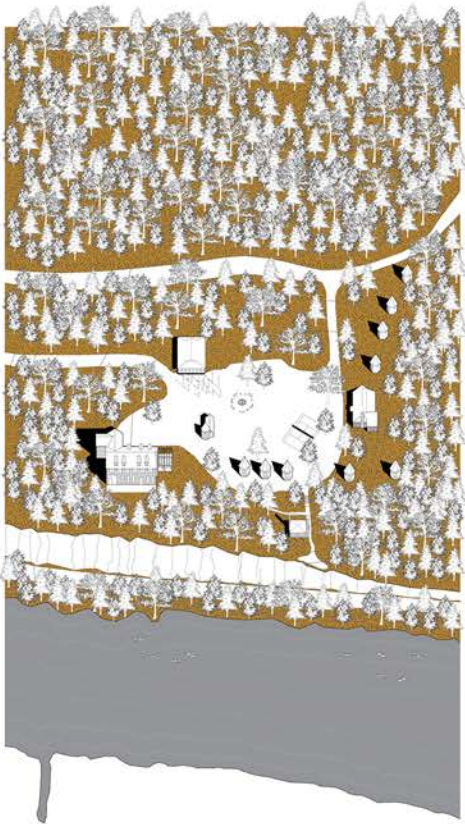
youth swimming in the spring river

spring river camps and resorts

camps, whether fish, hunting, religious meeting, healing resort, vacation, or scouting, were important institutions in settling the ozarks. some became towns. the construction of the "frisco" railroad through hardy and mammoth spring after 1900 brought summer camps and with them an investor class that later reshaped the area through real estate development.

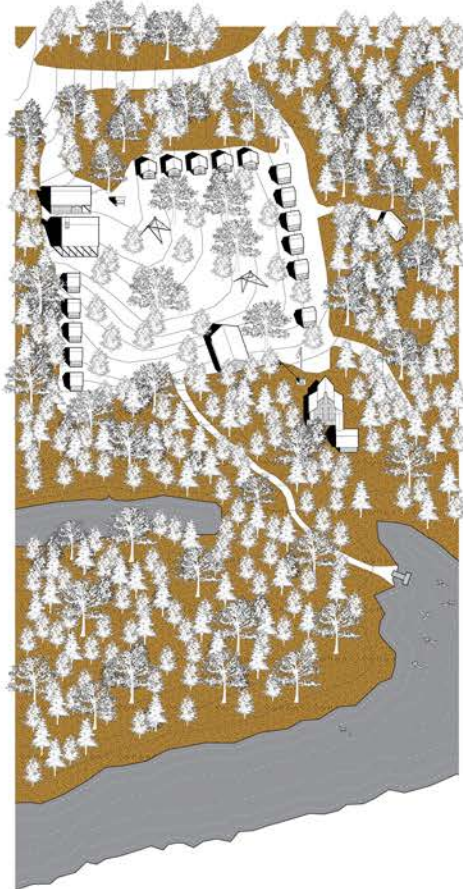
wahpeton inn
"home among the leaves"
1912

built by memphian dr. george gillespie buford, this summer resort camp perched on a bluff overlooking the town of hardy inaugurated the moniker "playground of the ozarks". hardy was the first upland train stop in the ozarks for mountain-going urbanites seeking to escape the summer heat, humidity, and disease outbreaks plaguing the central mississippi river valley. around a shared lawn buford built 10 wigwam cottages, an inn, tennis courts, and a lawn pavilion with a coffee shop, bowling alley, shuffleboard court, and a dance floor. the formal arrangement resembles the popular 19th century religious **camp meeting** with their central lawn and assembly tabernacle surrounded by cabins, later turned vacation camps.



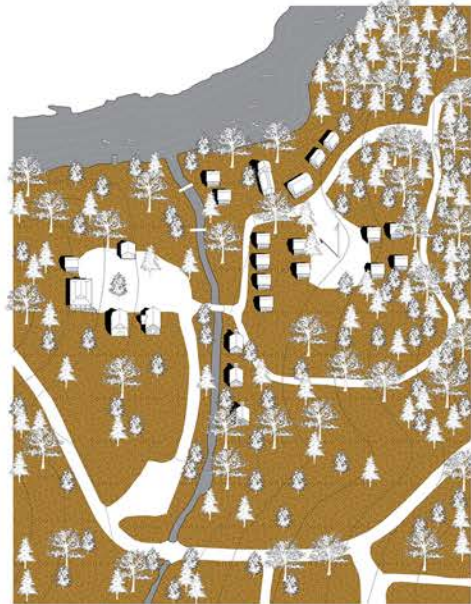
camp kia kima
"home of the eagles"
1916

founded on land donated by memphian bolton smith—a vice president of the national boy scouts of america—this boy scout camp was started by the memphis chickasaw council to serve its chapters. boy scout camps aimed to recapture the frontiersman spirit lost to the urbanization of youth by modeling pioneer, scout, soldier, and indian figures. by the time kia kima was founded, world war one instilled a desire to prepare young men with military discipline. this is reflected in the **parade ground** formation derived from military camp typologies that influenced the first generation of scouting summer camps for boys.



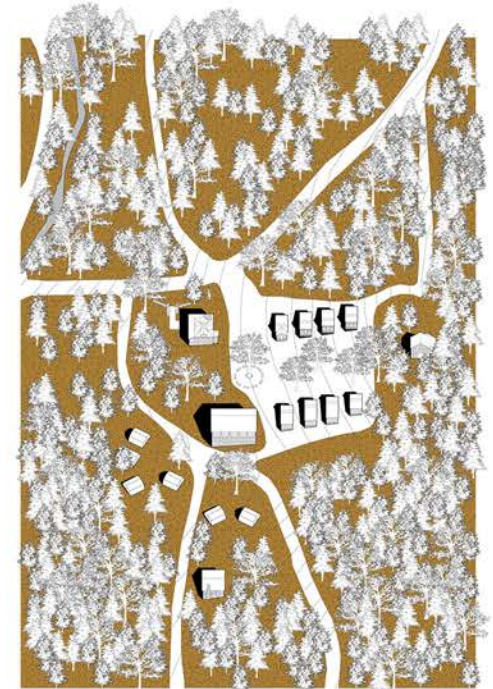
camp miramichee
"quiet resting place"
1916

founded by memphian sophie kraus as a vacation camp for working women, camp miramichee was given to the ywca of memphis in 1920. attendees continued to be working women until the great depression when enrollment was opened to girls of all ages. over the next 20 years enrollment populations oscillated between women and girls ages 10 to 18. campground layout reflected the **unit plan** layout, a typology popularized in new deal planning (1930s) that subdivided camps into age-based units, according to author abigail van slyck in a *manufactured wilderness: summer camps and the shaping of american youth, 1890-1960*. unit plans were accompanied by the use of "landscape naturalization" techniques common in the picturesque, reinforcing a sense of isolation among units. van slyck likens these camp layouts to hamlets in their creation of separate visual and auditory environments. in the case of miramichee, differences were created by clustering units on top of the hill, overlooking the river, or fronting the small creek flowing through the site at its low elevation. overall camp planning uses informality as an antidote to the disciplinary aspects of work and school settings. upon commercialization of the area, the camp was sold in 1975.



camp kiwani
"spirit of joy and youth"
1916

the girl scout council of the mid-south founded camp kiwani for memphis area campers, who initially hiked the five miles separating the camp from the hardy train depot. adjacent to camp miramichee, both camps shared the riverfront as canoeing was a big part of the camp experience with older campers having taken the 100-mile trip from mammoth to black rock. like all early scouting camps after world war one, kiwani was rich in indian symbology appropriating council rings, indian dancing, and native american names for camp structures. singing was an important ritual at kiwani throughout the day. a "singing tree" encircled by a stone bench stood outside the wota or dining hall. this reflected the emphasis on civilizing processes for girls during the 1920s and 1930s. as "girls were encouraged to discipline their bodies in order to enhance the natural beauty of the site", according to van slyck. the camp layout is formal, with sleeping pavilions divided by age levels fronting a shared lawn akin to the central lawns of the **camp meeting** grounds.



old kia kima in sharp county: one of america's earliest footholds in scouting

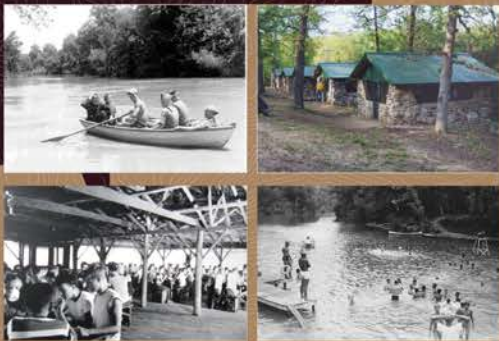
south fork
spring river

cherokee village

old kia
kima

hardy

driven by worry over the character of a growing urban youth population the boy scouts of america was organized from several existing youth groups in 1910. it was modeled after the english version founded in 1908. at the same time several independent troops were founded in memphis before their unification under the chickasaw council in 1915. the following year the council constructed camp kia kima, meaning "nest of the eagles," on south fork of the spring river, making it one of the oldest boy scout camps in the united states.

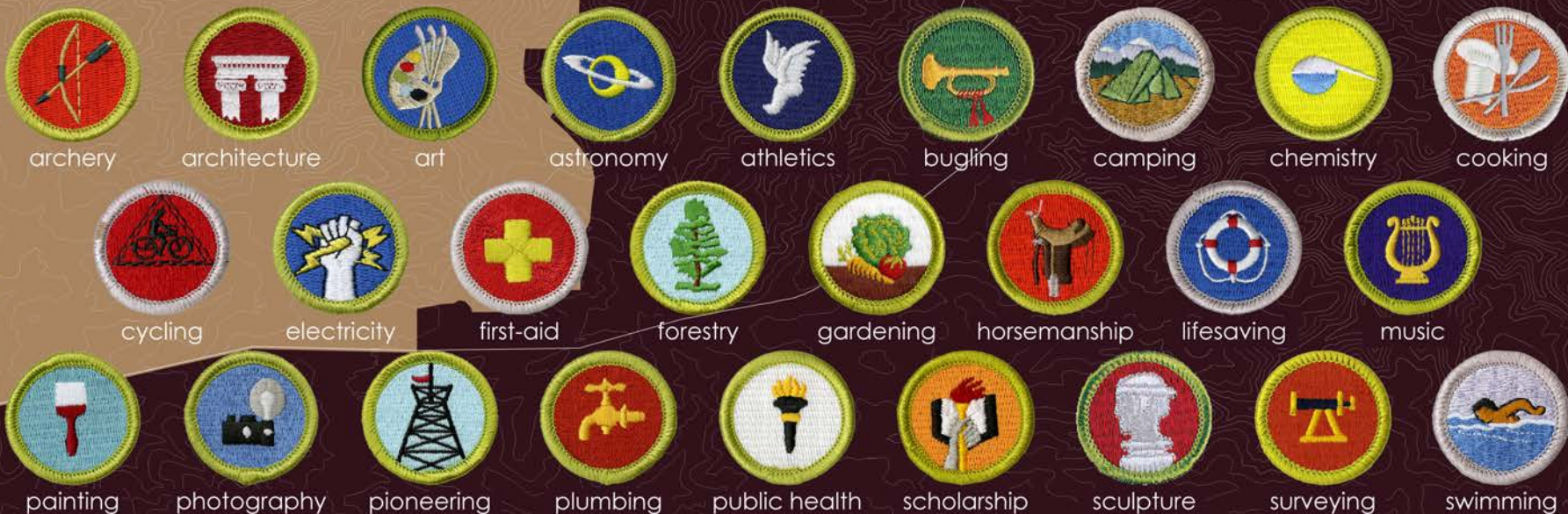


throughout the first world war, preparation for military service was the driving force behind scouting principles. in 1918, the original camp, consisting of stone and wood sleeping cabins and a lodge, was improved in the image of a military encampment, and was given a superlative rating upon inspection by the war department. hoping to develop qualities of leadership, discipline and resourcefulness, camp activities also reflected those of military training. scout groups still rent the newly refurbished camp for similar training today.



for its first 15 years, old kia kima served as the primary camp for the memphis area boy scouts. camp attendance remained high until falling off during the great depression and its closure throughout the second world war. the camp reopened in 1948 to a scouting renaissance that continued through the 1950s. in 1963 the camp closed permanently in response to impinging development from cherokee village. the new camp kia kima reservation reopened upriver the following year.

26 of the original merit badges of the boy scouts of america





camp kia kima

Kia kima camp activities often revolved around imitation of native American rituals. dance teams took their shows very seriously, paying tribute to the spirit of native American peoples lost to genocide. these rituals were especially apparent in the induction ceremonies for the "order of the arrow", an honorary society of the most accomplished scouts. tribal survivalist traditions drove the programming for the campers, who would learn techniques in archery, canoeing, wayfinding, and swimming.

camp miramichee

ywca camp miramichee was founded by sophie kraus of memphis in 1916. here, young women would learn many of the same survival skills as their male counterparts. the float trip was the center of activity, starting with girls as young as six and eventually culminating in multi-day floats for older campers, which would require shooting rapids, portaging, and making camp. other activities such as basket weaving, "olympic" competition, and the "fire dance" recalled the native American traditions constituting the foundation of the camp program.

camp kiwani

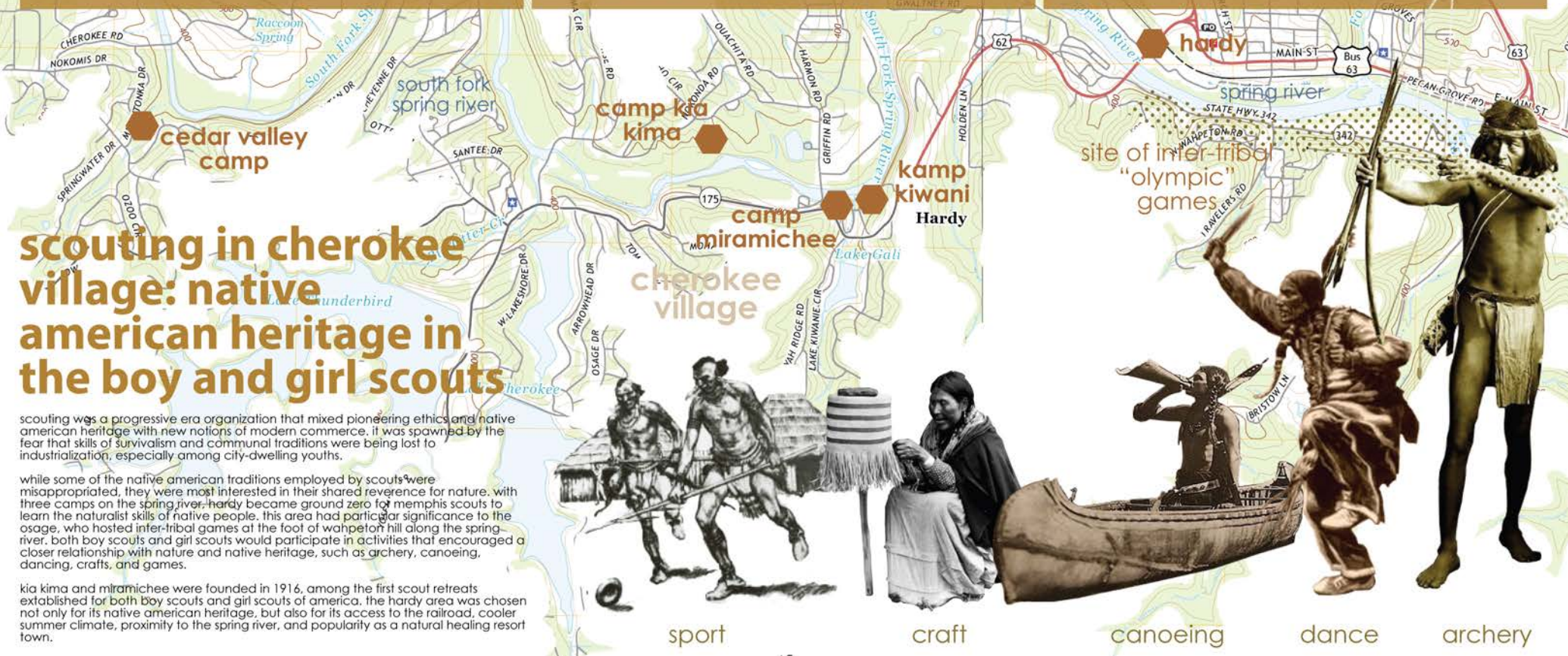
founded by the girl scouts of united states in 1920, camp kiwani embraced the native American tradition of council. the "council ring" was deployed as a circle of stone benches around the campfire. the "singing tree", a large bench-encircled tree where camp songs were sung stood just outside of the dining hall. these councils even extended to the other two local camps, when all three would come together at kiwani for celebration and song around the campfire.

scouting in cherokee village: native american heritage in the boy and girl scouts

scouting was a progressive era organization that mixed pioneering ethics and native american heritage with new notions of modern commerce. it was spawned by the fear that skills of survivalism and communal traditions were being lost to industrialization, especially among city-dwelling youths.

while some of the native american traditions employed by scouts were misappropriated, they were most interested in their shared reverence for nature. with three camps on the spring river, hardy became ground zero for memphis scouts to learn the naturalist skills of native people. this area had particular significance to the osage, who hosted inter-tribal games at the foot of wahpeton hill along the spring river. both boy scouts and girl scouts would participate in activities that encouraged a closer relationship with nature and native heritage, such as archery, canoeing, dancing, crafts, and games.

kia kima and miramichee were founded in 1916, among the first scout retreats established for both boy scouts and girl scouts of america. the hardy area was chosen not only for its native american heritage, but also for its access to the railroad, cooler summer climate, proximity to the spring river, and popularity as a natural healing resort town.



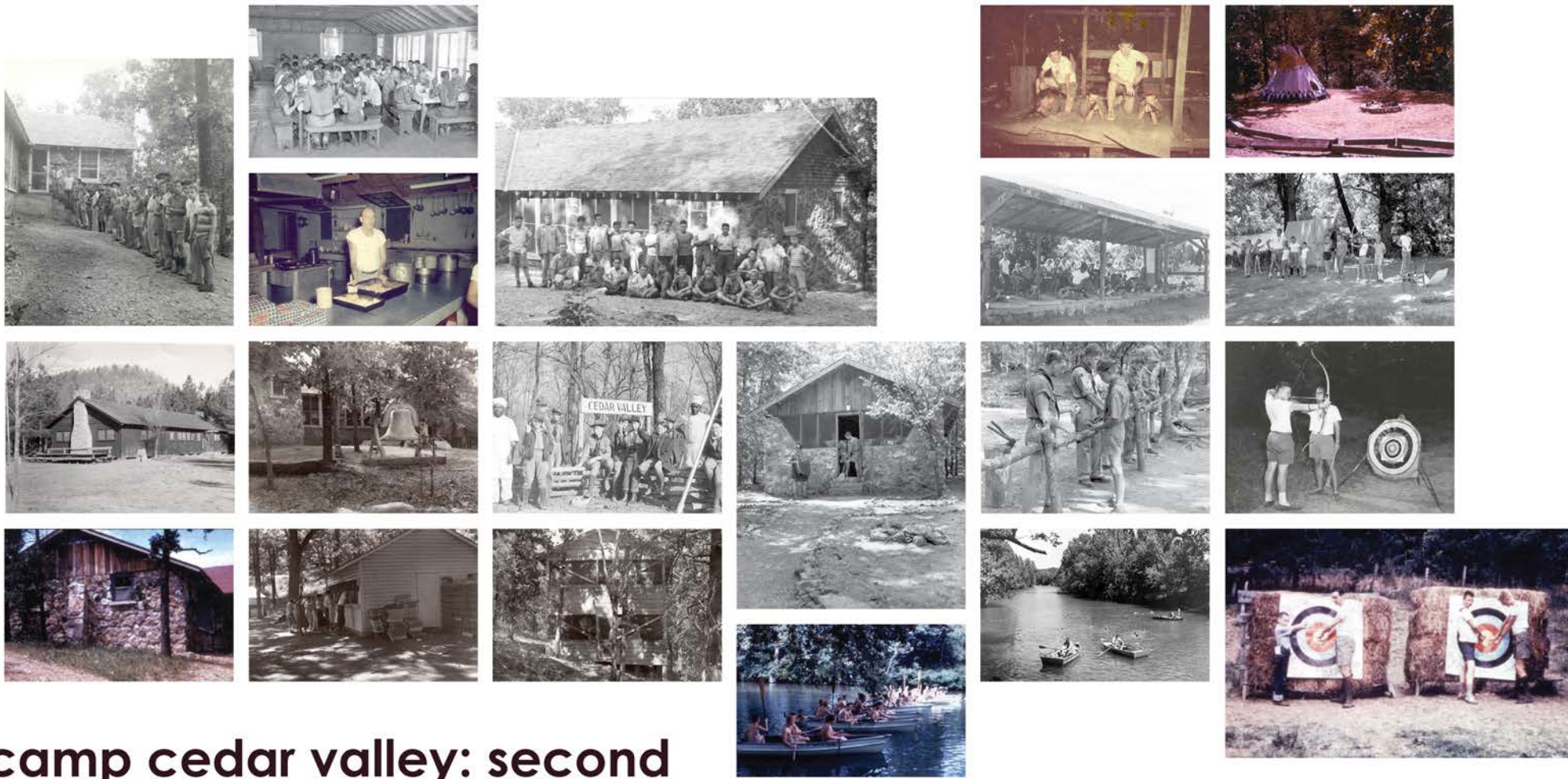
sport

craft

canoeing

dance

archery



camp cedar valley: second generation scouting camp

camp cedar valley was constructed in 1942 when mr. a.d. carlson purchased 95 acres of land on the south fork of the spring river near hardy, arkansas. this was the first camp owned by the eastern arkansas area council (eaac), of the boy scouts of america. the council was initially formed by fourteen counties in 1935 with the goal of establishing a summer camp. the council hosted several temporary camps at local state parks before purchasing the old camp cedar valley site.

in 1942, the first year the camp opened, one week cost \$7.50. that year, 618 scouts attended one of six week-long terms. cedar valley hosted activities including swimming, canoeing, and rowing from a natural beach on the south fork river. the area was also known as one of the best fishing spots in arkansas due to the extremely cold water. scouts were trained in other skills as well, including archery and knot tying. camp activities were regulated by a church bell originally obtained from the old twist plantation near earle, arkansas (birthplace of cherokee village developer john cooper). when camp cedar valley relocated the

bell was moved to the new site. the bell was reinstalled in 1976, and rang for the first time at its new location during the us bicentennial celebration.

a log administration building and five stone cabins were located on the site at the time of purchase. initially, the majority of scouts stayed in tents because the existing cabins were too small. as cabins were added and expanded they continued to be made of local stone, with screen covered sides, and filled with bunked army cots. the site of the camp also included a natural bluff named council bluff — the location of campfires and home to a native american tee-pee. a natural chapel sat down the hill in a wooded area.

over time the city of cherokee village developed much of the land surrounding the camp. in 1966, camp cedar valley sought more space for their growing numbers and relocated just southwest of viola, arkansas. the eaac sold the land to the cherokee village corporation. portions became part of the first cherokee village golf course, while the core of the property became cedar

valley park. the cabins were torn down, but the community buildings were repurposed and renovated by the city for other uses like clubhouses and storage buildings.

the new site of the camp was called pine trail reservation. a master plan was developed for three separate camps on the 1,260 acre property, however only camp "a" was actually constructed, which they called camp cedar valley in honor of the first camp. a large portion of land where camp "c" was planned to be built was sold to cover debt leaving the remaining property at 771 acres. today the property is a privately owned camp that is available for group use.

in the summer of 1967, when the eaac was transitioning from the old camp cedar valley to the new site outside of viola the scouts jointly attended camp at new kia kima.



order of the arrow and lodge 413

order of the arrow (oa) is the honor society of the boy scouts of america, composed of scouts and scouters who best exemplify scouting oath and law in their daily lives as elected by their peers.

the oa recognizes three distinctions of membership: ordeal, brotherhood, and vigil honor. in order to be inducted each scout must complete a series of ceremonies and activities that reflect the honor society's respect of native american self sufficiency and connection to nature. this attitude of service and selflessness became a model for young boys. in 1948 the order of the arrow (oa) was fully integrated into the boy scout program. jack roy, an inducted member of the oa in el dorado, arkansas moved to jonesboro, arkansas to help cedar valley establish the order of the arrow and build lodge 413. to ensure success he recruited young scouts with leadership potential to help in the process. the first induction occurred in 1949 with the "ordeal tapout" ceremony. for the ceremony the elected chief would appear on a small island mid-river while a runner would carry a torch from the council bluff down to the candidates. lodge 413 was named hi' lo ha chy' a-la, or "thunder in the cedars" and there are several rumored stories of its origin. in 1952, growing interest in "indian lore" lead jack roy to hire two native american teenagers from tahlequah, oklahoma for the summer to teach the scouts proper dancing technique and costume construction. around this time the first official dance team was established. when camp cedar valley relocated to viola in 1966 the site of the old ceremonial circle was protected. great care was taken to move the ceremonial elements to the new camp cedar valley site.



"old white" flap was the first issued by lodge 413



"the shield" patch was the first lodge insignia



"vigil blanket patch" was never sold, only one was given per scout



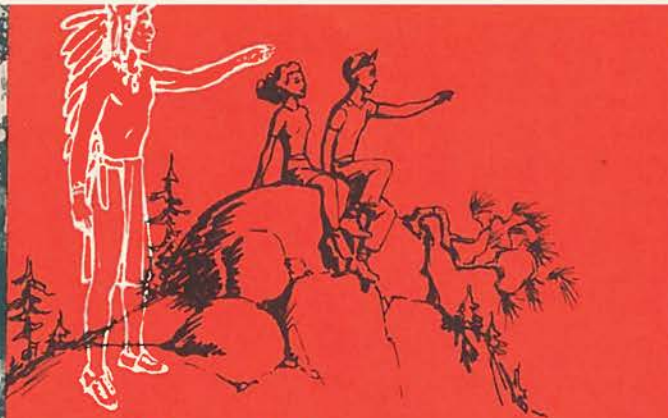
Boys on ponies cross the Little Otter



Earth-moving equipment shapes a lake.



Canoeing is great sport on South Fork.



you owe it to your children . . .

to bring them closer to an outdoor heritage that has made America great. Here in the Ozark foothills along South Fork and Spring Rivers the Indians hunted and fished and left delicately chipped arrowheads for today's youngsters to find and treasure. Through these quiet glades the Spanish mule trains plodded toward Cibola. The buckskin hunter came with his long rifle and made a home in the wilderness where the wind blows free and trees talk.

you owe it to yourself . . .

to look over the possibilities of building the home of your dreams in the Ozark foothills. Cabin or lodge, simple or imposing, **CHEROKEE VILLAGE** is designed around your plans for outdoor living, a home in the hills, a place to fish and hunt, swim, paddle a canoe down glistening South Fork, ride horseback to Raccoon Springs and "back of beyond." Above all it's a place to rest in a setting of scenic loveliness. Away from the city and yet, accessible by air, rail and highway.

Cherokee Village is a family resort . . .

and families look to the future. With homesites being laid out on developed landscaped areas adjacent to a private lake with a three-mile shoreline, your home in the hills will increase in value as the years go by.

Modern conveniences make all the difference to the housewife who likes to combine the best in city and country living.

and it is priced for the average family . . .

with an eye to the long view—small down payment and easy monthly payments (as low as \$15.00). Build on your lot now or later; once you own a homesite in Cherokee Village you can take your time and have all the fun of making long-range plans for that home in the hills you and your wife and children have dreamed about.



Bathing float at Star Falls (Upper Falls to you old-timers)



Small-mouth bass grow big in South Fork.



Mountain cabin in natural setting.

the multigenerational retirement community

cooper's cherokee village concept

while special interest communities were not new to the american landscape, communities organized around the ethos of aging first arose in the 1950s. not coincidentally, this kind of market segmentation paralleled the rise of the nuclear family; ironic, given the cherokee practice of living in blended multigenerational households formed along matrilineal descent. interestingly, cherokee village did not employ age restrictions as had del webb and the retirement planning industry after sun city in the 1960s. nor did cooper market primarily to seniors, but generally to young families. among his marketing innovations in land sales other than **direct mail** and **free vacations** to tour home sites, cooper deployed "**graduated land sales**", a theory articulated by joe basore, his marketing executive (and son-in-law). "what we're doing is just like graduating . . . first from grade school, then high school, then college. we're selling land for people to play and pay for while they are young, then they are graduating to the next phase—retirement, and then later to apartment or townhouse living. it's graduated living."

as the earliest planned recreational community, cooper pioneered other planning concepts which became standard bearers in the industry. cooper was the first to use **golf fairway frontage** for middle-class housing. the july 1971 issue of *golf usa* recognized john cooper as "the architect of america's

land development industry, and originator of the planned retirement concept which has swept the nation." likewise, instead of using highway strip malls prevalent at the time, cooper developed a mixed-use **neighborhood town center**, reinforcing a village orientation. perhaps most notably, cherokee village originated as an unincorporated community (i.e., not a city), and thus functioned as an early example of the **common-interest community**. this entails shared ownership and governance of public amenities among residents through a property owners association and/or suburban improvement district.

unlike the standardized landscapes signaling retirement communities everywhere, cooper emphasized the village's integration with a rugged ozark riparian landscape, drawing upon the tropes of pioneers and native americans (indianness is represented as a ghost in the brochure) prevalent in the scouting movement, marketing material clearly referenced back-to-the-land imagery central to ozarks tourism since the 1880s. this included hunting, swimming, archery (bowfishing—still popular), and horseback riding through mountain streams, alongside golf courses, equestrian facilities, a marina, and an airstrip. unfortunately, cooper's unique **sense of placemaking** was not replicated by the industry.

cherokee village's remoteness forced another innovation in cooper's business model—

vertical integration of real estate development. in addition to lot sales and financing managed by his real estate company, cooper owned an engineering and construction company for construction of village infrastructure and homebuilding. cooper's operations produced their own drain tile and included a complete cement plant and concrete block factory. cooper also provided furnishings packages for new homeowners. cherokee village even had its own disaster fall-out shelter stocked with a two-week supply of food and water—an example of civil infrastructure rare in speculative community development.



THERE IS A MOUNTAIN HOME FOR YOU AT

Cherokee Village

ON SOUTH FORK RIVER, HARDY, ARKANSAS

first direct-mail brochure

john a. cooper, sr. founding architect of america's retirement community industry

a native arkansan, john a. cooper, sr. (1906-1998) was inducted into the **arkansas business hall of fame** in 2004, joining the likes of sam walton, john tyson, jb hunt, william dillard, and winthrop rockefeller. john cooper opened the nation's first planned retirement-based recreation community in 1954; and by 1967 his cherokee village development company was the nation's fourth largest land developer.

"the man who most changed the face of arkansas."
witt stephens, founder of stephens, inc (largest brokerage firm off wall street)

upon cherokee village's 60th anniversary in 2014, cooper's namesake company employed approximately 600 people and its developments have attracted more than 125,000 property owner households.

1906

born in earle, arkansas.

1927

received a law degree from cumberland school of law in lebanon, tennessee.

1946

purchased 400 acres along the south fork of the spring river for a summer retreat, christening the property otter creek ranch.

1949

developed avondale gardens in west memphis, arkansas.

1953

after purchase of additional land around his summer retreat, cooper formed the cherokee village development company to develop a planned community.

1953

ryderwood, washington, a logging camp founded in 1923 was purchased and converted to a retirement community, considered to be america's first exclusive retirement community.

1954

cooper's cherokee village development company began work on cherokee village in the arkansas ozarks, the nation's first planned retirement-based recreational community.

youngtown, arizona opened the first age-restricted retirement community (then 65) in the u.s. the age restriction was later dropped.

1955

june 11 marked the official grand opening of cherokee village.

1960

del webb opened the massive sun city in arizona, an age-restricted community offering modest homes; abutting a golf course, sun city is considered the prototype retirement community—the "sun city concept"—even though cherokee village (not age restricted) predated sun city by six years.

1965

cooper begins work on bella vista in northwest arkansas, his second retirement-based recreational community built around a camp resort encompassing 36,000 acres.

1966

cooper co-founded and elected president of the national association of community and land developers to formulate and maintain ethical standards in the land development industry.

1968

the cherokee village development company changes its name to the john a. cooper company with cooper as president and chairman of the board.

1970

cooper opens his third planned community, hot springs village eventually encompassing 55.7 square miles.

1971

the company reorganizes as cooper communities, inc. and relocates to bella vista village, arkansas.

1982

howard schwartz opens the villages in florida, the nation's largest age-restricted retirement community with a population now over 128,000 people and the nation's 10th fastest growing metropolitan area.

1983

mildred cooper dies at the age of 77. the mildred b. cooper memorial chapel, designed by fay jones was opened in 1991 in bella vista.

1986

cooper communities, inc. builds tellico village near knoxville, its first planned community outside arkansas, encompassing 4,600 acres.

1989

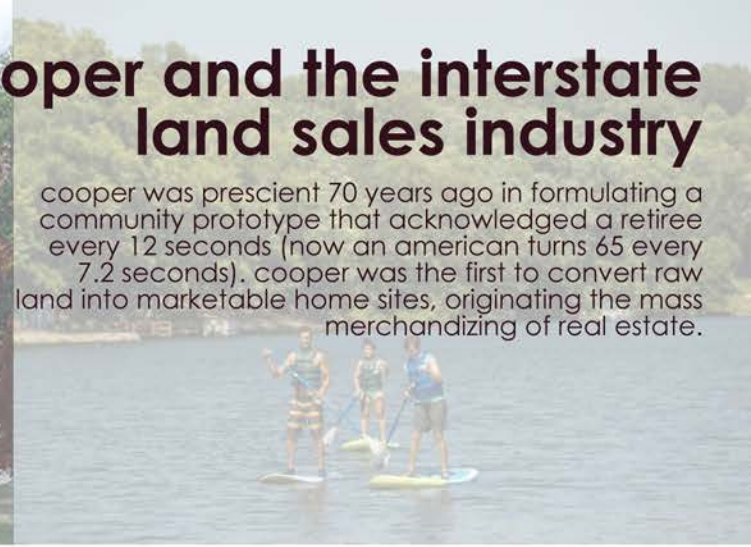
retired from cooper communities, inc.

1998

john cooper sr. dies at the age of 91 in dallas.

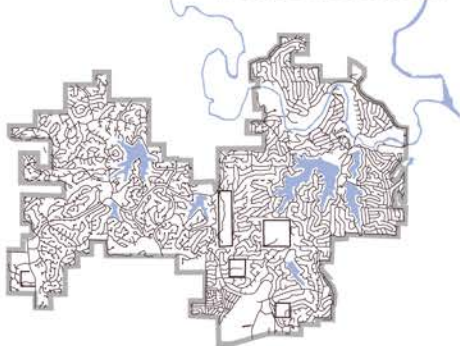
john cooper and the interstate land sales industry

cooper was prescient 70 years ago in formulating a community prototype that acknowledged a retiree every 12 seconds (now an american turns 65 every 7.2 seconds). cooper was the first to convert raw land into marketable home sites, originating the mass merchandizing of real estate.

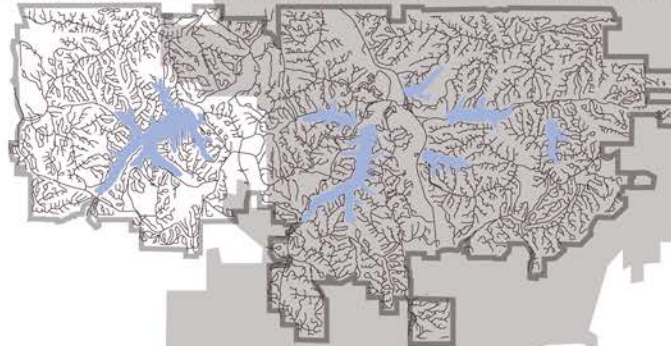


the three copper community developments in arkansas, collectively, are greater in land area than the state's largest city, little rock

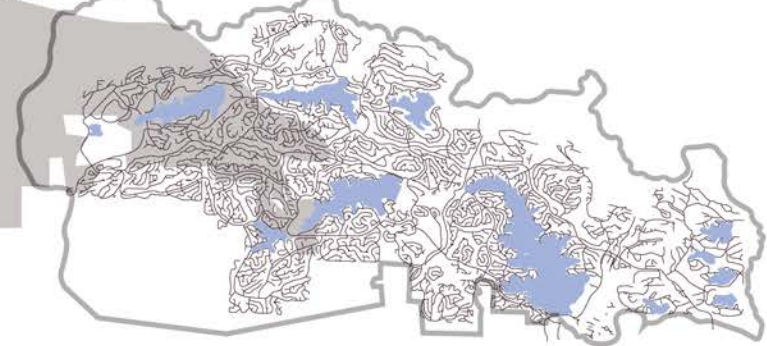
little rock largest city in arkansas at 119.3 square miles, 1st in population



cherokee village-1954
19th largest city in arkansas at 21.3 square miles
75th in population



bella vista village-1965
7th largest city in arkansas at 45.91 square miles
16th in population



hot springs village-1970
5th largest city in arkansas at 56.9 square miles
28th in population
largest gated community in the u.s.

from u.s. census 2018 estimates of 2021 population count

mass merchandizing real estate

while less than 5,000 people reside full-time in cherokee village—a rural community not in the orbit of a metropolitan area—it was planned for a population of more than 60,000, with plenty of raw land, the emergent land sales industry in the 1950s was a supply-side market that urgently manufactured consumer demand for an enormous number of property parcels in its subdivisions. subdivisions were created in rural areas outside the regulatory reach and utility service area of incorporated cities to keep development costs low, the customer base was nationwide, though 40 percent of purchasers acquired properties for investment purposes and never intended to live there, most other property owners intended to fulfill future retirement plans in their new communities, developers were shrewd in their use of new advertising and promotional techniques to affect sales that many customers later regretted, techniques included free mini-vacation packages to tour home sites, free promotional dinners in their hometowns, and low-money down installment contracts, many

subdivisions were sold out long before people got around to developing and occupying their properties, a persistent dilemma, these “premature subdivisions” resulted in extensive vacancies and gaps in infrastructure development, often stranding those who did build homes in an unsettled rustic setting for long periods of time, cooper avoided some of the shortcomings (though 80 percent of cherokee village remains undeveloped) afflicting peer land sales operations, since he provided complete road, water, utility, and amenity infrastructure (some reservoirs, a golf course, and a restaurant) at the outset, cooper left a robust infrastructure base for cherokee village’s reinvention over time.

developer business model

land sales was a departure from the business model of traditional planned community developers who financed projects through complex credit and equity capital stacks, distinct from planned community developers who earned revenues from commissioning neighborhood buildouts to other developers, land sales companies drew

profits from the sale of lots to individuals based on installment contracts, according to morton paulson in the great land hustle 85 percent of a land company’s revenues came from the sale of lots with selling costs constituting 40 percent of the price of a lot, lot purchasers now financed subdivision development, developers substituted the disposable income and savings of a burgeoning middle class for traditional bank and equity capital that had high carrying costs for developers, as a community builder, cooper combined both financing models, equating credit and credibility,

the growth in the second home hit a fever pitch in the 1960s based on land sales speculation, in the peak season of the 1970s more than 300 couples visited cherokee village daily to look at property, typically, lot buyers did not receive deeds to their properties until they were fully paid off, many purchasers walked away, forfeiting their equity paid toward ownership and contributing to local tax delinquencies (this has been an issue in cherokee village), with the glut in

property supply throughout subdivisions, the resale value of properties was practically worthless, others found their properties undevelopable due to lack of road development, location on steep hillsides or in swamplands, or lack of utility services (water, waste management, and sewer the big issues), the elimination of the consumer credit and financial industries from land sales removed the oversight necessary to curb consumer fraud and abuses that eventually plagued the industry—one essentially unregulated and dominated by small actors.

federal regulation of land sales

unlike traditional community or new town development characterized by concerns for social and environmental experimentation, land sales devolved into a simple speculative venture for profit, cooper played a positive role in helping the u.s. congress regulate the land sales industry beginning in the 1960s, cherokee village was widely celebrated in the industry as a model development merging the land sales model with community development, paulson reports

that more than 10,000 subdividers were operating in the u.s. and most preferred “simply to sell lots without waiting around to build,” in 1966 cooper assumed the presidency of the national association of community and land developers, which he co-founded to formulate and maintain ethical standards in the land development industry, cooper testified before congress, assisting in the successful passage of federal consumer protection measures that transformed the land sales industry, the interstate land sales full disclosure act of 1968 changed the ways greenfield communities were marketed, financed, and developed, john cooper was a force in both codifying as well as reforming the contemporary community development industry.

in its early years, cherokee village was seen by locals as an elitist community of outsiders with considerable wealth, despite that most residents were middle class, cooper’s unique community design and marketing likely led to the perception held by locals.

how were mid-twentieth-century recreational communities developed?

it is more complicated than a city, requiring both private and public decision-making structures.

1. acquire property

remote amenity-based subdivisions are supply-side developments where the developer assembles a packaged community to create demand for home sites. midcentury developers employed sophisticated mass marketing processes to convert rural land into marketable home sites.

2. develop infrastructure

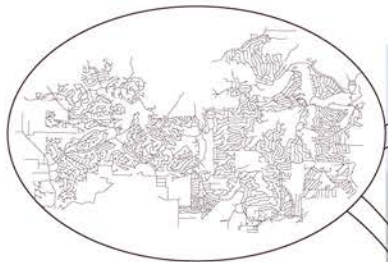
midcentury developers financed and constructed infrastructure for entire communities, rather than phase project implementation to short-term demand. to keep costs low, developers specified septic systems (instead of sewer), unimproved roads, and water supply through individual wells or purchase from neighboring governments, in addition to electricity (telephone party lines were initially shared among cherokee village residents).

3. develop amenities

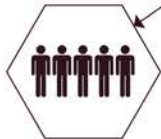
amenities generated around recreation and natural geographic features were central to merchandising home sites and lifestyle in midcentury communities, usually to vacationers, investors, and retirees.

4. charter governance bodies

property owners associations, suburban improvement districts, and incorporation as cities are structures to which developers shift the burdens of providing and maintaining public services—fire/police, streets/trails, water, sewer, electricity, communications, and recreation—to property owners.



john cooper purchases land to establish cherokee village in 1954



130-person sales force



advertising and vacation visits

marketing and sales



roads



utilities



golf courses, marinas, and town center



fire, police, schools, and hospital

municipal services



1954

property owners association

- can form board
- collects fees
- establishes and maintains budgets
- sets and enforces legally binding covenants for owners
- maintains common improvements

1969

suburban improvement district

- can make contracts with nearby municipalities
- can operate utilities
- can sell or lease improvements to adjacent municipalities
















































































1997

incorporated city

- headed by elected mayor
- can set and collect taxes
- can establish planning and building codes
- establishes and operates municipal services
- can set ordinances

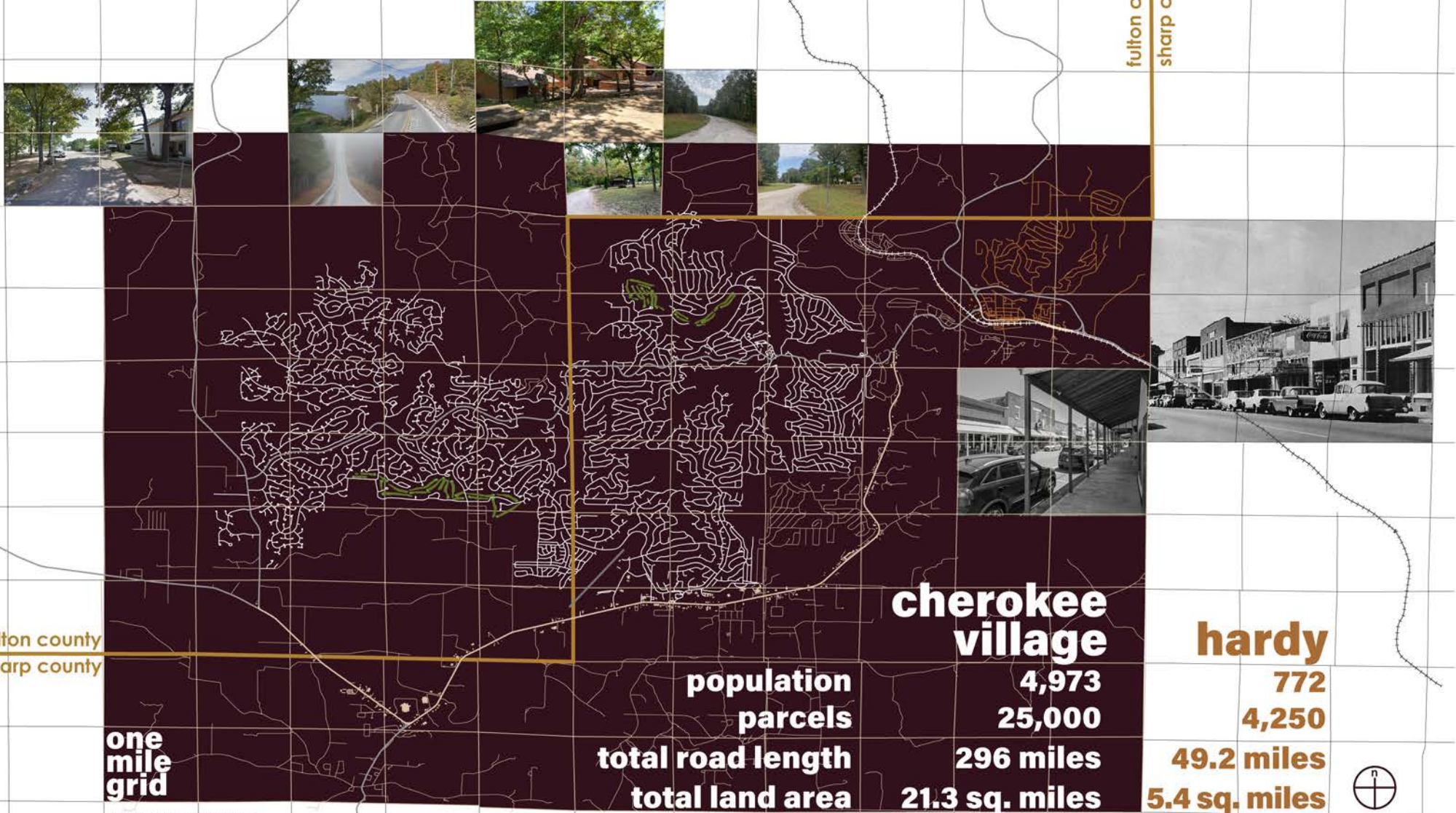
cherokee village

cherokee village: evolving governance structure

service type	1954-1968 cherokee village development corporation	1955-2001 property owners association	1969 suburban improvement district	1997 incorporated city
 administrative services	 • owned and managed by john cooper  • managed marketing and sales of residential property	 • managed by appointed board and president  • managed marketing and sales of residential property  • hired contractors to maintain common property and infrastructure	  • headed by three commissioners appointed by the circuit court  • sells bonds  • levies assessments and user fees	  • formed municipal court   • formed multi-department government headed by elected mayor   • formed planning department and code   • tax split: 35% city/65% SID
 municipal services	 • informal post office opened in the sitting bull restaurant	 • volunteer EMT service established	  • fire department built   • elementary, middle, and high school built   • hospital built  • post office formalized and moved to town center	  • took over management of fire, police, and school services   • police force established   • renovated town center to house city hall
 utility services	 • established quapaw water company built initial 17-mile water supply network  • built initial 21-mile electrical power network  • built 8-16 phone party-line	 • purchased water company and made improvements to water network  • expanded electrical network  • expanded communication network	  • took over management of utility services  • built sewer system serving town center and other centrally located properties 	
 transit services	 • built 26-mile street network  • built half-mile airstrip	 • took over management of street network construction and maintenance 	 • took over management of street network construction and maintenance 	
 amenity services	  • built reservoirs   • built golf courses   • built recreation center  • built marina  • built parks	  • managed upkeep for reservoirs, golf courses, recreation centers, marinas, parks   	  • took over management of reservoirs, golf courses, recreation centers, marina, and parks after donation from cooper communities   • second golf course built   • second recreation center built   • grocery store opened in town center	  • contracted the SID to continue the management of all recreation services    • grocery store was closed and displaced by city hall

cherokee village and hardy: a comparison of street networks

in land area, cherokee village is arkansas' 19th largest city though 75th in population size. hardy ranks 93rd in land area and 215th in population size.



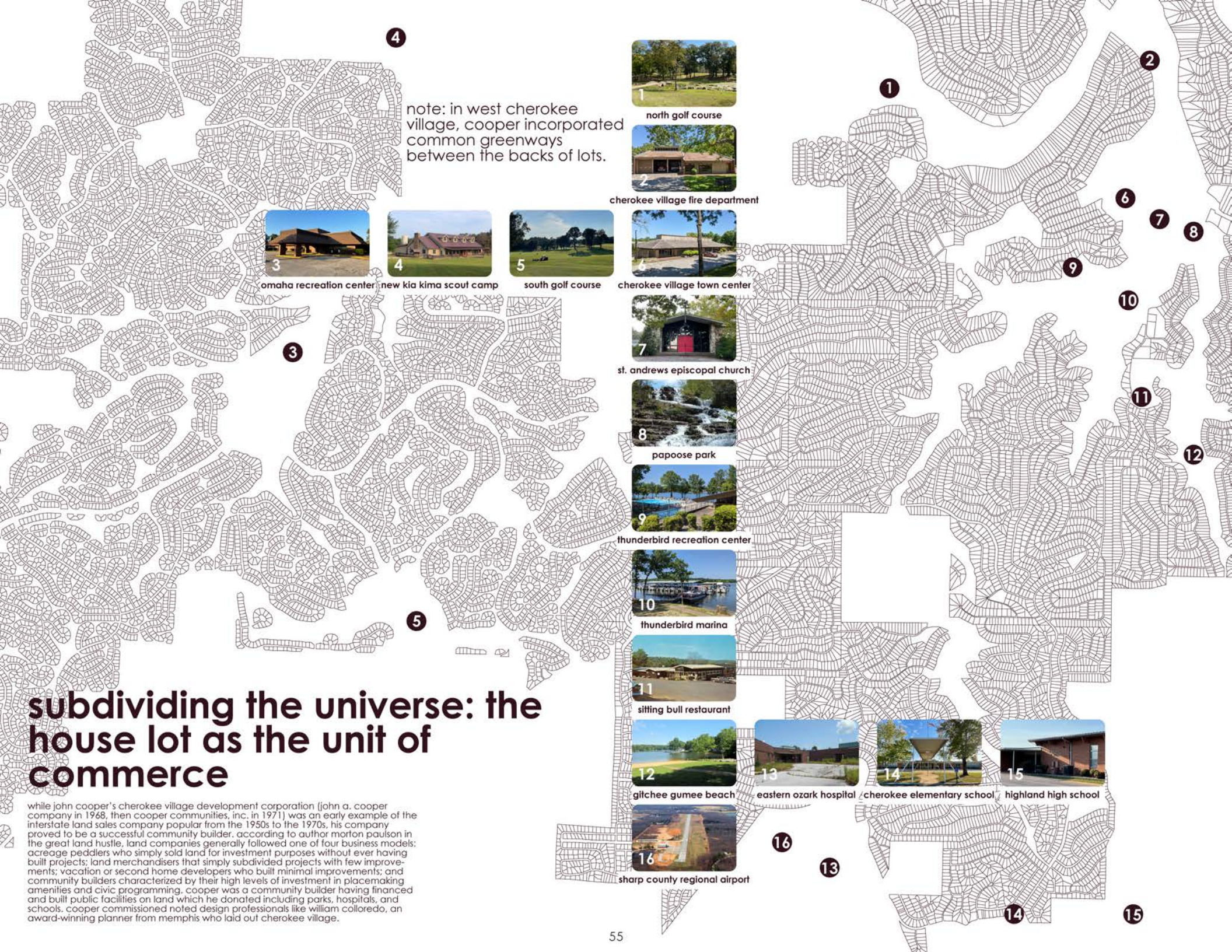
fulton county
sharp county

fulton county
sharp county

one
mile
grid

the land ordinance of 1785 adopted by the u.s. congress of the federation authorized the public land survey system for homesteading and taxation. covering three-quarters of the continental u.s., the one-mile grid could readily be combined into 36 sections to create townships and subdivided into 16 sections to create 40-acre farms, which could be further subdivided.





4

note: in west cherokee village, cooper incorporated common greenways between the backs of lots.



north golf course



cherokee village fire department



omaha recreation center



new kia kima scout camp



south golf course



cherokee village town center



st. andrews episcopal church



papoose park



thunderbird recreation center



thunderbird marina



sitting bull restaurant



gitchee gumee beach



eastern ozark hospital



cherokee elementary school



highland high school



sharp county regional airport

subdividing the universe: the house lot as the unit of commerce

while john cooper's cherokee village development corporation (john a. cooper company in 1968, then cooper communities, inc. in 1971) was an early example of the interstate land sales company popular from the 1950s to the 1970s, his company proved to be a successful community builder. according to author morton paulson in the great land hustle, land companies generally followed one of four business models: acreage peddlers who simply sold land for investment purposes without ever having built projects; land merchandisers that simply subdivided projects with few improvements; vacation or second home developers who built minimal improvements; and community builders characterized by their high levels of investment in placemaking amenities and civic programming. cooper was a community builder having financed and built public facilities on land which he donated including parks, hospitals, and schools. cooper commissioned noted design professionals like william colredo, an award-winning planner from memphis who laid out cherokee village.

placemaking amenities: the promise of community

placemaking is a human-centered planning approach which emphasizes a sense of belonging to a biome, connection to people, and other non-market investments that enhance social capital and ecological stewardship.

new kia kima boy scout camp
john cooper built the new kia kima boy scout camp in 1965 upon completion of john a. cooper lake to replace the old kia kima camp. the land around the old camp was being developed and infringing on the wilderness experience expected in scout camping.



st. andrew's episcopal church (above) designed by ed potter, a church member and architect from texas, st. andrew's was built in 1966 on land donated by john cooper. it was the first church built in cherokee village.



thunderbird recreation center (right) sitting along the northern shoreline of lake thunderbird, the thunderbird recreation center was built in 1965 as the first of three recreation centers.



omaha recreation center (above) in 1972, the omaha recreation center was built on the shores of lake omaha to strengthen investor interest in lots on the lake and in the western portion of cherokee village.



thunderbird marina
lake thunderbird's dam was completed in 1958. the marina has served as the primary boat hub with slips and rentals for the largest lake in the village and the connecting lake sequoyah.



south golf course (left) described by golf digest as a "hidden diamond in arkansas", the south course built in 1974 is considered one of the state's top courses.

north golf course (right) the first of two 18-hole golf courses, the north golf course was built in two parts. the first nine holes in 1962 and the second set in 1963. the course crosses the south fork spring river and houses one of the village's three recreation centers.



papoose park (above) the first park built in cherokee village, papoose park, hosts a dramatically stepped waterfall fed by the dam overflow from lake cherokee. it has served as an outdoor social space adjacent to the town center since the village's early days.

giltchee gumee beach (left) giltchee gumee beach sits on the shore of lake sequoyah, the second lake to be built in cherokee village. since its installation in 1957, the beach has been featured on postcards and advertisements for cherokee village.



cherokee elementary school (above) located outside of cherokee village in highland, cooper donated the land for construction of the school. cooper's land and monetary donations were credited with the early school system's performance successes.



highland high school
bonds were sold to fund the building of the first school in cherokee village. completed in 1964, highland high was built on land donated by john cooper, who also dedicated equipment and labor to its construction.



sharp county regional airport
among the oldest infrastructure built in cherokee village, the original airport was built by cooper on lake thunderbird in 1954 to provide transportation for prospective clients. the present day airport on the southwest end of the village is now managed by a consortium of sharp county communities.

cherokee village town center (right) designed by e. fay jones and built from 1964-1968, the town center serves as a commercial and institutional anchor for cherokee village. it housed the first grocery store and the post office, and now houses city hall.



eastern ozark hospital
built in 1980 and expanded in 1983, the eastern ozark hospital served as the primary health center for cherokee village until its abandonment in 2004.



cherokee village fire department
the first of three fire department buildings was built by the suburban improvement district (sid) in 1973. this partially fulfilled a deal between the sid and cooper communities inc. in exchange for ownership of the lakes, parks, golf courses, and recreation centers.



sitting bull restaurant
demolished in 2001, the sitting bull restaurant opened its doors in 1956. mildred cooper ran the restaurant and opened the first post office in the back. water pumped from lake cherokee was used as a cooling medium for air conditioning.

sitting bull restaurant: dining for recreation rather than utility

the restaurant which also housed mildred cooper's wigwam gift shop—and later a post office and expanded fine dining, entertainment, and meeting facilities—served as an important social center in the community.



the transformation of the american working-class diner into the mass market restaurant for socializing and reproducing a 1950s middle-class "family togetherness" paralleled the rise of the retirement recreational community, both embodied the kinds of institutions formed to organize a novel postwar consumer landscape structured around the white nuclear family. during its early decades, the sitting bull restaurant enforced dress codes, even requiring long dresses for women and jackets and ties for men in this vacation community. despite this new age of affluence where a middle majority possessed discretionary income, cooper still had to subsidize the restaurant's operations from its beginning in 1956 to 1970 because he wanted to make good food available at inexpensive prices.

overlooking otter creek north of the town center, the sitting bull restaurant eventually grew to become a community center complex with the addition of a library, fireplace, a recreation room for teenagers, meeting rooms, and a private dining room and club (in a dry county) called the tee pee room. apart from the frontier imagery, andrew

hurley points out in his *diners, bowling alleys, and trailer parks: chasing the new american dream in postwar consumer culture* that these once working-class institutions were domesticated as family-oriented establishments through "family respectability" imagery replicating home. the new family restaurant employed standardization and technology to homogenize food traditions amalgamated from immigrant communities. hurley observes: "diner builders and owners blatantly appropriated the nation's founding myths of colonial settlement and westward expansion in the names they chose for their establishments and the motif they employed to enrich the dining experience. in crafting polyglot menus that were not overly threatening, they attempted something even more ambitious, a standardized national cuisine that would make items like spaghetti and kosher pickles as american as apple pie."

over its 45-year history, the sitting bull restaurant went through several ownership changes and re-brandings until its demolition in 2001. according to

resident and author jean parker, "they tore down the most historical, most charming and most used building in the village." while we lack documentation indicating why cooper chose to name the restaurant after the famous hunkpapa lakota indian leader, sitting bull became a popular media figure after he joined buffalo bill cody's wild west show in 1885 eventually meeting president grover cleveland. popular media likely shaped cooper's pan-indian imaginary, though one mostly oriented toward western tribes rather than the eastern cherokee nation.

despite this new age of affluence where a middle majority possessed discretionary income, cooper still had to subsidize the restaurant's operations from its beginning in 1956 to 1970 because he wanted to make good food available at inexpensive prices.

in addition to golf courses, early recreational communities were structured around the damming of streams to create reservoirs (lakes are natural; reservoirs are manmade by way of dams). reservoir building became a popular midcentury economic development tool in the ozarks, attracting a post-war retirement population as well as families seeking outdoor-based lifestyles. water-based amenities offered a broad appeal to naturalists, anglers, and recreationalists of all ages and income groups. in cherokee village the reservoirs constructed from headwaters and second order streams are moderately scaled. their fractal geometries provide an intimacy through the many coves natural to the watershed's karst formations also harboring numerous caves, springs, and sinkholes. more than golf courses, water provides spatial and botanical landscapes shared among the many homeowners who are not boaters.

john cooper modeled his retirement community concept around the area's river-based summer and scouting camps that he and his wife, mildred cooper, generously supported.

nine dams: the re-creation of camp lifestyles



the seven lakes of cherokee village

while village lakes express self-similar cove formations—a fractal geometry that is a function of its foothill topography—variations in scale, geography, drainage features, and elevation characterize each lake as a distinct neighborhood.

lake thunderbird 1958
264 acres

75' maximum depth; 25' average depth
7.2 miles of shoreline
wake lake with fishing, boating, and skiing
marina with boat slips and rentals



lake omaha 1970
139 acres

40' maximum depth
4.7 miles of shoreline
wake lake with fishing, boating, and skiing



lake navajo mid-1960s
34 acres

25' maximum depth
1.5 miles of shoreline
no wake lake with fishing



lake aztec mid-1970s
19.3 acres

unknown maximum depth
no wake lake with fishing



lake cherokee 1954
37 acres

40' maximum depth
1.5 miles of shoreline
no wake lake



lake sequoyah mid-1950s
75.5 acres

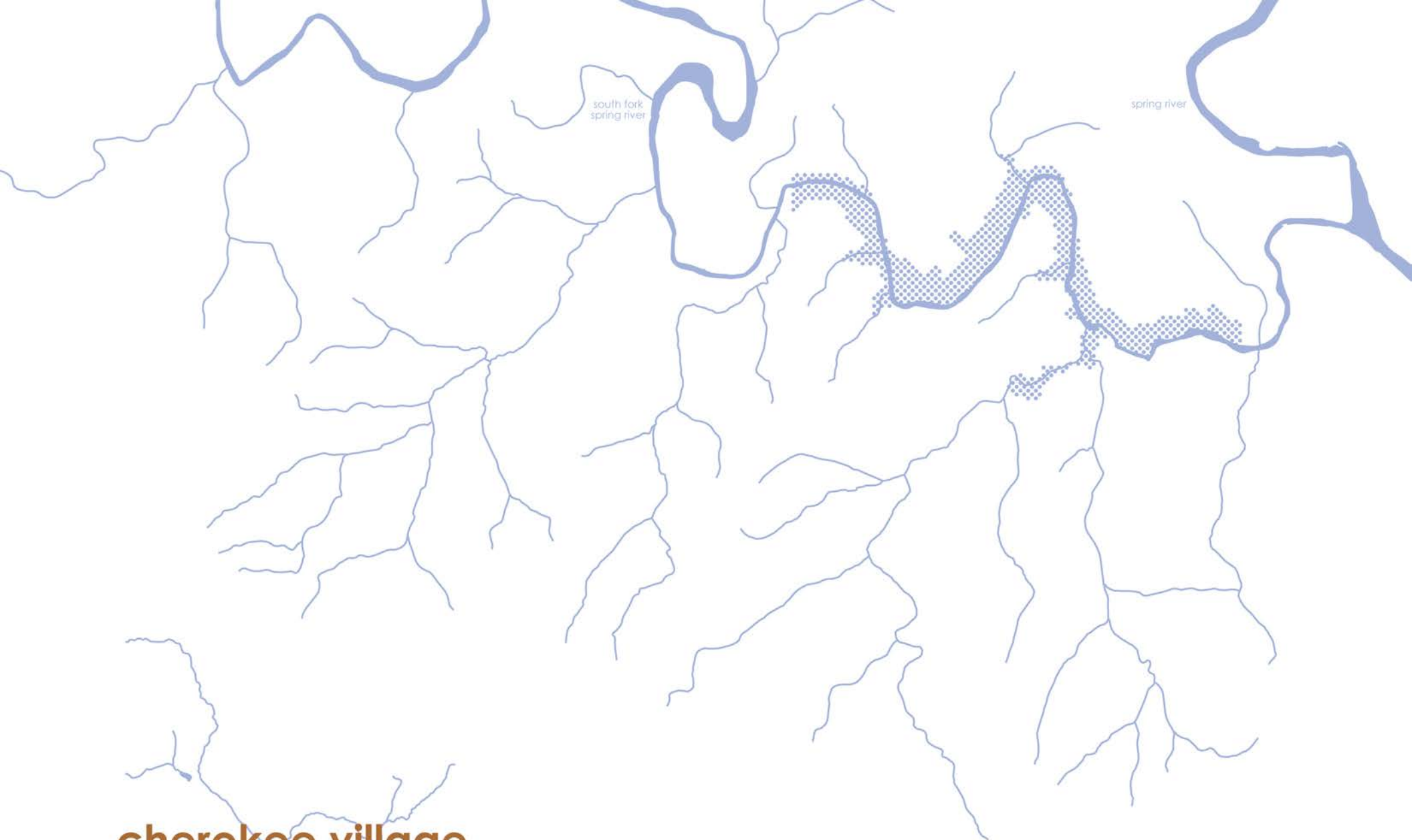
55' maximum depth
2.4 miles of shoreline
no wake lake with fishing, boating, and swimming beach
boat slips and dry storage



lake chanute mid-1970s
56 acres

unknown maximum depth
2.2 miles of shoreline
no wake lake with fishing

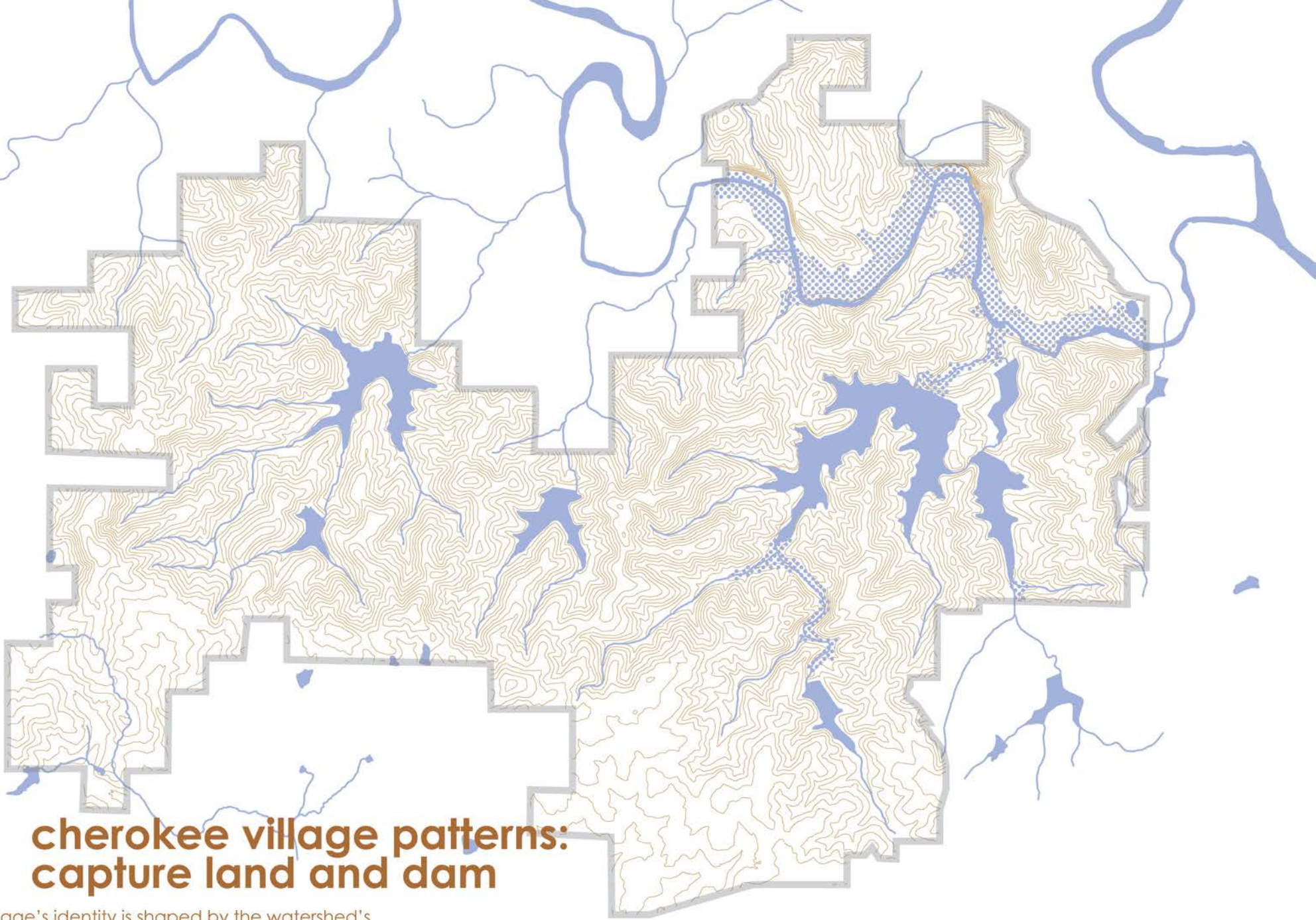




a cherokee village pre-development watershed

the pre-development hydrological patterns of the south fork of the spring river watershed had already been civilized through campsites, river-based recreation, and cattle ranching.

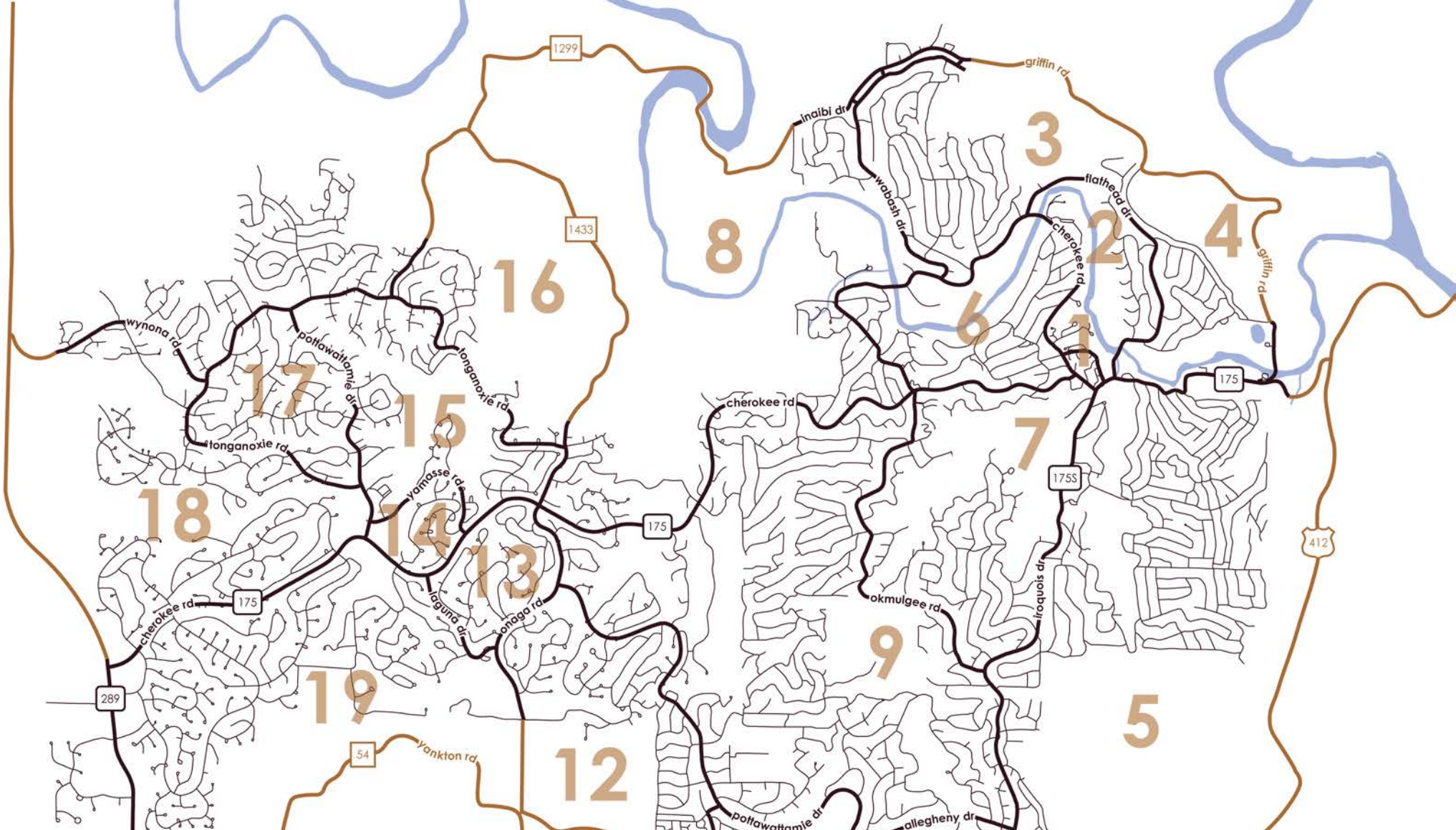




b cherokee village patterns: capture land and dam

the village's identity is shaped by the watershed's undulating topography and its fingered distribution of headwater streams, which were dammed in the 1950s and 1960s to create a chain of reservoirs for recreation and homesites.



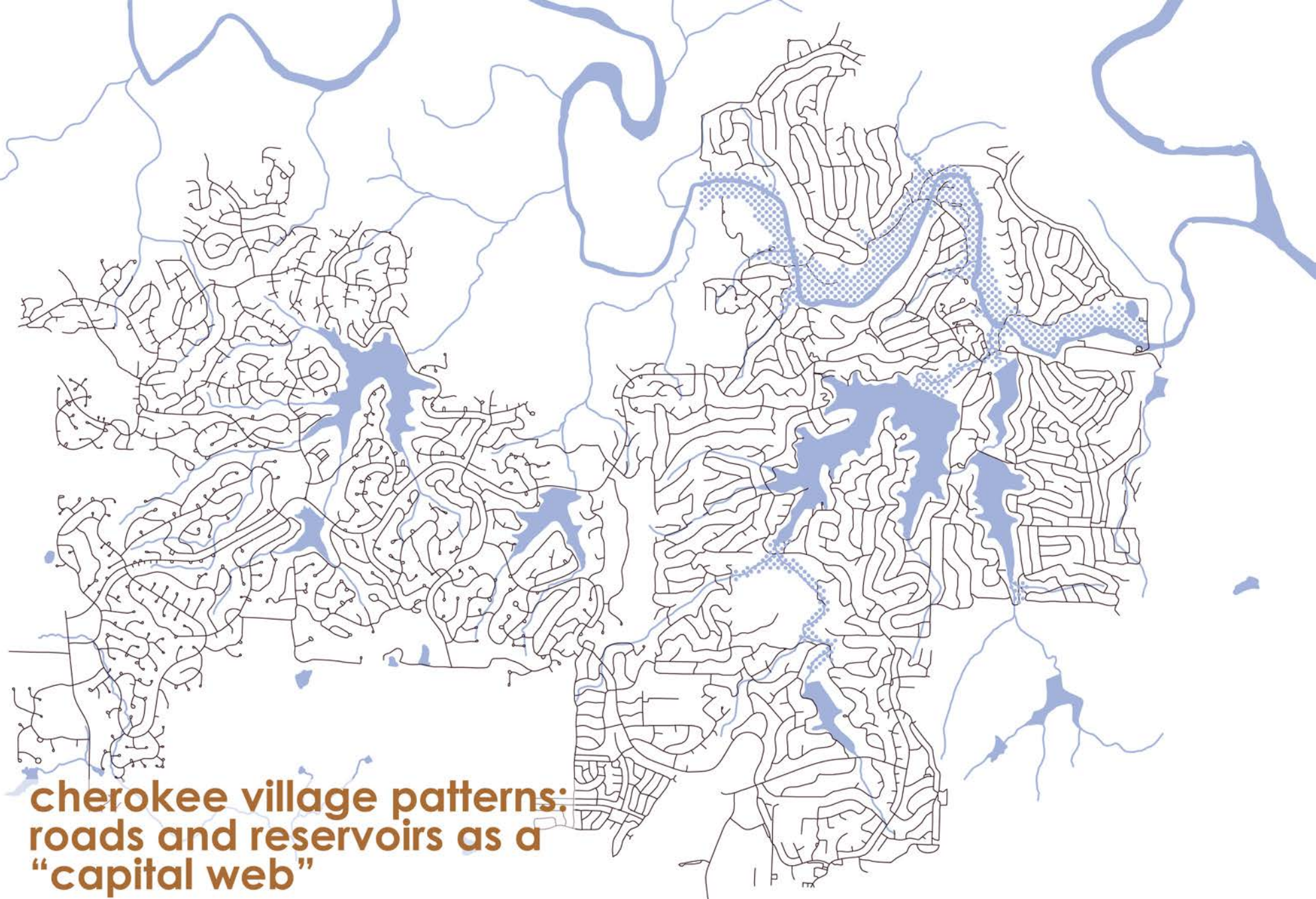


cherokee village patterns: roads and the “polycentered net”

the village's road network combines new arterial roads with existing highways in a mosaic of loops called a polycentered net. urbanist kevin lynch coined the term to describe new midcentury settlement patterns where streets no longer generate urban form or recognizable spatial configurations (e.g., town squares, main streets, urban cores). rather, the polycentered net is a

neutral geometry or planning “fabric.” unlike traditional town streets where people shop and socialize, the road network here delivers only traffic and utility services.



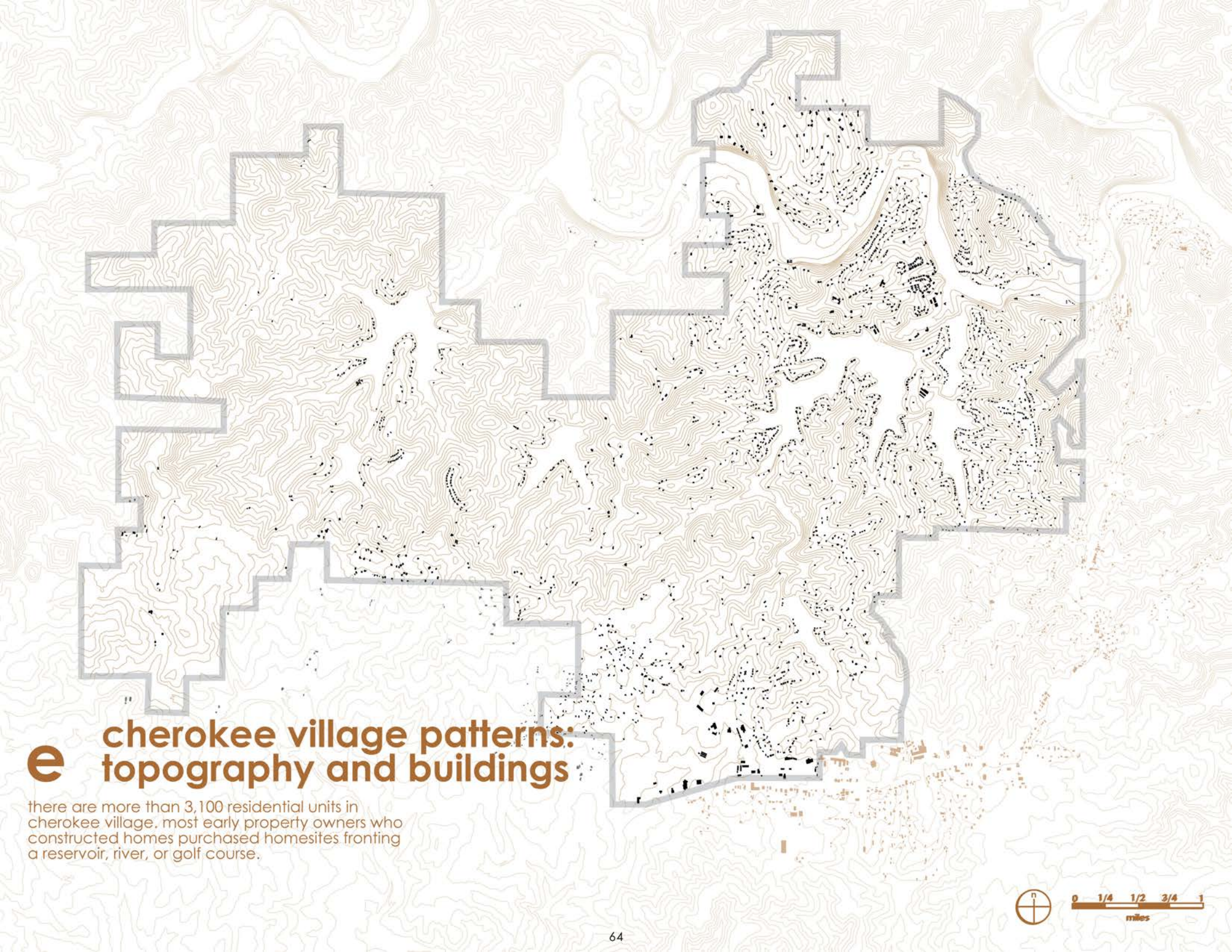


d cherokee village patterns: roads and reservoirs as a “capital web”

the construction of a road network and reservoirs constitutes an infrastructure package implemented by the developer—known as a capital web—for attracting investment from the sale of lots. road infrastructure—not town centers—shapes low-density settlement patterns. the concept was coined by urban designer david crane in the 1960s to capture this new singular vision of midcentury

planning characterized by indeterminacy: i.e., we know things will change but we don't know what the market will demand next. the polycentered net offers new possibilities in generating greater specialization and variation among future development in each loop.



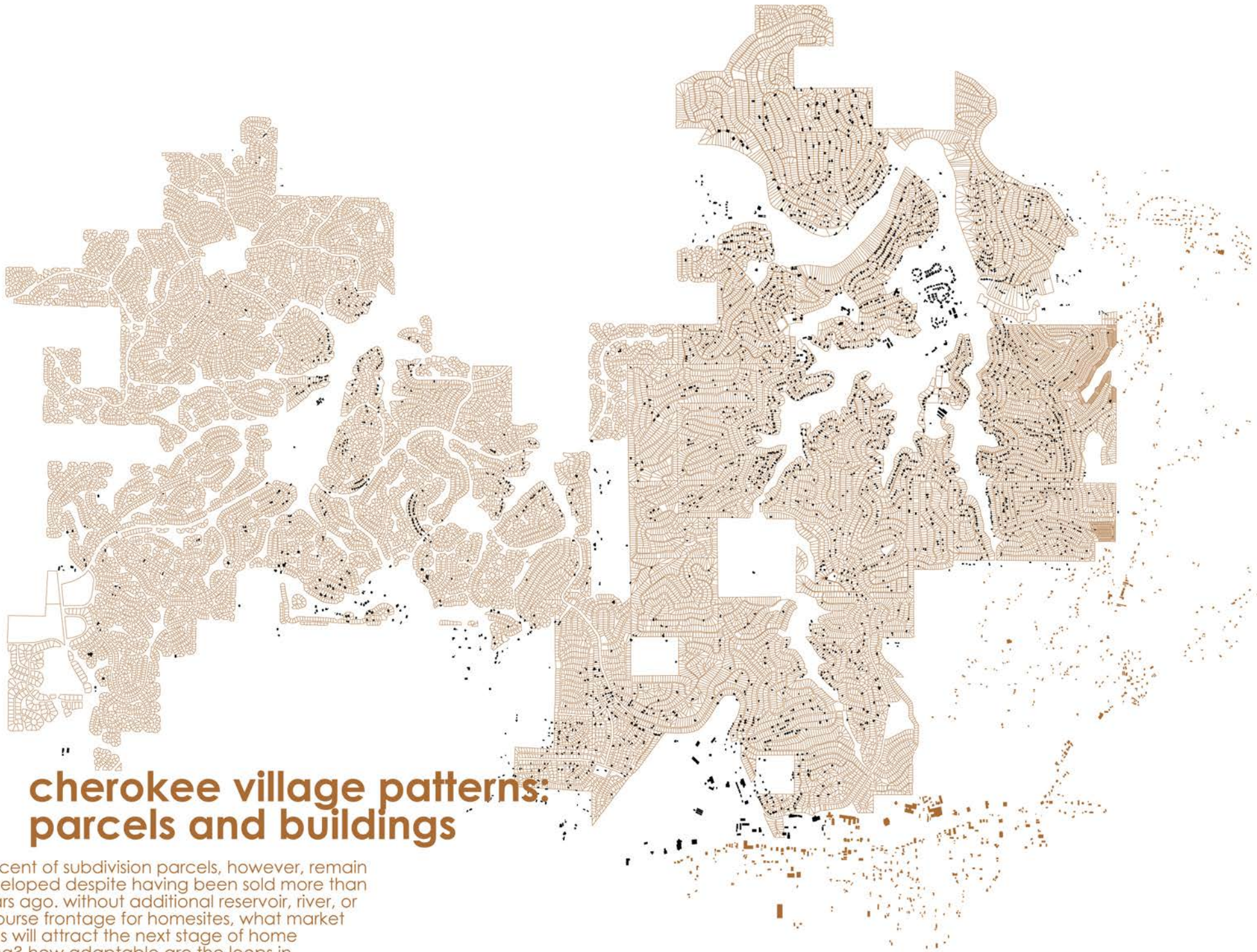


e cherokee village patterns: topography and buildings

there are more than 3,100 residential units in cherokee village. most early property owners who constructed homes purchased homesites fronting a reservoir, river, or golf course.



0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1
miles



f cherokee village patterns: parcels and buildings

80 percent of subdivision parcels, however, remain undeveloped despite having been sold more than 50 years ago. without additional reservoir, river, or golf course frontage for homesites, what market models will attract the next stage of home building? how adaptable are the loops in sponsoring greater specialized development to answer various market demands?

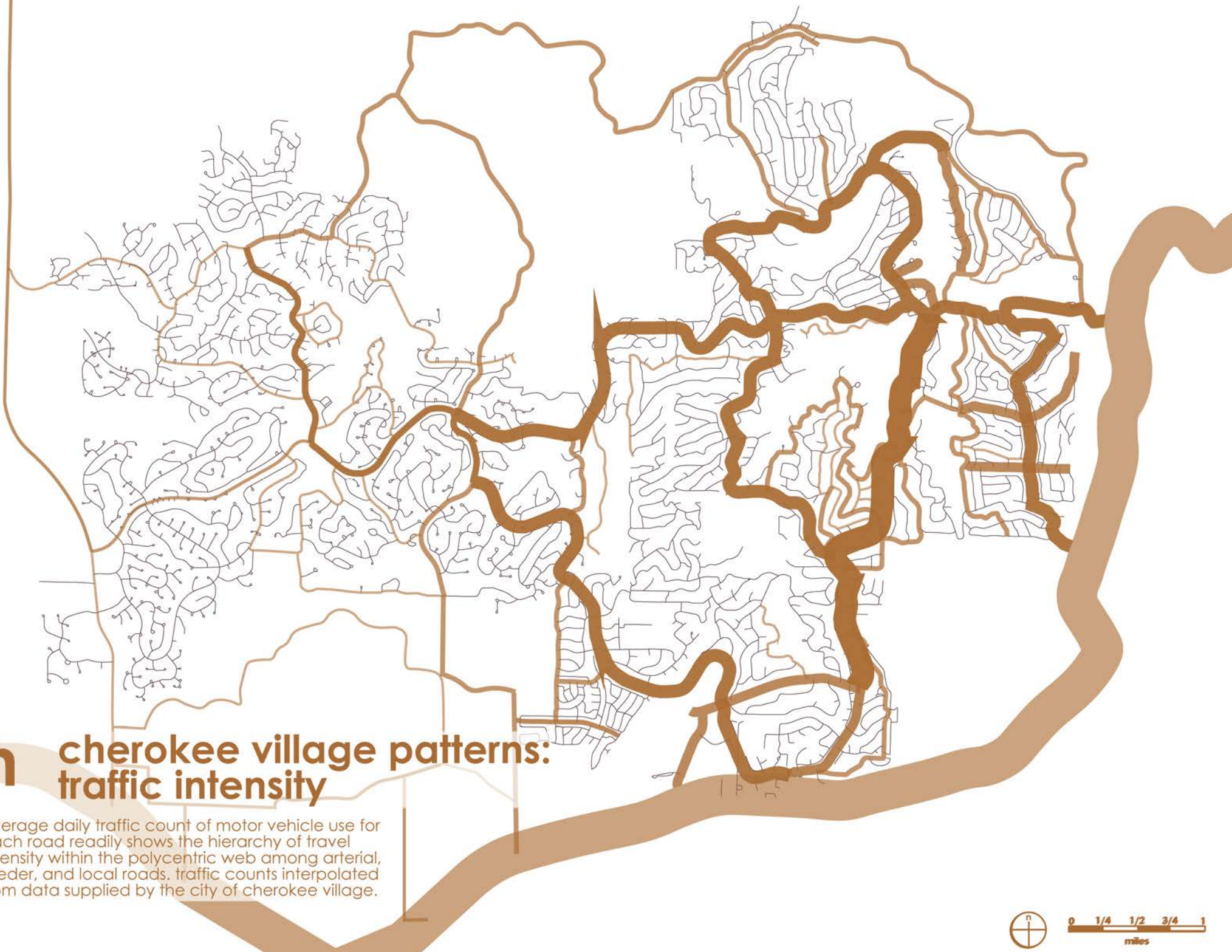




g cherokee village patterns: topography and roads

feeder roads with branching cul-de-sacs tend to follow the ridge-valley pattern of the topography as they infill the arterial loops. cul-de-sacs result in low connectivity among land uses including the lack of walkability. thus, reservoirs rather than streets assist in wayfinding and in creating a sense of place.

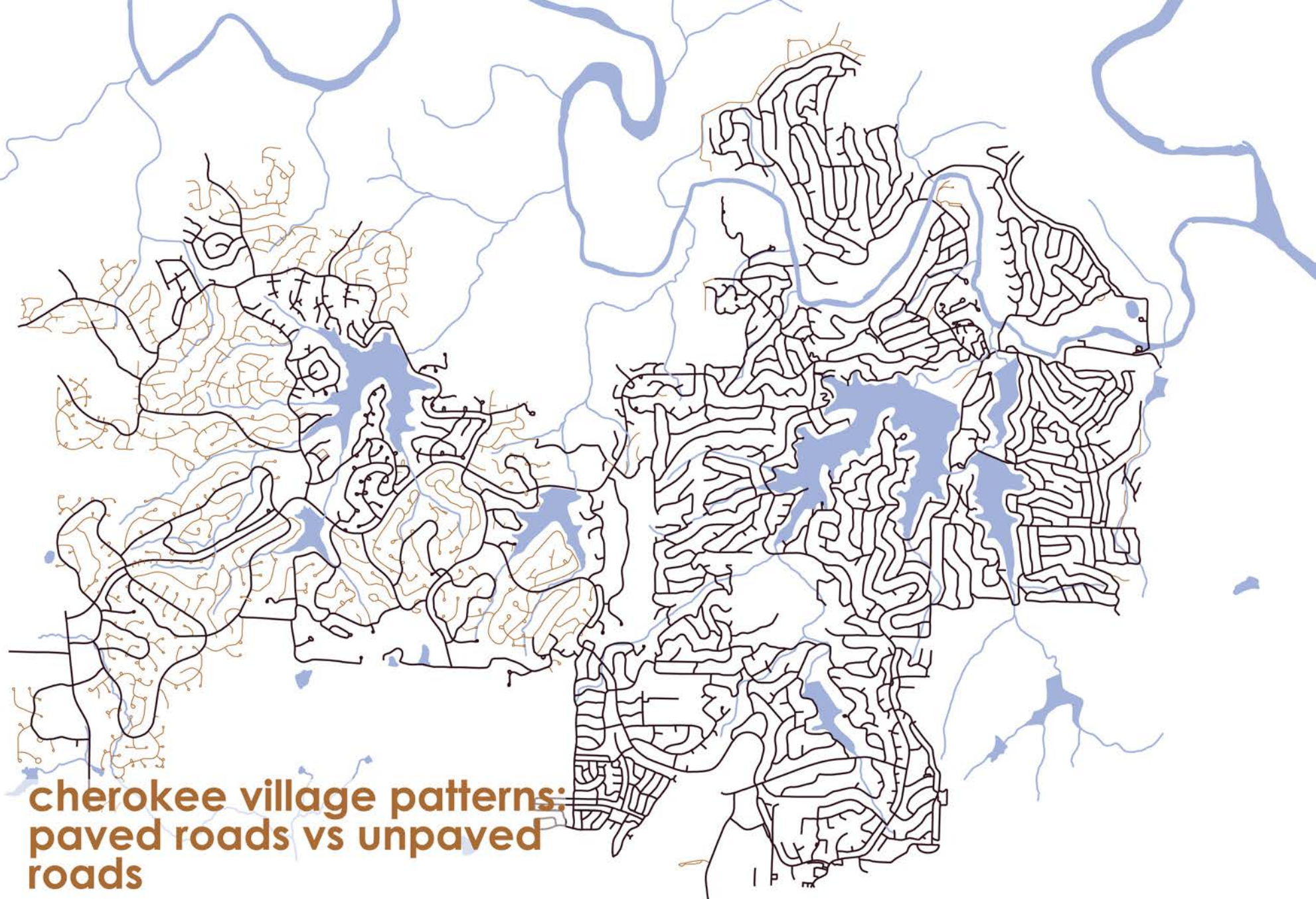




h cherokee village patterns: traffic intensity

average daily traffic count of motor vehicle use for each road readily shows the hierarchy of travel intensity within the polycentric web among arterial, feeder, and local roads. traffic counts interpolated from data supplied by the city of cherokee village.





i cherokee village patterns: paved roads vs unpaved roads

over 80 miles of roads remain unpaved, which are informally used by residents as trails and biking paths. these unimproved road networks provide conservation services for the village, at least for now.



j cherokee village patterns: roads and buildings

buildings tend to aggregate around a spatial feature: water or a golf course. streets are no longer the means for expressing a shared landscape or in creating recognizable town form as in traditional settlement patterns like hardy.





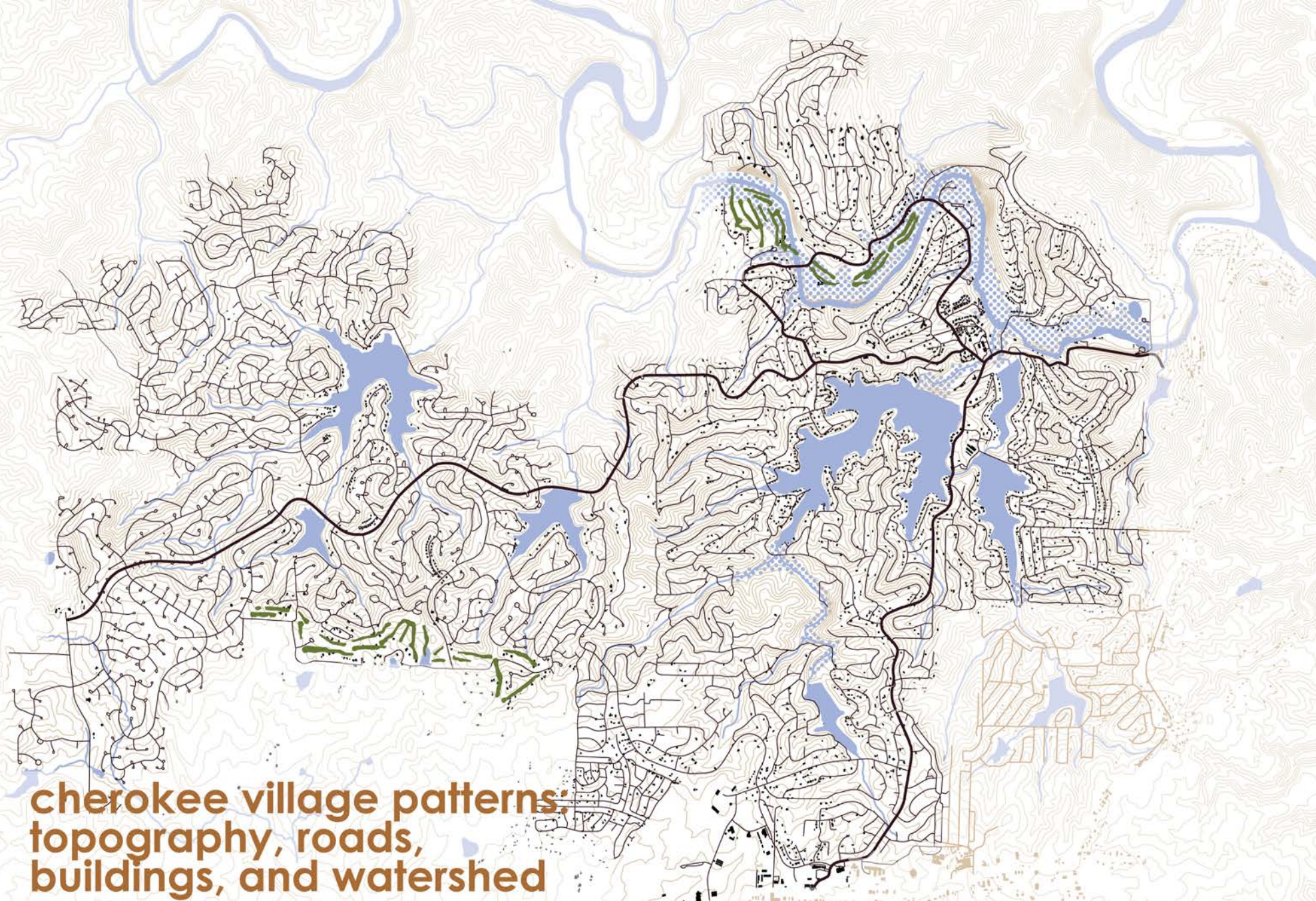
K cherokee village patterns: topography, roads, and buildings

the polycentered net is driven by a homogeneous subdividing of homesites within each loop. however, the network lacks human-scaled articulation, like blocks. it also lacks a larger identifiable order, like a town grid or a linear fabric seen along rivers and beaches. older arkansas hill towns like fayetteville, eureka springs, and hot springs have iconic or "imageable" street networks

supportive of wayfinding and non-traffic services related to recreation, socializing, commerce, and delivery of ecosystem services.



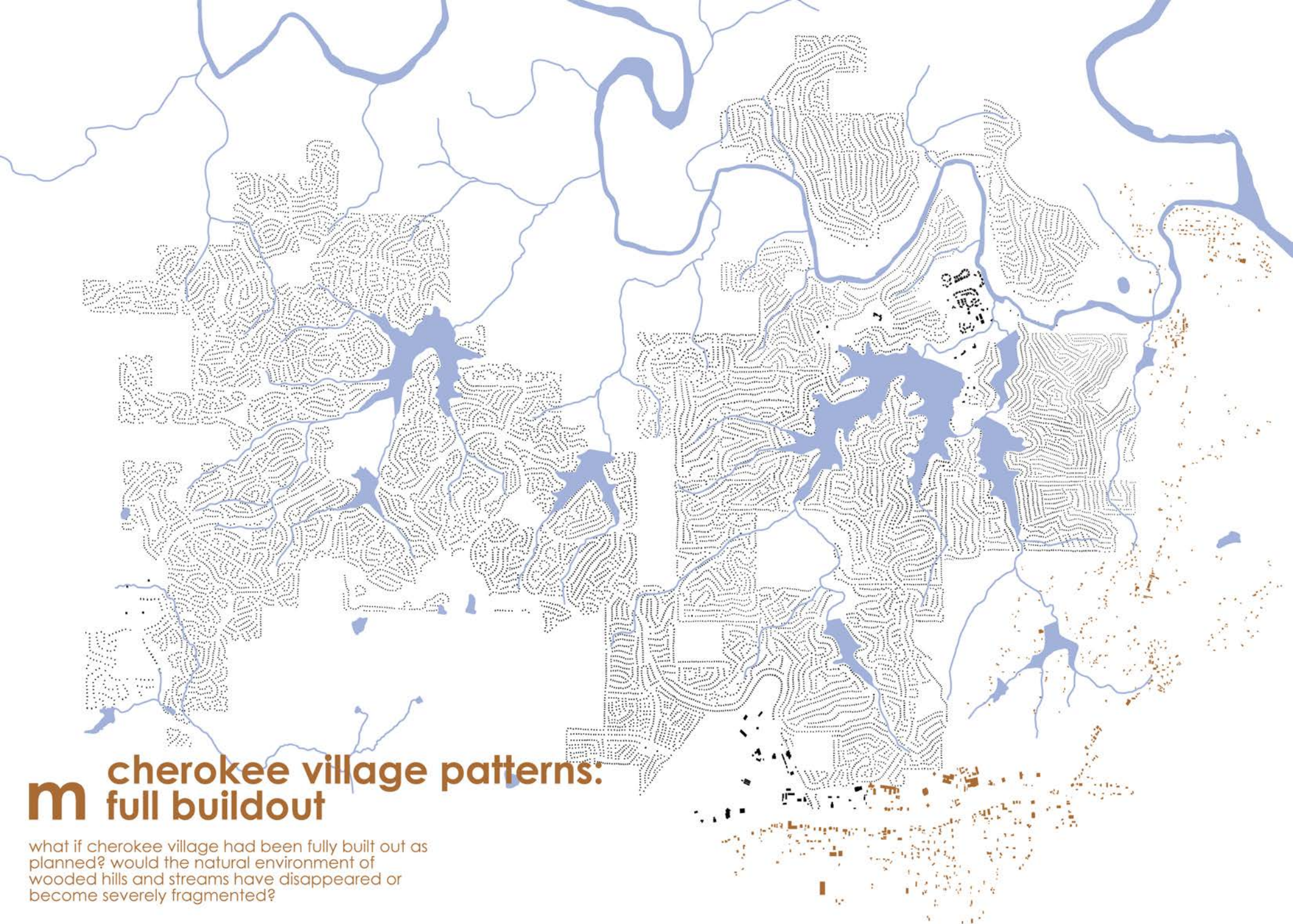
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1
miles



Cherokee village patterns: topography, roads, buildings, and watershed

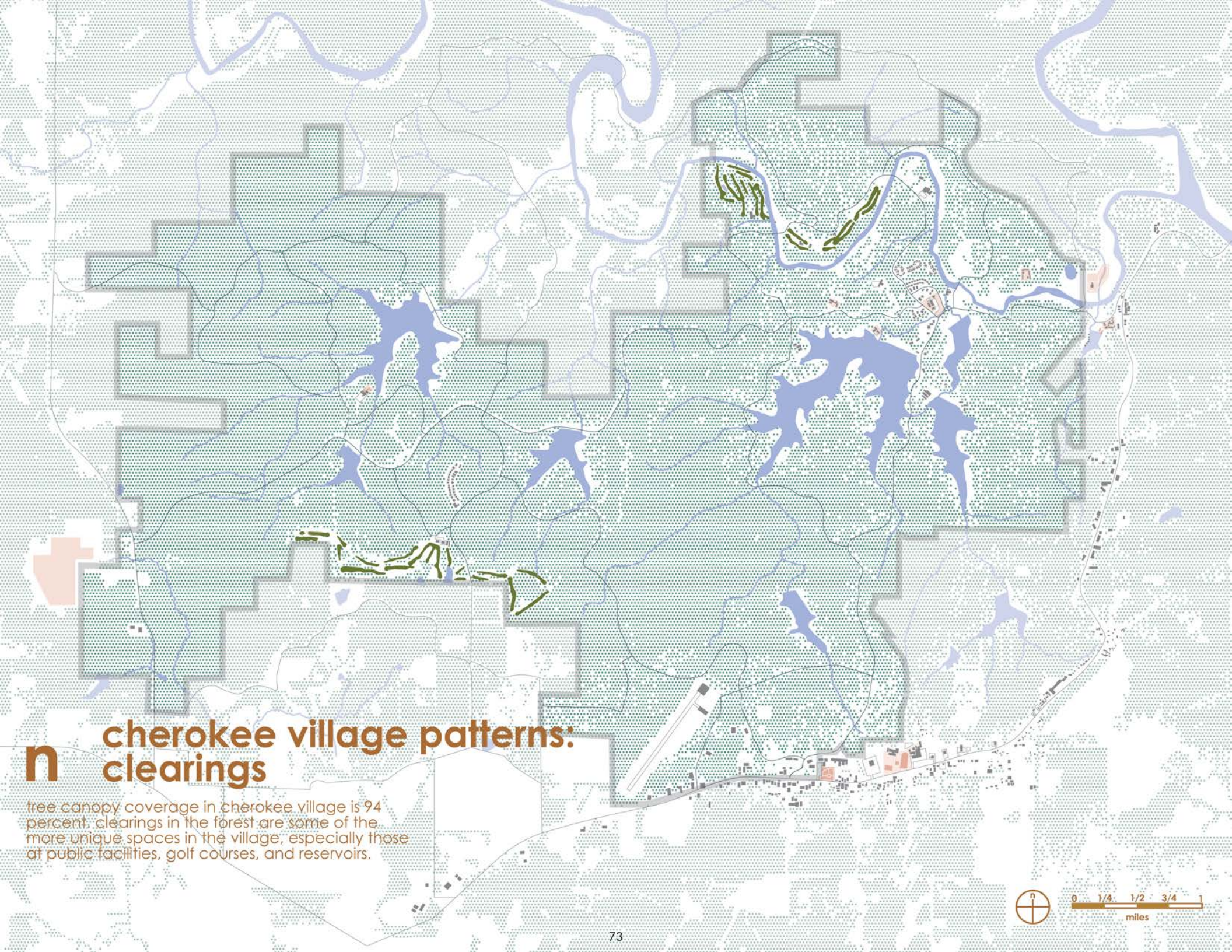
the capital web of reservoirs and road loops stretching across the village's 21.3 square miles creates a distributed order of water, recreational assets, and a town center, as focal organizations in a polycentered net. could future development capitalize upon these underutilized focal organizations by developing greater specialization and variation around these centers?





m cherokee village patterns: full buildout

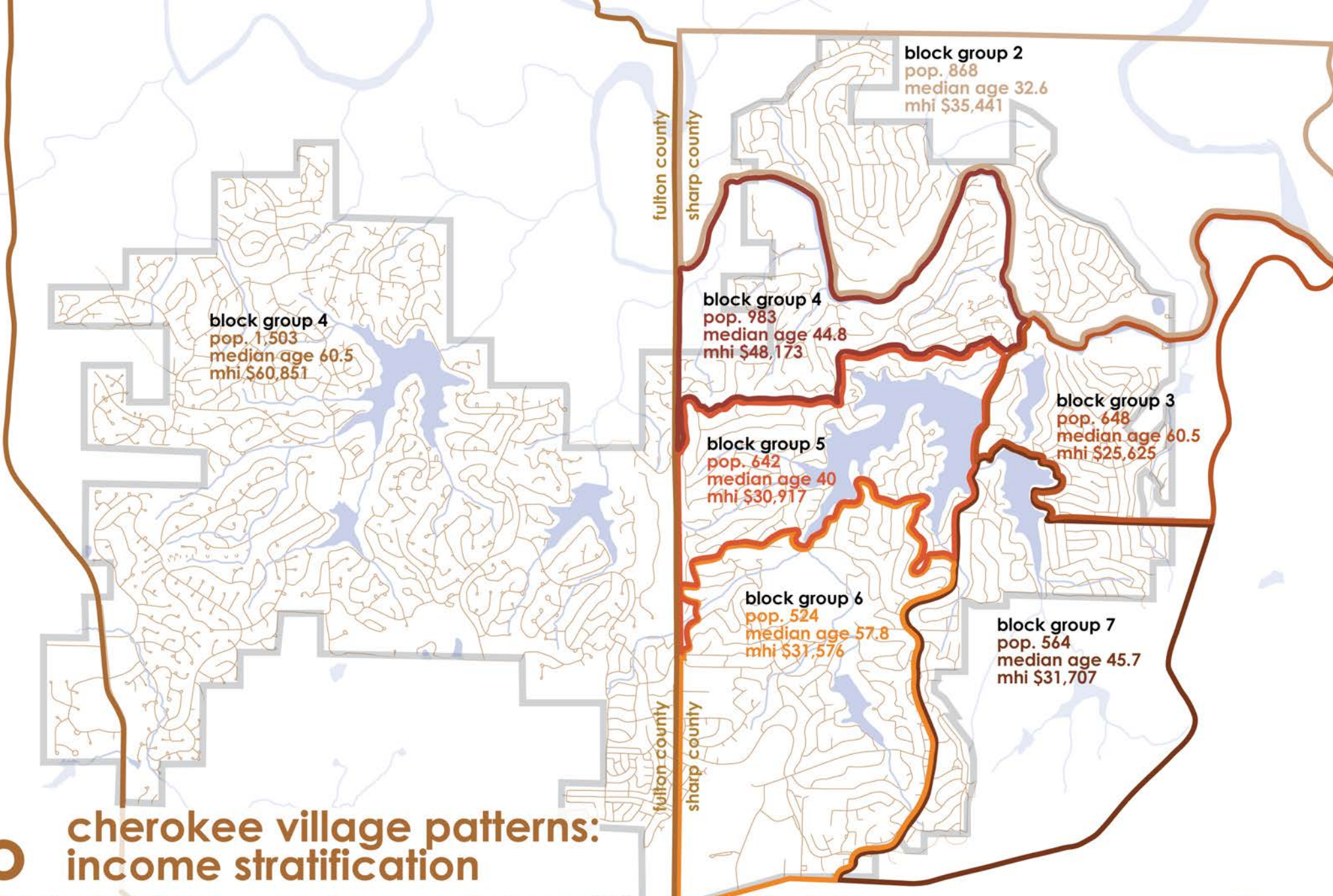
what if cherokee village had been fully built out as planned? would the natural environment of wooded hills and streams have disappeared or become severely fragmented?



n cherokee village patterns: clearings

tree canopy coverage in cherokee village is 94 percent. clearings in the forest are some of the more unique spaces in the village, especially those at public facilities, golf courses, and reservoirs.





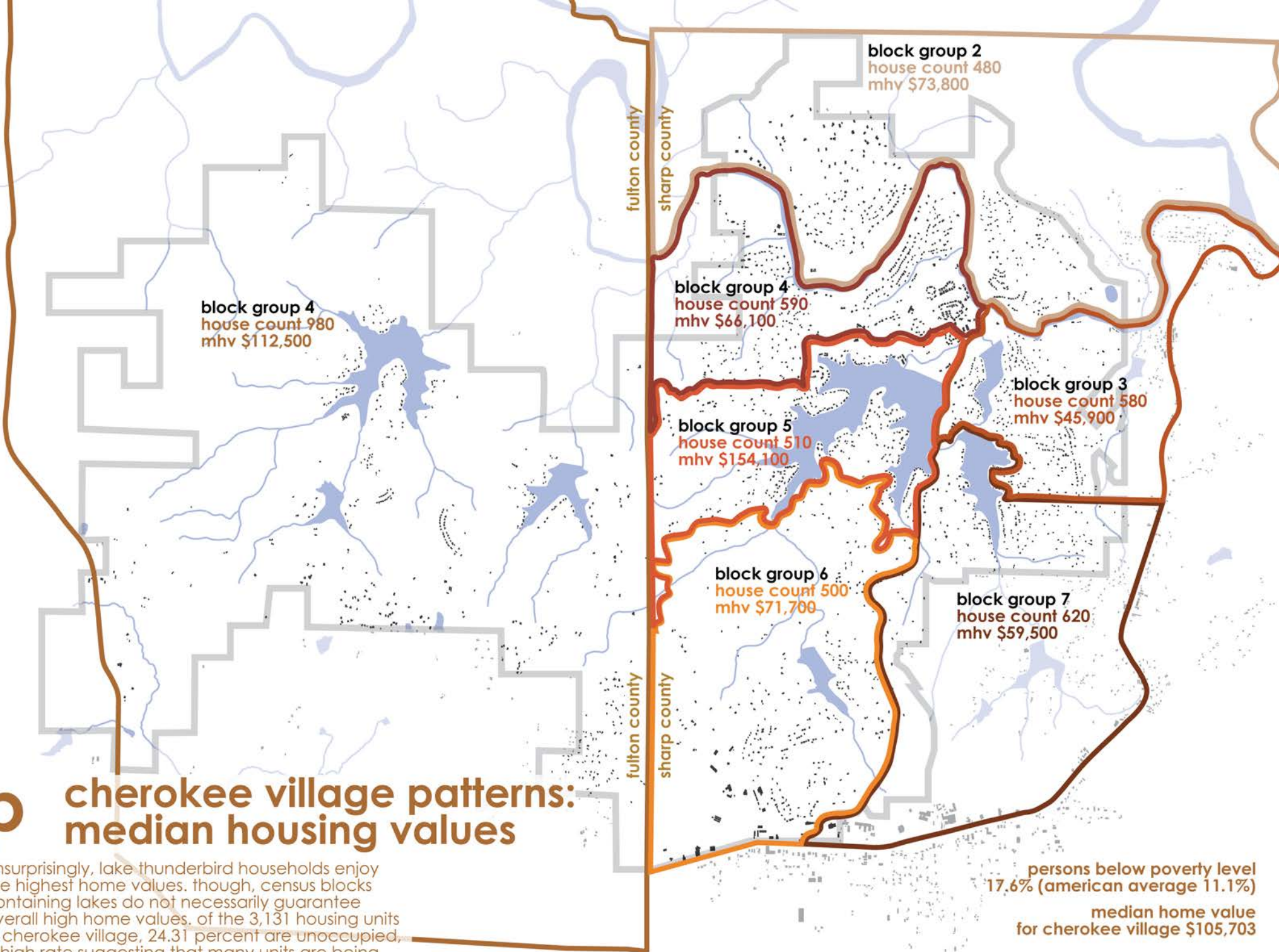
Cherokee village patterns: income stratification

information gleaned from the u.s. census bureau and the 2015-2019 american community survey 5-year estimates shows significant variations in household income and home values across cherokee village's seven census blocks. data sets for each census block include population, median age, median household income (mhi), and median home value (mhv, exhibited on next

page). among the 2,370 households in cherokee village, the highest median household income lies within the undeveloped fulton county census tract, more than twice that of some census blocks in east cherokee village.

median age for cherokee village 54.4
median household income for cherokee village \$37,917





p **cherokee village patterns:
median housing values**

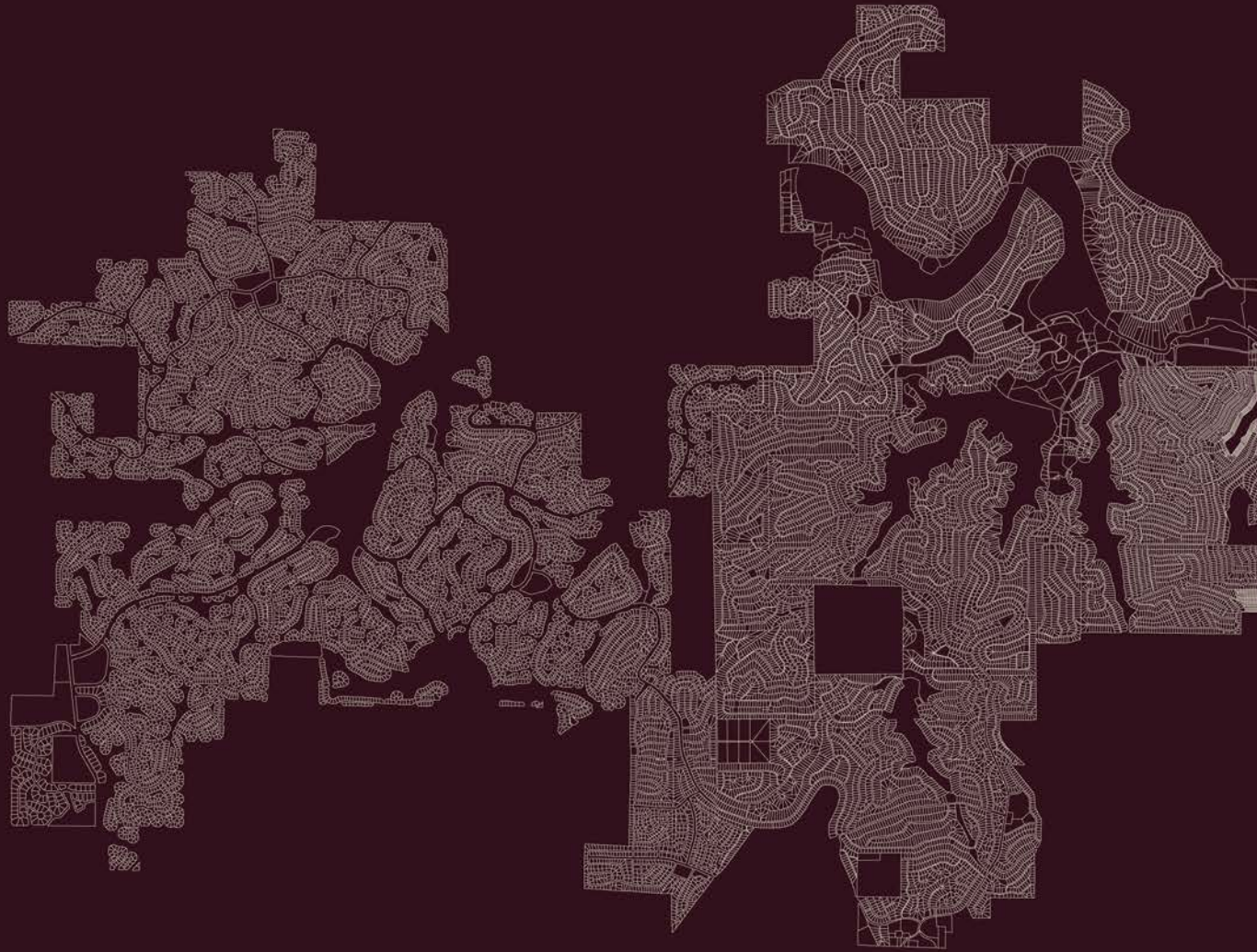
unsurprisingly, lake thunderbird households enjoy the highest home values. though, census blocks containing lakes do not necessarily guarantee overall high home values. of the 3,131 housing units in cherokee village, 24.31 percent are unoccupied, a high rate suggesting that many units are being deployed for rent to vacationers, migrant corporate staffs, and other short-term occupancies.

persons below poverty level
17.6% (american average 11.1%)
median home value
for cherokee village \$105,703



cherokee village civic clubs: scripting the “active adult” lifestyle

cooper planned for the “active adult” lifestyle, a theory of retirement developed in the mid-1950s. the first generations of residents participated in over 100 civic associations. cherokee village continues to demonstrate high levels of social capital, including development of its own historical society and community development initiatives.



social conceptions of retirement were reconstructed in the mid-1950s, especially as average lifespan in America increased to 69.6 years from 47.3 years in 1900. In 1954, well-known sociologist Robert Havighurst with Eugene Friedman published *The Meaning of Work and Retirement*, arguing that in retirement workers substituted "organized leisure activities" for the structure and status once provided by holding jobs. This concept became known as the "activity theory". Retirement was no longer envisioned as a time of withdrawal. The theory led developers to reach different planning conclusions—some toward the construction of age-restricted communities while others like Cooper emphasized intergenerational connection. Regardless, all developers of retirement communities were compelled to script a lifestyle concept in project planning beyond the simple sale of houses or lots. Cooper sponsored publication of a seasonal (later monthly) newsletter, the *Cherokee Villager*, to help build community association and tacitly to market the sale of lots. Research shows that seniors fear loss of purpose and social isolation more than death, thus the centrality of civic association in retirement-based communities like Cherokee Village.

American Cancer
 American Legion
 Arkansas Beta Sigma Phi
 Cherokee Gardeners Circle of
 Classes Craft Club Cub Scout
 Community Chorus CV Historical
 Dancers CV Lions CV Ozark Scarlet
 Disabled American Veterans
 Homemakers Club FACE Fireman (Volunteer) Friends of the Library Gideons International Sharp County Girl
 Scouts of USA Golf Associates CV Men Golf- 9 hole- CV Woman Golf- 18 hole- CV Woman HAUG Computer
 Club Hill & Dale Garden Club Hospice Volunteers Hunt & Gun Club Kiwanis Knights of Columbus Lifeline
 (North Arkansas Electric St. Bernard's) Marathon Bridge Masonic Lodge Master Gardeners Military Order of
 Purple Heart Ministerial Alliance National Active and Retired Federal Employees National Society of the DAR
 Arts Center of North Arkansas Omaha Health & Fitness Center Order of the Eastern Star Paper Crafts Passport
 Club - FNBC Pilots for Christ International Quapaw Woman's Club, GFWC Red Hat Society Quad Cities Rotary
 Club of Sharp County Saturday Night Card Club Senior Bowling League Sharp County 4-H Foundation Sharp
 County Homemakers Council Sharp County Library Board Sharp County Republican Committee Sharp
 County
 Services
 Voters
 Innovation
 Spring
 Club

AA AARP
 Alzheimer
 Support Group
 Amateur Radio Club of
 Sharp County (W5WCR)
 Cancer Society Breast
 Support American Legion
 Auxiliary Arts Center of North
 Boy Scouts of America CASA
 Friends Clef Hangers Country Quilters CPR
 Pack 639 CV Business Association CV
 Society CV Horseshoe Pitchers CV Line
 Woman CV PEO Area Group CV Woman's Club
 Duplicate Bridge ECW Elks Lodge No. 2539 Extension
 Homemakers Club FACE Fireman (Volunteer) Friends of the Library Gideons International Sharp County Girl
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 County
 Services
 Voters
 Innovation
 Spring
 Club

a genealogy of midcentury planned communities: the bauhaus in the woods

with the rise of postwar mass suburban housing, consumers purchased the lifestyle vision projected by a neighborhood as much as the attributes of an individual home. a large consumer market for modern design and planning set the stage for midcentury developments like cooper's cherokee village. new developments of widely different scales across the u.s. were premised almost exclusively on automobile use, and novel blends of nature, community, and city. high-profile midcentury developments contemporaneous with the planning of cherokee village show that cooper was working within a zeitgeist—"a spirit of the age" shaped by the european bauhaus—though, inflected by a regionalism specific to the ozarks.

sun city
maricopa county, arizona
1960; 5,725 acres

despite the name, sun city is an unincorporated census-designated place. it is commonly acknowledged as the first age-restricted retirement community built in the u.s. the amenity-based community constructed by developer del webb offered five tract home models built around golf courses and shopping/recreation centers within a street network of concentric circles. sun city is not the first active adult retirement community in america, coming six years after cherokee village and neighboring youngtown (the first to age restrict though the restrictions were later dropped). by 2000, the company had built 13 sun cities. now a brand of pulite homes, inc., a fortune 200 company, del webb effectively franchised the age-restricted retirement community model to eventually encompass 59 communities in 20 states.



levittown
long island, new york
1947; 4,000 acres

consisting of more than 17,000 detached identical homes, levittown is upheld as the prototypical postwar american suburb for its scale and pioneering application of assembly line techniques in housing construction. a vertically-integrated company connecting real estate, planning, and all facets of construction, the firm levitt & sons, inc. saw themselves as manufacturers more than builders, likening their company to "the general motors of the housing industry." car and house ownership underwrote the american dream. while communities like levittown helped in making homeownership widely available to a white middle-class market, its regimented planning and expedience in construction (one house was built every 16 minutes) resulted in homogeneous environments for which suburbs became known. the levitts became the model for contemporary production builders supplying most housing today.



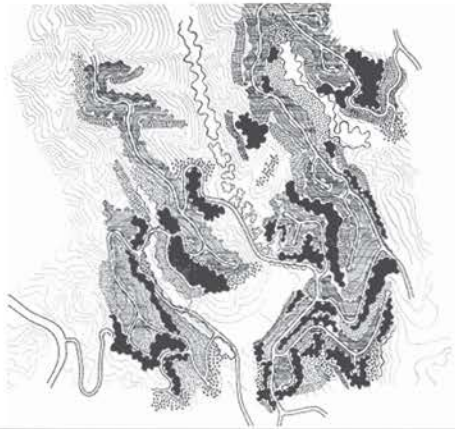
park forest
illinois
1945; 2,000 acres

a planned community to address the housing crisis brought on by six million veterans returning from world war II, park forest was a collaboration between developers nathan manilow, carroll sweet, and philip klutznick, and acclaimed town planner elbert peets. peets was planner for the three model greenbelt towns implemented under the new deal in the 1930s. like levittown, park forest exemplified large-scale suburbanization through rationalization of the home building industry combined with organic and curving plan geometries influenced by landscape architect frederick law olmsted and the garden city concept of ebenezer howard. like a wartime production assembly line, developers established an on-site construction company and supply chain eventually employing over 1,000 workers and completing 21 housing units daily. developers built community spaces and a shopping plaza with gathering spaces, while setting aside land for churches and schools.



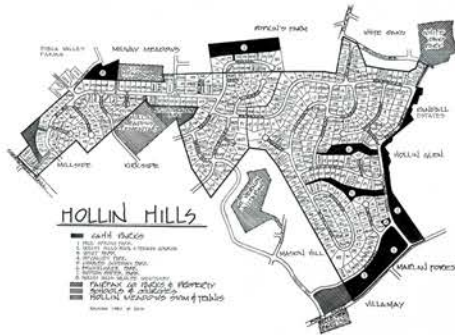
crestwood hills
los angeles, california
1947; 835 acres

four musicians seeking an alternative to tract housing built by production builders across the country—like the le vitt brothers—formed the mutual housing association (mha) to build modern houses in the brentwood section of los angeles. the mha was driven by a utopian vision to cooperatively develop 500 single-family houses. according to cory bunker, architect and crestwood historian, this co-op neighborhood attracted like-minded progressives seeking a sustainable and inclusive community in a time of segregation and racially restrictive covenants. mha members shared in the planning of the community and design of modern housing, as well as the financing of infrastructure and civic amenities. the mha hired noted modernist architects whitney smith, a. quincy jones, craig ellwood, and richard neutral, landscape architect garrett eckbo, and engineer contini. indeed, buckner contends that crestwood was one of the “few fulfillments of the bauhaus dream” in america.



hollin hills
alexandria, virginia
1949; 326 acres

hailed as one of the finest examples of midcentury modern communities in the u.s., hollin hills was planned by two visionaries, developer robert davenport and architect charles goodman joined by landscape architect lou bernard voight with later help from famed landscape architect dan kiley. they treated the landscape as an “architectural laboratory”, sensitively siting homes to the hilly topography rather than the street. parklands preserve natural drainage channels, while natural and manicured landscapes were well blended. the design approach married glass houses (more than 450) and open interiors with the wooded terrain. like crestwood’s founders, hollin hills began with utopian ambitions to mix income groups within the same neighborhood so that households can move among homes as their needs change and thus age in place. an architectural control committee still governs allowable changes to homes.



arapahoe acres
englewood, colorado
1949; 30 acres

similar to hollin hills, a progressive local businessman edward hawkins teamed with modernist architect eugene sternberg to create a cohesive neighborhood of modern middle class homes inspired by the work and philosophies of frank lloyd wright. the development participated in the revere quality house program, a national effort then to improve housing development by enrolling architects in the design of neighborhoods and houses. departing from englewood’s street grid, sternberg sited streets and houses to be in harmony with the site’s rolling topography and to slow traffic. hawkins, an avid fan of frank lloyd wright’s late work, designed most of the neighborhood’s 124 homes combining influences from the international and usonian styles of modernism. with its iconic design, arapahoe acres was the first midcentury modern neighborhood to be listed as national register historic district.



"modern building is now so universally conditioned by optimized technology that the possibility of creating significant urban form has become extremely limited. . . . critical regionalism necessarily involves a more directly dialectical relation with nature than the more abstract, formal traditions of modern avant-garde architecture allow."

kenneth frampton, "towards a critical regionalism: six points for an architecture of resistance"



**regional modernism in architecture
and planning: topography, context,
climate, light, and tectonic form**

thunderbird recreation center by stuck, frier, lane & scott, inc

placemaking in the ozarks

john cooper commissioned two arkansas architecture firms who balanced new modernist expressions of space with the concern for local topography, context, climate, light, and tectonic form (construction systems) that root buildings to place. fay jones was hired to design the town center, nearby townhouses, and a house near the river. a jonesboro firm noted for their modernist buildings, stuck, frier, land & scott, inc., was hired to design the lakeside thunderbird recreation center. while houses were left to individual builders, many of the first lake homes exhibited a regionalism based in contemporary fenestration (window) patterns, traditional gable roofs and interior cathedral ceilings, open floor plans, and outdoor decks. these various brands of modernism demonstrated that buildings could celebrate a sense of place without resort to the cartooning of traditional architectural styles or kitsch. their "critical regionalism" resisted debased and sentimentalized consumer trends. cooper was the only developer in the first generation of the post-war land development industry to connect design thinking with placemaking for middle-class housing. risky, since land developers commonly invoked a generic suburban planning format to attract a wide consumer base nationwide.

like his famous mentor frank lloyd wright, fay jones adeptly addressed the coordinates with which modern architecture often struggles: earth and sky, street and garden building frontages (there is

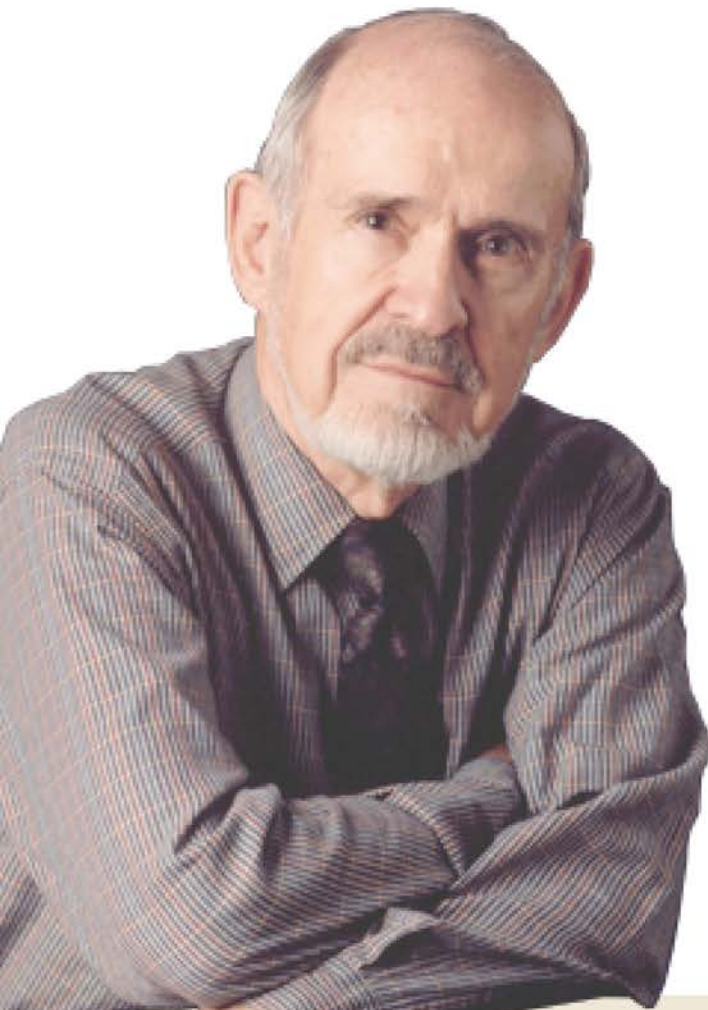
no principal front and throwaway back), and human scale. whether residential or commercial, jones grounded his buildings through an **earthwork** of masonry bases and retaining walls that shaped courts and plazas as extensions of interior living spaces. the bustle of the ground was countered by the serenity of a simple but iconic lightweight **roofwork** of wood with deep overhangs for sheltering outdoor space. as with the best modern architects, jones located skylights at the heart of the building rather than rely solely on the wall for admitting natural light to interior spaces. windows were never punched holes in the walls but rather systems of organization in composing building elevations. he skillfully used symmetry to create typologically clear building organizations in service to expressing a poetics of construction fitting of the ozark landscape. paradoxically, jones' buildings create a convincing environmental continuity (known as "organic architecture") yet stand as powerful landmarks.

similarly, the thunderbird recreation center by stuck, frier, lane & scott, inc., terraces pools, lawn and game courts, and various assembly buildings along lake thunderbird. the elegant composition of low-eave roof structures on heavy masonry bases frame exterior recreation spaces with lake views, countering the heavily wooded landscape on the arrival side of the buildings. panelizing stone with wood-framed glass curtain walls, the complex balances transparency

and enclosure in connecting lake with woods, and intimate spaces with assembly-sized spaces. like fay jones' work, simple but well-detailed building forms create community landmarks without an overbearing monumentality.







1921

January 31, born in Pine Bluff and raised in El Dorado, Arkansas.

1938

Jones' architectural ambitions are sparked by a short film on the Johnson Wax Museum, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, his eventual mentor.

1941

After initially enrolling in the engineering program at the University of Arkansas, enlists in navy and attains rank of first lieutenant as a naval aviator and a reconnaissance pilot.

1946

After a year as a draftsman at a Little Rock engineering firm, re-enrolls at University of Arkansas in the inaugural class at the school of architecture.

1950

Graduated from the University of Arkansas architecture program.

1951

Graduated from Rice University with a master of architecture.

1951-1953

Served on the faculty at the University of Oklahoma.

1953

Apprenticed to Frank Lloyd Wright at his Taliesin East studio and school in Spring Green, Wisconsin; joined the faculty at the school of architecture at the University of Arkansas. Established a private practice in Fayetteville where he designed and built homes of several University of Arkansas faculty members.

1956

Completed own house in Fayetteville, which is now listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

1959

The Bain residence is published in *House Beautiful*, the first national magazine to publish Jones' work, bringing in hundreds of unsolicited requests for house plans.

1961

Completes design for the Colwell House, his first project in Cherokee Village. Receives his first two AIA awards, both for houses, one belonging to Walmart founder Sam Walton.

1965

Completes design for the Cherokee Village Town Center, his first of several projects for John Cooper.

1966

Became the first chair of the University of Arkansas Architecture Department. Completes design for the Cherokee Village townhouses, reimplementing a design already proposed for Bella Vista.

1974

Became the first dean of the newly founded University of Arkansas School of Architecture.

1977

Completes design for Stoneflower, one of his most published and awarded residential designs.

1979

Designated a fellow of the American Institute of Architects.

1980

Designated a fellow of the American Academy in Rome. Designs and builds Thorncrowne Chapel in Eureka Springs, Arkansas.

1984

Awarded title of ACSA Distinguished Professor by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture.

1988

Retired from teaching.

1990

Received the AIA Gold Medal, the highest professional distinction for American architects.

1991

Architecture Magazine survey names Jones as one of six "most admired" living architects.

2000

The AIA recognized Thorncrowne Chapel as the fourth most significant structure of the twentieth century; recognized by the AIA as "one of the ten most influential architects of the twentieth century"; Thorncrowne Chapel is added to the National Register of Historic Places, only 20 years after it was built.

2004

E. Fay Jones dies at home in Fayetteville on August 30.

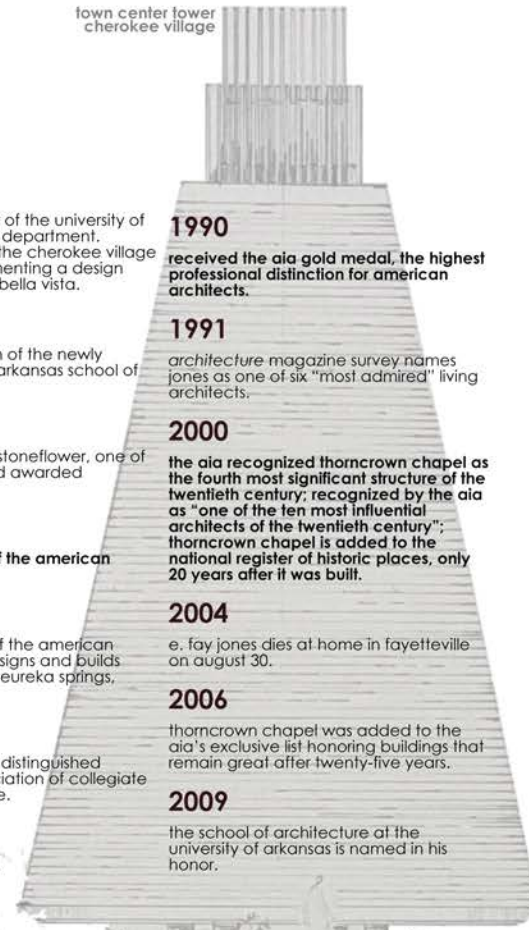
2006

Thorncrowne Chapel was added to the AIA's exclusive list honoring buildings that remain great after twenty-five years.

2009

The School of Architecture at the University of Arkansas is named in his honor.

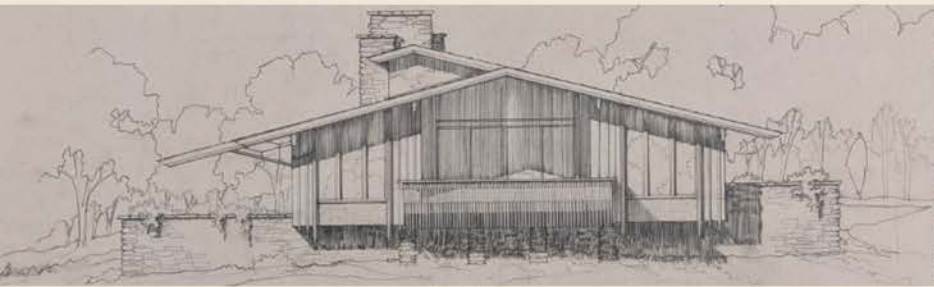
town center lower cherokee village



e. fay jones: one of america's most significant architects

a native arkansan, e. fay jones (1921-2004) was an internationally acclaimed architect who won the american institute of architect's highest honor—the aia gold medal in 1990. jones' thorncrowne chapel in eureka springs was voted the 20th century's fourth-best building by the aia.

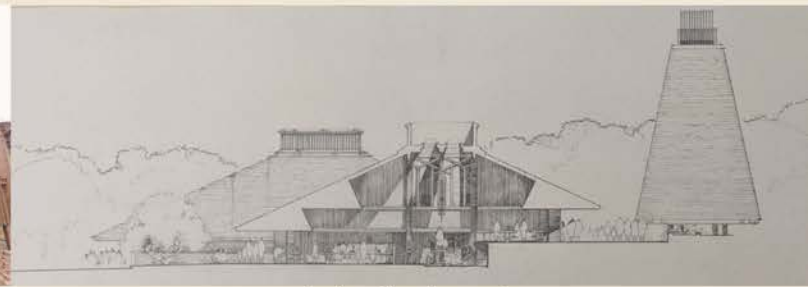




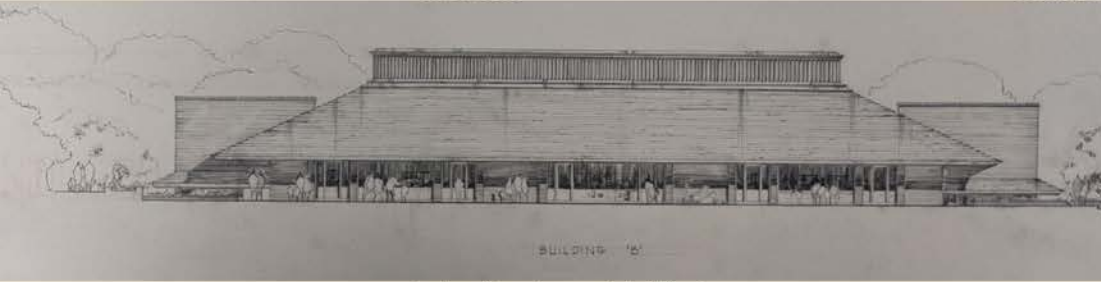
colwell house



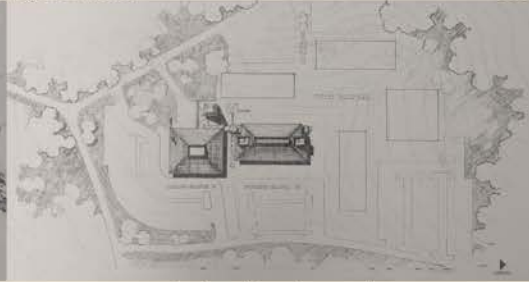
cherokee village townhomes



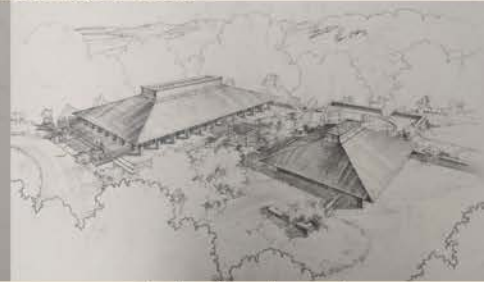
cherokee village town center



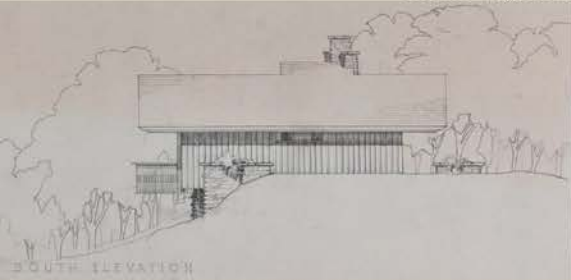
cherokee village town center building b



cherokee village town center



cherokee village town center



colwell house



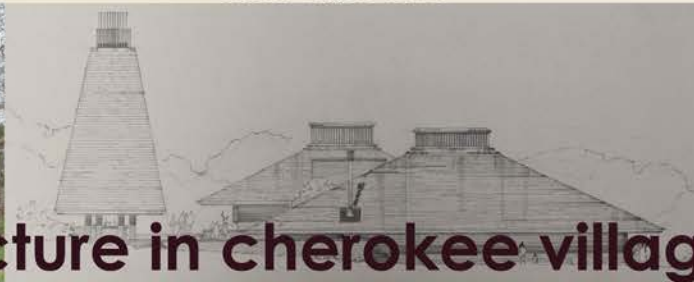
cherokee village town center



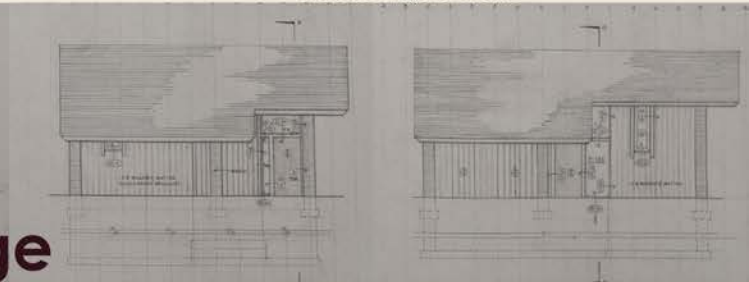
cherokee village townhomes



colwell house

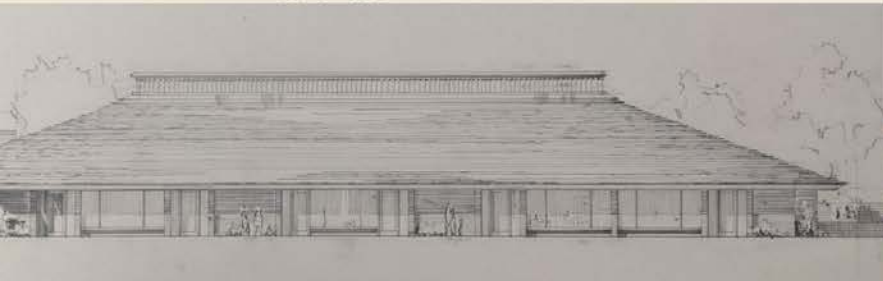


cherokee village town center



cherokee village townhomes

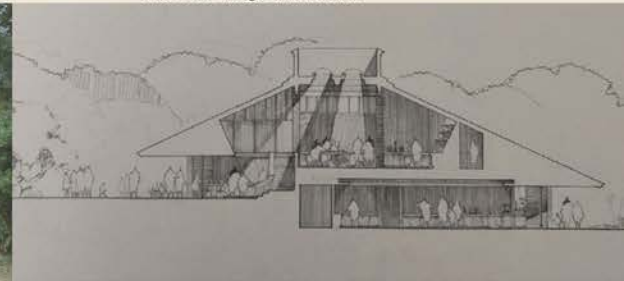
e. fay jones architecture in cherokee village



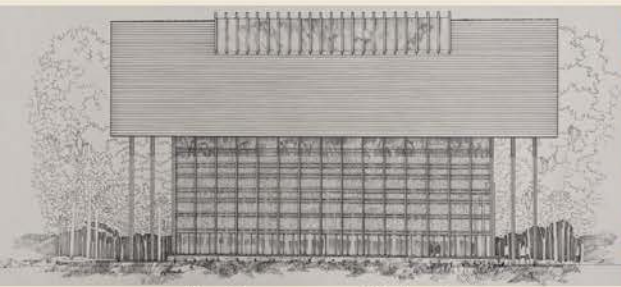
cherokee village town center building a



cherokee village town center building a



cherokee village town center building b



mildred b cooper memorial chapel



john and louis drum house



hot springs village entrance

application of the principles of organic architecture with words from fay jones

detail
as a vocabulary for building and site, details should manifest larger systems of thought while expressing "an intensity of caring." the detail fulfills the cognitive function of ornament to bind together various scales and environments, including inside and outside, earth and sky, and heavy and light.

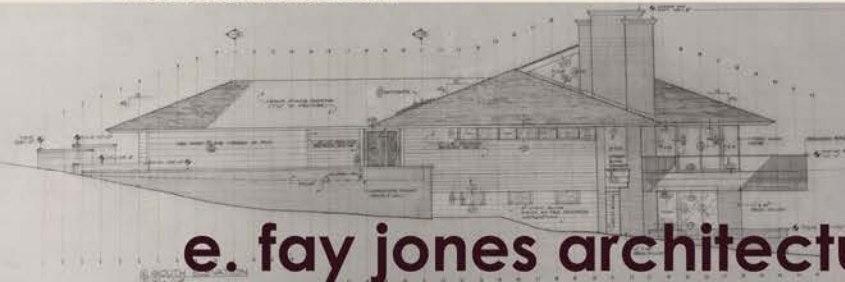


mildred b cooper memorial chapel



bella vista country club

form
generative ideas are a seed that integrates the part to the whole: the nesting of patterns where "you should feel the relationship, to the parts and to the whole." jones' approach balances overall symmetrical organizations with local asymmetries adapting to function and context. light was also key force in jones' thinking: "since architecture is space



drum house



site
establish a fit between building and site, blending exterior and interior space through extension of ground and ceiling surfaces from inside to outside. "At final resolution, site and building should achieve a kind of singularity, or oneness, or harmonious and ideal relationship."

e. fay jones architecture in other cooper communities



bella vista country club



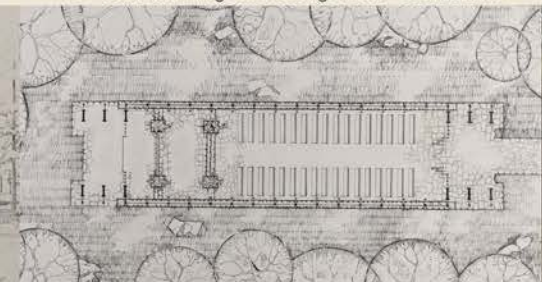
bella vista village memorial gardens - columbarium

jones was commissioned by john cooper to design public buildings, town centers, and golf clubhouses, in all three of his arkansas-based community developments.

material
use native materials according to their intrinsic properties: "materials should be used in a way that conveys their strength and best qualities, letting each material—whether it is wood, stone, or steel—express its basic nature."



hot springs village desoto recreation center



mildred b cooper memorial chapel



billingsley house



hot springs village desoto recreation center

shelter
buildings should aim for dignity and simplicity, not plainness. "Every man should have a place where he can have communion with himself and his surroundings, a personal environment free from disharmony and frustrations."



1950

1970

a legacy of midcentury modern architecture in cherokee village

midcentury modern design (1940s-1960s) was a movement that democratized access to high design in products, graphics, clothing, furniture, architecture, and landscapes through mass production. the midcentury aesthetic in architecture features open floor plans, light-filled interiors, spatial connection between inside and outside, and the expression of structure and natural materials.

just as camps inspired an architecture of cabins, cottages, and lodges, so the idea of cherokee village motivated its own forms of contemporary architecture. alongside the organic modern architecture by architect fay jones for cherokee village, many early homes in cherokee village approximated more the informality of cabins and lodges—like the a-frame—than the conservative suburban home. residential design reflected the optimism and newness of modern architecture in their open plans, transparency in the use of floor-to-ceiling glass, light-filled rooms, and connection to a forested lake edge. these homes brought the outdoors inside. modern design expressed new functional relationships accompanied by concerns for authenticity and economy in the use of material and structure. despite the role of mass production and standardization of building components, the first generation of homes in cherokee village exhibit regional variations in midcentury design. midcentury modernism is more a set of principles than a style, as the best examples project a timeless “clean-line” look still fresh today. the spaces of midcentury modernism characteristically expressed and facilitated a new lifestyle focused on family and the outdoors.

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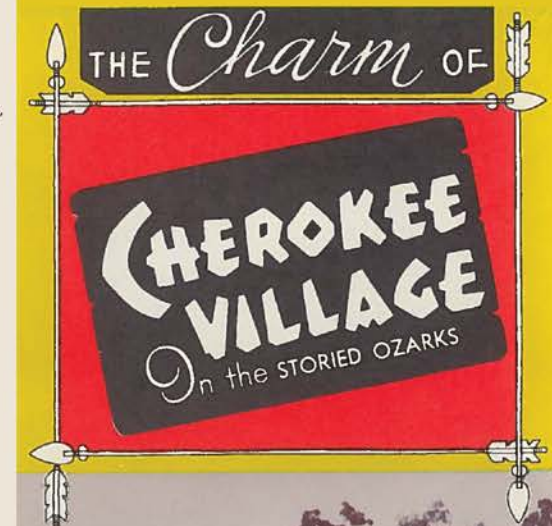
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dam, riders on horseback in foreground
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dam, rider on horseback with steer in foreground
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dam spillway
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euine fay jones_desaturated
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town center tower drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

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colwell house drawing of west elevation
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville
photo of cherokee village townhomes
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

cherokee village town center drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

cherokee village town center building b drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

cherokee village town center site plan drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

cherokee village town center perspective drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

colwell house drawing of south elevation
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of cherokee village town center
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of cherokee village townhomes
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of colwell house
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

cherokee village town center with tower drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

cherokee village townhomes elevation drawings
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

cherokee village town center building a drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of cherokee village town center building a
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

cherokee village town center building b drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

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mildred b cooper memorial chapel side view drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of john and louis drum house
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

drawing of hot springs village entrance
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of hot springs village entrance
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

mildred b cooper memorial chapel frontal drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of front of mildred b cooper memorial chapel
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

bella vista country club drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

drum house drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

desoto recreation center drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of bella vista country club
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

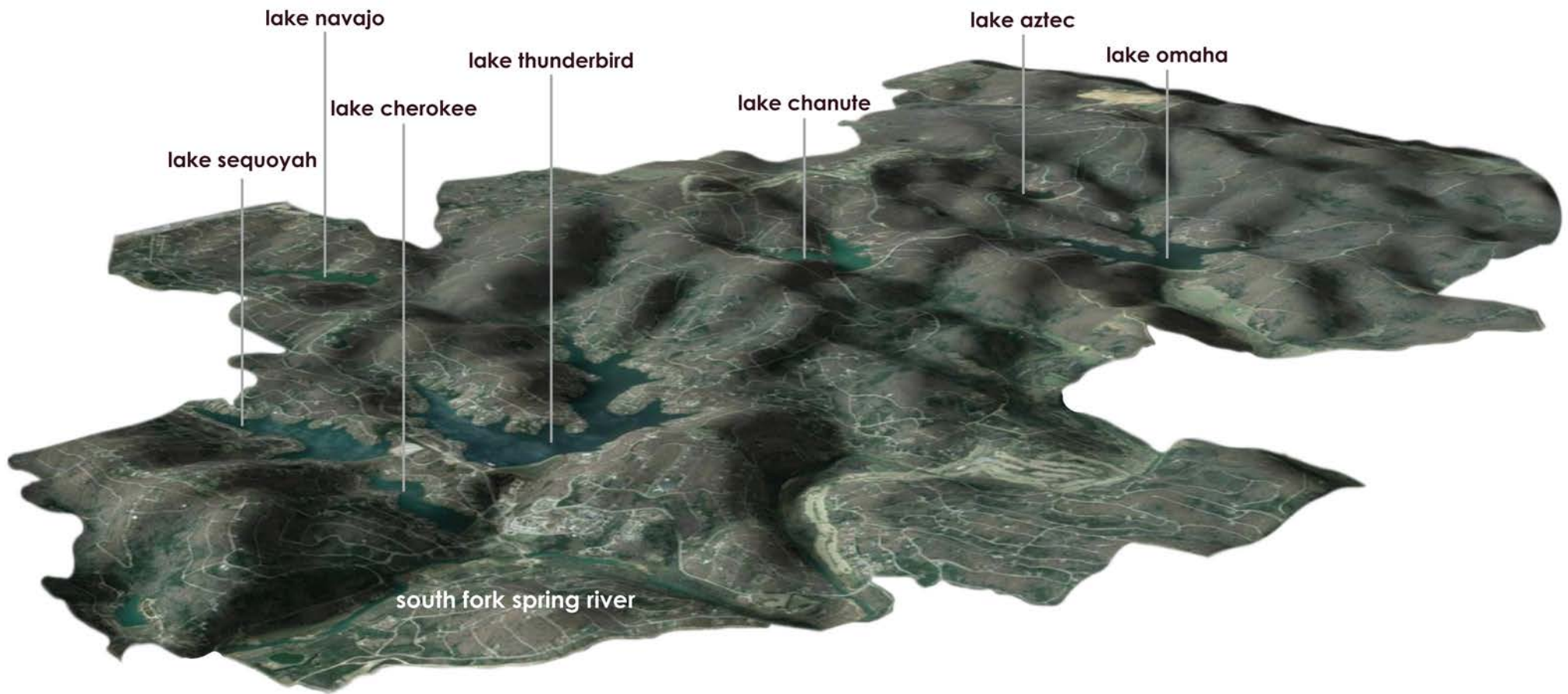
bella vista village memorial gardens - columbarium drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

hot springs village desoto recreation center drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

mildred b cooper memorial chapel drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

photo of billingsley house
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville

hot springs village desoto recreation center interior drawing
fay jones collection, special collections, university of arkansas libraries, fayetteville



what's next?

native american heritage

the construction of whiteness is intertwined with the construction of indianness, dominated by the settler dissonance of “revering” indigenous culture while simultaneously dismantling it. how might the relationship be decolonized with consideration for deeper cultural lessons like stewardship of resource commons, communal neighborhood forms, a disciplined ecological footprint, etc.?

ozark pioneer and folk

austerity characterized the ozark frontier resulting in resourceful but ruralized economies lacking the specialization and opportunity intrinsic in more complex urban economies. how might cherokee village confront its perceived isolation to attract a greater range of services (e.g., healthcare), amenities, and lifestyles demanded by current markets?

camping and scouting

that camps arose to become pivotal institutions in advancing social improvement and a middle-class order among settler culture is uniquely american. how might the social coherence and the physical attributes of the camp environment inform the development of new neighborhood archetypes in cherokee village?

midcentury recreational and retirement communities

the land sales industry was driven by lot subdivisoning for single-family homes: a mid-century market phenomenon now with limp market demand. what new settlement patterns and infrastructure improvements are available to create a sense of place throughout low-density development not tied to water or golf course frontage?

fay jones, modern architecture

good design leverages market value and place identity. the midcentury buildings constructed in cherokee village's early years constitute a cultural gene pool that warrants extension of this legacy. is there a set of architectural principles that can be codified in new nonresidential and residential construction that embody cherokee village's unique sense of place while maintaining a range of lifestyle choice?



