

Four general design categories for service stations included: the Fantastic such as buildings designed to resemble seashells or castles; the Respectable which mimicked well known landmarks or used dignified architectural styles such as the Classical Revival; the Domestic which imitated residences and which was intended to convey feelings of familiarity and hospitality; and the Functional which featured a minimalistic design that was smooth and clean and, unlike the other designs, was intended to convey the building's true industrial use (Vierya 1979:15,27,41,56).

The Fantastic design is perhaps the most visually appealing, for example, the freestanding pumps in front of the large teepee at Wigwam Village Number 2 at Cave City, Kentucky, on the Dixie Highway. Another intriguing example is the Airplane Filling Station in Knoxville whose wing formed a canopy for the pumps. Brothers Henry and Elmer Nickle built this station in 1929 on the Eastern Division which was known locally as the Clinton Highway. Elmer Nickle chose the design because he loved airplanes, and although the brothers owned several stations in the Knoxville area, this is their only airplane design (Nickle 1993).

Examples of the Respectable style on the Dixie Highway in Tennessee include two stone stations, one a rounded triangular station built in 1931 near Lenoir City and the other a rectangular station near Smyrna built about 1925-1927. With this type of station, respectability was evidenced not so much by a style but by the connotation of permanency and durability conveyed by the material. Another example is a Spanish Eclectic service station in Jellico. Service stations on the Dixie Highway featuring the Renaissance design (Rifkind 1980:302) include Gulf Oil stations in Tazewell, Tennessee, and Middlesboro, Kentucky.

Probably the most easily recognized "Domestic" service stations are the chain of Pure Oil stations built in the 1920s and designed to resemble an English cottage. Several examples exist along the Dixie Highway such as in Sewanee and Rockwood in Tennessee, and in Cartersville, Georgia. During the Depression, and especially after World War II, more streamlined and functional appearing service stations dominated the roadside. A well-recognized chain would be the Gulf stations from the 1940s that featured a curved office portion with a large window expanse against a service bay usually visually joined with raised horizontal strips that created a streamlined appearance under a flat roof. Examples of this type of service station abound along the Dixie Highway.

In addition to getting the tourist into the community and providing activities, a need existed for overnight accommodations. At first, most auto-campers were wealthy, and in an effort to attract their patronage, cities or counties offered free overnight facilities, municipal camps, for the motorist. However, as auto travel became less expensive and the camping trend spread to the working and to the

lower class who became hobos and tried to take up permanent residence at camps, the rich turned to resorts or Europe for vacations. In an effort to keep the middle class, auto-camping proponents sought to inject more respectability into the camps. Cities came to believe that the financial burden of free auto camps was not offset by the amount of money tourists spent in their cities. Local hotel owners also complained of municipalities competing for their trade. In the 1920s, the movement turned to private camps operated for profit (Belasco 1979:113-114, 124-125).

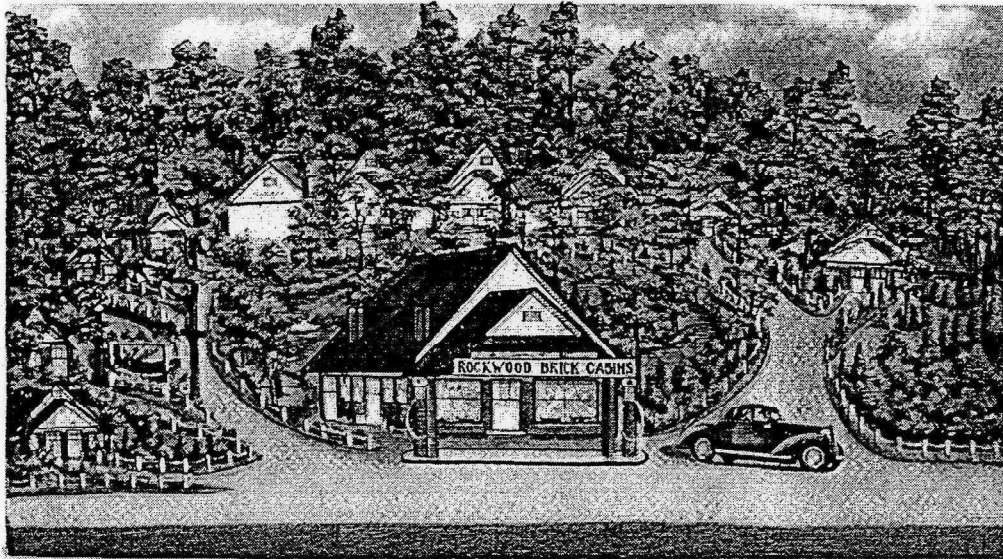
The Dixie Highway magazine provided information to tourists about these camps as a service and as a way to encourage travel. The magazine provided information about their locations and facilities. For instance, the City of Louisville, Kentucky, provided camping sites at Cherokee Park. Barnesville, Georgia, provided "one of the most modern camping grounds on the [Dixie Highway] ...absolutely free, including electric lights and water." Chattanooga, Tennessee, Vidalia, Georgia, and Cincinnati, Ohio, also provided free camping facilities (*The Dixie Highway* 21 March:9,15,21; February 1924:1; May 1924:22). The magazine contained a list of tourist camps in nineteen cities in Kentucky. The camps varied greatly, but the following excerpts illustrate what a traveler could expect:

- Ashland, population 14,729. Three sites, one charge others free. Water, toilets, light, fireplaces and fuel.
- Bowling Green, population 12,000. Water, bathing, light; four acres. On Dixie Highway.
- Georgetown, population 4,800. Cardonne College. Wooded, water, toilets, bathing, light, shelter, stoves, fuel; two acres.
- Guthrie, population 1,200. Water, toilets, Dixie Highway.
- Morgantown, population 1,000. Wooded. Permit required; small charge. Water, shelter, fireplaces, fuel; five acres (*The Dixie Highway* May 1924:11).

In Rockwood, Tennessee, the Dixie Highway overlapped the main street through town, Kingston Avenue. No particular tourist attractions existed in the area, but Kingston's primary selling point seems to have been its location between places that did. A postcard for the Rockwood Brick Tourist Camps advertised its location as 280 miles south of Cincinnati, 70 miles north of Chattanooga, and 50 miles west of Knoxville on the Tennessee Valley Road, U.S. 27 and 70. Virtually a one-stop shop, the postcard (Figure A-19) boasted that the tourist courts were equipped with electric lights, running water, hot and cold showers, heat in winter, shade in summer, innerspring mattresses, cafe, groceries, gas, and oil, etc. (Carver Postcard Collection).

ROCKWOOD BRICK TOURIST CAMPS, ROCKWOOD, TENN.

WHERE TOURISTS ARE ALWAYS WELCOME



SOUTH EDGE OF ROCKWOOD ON U. S. 27 & 70. 280 MI. SOUTH OF CINCINNATI 70 MI. NORTH OF CHATTANOOGA. 50 MI. WEST OF KNOXVILLE, TENN. TENNESSEE VALLEY ROAD. COURTS ARE EQUIPPED WITH ELECTRIC LIGHTS. RUNNING WATER, HOT AND COLD SHOWERS, HEAT IN WINTER, SHADE IN SUMMER. INNERSPRING MATTRESSES. CAFE, GROCERIES, GAS, OIL, ETC. A. T. COCHRAN, OWNER & PROPRIETOR

Figure A-19: Postcard Rockwood Tourist Camp

In addition to camps, individuals rented out extra bedrooms in their private residences, called tourist homes (Figure A-20) (Belasco 1979:152-153; Preston 1991:2). Also in Rockwood, Tennessee, from the 1920s to the late 1930s, many Victorian era homes along Kingston Avenue advertised as guest houses or tourist homes. A National Register nomination for the Kingston Avenue Historic District notes:

A circa 1937 development brochure contains an advertisement for Barnett's at 200 Kingston as "A 'Federal Hi-Way' Tourist Home, a Home Away from Home" with free garages. Barnett's Queen Anne style dwelling was replaced circa 1940 with a small brick cottage [extant]. Mrs. Carl Mee offered "Free Private Garages, Electric Fans, Furnace Heat, Inner Spring Mattresses" and a bath on each floor of her spacious home at 109 North Kingston [extant]. Mrs. Griffiths served breakfast to her guests; Mrs. Smith boasted "All Conveniences" and Beauty Rest Beds at 107 North Kingston (demolished). Mrs. Wright's at 108 South Kingston [extant] was advertised as "Rockwood's Leading Boarding House" (Murphy 1997:8/13-14).

COLONIAL MANOR, SOUTH DIXIE & HIBISCUS STREETS, WEST PALM BEACH, FLORIDA

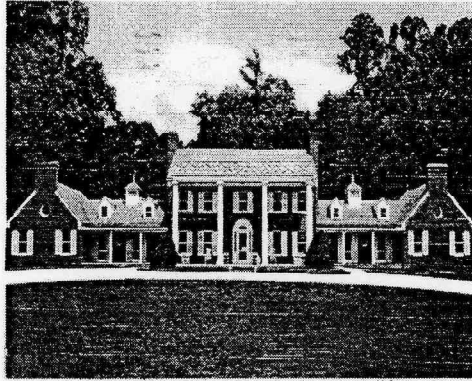


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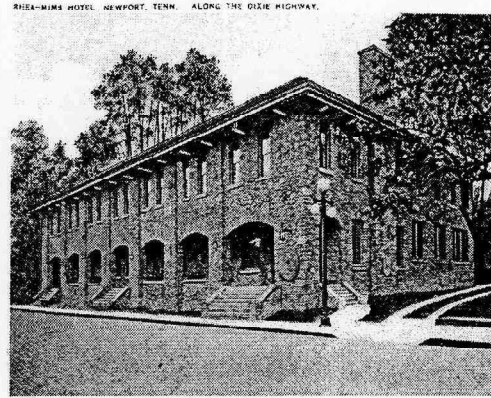
Figure A-20: Tourist Home "Colonial Manor" on the Dixie Highway, West Palm Beach, Florida. The text on the back reads *Colonial Manor For Discriminating Travelers. Attractive and comfortable rooms--some with private baths. Heat. Telephone TEmple 2-9389. Helton and Kirkpatrick, Owners, Mgrs. South Dixie and Hibiscus St. (US 1). West Palm Beach, Fla.*

Hotels had always existed along the Dixie Highway but primarily in downtown areas, including Fisher's four hotels in Miami Beach: the King Cole, the Flamingo, the Nautilus, and the Lincoln. Remaining examples include a plethora of downtown hotels such as the Hotel Patten in Chattanooga or the Rhea-Mims Hotel in Newport, Tennessee (Figure A-21). However, after World War II, motels, a new term that combined the words "motor hotel," began to replace tourist cabins, guest houses, and even hotels as the primary overnight accommodation for travelers. Motel complexes included a vast array of U-shaped, L-shaped, linear, and irregular plans which reflected a variety of aesthetic or architectural treatments such as the bungalow style, streamlined Moderne style, historic architectural themes such as the colonial, the rustic, the southwestern or the western. Perhaps one of the best known complexes on the Dixie Highway is Wigwam Village Number 2 near Cave City, Kentucky, which was built by Frank Redford in 1937 and is listed in the National Register. The semi-circular complex, which is still in operation, contains fifteen cabins, a

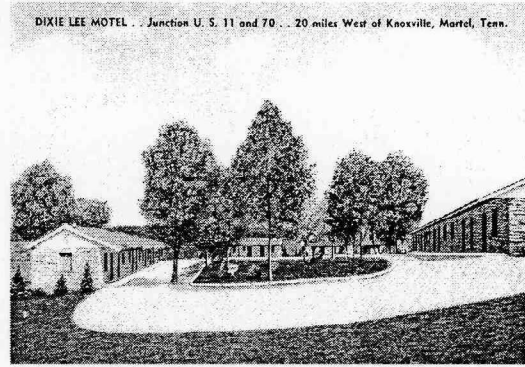
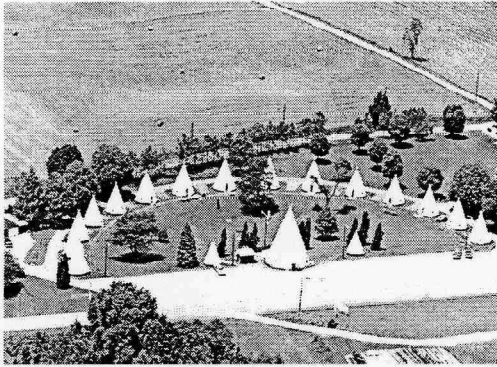
lunchroom with flanking but freestanding restrooms, all in the shape of teepees (Sculle 1990:126).



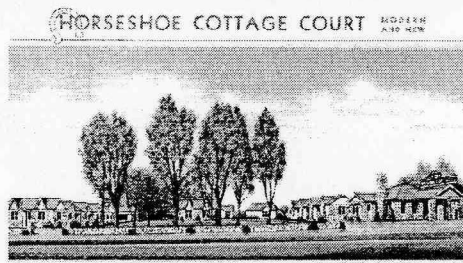
Mount Vernon Hotel, just southwest of Knoxville, Tennessee, on U.S. 11 and 70



RHEA-MIMS HOTEL NEWPORT, TENN. ALONG THE DIXIE HIGHWAY.



DIXIE LEE MOTEL . . . Junction U. S. 11 and 70 . . . 20 miles West of Knoxville, Martel, Tenn.



HORSESHOE COTTAGE COURT ADDER AND HOW

9 MILES NORTH BOWLING GREEN, KY., ON U. S. 31 W
MR. and MRS. J. L. CORNWELL

Figure A-21: Motels along the Dixie Highway

- Rhea-Mims Hotel in Newport on the Western Division
- Mount Vernon Motel, on the Lee Highway and Western Division, Knoxville
- Wigwam Village Number 2, Cave City, Kentucky
- Dixie Lee Motel, on the Lee Highway and Western Division, Knoxville
- Horseshoe Cottage Court, Bowling Green, Kentucky

Historic advertisements, tourbooks, and magazines are good sources for information about what was available to travelers and what businesses thought travelers would want. The American Automobile Club published its ubiquitous tour guides as early as 1934-1935. *The Southeastern Tour Book* noted that Chattanooga (population 119,800) was situated at the intersection of five highways: the Dixie, Lee, Henry Grady, Chattanooga-Gadsden-Birmingham-Lookout Mountain Scenic Highway, and the Cincinnati-Lookout Mountain Airline. A "well lighted concrete road" went up to Lookout Mountain (AAA 1934-45:22). The tour book highlighted the following sites as places to visit in the area: Ruby Falls, Signal Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Fort Oglethorpe, the Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Battlefield, National Cemetery, and the Soldiers and Sailors Auditorium. The AAA itself was headquartered at the Hotel Patten, as was the Dixie Highway Association. The only other Tennessee city near Chattanooga (along the Dixie) that the AAA tourbook mentioned as having a motel was Jasper, in Marion County. The hotel catered to motorists and cost \$2.00 to \$3.00 per night (AAA 1934-35:49). The tour book noted that the toll bridge at Jasper cost fifty cents (**on tour #2**) and that the bridge in Chattanooga was free (**on tour #2**).

According to the AAA tour book, driving requirements in Tennessee were minimal. The law required only that you be sixteen years of age. Any "reasonable and proper" speed was apparently considered a safe speed limit. Of interest is a 1930s state highway patrol station, constructed of Crab Orchard Sandstone, in Rockwood, Tennessee, on the Dixie Highway. Main routes were sensible locations for road oriented facilities other than just commercial businesses.

Automobile travel conditions improved over the years, but not universally, and especially not in isolated rural communities. In 1949, *The American Guide*, another travel guide, presented travelers with the option of taking several side trips outside of Chattanooga and Jasper. The guide suggested drives to Dayton and Cleveland, Tennessee, as well as trips outside of Jasper. The directions for actually driving to these spots give an indication of the condition of roads since the "paved road" is mentioned as noteworthy: "Chat(w) to Jasper, US64 7 41; US64 (11 St.) to J. with Broad St. (L) to J. at 5m with paved rd" (Alsberg 1949:961-963).

This post-World War II guide is also an interesting indication of how tourism, especially automobile tourism had changed. In addition to providing more detailed written directions, it contains many more sites to visit. It noted Civil War sites (**on tours #1 and #2**), Rock City (**on tour #2**), the loop to Lookout Mountain (**on tour #2**), a Tom Thumb golf course (**site on tour #2**), and a memorial marker to Adolph Ochs (**on tour #2**). An interesting change from the

typical tourist sites was Fairyland (**on tour #2, Lookout Mountain**), a “suburban residential sec., named for weird shapes of massive boulders in vic” (Alsberg 1949:961-963).

Examples of the types of places to stay along the Dixie abound in old travel brochures. The United Motor Courts was a not-for-profit association of individually owned motor courts established circa 1932. Headquartered in Houston, Texas, it distributed free guides of member motor courts and advertised them as having

cleanliness, courtesy, and hospitality combining comfort and economical luxury with the convenience made necessary by our present mode of automobile travel. While one United Motor Court may be Spanish, another Olde English, and another Rustic in design, thus giving you the variety which makes traveling interesting and memorable, the interior accommodations are all planned with one thought: The comfort and well-being of you, your family and your friends (United Motor Courts 1942).

In 1942, five motels in Chattanooga were associated with the United Motor Courts Association. The motels included the Glendale at the foot of Signal Mountain (**on tour #2**) which had twenty-three brick cottages, tile baths, showers, tubs, automatic steam heat, circulating hot water and a cafe; the Col-an-el-do Court on Highway 41 south that advertised stoker steam heat, fans, garages, and bus service; the Interstate Tourist Lodge that advertised innerspring mattresses and private tiled shower, free garages, and telephone and telegraph service and which is now the Alpine (**on tour #2**); the Southern Inn, also on U.S. 41 North, that advertised heat, fans, private tiled showers, garages, telephone and telegraph service, circulating water, and shady ground; and the Wigwam Cottages, east of Chattanooga on the Lee Highway (U.S. 11 and 41), fifteen brick cottages with hot plates, oil and gas heat, garages, and shade. The motels ranged from eight to thirty-six units and from \$3.50 to \$6.00 per night (United Motor Court Brochure 1942).

In 1953, Chattanooga also boasted of having the state's first motel for African Americans, the Blue Bird on Lee Highway seven miles east of Chattanooga in Summit, intended as the first in a chain. The company had renovated the 12-cabin Blue Bird Tourist Court, each with private baths and steam heat, as the Blue Bird Motel and planned to build twenty more cabins and a restaurant (*Chattanooga Times* 1953).

During the 1950s, both the Superior Courts and Quality Courts had brochures like the United Motor Courts association. Similar in graphics, size, and details, these associations advertised that member businesses were "uniformly dependable" and "clean-comfortable-refreshing-safe" (Quality Courts 1955; Superior Courts 1956). Advertising from the 1960s reveals a significant variety of tourist related activities and many places to stay. Advertisements publicized hotels, restaurants, and seasonal events, often with photographs or drawings.

Nationally famous business enterprises begun on the Dixie Highway included the Sanders Court and Cafe in Corbin, Kentucky (Figure A-22). In 1930 Colonel Sanders moved to Corbin and opened a service station on the Dixie Highway (U.S. 25). Sanders cooked the family's meals at the service station but would sell meals to travelers. In 1931 Sanders moved across the road in a combined restaurant and service station. In 1940 he built the Sanders Motor Court and Cafe where he perfected his special recipe of herbs and spices for fried chicken and from which he began the first franchising of American fast-food operations. The cafe is now a restaurant and museum, but the adjoining motel was demolished in the late 1960s. A novelty in the facility is a model motel room which Sanders built in the middle of the cafe so that people would have to walk through it to use the restroom or the telephone. Facilities such as this business lived and died by the highway, and when the state built a bypass and rerouted U.S. 25 on it, Sanders realized that Sanders Motor Court and Cafe faced a financial crisis. It was then in 1956, at the age of 66, that Sanders sold the restaurant and traveled around the United States selling seasoning and his recipe for fried chicken which led to the Colonel Sanders Kentucky Fried Chicken empire (Cross 1990).

In addition to support facilities for the tourist, businesses that serviced the local traveler as well as the through traveler often located their facilities along main thoroughfares such as the Dixie Highway. Two examples of automobile showrooms on the Dixie Highway are located in Chattanooga and Shelbyville. The 1925 Etheridge Lincoln Showrooms (**on tour #2**), an exuberant Classical Revival structure in Chattanooga, features an unusual terra cotta exterior that contains medallions with raised "L"s for the first cars sold there, the Lincoln. (A 1990s facade-etomy has drastically altered the building). The Potts Ford dealership in Shelbyville is a ca. 1930 brick building with a visually prominent projecting polygonal showroom. Another example in Chattanooga is the Tennessee State Highway Division Garage, a ca. 1930 maintenance and equipment complex designed in the Spanish Mission style (**on tour #2**).



Figure A-22: Postcard Sanders Court & Cafe on the Dixie Highway
Corbin, Kentucky

The text on the back reads:

Sander's Court offer complete accommodations with tile baths, (abundance of hot water), carpeted floors, "Perfect Sleeper" beds, air conditioned, steam heated, radio in every room, open all year, serving excellent food.

Highway corridors spawned not only automobile related businesses but industries as well. Facilities that used trucks as a major part of their operation located on major highways such as the Dixie. For instance, Tullahoma, Tennessee, "took advantage of the highway and had a prospering trucking industry which depended on the Dixie Highway. Its largest industries include a softball and baseball manufacturing plant and a shoe factory that date to the Dixie Highway period" (Sharp 1993:91-92). Along the Dixie Highway (U.S. 41) near Dalton, Georgia (**on tour #1**), it became very common for local people to hang hand-made chenille bedspreads along the road and try to sell them to passing motorists. Business was so brisk that it led to local factories that produced the bedspreads. Although a wide variety of patterns were produced, the most popular was the peacock design, and this stretch of the Dixie Highway became known as Peacock Alley.

With the traveling motorist as a captive audience, savvy business owners used extensive advertising along the highway. Such advertising was essential prior to television and the widespread use of long-range radio signals. Advertising

venues included billboards or signs painted on the sides or roofs of sheds, barns, stores, and other buildings. These signs advertised a variety of attractions, and not only for attractions on that route, but for attractions on other routes as well. For example, on a barn on U.S. 41 in Coffee County, south of Nashville, northbound travelers saw an advertisement on the roof for Merimec Caverns on U.S. 66 in Missouri and southbound travelers saw an advertisement for Ruby Falls in Chattanooga (**on tour #2**). A shed on U.S. 41 in Grundy County contained an advertisement for Crystal Caverns (**on tour #2**), further along on U.S. 41 (Figure A-23).

The "See Rock City" signs are one of the most well-known examples of this method, and several examples remain on the Dixie Highway (Figure A-24). These painted barns were the idea of Garnet Carter, a land developer who in the 1920s initiated a large residential development, country club, and hotel on Lookout Mountain near Chattanooga. This development included a miniature golf course known as "Tom Thumb Golf," which is credited with beginning a miniature golf fad in the country. The Wall Street crash and the Great Depression wiped out Carter's fortune, and virtually all he had left was his home on Lookout Mountain which included his wife's ten-acre rock garden. They spent the next two years improving the rock garden, landscaping the area and adding creative touches such as ceramic gnomes taken from the hotel's golf course. In 1932 they opened the rock garden as Rock City (**on tour #2**).

Carter realized he needed a gimmick to advertise his business, and in 1936 he ordered one of his employees to begin painting the message "See Rock City" on barn roofs; later versions included "To Miss Rock City Would Be A Pity." At first farmers allowed them to paint the signs for free in exchange for painting the entire barn, but once the idea caught on and other businesses began competing for barn space, farmers began to charge a fee, usually five to ten dollars. The location of the first "See Rock City" barn was on the Dixie Highway north of Chattanooga (Preston 1991:152), and many followed. At their height, about 800-900 barns existed in eighteen states. The number is drastically lower now due, in part, to restrictions on billboards along major roads. By the mid-1990s, about 200 barns remained, however, Rock City continues to re-paint only 85 of these (Jenkins 1996; SCA News Summer 1992:3-4; *Tennessean* 14 July 1991:J-1; Wick 1980:17-19).

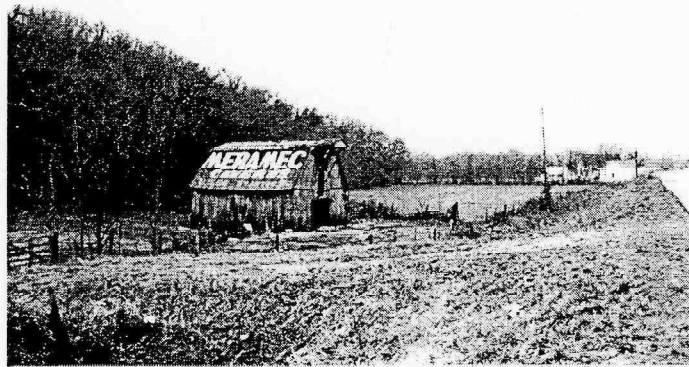
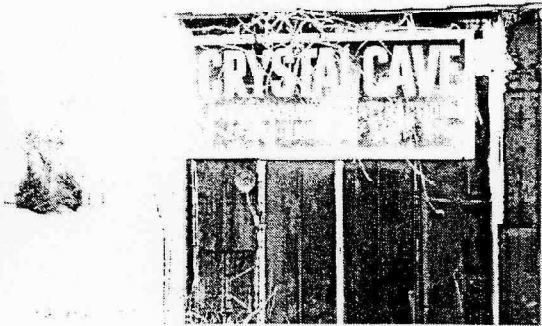


Figure A-23: Roadside Advertising in Tennessee

An early billboard advertisement for Wonder Cave on U.S. 41 near Monteagle, noting "See Priest At the Altar"

"CRYSTAL CAVE Chattanooga's Best Attraction or Your Money Back"
U.S. 41 in Coffee County

Barn with dual advertising: The south elevation contains advertising for "Meramec Caverns, U.S. 66, Stanton, Mo" for northbound travelers, and the north side featured "See Rock City" for southbound travelers.
U.S. 41 near Noah in Bedford County

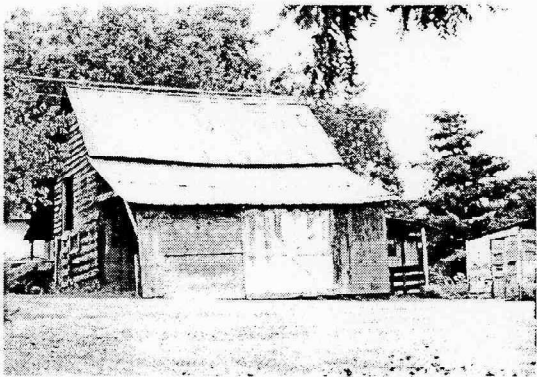
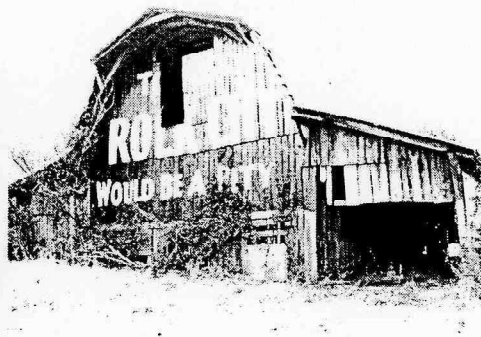


Figure A-24: Rock City Barns

“See Rock City”

Thornburgh’s Garage, U.S. 27, Dixie Highway, Noble, Georgia

“TO MISS ROCK CITY WOULD BE A PITY”

Rock City Barn, Dixie Highway, Roane County, Tennessee

“100 Mi. To Rock City atop Lookout Mt.”

Lookout Mountain Airline Highway (U.S. 27, State Route 29)
near Wartburg, Morgan County, Tennessee

“See Beautiful Rock City”

U.S. 31W, Dixie Highway, near Cave City, Kentucky

Other advertising was religious in nature. These types of roadside resources were an outward and tangible expression of a person's faith as well as a form of evangelism. They tended to be short, simple, pithy, to the point, and "intended for the perceptive eye and the receptive heart" in order "to arrest the attention and speak to the spiritual needs of those who may catch only a brief glimpse as they speed by" (MacDowell 1982:63). Some of them were wordless messages that used graphics to convey a sentiment, such as a single cross or three crosses in a group.

Perhaps the most famous of these are the substantial concrete crosses that Harrison Mayes of Middlesboro, Kentucky, erected in the mid-twentieth century **(on tour #1)** (Figure A-25). In 1918 a collapse in a coal mine crushed Mayes, then 22 years old, and doctors told him he would not survive. Mayes pledged to God that if he survived he would spread God's word. He did survive and did his best to fulfill his promise to God by putting up religious signs at his own expense after work hours ended at the mines. He first erected wooden crosses, but beginning in the 1930s, he began replacing the wooden ones with concrete crosses, or a heart-shaped variation, along the roadside. Overtime pay at the mines due to World War II enabled Mayes to substantially increase his production of concrete crosses, and many of them date from the 1940s or later.

Mayes made the crosses at home or in his workshop. On weekends or during his vacation, he loaded the crosses into his pickup truck and traveled around the country erecting them, sleeping under his truck. Although he considered himself an interdenominational missionary, he was once associated with the Church of God, and he sometimes supplied crosses to local congregations who agreed to erect them. Some state highway departments and the American Automobile Association fought to remove the signs citing them as a safety hazard. Failing health forced him to stop erecting the crosses in 1975 and he shifted his ministry to filling bottles with religious messages which he then tossed into streams or along the roadside. Before his death in 1986, he had erected religious signs in every state and in several foreign countries. Some examples of his work are on display at the Smithsonian (Alford 1986; Cadle 1949; Crawford 1983; Dickinson 1974:165-176; Wigginton 1986:328-345).

Mayes's crosses are substantial in size, about eight feet tall and weigh about 1,400 pounds. Most examples are in the shape of Latin crosses but some are hearts on a post. Each side contained a different inscription such as "Get Right With God" or "Jesus is Coming Soon." Similar single concrete crosses with the inscribed messages are located along the Dixie Highway in Claiborne County, Tennessee, and in Bell County, Kentucky. In Rutherford County, the Church of God erected one of Mayes's crosses on the Dixie Highway near Smyrna prior to World War II after a similar wooden cross deteriorated (Tune 1994).



Figure A-25: Religious Advertising along the Dixie Highway
Associated with Harrison Mayes of Middlesboro, Kentucky

"Jesus is Coming Soon" Concrete Heart, Old U.S. 421, Harlan, Kentucky
"Get Right With God" Concrete Cross, U.S. 25E, Dixie Highway, Pineville,
Kentucky

"Jesus Christ is Lord," Concrete Cross on U.S. 27, Dixie Highway, Roane
County; Reverse side reads "Nothing But the Blood"

"Jesus is Coming Soon," Concrete Cross on Bypassed Section of Dixie
Highway, Claiborne County, Tennessee; Reverse side reads "Get Right With
God"

In an effort to promote tourism, highway associations or the state built roadside parks along the highway for rest or meal stops. These roadside parks often contained shady pull-offs with picnic tables and sometimes water. State highway departments still maintain many of these, and a variety are located along the Dixie Highway in Tennessee. An outstanding example is the park built by the Dixie Highway Association in Marion County which contains the Allison Monument (**on tour #2**).

Another excellent example is the scenic overlook on the steep western side of Monteagle Mountain. In 1918 Franklin County issued a \$300,000 bond issue for road improvements which included a joint project with the state to improve a mile stretch of the Dixie Highway through the county that contained this pull-off. It is assumed that the pull-off, which contained a sweeping 400 foot stone wall flanking a massive boulder, was built as part of this project. In 1936 the state spent \$11,190 as a National Recovery Highway Project to landscape 5.4 miles of the Cowan to Sewanee section of the Dixie Highway (State Route 15, Federal Aid Project 3-A). The 1936 project removed the wall and erected a new wall of rubble masonry 1,400 feet long, cut steps into the boulder (7" rise, 12" tread, and 30" width), and paved the parking area with macadam stone. The steps led to the top of the boulder which provided a sweeping view of the valley. The state also built over 900 discontinuous feet of rubble masonry walls and planted over 2,100 trees and shrubbery "grouped in as natural arrangements as possible" on the project. Both the Allison park (discussed below) and this pull-off in Franklin County are typical in that they are not only attractive but also served a practical purpose by allowing overheated cars to rest during or after steep climbs.

A parallel, and often overlapping, movement was the erection of roadside memorials by local groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution. Simple as well as elaborate examples abounded on the Dixie Highway. The 1927 Resaca Memorial to the Confederate and World War dead in Calhoun, Georgia, is a fairly elaborate example (**on tour #1**). It is located in a triangular park in the wye of the Dixie Highway and a local road. At the entrance is a stone monument dedicated to the war dead with an arched opening visually framing another memorial within the park that is dedicated to Sequoia (Figure A-26).

Georgia possesses a particularly fine set of roadside memorials. In the late 1930s, with funding through the Works Progress Administration, the National Park Service erected five interpretive pavilions to commemorate Union General William T. Sherman's Atlanta Campaign. World War II interrupted their construction, and the Park Service did not complete them until the late 1940s. The pavilions typically feature picnic tables, metal interpretive tablets mounted on a pole, and low stone walls encircling a base with a relief map illustrating a particular engagement or event of the campaign. These pavilions are located at

Ringgold Gap (which also contains twin stone pillars that served as an entry to the town of Ringgold) ; Mill Creek Gap or Rock Face Ridge; Resaca; Cassville; and New Hope Church near the battlefield at Pickett's Mill State Historic Site in Paulding County (*Crossroads of Conflict* 1993:6; Miles 1989:30-32, 47, 63, 87). With the exception of the New Hope Church pavilion, all of these pavilions are located on the Eastern Division of the Dixie Highway (**and are on tour # 1**).

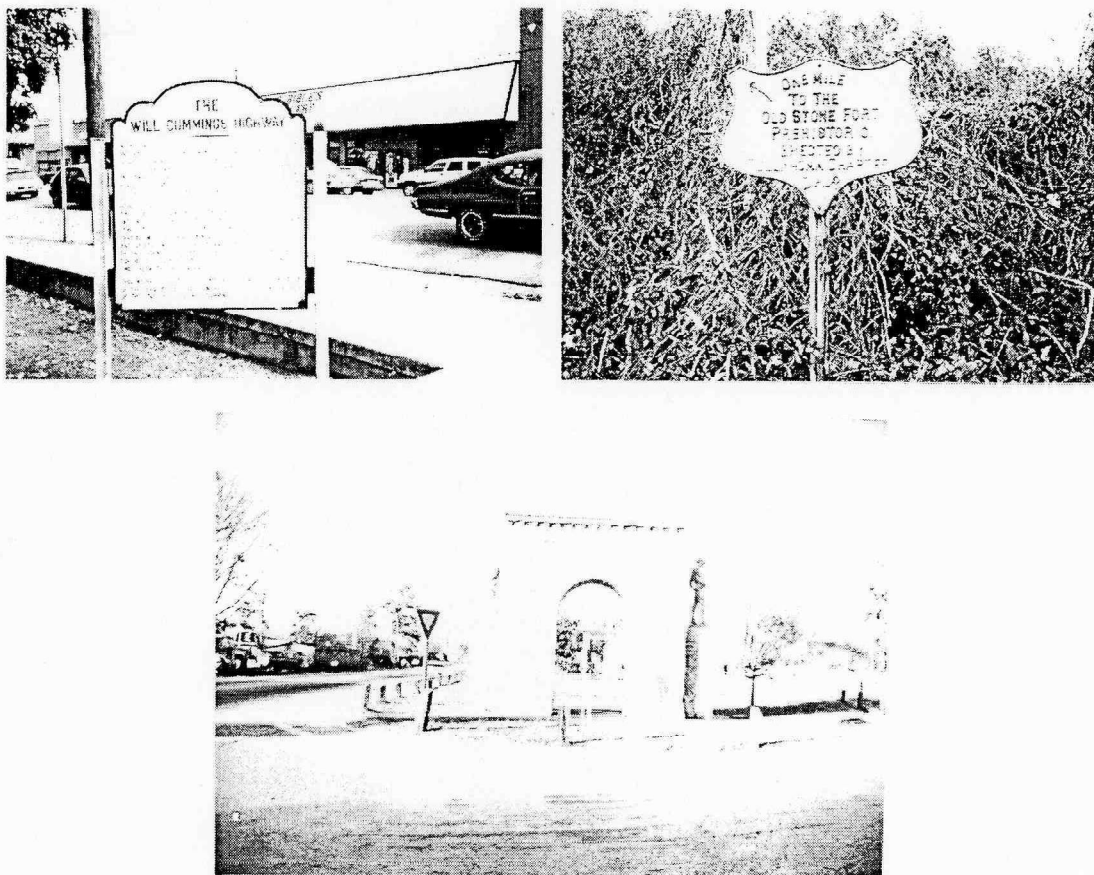


Figure A-26: Roadway Monuments

The Will Cummings Highway Marker, U.S. 41, Dixie Highway, Jasper, Tennessee

DAR Marker for Old Stone Fort, now state park; note the shield shape of the U.S. routing system sign, a common advertising motif from the pre-interstate era; located on U.S. 41 in Tullahoma, Tennessee

1927 Resaca Memorial to the Confederate and World War dead in Calhoun, Georgia, on the Dixie Highway

After the state rebuilt the Wauhatchie Pike section of the Dixie Highway (The Will Cummings Highway) in the mid-1930s, private citizens erected paired but different monuments honoring Will Cummings and The Will Cummings Highway in Jasper and Chattanooga **(on tour #2)** which were dedicated in elaborate ceremonies 24 October 1937 in which President Franklin D. Roosevelt participated by pushing a gold plated button from his office to transmit a signal (Hixson 1962:109). The monument in Jasper, a free standing plaque with a lengthy text, is located in the courthouse yard along both the Wauhatchie and Suck Creek routes of the Dixie Highway. The monument in Chattanooga is located at the foot of Lookout Mountain at St. Elmo along the highway.

The 1930s upgrading of the Wauhatchie Pike section of the Dixie Highway bypassed a substantial curve in the Wauhatchie Pike at Jonas Bluff. This section of the road, built in 1918 as Tennessee's first federal aid project, features a beautiful concrete parapet rail with diamond shaped cut-outs. The state created a small pull-off here, now barricaded and somewhat vandalized, but which still retains its concrete paving. The pull-off contains a bronze plaque imbedded above the roadway in the rock wall of Jonas Bluff **(on tour #2)**.

In the late 1920s, when many of the transcontinental routes had essentially been completed, a "booster" publication for East Tennessee made this statement concerning the relationship of roads and economic development:

The tourist industry is now the largest industry in America, with a 'payroll' of three and half billion dollars this year, this payroll being the money spent by tourists. The 'plant' of this industry is the national system of hard surfaced highways (*Appalachian Journal* September 1928:2).

However, for many, financial profit transcended the initial components of pleasure, tourism, or even military importance. The success of overland transportation and its economic benefits quickly became apparent, and road leaders began to boast of the economic results of the country's new road systems. At a Chattanooga Automobile Club banquet in 1925, Governor Austin Peay, Tennessee's "Road Building Governor," addressed the group, an indication of the political importance of the group and good roads. At the same event, one of the directors of the Dixie Highway Association, Monty Goebel of Cincinnati addressed the group and stated that

the chief importance of good roads was not as highways for pleasure touring, sightseeing or even the development of social relations throughout the Nation, great as these attributes might be, but rather as 'arteries of trade and commerce.'

Our highway system is to trade and commerce what our money, banking and currency system is to finances. A good road system is a benefit to the whole nation. Nothing should be permitted to stop its development (*New York Times* 14 October 1925).

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DIXIE HIGHWAY

Designating a route as the Dixie Highway did not automatically result in a road being built on new alignment. Rather, highway associations, including the Dixie Highway Association, typically designated an "overlay" route along an existing highway corridor by specifying which towns would be on the official route. In 1915, although most states had state highway departments, individual counties built most roads (Figure A-27). Although the government allocated Federal funds in 1916 for road construction, the money was very limited until the early 1920s. Thus, individual counties were at first primarily responsible for building the Dixie Highway, supplemented by state highway departments and later by the states with Federal money.

If the existing road was not adequate, each county was individually responsible for improving and maintaining the road through its borders. Sometimes the counties had minimal improvement programs, and sometimes the counties sponsored extensive programs that included substantial road and bridge improvements.

Community leaders used every means to build roads through their area and to gain public support for their efforts. For a short period in the early to mid-1920s, the newly formed and poorly funded Tennessee State Highway Department designated a road section in each of the state's three grand divisions as a model road to generate support for the projects. East Tennessee's model road was a section of the Carolina Division of the Dixie Highway in Cocke County (*Newport Plain Talk*, 7 July 1925, 1, 5 July 1927). Road building was much less formal than now, and promoters were not above gimmicks. In 1924, the Signal Mountain Portland Cement Company (**on tour #2**) built a stretch of concrete road in front of the company's facility on the Dixie Highway on the Suck Creek Road portion in Hamilton County. The company began the section but did not finish it, and eventually the state highway department completed it (Dixie Minutes 1924:157; 1925:192).

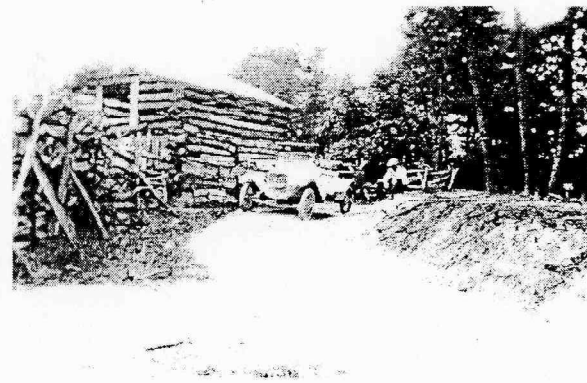


Figure A-27: Typical road conditions in the 1910s (Courtesy Chattanooga-Hamilton County Bicentennial Library, Chattanooga Automobile Collection)

Free roads were essential to the motoring public, either for pleasure or business (Figure A-28). The Dixie Highway Association in its incipiency took a strong position supporting free roads and adopted a resolution stating, "That there shall be no toll gates or toll bridges on the Dixie Highway from Chicago to Miami, on the Eastern or Western division excepting the bridges across the Ohio River" (Dixie Minutes 1915:11). However, the reality seems to be that the association had little choice but to initially accept some roads or bridges with tolls and then to work to have them removed as quickly as possible. The provision in the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916 that banned any toll roads from receiving Federal aid greatly assisted the association in this effort. This stipulation was eventually effective in removing toll roads and bridges from the Dixie Highway, doubtless more so than the association's original resolution.

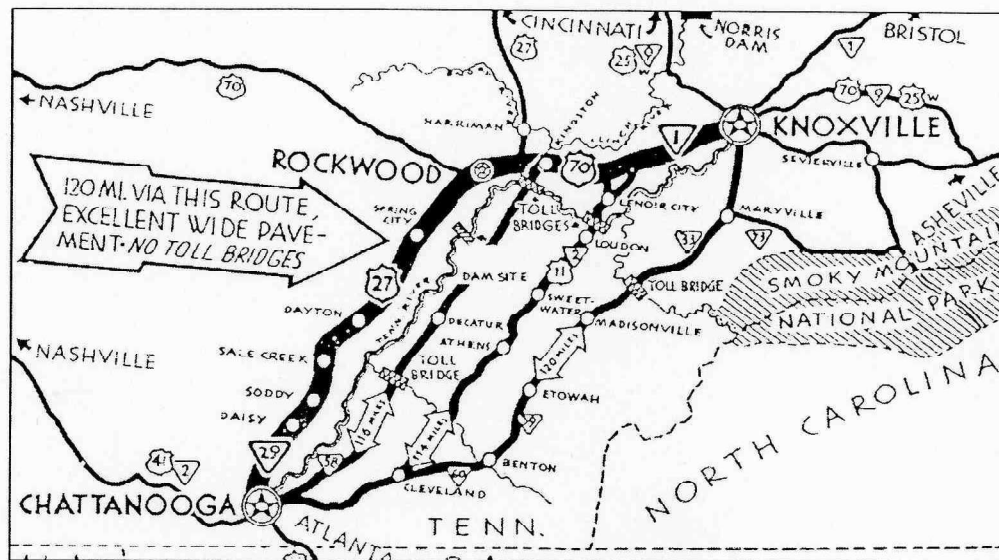
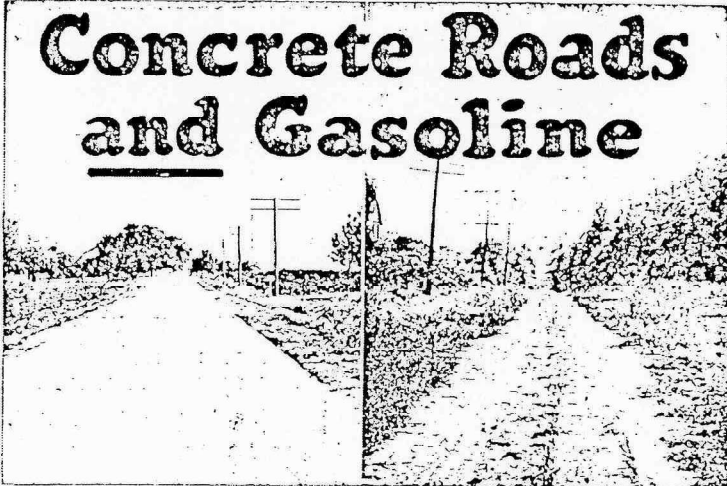


Figure A-28: Map from 1937 promotional brochure for Rockwood, Tennessee. Note the emphasis on “No Toll Bridges” along the Dixie Highway through Rockwood (Seward 1937).

Road conditions were generally worse in the South than in the North. The minutes of the Dixie Highway Association repeatedly address road and funding problems in southern states such as Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida. In contrast, the minutes note that the Dixie Highway had been completed in Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois as early as 1922 (Dixie Minutes 1922:105). However, the unfinished southern roads hindered the northern cities from fully realizing their economic potential of development along the Dixie Highway. As a result, northern individuals and cities donated money to finish the roads in the South. For example, in 1924 Cincinnati businessmen noted that traffic traveled a route 700 miles longer in order to avoid a 24-mile stretch in Kentucky. These men committed to raising \$25,000 toward the completion of the Dixie Highway in the Kentucky counties of Rockcastle, Laurel and Knox (*The Dixie Highway* May 1924:12).

Surface treatments were a key issue in road construction during this period. Nineteenth and early twentieth century surfaces were usually dirt or macadam (layered and crushed rock) and less often brick. A few bypassed examples from this period remain, for example, a section of the Eastern Division of the Dixie Highway near Dayton, Tennessee, that is now a driveway. The rallying call of “year-round roads” of the Good Roads Movement was a literal concept since many main roads were dirt, and after rainy periods became impassable for long periods of time (Figure A-29). Since so many different government entities built

Concrete Roads and Gasoline



11.78 miles per gallon of gasoline on this concrete road. This is over double the mileage obtained on the earth road opposite.

5.78 miles per gallon of gasoline on this earth road—less than half the mileage obtained on the concrete road opposite.

Why Spend \$2—\$1 Will Do

Tests made last September at Cleveland, Ohio, with five 2-ton White trucks carrying full load, showed that on an earth road in fair condition, gasoline consumption was twice that on a concrete road.

The diagrams to the left and right illustrate the relative quantities of gasoline and its cost, used by one truck in making a 100-mile run under the same condition of load over the two roads pictured above. Think what 5,000,000 motor vehicles would save in gasoline alone if they always traveled on concrete!

Since one gallon of gasoline will carry you twice as far on a concrete road as it will on an earth road, why waste the other gallon?

You pay the price of good roads whether you get them or not—and if you pay for concrete roads they pay you back.

Let's Stop This Waste!

Illinois, Pennsylvania and Michigan have voted big road bond issues to do away with the mud tax. Many other states and counties are going to do the same thing.

When You Think of Roads—Think of Concrete
When You Ride—Ride on Concrete

Write Us For Concrete Highway Literature. IT IS FREE.

DIXIE PORTLAND CEMENT COMPANY
JAMES BUILDING

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

43 GALLONS
GASOLINE
100 MILE RUN
CONCRETE ROAD
Cost \$2.12

730
GALLONS
GASOLINE
100 MILE RUN
Earth Road
Cost \$75
433

Figure A-29: Advertisement in *The Dixie Highway* extolling the virtues of concrete roads (October 1921:25)

the Dixie Highway, it was like a patchwork quilt of surfaces that included concrete, brick, bituminous macadam, macadam, asphalt, creosote block, granite block, graded gravel, graded earth, natural earth, and sand (Kolwyck 1976:5). Although a "passable" route over the length of the Dixie Highway was established by 1921, the entire route was not paved or considered a "hard surface highway" until 1929 (Chattanooga Minutes 4 November 1929, 9 January 1930; Kolwyck 1976:5).

The minutes of the Dixie Highway Association most often take special note of concrete paving, which had begun to appear in the late nineteenth century, not because it was the most prevalent material, but because it was probably considered the standard to emulate.

For instance, Spalding County, Georgia, was the first county on the Dixie Highway south of the Ohio River to completely pave its route, nineteen miles in length, in concrete. Dedication ceremonies were held in September 1920 in celebration (Dixie Minutes 1921:76; Georgia Marker 1956). Occasional examples remain on less traveled portions of the original alignment, for instance, in Sewanee, Tennessee, and on a bypassed section of the Wauhatchie Pike at Lookout Mountain, Tennessee (**on tour #2**). Brick paving in rural areas was not used extensively, but the Dixie Highway minutes note large brick paved sections in Georgia and Ohio (*The Dixie Highway* 2 February 1924:14). In 1915 convict labor built a nine-foot wide brick paved section of the Dixie Highway in Florida. Although portions have been widened or re-paved, a fourteen mile stretch remains on a bypassed section in Flagler County (Rogers 1991) (Figure A-30).



Figure A-30: Brick paved section of the Dixie Highway, Flagler County, Florida

Prior to the 1920s, road builders typically climbed steep ascents with a series of switchbacks. These sharp "hairpin" curves became a part of the driving experience, known as COD ("Coming over Darling") curves, and people joked about "meeting yourself coming back." Local sobriquets existed for these and other road features, such as the "Devil's Elbow" in the Joelton area of Davidson County in Tennessee. A series of switchbacks characterize the Suck Creek Route of the Dixie Highway in Marion County **(on tour #2)**. Beginning in the 1920s, states possessed more financial resources and better road building equipment, and it became more common to alter the terrain by using cuts or fill to provide a more level driving surface.

However, certain mountains proved too expensive or too difficult for cuts or switchbacks. In rare circumstances, when unable to find an alternate route, road builders used an expensive and challenging solution, tunnels. Stringers Ridge, an elongated land formation lying on a northeast-southwest axis posed a substantial barrier to travel north of Chattanooga until Hamilton County built the 300-foot, two-lane Stringers Ridge Tunnel in 1909 **(on tour #2)**. The Eastern and Western Divisions formed a joint alignment just north of Stringers Ridge, commonly called Cherokee Boulevard, and entered Chattanooga through the Stringers Ridge Tunnel. Several tourist related facilities such as the Cherokee Tourist Camp and Cherokee Service Station were clustered at the tunnel, a "bottleneck" that served as a natural business focus. The Dixie Highway also passed through the paired 1929 Bachman Tubes, south of Chattanooga **(on tour #1)**.

Stream crossings were critical in road networks. Ferries were slow and inconvenient (see Figure A-31), and tourists resented toll bridges. The Dixie Highway Association promoted, monitored, and noted the construction, or lack thereof, of bridges. The technologically most difficult crossings were probably at Louisville and Covington/Cincinnati over the Ohio River between Ohio and Kentucky. The importance of these crossings can be seen in the association's resolution stating that the only toll bridges to be allowed on the entire Dixie Highway would be those crossing the Ohio River (Dixie Minutes 1915:11). It would have been improvident for the Dixie Highway Association to attempt to build its own bridges, even if it could have afforded to do so, when it could route its alignment over existing bridges, especially such large and expensive bridges as those over the Ohio River. Therefore, the association chose to route its alignment over established bridges in these cities, such as the Covington-Cincinnati Suspension Bridge built in 1865 by John Roebling, the designer of the Brooklyn Bridge.



Figure A-31: 1920s Photograph of the Burnside Ferry, Kentucky (Courtesy Chattanooga-Hamilton County Bicentennial Library, Chattanooga Automobile Collection)

Not only the Dixie Highway Association, but many other associations typically chose alignments that crossed major streams on previously built bridges when possible, even if these alignments resulted in an indirect route. For example, the Harahan Bridge in Memphis, a railroad bridge with traffic lanes cantilevered outside the truss spans, was the only bridge across the Mississippi River south of the Ohio River that carried vehicular traffic from its construction in 1917 until about 1930. As a result, Memphis was a pivotal crossing point for vehicular traffic in the 1910s and 1920s. A booster publication from 1929 noted that "seven highway arteries of national importance converge at Memphis to cross the Mississippi on the Harahan Bridge...the physical link that makes Memphis the gateway for all this tourist travel" (Volunteer 1929:63).

In many areas, the Dixie Highway Association was less fortunate in finding bridges and had to take a direct role in promoting the construction of new bridges. For instance, the association threatened in May 1917 to revoke the Macon to Jacksonville route through Savannah unless road conditions and

bridges across the Saltilla River and the St. Mary's River were not built soon (Dixie Minutes 1917:49-50). The completion of bridges were major events. The photograph collection of the Chattanooga Automobile Club includes photographs of the Burnside Ferry in Kentucky and the elaborate dedication ceremonies for the new truss bridge which replaced it (Chattanooga Minutes).

The Dixie Highway noted the construction of bridges such as the Ocklocknee River bridge in Georgia and the St. Mary's River Bridge on the Georgia-Florida state line, replacing what was reputedly the last ferry on the Dixie Highway (*The Dixie Highway* October 1921:21, 24) (Figure A-32). However, the Rankin (Kelly) Ferry over the Tennessee River in Marion County on the Wauhatchie route of the Dixie Highway was still in operation in 1921 and probably did not close until 1927 when the state built the Marion Memorial Bridge. However, the Wauhatchie route was actually an official alternate route so the St. Mary's Ferry might technically have been the last ferry on the "real" Dixie Highway. Bridges in Tennessee on the Dixie Highway include the 1914-1916 Market Street (John Ross) Bridge in Chattanooga (**on tour #2**), a double leaf bascule bridge, and the 1925-1928 Wolf Creek Bridge in Cocke County, a spectacular concrete arch span. In addition to the many large-scale landmark bridges such as those mentioned above, there were scores of small slab and girder bridges built in the late 1910s and early 1920s on the Dixie Highway. However, many of these are more closely related to the development of state highway systems than to the Dixie Highway.

Most highway associations marked their routes with their initials and specifically colored bands on utility poles, trees or even buildings along the roadway. On 20 May 1915 the Dixie Highway Association agreed that "every county through which the highway passes will be required to construct uniform markers at all cross roads" (Dixie Minutes 1915:11). The Board of Directors of the Dixie Highway Association at its 25 August 1916 meeting defined "uniform markers" by the following description:

the highway be marked by painting a design, uniform throughout on the telegraph and telephone poles along the Dixie Highway and at all cross roads and at road intersections. On motion...white bands, six inches wide at top and bottom, with the letters "D.H." in white on the red band of the same width in the middle, were adopted as the sign for marking the highway. [The signs were to be placed] on at least three telegraph or telephone poles on each side of all road or

street intersections or turns, at a height of eight feet from the ground (Dixie Minutes 1916:41).

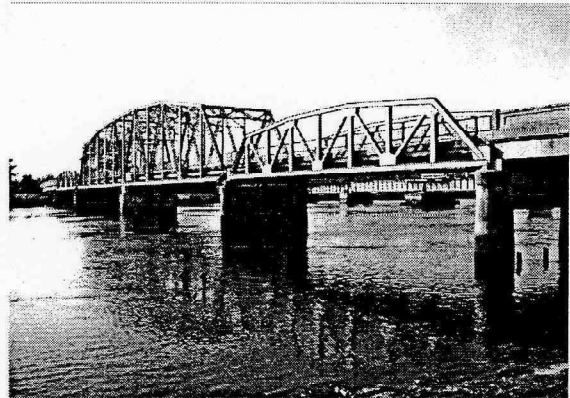
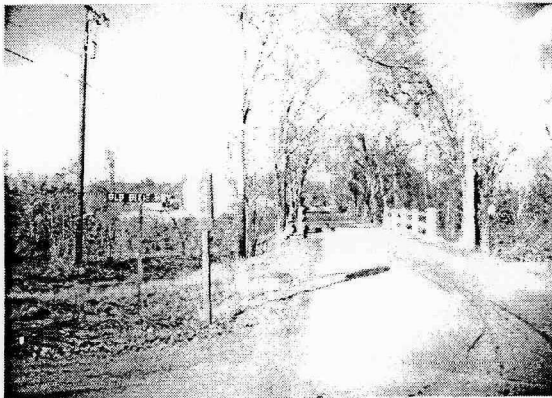
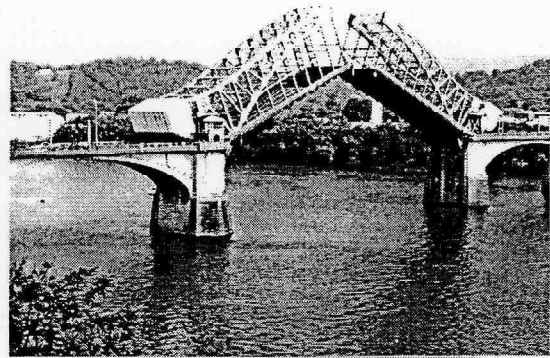
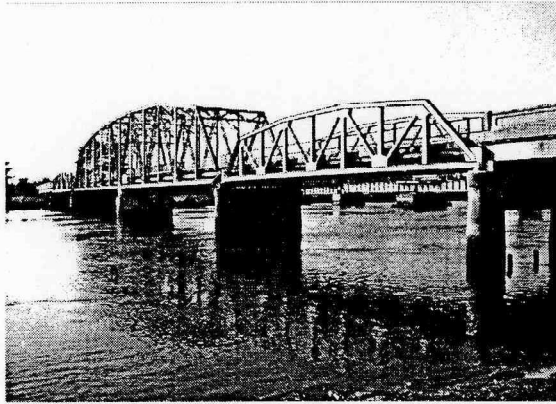


Figure A-32: Bridges on the Dixie Highway

Truss Bridge on Old U.S. 31W, Bowling Green, Kentucky; The Vincennes Bridge Company erected the structure in 1915. It has been removed from vehicular services and provides trail access.

Market Street Bridge, State Route 8, Chattanooga, Tennessee

Concrete Girder Bridge north of Adairsville, Georgia

St. Mary's Bridge, Georgia and Florida State Line, Dixie

The December 1916 minutes of the Chattanooga Automobile Club note that 350 "telephone and 'graph" poles between Chattanooga and Knoxville featured the Dixie Highway emblem. A month later, the minutes noted that all of the telephone and light poles on the route in Chattanooga had been completed (Chattanooga Minutes 14 December 1916, 11 January 1917).

Although it is unlikely that any of the original Dixie Highway bands remain on poles or buildings, the appellation Dixie Highway has survived. Although the designation "Dixie Highway" did not necessarily replace existing road names in many localities, others did adopt the name. Virtually every state through which the Dixie Highway passed contains road segments called the Dixie Highway or Old Dixie Highway. As well as the roads themselves, businesses along the road have incorporated the name, such as the Dixie Plaza Motel in Tazewell, Tennessee, the Dixie Motel near Ringgold, Georgia, (**on tour #1**), or the Dixie Way South Antique Store or Dixie Hi-way Feed Store in South Bend, Indiana.

Two towns in Tennessee derived their names from the Dixie Highway. The Dixie Highway and the Lee Highway, an interstate route from New York City to San Francisco, have common alignments near Chattanooga and Knoxville. Northwest of Chattanooga, the common alignment splits near South Pittsburg where the Dixie Highway proceeds north to Nashville and the Lee Highway proceeds south into Alabama. At this wye, a community once named Dixie Lee developed, which is now known as Kimball (**on tour #2**). West of Knoxville, the roads overlapped until they split near Farragut, where the Lee Highway turns south and the Dixie Highway continues west to cross the Tennessee River before turning south. At this wye, a community named Dixie Lee Junction developed, a name still used, for example, by the Dixie Lee Fireworks and by the Dixie Lee Baptist Church.

The Federal Aid Act of 1916 is generally seen as the culmination of the Good Roads Movement. Although the act did not immediately denote the end of the highway associations, Federal funding and state-wide highway programs did change the associations. Once states formed highway departments, the counties and associations then lobbied extensively for their routes to be included on the state's system in order to acquire state or Federal funds to finish the highway. In 1922 the Dixie Highway Association decided to focus on "securing the cooperation" of each state highway department along the Dixie Highway to complete one line and then to focus on other branches (Dixie Minutes 1922:103). In general, state highway departments with Federal or state funds, not individual counties or highway associations with private funds, built the actual roadway of the Dixie Highway.

The associations did not view the highway departments as rivals but as partners in completing their roads. Having the state designate a named highway as a state route virtually guaranteed its completion. As President Allison noted in 1918 to the board, the completion of the Dixie Highway between Nashville and Chattanooga was in sight as a result of the state and Federal aid that they had secured (Dixie Minutes 1918:59). The Federal Aid Act of 1916 also required states to develop standardized road and bridge plans and specifications, leading to a homogeneity of design within states and compatibility among states.

The first Federal aid highway project in Georgia was for a portion of the Dixie Highway between Atlanta and Macon (Dixie Minutes 1917:49). Tennessee also placed great emphasis on completion of the Dixie Highway. When the Tennessee State Highway Commission met in April 1917 to delineate the state's Federal-aid roads, the Dixie Highway Association was able to convince the state to designate the Dixie Highway corridor as the state's number two road priority (the Memphis to Bristol Highway, later designated State Route 1 and U.S. 70 was the first priority) (Tennessee State Highway Commission Minutes 1917:97). According to the minutes of the Chattanooga Automobile Club, "The State Highway Engineer had been instructed to...push the work on the Dixie Highway, giving it preference on account of its military importance...." (Chattanooga Minutes 17 January 1918). In 1918 the State of Tennessee designated much of the Dixie Highway Corridor as State Route 2, the number it retained until 1923 when the state renumbered its routes.

THE END OF THE DIXIE HIGHWAY ASSOCIATION

By 1926 about 600 highway associations existed in the United States with roughly seventy percent of their routes overlapping (Dixie Minutes 1926:196; Kolwyck 1976:11). In addition, the various state highway departments had designated many roads as state routes beginning in about 1915-1918, but these designations usually had no continuity across state lines. Together, these competing road names and numbering systems created havoc for travelers. This very confusing situation was partially resolved when the American State Highway Officials recommended, and the United States Highway Board adopted in 1925, a program to designate official U.S. Highways with a numbering system instead of names. This plan was completed by the fall of 1925 and remains essentially intact today. Because there were so many overlapping named highways, the committee consciously chose to ignore the colorfully named road systems in their numbering plan. This decision resulted in a named highway such as the Dixie Highway having several U.S. route designations or having no U.S. designation.

Although the Dixie Highway Association actively sought Federal support to build the highway, it also strongly wished to preserve its identity. The directors formally voted to seek "the preservation of Highway names such as the Dixie, Lincoln, Old Spanish Trails, etc. so that same may not be lost in the numbering system as now being carried out by the Government Highway Board" (Dixie Minutes 1926:194). From the minutes of the Dixie Highway Association, it appears that the organization was led to believe that it would be able to continue placing signs on the Dixie Highway after the U.S. routing designation.

In November 1925, the Highway Commissioner of Georgia told the Dixie Highway Board of Directors that the association would be allowed to place Dixie Highway markers on the same post (standard) that held the state's road signs and that the Georgia Highway Department would maintain them (Dixie Minutes 1925:176). In September 1926 Frank Rogers, former President of the American State Highway Officials who had served on the Federal routing committee and who was then Commissioner of Highways for the State of Michigan, stated that Michigan was continuing to use the name Dixie Highway:

The point I want to bring out is that, so far as I know, there will be no attempt to prevent the continuance of the names of the Highways and I believe that permission can be secured through the different State Highway departments for the name of the Dixie Highway to appear either on the shield bearing the U.S. number or somewhere on the standard bearing the shield and that the different State Highway departments will erect such signs of the Dixie Highway if furnished them by the Association (Dixie Minutes 1926:196).

However, when the states implemented the U.S. routing system and state highway departments began erecting state and U.S. road signs, the need for the highway association markers ceased. Federal policy soon forced the Dixie Highway Association and the other highway associations to remove their signs from the U.S. routes. Also, various state legislatures passed laws in the 1920s that prohibited anyone from erecting signs within the right-of-way of state highways without written permission from the state. Thus, authorities for both Federal and non-Federal roads banned the Dixie Highway signs (*Tennessee Highways* January 1922:28).

The U.S. routing designation, which fragmented most named highways, essentially killed the highway associations (Hokanson 1988:108). The Dixie Highway Association was no exception. Beginning in 1925, the Dixie Highway minutes contain discussions about the organization's financial problems and concerns about continuing publication of its magazine. In July 1926 the

association noted that the advertising was insufficient to pay for publication of *The Dixie Highway*. The Board of Directors discussed at length discontinuing activities of the association but voted to continue its work and to raise money to support the association (Dixie Minutes 1926:193). At the next annual board of directors meeting, which the group held at Sault Sainte Marie 1 September 1926, the association made plans for its next annual meeting to be in Chicago but formally discontinued publication of the magazine (Dixie Minutes 1926:194, 196).

On 22 April 1927 the Executive Committee met in Chattanooga and adopted the following resolution, which is the last page of the minutes of the Dixie Highway Association,

WHEREAS, the purpose for which the Dixie Highway Association was organized has been accomplished, and

WHEREAS, the Dixie Highway Association is without funds with which to pay the salary of a Secretary, office rent and other incidental expenses, be it therefore,

RESOLVED, That on May first (1st), 1927, all expense of the Association be stopped, but that the Association will not disband but will, for the present, be held intact for any future needs (Dixie Minutes 1927:198).

The Dixie Highway Association ceased active operation in 1927 (Marion County 1979).

The Chattanooga Automobile Club essentially absorbed the Dixie Highway Association after the April 1927 actions of the Dixie Highway Association. The Chattanooga Automobile Club continued to be very active until the 1970s. At that time, the American Automobile Association threatened to cancel its membership because the required percentage of registered automobile owners as members was below the required levels. It was then common for many clubs to merge to form statewide organizations. On 1 April 1976, the Chattanooga Automobile Club merged with the Mid-South Club and officially ceased to exist although it continued to operate as the Chattanooga branch office (Kolwyck 1976:5,11).

The reasons for the end of the Dixie Highway as a tangible, identifiable route lie deeper than the implementation of the U.S. routing system and the loss of the name "Dixie Highway." Ironically, its demise is fundamentally tied to the success of the Good Roads Movement. In 1915, when Carl Fisher and others formed the Dixie Highway Association, road conditions were typically deplorable throughout

the South. The Federal Aid Road Act of 1916 and the Federal Highway Act of 1921 pumped a total of \$150 million at a fifty percent match into road construction across the county, and by the mid-1920s, road conditions across the South had greatly improved. This included not only the named highways like the Dixie but also a much larger network of crisscrossing local roads. For instance, in 1922 the State of Tennessee maintained only 244 miles of state roads, and road construction ranked fourth in state spending. However, under Governor Austin Peay, Tennessee's "Road Building Governor," the state in 1923 spent more money on road construction than any other program. Beginning in 1924, Governor Peay's administration spent more money on road construction than it spent on all of its other programs combined (Macpherson 1969:194). By 1926, Tennessee's state route system contained a strong network of 6,000 miles of inter-connecting, relatively high-quality roads.

By the mid-1920s, the Dixie Highway was an interstate highway that provided linkage from Canada to the southern tip of Florida. However, it was the same in appearance and layout as any one of a dozen roads in each county through which it passed because state highway departments had built much of it using standardized plans. The original routing decision to have a meandering alignment through as many large communities as possible, as opposed to having a direct route that would have produced a more linear, cohesive driving experience, further exacerbated the lack of individuality of the Dixie Highway. The very popularity of the Good Roads movement and the named highways resulted in increased Federal and state funding that led to increasingly standardized designs which, with the exception of the passing scenery and topographical differences, resulted in a plenitude of similar if not virtually interchangeable roads. Thus, the designation of U.S. routes, which fragmented or bypassed the Dixie Highway, was probably sufficient to end the Dixie Highway as a cohesive road system, but the refusal to allow named highways like the Dixie to place their signs on state and Federal standards was the final blow to its identity.

By the late 1920s, the named interstate highways from the 1910s and 1920s formed the cornerstones of state highway systems across the country and became a fundamental component of the nation's highway system--just not as cohesive units that retained their specific name. The importance of state highway systems waned after the Federal Highway Act of 1944 authorized an interstate highway system. Although the U.S. did not begin construction of this system until 1956, it eventually brought great changes to the highway system in the United States and turned the original "interstate" routes into localized traffic corridors.

And what of Carl Fisher, the "father of the Dixie Highway"? Miami Beach was initially slow to develop, but by the mid-1920s was thriving (Figure A-33). A circa 1925 advertisement in "Up and Down the Dixie Highway" boasted that Miami Beach contained over 35 hotels, 90 apartment houses, 110 miles of roads and a million dollar causeway (J. Newcomb 1925). As one historian wrote:

...if Carl Fisher was good at anything, it was that he could spot a good idea, a future trend, and be right there on the ground floor when it took off. Fisher had staked his substantial fortune on this mangrove-swamp-turned-sandpit, and by 1922 the whole project stood on the brink of ruin. The skeptics were ready to say I told you so when, all at once, land began to sell, the Dixie Highway began to bring snowbirds, and Fisher began to get very rich. He built golf courses, polo fields, yacht moorings, shops and office buildings. Fisher built four hotels in Miami Beach at the end of the Dixie Highway: the King Cole, the Flamingo, the Nautilus, and the Lincoln. Will Rogers once referred to Fisher as the "midwife of Florida. Had there been no Fisher, Florida would be known today as just 'The Turpentine State.' He rehearsed the mosquitoes till they wouldn't bite you until after you had bought." Some estimate Fisher was worth \$100 million by 1925 (Hokanson 1988:114).

Unfortunately, much of Miami Beach was destroyed in a mammoth hurricane in 1926 that, coupled with the stock market crash of 1929 and the ensuing Great Depression, wiped out Fisher's financial empire.

He spent his last decade in Miami Beach, in the rebuilt city that was no longer his, not quite in poverty, but with none of the monied flamboyance that had characterized the earlier Fisher. He was often seen walking the beach in his Norfolk jacket, white flannel trousers, and floppy felt hat, talking of great plans for the Florida keys. Carl Fisher died in July 1939 (Hokanson 1988:114).

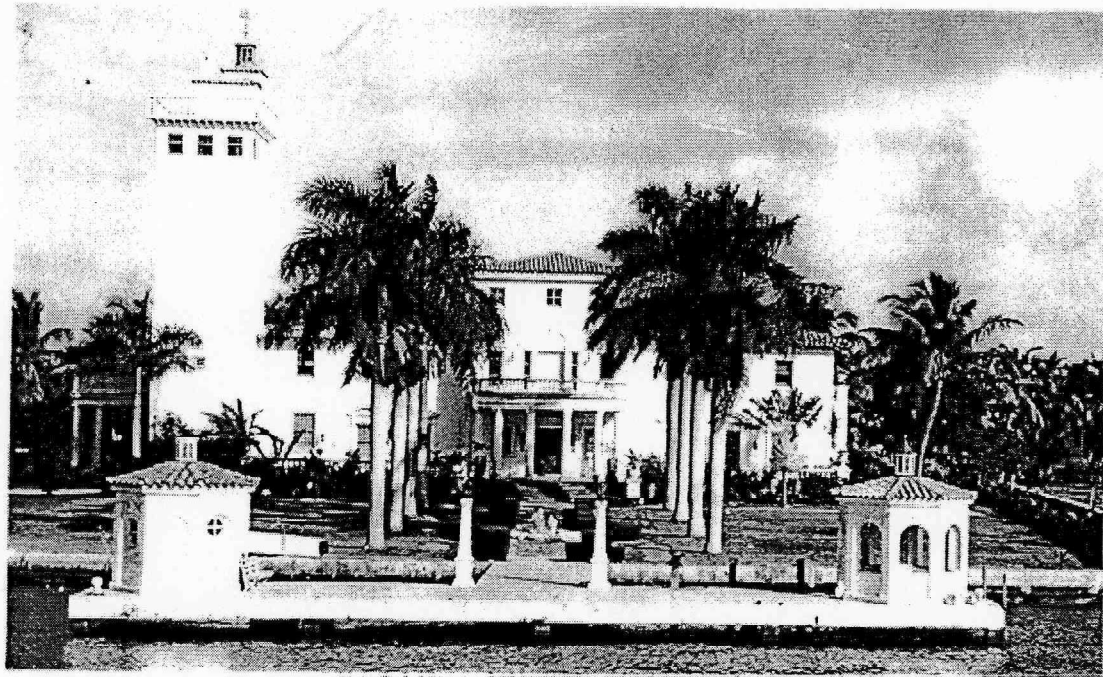


Figure A-33: Carl Fisher's Residence and Hotels in Miami Beach, Florida

Carl Fisher built four hotels in Miami Beach. Two of these are shown below, the Flamingo Hotel on the left and the Nautilus Hotel on the right. Fisher's private residence is shown in the center.