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SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN SETTLEMENT SCHOOLS
AS EARLY INITIATORS OF INTEGRATED SERVICES

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Educational Leadership
And Policy Analysis
East Tennessee State University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctorate in Education

by
Eloise Hollyfield Jurgens
May 1996

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APPROVAL

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Eloise Hollyfield Jurgens

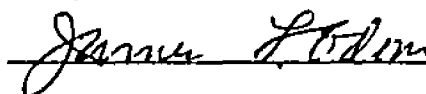
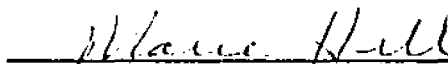
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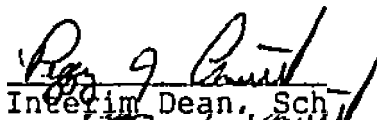
The committee read and examined her dissertation, supervised her defense of it in an oral examination, and decided to recommend that her study be submitted to the Graduate Council, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Education in Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis.



Chair, Graduate Committee



Signed on behalf of
the Graduate Council



Interim Dean, School of Graduate
Studies

ABSTRACT

SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN SETTLEMENT SCHOOLS AS EARLY INITIATORS OF INTEGRATED SERVICES

by

Eloise Hollyfield Jurgens

This historical-descriptive study examined Southern Appalachian settlement schools as early initiators of integrated health and social services with education from the 1900s through the 1970s. Three schools were studied: Hindman Settlement School (KY), Pine Mountain Settlement School (KY), and Crossnore School, Inc. (NC). The purpose of the study was to determine the type and extent of services provided, the relationship of the settlement schools with their respective county public school system, and the transfer, if any, of integrated services from the settlement schools to public schools as the public schools took over educational responsibilities once offered by the settlement schools.

The conclusions of this study were that extensive integrated services were offered, changing in type over time, the relationship of the settlement schools with their respective county public school systems was, for the most part, cooperative and sometimes collaborative, and there was no transfer of integrated services from the settlement schools to the public schools. Instead, the settlement schools became an integrated service to the public schools. An additional finding was that Pine Mountain Settlement School engaged in a primitive form of privatization with the Harlan County Board of Education. Further, all three settlement schools, through the wide range of services offered, were builders of communities.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

This is to certify that the following study has been filed and approved by the Institutional Review Board of East Tennessee State University.

Title of Grant or Project: Southern Appalachian Settlement Schools as Early Initiators of Integrated Services

Principal Investigator: Eloise Hollyfield Jurgens

Department: Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis

Date Submitted: January 02, 1996

Institutional Review Board, Chair

David N. Walker MD

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the people of Southern Appalachia
and to those who serve them, past and present.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many to whom I wish to express my gratitude for their support and assistance in the completion of my doctoral work. Most importantly, I wish to thank my family, near and far, for their patience and encouragement. For them, especially, this has been a trying time, as much of my time has been dominated by the demands of this work.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. West, my major advisor. This dissertation could never have been completed without his skillful and patient guidance. He encouraged me from the onset to be a risk-taker in the development of this dissertation. I wish, also, to express my appreciation for the advice and support given me by my other advisors. Dr. Gresso, perhaps without realizing it, kept me mindful of the importance of culture as I conducted my study. Dr. Odom, a historian, advised me on numerous occasions on matters related to historical research. Dr. Marie Hill has served as a role model to me and taught me well the "hardiness theory."

I am grateful for the support of all my fellow Cohort IV members, and a special thanks go to Cohort members Nancy Wagner and Mike Carter. Also, I wish to acknowledge the encouragement I received from my good friend and fellow

doctoral student, Sheila Jones, and my colleagues in the Johnson City Schools.

I must express special appreciation to the workers at Hindman Settlement School. Every effort was made to accommodate me, and I was treated as family. I must also thank Ellie Hjeminet, of the Crossnore School, Inc., and the good people of the Archives and Special Collections at Berea College, Appalachian State University, and East Tennessee State University. Too, I am grateful for the travel grant awarded me by the Center for Appalachian Studies at ETSU, and I am also appreciative of the assistance given my by the Microfilm Department at ETSU.

Last, but certainly not least, I must acknowledge my mother, Imogene Nidiffer Hollyfield Williams, and my paternal grandparents, John B. Hollyfield and Edna Moody Hollyfield Trivette. My mother, who was unable to complete high school, made it clear that for me an education was a requirement. My paternal grandparents, who had a third grade education, inspired me to get an education. How I wish a settlement school had been accessible to them! This academic achievement is as much for them as it is for me, and also for my father, James Roy Hollyfield, who died in the Korea War.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the United States one-fifth of the children live in poverty. More children than ever live in single-parent households, and many have lived on welfare at some point in their lives. Among the homeless population, families with children constitute the fastest growing members. Many children are malnourished; 12 million have no health insurance. More than two million children are abused and/or neglected (House Select Committee on children, Youth, and Families, 1989). Sheldon (1990), reflecting upon the "magnitude of the problems visited on our children" concluded that "all our children are growing up in a world at risk, and we, as adults, have a collective obligation to do something about it" (pp.12-13).

To date, attempts to address the many problems children and their families possess have been less than successful. Although billions of dollars have been spent on health, education, and social services, the problems continue to rise unabated. Morrill (1992) believed the failures of the current delivery system of services "arise from fragmentation, specialization, and complexity" (p.38). The integration of health and social services with schools

provides what is believed to be a more effective way to meet this collective obligation.

Educators' responsibilities to children have increased from what many view to be their sole task --to teach children. Increasingly, educators are asked to be providers of food, health care, and after-school child care. Given the current plight of children, educators are increasingly being asked to become partners with other agencies designed to serve children and their families. This partnership is referred to as the integration of health and social services with schools; this partnership is also sometimes termed school-linked services or full-service schools.

Because the current delivery system of services to children is viewed as so fragmented that children are either undeserved or not served at all, the integration of services offers hope to rectify this situation. School is considered to be the logical base for such services because it is the one social institution that has regular contact with all school-age children. Further, the difficulties children possess because of social problems impact directly upon their ability to be efficient learners, thus making the task of educating some children difficult and sometimes impossible. It seems inevitable that, over time, integration of services with schools will occur, requiring

educators to be collaborators and leaders in the integration movement. Educators must prepare themselves for their new roles, and part of this preparation includes developing an understanding of past efforts to integrate education with health and social services.

The concept of integration of health and social services with education is not new. Its roots can be traced to the early 1900s. The establishment of settlement houses for the immigrants who came to the ever-expanding industrial centers of the United States was one early response to their needs.

The settlement house movement began in 1886 with the creation of the Neighborhood Guild in New York City, later to become University Settlement (Church, 1976; Trolander, 1975). The primary purpose of settlement houses was to improve conditions for the most impoverished of the nation's urban centers, but a secondary purpose was to foster understanding and cooperation among the classes, especially the middle class.

Unique in their approach, settlement workers were made up primarily of young people from the middle class who actually lived with the poor in the slums they called home.

Jane Addams, founder of Hull House in Chicago, described the settlement house as a place "where young women who had

been given over too exclusively to study might restore a balance of activity along traditional lines and learn of life from life itself" (Addams, 1910, p.72). The poor would learn from the middle-class and they, in turn, would learn from them. Residents of the Hull House came from a cross section of "old-stock" (Church & Sedlak, 1976, p.271) Americans and first and second generation Americans of Irish-American, Jewish, Italian, and Bohemian decent.

The primary function of the settlement houses was educational. They sought to teach children, but they also sought to teach adults and to teach them to be informed citizens. Kindergarten classes, English-language classes, domestic skills, training in the trades, child care via vacation schools, playgrounds, health exams, and more constituted the curriculum of the settlement houses. Social activism was also on the educational agenda as leaders sought to strengthen communities (Church & Sedlak, 1976; Trolander, 1975).

The primary goal of the settlement houses was to facilitate assimilation while simultaneously preserving ethnic values. Assimilation could not occur if poor housing, inadequate nutrition, lack of medical care, and inappropriate education prevailed (Church & Sedlak, 1976).

Settlement houses served as publicists for the plight of the poor, role models for tolerance of differences among the various racial/ethnic groups, and innovators of educational reform. Privately funded and managed, components of the settlement houses became part of the public school system, and with this event the services of public schools rendered to students and their families changed. For examples, settlement house vacation schools became summer schools, counseling services to children and parents became school counselors, and domestic arts and manual training became vocational education in public schools.

The Southern Appalachian people were also impacted by the Industrial Revolution. The abundance of coal and lumber brought outsiders to the region in search of these valuable resources needed to fuel the factories of the urban centers (Eller, 1979). The lack of educational opportunities, medical care, and social services brought to the Southern Appalachians settlement institutions, as well. Settlement schools, mission schools, and folk schools became the social institutions that helped people to receive the services they needed and helped them to assimilate into the dominant American society.

The primary purpose of settlement schools was to provide educational opportunities for children. Mission schools, which are sometimes included under the heading of settlement schools, also provided educational services. Because the needs of the communities in the area were so great, both settlement schools and mission schools provided additional services, including adult education, domestic arts, manual training, health care, and other services as needed. The matter of control constituted the primary difference between settlement schools and mission schools. Settlement schools were controlled by the local citizens. Mission schools, while certainly soliciting input from the citizenry, were ultimately controlled by their respective mission boards. Also, the approach to the teaching of religion by settlement schools and mission schools was different. Part of the purpose of mission schools was to instruct religion according to the beliefs of the individual mission boards; settlement schools did not seek to convert children or families, although Christian ideals were taught. Folk schools were not part of the settlement school movement but certainly supplemented the work of the settlement and mission schools. The purpose of folk schools was to teach adults to create crafts and furniture so that they would be

able to derive an income from their products (Green III, 1981).

These early institutions, settlement houses and settlement schools, were two of the primary forces in the movement to provide integrated health and social services with education.

Between the early 1900s and present, health and social services in varying degrees have been integrated with education, both public and private; the deliverers and recipients of these services have changed over time. Within Southern Appalachia, there is a strong movement toward the integration of services with public education. Kentucky, for example, has mandated that all schools having 20 percent or more of its student population on the free or reduced lunch program must provide integrated health and social services. These integrated services must be provided directly on the school site or within close proximity of the school (Dryfoos, 1994).

Settlement Schools in Southern Appalachia offered extensive integrated services, services which changed over time as the infrastructure of the mountains increased and public education became more accessible. Today, integrated services with schools is being initiated both in Appalachian and other sections of the country.

The Problem

The problem of this study was to determine the contribution of settlement schools to the provision of integrated services in schools between the 1900s and the 1970s. This was accomplished by developing answers to the following questions:

1. What integrated services were provided by settlement school and how were these services delivered?
2. What was the relationship of settlement schools to that of the public school systems, including political dimensions?
3. As public schools took over the educational services once provided by the settlement schools, was there any carry-over of integrated health and social services to the public schools between the 1900s and the 1970s?

The significance of this study was that it offered an in-depth look at integration of services with schools from a historical perspective with the expectation that much would be learned that could guide current and future integration efforts in Southern Appalachia.

Boundaries

The historical period of interest in this study was between the 1900s and the 1970s. The focus of the research was upon the following settlement schools in Southern

Appalachia: Hindman School and Pine Mountain School, both in Kentucky, and Crossnore School in North Carolina. These schools were chosen for the following reasons: (1) Based upon a review of the literature of the services offered by non-mission settlement schools, these schools offered the most extensive services to the communities they served, (2) Hindman, established as a public school, was the first settlement school in Southern Appalachia; (3) Pine Mountain School, established by Hindman School founder Katherine Pettit, was the second settlement to be established and was established as a private school; (4) Crossnore School was established as a subscription school with the local public school; (5) all three schools were settlement schools rather than mission schools; and (6) these three schools continue to serve their communities today.

Methods

The method of research used in this study was historical-descriptive. A discussion of the methodology can be found in the Appendix on page 195.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

During the Progressive Era (1898-1920) the United States experienced phenomenal industrial growth. As the Industrial Revolution expanded, immigrants moved into the nation's urban centers. These workers were crowded into tenement houses; mini-countries appeared as various ethnic groups sought out their own. Robert Hunter (1904) called these enclaves "foreign communities" and "colonies" (p.263) within the United States. Riis (1890) delineated the plight of the immigrant tenement dwellers in graphic detail, complete with photographs. Hunter, Riis, and others brought to the attention of the country the deplorable conditions of the immigrants and the necessity of addressing their needs. Both conservative and liberal progressives heeded their call. The establishment of settlement houses in the urban centers addressed the needs of immigrants.

The settlement house movement began in 1886 with the creation of the Neighborhood Guild in New York City, later to become University Settlement (Church & Sedlak, 1976; Trolander, 1975). The primary purpose of the settlement

house movement was to improve conditions for the most impoverished of the nation's urban centers, but a secondary purpose was to foster understanding and cooperation among the classes, especially the middle class. Unique in their approach, settlement workers were made up primarily of young people from the middle class who actually lived with the poor in the slums they called home. Settlement house workers sought to teach children and adults skills needed for survival and to teach them to be informed citizens. Kindergarten classes, English-language classes, domestic skills, training in the trades, child care via vacation schools, playgrounds, health exams, and a progressive curriculum constituted the services provided (Trolander, 1975).

The Industrial Revolution impacted Southern Appalachia as well, for it brought with it a gluttonous need for coal and wood, both of which were available in abundance in Appalachia. The coming of railroads provided the means of transportation of these natural resources. Outsiders came to claim these natural resources, leaving behind them consequences that would effect the Appalachians for decades to come:

The penetration of the region...by outside speculators, land developers, and industrialists would launch a revolution in land use and

ownership which would drastically alter the mountaineer's relationship to the land. As ownership and control of the land were transferred from the mountaineers to the spokesmen of the new industrial order, the fate of the region became irretrievably tied to that of the larger society. The selling of the mountains and the subsequent arrival of the railroads were...the first stage in the remaking of mountain life (Eller, 1979, p.77).

Progressives responded to the needs of people impacted by the Industrial Revolution through the creation of settlement houses; variations upon the settlement house concept of the Eastern urban centers were duplicated in the Appalachian region through the establishment of settlement institutions, particularly settlement schools. Hindman Settlement School and Pine Mountain Settlement School were the first settlement schools established, both in Kentucky. Like their counterparts in the cities, settlement school workers sought to assist Southern Appalachians in their adjustment to the changes brought about by new economic realities while simultaneously helping them preserve their culture, although it must be noted that some researchers have maintained that the purpose of the settlement schools was not to maintain the culture.

Whisnant (1983) maintained in his ironically entitled book All that is Native and Fine that, in regards to the work of May Stone and Katherine Pettit at their Industrial

Camps and the Hindman School, "for all their professed reverence for traditional culture and their wish to forestall the cultural effects of impending industrialization, the settlement school women were themselves powerful instigators of cultural change" (p.48).

Throughout the book, he cited incident after incident to support his thesis. He noted, for example, the influence the settlement workers had upon the indigenous Christmas celebration customs. Christmas was celebrated on January 6, the date believed to be Christ's birthday. Christmas celebration in the Southern Appalachians usually began around December 25 and continued through January 6, with December 25th being "a rowdy on [wild time]...favored by the young people" (p.49). The settlement workers believed December 25th was the time to celebrate Christmas. They introduced the Christmas tree, Christmas stockings, and traditional Christmas carols to the community. Whisnant, to accent his point, quoted a visitor to the Hindman School as saying, "and just think, this past Christmas' the first real Christmas they have ever known" (p.50). The revival of mountain crafts, according to Whisnant,

ranged from the strictly traditional...to quasi-traditional (other weaving patterns), to frankly imported (furniture design goods). Some of the furniture was traditional, but much was of the Roycroft-William Morris design associated with Elbert Hubbard's Roycoft Shops in East Aurora,

New York, and as such had little to do with local esthetics or craft traditions (p.63).

The teaching of traditional English dances to the children of Hindman school, and the refusal to recognize the changing culture through the creation of new ballads met with settlement workers' disapproval because of their violent overtones and the use of store-bought non-traditional instruments, especially the banjo (Whisnant, pp.51-60).

Robie (1991) commented that those who established settlement schools did some real good, but he concurred with Whisnant, who stated that:

cultural intervenors may be on the whole decent, well-meaning, even altruistic people does not (indeed must not) excuse them from historical judgment. One may reasonably display great charity for the cross purposes, confusions, and miscalculations of fallible individuals in difficult circumstances. But in so far as those people actively intervene in the cultural (or other lives) of large numbers of people, their failures and miscalculations, however "understandable," become a legitimate object of public concern. For the effects of what they do touch so many, and linger so long. (Whisnant, pp.263-264).

Given the economic changes that were being initiated in Southern Appalachia, Robie noted that large outside landowners and even coal mining companies contributed to the "mission schools" (p.8). Citing Lewis as an authority on the partnership of industry and education to "implement a 'colonization' of the mountains" (p.8), he delineated Lewis'

four stages of colonization, which range from gaining entry to establishing control and removal of those opposed to the "education and conversion of the natives, change of the values and social system of the colonized" (p.8) to the continued control over the people through control of social and political institutions. Robie, lumping all settlement schools into the category of "mission" schools, concluded, as the title of his article indicated, "that on balance the settlement schools were harmful to the culture of the Southern Mountains" (p.6). He noted that Loyal Jones stated, in his article "Old-time Baptists and Mainline Christianity" that "no group in the country...has aroused more suspicion and alarm among mainstream Christians than have Appalachian Christians, and never have so many Christian missionaries been sent to save so many Christians than in the case in this region" (p.6). Robie concluded that the influence of outsiders, ultimately, had a negative impact upon Southern Appalachia. Robie's article appeared in the Winter 1991 issued of Appalachia Heritage, and readers were invited to respond to Robie's article. A response by John H. Deaton, a graduate of Pine Mountain Settlement School, typified responses.

Deaton began by stating that "Harry Robie's fallacious indictment of settlement schools must not be allowed to go

unchallenged. It would be impossible for even a knowledgeable scholar to attribute identical goals and objectives to such a diverse group of institutions" (Deaton, 1991, p.45). Noting that none of Deaton's sources included the writings of the settlement schools themselves, he thought Deaton should have at least interviewed those who knew the settlement schools first-hand. He stated,

I accept the fact that my settlement school changed my cultural concepts and exposed me to new and exciting things, such as indoor plumbing, central heating, and electricity... I do not accept Mr. Robie's claim that my cultural heritage was harmed. Obviously, he has never spent a wintry morning hugging a coal stove and dreading a trip to a friendly but frigid outhouse. Doing homework by a smoky coal oil lamp was not all that much of a thrill either(pp.45-46).

Deaton considered the settlement school workers to be "dreamers and doers" (p.46) whose aim was not to impose another culture upon the children but to provide "an exchange of the best of both worlds" (p.46). He commented upon the endurance of the settlement schools in general and Pine Mountain in particular. The School changed "in anticipation of and in response to changing needs" (p.46). He spoke of the partnership between the local school system (Harlan County) and that of Pine Mountain. Over time, the programs at Pine Mountain Settlement School as an example of the importance workers placed upon working with

and for the community. From its inception, Pine Mountain Settlement School was charged to serve not only the people of the community but, ultimately, the nation, in accordance to the charge of its founder, Uncle William Creech,

I don't want hit to be a benefit just for my own grandchildren and the neighbors, but for the whole county, and the state, and the nation -and the people acrost the sea too, if they can get any benefit out of hit (p.46).

Uncle William Creech deeded the land to Pine Mountain School for "as long as the Constitution of the United States stands" (p.46).

The plaque on the grounds of the Hindman Settlement School reads as follows:

Hindman Settlement School
Founded in 1902
by May Stone and Catherine Pettit
To provide an educational opportunity for the
youth of the mountains and keep them
mindful of their heritage.

The settlement founders wanted to live an exemplary life among the people to teach by example (Out of ashes, no author [n.a.], no date [n.d.]). Perhaps their objectives of the settlement schools were this straight-forward.

Several settlement institutions were established in Southern Appalachia during the early 1900s. Some were settlement schools with no church affiliation, while others were controlled as mission schools by their church boards.

In 1899 Katherine Pettit and May Stone began offering summer camps to teach domestic arts to women who lived near Hazard, Kentucky. They also provided kindergarten for children. Uncle Solomon Everidge, it is reported, walked "barefoot for twenty-two miles" (Moses, 1978, p.234) to talk to Pettit and May about establishing a permanent settlement school in Hindman.

On August 4, 1902, the first permanent settlement institution, the Hindman Settlement School, was established in Knott County, Kentucky. Whisnant (1983) alone disputed this, maintaining that Susan Chester's Log Cabin Settlement School in North Carolina was the first. James Green III, in his doctoral dissertation, addressed this conflict by pointing out that Hindman Settlement School was the first to combine the elements of a school and a settlement as one institution (Green III, 1981). Established by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, it was originally named the W.C.T.U. Settlement School. The name was changed in 1915 because of the school's broad base of financial support (Stokely, 1975). The educational programs and the services provided to the community over time were extensive.

The first year, Hindman Settlement School enrolled one hundred and fifty students, and the curriculum included not only academic subjects but music and domestic arts as well.

The school was directed by Katherine Pettit, an energetic woman who was a follower of Jane Addams. In 1904 a nurse was added. She provided medical services and taught health education. All female students were required to study home nursing, and the entire student body was required to study first aid. Home visits provided hands-on experiences for the students. Travel arrangements were made for those in the community who needed to travel to hospitals in Louisville and Lexington.

Manual training was introduced at Hindman Settlement School, and students developed skills in furniture making, woodworking, and gardening. With the expansion of the grounds to 225 acres, agriculture was also added to the curriculum. Day students were not charged tuition, but all students were expected to work. Because the manual training programs were so extensive, the school was a model of self-sufficiency. By 1919, three hundred students, 100 of them boarders, were enrolled. the Hindman Settlement School also had an impressive community outreach program (Moses, 1978).

The health care program expanded from home visits by the teacher and students to the establishment of a hospital in 1914. Annual clinic addressing specific health needs were held as well. Extension classes in the more remote areas were provided in homemaking skills, home nursing,

basketry, weaving, and sewing. The county extension programs provided community members with a wide range of activities, from gardening to canning clubs to library services. The Mountain Echo, a product of the School, became the county's first newspaper. A steam-operated electric power plant provided Hindman with electricity until 9:30 p.m. each evening, making Hindman one of the few communities in Kentucky to have electricity. Fireside Industries provided students and community members with an outlet for their crafts and furniture (Stokely, 1975). By the 1920s, Hindman Settlement School earned the Grade A status in the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and continued to provide a diverse curriculum and community education/services until taken over by the county school system.

In 1913, Katherine Pettit left the Hindman Settlement School under the direction of May Stone, her assistant from the beginning, to establish the Pine Mountain Settlement School in the Big Laurel community of Harlan County, Kentucky. Academic and manual training courses were offered, a clinic for student and community needs was established, as were extension centers. Margaret Butler, a teacher at Pine Mountain Settlement School, worked with 13 one-room schools scattered throughout the region.

By the 1930s, Pine Mountain Settlement School was directed by Glyn Morris, an educational leader whose philosophy of education was very much in keeping with John Dewey's. Mr. Morris believed the curriculum must "insure the relevance of conventional academic subjects to the experience and abilities of the students. Education of the mind through practical and concrete tasks was the backbone of his approach" (Stokely, p.40). All ninth grade students developed skills needed to maintain the school, from food management to mechanics to nursing, all necessary for the running of the school; tenth graders operated the cooperative store; juniors and seniors could specialize in community service or other services of their choosing. Firestone and Community Group was established in the 1930s to support local craftsman. Home visits were an important part of the educational services.

In the 1940s, Mary Rogers came to teach and direct the newly created Consolidated Community School, of which Pine Mountain Settlement School was a part. She and her staff worked cooperatively with a community council to facilitate the use of federal moneys that were beginning to come into the area. It was during this time period that a pre-school program was begun (Stokely, 1975).

Dr. Mary Sloop established Crossnore School (NC) as a subscription school in 1913. She and her husband Dr. Eustice Sloop moved to Crossnore from the Piedmont region of North Carolina to establish a joint medical practice. Although Mary Sloop practiced medicine when required, her passion became the establishment of a school.

Crossnore School was unique among settlement schools in that it began as a subscription school. A subscription school was one that was operated and funded by the public school system for a few months of the year while the remaining months were financed by outside forces. Crossnore School was initially funded for operation four months of the year; Mary Sloop solicited funds to finance the remaining five months (Sloop, n.d.).

The original building of Crossnore School was that of an old one-room log building. The building was moved from its original site to property owned by the Sloops. From this humble beginning, Crossnore School grew into a school that offered education from kindergarten through high school. Workers, with the help of the community, built dormitories for boarding students, a center for manual arts training for boys and domestic arts for girls, and a cafeteria. Medical facilities for students and for the community were also established. In 1933, the beginnings of

the Crossnore Weaving Room occurred, the purpose of which was to preserve an indigenous art form while at the same time providing a means for local women to earn money. When electricity was added via a log dam built by Eustice Sloop, it quickly grew in capacity to provide electricity for the entire community. From the beginning, community members had direct input into all facets of the school.

Representatives of the community, for example, brought the following concern to Mary Sloop: "The word's agoin' around that the Presbyterians is afixin' to take over the school and run it as a Presbyterian school" (Sloop, p.148). The response was to incorporate the school. The charter stated that "No denomination would ever own or control Crossnore School, Inc." (Sloop, p.149). A board of trustees was established to oversee the operation of the newly chartered school.

The Annville Institute, sponsored by the Reformed Church in America, opened to students in 1910. Perhaps more correctly called a mission school, it functioned as a settlement school to those whom it served. Elementary education and preparation for the eighth grade examination that led to teacher certification constituted the initial curriculum. By 1914, high school classes were added. In addition to academics, manual training for boys and domestic

arts for girls were provided. The Annville Institute provided extensive training in agriculture and its expertise in crop and livestock management, including increased milk production by changing the feed for cows, filtered from school to home, assisting farmers with their own work.

As with other settlement schools, all Annville Institute students worked. Reverend Worthington, the director, believed skills leading to community development were the key to raising the standard of living in the Southern Appalachians. Stokeley cited the following insight of Reverend Worthington: "The training of native leadership for community work is the quickest, most prominent, and most economical method of community development" (p.9).

Annville Institute continued to grow as an educational force through the next two decades. Its agricultural program expanded to include poultry production, including the introduction of the electric incubator. Students learned the latest agricultural techniques and taught these skills to their relatives. A comprehensive school health program was also added, as well as a community-serving diagnostic clinic and mobile x-ray unit. By 1948, students were trained by local workers in weaving and woodworking through the Campus Crafts Industries, and the Trade Store provided an outlet for the selling of products by both

students and community members. Land was deeded to the community by the Annville Institute for a fire department, with the Institute providing the fire truck.

The goal of Annville Institute was reflected in their motto: "Complete Living for Mountain People" (Stokely, 1975, p.11). A 1937 brochure reflected their attitude toward the people they served:

Ruggedness and strength are marked characteristics of these mountain folk. Living close to nature, they seem to have acquired a greatness of soul that lies hidden in the recesses of their being and appears only at times of stress and strain. Underlying all other emotions is their desire for life in fuller measure (Stokely, p.11).

Four other noteworthy settlement schools were established during the Progressive Era. Although classified by most authorities as settlement "institutions," they were actually mission schools.

Hazel Green Academy was established in Kentucky through the direct efforts of local leaders. In 1900, their efforts led to the purchase of land which was donated to the National Christian Board of Missions, Disciples of Christ, for the purpose of establishing the Hazel Green Academy. Like other settlement schools, health services to both students and the community were initiated. A 12-bed hospital was added, providing all surgical procedures for

the area in addition to diagnostic services and maternity care. The school shop was so successful that even during the depression of the 1930s a gymnasium was built; it was constructed entirely of materials created by the students. The 1950s saw an expansion of services to the community through the operation of a bookmobile program that served 36 county schools (Stokely).

In 1905, the closing of the local school led to the establishment of the Brethren Church's Riverside Christian Training School in Breathitt County, Kentucky. When the school added an electric plant, it also provided electricity for the community. Although no hospital was built, health services in the form of midwifery services were provided. In 1932, consolidated public schools became available and the school announced it would close. The community, however, thought otherwise, and the school remained opened.

In 1922, Red Bird Mission School was established in Beverly, Kentucky. By 1928 a hospital was built and six branches of the Red Bird Mission School were scattered across the area (Moses, 1978).

Buckhorn Settlement School began in 1905 as a Christian school called Witherspoon College. It was supported by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky. The school was in actuality an elementary and high school, but was called "college" to

reflect the hopes of the founder, Harvey Short Murdock, that it would one day become a college. It evolved into a provider of medical care, a demonstration farm, and an orphanage. During the 1930s a junior college component was added but did not survive because of the increasing demand to provide a high school education to more students. In 1957 Buckhorn donated three acres of land to the Perry County Board of Education "for the purposes of establishing a public school so that the work of the church could focus on the care of dependent, neglected children" (Moses, p.2).

In 1925, the Henderson Settlement School was established on the Tennessee-Kentucky border in Frakes, Kentucky, near Jellico, Tennessee. Originally named Partin Settlement School, for Uncle Scott Partin, a renowned moonshiner who donated the land, the name was changed when Bill Henderson donated even more land and Bishop Theodore Henderson (Methodist Conference in Ohio) financed the program.

The community was involved in the development of Henderson Settlement School from the very beginning via the donation of land and other services, such as the establishment of a mission saw mill that built the furniture and provided blacksmithing services. The school brought the first 4H Club to the county, and it brought electricity to

the community in the 1940s. To solicit funds for the school, a traveling quartet called the Sunbonnet Girls was formed. Henderson Settlement School served as a boarding school until after World War II.

When the state and local government began providing accessible public education, Henderson Settlement School's boarding houses became centers for the care of neglected and abused children. During the 1950s when coal miners lost jobs to automation, Henderson Settlement offered day care, health care, and low-cost clothing to those in need. In 1955, the Laurel Fork Crafts Store opened to sell local crafts, including the famous applehead dolls that have been displayed at the Smithsonian (Stokely, p.25).

Although not a settlement school itself, the Frontier Nursing Service provided health services to schools and the community of Leslie County, Kentucky. The area had no roads within 60 miles of the site. By 1928 a medical director was in place and the Hyden Hospital and Health Center was completed. Six residential outpost nursing centers were established to provide a wide array of medical services. A social worker was added, and a referral system to specialists was established. In 1939, expanding upon their midwifery services, a graduate school of midwifery was added (Stokely, 1975).

From the early 1900s to the 1950s, the role of the settlement schools evolved to meet the changing needs of the community. As roads made the areas more accessible, public schools and health and social service agencies took on more and more responsibility that had been assumed by the settlement schools. Facilitating this change was the War on Poverty declared by the federal government in the 1960s.

Post World War II prosperity did not apply to all members of American society. In spite of "record-breaking growth of the Gross National Product (GNP), at least 20 to 25 percent" (Church & Sedlak, 1976, p.432) lived in poverty. Many Black Americans, Appalachian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans remained untouched by the nation's affluence. Politicians and social science professionals concluded that the lack of progress on the part of these groups stemmed from a "culture of poverty" emanating from a "cycle of poverty" (Church & Sedlak, 1976, p.432). Under this theory, parents held poor jobs that forced them to live in poor houses where they ate poor food which contributed to poor health; these parents' children were trapped in the same cycle of poverty. Given the negative effects of an impoverished environment, children could not be expected to excel in the classroom, so the cycle perpetuated itself. Parents and grandparents were

trapped in a "culture of hopelessness and passivity" with no "sense that they could take effective action to improve their situations" (Church & Sedlak, pp.432-433).

Heading the call to "war on poverty," the national legislature passed two significant acts, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and, in 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Economic Opportunity Act combined both new and existing programs, including VISTA, Job Corps, College Work Study, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Community Action Programs (CAP), and Head Start.

Head Start, funded under Chapter 1, represented a true example of integrated services. Children were exposed to learning environments that were developmentally appropriate, and parental participation was an essential component of the program. A wide range of social services was made available to parents of children enrolled in this program (Legters, McDill, & McPartland, 1994).

Health services, an important component of the national war on poverty, were boosted with the creation of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. Children and Youth Projects improved delivery systems of health care by providing grants to hospitals and medical schools; funding for both Medicaid and Medicare was provided through the Social Security Act. The Elementary and

Secondary Act provided funds for the school health programs, and the Office of Economic Opportunity provided the means to deliver services such as family planning and mental health through local public health offices. (Dryfoos, 1994).

In 1964 President Lyndon B. Johnson visited the tiny hamlet of Inez, Kentucky. The first-hand look at poverty resulted in the declaration of what is referred to as the "War on Poverty" in Appalachia. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) oversaw the antipoverty endeavors. Recognizing the achievements and influence of the Council of the Southern Mountains, the OEO solicited the services of the Council to serve as liaison between the OEO a variety of community action programs such as Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), Appalachian Volunteers, and Talent Bank. The East Kentucky Welfare Rights Organization championed the cause of poor children by forcing school boards to add free lunch programs to their schools. The East Kentucky Housing Corporation, initially funded by the OEO and later funded by the Community Services Administration (CSA) provided low-income housing, while the OEO funded housing needs in North Carolina and West Virginia (Branscome, 1977).

In 1965 it was recognized that "one out of every three Appalachians lived in poverty, more than twice as many as

the rest of the nation" (Arnow, 1994, p.6). If Appalachians were to build a broader economic base, the infrastructure needed development.

In 1965, the newly created Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) was given the task of building roads and improving water and sewer services. ARC's unique structure allowed it to make decisions at the local level through direct involvement with the people, thus avoiding Washington-dominated policy dictates and offering direct services to the people ARC was designed to help. Settlement schools, in response to this influx of government help, adjusted their programs to meet the changing environment.

Henderson Settlement leaders adapted services to the times by shifting its focus to community development while expanding its services to the community. They actively solicited business and industry to the area. In the 1960s a 1200 acre demonstration farm began. The students grew houseplants which were sold at wholesale prices to local stores, and they grew hay and silage for their Angus herd. The school developed a cooperative for local farmers, through which the farmers raised and marketed feeder pigs. Their campus continued to be part of the public school system, adding a new county-owned elementary school in 1977 to the relatively new high school. Henderson Settlement

school provided teachers of language, the arts, and guidance counselors for the Bell County School System. Training for Head Start and elementary education majors were provided through an internship program. No longer in need of boarding students, dormitory facilities were converted to a shelter for neglected and abused children. These children attended the public schools, and the Settlement provided care, recreation, tutoring, and counseling to them. The Laurel Fork Clinic was established on their property, with the Settlement actively involved in fund raising for the clinics. They donated land and equipment for a community fire department, and in 1973 they established a community lending library (Stokely, 1975).

Hindman Settlement School also lost students to the public school system. Although no longer offering instruction to students, the Settlement developed close ties to the public schools. Students from remote areas stayed in the dormitory while they attended the public high school. A work program was provided to defray student expenses, and vocational and academic counseling was provided. For deserving students, scholarships were awarded. They provided the public school system with teachers in specialized subject areas. The Settlement also offered kindergarten classes and a day care center.

In 1975 Hindman Settlement School donated a building and provided funds to create the Knott County Public Library, and in 1976 land was donated for a public swimming pool. In cooperation with the University of Kentucky, a 4-H program was developed. They provided conference facilities for both civic groups and visiting groups, community education courses in weaving, pottery, and folk dancing. An outlet for the distribution of clothing to needy families was also part of the community services provided (Stokely, 1975). Coogan (1981) stated that "the 'founding mothers' did not intend to place their school in competition with the county system. Their goal was to supply Knott County with educational opportunities which the county could not afford on its own" (p.36).

In the 1960s, Pine Mountain Settlement School offered a demonstration farm, community-related projects, and sold the crafts of the local people through their gift shop. They developed the Unemployed Fathers Program in cooperation with the OEO; participants in this program did maintenance work on public school buildings. As with other settlement schools, public schools took over the teaching responsibilities of students. Pine Mountain Settlement School continued its involvement in education by shifting its focus to environmental education. Workers developed an

environmental studies curriculum for both elementary and secondary students and taught teachers how to use the materials. They also conducted field trips and offered seminars on environmental issues. Pine Mountain Settlement School also became a resource center of print and audiovisual media, provided the neighborhood with plants from the greenhouse, and offered a safe playground for children (Stokely, 1975).

Crossnore School, like other settlement schools, relinquished much of its educational responsibilities to the public school system as it became able to provide services to children. Crossnore continued to serve the children by reaching out to those who were abused and neglected, providing lodging, counseling, and educational services to these children in need. The Weaving Room continued to train weavers, and a shop was established to sell the weavings for their creators (Interview, Ellie Hjeminet, September 16, 1995).

Red Bird Mission School worked well with governmental programs. Personnel worked with the Kentucky Mountain Housing Development Corporation to provide families with repairs and low cost housing. They also joined with others to assist in training through the Manpower Program. Like other centers, workers assisted public schools by providing

specialized teachers, and they also assisted with bus transportation. Student industries provided training and an outlet in the vocational area, in cooperation with Bell County's vocational school or Morehead State University's Technical Institute. Early childhood development classes were offered for three-to-five year olds, and home visitors worked with both parents and children. Red Bird Mission also provided the community with a bookmobile (Stokely, 1975). Red Bird Mission also provided medical services to the community via a 32-bed hospital. It worked with the county Home Health service and the Frontier Nursing Service. Dental services, out-patient clinics, and a pharmacy were also provided (Moses, 1978).

The "marriage" of the Red Bird Mission School and the public schools of Clay County proved to be an interesting blend of church and state. Red Mission school maintained an elementary school and a high school; the elementary school was funded by the Bell County Board of Education and the high school was funded by the Clay County Board of Education. Public schools were available at this time, so no child was forced to attend this church-affiliated school. Interestingly, unlike settlement schools that often had their students return as teachers upon college graduation, Red Bird Mission had none: "All the teachers are recruited

by the church and the church always employs high-class teachers from the big city schools to teach at Beverly. The church and the county share the cost of teacher salaries" (Moses, 1978, p.237).

Buckhorn Settlement School became in the 1960s a model for integrated social services. Continuing to meet the needs of orphaned children, the school extended its services to those who were delinquent and those who suffered from emotional problems. It also provided services to mentally retarded children until the public schools established special education services. They worked with children in foster care, those enrolled in public schools and day-care centers, and in the homes of the children whom they served. They provided their own day-care services, coordinating their efforts with the Head Start program. In 1969, Buckhorn became a referral agency for medical and mental health clinics for the Kentucky Department of Child Welfare (Moses, 1978).

Summary

Settlement schools were established in Southern Appalachia to provide educational opportunities for children. Understanding the importance of also addressing the needs of the communities they served, social and health services were integrated with their educational services.

As the communities changed, the settlement schools that survived over time also changed. As public schools became increasingly accessible, settlement schools relinquished some of their services to the public schools; they then either ceased operation or changed their focus. Some settlement schools continued to work with public schools, becoming, in a sense, an integrated service themselves with public schools.

Hindman Settlement School, Pine Mountain Settlement School, and Crossnore School, Inc. exemplify settlement schools as educational institutions that provided a host of non-educational services to the communities they served. Their ability to adapt to the changing needs of their communities and relinquish control of education to their respective public school systems enabled them to survive over time, so that as the 21st Century approaches, these three schools continue to be viable institutions of service.

Chapter 3

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

In 1914 Dorothy Stiles, describing her first visit into the Kentucky mountains, decided that "Had one no sense of adventure, no enjoyment of the picturesque, and no imagination, it would be a nerve and body racking trip...To delight the eye, there was a misty horizon of mountain tops curving into blue-tinted ridges, and valleys where meandering creeks made a line of silver through the green" (Stiles, 1914, p.21). Reflecting upon how different the lives of those living in urban centers were to those in the mountains, she concluded, "It is very nearly as isolated as in the days when Daniel Boone strode along the wilderness road. It is quite a different matter to read about the supreme loneliness of a country hemmed in by a sky line of forested peaks from experiencing for one's self the actual conditions that make communication with an outside world a thing but seldom to be attempted." (Stiles, 1914, p.21).

Fifteen years earlier, Katherine Pettit and May Stone made their first journey into this beautiful Kentucky wilderness, and in 1911 Drs. Eustice and Mary Sloop entered the equally beautiful, isolated mountains of North Carolina. They shared a sense of adventure, an appreciation of the

natural beauty of the wilderness, and a vivid imagination, an imagination that evoked images of a forgotten people who one day would take their place in the dominant American culture.

Hindman Settlement School

Katherine Pettit and May Stone, both Kentuckians from the affluent blue-grass country, first came to the area of Hazard, Kentucky in 1899. The Kentucky Federation of Woman's Clubs financed the endeavor, and a summer camp, Camp Cedar Grove, was established. Beneath the tents they taught kindergarden and domestic art skills. They were well received, and returned in the summer of 1901, establishing Camp Industrial in Knott County, Kentucky and Camp Sassafras in the summer of 1901 on Carr Creek, about 15 miles from Hindman.

The people visiting the summer camps pleaded for the settlement workers to establish a permanent school, and choosing a site was no easy task, for each community served by the summer camps pleaded to have the school established in its community. The choice was narrowed to Hindman and Pine Mountain, and the decision made was in large part due to the persistent pleas of "Uncle Solomon" Everidge. How he managed to persuade the workers to establish a school in Hindman is an often cited tale, and one worth repeating

here, for it represents a common and very important theme that occurs throughout the archival material left behind by both the founders and those who followed them: the mountain people's desire for educational opportunities.

Uncle Solomon Everidge, at age 85, walked several miles to see for himself the work being performed by Katherine Pettit and May Stone. In approaching them, he said, "When I was a chunk of a boy hoeing corn...I used to look up and down Troublesome Creek and wonder if anybody would ever come in and learn us anything...I am persuaded you are the ones I have looked for all my lifetime." (Out of ashes, printer's proof, no date (n.d.), no author (n.a.), no page numbers (n.p.)). He had had "no chanct fer larnin" but believed he had "right smart" (Stiles, p.27) grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and he was determined that they should have the chance to learn that had been denied him.

Others echoed Everidge's plea, and the citizens of Hindman offered \$800.00 seed money to start a school, and Mr. B.F. Phillips, an attorney, wrote:

I feel safe in saying that you would find Hindman vicinity more anxious than any place to have a school, for there is no place in the mountains of Kentucky that is more susceptible of future development; no place in greater need; no place that promises such vast returns in moral and intellectual development; no place where the harvest would be greater; and no place where the people would do more, or co-operate more heartily with you, to the end, that you

might reap the full fruition of a great and glorious work in the mountains of Kentucky (Shute, 1902, p.9).

Pettit and Stone were convinced that Hindman was the site where the school should be established, and they wrote to their supporters, the W.C.T.U, "We [settlement workers] who have lived in the mountains know the value of such an investment, for to- day the cry of the mountaineer is, 'I have never had a chance; I should be so glad if my children could have a chance'" (Shute, 1902, p.9). The W.C.T.U. concurred with Pettit and Stone and, "seeing the urgent need...proposed to start a Christian social Settlement in connection with a first-class school with kindergarten, normal, and industrial departments"(Out of ashes, n.d.).

The workers reported "to live among people in a model home, to show them by example the advantages of cleanliness, neatness and order, and to inspire them to use pure language and to lead pure, Christian lives will be our effort, hoping thereby to elevate and uplift them, for they stand ready, willing, and waiting to do their part if we do ours" (Out of ashes). Katherine Pettit, in looking back over the last three years during the time they held their summer camps, said, "We feel that the most important questions is how to bring the strong and learned into touch with the poorest and most ignorant mountaineer; how to make the people who have

had a chance feel and see the need of the people in the loneliest cabin on the mountain side" (Out of ashes, n.d.).

The decision to establish a school in Hindman made, Pettit and Stone tried to locate a building for their school and to raise money to finance their endeavor. They traveled to Boston, where they approached the Eastern Kindergarten Association for funding. The Association decided they could not contribute money, but they did offer books.

On August 4, 1902, Pettit and Stone were able to purchase from Clarke, a gentleman who had run a private common school for several years in Hindman (using, in part, per pupil funds from the County) a building to start their school (Knott Co. History, 1995). By 1910, more acreage and additional buildings were needed. They entered into the following agreement with the Knott County Board of Education:

THIS AGREEMENT made and entered into by and between the Kentucky Woman's Christian Temperance Union, an organization authorized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the state of Kentucky party of the first part, and the County Board of education of Knott County, an organization authorized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of the State of Kentucky party of the second part,
WITNESSETH: That the party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of \$2000.00 advanced by second party agrees and binds itself to furnish sufficient school buildings in which to teach the Public School an Educational Division number one, sub-district number one, Knott County, charging as rent therefore as long

as said public school is taught in their said buildings the sum of twenty Dollars per month.

It is agreed between the parties that first part is to furnish the building for the said public school as long as it is employed by the Division Board to teach said public school in said district. It is also agreed between the parties hereto that in consideration of the \$2000 advanced above mentioned the party of the first party agrees to furnish the school buildings sufficient and permit the County High School to be taught therein for required term charging as rent therefore the sum of five dollars per month as long as said High School is taught in said building. Party of the first part agrees and binds itself to furnish a building in which to teach said High School so long as arrangements are made with it to teach said High School; that is, so long as the County Board of Education, party of the second part, herein employs party of the first part to teach said High School...It is understood by and between the parties hereto that party of the second part advances the \$2000.00 above mentioned for the purpose of enabling party of the first party, or the Citizens Committee for them, to purchase a school site and for first party to construct a school building.

It is agreed and understood that the parties of first part is to begin the construction of the school building as soon as the site can be procured by the Citizens Committee, and to complete the construction of the same as soon as practicable and if not completed in time to begin the Public and High School above mentioned it is to supply such buildings necessary for the teaching of said schools until their said school building is completed.

Given under our hands, this the 9th day of April, 1910. (Agreement, Hindman Settlement School (HSS) and the Knott Co. Board of Education, 1910).

Thus began a formal partnership between Hindman Settlement School and the Knott County Board of Education that evolved over time.

From one small building in 1902, the Hindman Settlement School grew. By 1916, there were 14 buildings, a power plant, and a hospital which served not only the school but the community. The initial enrollment of student increased from 190 students to 300, one-third of them living on the Hindman campus. The campus and student population grew, and so did the curriculum.

The curriculum offered at Hindman differed considerably from that of the common school, where the "Three R's" was the academic standard. Pettit and Stone saw their students were in need of not only the basic skills but also a domestic and industrial arts program, and the people of Hindman expressed their desire for such a school:

The people of Hindman were very anxious to secure a school. The citizens closed their stores and all came to the Court House one afternoon to discuss the needs of Hindman for a good school. The lawyers and businessmen spoke and made an earnest plea for industrial and educational training (Camp Industrial Diary, Pettit and Stone, 1901, p. 29).

Besides teaching the curriculum required by the State of Kentucky, classes were offered in sewing and other types of practical activities. One benefactor sent manual training

equipment (building tools) which could not be used because there was no place to set it up. The solution, of course, was to build a building for it, and as was often the case, the students and teachers were the ones to take the initiative when it came to problem-solving: "A young man was engaged as teacher, and with the boys he went back into the hills and together they got the logs and hauled them in and built a picturesque cabin in which now boys and girls are busily and happily engaged in wood-work" (n.a./n.d: Folder 11-1, HSS Archives). Additionally, the daily operations of the settlement school provided teaching opportunities in manual training and domestic arts:

Training in domestic and industrial branches is not confined to the interior of any cabin or shop; it goes on every moment that the pupils are not actually in the school room, as all the settlement housework, gardening, and farm work is done by the children themselves...Too often -as a general rule- children come from homes where the slip-shod is the only way, and all this actual experience that they get is invaluable...(Stiles, p.24).

The school's founders were very proud of being the initiators of industrial and domestic arts training in Kentucky:

Besides the kindergarten and common school branches, there are classes in basketry, sewing, cooking, gardening and carpentry. The Kentucky W.C.T.U. is to be congratulated on being the first to introduce these features into a public school in our State. We find

that the pupils are not only eager to learn from books, but are just as anxious for the practical lessons in homemaking. The primary and kindergarten children are taught to keep their room in order. They have their own brooms, dusting cloths they hemmed in the sewing classes and buckets for the water to scrub the floors. Some these children live three and four miles away, which means they must walk six or eight miles a day in order to attend school (Pettit and Stone, Letter Jan. 1904, HSS Archives).

The settlement workers never lost sight of their objective to teach children that which was practical, and in an unsigned letter addressed to the "Friends" of Hindman Settlement School, the author stated:

How gratifying and timely it was on the morning we began this letter to you to receive from the U.S. Department of Labor a folder promoting the values of school-supervised work experience as part of education! This, as you know, has always been a basic philosophy of the Hindman Settlement School. [Citing from the letter received], 'Work experience programs train students in good attitudes, work habits, and simple skills. It awakens them to the importance of learning. It stimulates them to go on to training in the skilled trades, encourages them to finish high school, and permits them to earn money for school purposes.' Hindman Settlement School has seen its young people develop remarkably through just these principles. (Letter, October 3, 1959).

The arts were not neglected at Hindman Settlement School. Music, both regional and standard, and arts and crafts were an important component of the curriculum for two reasons: (1) the preservation of indigenous music and arts

and crafts, and (2) the development of crafts-based cottage industries as a means of financial support.

Songs sung by the children who came to Hindman were old English ballads and folk songs that did not go unnoticed by the settlement school founders: "Some...tune, such as 'Hook and Line' or 'Sourwood Mountain' or perhaps some haunting minor notes of a dulcimer may be heard. Sometimes one will take you on the wings of 'Barbara Allan'...back to the 18th Century England of ballads and tradition" (Stiles, p.27). In 1917 and again in 1918 Cecil Sharp came from England to the mountains of Kentucky where he discovered many old folk songs and ballads.

At the settlement school, Sharp discovered children "singing ballads of English origin some of which had been partly or completely forgotten even in England...One song 'The Little Devils' complete with the archaic whistling refrain, was found here by Mr. Sharp and recorded by him as one of the oldest English ballads but one which had no counterpart in the land of its origin" (Ritchie, n.d., p.2). The settlement workers had the children teach one another the various versions of the old-time music in an attempt to preserve it and "to make a direct link with the past and remind one again of the pioneers who so long ago came into

the circle of the hills after that first hardy blazer of trails" (Ritchie, p.2).

The women of Southern Appalachian were excellent weavers who had utilized old techniques to weave the ancient patterns of "King's Flower," "Dogwood Blossom," "Trailing Vine," "Ladies Fancy," and "Seven Stars," among others. The yarn dyes of the "kivers" were made from barks and berries of the surrounding vegetation (Stiles, p.26). Alas, the art of weaving was disappearing. The settlement workers, as they visited the homes of the people, encouraged the homemakers to preserve the coverlets made by their grandparents, but they took a bolder step toward preservation when they sought to teach weaving to their students and to the women in the community.

Basketmaking was another art form practiced by the people of Kentucky, and this, too, was taught at Hindman School, as was the making of chairs. Purely utilitarian, the men made attractive, sturdy cane chairs which the settlement workers saw as a skill worthy of teaching, and so that, too, was added to the curriculum (Stiles).

Recognizing the marketing potential of these indigenous crafts, Fireside Industries was established (see Chapter 5).

Hindman Settlement School developed a sequential health education program which was taught to all students through a

program developed by the school utilizing free materials received from state and federal agencies (Ehrenfeld, 1917).

Additionally, all female students were required to complete course work in home nursing. These skills were taught in a hands-on setting, as students accompanied the visiting nurse as she made her rounds throughout the county (FRIENDS Newsletter, 1929). Health education was a very important component of the curriculum, for few possessed even the rudimentary knowledge of sanitation and personal hygiene, and there were no doctors in the area to service the people when they became ill (see Chapter 4).

Recreation instruction --the forerunner of physical education, was also an innovation in the school curriculum. Prior to the Settlement School, there was no instruction in recreational activities, and games played by children and adults alike tended to those for very young children. Hindman introduced the children to the game of baseball, which soon became a community favorite, and basketball. They incorporated dance in their recreational program, which was no easy task, for many parents believed dance to be sinful (Stiles).

The settlement school purchased a farm for two reasons: (1) to save money by raising their own meat and vegetables, preserving them for winter's use, and producing milk for

daily consumption, and (2) to provide another hands-on teaching laboratory, for the children did all the gardening and farm work (Stile, p.24). They sought to teach the best methods in farming the mountainous land by enlisting the services of the State University's Experimental Station" (Pettit & Stone, letter, Feb.1911, p.3). Additionally, Elizabeth Watts, the third director of Hindman Settlement School, led efforts in reforestation efforts that were necessary because of the continuously overflowing creek, aptly name "Troublesome Creek" (The Courier-Journal, Louisville, August 27, 1944), thus providing students and community members training in conservation.

Although the curriculum included a practical education which students could relate to their daily lives, academics was not slighted. Because the school was a public school technically under the auspices of the Knott County Board of Education, the state-mandated curriculum had to be followed. Settlement workers not only wanted to prepare students to live more comfortably and more wisely in their communities, they also wanted to prepare them for college and for leadership within their communities. Validation of their curricular approach was given when the school was approved by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges. The author stated that:

forty-five years have wrought dramatic changes in the Hindman Settlement School...These "fotched on" women have never lost sight of their objectives. They are still trying to preserve the mountain customs, the mountain ballads, arts, and crafts, and, above all, they are striving to give to their students, training that will fit them for college and for leadership among their own mountain people. (Out of ashes, n.d.).

Settlement workers were clearly proud of their graduates: "Of our graduates, among whom we number teachers, nurses, doctors, preachers, business men and women, bankers, weavers, mechanics, lawyers, statesmen, surveyors, engineers, homemakers." (Stone, letter, Feb. 1937). The majority of their graduates remained to serve their communities: "15% are working in other sections and 85% have remained in the mountains" (Stone, letter, Feb. 1937). As proud as the workers were of those graduates who distinguished themselves (among them Representative Carl Perkins), they seemed to be even prouder of the standard of living their graduates exhibited in their own homes as they applied the daily living skills taught them.

Stone commented, on one of her annual week-long journeys into the mountains, that she stopped to dine with Gertrude, a former student, and her spouse. She spoke with pride of the "table set with cloth, napkins, good china and silver, food well cooked and well served..that they said

grace" (n.d., Folder 9-25, HSS Archives).. She concluded that "the Hindman School had justified its twenty-years of work in this one model home" (n.d., Folder 9-25, HSS Archives). Years later she would make another journey into the mountains, and she wrote,

If you had worked in the mountains for thirty years and have gotten discouraged, the thing to do is to take a trip within fifty miles and visit the homes of the boys and girls you taught in the early days. You must see what good homes they have what well trained children they are bringing up and what good fathers and mothers they make (Stone, n.d., Folder 9-25: HSS Archives).

Noting that when she first came to the mountains, the women seemed to do all the housework and much of the work outside the home, Pettit was pleased when, on one of her trips into the back country, someone commented that "the Hindman boys made the nicest husbands that she had ever known, they were so considerate of their wives, so helpful in their homes and careful with their children" (Pettit, letter, n.d.). From one-room, barren cabins to "pleasant houses" run by loving fathers and cultured mothers, Pettit was clearly pleased with the changes wrought in the daily lives of students served by Hindman Settlement School.

Hindman Settlement School continues to serve Knott County and surrounding areas. Its long history is marked by repeated success, and this success can be attributed to three factors: (1) financial support from outside

organizations and individuals, (2) a partnership with the Knott County Board of Education and (3) community involvement.

Initially, much of the funding for Hindman Settlement School came from the Kentucky Women's Christian Temperance Union, for which the school was named until 1915. While the school charged boarding students tuition, this was not a viable source of income since few had money; tuition was paid by individual donations to the school. In 1924 the school was placed on the Daughter's of the American Revolution's (D.A.R.) approved schools list and received funding through this source (assistance which continues today). Not only was general support offered, but when special initiatives were undertaken, the D.A.R. would contribute additional money: "Mrs. Osborne reported that the Daughters of the American Revolution had agreed to donate the sum of \$5,000.00 to the Settlement School for the construction of the Katherine Pettit Building. The Board of Directors unanimously expressed their appreciation for this generosity on the part of the D.A.R." (Board Meeting Minutes & Treasurer's Reports to the Board [BMM], Oct. 1, 1969, p.4).

The Kentucky Federation of Women's clubs offered assistance in building the library program. Wellesley

College contributed money to the school. It regularly contributed to the tuition of students who boarded at the Hindman School through its Service Fund. The article "Service Fund Helps Hindman School Unearth Ballads, Folklore, Dances" which appeared in the school's paper, Wellesley College, (Vol. LIII, October 3, 1944) showed that the school used money from the Service Fund to help finance special projects, as well.

Endowments from individual estates provided money that went primarily to fund the building program, and individual contributors also funded the school: In the course of the discussion [of the financial report], the Executive Director reported that approximately \$20,000 are donated to the Settlement School each year by some 400 to 500 contributors. (BMM, Oct. 1, 1969). For a variety of reasons, the expenditure of funds might be delayed, and so the Board of Directors (BMM, Oct. 1, 1969), authorized investment of said funds:

Whereas donations are made to the Hindman Settlement School from time to time either for general or special purposes and due to circumstances there may be delay in the expenditure or application of the funds involved.

Now therefore be it resolved that, pending the expenditure or application of any such donation, the Executive Director of the Settlement School be and is hereby authorized and instructed to cause the Citizens Fidelity Bank & Trust Company, Louisville, Kentucky, to invest and reinvest in its discretion, with the Approval

of C.A. Gerst [a member of the Board of Directors], all or any part of any such funds in such manner as may be deemed advisable (BMM, Oct 1, 1969, p.3).

Whenever state aid was made available, the Hindman Board of Directors sought it out. For example, they made application to the state under Chapter 51, Acts Kentucky Legislature, Session 1918 for compensation for the salary of their nurse. (Folder 4-2: Application, State Aid for Visiting Nurse, 1918). A resident of Knott County donated a sawmill to the school which proved useful since students and teachers did much of the building (Out of ashes, n.d.).

The Board of Directors was directly involved the school's finances, and much of the correspondence, often through the Annual Reports, ended in pleas for continued support financially. For example, the Annual Board Meeting Minutes and Treasurer's Reports ended with a plea for monetary support. World War II in particular seemed to threaten the school's existence, and May Stone wrote in her Annual Report to the Board (BMM, January 19, 1943):

Having survived one war, losses by fire and flood and depression, we are doing our best to meet present conditions by adjusting ourselves to food rationing, priorities of supplies, higher prices, unexpected changes of personnel and economy in all departments; and, in spite of them, to hold to the ideals and standards our school has always had.

May we have your continued interest and help in all our efforts?

In the Annual Report of April 8, 1958, she prefaced her plea for continued support with a statement, apparently in response to the Board's request for even greater emphasis on vocational training, with: "Though technical training and education may be essential to the winning of the war, it is liberal education that will win the peace" (BMM, April 8, 1958).

Hindman, evidently, used the services of publicity agents to generate income as well. According to the auditor's report for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1927, the school had many outstanding debts, so the Hinaman Agency of Connecticut was hired for six months to handle publicity for the purpose of fund raising. (This agency had worked for Hindman School before, raising \$10,777 in funds to pay for flood damage). This agency sent to potential donors in major cities a booklet describing the history and activities of Hindman Settlement school: "There is to be a campaign in Cleveland, Chicago, Boston, Hartford, and Providence, from which we hope to make new friends and get funds for current expenses" (Stone, letter, Jan. 17, 1928).

Additional funds were added through the buying and selling of stocks and bonds and the sale of property. For example, on January 18, 1937 the Board of Directors decided to sell at market value Virginia and Southwestern Railway

Company registered bonds (BMM, January 18, 1937). The farm had become a liability and was to be sold:

The farm, which we bought many years ago and which then was a necessity to raise food for cattle and horses and the family because we could not obtain it elsewhere for so little, has now become an expense instead of an asset and for several years has been run at a loss. Now, that we have a good highway, it is possible to buy feed at less cost and we feel it would be wise to sell this farm and use the money for things more needed (BMM, January 17, 1933).

In summary, Hindman Settlement School, a public school operated by an independent Board of Directors, secured its funding from a wide array of sources, receiving very little money from the Knott County Board of Education.

The partnership between the Hindman Settlement School and the Knott County Board of Education, worked, financially, more to the advantage of the Board of Education than to the Hindman Settlement School, but one cannot disregard the Board's monetary contributions as an asset to the School. Much more significantly, the collaborative efforts of the Hindman Settlement School and the Knott County Board of Education worked to the advantage of the people of Knott County and surrounding communities.

Eva Singleton, wife of Litton Singleton, county-appointed principal of Hindman School, described the changing relationship of the Hindman Settlement School to

the Knott County Board of Education and the community at large as being "somewhat of a mother --an unobtrusive counselor and guide to the people of Knott County. At first she carried the whole burden and then the county began to gradually assume a portion of the responsibilities" (Singleton, n.p., estimated date 1948). It was her opinion that "the theory of the settlement seems to be that the community should take all the responsibility that it can as soon as it is capable of doing so"(Singleton, n.p.). An examination of the working relationship between the Knott County Board of Education and the Hindman Settlement School supports this thesis.

During the 1920s the Settlement School and the Board of Education worked cooperatively to improve rural county schools. The community of Quicksand, which was 25 miles away from Hindman, near Breathitt County, desperately needed a school for its almost totally illiterate members. Hindman owned land in the community that they donated to the Board of Education (Untitled document, March 1929, Folder 11-3, HSS Archives). The school enlisted the help of Dawkins Lumber Company, which provided all the rough lumber and labor for the school. The county paid for dressed lumber, windows, doors, and pupil desks. The county also paid for two teachers, to service 85 to 100 children who were to

attend this school. An elementary school was also established at Decoy, the cost split between the Board of Education and Dawkins Lumber Company. The county paid for two teachers, and the Settlement school paid for the "head worker" (Unnamed Document, Oct. 1, 1928, Folder 4-10, HSS Archives). Hindman provided books for not just this county school, but others as well. The building of a new county high school was also a cooperative endeavor. The citizens of Hindman pledged \$4000 toward the high school and the Board of Education pledged \$8,000. Hindman Settlement School matched their combined pledges so that Hindman's contribution came to \$12,000. (The Settlement School acquired the \$12,000 through a memorial to Mrs. Arkell of New York). The school also provided the land for the new high school and deeded the land to the Board of Education (Stone, BMM, Jan. 17, 1928).

The 1930s brought about the consolidation of two county schools. The students were bused to Hindman Settlement School. As a result of county school consolidation, Hindman gained two teachers, and the county and the settlement school split the cost of teachers' salaries, each paying for eight teachers (BMM, January 21, 1932). Library services to the schools and to the community continued to grow. In 1907, there were 1500 volumes (BMM), by January, 1933 there

were 6,000 volumes (BMM), and by January of 1937 there were 8,000 volumes (BMM).

By the late 1940s, the County Board of Education had assumed much of the responsibility for the education of Knott County children. In 1948, they had taken over the kindergarten and the operation of the Louisiana Grigsby Arkell High School. County teachers replaced Hindman-hired teachers. The principal of Hindman Settlement School was now hired by the Board of Education, as well. The grade school at Hindman Settlement School was now taught by county-hired teachers. The county, initially, paid seven months' salary and the Settlement School paid for two months; but by the end of 1948, the County assumed responsibility for total teacher salaries. Hindman Settlement School continued to work in partnership with the public schools by providing a modern library, and paying the salary of the librarian. The school also continued to provide art and music instruction, and supervised recreation for children, and facilities and instructors for home economics and manual training.

The Settlement School offered room and board for many children who came into Hindman to attend school from both Knott County and surrounding counties (Out of ashes, n.d.).

By May, 1949, the county paid for all instruction in the

academic subjects, while the school paid for art, music, home economics, and manual training, weaving instruction, and folk dancing. At Hindman Settlement School, the county paid for sixteen grade and high school teachers. The Settlement School paid for twenty-three people, including teachers, a housemother, a nurse, and a farm supervisor. Even as late as 1949, The author of Out of ashes reported, "The county can't afford to do it all...it is one of the poorest among 120"[counties in KY] (1949). Of course, the provision of buildings for educational purposes to the Knott County Board of Education was an important, from a financial standpoint, contribution on the part of the Settlement School.

In May, 1949, only two buildings were owned by the county, the high school and the gymnasium. The Settlement School and the county jointly financed the construction of the high school, then the Settlement School deeded its half of the interest to the county. The Settlement School continued to own the elementary school building, the library, dormitories, kitchen, dining room, and buildings in which art, music, manual training were taught. The county paid no rent for the use of these buildings (BMM, January, 1929). The Settlement School even provided room and board for Mr. Early, a Methodist preacher whom the county hired as

a high school English teacher, when he was unable to find suitable quarters elsewhere (Out of ashes, n.d.).

In 1950, Hindman Settlement School, in cooperation with the Knott County Board of Education and the University of Kentucky, served as the site for a course in visual education and in recreation. Berea College offered a workshop at the Settlement School and the county closed its schools and bused the teachers to Hindman. This was, evidently, a very successful activity, for Berea planned a longer workshop for the summer break (BMM, 1950). By 1958 the county had taken over the operation of the manual arts and home economics classes. The Settlement School continued to provide instruction in art and music and recreation and library services (BMM, 1958).

By the end of the 1960s, Hindman Settlement School was no longer directly involved in the business of education; they were in the business, in part, of continuing to assist the County Board of Education in meeting its educational responsibilities. The county continued to consolidate schools, closing Carr Creek High school, Caney Creek High School, and Cordia High School.

Hindman High School was replaced by a new high school, called New High School, and all high school students attended this school. The Settlement School again assisted

the public school system by the providing additional students with room and board (BMM, 1961). In the annual report to the Board (BMM, 1961), the Director (Frank McLain) described the agreement made between the Knott County Board of Education and the Hindman Settlement School in regards to the new Manual and Industrial Arts Building. The Board would maintain the interior of the building and the Settlement School would maintain the exterior and the grounds surrounding it. Clearly, Hindman Settlement School was very proud of the arrangement made, and pointed out to its Board of Directors that it was the Settlement School which had initiated and supported vocational programs, "the type of school program which is recommended for further development by absolutely every agency that makes a study of the problems facing eastern Kentucky" (McLain, BMM, October 3, 1961). The new building was to replace "the present facilities (which we also provide)" which was described as "miserably inadequate" (McLain, BMM, Oct. 3, 1961).

The appropriateness and importance of the service to the public schools was expressed as follows:

It is far from inappropriate for us to be interested in this development [of the building of the new Manual and Industrial Arts Building], as it is this kind of direct assistance to the expressed needs of the public school that has always been one of the very strongest points of

the Settlement's service...Such support, expressed by the community as a great need, is the type of challenge to the Settlement that it has always made every effort to meet" (Board Meeting Minutes, Oct. 3, 1961).

In 1969, the Settlement School continued to serve by providing equipment for home economics training, providing kindergarten to rural schools with their kindergarten-mobile. Additionally, they continued to sponsor the Decoy School, providing materials and instructors (BMM, 1969).

Eva Singleton stated, in 1948, that Dr. Rubado, the assistant supervisor for Louisville City Schools and instructor in a class in which she was enrolled, pointed out that "the Hindman Settlement School was one of the few organizations in the country to have coordinated with a county school system" (Singleton, n.p.). Singleton, speaking of the Settlement School, went on to say,

They have done a remarkable job of nurturing the school system until the day when it could stand on its own feet. With the set up as it now stands, our school could run with its own machinery but without the settlement it would be just another ordinary county system. With the aid of the settlement it is much more than that. (Singleton, n.p.).

The coordination Singleton spoke of continued for the next three decades, providing time for the county school system to assume its responsibilities and time for the Settlement

School to grow in new areas of social services provided to the community.

Hindman Settlement School was not imposed upon the people of Knott County; it was they who solicited the establishment of the School, beginning with the pleas of Solomon Everidge and continuing with the town meeting in 1902 with Katherine Pettit and Kay Stone. From that day forward, the community was directly involved with development of the school, doing whatever it could within its limited means to finance, either in dollars or volunteer labor, to facilitate the new initiatives of the school as it grew.

With a disastrous fire in 1917, the community came to the aid of the school, offering money and labor to rebuild. Fire struck again in 1919, and consideration was given to moving the school elsewhere, "but so greatly appreciated was the work that had been done, that the people of Knott County raised six thousand dollars to buy the sixty-acre farm upon which the structures now stand" (Stone, n.d./ Folder:9-25, HSS Archives).

Through the years, through their representatives on the Knott County Board of Education, they demonstrated recognition and desire for a partnership with the Settlement School by taking over education responsibilities when able.

The relationship between the community and the settlement school was "in one-word-co-operation. The school cooperates with the people, and they co-operate with the school, just as they did that meeting long ago" (Out of ashes, n.d., n.p.). The article stated that the respect the community has for the school "will be evident next Saturday at its commencement exercises when the total of its graduates will reach 740" (Out of ashes, n.d. n.p.). Graduation was not just a school exercise, it was a community event, with the various local organizations, individuals, and former graduates participating.

Settlement School leaders were ever mindful of the community when they initiated change. When the proposal was made to conduct a feasibility study for a new Manual and Industrial Arts Building, Pettit and McClain wanted assurances "of the willingness of the Board to carry out plans for this project if the study proved the project feasible" (BMM, Oct.3,1961). The concern was for the community and its relationship with the School, for "it would be hurtful to the Settlement's relations with its community to raise their hopes, even in making such a study, if the Board had basic reservations before the study was made" (BMM, Oct.3, 1961).

Recognizing that their function as the primary educators in the community had ended, they realized that if they were to remain a viable organization within the community, their services would have to shift to an increased offering of social services to the community:

William R. Miller, thereupon reported in behalf of the study committee provided for at the last meeting of the Board. Rather than remain in a status quo and rather than trying to catch up with others, the committee feels that plans should be made for the future. In fact some such plans seek the improvement of community services in the area by working with the people in the development of Fireside Industries in their homes. At the same time, the Settlement School could be a kind of hub for community centers of which there are a number. In addition, the school might become a health education center and also a youth and family education center. Mobile units might be expanded. Industrial arts and home economics might be expanded to the Junior High School. What is more the Settlement School could possibly become a center for the conducting of various subjects of local interest (BMM, Oct. 3, 1961).

The community of Hindman and Knott County invited the Settlement School into its midst. That this invitation was reaffirmed through the years is obvious. The Knott County Board of Education and Hindman Settlement School worked together collaboratively to provide for the educational needs of the people each served. Generous benefactors helped make it all possible.

Crossnore School, Inc.

Drs. Eustice and Mary Sloop moved from the Piedmont area of North Carolina into the mountains of Crossnore in 1911. Both physicians, their intention was simple: "We knew that what we wanted to do --to live among them, seek to help them, enjoy them, learn from them, become a part of them" (Sloop, n.d.,p.21). They more than achieved this goal. Dr. Eustice Sloop concentrated on the medical practice, but Dr. Mary Sloop developed a passion for education, and she devoted her life to creating opportunities for the people of Avery County, especially educational opportunities.

The existing educational conditions in 1911 were deplorable. The school house for the children of Crossnore consisted of an old, rundown structure that also served as the church and the magistrate's courtroom for the region. Dr. Mary Sloop described it as "little more than a shed... a dilapidated old structure...hardly inviting either to worship or to study" (Sloop, pp.50-51). School was held for only four months of the year, for this was all the state and county would finance. Children rarely went to school beyond the fourth grade, and attendance was a problem, for although there were attendance laws, they were rarely enforced. The schools throughout the region were one-room schools taught

by untrained, uneducated teachers. The closest high school was in Banner Elk. Dr. Mary Sloop determined that she would lead the struggle to improve educational opportunities by improving the facilities, the quality of teachers, and student attendance. In time, the curriculum would be greatly expanded, a graded elementary would be developed, and a four-year high school would be available (Sloop). Crossnore School, later to become Crossnore School, Inc. was the only educational facility in Crossnore and was always public school.

Dr. Mary Sloop was an astute woman. She realized that she could not simply impose her will upon the people of Crossnore and expect to make any progress. She seemed to understand early in her stay in the mountains the character of the mountain people:

In the short time we had been in the mountains it had been demonstrated to us that we were living among the most independent citizens that could be found anywhere. They believed in helping your brother and your home community particularly, but they believe too in doing for themselves. It was against their grain to seek outside help. They were just too independent. And I admire them for it (Sloop, p.52).

She used her ever-increasing understanding of the mountain culture to work for the good of the people. She understood that without the backing of the citizenry, no changes could be made; therefore, she always sought to bring to the people

an understanding of needed changes before attempting to initiate these changes.

By 1913, Dr. Mary Sloop tackled the problem of building a new two-room school building. Support for this structure was not forthcoming from the Avery County Board of Education: "Nor did the county authorities, whose duty it was to provide the physical facilities for the school, feel that they could offer Crossnore a new schoolhouse" (Sloop, p.56). The people, in general, wanted a new school building, but not all of them. Sloop, apparently paraphrasing in mountaineer dialect, expressed some members' negative responses to the proposed new school, as:

They could get a lot of learning' in the old building. There just weren't no use for them Sloops to be atryin' to start nothing' fancy around Crossnore. They hadn't been alivin' in this country long enough to l'arn that Crossnore folks didn't hanker after no fancy doin's. The old schoolhouse had been aservin' a long spell now, and twon't no good reason why it couldn't keep on aservin' (Sloop, p.56).

Mary Sloop was not discouraged. She believed "the majority wanted their children to enjoy better opportunities than they themselves had had" (Sloop, p.57). She approached people everywhere she went, talking to them about the educational needs of the children, especially the need for a new school building. This individual approach, coupled with town meetings, became her major approach to initiating

change. With community support behind this effort, the Avery County Board of Education agreed to finance half the cost and members of the community agreed to provide free labor for a two-room building. Dr. Mary Sloop saw this as the "beginning of the new era of better education" (Sloop, p.58).

Regular school attendance was also a problem. Children were use to attending school for only four months each year, and even then their parents did not always feel it necessary to send them to school: "We had a state compulsory-attendance law, but back in the coves and the hollows some parents paid little attention to it" (Sloop, p.110). Dr. Mary Sloop took on the challenge of compulsory school attendance. In her memoirs, she told of one of her first acts as a truant officer. A man responsible for a child -- not his own, but one he had agreed to care for, refused to send her to school. Dr. Sloop was determined that the child "was going to have a chance in life, that I was determined she would have" (Sloop, p.101). Rather than agree to send the child to school, he simply turned the child over to Dr. Sloop, denying any future responsibility for the child; it became her task to find a home for the child, for Crossnore did not at this point have a boarding school. Her encounters with uncooperative parents continued, and at one

point 14 angry parents who had been cited for violation of attendance laws declared that there was no such law. This would be in keeping with their individualistic approach to living.

Dr. Sloop stated that "the mountain people have a strong feeling for the rights of the individual. It's a heritage, no doubt, from their English ancestry. They don't think - and certainly they didn't in those days - that anyone has a right to come between them and their children" (Sloop, p.150).

Dr. Sloop recalled that in the "early period" (p.150) [defined by Dr. Sloop as through World War I] she called a meeting with the 14 parents who felt that no law existed to force them to send their children to school. She, according to her memoirs, let them express their grievances. She chose not to address the crowd; instead, she handed the statue to the most vocal member of the group and had him read the law aloud. After reading, he said, "she's right" (Sloop, 152). The parents said there would be no more problems, and Dr. Sloop stated that "you can depend upon the people of the mountains when they give their word" (Sloop, p.152). Dr. Sloop was not above having parents cited by the court and having them incarcerated. Her attempts to improve

attendance must have been successful, because the school experienced rapid growth.

The two-room school soon became too crowded for the number of children in attendance, but they did not have enough children to force the state to pay for three teachers. She approached members of the community and asked them to build a third room onto the school. She told them if they would provide the materials and the labor for the school, she would pay the salary for the third teacher. "They agreed to my proposition. Once more the community was cooperating to promote public education (Sloop, p.65).

Soon even the three rooms became insufficient, and so school was conducted in a tent. During the winter months classes were rotated, children taking turns being taught in the tent. It became obvious that a larger building would have to be built, so two more rooms were added, for a total of five rooms. A two-room, two-story building was constructed, a building the children called the "Treasure House." In this building, manual training and home economics were taught. The first year of high school (ninth grade) was added in approximately 1918 to accommodate not only Crossnore children but children from the community of Altamont as well. If children wished to finish high school, it was necessary to send them to Banner Elk. Dr. Sloop had

helped raise money through the selling of used clothing and money sent from benefactors in urban centers to finance the education of students moving on to high school (and college). It occurred to her that it would be better to keep children in the community, so she called upon the people to finance a high school. This turned out to be an expensive and difficult task.

Estimated cost for the new high school was \$26,000.00.

Dr. Mary Sloop had purchased seventeen acres of land a few years earlier, land for which some of the local people said she had paid too much because one could not raise corn upon it. She retorted with "I don't aim to raise corn on it. I want to raise a hundred children on it. I already knew what I hoped to do" (Sloop, p.93). This land would be the site of the new high school. A new North Carolina law proved helpful in their efforts to build a new high school:

It decreed that any community could have a high school if it had a certain number of pupils in the high school grades, provided the taxpayers of that community could vote on themselves a tax of thirty cents on the hundred dollars' property toward the operation of a high school(Sloop, p.104).

To raise the money for the new school, she called upon community leaders and enlisted their support to hold an election to vote for a supplemental tax that would help pay for the structure. She chose two "loyal politicians"

(Sloop, p.105) and herself to "go and visit all the homes in the school district. They went in different directions, and they covered the ground thoroughly" (Sloop, p.105).

According to Avery County Board Minutes, it took two years to bring the measure to a vote, and when the election was held, it passed by only two votes. (Avery County Board of Education Record & Minutes, Avery County Board Meeting Minutes [ACRM], 1919-1921). With \$4,000 worth of timber on the land, Dr. Sloop reported in her memoirs that the Avery County School Board of Education gave \$3,000 to the endeavor. While this is true, the entire \$3,000 did not come from the Board, nor was it without conditions:

The Board heard the Crossnore proposition for aid on their school house and examined plans for same and agree to make a donation of \$3000.00 in the form of a state loan same to be approved by Board when presented with the distinct understanding that the proper arrangements be had whereby a three acre site on which house is to be located shall have its title vested in the board and 10% of loan be spent for furniture (ACRM, Oct. 6, 1919, p.329).

Some of the workers were paid, but much of the building was built with free labor. Dr. Sloop spoke of Uncle Newt Clark, who turned down payment for his labors, stating: "I ain't agoin' to take no pay...you come here to give our young 'uns a better school, and me and Mary Jane said from the very start that you weren't agoin' to pay us for anything we do"

(Sloop, p.131). The building project soon ran out of money, and Dr. Sloop went to the Board of Education for more; they refused.

As so often seemed to happen, just when things looked their bleakest, money from contributors would arrive. Checks for \$5000, \$1000, \$500, and \$250 arrived within a few days of one another (Sloop, p.133). The building continued, and again funds ran out. Dr. Sloop again went to the Board of Education. She asked them to take out a bank note for \$10,000. They refused, and she said she would take out the note herself. The bank loaned her the money without collateral. Even this money proved to be insufficient, so she went back to the Board, which, again, refused to give more money, stating that "Crossnore already had more than the community's share" (Sloop, p.136).

Dr. Sloop decided to go to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. E.C. Brooks. She rode a horse to Morganton, then caught a train to Raleigh. Her meeting with Dr. Brooks proved worthwhile. As fate would have it, the Superintendent of Avery County Schools and the County Executive were both in Raleigh and had already met with Dr. Brooks, evidently on other matters. When Dr. Sloop told him about how little support she had received from the County

for the school, he instructed her to find the Avery County officials and send them to him, which she did.

The outcome of the meeting between Dr. Brooks and Avery County officials was that the Board had to take over Dr. Sloop's loan of \$10,000 (Sloop, pp.134-135). No record appears to exist as to conversations between Dr. Mary Sloop and the Avery County Board of Education in regard to that which necessitated Dr. Sloop's having to take a personal loan for the \$10,000. However, it was entered into the Avery County Board of Education's Record and Minutes, April 4, 1921, that, indeed, the Board was assuming the \$10,000 note:

Whereas, The Crossnore School, Inc. had expended approximately \$10,000.00 on a public school building at Crossnore, and, where as a certain agreement has heretofore been entered into between county supt. and Mrs. Sloop relative to the said \$10,000.00, it being understood that the county and district were to assume this indebtedness, provided the \$6,000.00 special building fund bond issue passed; and the balance of Altamont Township would vote a 30 cent [cent symbol used] special school tax It is ordered:

That the Board of Education issue its note for \$4,500 so due in 3 months, and give to Mrs. Sloop in part payment of said indebtedness and that it would execute another note for \$5,500.00 due in 4 months to lift the \$5,500.00 note held by the Avery County Bank...All this having been ordered and done with the distinct understanding that the Crossnore High School Building is to be completed without further cost to the County Board of Education.

It is unclear what was to occur had the tax not passed, but the Board Record & Minutes of April 4, 1921, stated that

should the "Special Tax Election" not be carried, "this note is to be canceled and the committee [unreadable word] are to make arrangement to take care of the remainder of the said indebtedness" (p.377). Either way, Dr. Mary Sloop was to be relieved of the indebtedness. Interestingly, the Board Record and Minutes did not provide the names of officials; however, Horton Cooper's History of Avery County, North Carolina (1964) listed the Superintendent of Schools at the time this agreement took place as Mr. Frank Edmonson (p.95). The Board members were A.P. Brinkley, Chairman, Robert Wisoner, and Henry T. Norman (p.96). In time, the high school was finished, and the first graduates completed their studies in 1922 (Sloop, p.171).

Crossnore School's building program grew from one dilapidated building in 1911 to more than 25 buildings by the end of WWI. In addition to the elementary and the high school buildings and a "teacherage" [housing for teachers] was built. Over time the Weaving Room, Sewing Room, Manual Arts Building, dining hall and kitchen, the Music Building, a beautiful stone gymnasium, an infirmary, a laundry room, the Administration Building, the Print Shop, and Aunt Pop's and Uncle Gilmer's Sales Store were built. Additionally, eight dormitories were built. The County owned the elementary and high school buildings, but all other

structures were owned by Crossnore, Inc. (Sloop, p.227).

At one time, the land upon which the primary and elementary school, as well as old gymnasium stood was deeded to the Avery County Board of Education, but when these buildings were replaced, this land was deeded back to Crossnore School, Inc., upon which Crossnore School, Inc. built a new lunchroom. (CROSSNORE School Bulletin, Winter, 1951).

Incorporation of Crossnore School, with its multiple buildings and functions, occurred when Dr. Mary Sloop discovered a degree of apathy toward the school among community members who once had been so involved in the school's development. She made inquiries in the community and was told, "The word's agoin' around that the Presbyterians is afixin' to take over the school and run it as a Presbyterian school" (Sloop, p.148). To alleviate this fear, the school was incorporated, with its charter stating that while ideals of Christianity would be taught, no religious organization would own or operate the school:

No denomination would ever own or control Crossnore School, Inc., but on the contrary it would have a board of trustees that would direct its operations and would have authority to buy and sell property. But though nondenominational, Crossnore would be interested in the spreading of the Christian religion and making it more vital in our community and the homes Crossnore would touch (Sloop, p.149).

The Charter was reproduced in the Winter, 1940 issue of the Crossnore School Bulletin. This Bulletin also included a reproduction of the granting of tax-exempt status by the United States Treasury Department.

Like Hindman and Pine Mountain Schools, the direction of the school was dictated by circumstances --the needs of the people as they arose. Crossnore School became a boarding school because there was a need. Dr. Mary Sloop told the story of a young girl who came to her and asked if she could sleep on the Sloop's porch. She stated that her family placed so many work demands upon her, that she could find no time to study. Of course, sleeping on the porch was out of the question. Dr. Sloop arranged for the child to sleep in the attic of a teacher's home, and before long seven more girls were doing the same.

Five boys walked several miles to the school and asked for a place to stay. Dr. Sloop arranged for them to stay in an old grist mill. The boys would go home on the weekends and return with a week's worth of food, which they had to carry to school each day because the rats in the grist mill would eat their food. They could not study in the mill because a lantern or lamp oil caused a fire hazard, so they were allowed to study in the kitchen of the teacherage. Some students felt that the boys were getting an unfair

educational advantage because of their access to the teachers, to which Dr. Sloop replied, "Yes, that's their advantage, but your advantage is that you have a warm place to sleep at night and warm food to eat when you get home" (Sloop, p.143).

As more and more children came from longer distances asking for boarding, the decision was made to build dormitories. The first dormitory built was done so by two of the "mill" boys. (CROSSNORE School Bulletin, Summer, 1942). The children called it the "donkey barn" because of its primitive structure. A year later, Mr. Charles Johnson donated funding to build a dorm for the girls. Over time, eight dormitories would be built, each accommodating the age groups, as their names indicated: Little Girls Dormitory, Little Boys Dormitory, Middle Girls Dormitory, etc. There was even one called "Old Boys Dormitory" for several male adults attended the school. All were built with money donated by individuals or organizations.

When the Sloops arrived at Crossnore, the teachers of the district were poorly educated. As the school grew teachers were added, but it is difficult to determine from the data available what their qualifications were. Some, however, were Crossnore graduates who attended Berea College or Leas McCrae College then returned home to teach.

The first weaving instructor at Crossnore was a graduate who learned to weave at Berea and returned to teach at her alma mater.

Dr. Sloop told of the a man who entered Crossnore School at the age of 37. He and his children both attended the school, and he went on to Berea College. It was necessary for him to work for a while then return to school, and by the time he received his college degree, he was 57 years old. He returned to teach at Crossnore School (Sloop, pp.92-93).

Dr. Sloop reported in her memoirs that in 1921 or 1922 Betty Bailey came to teach at Crossnore School, "the beginning of a series of college graduates, young women from the big colleges of the country who came here and built up and established standards of education for our school that we never could have had otherwise" (Sloop, 154). It was Betty Bailey who suggested that Dr. Mary Sloop seek funding from the D.A.R., which she did. The D.A.R. became an important source of income for Crossnore School, Inc.

Very little money came from the public authorities of Avery County. Teacher salaries were extremely low. For example, Sloop reported that the primary teacher was paid \$17 per month and the principal of the school \$42 per month in 1918. The School provided a teacherage for the teachers,

although it was not exactly accommodating, for there were no bedrooms. Teachers slept on an open porch, year-round. The School provided coffee, sugar, and items of this type and community members donated food. In time this teacherage was turned into a dining room and kitchen when the new teacherage was built. The Sloops had contact with people of means in various cities in North Carolina and through Davidson College, and these donated both money and items to the school. In 1924, the D.A.R. added Crossnore to its list of approved schools. Although the school did not get direct funding from the D.A.R., the school was sanctioned by the organization. The impact of this status was substantial:

Many DAR chapters and larger groups as well as individual DAR members have contributed liberally and most effectively. Without the help of the DARs we would never have been able to expand our facilities as we have done, and we could never have served the boys and girls...to the extent that we have in the three decades since (Sloop, pp.154-155).

The North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution, under the leadership of Mrs. Ralph van Laningham, helped raise the money during her term as the state chairman of the D.A.R. to build the Big Girls' dormitory; Mrs. Gregory Graham, a D.A.R. member from Winston-Salem, contributed money for the Little Girls' dormitory (Memoirs, p.12).

It is interesting to note that Crossnore was able to get its own chapter of the DAR because many members of the community were descendants of soldiers who fought in King's Mountain battle during the Revolutionary War. The School also made money through Aunt Pop and Uncle Gilmer's Store through the sales of used clothing and through the use of a barter system devised during the Depression.

The barter system began when a gentleman walked into the store and wanted to buy a suit but had no money; he offered "Uncle Gilmer" 600 pounds of cabbage, to be given to the school. Uncle Gilmer told Dr. Sloop of the man's proposal, which she accepted: "That was the beginning of our barter plan. The barter works well for Crossnore school and for the people" (Sloop, p.76). Dr. Mary Sloop described how the barter system worked: We give the seller coupons good for purchase of articles at the store, and we give them more in coupons than we would in cash...and since the clothes cost us nothing, we can afford to be more generous with the coupons. It's a good plan" (Sloop, pp.77).

In an undated two-page publication (approximate date, 1921), Dr. Mary Sloop delineated the progress of the school, with its 75 acre farm, dormitories, weaving room, etc. which she credited to the sale of clothing in this store: "And OLD CLOTHES HAS DONE IT ALL! -save for a few gifts of money

which helped with the new school building and the farm" (CROSSNORE SCHOOL, 1913-1921).

Donations from organizations and individuals, free labor and materials from the community, some tax money, and hard work allowed the school to survive and thrive. Dr. Many Sloop spent a great deal of her time in fund raising activities: "I have written asking for help for Crossnore...raising money is not a falling-off-a-log job. It requires letter writing, speechmaking, travel --and above all-- faith in your cause" (Sloop, p.185). Because of her efforts and the generosity of many, the school grew in size to serve ever-increasing enrollment with an expanded curriculum. Drawing from a 200-mile radius, the student population grew to include boarding children from Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia (CROSSNORE School Bulletin, Spring, 1963).

Because the school was a public school, every effort was made to meet the standards set by the state and to exceed them. Like Pine Mountain and Hindman, the curriculum supported both industrial arts (manual training), home economics, weaving and other indigenous art forms, and a college-bound curriculum, as is indicated by the demand for the teaching of Latin.

Dr. Mary Sloop told an interesting story about the teaching of Latin. Uncle Newt Clark, who refused payment for his labor on the high school building, inquired at that time as to whether or not Latin would be offered at the new high school. Dr. Sloop answered that it would, but asked him how it was that he knew about Latin, to which he replied,

Cause our folks from the Old Country writes to us that we're settled here in this lonely place, and we've got to be sure to get our young'uns educated, and that nobody is educated that don't know Latin. So we've always wanted 'em to have Latin, and I'm agoin'' home and tell Mary Jane they're agoin' to have Latin(Sloop, p.132).

There was no shortage of Latin students. Dr. Sloop promised students they would have an opportunity to study four years of Latin. The enrollment in Latin continued to rise so that there were too many students for one teacher to instruct; it was decided, therefore, that only two years of Latin could be offered. There was such an outcry among the students and the community that this new policy did not go into effect, and four years of Latin continued to be offered. The school also encouraged the preservation of the old ballads, which Dr. Mary Sloop called "as English as Churchill and plum pudding" (Sloop, p.205). She took pride in the non-academic offerings at the school, but she also took pride in the school's ability to meet standards:

We always said that everything we did at Crossnore must be up to standard. We had our high school standardized almost from the start. Our business department that was added some time later was subject, too, to popular inspection by state authorities (Sloop, pp.214-215).

Curriculum guides and course offerings were not available, but Dr. Sloop was very specific about always trying to meet state standards, so it could be assumed that the school sought to meet at least the minimum standards of the state's requirements, in addition to offering non-academic courses in manual and industrial arts as well as weaving.

In 1951, Dr. Mary Sloop was named North Carolina Mother of the Year and American Mother of the Year (Cooper, p.64). She commented that when she accepted the American Mother of the Year Award, she "knew that this award wasn't for me at all. It was for the people of the mountains" (Sloop, p.222). She was a mother to her two children, but she had another child:

Crossnore, after all, is my enthusiasm - my third child, my other self. I delight to make speeches about the school...I can hear right now the ringing of hammers, and the insistent steady whine of an electric saw. Construction. Progress. Building for Crossnore. More opportunity for the children -the bright, ambitious, sturdy American children of our mountains. There can be no sweeter music to my old ears (Sloop, p.227).

Crossnore School, Inc. provided a public education for the people of Avery County and extensive social services (See Chapter 5) designed to improve the lives of the people of the community. Additionally, medical care was provided by Drs. Eustice and Mary Sloop (See Chapter 4).

Pine Mountain Settlement School

Pine Mountain Settlement School was established as a private school in 1913 by Katherine Pettit and Ethel deLong Zande, a principal at Hindman School who chose to join Pettit rather than remain at Hindman School (Green, 1981). Pine Mountain residents had solicited the school years earlier, but Pettit and Stone decided to establish the first settlement school at Hindman. When Pettit decided to leave Hindman, Ethel deLong Zande joined her. The school was built upon the 135 acres of land donated by Mr. William Creech, who said,

I don't look after wealth for them. I look after the prosperity of our nation. I want all younguns taught to serve the living God. Of course, they wont all do that, but they can have good and evil laid before them and they can choose which they will. I have heart and cravin that our people may grow better. I have deeded my land to the Pine Mountain Settlement School to be used for school purposes as long as the Constitution of the United States stands. Hopin it may make a bright and intelligent people after I'm dead and gone (Pine Mountain Bulletin, n.d,n.p.).

With Creech's wishes in mind, the Article of Incorporation of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, dated January 13, 1913, was established for:

industrial, intellectual, and moral training and education in the mountainous district of Eastern Kentucky. The organization, management and activities of such school or schools shall be dominated by a Christian spirit and influences but entirely from anything of a sectarian or denominational character. The school or schools so to be established shall also serve as a social center for the people of the neighborhood and community in which same may be established... (Pine Mountain Settlement School Article of Incorporation, January 13, 1913, n.p.).

Pine Mountain School was established from the very beginning with the intention of integrating health and social services with education.

Pine Mountain offered both academic and industrial classes for both elementary and secondary students, and by 1923 had established two extension centers "where district nurses and country teachers, paid by the state, live, as do the doctor as an industrial worker" (Letter, author unknown, to Mrs. Taplim, May 17, 1923). The following year, plans were being made to establish a third extension service in the Leatherwood Creek community, where there were "many families, and lots of children" (March 18, 1924, letter to Mrs. Wheeler). This center was to be located in a house to be rented from a lumber and coal company for one dollar,

annually. The house was in need of repair, estimated at \$2500 and Mrs. Wheeler was being solicited for funds. The house was to be a model home as well as a classroom, one where "neighbors will love to drop in, and where everything from the water which is piped down the hill to the kitchen, -unknown luxury in their own homes, -to the victrola and the pictures and other 'fotched-on' things, will be a subject of comment and interest" (Letter Mar. 18, 1924, to Mrs. Wheeler). The teacher would be hired by the School but paid by the county. The School would also provide an industrial worker to teach cooking and sewing, a trained social worker, and a Sunday School worker.

By the late 1930s through the 1940s, Pine Mountain Settlement School consisted of only grades 9 through 12. The school's approach to curriculum and student evaluation differed considerably from that of Hindman and Crossnore Schools.

In an undated publication entitled "Pine Mountain Settlement School," the structure of the school was explained to students. Students were acknowledged as having chosen Pine Mountain Settlement School rather than having it forced upon them. This choice, to the workers, meant that the student would have considerable freedom to make choices about his or her schooling. Unlike students at Hindman and

Crossnore Schools, which, as public schools, adhered to county and state requirements, Pine Mountain students did not receive grades for their course work.

Students were informed that for those who chose to enter a university, the school had made arrangements for them with the University of Kentucky and other colleges in the area; all that was needed was the recommendation of Pine Mountain School, and they were not required to take entrance examinations. This reassurance was tempered with, "It must be remembered, however, that preparation for college is not the primary purpose of Pine Mountain Settlement School. It is rather to prepare young people for a useful life wherever that may be, either on the farm or in the mine, the kitchen, store or shop" (Pine Mountain Settlement School, n.p.). Not only did students not receive grades, they also did not receive credits for the work completed.

The evaluation process was explained to student as being one that was not based on "the amount of book learning...but on good citizenship; not on many facts stored in your head, but on how you use those facts in your own development and on how you get along with other people" (Pine Mountain Settlement School, n.p.). In fact, students participated in their semester evaluation reports, which were sent to their parents. There were two stated reasons

for this: (1) teacher-generated reports tended to be one-sided, and "a shared report rounds out the picture and makes it more meaningful"; (2) "Socrates said, 'Know thyself,'" and growth, from the School's viewpoint, began only when one learned to view himself or herself "critically and act accordingly" (Guide for Student Letters----December, 1943).

By the late 1930s, Pine Mountain Settlement School was a four-year private high school (grades 9-12) accredited by the State of Kentucky. The curriculum reflected the School's stated purpose, each school year reflecting a different aspect of the school's purpose.

According to the Pine Mountain Catalogue, 1943-46, the freshman year was built around the theme of "Living Together," and was designed to help students make a "satisfactory social and educational adjustment".

The sophomore year theme was "Man and His Needs." Students studied "intensively" the Cooperative Movement. Students organized and ran a cooperative store. An outline of the "Consumer Cooperation: Co-op Groups" was informative. The "general objectives" included organization of the cooperation [sic], acquisition of knowledge of co-op store administration learned through hands-on activities, parliamentary procedure, to be used to conduct business meetings; understanding of pioneer groups in world-wide

cooperative movements, an understanding of co-op credit unions, and the different types of co-op organizations.

The junior year of high school was spent in community services. Students assisted elementary teachers in five county elementary schools, and they also assisted the doctor and nurse in the school infirmary and neighborhood clinics.

The senior year was dedicated to the student's particular interest which he or she wanted to pursue, be it preparation for college entrance or a vocation he or she planned to enter (Pine Mountain Catalogue, 1943-46).

An analysis of course offerings in the Pine Mountain Catalogue, 1943-46 and several undated publications revealed the heavy emphasis upon industrial arts training.

Agriculture, business arithmetic, a survey course in mechanics, auto-mechanics, bookkeeping, cooking, dairying, forestry, furniture making, home management, typing and shorthand, weaving, woodworking, and many other vocational classes constituted the bulk of the curriculum. English composition and literature, history, algebra, and other academic classes were also offered. The school also taught printing, and most, if not all, of the publications printed for Pine Mountain Settlement School were done by students.

An analysis of the course syllabus for the printing class revealed that selections upon which students practiced

the printing trade were meant to instill a strong work ethic within the students. For example, "Job 6, Alphabet Sentences," offered this message:

He that hath a trade hath an estate.
 Diligence is the mother of good luck.
 The tortoise was the first efficiency expert.
 Concentration is the first condition of success.
 The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog.
 A good worker is worth more than a poor manager.
 If you want a thing to succeed, get behind it and push.
 The man at the top is the one who has been in the habit
 of going to the bottom of things.
 The jazz band included a saxophone and a xylophone
 among the instruments of their queer outfit.

The music curriculum differed from the Hindman and Crossnore, as well. Where there had been an emphasis on indigenous music in the other settlement schools, Pine Mountain Settlement School took a much broader approach:

Through the Chapel choir, the pipe organ, a Carnegie Library of music and a Capehart reproducer, singing assemblies, operettas, singing classes, piano recitals, a limited number of instrumental lessons and guest performers from time to time, the School seeks to bring not only a wide range of music for students to hear but give them an active part in producing it (Catalogue, 1943-46, p.17).

Pine Mountain Settlement School required that all students work, including those who paid cash for tuition. Bible classes were required, and church attendance at the school's non-denominational Pine Mountain Church was also required. While Hindman and Crossnore Schools taught Christian ideals and students were expected to attend the

church of their choice, Pine Mountain offered no choices for students. The 1943-46 Catalogue stated directly that "in many ways the Church is the center of life of the School" (n. p.).

Citizenship was taught, in part, via the Citizenship Committee. This committee was made up of the director of the school, two teachers, and six students. Operating under the requirements of a constitution, six sub-committees existed to carry out the work of the Committee. A scanning of several "Minutes of the Citizenship Committee Meeting" revealed that the Committee often dealt with discipline problems, the most frequent problem appearing to be that of boys escorting girls to their dormitories, unsupervised. The Committee was also responsible for planning weekend entertainment activities (Citizenship Committee Meeting Minutes, 1944-1946).

In 1936, Pine Mountain Settlement School began offering post-graduate work for some of its graduates. During the 1938-39 school year, it expanded this program by opening it up to those who, although not high school graduates, desired vocational education only; college preparation courses were not part of the post-graduate course offering. The bulletin published to announce this expansion of post-graduate work stated that "the intelligent use of knowledge is emphasized,

rather than the collection of non-usable facts" and "a chance to broaden one's vocational horizon, to explore more deeply one's interest and talents, and to acquire such a background that the student will be able to offer more skilled service and command better positions" was the goal (Bulletin of Post Graduate Work of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, 1938-1939, n.p.).

The heavy emphasis upon vocational training and the degree of personal responsibility given students was, evidently, a matter of concern among at least some members of the community. In a letter dated September 14, 1934, Dr. Newman, the physician for the School, wrote a letter to Dr. Darwin, in Buffalo, New York. His letter was primarily a defense of the School's director, Mr. Morris, a letter written because he could not "sit by and see him [Mr. Morris] take a beating as he has had in the past month without a word of protest." While defending Mr. Morris against charges of being a communist, he also defended the school's curriculum and its goals: "The program of the school has been bitterly criticized because it has given the students a wider choice of ways in which to invest their time." Dr. Newman points out that other schools have "gone far beyond us in granting freedom of choices of its students." There were evidently complaints about the small

number of students leaving the School to attend college,
for he wrote, vehemently,

It is hardly fair to judge Pine Mountain standards by those of Berea because it has been definitely decided after due consideration here that the small minority of college-bound students must not be permitted to displace the large majority who cannot hope to go on to college. Preparation for more abundant living under the conditions which we know they will have to have seems like a far more reasonable procedure for Pine Mountain at this time. To berate Pine Mountain for not sending students to Berea is like berating Massachusetts Agriculture College for not matriculating more of its graduates to M.I.T. College credits must surely have a place and we hope a constantly increasing place but it does not seem fair to keep flaunting them in the face of 90 percent of whom they will never mean anything but a disappointed dream. (Dr. Newman, letter from, Sept. 14, 1938).

The School continued to provide a vocational-oriented program of study while expanding its educational services to include assisting the County public school system in improving its educational services through an agreement entered into between the Harlan County Board of Education and the Pine Mountain Settlement School.

Hindman and Crossnore Schools assisted their respective county school systems by offering training, curriculum materials, the loan of specialized teachers, etc. As public schools, their work was intertwined with the operations of the county system. Pine Mountain Settlement School, however, was never a public school, and as a private school

funded through a wide array of donations through endowments, bequests, etc. enjoyed considerable freedom. The School, it appears, was held in considerable esteem by the Harlan County Board of Education, however. Katherine Pettit mentioned in a 1918 letter that the county "has given up the supervision of ten rural schools with full authority from the state" (Letter to Mr. D.D. Martin, The Larkin Co., 1918, p.2). The specifics of the agreement and the duration of this endeavor are not known, for no other reference was found to this agreement. However, another agreement was entered into between the Harlan County Board of Education and the School in 1945.

This agreement (un-numbered pages) called for the School to take over the operation of the following schools: Big Lural, Little Lural, Creech, Divide, Incline, and Turkey Fork, referred to collectively as the "Little Schools." (AGREEMENT). The director of the Pine Mountain Settlement School at this time was Mr. H.R.S. Benjamin, and the superintendent of the Harlan County Schools was Mr. James A. Cawood.

The Preamble to the agreement between the two organizations stated the purpose of this joint endeavor:

In the belief that Pine Mountain Settlement School may be able to assist in the need that is apparent to all interested in the primary grades of the

county school system on this side of Pine Mountain, Pine Mountain Settlement School and the County Board of Education represented by the County Superintendent of Schools enter into this agreement. Pine Mountain Settlement School is motivated by no desire to profit in any way from this venture, except to provide for itself a reservoir of young student life from this immediate community for the future. Pine Mountain Settlement School is prepared to do anything reasonable in the way of assistance to make the program succeed. The County Board of Education thru the agency of the Superintendent of County Education recognizes the advantages that may be obtained for the primary grade work in the program outlined and therefore willingly enters into this agreement. The following statement of relationships and responsibilities are acceptable to both parties as witnessed by appended signatures of representatives of the same parties(1910).

The specific components of the agreement delineated the duties of each party and indicated some concerns. The agreement was divided into the following subheadings:

Section I: The relationship and individual responsibility of the Harlan County Board of Education and the Pine Mountain Settlement School; Section II: teachers; Section III: students; Section IV: parents and the community served; Section V: buildings and equipment; and Section VI: supervision of the Little Schools.

Section I of the Agreement defined the endeavor between the two parties as being one that "shall be a cooperative one in all matters unless otherwise indicated." Both parties agreed to use the best resources available to both

parties. Pine Mountain Settlement School agreed to use its facilities for the benefit of community members of the schools served for medical, recreational, and other activities. However, the School stated that the agreement would not "bind itself to limit its interest and activities to that part of Harlan County this side of the mountain" because it wished to be able to provide similar services to neighboring counties. Additionally, the School wanted access to county buses and bus drivers.

Section II stated that teachers would have to meet both state and county certification, character, and teacher preparation requirements. The salary of teachers would be paid by the county, with a base salary of \$152.50 per month for a teacher with an AB degree. The director of the Settlement School would have the authority to hire and place teachers, with recommendation from the County, "subject to the PMSS curriculum committee's right to review qualifications." The School director also reserved the right to dismiss teachers upon recommendation of the supervisor (to be hired by the Settlement school) of the schools, the School's Curriculum Committee, and the County Office. The teacher would be responsible for record keeping (attendance, grades, etc.), clearing these tasks through both the supervisor and the County Office. The School would

offer "maintenance" for all teachers placed at the Little Schools, and where "feasible" would provide transportation.

Curriculum matters would be made by the supervisor of the Little Schools, with state curriculum requirements strictly observed. Teachers, with approval from the supervisor and Pine Mountain Settlement School would have the freedom to employ "new or unique techniques" (Reel 80). The school schedule for the schools under the Settlement School's control would be allowed to create an alternative schedule from that of the County to allow students to be absent for "planting, hoeing, foddering, etc.," with the time to be made up by extending the school year.

Section III of the Agreement required that student attendance be strictly enforced. The teacher was to report truancies to the supervisor who would in turn report this to the County. It was the County's responsibility to handle truancy problems. Health standards would be met by all students, and it was the responsibility of the supervisor to follow through on these standards. Pine Mountain Settlement School, a community group, an advisor, and the teacher would set up recreational activities for students. The County would be responsible for providing equipment and supplies for a hot school lunch.

Section IV stated that parents were expected to cooperate with the Settlement school in the matter of attendance. The School would, "for the good of the community and to cement relationships" permit the use of the settlement school facilities for extra-curricular activities, adult evening classes, club meetings, etc. This section of the agreement acknowledged the concern parents had about possible consolidation of the school within their communities. The Settlement School and the County, evidently, did not agree on this issue, so the Agreement addressed this delicate subject by stating that the matter of school consolidation would be "cooperatively considered by the County and PMSS" with the supervisor given the authority to make the final decision, "as a neutral observer familiar with the conditions in the area involved."

Section V delineated several agreements made in regards to buildings and equipment. The County was responsible for carrying insurance against fire and other hazards, and it was financially responsible for the maintenance of the buildings. The Settlement School was responsible for supervising all repairs on the buildings, with the agreement that local and student labor would be used for repairs where possible. The Settlement School was responsible for providing health facilities as needed, with the school nurse

offering services within each of the communities served.

As for equipment, the County was responsible for purchasing and repairing "permanent" (not defined) equipment and was to build into its annual budget money for said repairs. The Settlement School agreed to provide any recreational equipment needed.

Section VI of the Agreement stated that a supervisor of the Little Schools would be hired by the Pine Mountain Settlement School and would become a member of its Staff of Workers. The County and the Settlement School would both contribute to his salary. His duties were to coordinate the work of each of the Little Schools with the standards set by the Settlement School and the County. He was responsible for the standardization of the curriculum to both the Settlement school and County's specifications. He was to act as a liaison between the Settlement School, the County, parents, and the community, and in "disagreements arising between any of the parties concerned the County Office shall carry a heavy weight of final decision."

Prior to the finalization of the Agreement, several letters between the Settlement School' director, Mr. Benjamin, and members of its Board of Directors were exchanged in which concerns were expressed and advice given. In a letter from Arthur L. Swift, Jr. to Mr. Benjamin, he

stated that he found the terms to be "excellent," but voiced the following concern: "I question, as does Mr. Crutchfield, (another Board member), the seat of ultimate power should disagreement arise" (Letter, February 23, 1945).

Another concern voiced in a letter signed E. Cole and dated January 25 , 1945, was the possibility that no workers could be found and/or the shop boys would not be able to do the work, and he wondered if the provision about who was to do the work was thought out clearly. A two-page note (no date) from A. Dodd, offered a list of items that he considered problem-areas which might lead to "friction and misunderstanding":

1. Teacher - Hiring and replacing
2. Attendance enforcement
3. Books and latitude in curriculum matters
4. Salary of supervisor and his powers specifically
5. Hot lunch program
6. Who will receive and act on community or parental complaints?
7. What will be said to beginning teachers about professional loyalties?
8. Transporting and boarding of teachers
9. Records, etc. --whether to clear through supervisor or between individual teachers and County office
10. Problems of school consolidation and related problems

Mr. J. D. Crutchfield, having reviewed the proposed agreement, expressed his concern as well about who had the final decision making power, pointing out in a letter dated

February 16, 1945, that he saw a contradiction in the contract, for on the one hand it appeared that conflicts would be settled by the supervisor, who was employed by the Settlement School, while the last sentence read, "In disagreements arising between any of the parties concerned, the County Office shall carry a heavy weight in the final decision." He was of the opinion that "It is always desirable to have the responsibility and ultimate authority definitely fixed and preferably it should reside in the Pine Mountain School." He then acknowledged that there could be "some question as to the county officials' authority to relinquish their authority" --questioning the legality of the matter. Further, were the Board of Education to do so, "parents and politicians might resent it and undertake to cause trouble." The legality, of course, of relinquishing power over public schools to a private school was the question. A search of Pine Mountain archival materials and the Harlan County Board of Education's Record and Minutes has yielded no information about the legality of such an agreement. Richard Pritchard, head of the State of Kentucky's Library and Archives, and his staff have been unable to locate any information at the state government level.

Clearly, concern existed about who, ultimately, was in control. The issue of consolidation of schools also seemed to be a particularly troublesome area. While the Agreement between the County and the Settlement School in regards to this matter read, "Problems related to consolidation or similar plans will be cooperatively considered by the County and PMSS", an evidently private, internal memo at the Settlement School was more adamant in this matter. The memo, dated January 26, 1945, contained the following heading (capitalized): "KINDLY TREAT THIS SHEET AS CONFIDENTIAL MATTER." Twelve items were listed, to be "points to be considered in cooperation with County on 'Little Schools' in addition to or elaboration of notes on conference with Mr. Cawood and Mr. Lawson." Item three of this memo read, "Avoid commitment for any locals, and spare the most socially developed communities the burden of consolidation with the less developed."

The private memo also revealed certain preferences on the part of Pine Mountain Settlement School that they did not, perhaps, want to make perfectly clear to the Harlan County Board of Education. For example, the agreement called for their hiring of a supervisor; it does not suggest that the supervisor was being employed to supervise any schools other than those specified in Harlan County. In

this memo, however, item one stated, "Be sure that nothing in the contract limits us from using the time of the same supervisor in looking after additional little schools which may not be in Harlan Co., e.g. Coyle Branch, Bear Branch, etc."

The Settlement School clearly wanted wide latitude in matters of materials issued. Item six of this memo stated, "Get into writing, tastefully, our right to use additional books and teaching material beyond the prescribed ones." This was, perhaps, achieved by stating in the agreement that teachers would be under the supervisor who in "consultation with the Supervisor and the PMSS will be allowed...to employ new or unique techniques and retain interest of the pupils; such as those related to equipment, furnishings, library and so forth." Nor did the Settlement School want the Board to secure teachers unless the School was unable to do so, for as the memo pointed out, "Final responsibility for getting teachers to be the County's, to be exercised only after we have not secured one by a specified date."

One could conclude that, as would be expected, the Settlement School wanted almost total control over the teachers hired and the curriculum and supportive materials, and teacher methodology. As for the Supervisor, one must wonder at his or her ability to be an impartial "arbitrator"

since his or her job was dependent upon the good graces of the Settlement School which employed him or her.

Difficulties aside, that two very different educational institutions, one public and one private, managed to work out an agreement for the cooperative operation of a few schools is an interesting endeavor. In the Report of Pine Mountain Visiting Teacher, October 13, 1945 (unsigned), the visiting teacher stated that she had met with "Miss Wilkerson and Miss Walden, who are responsible for all the visiting of the eighty schools in the County." In light of the sheer number of schools to be supervised, it is not surprising that the County would be very much interested in any endeavor that would reduce the number of schools it had to supervise directly. As for Pine Mountain Settlement School, the Preamble to the Agreement was more revealing of motive than one might think: "Pine Mountain Settlement School is motivated by no desire to profit in any ways from this venture, except to provide for itself a reservoir of young student life from this immediate community for the future." This joint venture did not provide the type of "reservoir of young student life" that the school anticipated, for just four years later, the circumstances and services of the School would radically change.

By the end of the 1940s, financial woes led the Settlement School to undertake another change. Mr. Benjamin, the director, presented a statement to the student body, in which he stated that the financial problems of the school were so severe that the school could no longer exist under current conditions (March 30, 1949, Statement Presented to Student Assembly). By April 5, 1949, Arthur W. Dodd issued an announcement of the impending closing of the school:

This spring will bring to a close the high school work at Pine Mountain, and under the auspices of Berea College, a new program is being planned... In close cooperation with the Harlan County Board of Education there will be a consolidated elementary school with students transported by bus from our neighboring school districts. At this time no plans are made for boarding students. The medical program which is so greatly needed in the area back of Pine Mountain will be expanded and improved. The farm and dairy will be used for experimental and demonstration purposes, working closely with the Department of Agriculture of Berea College (Letter, April 5, 1949).

Based on the announcement "Special to the Louisville Courier-Journal," the School was serving in this capacity in 1953. The release, written by Mrs. Nace of the School, stated that the Settlement School operated as an elementary day school "in cooperation with Harlan County." It is ironic that this capacity was formed through the consolidation of seven one-room county schools, given the

emphasis upon avoiding consolidation. Ms. Nace stated that 200 children were enrolled and taught by teachers hired and paid by the county. "The school puts its many facilities at the disposal of this consolidation, enriching the program in many ways" (Nace, October 7, 1953).

Like Hindman and Crossnore Schools, Pine Mountain Settlement School terminated its elementary and high school programs in the 1960s and 1970s; like these two schools, Pine Mountain found a way to continue to serve the people. Pine Mountain received a grant through the Environmental Education Act, through the United States Health, Education and Welfare Department. By 1972, the program was in place (Environmental awareness workshops, 1972). With this grant the school developed an impressive environmental education program for both students and teachers, a service which it provides even today as we approach the 21st Century.

Summary

The education of Southern Appalachian mountain children was the primary purpose for establishing the schools of Hindman, Pine Mountain, and Crossnore. Similarities and differences occurred among the three schools in matters of curriculum, funding, and the relationship each had with their respective county Boards of Education. Each changed

over time in ways that allowed them to continue to serve their communities.

All three schools provided an academic program which at least met the minimum standards of the states in which they were located. Each school, over time, established a high school. Hindman Settlement School provided the first program in domestic and industrial arts in Kentucky, and these courses were an important part of the educational program at all three schools. A college preparatory program was available to students of these three schools, although it is unclear how extensive this program was at Pine Mountain Settlement School. Their non-traditional approach to credits and grades and complaints from community members about the limited number of Pine Mountain Settlement School students pursuing a college education would imply that a college preparatory program was not of great importance to the leaders.

Pine Mountain and Hindman schools expanded their educational services to outlying areas either by establishing extension centers or by helping the county school systems provide education at extremely remote sections of the county. Crossnore, however, offered such assistance by allowing students from outside Crossnore to attend Crossnore School, Inc., beginning with students from

the nearby Altamont district and later allowing students from neighboring Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia to attend as boarding students.

Hindman and Crossnore Schools were, from the beginning, public schools. Even so, they charged tuition, which few students paid directly; payment came in the form of student work and/or individual contributions from people of means who "sponsored" a child. Pine Mountain was a private school that also charged tuition. Like the other two schools, children who could not afford to pay tuition worked and/or were sponsored by individuals. Regardless of payment method, all students were required to work for a specified period of time, for work was considered a part of their training in industrial and domestic arts.

The relationship between the public school systems and the settlement schools varied for each of the three schools. Hindman, which for all practical purposes was the only public school for most of the years under study, had a cooperative, collaborative relationship with the Knott County Board of Education from the very beginning of the school's establishment.

Pine Mountain School, however, had a more restricted relationship with the Harlan County Board of Education. Established as a private school, the School did not feel the

need to work as closely with the County Board of Education as did Hindman; however, the relationship between the two was clearly a positive one, as is evident through the willingness of the Harlan County Board of Education to turn over to Pine Mountain Settlement School the operation of some of its rural schools. Their relationship could be described as cooperative.

Crossnore School, Inc. had a somewhat antagonistic relationship with the Avery County Board of Education. As the only public school in Crossnore, the Avery County Board of Education assumed some responsibility for the education of children at the School. As a subscription school, the county paid for four months of schooling; Dr. Sloop had to find ways to finance the other five months of schooling. Subscriptions were paid in part through work and in part through the sponsorship of the children by individual benefactors. The growth of the curriculum, the physical plant, the quality of teachers, and the provision of a host of other services were achieved through the tireless efforts of Dr. Mary Sloop and the generosity of many benefactors.

The lack of information on Crossnore School, Inc. made it difficult to trace the relationship between the Avery County Board of Education and the Crossnore School, but there is little evidence in either the Crossnore records or

the Avery County Board of Education's records to indicate that the relationship was positive. It appeared that the County Board of Education members did only that which was required of them.

In summary, then, the relationship between Hindman and the Knott County Board of Education was both cooperative and collaborative. The relationship between Pine Mountain School and Harlan County Board of Education was for the most part positive and sometimes cooperative. The relationship between Crossnore School and Avery County Board of Education was somewhat antagonistic and cooperative only when required by outside forces.

In time, the county systems assumed responsibility for the education of the children within their districts. As they did so, Hindman, Pine Mountain, and Crossnore School, Inc. shifted their focus to the expansion of other services. By the end of the 1970s, none were the primary educational institutions in their communities. Hindman remained the most involved in direct educational services and became Knott County's resource center for GED preparation, adult literacy programs, and programs for learning disabled children. Pine Mountain shifted its emphasis to environmental education, and Crossnore became both a shelter and a school for abused and/or neglected children and

children. These schools continue to serve their communities in these capacities today.

Educational services were only part of the services offered by Hindman, Pine Mountain, and Crossnore School, Inc. Responding to the multiple needs of the communities served, they also provided health care and social services.

CHAPTER 4
HEALTH SERVICES

Geographically isolated residents of Southern Appalachia had little access to health care; certainly those who resided in Knott and Harlan Counties, Kentucky and Avery County, North Carolina suffered greatly because no medical care of any type was available to them, forcing them to rely upon folk medicine which was often based in superstition. Kentucky settlement workers recognized the desperate need to provide access to health care and initiated efforts to bring health care workers to the communities they served. This was no easy task considering the primitive conditions under which health care providers had to work.

Preventive treatment for illnesses such as typhoid and childhood diseases was virtually unheard of; many children were plagued by hookworms, diseases of the nose and throat inflicted both children and adults, and a disproportionate number of the citizenry of Knott and Harlan Counties suffered from the highly contagious, crippling eye disease of trachoma. By 1911, Crossnore was fortunate enough to have in its midst physicians Eustice and Mary Sloop; Hindman and Pine Mountain Settlement Schools brought registered nurses to the communities they served and specialized

clinics staffed by physicians, as needed. Like Hindman and Pine Mountain Schools, arrangements were made to hold specialized clinics --an eye clinic, a clinic for the removal of tonsils, and also a T.B. clinic at Crossnore School. (CROSSNORE School Bulletin, Summer, 1918).

Hindman Settlement School

In 1909 Hindman Settlement School employed the services of a registered nurse. In addition to administering to the needs of the students, she visited people throughout Knott County, administering to their medical needs as best she could. When a physician's services were required, the school made arrangements to transport the critically ill to hospitals in Lexington or Louisville. All female students were required to study home nursing. Of all the medical services provided, however, the treatment of trachoma, perhaps, impacted the area the most.

Hindman Settlement School (then called the Woman's Christian Temperance Union Settlement School (W.C.T.U.)), under the direction of May Stone, recognized the extraordinary number of cases of trachoma among the mountain people. With the financial backing of Linda Heville of Lexington, the school contracted with Dr. J.A. Stucky to conduct the first operative clinic in April, 1911. Dr. Stucky had treated the mountaineers who managed to come to

his office in Louisville, and he was aware of the inordinate number of individuals afflicted with eye diseases. He welcomed the opportunity to come to the mountains, under the auspices of Hindman Settlement School, to treat the people afflicted with trachoma and other eye diseases. Dr. Stucky treated over 200 cases within a period of two days, 25% percent of them suffering from trachoma or other infectious diseases of the eyes, stating that "many of them were the most pitiful and hopeless I had ever seen" (Stucky, 1911, n.p.).

Dr. Stucky returned in September of the same year, bringing with him four nurses. He did not limit his services to Hindman, however. Traveling by muleback and using wagons, he traveled throughout Knott, Breathitt, Perry, Rockcastle, and Laurel counties. This proved to be a highly instructive journey, for he stopped at one room schools and individual homes and saw first hand the reason for the inordinately high number of cases of the diseases among the people of the mountains (Stucky, 1911,n.p.). This knowledge would lead Dr. Stucky to devote many years of his life to the eradication of trachoma in the Kentucky mountains while simultaneously addressing the root causes of the problem.

Dr. Stucky was struck by the primitive conditions under which the mountain people survived. Their homes, he noted, were small (most 14' x 15') cabins devoid of windows, with lean-to chimney and a stove. Few had so much as an oil lamp or candle, many using "the dip lamp our forefathers used long ago" (Stucky, 1911, n.p.). Families were large, with most families having seven to thirteen children. Physically, the "average one gives the appearance of being underfed and underclothed" (Stucky, 1911, n.p.). Most were "unlettered," finding only one who could read. He did not consider them to be ignorant, however. He described them as being "simple-minded, loyal people" who knew "nothing of hygiene or sanitation" (Stucky, 1911, n.p.).

The lack of any knowledge of hygiene and sanitation was, of course, at the root of the problem of infectious diseases and explained the high incident of trachoma and other eye diseases. He realized that the majority of cases of infectious eye diseases were found in Kentucky's poorest counties, "counties so poor they have not even an alms house" (Stucky, 1911, n.p.).

The following year, Dr. Stucky conducted a second clinic in September. He brought with him Dr. Wilgus Bach and five nurses, in addition to utilizing the assistance of Miss Harriet Butler, of the Hindman (W.C.T.U.) Settlement

School. Over 400 patients were treated, 25% percent of them suffering infectious eye diseases, 10% percent of them "hopelessly impaired: with others being totally blind" (Stucky, 1912, n.p.). Desperate for medical care, some had walked 45 miles. "The condition found in this second clinic that surprised me most was the number of cases having serious complications of trachoma...These were appalling" (Stucky, 1913, n.p.). Diseases of the eyes were not the only problems, of course, and many children were treated for diseased adenoids and tonsils and ear infection, while adults were often treated for diseases of the nose (Stucky, 1913).) Dr. Stucky led many subsequent clinics in the mountains while continuously extolling the virtues of health education as the only solution to the problem of trachoma and other infectious diseases. So great was the task of eradicating this terrible disease, that "through the school [Hindman], an appeal was sent to the federal government for its aid in checking the ravages of the disease" (Stucky, 1913, n.p.). John McMullan, Passed Assistant Surgeon, United States Public Health Service, determined that the prevalence of the disease warranted federal involvement, Dr. Stuckey aptly pointing out that out-migration of Kentuckians could cause the spread of the highly contagious disease to other states. Recognition of this possibility led to the

establishment in 1913 of a government trachoma hospital in Hindman, followed by the establishment of two other such hospitals in Kentucky. Children at several county schools were examined, and all children at Hindman were examined with meticulous records kept in order to track the influence of preventative medicine administered by the nurse and the impact of education. Dr. Stuckey encouraged the establishment of small hospitals that would be supervised by trained graduate nurses. These nurses would be educators, since he believed education was the preventive medicine needed to deal with the many illnesses that occurred as a result of the extreme poverty of the area. He praised the women of Hindman, calling them "genuine women, well qualified by training for scientific, hygienic, and sanitary teaching, [who] could go into the cabin homes of the people and do for them what no man could do" (Stuckey, 1911, Bulletin, n.p.). Hindman took up the task of health education, not only of the children served directly by the School but throughout county schools as well.

Rose Merinda Ehrenfeld, during a conference held in 1917 at Hindman, sought to educate teachers of the importance of health education in the school curriculum, with an emphasis on hygiene, in the elementary grades. She pointed out that many children ended their schooling after

the fourth grade, making it critical that students be taught the importance of hygiene at an early age. She saw the children as the only hope of eradicating the problem, speaking of the difficulty of getting people "who have been reared without knowledge of the fundamental principles of sanitation...polluted water supply (and utterly disregard any system of sewage) to see the connection between their standard of living and their inefficiency" (Ehrenfeld, 1917, p.90).

Children, Ehrenfeld reminded the teachers, came to school with hookworms, were treated and returned home during the summer months only to return again with hookworms, "showing the futility of treating the disease and tolerating the cause"(Ehrenfeld, p.90). The child should be taught healthful living habits and become "the medium through which a popular demand for better conditions can be created" (p.90). Board of Health Bulletins and government pamphlets were available to them, along with weekly health lessons, created by the Nursing and Health Department of the Hindman Settlement School. Thus, the settlement schools led the way in health education.

The impact of the medical care provided through direct efforts of Hindman, the subsequent efforts of both the state

and federal government, and the health education program sponsored by the settlement schools was significant.

Ten years after the first clinic, Dr. McMullen, by now Surgeon of the United States Public Health Service, reported that on his initial visit to the mountains of Kentucky he saw many people wearing colored glasses to protect their sore eyes from light. He now saw few such glasses and "not one case of trachoma was seen casually" (McMullen, Pamphlet, 1923, n.p.).

Dr. Kobert, Director of the Bureau of Trachoma, State Board of Health in 1931, reported in "Work in Kentucky Mountains Told by Board of Health," (Courier Journal, October 21, 1931) that in 1912 there were 50,000 cases of trachoma in the mountains of Kentucky, and by 1931 there were only 3,000. Dr. A. Von Sholly, a visitor from the New York Board of Health, called the "situation in this country...ludicrous -we take precautions to keep out infected aliens...[but] do very little to discourage the spread of trachoma in our midst, and worst of all amongst our oldest 'American stock' at that" (Kobert, 1931, p.10).

Dr. Stucky concurred, and saw the need for a "threefold agency" consisting of a doctor, a graduate trained nurse, and a teacher to address the ills of the mountain people. Both the state and federal health agencies would supervise

and guide this partnership. The Kentucky Legislature, in 1916, passed the "New Law for the Prevention of Blindness" which required that all cases of trachoma be reported to the state and that all newborn infants be observed for ophthalmia and if the disease was observed, it must be reported within six hours for those born in cities and 24 hours for those born in the rural areas.

The settlement schools played an important role as members of this "threefold" agency. Inoculations against typhoid, smallpox, and diphtheria were offered at both Hindman and Pine Mountain. Through direct medical intervention and education, trachoma was eradicated, visiting nurses tended the sick, and students were trained to provide some forms of nursing care, as well. Education in hygiene and sanitation led to healthier citizens. Dr. Stuckey once admonished the settlement workers to "help them help themselves" (Stucky, 1911), a comment that echoed the philosophy of the settlement workers.

Hindman Settlement School, recognizing the desperate need for medical services, initiated medical services by procuring the services of a nurse and bringing in physicians for specialized clinics.

Crossnore School, Inc.

Crossnore School differed from these schools in that the school did not initiate medical services, for Crossnore was fortunate enough to have Drs. Eustice and Mary Sloop move into the community. Like their colleagues in Kentucky, they sought to not only provide direct medical care but also educate the people to the benefits of sanitation and hygiene. Dr. Mary Sloop, in her book of memoirs, Miracle in the Hills, delineated the services provided and the conditions under which she and her husband worked.

Dr. Mary Sloop realized that as physicians they were in fact "pioneers" who were "often forced to improvise" (Sloop, p.86). They had no hospital, and Dr. Eustice Sloop spent much of his time riding on horseback into the remote hollows to provide his services. When it appeared that surgery was necessary, his wife would accompany him as his assistant. Surgery was often performed on the kitchen table by the light of a lantern, or the patient might be moved to an outdoor "table" consisting of wooden planks placed across a saw horse, usually placed under the shade of a tree.

Dr. Eustice Sloop actually preferred to do surgery outdoors, noting that fewer infections occurred. The facilities at home were not much of an improvement in the early days, the doctors practicing medicine on the lower

level of their unfinished dwelling. Dr. Sloop described the need to perform emergency surgery almost immediately upon their arrival to Crossnore. They had no sterilizer, so they created a make-shift sterilizer from a lard can and used a two-burner oilstove to heat the water. Until the Sloops were able to bring electricity to Crossnore, all medical work done after dark had to be completed by the lantern(Sloop).

Many ills of the mountain people stemmed from a lack of understanding of personal hygiene and sanitation. Dr. Mary Sloop stated that upon their arrival to the mountains, "Old superstitions were strong and faith in modern science was weak" (p. Sloop, p.223)). Preventive medicine was viewed as "just plain foolishness" (Sloop, p.223) and convincing the people of the importance of inoculations was no easy task. As one mountain man informed her, "I ain't no fool and you can't tell me that stickin a hole in a young'un with a needle can cure diphtheria or keep off typhoid fever" (Sloop, p.223).

Early in their practice, the Sloops offered "front porch clinics" to inoculate against the deadly illnesses, but few took advantage of this protection. Over time, the Sloops won the confidence of the people, Dr. Mary Sloop attributing this to "the basic open-mindedness of the

mountain people [which] allowed us to win them over to our side"(Sloop, p.224). The people had come to realize that the Sloops had come to live among them as neighbors; they had no interest in moving.

The diet of the mountain people also contributed to the poor health of the people. Their diet was "atrocious" and lacked "even the rudiments of proper balance" (p.225). Meals often consisted of only bread and meat; vegetables, when eaten at all, were soaked in hog lard. Like Dr. Stucky and Dr. McMullan of Kentucky, Drs. Eustice and Mary Sloop saw education as the tool most needed to improve the health of the mountain people.

As physicians, the Sloops were appalled at the early marriages of the young people. The girls were barely adolescents, often marrying at age 12 or 13, and the boys were only 15 or 16 years old. They attributed the high infant mortality rate to this practice of early marriages, in addition to poor nutrition and sanitation. Too frequently "many little girl wives" (Sloop, p.68) died during childbirth. Again, education was seen as the resource needed to give children back their childhood.

Through the years, Dr. Mary Sloop focused upon the educational needs of the mountain people. She practiced medicine only when required to do so because of the absence

of her husband who frequently was traveling to the homes of the ill, or to assist him in surgery. Her continued efforts to raise funds for the educational needs of the people of the area resulted, however, in her being able to receive funding for a much needed hospital.

As so often happened, an unexpected letter arrived at the school with a check for \$5,000 enclosed. The sender stated, "This is money left me by my parents. I want you to use it toward building a hospital for Crossnore -not just for the school but one for all the people in the country around" (Sloop, p.181). This provided the seed money and the hospital was opened in 1928.

The demand for the hospital was great and from the beginning it remained full most all the time, sometimes overflowing. Dr. Mary Sloop told of the time 19 babies were born but there were only 10 bassinets. On another occasion, triplets were born, with a combined birth weight of only 10 pounds. They had no incubator, but somehow the infants survived. They remained in the hospital for almost a year. When the father came to take the babies home, he paid the Sloops 50 cents. Money, clearly, was never an incentive for staying among the mountain people. The demand for bed space in the hospital was taxed to the limit when an outbreak of the mumps occurred at the school. The sick children filled

the hospital, leaving no space for the ill among the community. "The lesson we learned from that was that we must not be satisfied with just the hospital. The neighbors for many miles need...hospital attention...and the children must no be allowed to crowd them out" (Sloop, p.183). A school infirmary was needed; it was built by a carpentry class at the school as their project for the year. Within six weeks six checks, each for a thousand dollars, came from various contributors throughout the country, money that financed the infirmary.

Administering to the medical needs of the people of Avery County was a family affair. Emma, their daughter, and Will, their son, grew to adulthood, left the area for medical training, and returned home to practice medicine. Will became a dentist, and Emma (Dr. Emma Sloop Fink) completed medical school at Vanderbilt University, returning to practice medicine with her father. Asked during an interview (January 15, 1996) if she ever considered practicing medicine elsewhere, she replied that the thought quite literally never occurred to her. Crossnore was her home and it was always her intention to practice medicine there. Dr. Eustice Sloop's nephew, Eustice (named in honor him) said as a child that he wished to move to the mountains to practice medicine with his uncle. Dr. Sloop thought

nothing of it, but this was exactly what occurred, so there were three medical doctors and one dentist, all Sloops, providing medical care to the people of the mountains.

Pine Mountain Settlement School

The medical services offered at Pine Mountain paralleled that offered by Hindman and Crossnore. The services of a physician and a visiting nurse were available. Students studied home nursing and assisted the visiting nurse with patient care. A medical outreach clinic was established, called Medical Settlement. Pine Mountain Settlement School also entered into two associated practices that were not mentioned in the records of Hindman and Crossnore: (1) direct efforts to bring contraceptives to the mountain people, and (2) a primitive HMO medical endeavor.

Dr. Newman, in a letter to Beta Sigma Omicron, outlining the history of medical services at Pine Mountain, described their perspective of the service offered as "we feel here that this is actually one of the most direct and tangible ways we have of carrying out that part of our purpose 'to be a social center in an isolated and intensely rural section of the country.'" Conditions under which physicians had to work, like Hindman and Crossnore, were

extremely primitive, and Dr. Newman spoke of having to use a pressure cooker for a sterilizer, "but even with these hardships "plans for having a doctor at the school had more than proved its value both to the school itself, and as a community social project" (Newman, letter from, 1937). By 1931 the School had two doctors, one at the School's infirmary and one at Line Fork. When the infirmary doctor left, an area of 300 miles was left without services.

Dr. Frank Newman, who was trying to develop a delivery system of contraceptives for mountain women, received a letter from Margaret Sanger, of the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, Washington, D.C. Distribution of contraceptives was not an easy matter in the 1930s, but she stated that the reorganization would be pleased to help him set up birth control clinics and mail contraceptives, when and if federal legislation permitted:

Please write to both of your Senators at your earliest convenience (Senator Albe W. Barkley and M. Logan). Call their attention to the tragic problem and tell them that the whole difficulty regarding cost can be eliminated if our Bill 31842 goes through. I have a marvelous plan in mind to do just that as soon as it becomes legal to establish clinics and to use the United States Mails and Common Carriers for our supplies (Sanger, letter from, n.d.).

In addition to attempting to set up birth control centers, the School also established the Pine Mountain Health

Association, which the people referred to as the "Good Health Club" (Dr. Newman, letter from 1937). It functioned rather like today's HMO plans.

The Pine Mountain Health Association began with Mr. Morris, the school's director, and Henry Creech, the son of William Creech, traveling through the region for an entire day, explaining the program and calling for a meeting. In time, forty-three families came together, "an unusual number considering that this promised nothing directly in the way of gifts or entertainment, and was in fact a "new fangled" plan to be viewed with suspicion rather than enthusiasm" (Dr. Newman, letter from, 1937). The purpose of the organization was to form a medical cooperative to which members paid fifteen dollars annually. The dues would go toward the doctor's salary and administrative cost. (This fee was later reduced to ten dollars annually). Members of the cooperative would, in return, received free medical services. For those who could not afford the fee but wished to join the cooperative, they could offer labor in exchange for the money. Consequently, "the doctor's services are actually within reach of every family in the 300 square mile radius, no matter how poor they may be" (Newman, letter from, 1937). Of the service, he stated:

You can hardly realize, from my telling it, just what the service means to the community. In the

first place we are beginning to weld our individualistic neighbors into a community organization-and it is this isolation, from the world and from each other, which largely has held the mountain men back the past century. But perhaps more than that - a result to be looked forward to rather than realized at once -is the actual and immediate good which the doctor and the hospital are doing every day (Dr. Newman, letter from, 1937).

He spoke of the medical work there being "decidedly frontier" and the discouragement workers experienced. Dealing with "misunderstand, and ignorance all through the mountains," (Dr. Newman, letter from, 1937) took its toll, but in final reflection, Dr. Newman stated that:

No part of our work has more pitfalls, and barriers, in the way of suspicion, and lack of cooperation, yet no part can be quite so impressive in its results, day after day the saving of human lives, no part is so terribly needed, and one in the end can give us greater joy in its accomplishment (Dr. Newman, Letter from, 1937).

The physicians and nurses at Pine Mountain Settlement School, like Hindman, participated in the clinics provided by Dr. J.A. Stucky, as is evident in a series of letters addressed to either Pettit or Zande. He sought their assistance to go ever further into even more remote areas, stating that he "had Cutshin in mind and wanted to spend more at Line Fork and beyond..." (Stucky, Letter from, June 8, 1923). Not all of his letters dealt with medicine, however.

In one letter he stated that he was donating American flags to the school (Stucky, letter from, June 8, 1923) and in yet another, he spoke of bringing Dr. May and his daughter and a friend of hers to the School. By way of introduction, he said that "Both of these young ladies are college graduates, splendidly trained and highly cultured, who have become disgusted with the round of society and have been asking me for several months for the privilege of working in the settlement schools" (Stucky, Letter from, Oct. 12, 1922). It was his intention to leave them with the settlement workers so they could see first hand what settlement work was like in the mountains. Dr. Stucky's work over the years throughout the mountains was valued, but one gets the impression that he felt as at home there as he did in the city, and not all his visits were work related.

The isolated Southern Appalachian regions had few doctors and nurses move into the area. Those who came to the mountains often had to reach out to health care providers in the more urban centers. Katherine Pettit, in 1928, must have been seeking a physician, based on a letter she received from Grace Harwood, Chief Nurse of the Treasury Department, U.S. Public Health Service, in Rolla, Missouri. Harwood pointed out the problems in securing medical care. She worked in a clinic that provided care of diseased eyes,

through the Office of Medical Officer in Charge, Trachoma

Prevention:

Our position in Public Health work has become at times most embarrassing and awkward. As you know, Public Health work is not always looked upon favorably by the Doctors. In small communities where they still think public Health Nurses and Doctors deprive the private practitioner of his bread and butter...I wish you might read some of the letters written by and hear some of the comments made by the local Doctors who have almost completely severed diplomatic relations with us. (Harwood, letter from, May 16, 1922).

She concluded her letter to Pettit (1928) by stating that "Your school work being so well known and having a special appeal may gain for your children extra consideration. We shall certainly do everything within our power to aid you in your fine work" (Harwood, Letter from, May 16, 1922).

Summary

The primary function of the schools may well have been to educate the mountain people, but the assumption of the responsibility of providing health care for the people, of providing health care as an integrated services with Hindman and Pine Mountain settlement schools in particular represents the highest ideal of settlement work. Health services were integrated with the settlement schools first through the securing of visiting nurses who provided services to the ill via home visits. So great was the demand for their services, that students were taught home

nursing skills so they could assist the visiting nurse in her duties. The schools expanded their services through the building of infirmaries and/or hospitals. Pine Mountain Settlement School established, in addition to the medical services provided at the school itself, the Medical Settlement, approximately 30 miles from the school. The settlement schools offered specialized clinics which were sometimes conducted by physicians brought into the area for short periods of time, such as the trachoma clinics. Health education was also an important component of the health services. Hygiene and nutrition were taught to students and their families. The settlement schools also provided hygiene and nutrition training and materials to county teachers. Lives were saved because of integration of health services with the schools, both at school sites and through the schools' medical outreach programs; healthier living occurred through the education of the people in nutrition, sanitation practices, and personal hygiene.

Chapter 5

SOCIAL SERVICES

Today the term "social services" carries with it the connotation of services provided by state agencies and by private agencies, often funded with federal grant money. No such agencies existed in the early 1900s to serve the people living in the most remote territory in the country. A very important part of the work of the settlement schools was that of social services. Services were directed at the communities they served; services which were much more extensive in the context of the needs of people they served than of those agencies which serve them today.

Today, "social services" refers to protective services for children, welfare, food stamps, and similar services. Services such as community library services, the provision of electricity to the community, the creation of cottage industries through which the people might earn money would today be classified as community services rather than social services. It should be remembered that the settlement schools began in the Progressive Era, a time when social activism in the urban centers paralleled social activism in Southern Appalachia. The provision of recreational services, housing assistance, the creation of social

centers, vacation (summer) schools, and other services constituted the "social services" of the urban centers (Church & Sadlak, 1976; Trolander, 1975). The social services provided by the settlement schools reflected the needs of rural dwellers. The intent of the social services provided was more directed toward enabling those served to help themselves --to create conditions within the community which would ultimately improve the lives of people.

Services did not result from a specific plan to provide services; rather, they emerged over a period of time, sometimes from a mere circumstance that arose, sometimes from the longings of the community and/or the workers themselves. Electricity, water, library services, recreation, cottage industries, agricultural services, meeting places, roads, and extension services were provided to the communities served by the settlement schools. These extended services were seen by both workers and citizens as a natural part of the school's work, for the schools were viewed as community centers, and community centers existed to serve the people.

Electricity

Electricity was a modern convenience unavailable to most mountain people, and those who came to the mountains to work introduced the people to electricity by providing it to

schools and to the community. This was no easy task, and it required both hard work and ingenuity. In Mary Sloop's memoirs, she described the efforts of Dr. Eustice Sloop to bring electricity to Crossnore. After purchasing land on which a large creek existed, Dr. Sloop first had to build a dam, requiring much labor in cutting down trees and getting the logs placed at the dam site. Because money was never a readily available resource, he could not afford a new power generator (a dynamo), so he bought a discarded one from Davidson College. Dr. Sloop repaired the dynamo and ran a line to his house. Neighbors came by the Sloops' home to see electricity, and a neighbor who lived a half mile away came to him and said, "Me and my boys will put up the line between your house and mine if you'll sell me the electricity and wire our house," (Sloop, pp.82-85) which Dr. Sloop did.

Dr. Sloop next added electricity to the school, and in so doing could place no more demands upon his little power plant. He realized he needed to change from direct to indirect current so he could produce alternating current. He contacted General Electric to find out how to accomplish this task and was told that it could not be done, that " a number of people who had thought that they could rewind a direct-current dynamo and make it work as an alternating-

current dynamo" (Sloop, p.83) had tried and failed. With ¹⁴¹ much independent studying of the principles of electricity and sheer determination, he was able to accomplish what he had been told could not be done. In so doing, he brought electricity to the community of Crossnore, adding other households of the community, one by one. Every evening, at 9:30, the little power plant would be turned off, and every morning at 5:00 it was turned back on.

Ingenuity and tenacity were required to bring electricity to Crossnore --and a determination to bring to the mountain people a modern convenience which would make their lives easier. Hindman, too, provided electricity to the town of Hindman (Stiles, 1914). Pine Mountain Settlement School also brought electricity to its community, with most of the area residents having electricity by 1914 (Pine Mountain Settlement School, n.d.).

Self-supporting industries

Subsistence farming constituted the work available to Southern Appalachians during the early 1900s; later the lumber and coal kings moved into the area, creating employment. In between, the settlement schools revived old crafts and helped establish cottage industries, especially for the women; agriculture, especially in Avery County, became a viable means of earning a living.

The traditional weavings of Southern Appalachia were disappearing from the Appalachian landscape. The large, cumbersome looms of their grandmothers were dismantled and cut into firewood; heirloom woven coverlets were used with no understanding of their uniqueness and value. Katherine Pettit, during a winter journey that took her to the homes of her former students, recalled many years earlier seeing beautiful coverlets, and she encouraged owners to preserve them. Recognizing the potential of employment for the women, she, like settlement workers at the other two schools, initiated weaving instruction, first for students. It was then expanded to women in the community.

Crossnore School began teaching weaving to its students when a former student, who learned the craft while at Berea College, agreed to teach weaving at the school. She taught for a year, then decided to marry and chose to be a homemaker. She was replaced by Clara Lowrance, a weaver from Texas, who remained at the school for two years. A student of hers, Newburn Johnson, who later became known as "Aunt Newbee," was an adult student at Crossnore. When Mrs. Lowrance left, she became the weaving instructor, a position she held for several years(Sloop, pp.173-174).

Crossnore School branched out into the community when a mother of a young student announced that she would like to

learn to weave, but she could not leave her young children at home to attend formal classes. A loom was dismantled and carried to her, and her daughters taught her to weave. The woman became a good weaver, and with the money earned was able to put in a new floor in her house. She later made other improvements. Reflecting upon this point, Dr. Sloop added, "Many houses have been built with weaving money" (p.180).

There was no "formal" cottage industry; weavers sent their weavings from home. All were of fine quality and payment was sent home. Dr. Mary Sloop saw the weaving program as "an interesting avocation and it was reviving an old custom that they all loved" (p.180). Crossnore made no formal declaration of "adult education" services to be delivered into the community; a need arose and the school responded. This response typified the evolution of the settlement schools in terms of community services.

The Weaving Room at Crossnore was established to provide an outlet for the selling of the weavings of the local adults and the students at Crossnore. As an additional service, Crossnore weavers offered the service of copying almost any pattern sent to them, and patrons were encouraged to send treasured pieces for copying (Crossnore School Bulletin, Spring, 1950).

Hindman and Pine Mountain Schools, too, established cottage industries that marketed handmade products. At Hindman, instruction was given in weaving and basketmaking and the products of their labors were marketed through the Fireside Industries. Traditional split-bottom chairs developed into a thriving chair industry as well as other furniture items, both of which were taught in the manual training shops. Even as the coal and lumber industry grew, these cottage industries were seen as valuable:

An important need of our region is for an industry locally which will make use of local natural resources to produce a product, rather than further impoverishing the area by shipping out raw materials themselves. In our small way, we hope that our chair industry, using timber from our farm, will serve as an example of this possible and needed kind of enterprise (McLain, BMM, October 3, 1961).

Pine Mountain's Fireside Industries began with the weaving program, as well. Woven in the old style with natural dyed wool, Bhea Cobb, a worker at the Settlement School, reflected upon the revived art of weaving, said,

Permanent and enduring as the fabric of our blankets are, we believe that the most enduring result of this work comes in the children's characters. They are having what is a rare experience in our life today, the joy of conducting all the processes in the creation of a lovely thing. In our weaving room this is what determines the atmosphere in which the children work, not the effort to commercialize our products and simply produce for an outside market. We shall never keep up the pace set by weavers who import their raw materials, because our

whole emphasis is on the revival of the mountain processes by dying and weaving (Pine Mountain's Fireside Industries, Nov. 1938, n.p.).

In 1924 a young man at the Line Fork extension center made a walnut walking stick with a carved handle, and that sparked the idea of carved broom handles, and so the Pine Mountain Fireside Industry grew to include the making of chairs and stools.

In Avery County, weaving was not the only area of development for earning a living. One day, a man complained to Dr. Mary Sloop that he had planted too many potatoes and had forty bushels left over. She suggested he sell them, an idea he considered to be foolish. She wondered if there might be something important about this conversation, and she took it upon herself to write to the State Department of Agriculture about the possibility of potatoes being an income source. Two gentlemen were sent to Avery County. After looking at the soil and determining that the elevation was 3400 feet above sea level, they explained that all seed potatoes were grown in Maine; Avery County had the perfect climate to "grow the best seed potatoes in the world" (Sloop, p.126).

The positive comments of the agriculture agents prompted a town meeting to be held, with many of the community members in attendance. The Department of

Agriculture, in cooperation with Crossnore School, worked with the farmers, giving them specific instructions on how to grow the potatoes. However, although they grew well, the farmers encountered two problems: there was no good way to store the potatoes, so many were lost during the winter, and there were no roads to get them to market. The former problem was solved when the state government built a storage warehouse for the farmers; the latter was a problem not only for Avery County, but Knott and Harlan Counties as well.

Roads

Leaders of each settlement school tackled the enormous task of getting better roads into the communities they served, and of all the services provided, perhaps none was more important in the "uplifting" work they performed.

Dr. Mary Sloop began her campaign for roads in the early 1920s, during the administration of Governor Cameron Morrison. She knew he was interested in improving both roads and schools in rural areas of North Carolina. As with any new initiative, she called the community members together, seeking their support and help. She wrote letters to legislators, and she wrote to other states, gathering information about costs. She spent weeks in the state capitol, helping the mountain representatives frame a bill

for funding roads that would be acceptable to everyone. The legislature passed the bill unanimously, and over a period of years roads made their way into Avery County. More than any other endeavor, the road campaign paid big dividends for the people. The business of agriculture grew, and not only did potatoes flourish, beans and cabbages became important crops which were sold nationwide, trucks not only hauling crops from Avery County to market but trucks coming to Avery County to pick up produce.

Ethel Delong Zande, of Pine Mountain Settlement School, was instrumental in getting a road across Pine Mountain, although it was certainly no easy task. Pine Mountain Settlement School was instrumental for everything from raising seed money for the road project to soliciting the use of prisoners as laborers to pleas to the legislature for additional funding to finish the project. In a letter dated February 8, 1920, she wrote to the Board of Control of the State of Kentucky, requesting that 75 convicts be assigned to work on the road that was to cross Pine Mountain. She evidently wanted a larger number of convicts and better management of resources, for she wrote, "A great deal of money last year was lost through having only a small force of convicts at work, since overhead charges are so heavy, and it was unfortunate that the number of convicts was not

maintained so as to keep a good working unit"(Zande, Letter from, February 8, 1920). The project evidently ran out of money, as indicated in Zande's letter to J.S. Watkins, Division Engineer, State Road & Highways. She greatly feared the road would not be completed: "It is perfectly terrible to think that practically all the money the school raised for the Pine Mountain Road has been used up, and we are not yet to the top of the mountain" (Zande, letter from, July 5, 1921). She goes on to state that the school could raise no more money, "Honestly, I know I cannot get any more money for the road" and pleas for help, stating "Won't it be awful to stop it now? Not only because this country is just as much in need of it as we all were before, but also because the people who gave to it will lose their faith completely" (Zande, letter from, July 5, 1921). She commented that she found it particular upsetting that the bill for convict labor was inordinately large(\$26,000) and "was not used to advantage"(Zande, Letter from, July 5, 1921). Her conclusion revealed her anxiety over the funding problems with the road: "Do write me if you have any ray of hope to offer me, for I am in the blackest despair about that road" (Zande, letter from, July 5, 1921).

In a partial letter dated July 19, 1921 to Mr. H. Green Garrett, she lamented that the expected original cost of the

road project, \$100,000, turned out to be insufficient,
"but it surely seems as if the great State of Kentucky ought
to be able to complete that road, and that we have done our
part toward opening up a country that should be opened up
anyway." She asked directly, "Isn't there some way known to
the Road Commissioners by which this road can be completed?
We need it just as much as we did when we began to get the
money for it"(Zande, letter from, July 19, 1921). Like Dr.
Mary Sloop, she began a writing campaign, writing to
legislator Ron C.A. Nelson,

Please do all you can to keep our Pine Mountain
Road Bill from being buried alive in the Rules
Committee. It is Senate Bill No. 259, and while
it makes the Harlan-Hyden Intercounty-Seat Road
part of the Primary System, the only thing that
will ever be asked of the Road Department, if we
are fortunate enough to get the bill passed, is
that two miles of road on Pine Mountain be com-
pleted (Zande, letter from, Feb.22, 1922).

She pointed out that the Settlement School raised \$54,000 to
build six miles of road across Pine Mountain, "to connect
our buried-alive section of the County with the State
Primary System" (Zande, letter from, Feb. 22, 1922). She
stated that almost \$102,000 has been expended on the road,
including the money the state offered in matching funds.
She hated to see the money wasted when all they need was two
additional miles of road. She reiterated that the School
could raise no more money and that the struggle for

existence of the School "is sharper than most people can realize, just as the struggle for existence in the mountain is tremendous" (Zande, letter from, Feb. 22, 1922). She enclosed a brochure about the work of the School and concluded with poignant appeal, "Hundreds of children depend on us for their one chance." (Zande, letter from, Feb. 22, 1922).

Zande traveled to Frankfort where she wrote to each member of the Rules Committee of House and Senate and to influential Kentuckians. She then wrote to "Kate," saying, "I succeeded in getting our Senate Bill No. 269 to be read once in both houses, and was now in the Rules Committee" (Zande, letter from, February 23 or 28 [date unreadable], 1922). She explained that the bill would have to be read twice more in each house before it could be voted on. She included in her letter of a list of the members of the Rules Committee and asked "Kate" to write to them as well, stating that "We must bring every bit of additional pressure to bear, so that the bill won't be buried alive...We've got to work hard and fast." (Zande, letter from, February 23 or 28). In time, the bill was passed and a major obstacle to prosperity for the mountain people was overcome. The tireless efforts of Pine Mountain Settlement School and its patrons served the community well.

While helping people obtain roads and find ways to earn a living rank among the most important services provided by the settlement schools, others services enriched their lives. Through the schools' libraries, services were offered, both on campus and through a "bookmobile" service. Recreational services were provided, as well. Over time, citizens began to form social groups and community development groups, and the schools provided the facilities for these meetings. The schools became a training center for area educators and an extension service for state and university services.

Library Services

The Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union believed it was important to provide library services to the communities served by the settlement schools, placing "more than one hundred circulating libraries in this region"(Shute, 1902, p.9). Even though many citizens were illiterate, this appeared to be a desired service, "and the interest shown brings home to one a realization of the blessing of this work. Many boxes of papers and magazines, and school-books, have been sent into these places, and still the appeals come for more things to read"(Shute, p.7). It must be noted that magazines and papers were not necessarily desired for

reading. The poorly built cabins in which the people lived had cracks between the boards that allowed cold air to enter. Magazines and newspapers were plastered to the walls to reduce the cold. If the pictures were particularly pretty, this was an additional aesthetic benefit in which people took pride. In addition to the W.C.T.U. and Kentucky Federation of Clubs, the Delta Sigma Sorority was instrumental in providing books and new library facilities for Pine Mountain Settlement School (The Delta Sigmion, n.d.).

Hindman and Crossnore also offered bookmobile services. Hindman's library grew from 600 volumes to 1,000 to 6,000 to 8,000 volumes by 1945 (BMM).

Recreational Services

Settlement schools brought recreational services to the mountain people, services that included arts and crafts, music, and sports. Hindman offered the most extensive recreational outreach program of the three schools under study. They not only ran a bookmobile, they sent along an arts and crafts instructor, as well (McLain, BMM, October 2, 1962).

A separate "musicmobile" service was offered, designed to "serve the rural areas much the same as the bookmobile, the itinerant arts and crafts and the recreation program" (McLain, BMM, October 2, 1962). The purpose of this program

was to "provide for the isolated areas fine musical training of appropriate types specifically related to the musical wealth of our area and geared to the almost absolute lack of musical training outside of town" (McLain, BMM, October 2, 1962). This project responded to the request of the Daughters of the American Revolution's for a project of this type, which the organization funded.

In terms of recreational services, the settlement schools introduced the games of baseball and basketball to communities. They encouraged adults to play these games, which they viewed as safer than some more traditional Appalachian games. Children's games such as fox and geese were popular, as were horseshoes and running. Crossnore initiated the Community Club, which met every Saturday night "at early candle light" for games, singing, discussion of plans for the School and for the community (CROSSNORE School Bulletin, Winter, 1950). By the early 1960s, "hobbie [sic.] nights" were initiated, and folk-dancing was offered: "The Settlement has been largely influential in the beginning and enthusiastic continuation of an area-wide adult folk-dancing group, meeting a real social and recreational need...of Knott and surrounding counties" (McLain, BMM, October 3, 1961).

Meeting Rooms

It was inevitable that the schools, having the largest and most accommodating facilities in the areas served, would become centers for public and private meetings. Further, providing meeting space was seen as a part of their responsibilities: "We are fulfilling our responsibility as a Settlement by providing meeting places for various groups(BMM, April 8, 1958). Hindman Settlement School in particular promoted the use of their facilities for meetings. The Great Hall was used not only by students but was an occasional meeting place for the newly created Knott County Development Association. "The Settlement is proud to see and to help guide this important awareness of our local citizens to the problems of the region, for it is not but our local citizens who can, with their influence and various forms of action, do anything to better the situations that depressed our areas" (McLain, BMM, Oct.2, 1962).

Hindman provided a meeting place for the Woman's Club, and the Mason's Club also met regularly. Hindman also provided a meeting place for the Southern Mountain Workers Conference, an organization that was of particular interest to the Settlement, so much so, that their workers attended a meeting in Knoxville, TN, a meeting at which the

Handicraft Guild was founded. The purpose of the Handicraft Guild was to "encourage arts of weaving, basket making, and the manufacturer of fine furniture to create higher standards and help form a suitable market" (BMM, Folder 4-11, 1930-35, no exact date.). Among the many types of meetings held at the settlement schools, for educators the most important may have been that of providing meeting space for what amounted to professional growth training.

Workshops

Each settlement school offered various workshops for teachers. Workshops were sometimes brief, single-topic gatherings, such as the workshop on health education. Other workshops lasted through a weekend or an entire week. For example, staff from the University of Kentucky, Berea College, Hindman Settlement School staff, and the Council of Southern Mountain Workers called together educators from the area for a week-long conference. In Knott County, "The County Superintendent cooperate whole-heartedly, permitting his teachers to close their schools, and sending school buses to bring them to Hindman" (BMM, April 8, 1958).

Agricultural and Home Economist Services

The desire to improve agricultural and domestic skills and to stop soil erosion prompted the settlement schools to

engage in a limited form of interagency cooperation with state departments of agriculture and with colleges.

Crossnore School first called upon the State Department of Agriculture to provide an agricultural agent to the people of Avery County to help them with the growing of crops (see discussion under "Self-supporting industries"). When it became apparent that women were losing 75% of their canning products, especially green beans, Dr. Mary Sloop contacted the State Department of Agriculture and requested that a home economist be sent. Naturally shy, the mountain women overcame their shyness because of the tactful way the home economist approached them. She demonstrated how they could use the resources at hand to safely can their food. She taught them how to sterilize containers. Because the women were receptive to her work, the State of North Carolina placed a home economist in Avery County. She supplemented the work of Crossnore School in teaching both culinary arts and sewing (Sloop).

At Hindman, the school directed efforts in reforestation as part of their flood control efforts. Gardens were established by county agents of the Department of Agriculture on Hindman land, and the Agricultural Department used these gardens as teaching tools for Hindman

students and the citizens of Knott County and surrounding counties(BMM, Oct.3, 1961).

Pine Mountain offered extensive agricultural training in everything from animal husbandry to forestry, students teaching members of the community. In the late 1940s Berea College set up experimental and demonstration farms on the Settlement property, not only as instructional activities for their own students, but also to aid local farmers (Pine Mountain Settlement School, n.d.).

Services Unique to the Individual Schools

Three other social services were offered at Pine Mountain that do not appear in the archival material of Hindman and Crossnore Schools: (1) the establishment of a co-operative credit union, (2) attempts to place children in orphanages, and (3) distribution of Red Cross aid during the drought of the 1930s.

Pine Mountain Settlement School put forth considerable effort to establish a co-operative credit union at Pine Mountain, and letters confirm that this endeavor was achieved. The establishment of co-operative credit unions was part of their instruction in their consumer education program, and this was a natural extension of their educational and community service.

Little information was available, but a letter dated June 2, 1924 from the Credit Union National Extension Bureau of Massachusetts indicated that this organization handled the application for the school. Another letter, from the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Department of Banking and Securities, dated June 4, 1924, notified the Settlement School that the school had been approved to establish the Pine Mountain Credit Union.

Although no archival material was found to document attempts by Hindman to place children in orphanages, it is probable that this occurred. The scarcity of state help in this matter in Kentucky, however, was revealed in a letter to Dr. Harry Andres from Pine Mountain's Dr. Frank Newman (May 20, 1935). Dr. Newman was attempting to place several children in an orphanage because their mother had died and their father was unable to care for them. Dr. Andres told Dr. Newman that the State of Kentucky had no orphanage, other than the Kentucky Children's Home Society, and this was not an ideal situation, for the father would have to surrender all rights to his children; they would then be placed for adoption and, consequently, separated from one another. He provided Dr. Newman with the name of a contact person who worked with child protection, but he strongly

suggested that Dr. Newman recommend the father find a way to hire a housekeeper (Newman, letter to, May 20, 1935).

Crossnore School, unlike Pine Mountain School in particular, considered the care of orphans or other children in need of care to be part of its mission, as is stated in their tax-exempt status report from the Treasury Department. Specifically listed was the intention of the school to provide for needy children:

The purposes of your corporation are to promote the cause of Christian education and to maintain a child-caring institution, to provide a home and industrial vocational training for orphans, half-orphans and deserted children, children with both parents living but with unsatisfactory home conditions, and for children without the means to procure a high school or vocational education, preference being given to mountain children (CROSSNORE School Bulletin, Winter, 1946).

In 1931, Pine Mountain Settlement School agreed to distribute food for the Red Cross to needy families. The drought had left families, already destitute, even more so. Evidently, the Settlement School had some say in determining eligibility, for the School had been reprimanded by Mr. Howard, a Red Cross field representative, for having overlooked some families who should have been eligible.

The School found itself in the position of being given directions as to the distribution of food from two different Red Cross sources. Pine Mountain Settlement School leaders

responded with a lengthy letter to Mr. Perkins, Red Cross executive, that expressed their confusion, dismay --and a threat to withdraw from the program all together. The unsigned letter stated, "I have been at somewhat of a loss to know just what attitude we should take concerning the distribution of Red Cross supplies" (Letter to Red Cross). The author of the letter went on to state that the school was getting mixed messages, one set of directions from Mr. Perkins, of the Red Cross, and one set of directions from Mr. Howard, who had said that he had found people who needed aid and who should have been discovered by the school. Mr. Howard informed Pine Mountain School officials that Mr. Perkins was no longer involved in food distribution.

The author of the letter not only sought clarification of procedure, but also demanded that the Settlement School would take instructions from only one party: "Unless we can reach an agreement that we are to work under the direction of only one person, I fear we must refuse further participation in your great work" (Hadley, letter from, February 14, 1931). Further, the school made its own demand upon those who wished to receive Red Cross goods:

I know of several families who are at present living on the bounty of the Red Cross who have money in the bank -though they are not in Harlan County. We felt the only way to avoid such trouble was to ask that the men of the family come and work out their supplies -we were to keep

an itemized account of all they received, and then the men were to work on the school grounds or bring us fatty pine...Then we were going to pay you for all these supplies. We were sure before the workers went out on Thursday that this was the best plan we could follow, and we are now convinced of it, for two families rejected help when they learned that some return in labor or good had to be made for it. (Hadley, letter from, Feb.14, 1931).

Recipients of the goods complained that others were receiving goods with no expectation of labor in return. Mr. Hadley concluded, "They evidently felt it was an imposition to expect them to work -although they had nothing to do and were strong and able bodied. I feel that a good many families will not even try to make a crop this year" (Hadley, letter from, Feb. 14, 1931). It had never been the habit of the Pine Mountain Settlement School to offer handouts; any services rendered were expected to be paid for, if not in cash then in labor. Based on a letter to Hubert Hadley, from the Harlan County Chapter of the Red Cross, Pine Mountain's unusual demand upon recipients was sanctioned:

We have full confidence that all this work will be properly handled by your working force and that you have full authority to make decision of all kind relating to the disbursement of relief for this chapter. In my opinion much harm is being done by the liberal if not prodigal manner in which this relief is being administered by some of the adjoining counties. I can realize the difficulty you have on this account. Just do the bet you can and go even beyond what you think justice and right might

demand in individual cases; remembering that it is not the policy of Red Cross to require any services in return for aid given to relieve distress. It should be kept in mind by the people over there that Red Cross will withdraw as soon as they are able to care for themselves (Red Cross Letter, February 24, 1931).

The author of the Red Cross letter went on to inform the school of a supply of both garden seed and feed for cattle. He cautioned the school that in certifying people for assistance that officials should:

link the need up with drought [Form 2038], whether directly or indirectly. We expect you to relieve suffering from lack of food whether the need comes from industrial or drought causes, but as you know, Red Cross is supposed to be aiding only the drought cases" (Red Cross, letter, Feb. 24, 1931).

The author pointed out that if aid was not related to the drought, the local Red Cross chapter would have to absorb the cost. He went on to explain why this would not be taking "an unfair advantage" of the system, but the remaining part of the letter was not available, hence the difficulty in identifying the author. One could conclude that this experience in social services was less than acceptable to Pine Mountain Settlement School officials.

Summary

Social services encompassed a much broader range of services in the past than today. Hindman, Pine Mountain, and Crossnore School, Inc. provided a host of services

beyond educational ones. These services were seen as natural outgrowths of what was perceived to be settlement work. Like their urban counterparts, rural settlement workers responded to peoples' needs. They provided assistance with acquisition of electricity; employment through development of "fireside" industries which provided a market for their weavings, furniture, etc.; agricultural training through the schools' instructional programs and in cooperation with agricultural extension agencies; recreational services; a place for community meetings; and educational workshops.

Boarding of children at each school could be perceived as a social service as well, for without this service, many children would have been denied an education of the caliber offered by these schools. Pine Mountain School, through its extension schools, provided homemaking skills and a social worker to aid people in the communities served by the schools.

Through the extension schools of Pine Mountain, religious services were also provided. Pine Mountain School provided a cooperative credit union. It also distributed Red Cross aid during the drought of the 1930s. Crossnore School, through its used clothing store and barter system, provided a means by which members of the community could

acquire inexpensive clothing. The cooperative relationship between the School and the Department of Agriculture was instrumental in bringing in a home economist to work directly with women in their homes to teach them better and safer homemaking skills. Crossnore School also provided care for orphaned or abandoned children.

The concept of social services, utilizing the resources of the school, seemed always to be part of the philosophy of the settlement workers. In regards to multiple services provided by the schools, Hindman School leaders eloquently expressed the philosophy shared by all the settlement workers:

Such support, expressed by the community as a great need, is the type of challenge to the Settlement that it has always made every effort to meet. Such support is important to our continued excellent relation with our community. Trying to provide such support is important in regards to our moral obligations as we are set up as a cooperating and forward-looking agency" (BMM, October 3, 1961).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Why integrate health and social services with education? Current literature states that problems of children and their families are complex. Their many needs are addressed by a variety of agencies, with little or no communication between these agencies. This fragmentation has resulted in the underserving of those whom they hope to help. The purpose, then, of integrating services is to better, and more efficiently, serve the people. How can integrated services best be achieved?

First, there is no one "best" way. The settlement schools studied were managed by astute problem-solvers, and the "best" way depended upon the need, the culture of those served, and the resources that could be brought together to solve any given problem. No one-for-all formula for "fixing" the problems of families and children exists. In fact, the objective was never to "fix" the problems of others; the objective of the settlement schools was to empower the people to solve their own problems. Kadel (1993), Dryfoos(1994), Chaskin & Richman (1992), and others recognize, as did the settlement workers, that empowerment of the people must be the primary goal: "The ultimate goal

of collaboration among human service agencies is to empower families and individuals to take care of themselves --to identify and find solutions to their problem and to achieve greater independence and success in their lives" (Kadel,p.9). This is a worthy statement of the goal, but closer inspection brings to bear a couple of concerns. Consider the portion that reads, "To identify and find solutions to their problem." Families in crisis have many problems, so one must wonder what "their problem" means, exactly. What is "their" problem? Poverty? Ignorance? A minority status within the American culture? There seems to be a certain distancing of the service provider from the client being served. The problems of those served by the settlement schools became a problem to be solved together. At first, the settlement school workers were the leaders in solving problems because they knew how to communicate with those who could be of help. Through education and continued involvement with the people. Settlement school workers became either leaders or followers in problem-solving, for they were part of the community. Another concern with this statement by Kadel is that those who will direct this growth toward self-empowerment are "human service agencies." This implies public agencies and, perhaps, private agencies,

which tend to be financed through state and federal grant programs.

The settlement school workers did not limit the list of those who might be of help, and individuals and private businesses were very much a part of the problem-solving team. As citizens, teachers, business men and women, and a host of other professions, we have, perhaps, come to see the task of empowering people as someone else's job, or more to the point, the job of public social agencies. It could, of course, be argued that had the settlement workers had access to these agencies, they would have called upon them, and there can be little doubt that they most certainly would have done so. Nothing in the actions they took to solve problems indicates, however, that they would limit their resources to any one type of organization. "Their" problems must be "our" problems, and the solvers of problems must be willing to explore all possible avenues that will lead to creating a better life of those served.

Kadel offers what it calls the "ABCs of Collaboration" for those seeking to establish interagency collaboration. These are:

- A. Address All Needs
- B. Build Relationships
- C. Communicate, Communicate, Communicate
- D. Deal with and Defuse Conflict
- E. Establish Clear Leadership

Although these "ABCs" speak directly to interagency collaboration, they reflect the essence of the attitude settlement workers had toward those whom they served. They addressed all needs, not just those that related to their primary function, education. They understood the necessity of building relationships. They were the outsiders who moved into someone else's community, into a culture that was alien to them, yet they were able to build relationships because they accepted the people for whom they were.

They first had to demonstrate to the people that they were there to help them, and if it was their intention to change the essence of who they were (as Whisnant suggests), that was not apparent to those whom they served and it did not occur. "Communicate, communicate, communicate" could well be defined as the theme song of the settlement schools. The settlement workers were busy communicating with the people whom they served, not just one another.

The settlement workers were quite adept at dealing with and diffusing conflict, and conflicts sometimes occurred because of cultural differences or ignorance. Pettit, Stone, Watts, and Drs. Eustice and Mary Sloop each had differing points of view on the income-generating occupation of making moonshine. While all objected to the practice, the Sloops' were not above hunting down stills and destroying them (Sloop).

The manner in which Dr. Mary Sloop dealt with the fourteen angry parents who believed there was no attendance law on the books is more typical of the way in which the settlement workers dealt with and defused conflict. As for the establishment of clear leadership, initially, the settlement school workers assumed the leadership role as they sought to make life better for the people they served, but where one leads, others must follow, and the followers were the people who were served, for they were directly involved in endeavors initiated by the settlement workers. Direct leadership became shared leadership; in time, others in the community would be the leaders. Both Pettit, of Pine Mountain, and Stone of Hindman, commented on numerous occasions how proud they were to find that graduates of their schools were "leaders in their communities."

Sometimes the best leadership is conducted from behind the scenes.

The settlement workers understood the power of politics, and clearly they solicited the direct support for their various endeavors. Katherine Pettit, Elizabeth Zande, and Mary Sloop worked with legislators and influential dignitaries to bring roads to the area. Katherine Pettit, while not attempting (or so she reported) to sway voters, served on the election board of Harlan County (Pettit, 1928). The dignitaries who attended Hindman Settlement School's graduations are indicative of the influential people who associated themselves with the school. "Politicking" on the part of the settlement schools might not have been overt, but it did exist.

Currently, the two dominant models of integrated services are either school (or agency) based services or community-based services (Chaskin & Richman, 1992). The settlement school "model" of integrated services could best be described as "school-community." It was a school-based service in that the services emanated from the school, but services were most definitely community-based because, as Chaskin and Richman put it, "the citizenry (not just professionals) contribute[d] to the development, planning,

and delivery of necessary services" (Chaskin and Richman,¹⁷¹
p.114).

Chaskin and Richman, among others, recommend a collaborative governance of both the development and delivery of services, and they insist that "local residents must have an opportunity to shape and guide the service system" (Chaskin & Richman, p.115). The settlement schools provided educational services with which health and social services were integrated; these services were shaped and guided by the local people.

If there is any one theme that resonates through the archival material of the settlement schools, it is the strong sense of community. Chaskin and Richman, borrowing V. Levi's definition of community, defined it as:

The local context in which people live...the community includes dimensions of space, place, and sentiment as well as of action. It is defined by a dynamic network of associations that binds (albeit loosely) individuals, families, institutions, and organizations into a web of interconnections and interaction (Chaskin and Richman, p.113).

They offer a less limiting definition, borrowing from R. Warren this time: Community is "a functional unit in which goods and services are provided and consumed, interpersonal relationships are created and maintained, participation in activities is shared, and the circumstances of local life

are held in common" (Chaskin & Richman, p.113). If one accepts this definition, then it becomes obvious that the settlement schools were builders of communities. They recognized and strived to improve the "circumstances of local life [that were] held in common." They developed interpersonal relationships with those living in the remote regions of the areas they served; the school became the place where activities could be shared, meetings could be held, problems could be solved.

Through the exchange of cultures --the culture of the educated, sophisticated workers, the expanded culture of those who attended the settlement schools and returned to their communities to serve as leaders, and those who never left the hills and hollows, a new Southern Appalachian culture was forged, a blending of the old and the new: The dulcimer and the organ; the game of goose and baseball; Latin and carpentry; canned green beans and "fancy" cakes. Current integrative efforts, then, reflect much of the thinking of those who were early initiators of integrative services with education.

Historian Richard Marius(1995) said that the historian should strive to "tell a good story"(p.1) This researcher chose to give voice to the settlement school workers, the people of Southern Appalachia, and others to tell the story

of integrated services with education in their words as much as possible. Historical documents, though, retain any biases inherent in them. Consequently, the researcher was ever mindful of the somewhat utopian image the documents sometimes seemed to evoke. Still, within these documents, contradictions exist that provide clearer, more realistic images: One wishes to preserve the culture, yet is overjoyed to find that a Hindman school graduate sets a beautiful table with fine china; the mountain people have a great love and desire for education, yet truancy was clearly a problem, sometimes due to parental attitudes toward attending school; tradition Appalachian music must be preserved, yet operettas were studied.

Conclusions

With the limitations of the archival documents in mind, and based upon the findings of this study, the following conclusions have been made:

1. Services were provided based upon specific needs of the people served.
2. The recipients of services were included in the decision-making process.
3. Services were provided for only time necessary. The objective, always, was to empower people to provide for themselves.

4. Settlement schools and public agencies worked cooperatively, not competitively, with each other.
5. Private organizations and individuals worked with both the settlement schools and the public schools, contributing time and money to various projects undertaken by the settlements school.
6. No legal barriers prohibited private organizations and/or individuals from either operating and/or co-operating public schools. Public money from local and state boards of education were turned over to these private organizations and/or individuals for operation of the public schools of Hindman and Crossnore, and the private school of Pine Mountain. Not only did these schools receive public funds, the operation of several rural county schools were turned over to Pine Mountain school.
7. Rarely were people "given" things --food, clothing, medical care. People were, instead, given opportunities to earn what they received through labor, the creative use of a barter system, or reduced rates.
8. "Turf" issues were not a factor. Various organizations, the settlement schools, public school officials, and other public agencies worked together as needed, some more cooperatively than others. This may have worked because cooperation was sought for specific endeavors --build a

dormitory, hire a teacher, establish a trachoma clinic, etc. rather than a continuous, interagency collaborative effort.

9. The endurance of these three schools can be attributed to the ability to adapt to changing situations. As public schools took over more and more responsibilities for educating children, settlement schools shifted their emphasis to addressing new needs. They did not cling to the past; they moved into the future, addressing the new needs of those whom they served.

10. The settlement schools became an integral part of the communities they served, and as such, they became a community resource center.

11. The relationship of the settlement schools to Boards of Education were as follows: Hindman Settlement School, a public school, and Knott County Board of Education worked in partnership with one another; Pine Mountain School, a private school, did not work in a partnership with the Harlan County Board of Education, but they did work cooperatively with the Board by taking over the operation of some of the county's rural school systems; Crossnore School, Inc., a public school, seemed to have a somewhat adversarial role with the Avery Board of Education in the matter of funding and used the political clout of those more powerful

than the Board members to bring pressure upon the Avery County Board of Education local to do a better job meeting its obligations to the people.

12. Settlement schools developed innovative curricula, teaching methods, and assessment practices.

13. Public schools did not follow the example of the settlement schools, for they did not integrate health and social services into their schools. Harlan County Board of Education did, however, desire that Pine Mountain Settlement School integrate its health and social services into the schools the Board turned over to the settlement school for operation. In time, however, public schools did incorporate vocational education, home economics, health, and physical education into their curriculum framework, just as the settlement schools did many years earlier.

Recommendations

The implications of this study are that those engaged in, or considering engaging in, integrated services should consider the following recommendations: (1) Know and respect the culture of those being served. (2) Do not determine the needs of those whom you serve; it is they who must determine those needs for themselves. (3) Involve community members directly in the decision-making process. (4) Look beyond the obvious resources available to facilitate integrated

services. (5) Develop a sense of community among and with those you serve --become a positive member of these communities. (6) Know your "ABCs" and apply them. (7) Be flexible and adaptive to changing conditions. (8) Utilize effective leadership techniques, matching the leadership behavior to the situation, such as is recommended in Hersey and Blanchard's situational leadership model (Hersey, P., & K. Blanchard, 1977). (9) Develop innovative curricula, teaching strategies, and assessment practices in schools. (10) Conduct additional research, both quantitative and qualitative, to evaluate past and current integrative services endeavors.

Pine Mountain Settlement School, Hindman Settlement School, and Crossnore School, Inc. were early initiators of integrated services because there was a need. Such a need still exists.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Methods

Design

The methodology utilized to trace the history of integrated services in selected settlement schools between the early 1900s and the 1970s was historical -descriptive. Borg & Gall (1989) defined historical research as the "systematic search of facts relating to questions about the past, and the interpretation of these acts. By studying the past, the historian hopes to achieve a better understanding of present institutions, practices, and issues in education" (Borg and Gall, p.806). The authors noted that the historical researcher "discovers data through a search of historical sources such as diaries, official documents, and relics" (p.807).

Only primary sources were used. Careful attention was given to historical criticism.

The research applied external criticism to determine the authenticity of the source, when and where the source was created, and by whom. Attempts to determine the author and the date to eliminate the possibility of falseness and to aid in internal criticism. Shafer (1980) stated that the researcher may authenticate the date and author through

"content analysis, comparison with the content of other evidence, and of the physical properties of evidence" (Shafer, 1980, p.130).

Borg and Gall (1989) stated that historical accounts are by nature subjective. For this reason, internal criticism seeks to determine the "accuracy and worth of the statements contained in a historical document...and the people who wrote [created] them" (p.822). Shafer (1980) stated that internal criticism involves determining the "credibility of evidence" (p.149) To determine the credibility of evidence, one may consider the following questions (1) What are the literal and figurative meanings of the language used? (2) Was the author of the document in a physical position to be an observer and have the ability to observe? (3) Were his or her reports biased? (4) What is the time frame between the report and the event reported? (5) What contradictions occur within the report? (6) Are the researcher's own biases influencing his or her interpretation of the report? (7) What corroboration exists when one compares documents or other sources? (pp.166-170).

Sources such as governmental documents, photographs, newspaper articles, and archival collections of papers were studied at the Center or Appalachian Studies at East Tennessee State University, The Appalachian Cultural Center

at Appalachian State University, Berea College, and the archives of the following settlement schools: Hindman Settlement School (Hindman, KY), Pine Mountain Settlement School (Blescoe, KY), and Crossnore School (Crossnore, NC). Interviews were conducted with individuals who were, directly or indirectly, associated with the specified settlement schools of the Southern Appalachian region to gain insight into their unique experiences as witnesses to life in Southern Appalachia as the settlement schools developed over time.

Throughout the research process, the researcher sought to determine the accuracy and worth of sources by continuously asking questions that relate to the probability that an event could have occurred at the time and in the manner described by the source, the writer of documents the expertise of the source, the proximity of the source to the event, the reputation of the sources, and the presence of bias.

Data Collection

Following an ERIC search and a search of Dissertation Abstracts, the researcher reviewed the literature. The researcher examined archival material stored at East Tennessee State University's Appalachian Archives, Appalachian State University's Cultural Center, archival

material stored at Berea College, and archival material at Hindman, Crossnore, and Pine Mountain settlement schools.

The researcher also examined public records of Knott and Harlan County (KY) Public Schools, and Avery County (NC) Public Schools. Because of the support the DAR gave the settlement schools, the researcher examined copies of DAR records which were readily available at the settlement schools.

Data Analysis

Shafer (1980) stated that historical analysis "is a systematic attempt to learn about a subject's elements" (p.172) and to synthesize the information. Synthesis requires the reader to "digest" (p.187) the material, generalize, interpret, and arrange the material so that inferences may be made. Patton (1990) and Lincoln & Guba (1985) stated that the appropriate method of data analysis in qualitative research (which historical research is) is that of inductive analysis. Inductive analysis "means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis. The analysis looks for natural variation in the data" (p.390). The researcher analyzed data gathered through examination of primary sources, arrived at generalizations based on the

emerging patterns and themes, and made inferences as they presented themselves.

Triangulation, utilized to determine that internal validity was not compromised, (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was achieved through the use of internal criticism: The researcher, as raw archival data was analyzed, sought to determine the credibility of the evidence by looking for consistency. The collaboration of data was an important part of triangulation. Because this was an historical study, this was frequently not possible, but every attempt was made to do so. For example, in instances where archival material referred to interactions between the local boards of education and the settlement schools, the school board records were examined as well. Comparison of archival material data to known sources utilizing archival data and use of interviews furthered contributed to triangulation.

Data analysis was achieved through the use of a code-based, theory-building computer program called Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing (N.U.D.I.S.T.). This program allowed the utilization (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 --or categorization-- of data through coding. Search routines allowed for cross-referencing of data within individual documents and across all documents. Through this data analysis program, patterns

emerged both within and across documents, natural variations emerged, and contradictions within the data surfaced.

Summary

Historical-descriptive research was utilized to trace the history of integrated services and selected Appalachian settlement schools from the early 1900s to the 1970s. Only primary sources were used. External criticism was utilized to determine the authenticity of sources and internal criticism was utilized to determine the accuracy and value of information contained within historical documents. Interviews were conducted with those who could have served as eye-witness to these historical events or are recognized authorities on these historical events.

Richard Marius (1995) stated that "History...involves telling a story" (p.1). The researcher attempted to tell a story of the efforts of settlement school workers to integrate health and social services with education in Southern Appalachia.

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