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Preface

THIS STUDY OF ALICE LLOYD—a New England woman who went off to do good early in the twentieth century—and of the college she founded in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky grew out of a reading program designed to introduce me to the Appalachian region. The books I read ranged from early twentieth-century romantic novels that used the mountain environment as a backdrop to serious attempts by scholars to examine the Appalachian experience from the viewpoint of their respective academic disciplines.

From this exploration of Appalachian literature it became readily apparent that the outsiders who were drawn to Appalachia by a variety of economic, religious, and altruistic motives have often been portrayed in disparaging terms, especially in the last two decades. It seemed to me that this criticism had been overdone with respect to one group of outsiders: the men and women who came to the mountains as teachers, nurses, social workers, and change agents determined to use whatever skills and good will they possessed in the service of the people of the region. The charges laid against them ranged from the rather inconsequential (e.g., they introduced such foreign practices as putting flowers on the tables and pictures on the walls) to the apocalyptic (e.g., they had participated in the destruction of an entire culture).

A recurring weakness in these critical assessments, at least to my view, was that some of the most damning indictments came from writers whose perspective failed to take into account the actual people who were involved in this benevolent work and the individual circumstances from which they came; the actual social, economic,

and cultural conditions in the areas in which they worked; and the larger forces reshaping America in the early years of the twentieth century. These accounts were so narrowly constructed and so regionally specific that the reader was left with no broader context within which to judge the conclusions being offered.

The story of Alice Lloyd and her forty-seven-year commitment to creating a college in Eastern Kentucky appeared to be tailor-made to test the validity of the impressions left by my reading program. Her story had not been the subject of an objective examination, despite widespread knowledge and support of the work she had done, and it contained many of the same historical elements that characterized some of the earlier studies. It was clear that the story could add significantly to our understanding of the motivations, methods, and results that distinguished the work of those individuals who had heeded the call to do good in Appalachia as the twentieth century unfolded.

As a result, I embarked upon an effort to understand Alice Lloyd the person, her work in Eastern Kentucky, and the impact she had on the people who lived there. Thus began a process of investigation that led to the gathering of evidence from a variety of sources followed by an attempt to draw from it a balanced interpretation of what happened, why it happened, and what changed as a result. Neither the process of gathering nor that of interpreting is ever without pitfalls, and this case was no exception. The documentary evidence that exists is fragmentary, unorganized, distorted, and, in many instances, contradictory. Historian Allen Davis said in the preface to his *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* that the legends surrounding settlement house pioneer Jane Addams were just as likely to obscure "truth" as they were to reveal it. The same holds for the legends that have grown up around the founder of Caney Junior College. (For example, Alice Lloyd came to the mountains not to regain her health, as commonly believed, but purposefully to do good, as this study will show.) Nevertheless, the effort to separate truth from legend is important because only then can the person and the legacy be properly understood and evaluated.

This study is organized broadly along topical lines, but not exclusively so. Each chapter examines a particular theme, although it does so within a chronological framework. The narrative has a general flow that takes the reader from earlier periods to later ones, but the primary emphasis is on the subjects under discussion because

it is these that shed light on the mountain experience, not the sequence of events.

The first chapter sets out the principal themes on which the work is based and places it within the body of current Appalachian scholarship. Its ultimate purpose is to give the reader a framework for judging the adequacy of the evidence marshaled in the remainder of the study and the validity of the interpretations drawn from it.

The second chapter is an examination of Lloyd's New England years: the years during which she established herself as a successful, innovative, ambitious, and hard-driving journalist and entrepreneur.

The third chapter shows how Lloyd's initial attempts at broad-based community development were abandoned as a result of her discouraging experience with local leadership.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters deal with the college: its beginnings, its mission, the faculty and staff who made it function, and the student body who benefited from its presence.

Chapter 7 concentrates on the success the school had in supporting itself over the years through an aggressive program of fund-raising. It highlights the way in which fund-raising appeals were based on mountaineer stereotypes as sure to tug at the heartstrings of potential donors as they were to anger the people being portrayed.

Chapter 8 takes the Caney Creek saga from 1962, the year of Lloyd's death at the age of eighty-six, to 1982—a twenty-year period during which the school underwent great change. It describes how the school's physical plant went from an anachronism to a modern college campus, how the institution dealt with student demands for a liberated social code, how the conflict between the new and the traditional almost destroyed the college in the mid-1970s, and how Alice Lloyd College emerged as a four-year college in the early 1980s.

Chapter 9, the concluding chapter, deals with two major themes. First, it answers the central questions raised in chapter 1. Second, it uses the Alice Lloyd experience as a way of testing the appropriateness of the interpretations of the outsiders' role in current Appalachian scholarship. This chapter shows that there is a need for a less mean-spirited assessment of the people who went to the mountains to do good, of the work they did, and of the methods they employed.

In completing this project I was blessed to have the assistance of many dedicated people and their institutions. The men and women at Alice Lloyd College were helpful well beyond any point I had a right to expect. They provided ready access to the college's archives; they provided food and lodging; and they provided warm friendship

and encouragement, the latter being especially important on more than one occasion. Research librarian Thomas Graham and Director of Public Relations Jerry Kibler were especially helpful. The librarians at the University of Kentucky, Berea College, Radcliffe College, and Wellesley College, and those at the Boston, Cambridge, and Wakefield public libraries in Massachusetts and the Laconia Public Library in New Hampshire led me by the hand through their fascinating and useful collections.

I happily acknowledge that my efforts benefited from the direct assistance of several particular individuals over a period of three years. Foremost among them were two professors from the University of Kentucky: Virginia Davis Nordin and Humbert S. Nelli. Both were worthy mentors, friends, and constructive critics. Professor Nordin guided me through the snares and pitfalls of doctoral-level graduate study and from the very beginning encouraged me to follow my own instincts in writing this book. Professor Nelli instilled in me an appreciation for the rigors and standards of historical scholarship and, at an important point, provided a critical review of the text that has made it far better.

The late William Hayes, a teacher, academic dean, and president at Alice Lloyd College for thirty-five years, provided invaluable assistance in finding and interpreting information about the school and its founder. His wise counsel and community service are sorely missed by his many friends and family.

Professor Nancy Forderhase of Eastern Kentucky University very generously shared with me the results of her own research into mountain schools and thereby provided answers to some of my most puzzling questions. James Still, the Appalachian-based writer, poet, and teacher, interceded on my behalf with the authorities at the University of Kentucky Archives to give me access to some especially pertinent materials that they have under lock and key. This material provided insight into aspects of the Alice Lloyd story that otherwise would have remained subject to speculation and misinterpretation.

Perhaps my greatest debt is one that can only be repaid in kind. My wife of nearly forty years, Mary Lawson Searles, took my late career change in stride, wore her UK MOM T-shirt with good humor, and did enough work on this book to warrant my lifelong gratitude. Evidence of her good sense, high literary standards, and never-ending insistence that my writing make sense can be found on every page.

1

The Alice Lloyd Story and Appalachian Literature

ALICE SPENCER GEDDES LLOYD has left a remarkable legacy in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky.[1] In the small town of Pippa Passes, named by Lloyd after the poem of that name by Robert Browning,[2] stands a college that for seventy years has enabled thousands of students from Appalachia to obtain a college education at little or no cost.[3] In 1962, following her death at the age of eighty-six, the board of trustees changed the college name from Caney Junior College to Alice Lloyd College to honor her as its founder, leader and dedicated servant.[4] In 1980 the college became a four-year institution.[5]

Today Alice Lloyd College is fully accredited and enrolls about six hundred students, primarily from the Kentucky counties surrounding Pippa Passes. Its graduates are distinguished by their commitment to Eastern Kentucky and are found throughout the region in schools, in public service agencies, in the professions, and in elected office.

The campus is strung out along a narrow ravine between the steep hills that characterize the Appalachian region. The buildings range from older wooden structures, which are carry overs from an earlier time, to new modern buildings housing the library, the performing arts center, classrooms, and dormitories. The setting is particularly beautiful in the spring and fall when nature at its best is on display. Permeating everything is a sense of isolation (there is little other than the college in any direction for miles), which can be either welcoming or faintly threatening.

Students pursue courses of study leading to B.A. and B.S. degrees

in education, business, and the traditional liberal arts. Some go on to graduate and professional schools. Virtually all students depend on financial aid and on-campus jobs to pay for their education. Within the framework of uncertainty that is the normal condition at institutions of higher education, Alice Lloyd College has a productive present and a good future.

Such was not always the case. For much of its seventy-year history Caney Junior College, which was part of the Caney Creek Community Center, had to struggle for survival in the face of uncertain local acceptance, repeated financial crises, major changes in the larger society, and periodic questions concerning the relevance of its mission. In other words, the story of the college is part of the story of the Appalachian region itself. The college was founded as a result of an outpouring of concern—from the Northeast and the flatland areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas—over conditions in the mountain regions of several south central states in the early decades of the twentieth century.[6] Its struggles were those of the region; and its story, like the many other stories from Appalachia that have drawn the attention of a vigorous and growing band of interdisciplinary Appalachian Studies scholars, can deepen our understanding of what happened in the mountains. And perhaps a deeper understanding of the Appalachian past can, in turn, lead to action that will help address the region's present concerns.

This study, then, is an examination of the history of the Caney Creek Community Center and Caney Junior College, from their beginnings just prior to America's entry into World War I until 1982, and of the New England woman—Alice Lloyd—whose commitment, ambition, and single-mindedness were chiefly responsible for their existence. It addresses the same questions that Appalachian scholar David Whisnant set for himself in 1980: "Out of what complex social dynamic did [a particular benevolent effort] arise, toward what vision of a desirable social order was it directed, and how did it impinge upon the human lives it touched?"[7]

The study also is a response to his call for "detailed, preliminary studies" and "analytical overviews of what the church missionaries, the secular 'uplift' workers, and the technocratic planners have done in [Appalachia]." These kinds of studies, according to Whisnant, are needed to provide "insight into the complexities faced by" those still attempting to deal with the region's problems and, collectively, provide the "missing pieces" necessary to complete the puzzle of Appalachia.[8]

The Caney Creek experience is important to this overall task because in many respects what was attempted there, and the way in which it was done, was different from what was attempted and done by seemingly similar institutions. The story also provides examples of both the beneficial and the harmful aspects of the work undertaken by the outsiders on behalf of their newfound friends and neighbors. Finally, perhaps of most importance, it provides a basis on which to broaden the present scholarly assessment of the cumulative impact that efforts of this type had on Appalachia and its people.

The study consciously strives to avoid showing the Appalachian as victim and the outsider as victimizer.[9] It tries to find and explore both the positive and the negative aspects of the Caney Creek experience. Other Appalachian scholars have recently found that close analysis of specific situations in the mountains has changed previously accepted explanations.[10] This study will do the same; it will show, at the very least, that the benevolent work in Appalachia had greater diversity in participants and methods than has been allowed for in previous works.

In addition, it will place equal emphasis on results that were positive for the local community and the surrounding counties rather than concentrate only on the negative aspects of the experience. For example, a significant number of homegrown leaders came from Caney Junior College. Among the first ten graduates were four physicians, four teachers, and one lawyer, all but one of whom remained in the mountains. During the 1940s and 1950s it was not at all unusual for 50 percent or more of the teachers in area school districts to be Caney Junior College graduates. A conservative estimate of alumni activity suggests that 75 percent of the school's graduates stayed in the mountains in work that contributed to area improvement.

The school insisted upon using a curriculum that gave its students prospects for upward mobility instead of such courses as vocational training, home economics, and crafts, which were emphasized at many mountain schools.

The character-building component of the Caney educational process was designed to strengthen self-image and self-confidence. Its emphasis on personal achievement was quite in keeping with local values, as was the school's insistence on hard work and sobriety.

Caney Creek outreach workers started dozens of one-room schoolhouses in a fifty-mile radius of the Community Center. Key features of each one were local control, local support, and eventual

incorporation into a public school district.[11] For nearly forty-seven years Alice Lloyd demonstrated for all to see that a woman could manage a complex organization and have a substantial impact in an arena other than the home and the classroom. She, and others like her, led the way in opening up opportunities for women in Appalachia. Undoubtedly many of the local people considered her a "quare woman," but from 1915 until 1962 she was a worthy role model for other women who aspired to a larger role in life than the one their circumstances ordained for them.

Lest one think that the news from Caney Creek is all good, it is necessary to add that in some key respects the evidence supports the negative assessments of benevolent workers that other scholars have made.[12] Lloyd—like many of her educated contemporaries—embraced the eugenics movement and acted upon its tenets in daily decision making. As a result she generally ignored certain families that in her view had suffered genetic deterioration beyond the point of redemption. She emphasized negative mountain stereotypes in her fund-raising activities, to the consternation of some of her neighbors. The school was run with a very firm hand; her way was the only way. She was dead set against drinking, fighting, idleness, lack of decorum, late night partying, pre-marital sex—whether in the mountains or anywhere else—and any other activity that would interfere with her single-minded obsession with producing graduates who would remain in the mountains as responsible citizens and advocates for change. And, most surprising of all, in her later years this one-time paragon of a "change-agent" fought the introduction into her community of such improvements as roads, indoor plumbing, modern facilities, and new patterns of social behavior. Just as the traditionalists in historian Altina Waller's *Feud* tried to escape the burdens of modernization by retreating deep into the hollows of the West Virginia hills, Lloyd tried to keep the mid-twentieth century from her own mountain hollow.[13]

I believe that this study demonstrates that the task of judging the people who came to the region to do good, the methods they employed, and the results they achieved is more complex than previously thought. In the end the proper question is not whether the effort was good or bad. It is a question of how it operated; what parts of it contributed to the removal of impediments (disease, isolation, poor nutrition, poverty, illiteracy) to the full realization of human potential; what parts of it, intentionally or not, interfered with this very process; and, finally, what generalizations, if any, can be drawn

from it. Only then can we attempt to determine whether or not the past has something of value to say to the present.

It is my hope that this study will contribute to our understanding of the Appalachian experience by adding to historian Ronald Eller's statement that "not all of the exploiters were outsiders" the thought that not all outsiders were exploiters.[14] Just as the early monolithic views of the region as a "strange land and peculiar people" have crumbled in the face of scholarly analysis, so will the view that all do-gooders were alike be replaced by one that is more complex, but also more accurate. The Alice Lloyd story, an as-yet-untold story of one of the more well-known, privately supported educational institutions in the mountains, demonstrates remarkably well the difficulty of attempting to find one answer to explain a very complex phenomenon.

In a more immediate sense this study will also suggest the importance of focusing at least some of today's activist scholars' reform energies on learning how present Appalachian communities can create responsible local leadership.[15] Lloyd learned early in her Appalachian experience the crucial importance of strong local leadership. Her insight is as valid now as it was then.

This study has grown naturally out of my immersion in past and present Appalachian Studies literature. The ground-breaking studies of such scholars as James Brown, Cratis Williams, Henry Shapiro, David Whisnant, and Ronald Eller have been completed. There now exists a framework upon which to construct studies with a narrower focus, such as this one. If it is successful, this analysis of the Caney Creek story will add one additional piece to the Appalachian puzzle, and its completion will be one small step closer.

Americans have written seriously about the phenomena of Appalachia for more than a hundred years. The subject has captured the imagination of novelists, poets, reformers, journalists and scholars, and will undoubtedly continue to do so in the future. Each group has brought to the discussion its own particular frame of reference, and the literary output reflects this. Novelists and poets, journalists and scholars, missionaries and secular reformers, local people[16] and outsiders can, and usually do, describe the same situation in different ways.

The review of literature on Appalachia that follows is meant to highlight the major works—and the major categories of works—which make up the genre. It is a sampling of the literature rather than

a comprehensive survey of it. The review's primary purpose is to describe the various stages through which Appalachian literature has passed and to provide a structure within which this work can be placed.

I have divided the literature into four broadly conceived categories, partly based on the approach taken to the subject matter and partly based on when it was written. For example, the first category includes fiction writers who used Appalachian settings for the popular romantic novels and short stories they wrote. These writers, the Local Colorists, were most popular in the 1880-1930 period. Nevertheless, the tradition lives on in such popular media as cartoon strips (e.g., "Li'l Abner" and "Snuffy Smith") and television series (e.g., *The Dukes of Hazard*). Conversely, although the fourth category, scholarly critical analysis, has emerged only relatively recently, some of its chief concerns can be seen in work that was done much earlier.[17]

Despite the fact that there is some overlap, it is helpful to arrange the categories chronologically because doing so highlights the way in which Appalachian literature has developed.[18] The first group to make an appearance were called the "Local Colorists." These authors wrote from approximately 1880 to 1930. They combed the earth looking for exotic locales in which to place the stories they wrote. Henry D. Shapiro in *Appalachia on Our Mind* describes this writing as "descriptive, rather than analytical. It was short rather than long. It was enormously popular. It aided in the sale of . . . magazines, . . . bolstered the fortunes [of publishers] . . . and established the reputations of innumerable young and middle-aged writers."[19]

A number of Local Colorists found the Appalachian Mountains to be perfectly suited to their needs. Writers such as John Fox and Mary Noailles Murfree wrote short stories and novels depicting highly romanticized versions of mountain life. Reporters and journalists sent dispatches to magazines and newspapers reporting on feuds, moonshining, isolation, strange religious practices, ignorance, and poverty. It mattered little if, as one historian has suggested, they frequently relied on second- and third-hand sources for their information.[20] As Shapiro points out, the net result of all this fiction, written to entertain and astonish, and the reportorial coverage, designed to titillate and amuse, was the establishment in the minds of mainstream America of an Appalachia that was "a strange land [filled with] peculiar people."[21]

The Local Colorist movement is particularly germane to the Alice Lloyd story because two of its practitioners were closely asso-

ciated with her. Lucy Furman wrote a number of very successful short stories and novels based on her many years at the Hindman Settlement School, which was located only eight miles from Alice Lloyd's Community Center at Caney Creek. The two women knew each other well, although not with affection. The conflict between them reached the point where legal action was begun in Knott County Court. The final settlement of the suit is said to have included the stipulation that Lucy Furman leave the area, which she did.[22]

A second Local Colorist, Eliot Marlowe Robinson, based four of his novels, long since forgotten, in the Kentucky mountains. One of them, *Smiling Pass*, is a thinly disguised account of what Robinson said "were the facts of the Caney Creek movement" based on the several months he spent there in the early 1920s while researching his book.[23]

Neither the Furman nor the Robinson novel is read today for its literary merit. They do have value, however, for the insight they provide into how non-mountain Americans were introduced to mountain culture and to the work going on at Hindman Settlement School and Caney Creek Community Center.

At the turn of the century, even as the Local Colorists were at their peak, there arose a need for a systematic gathering of information that would enable the missionaries and uplift workers in Appalachia to understand the people living in the area in which they had chosen to serve. As might be expected, the writers who met this need were not people who had been trained as objective reporters of social, political, and economic conditions. They were, instead, teachers, ministers, foundation executives, and even librarians—as was Horace Kephart, one of the most important of the group.

Perhaps the most widely known was William Goodell Frost, the longtime president of Berea College, located at the edge of the mountain region in Eastern Kentucky. He was constantly on the move describing the mountain conditions that his college was dedicated to improving, extolling the virtues of the college and raising money to support its work.[24] If for no other reason, Frost's permanent presence in Appalachian scholarship was assured by an article he wrote in 1899 entitled "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains."[25] Encapsulated in that title was the central thesis used to explain the otherness of the mountaineers. They had been so isolated by the rugged terrain that modern civilization had passed them by. They remained essentially as they had been two hundred years earlier. Frost continued to travel, to speak, and to write on this

theme for the next forty years, and the phrase "our contemporary ancestors" became a fixture in the vocabulary used to discuss Appalachia.

In 1913 Horace Kephart, the librarian who fled an urban environment for the challenges of mountain life, published his detailed account of "real mountaineers" as he knew them from his eighteen years among them.[26] In the preface to *Our Southern Highlanders* Kephart declared that he intended every word to be taken seriously. "There is not a line of fiction in it," he said. He also admitted that he had consciously chosen to write about "characters" and the "most picturesque" events. Nevertheless, the book's main purpose was to describe the conditions in the mountains. Kephart was not intentionally a sensationalist; he reported the facts as he saw them in a serious attempt to educate non-mountain Americans about his adopted homeland. The book's chapter headings are instructive. They include "Moonshine Land," "The Land of Do Without," "The Blood-Feud," "The Back of Beyond," and other similar titles as likely to stimulate the imagination as to convey a balanced picture. The book described a breed of men apart, men who could shoot and skin a bear with ease, who made their own liquor, who used a twig of sweet birch instead of a toothbrush, who had no electricity, no indoor plumbing, no use for schooling, and who could be hospitable to a stranger but kill a neighbor on the slightest of pretexts. Interestingly, the book made little mention of the women who lived in Appalachia, and when it did, it showed clearly that they were there to serve and to do as they were told.[27] As recently as 1976 one reviewer said of *Our Southern Highlanders*, "No book devoted to the Southern Appalachians is more widely known, read and respected [than this one]."[28] In view of the fact that Alice Lloyd quoted from it regularly—usually without attribution—it is clear that it had made a considerable impact on her.[29]

John C. Campbell's *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*, first published posthumously in 1921, represents the distillations of what the author learned about Appalachia in his twenty-five years there as a missionary, social worker, educator, and friend of the people. The book contains a wealth of data based upon a major survey of the region conducted by Campbell and his wife, Olive Dame Campbell. His was the first attempt to describe the region using statistical measures of population, health, education, religion, and natural resources. His account is told with compassion, although he does dwell at length on the deficiencies he saw. He was, however,

equally critical of the insensitivities, turf battles, and outright bungling of the outside do-gooders who were active in the mountains early in the twentieth century. Campbell visited Caney Creek in 1918 and reported to Linda Neville—a teacher, humanitarian, and prominent Kentuckian—that he "came away from Caney Creek with admiration for [Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd's] courage and optimism." He endorsed their work generally but did caution against Alice Lloyd's "dissipating her energies" by attempting to address too many problems at one time and her lax bookkeeping practices.[30]

Two other writers from this period, again both missionaries, are important to the Caney Creek experience. W.R. Thomas in *Life among the Hills and Mountains of Kentucky* (1926) and James Watt Raine in *The Land of Saddle-bags: A Study of the Mountain People of Appalachia* (1924) wrote accounts of mountain life in the area where Alice Lloyd centered her work at the time that work was in its initial stages. The Thomas and Raine accounts were largely impressionistic and anecdotal; but, unlike the Local Colorists, their interest was in describing conditions as they were and in conveying to an audience outside the mountains an understanding of the people who lived there. Again, both authors describe what they experienced with genuine sympathy and appreciation for what they found. Yet each of these books inevitably reinforces the view that Appalachia was a strange land filled with peculiar people. Thomas and Raine both included material on the work being done at Caney Creek in their books, the former quite extensively.

These first efforts at serious analysis reached a peak of sorts in 1941 with John F. Day's *Bloody Ground*, a book described in 1981 by Harry M. Caudill as "an American classic [that] went largely unnoticed and unappreciated" because the American entry into World War II prevented the book from receiving the acclaim it merited.[31] According to Caudill, the book "graphically portrays the nightmare that came into being when an archaic, deeply conservative society, born to the prolonged Appalachian frontier experience and preserved in the roadless hills for a full century, was struck by a whirlwind of industrialization."[32] *Bloody Ground* was written at the same time as James Still's powerful Appalachian novel *River of Earth*. Both show a region weighed down by chains that were partly of its own making and partly a burden placed on it by uncaring and impersonal forces far beyond its control. The remarkable thing is that if one discounts the terrible impact on the region of ten years of the Depression, one is left with a description of a region and a people that has much in

common with the descriptions written years earlier by Frost, Kephart, Campbell, Thomas, and Raine. One of the few sections in the Day book written with a sense of optimism and regeneration is the section devoted to an account of Lloyd and her work at Caney Creek. In offering his generally upbeat assessment of that work, Day concluded that what was going on there "resembles [other mission or settlement schools] as much as a dinosaur resembles a chameleon."[33]

The result of these first 'serious' attempts to describe and understand Appalachia did little to dispel the notion that there was an "otherness" quality there. Part of the reason for this is undoubtedly linked to the fact that the writers were untrained observers who saw things through their own cultural filters. However, the fact that there was a certain consistency in what was reported suggests that there probably was "otherness" involved. Where these writers went wrong in the eyes of current scholars was in making value judgments based on that "otherness."

Appalachia went largely unnoticed by mainstream America during the 1940s and 1950s, except for occasional newspaper and periodical articles about the region. (One of these articles was a fanciful *Reader's Digest* story in 1954 called "Stay On Stranger" that purported to tell the story of Alice Lloyd and Caney Creek.) This situation changed in 1960 when John F. Kennedy, needing to do well in West Virginia to prove himself a viable candidate for the Democratic nomination for president, called the nation's attention to the problems of the southern mountains once again. In 1962, a comprehensive survey of the Appalachian region was underwritten by the Ford Foundation, and the document it produced provided a factual base for discussing the area.

Also in 1962 Harry Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* was published and the rediscovery of Appalachia reached full force. Caudill wrote in order to tell "a tragic tale of the abuse and mismanagement of a resource heritage, and the human [cost] that is always the concomitant of shortsighted exploitation."[34] Caudill placed the blame for what had transpired on the economic interests that exploited the natural resources, on the deal-making local and state politicians who ignored the burgeoning problems, on the lack of enough arable land to support a growing population of would-be subsistence farmers, on the boom and bust natural resources-based economy of the 1880-1960 period, on the failure of the people remaining in the mountains to adapt to change, and, finally, on the dispirit-

ing, enervating, and shaming impact of public welfare. The book's influence is indicated by the fact that by 1991 it had had twenty-four printings and was still readily available in bookstores.

In 1965 Jack E. Weller, a missionary to churches in the Southern Appalachians for thirteen years, published *Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia. Yesterday's People* quickly became the bible for the fledgling Appalachian studies programs throughout the country. Weller sketched the personality of the mountaineer rank and file, noting how their personality traits differed from those of the mainstream population and how these traits held back progress in the mountains. His assessment was overwhelmingly negative, despite his obligatory disclaimer that not everyone in the mountains fit the portrait. The final impression left by the book is that the people of the mountains are damaged goods. The only recourse Weller could see was to change the personality of the mountaineer.[35]

It is important to note that even in this third category of Appalachian literature, the authors were still people who were not trained specialists in historical or sociological assessment. Caudill was a lawyer, legislator, and environmental activist; Weller, a minister and missionary. The burden of describing, analyzing, and prescribing for the mountains remained in the hands of nonacademics as late as the mid-1960s. They, like their predecessors, were good at generalizing, at skipping over contradictory evidence, at reducing complex issues to simple ones, at writing with flair and vigor, and at ignoring biases of their own in interpreting cultures of which they were not really a part.[36] Yet one more time, Appalachian literature stressed differentness, backwardness, and tragedy.

The fourth and current phase of Appalachian literature really had its beginning in the midst of the third phase, although few were aware of the fact at the time. James S. Brown, today considered to have been one of the "deans of [the] relatively new interdisciplinary field of Appalachian Studies," struggled throughout the 1940s to conduct and complete a doctoral dissertation based on a comprehensive examination of a small, isolated community in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky.[37]

The dissertation, "Social Organizations of an Isolated Mountain Neighborhood," was approved in late 1949 by Brown's doctoral committee at Harvard University but was not published until 1988, when an edited version was brought out under the title *Beech Creek*. It examines the mountain family and its kinship system, the values and class structure of the community, and the way in which religion,

lifestyles, outmigration and personal relations affected daily life. The study provides a detailed description of one small community—while recognizing that the community may or may not be representative of all mountain communities—in a way that is wholly convincing. In later years Brown, along with a number of other scholars, used the data contained in the original work as a basis for follow-up studies in the community (collectively referred to as the Beech Creek studies). As one of Brown's admirers said in 1988, the dissertation's major contribution was the "concrete authenticity" of his descriptions of that time and place.[38] It is this quality that made the study a classic in the field while still in dissertation form and essential reading for a growing body of scholars during the past twenty years.[39]

Before Brown's dissertation became well known and while the Caudill and Weller books were still attracting an ever growing readership, formally trained scholars from a variety of fields were beginning the serious analytical study of Appalachian history, sociology, demography and economic development. Moreover, these men and women had been profoundly influenced by important changes in the conduct of scholarly analysis that had taken place in the 1960s and 1970s.[40] For the first time history began to be written from the bottom up, which shifted the spotlight from the movers and shakers to those whose lives were being moved and shaken.[41] Historians began to "[judge] the past by the standards of the present" in a more overt and explicit manner than had been the case previously.[42] This caused them to apply new sensitivities to racial, cultural, and economic matters of the past, and they found the past lacking. Finally, the scholars' constant urge to draw new meaning from old stories led to a substantial reinterpretation of the events portrayed in the earlier Appalachian literature.

Cratis Williams had been active in Appalachian scholarship for many years when, at the age of fifty, he was awarded a doctorate for his 1961 dissertation, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction," a work that the *Journal of American Folklore* called "the most comprehensive and valuable work on Southern Highland literature."[43] The study "examined the social and cultural history of the mountaineers, evaluated the vast body of fiction written about them and [would] long be remembered as the definitive study for the period covered."[44] Williams brought to his work the insights of a mountain-born man and the skills and experiences of a thoroughly trained teacher and scholar.

For the purposes of this present study the most pertinent part of

Williams's work is chapter 8, "Settlement Centers, Mission Schools and 'Fotched On Women,' 1910-1935." He discusses in great detail the fiction of, among others, both Lucy Furman and Eliot Marlowe Robinson, the two Local Colorists who wrote, respectively, about the Hindman Settlement School and Caney Creek Community Center. He saluted Furman's work because "although [it] never achieved . . . high quality [it] accurately presented mountain folk moving from ignorance, disease and isolation into enlightenment, improved sanitation and adjustment to a new social order."[45] He dismissed Robinson's work as "Rotary Club optimism" and as derivative and shallow.[46]

Williams remained very active in Appalachian scholarship until the end of his life in 1985, concentrating primarily on the history, music, and lore of the Appalachian people. As one admirer said, "We are all better because of the work Cratis Williams did while he was with us."[47]

In 1978 Henry D. Shapiro, in *Appalachia on Our Mind*, attacked the very notion that Appalachia existed as a conceptual unity. He expressed doubt that Appalachia, defined as "the mountainous portions of eight or nine southern states, [formed] a coherent region inhabited by an homogeneous population possessing a uniform culture."[48] Instead, as his book demonstrates, Shapiro believed that Appalachia is a concept developed by outsiders to explain a situation they could not otherwise understand. The book traces the development of the "idea" of Appalachia to the fiction written by the Local Colorists, the religious and secular do-gooders' need to describe and justify their work, and the usefulness of the concept as a means of explaining away the embarrassing fact that, contrary to popular opinion, the country was not a single, superior, unified civilization.[49] The importance of Shapiro's work was that by calling into question the very legitimacy of Appalachia as a concept he also raised questions about the component parts of that concept. In other words, "might it not be that generalization was impossible, that mountain life was in fact too varied, too complex, too much like 'normal' American life to permit of generalization?"[50]

In the mid-1970s David Whisnant began a decade-long examination of what "the church missionaries, the secular uplift workers and the technocratic planners and developers [had] done in the region."[51] His findings were published in *Modernizing the Mountaineer* (1980) and *All That Is Native and Fine* (1983). In the course of these two books Whisnant looked at the benevolent work of outside do-gooders in Appalachia as it is reflected in the history of the Council of the

Southern Mountains, the TVA experience, massive federal efforts in the region during the 1960s and 1970s, the Hindman Settlement School, the cultural work of Olive Dame Campbell, and the White Top Folk Festival. He views all of these efforts with a jaundiced eye. He faults the would-be helpers as culturally insensitive, class bound, destructive intervenors who attempt to impose an alien set of values on an unsuspecting and defenseless people. The examples Whisnant cites, particularly some of those drawn from Olive Dame Campbell's introduction of Danish folkways to the mountains and some of the superficial concerns of the founders of the Hindman Settlement School, substantiate his point. However, one is left with a contradiction between what Whisnant concluded and the conclusion James Brown had reached earlier: "In general, ultimate values of the Beech Creek society were fundamentally the same as those of the U.S. as a whole."[52]

Whisnant's work is also important for another reason. As he was beginning he lamented the fact that a "lack of detailed studies" made it impossible for him to treat the whole subject of the benevolent worker in a single book. He described his own work as a "tentative initial account" and as "one piece of the puzzle being assembled by many hands."[53] Furthermore, he recognized (as did Shapiro) that "a region for so long characterized by a single stereotype is actually almost too diverse to generalize about at all."[54] It was this warning about generalizations and the call for a whole series of studies that enabled me to understand how an evaluation of the Caney Creek experience would fit into the developing field of Appalachian scholarship and what contributions it could make. Ironically, after being so sensitive to the hazards of doing so, Whisnant then went on to make generalizations about the "histories, policies, and activities of the missionary, planning and development" people.[55]

John Gaventa, in his award-winning *Power and Powerlessness*, attacked the notion that it was the "backwardness" of a traditional Appalachian culture that prevented its people from challenging the forces that were oppressing them. He rejected the claim that Appalachians were themselves to blame for their own plight as a classic example of "blaming the victim." Instead, he demonstrated how power by its very nature can preclude issues of importance to the powerless from reaching the decision-making arena, and, in its most extreme form, how power can frame these issues in terms that seduce the powerless to take sides against their own best interests. Gaventa concluded that it was not a fatalistic view of life that kept Appala-

chians from rising in protest; it was the century-long condition of powerlessness that sapped the will to resist. In other words, powerlessness begets powerlessness; power begets power.[56]

Ronald D. Eller turned conventional wisdom upside down in 1982 with *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930.* Eller set out to show that the cause of Appalachian distress was not the existence of "a pathological culture that . . . equipped mountain people poorly for life in the modern industrial world."[57] Instead, it was the process of modernization that impoverished the mountains. Eller's point was that industrialization reached into every region of the country, even those on the periphery, such as Appalachia. The problem was that the economic benefits of modernization were sent to the urban areas while the peripheral areas were left with a destroyed traditional culture and no resources with which to build a viable replacement. Rather than Appalachia's suffering from a lack of modernization (as the earlier literature would have it), it was the particular kind of modernization imposed upon the region that had made it "a rich land inhabited by a poor people."[58]

Two of the more recent books on Appalachia—Durwood Dunn's *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of a Southern Appalachian Community, 1818-1937* and Altina L. Waller's *Feud: Hatfields, McCoys and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860-1900*—continue the process of adding new depth to our understanding of Appalachian history. Dunn examined in great detail the 120-year history of a small Tennessee community to demonstrate "the dangers of making any [broad] generalizations about Southern Appalachia or the mountain people."[59] In particular Dunn wanted to destroy what he called "the nadir of Southern Appalachia stereotyping" represented by Horace Kephart's *Our Southern Highlanders.*[60] He concluded that the people of Cades Cove were "neither the picturesque, superhuman, romanticized figures of Mary Noailles Murfree nor the wretched backward creatures living in depravity and degradation as represented by Horace Kephart. . . . Rather they were . . . representative of the broad mainstream of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American culture and society."[61]

In saying this, Dunn echoed the conclusion reached by James Brown that there are fundamental similarities between the mainstream and Appalachian value systems.

Waller has taken a fresh look at the famous Hatfield-McCoy feud of the late nineteenth century and concluded that neither of the two

competing explanations for mountain feuds fits this particular event. The feud did not grow out of a culture that was an anachronism in modern America (i.e., a culture in which raw passion and violence were given free rein), as the earlier literature had stated. Nor was it an understandably angry reaction of a frustrated people being exploited by impersonal forces beyond their control, as more recent work has concluded.[62] The feud was, Waller contends, particularly in its later stages, the result of a complex interplay between two groups, one of which readily embraced a modern and urban lifestyle while the other remained devoted to a traditional and rural one. In this respect, Waller contends, "The feudists were struggling with the same historical forces of capitalist transformation that had been changing America since before the American Revolution. They were not so different, after all, from the . . . Americans whose communities, at different times throughout the nineteenth century, were beset by social and cultural tensions [as they faced] first a national, then an international economic system."[63]

There is no question but that considerable doubt has been cast upon the old monolithic picture of the region. All agree that the story is more complex, that diversity is more abundant, and that additional studies are needed if we are ever to have a complete understanding of the Appalachian experience. A decade ago David Whisnant called for "detailed preliminary studies" that could add "pieces to the puzzle" of Appalachia. More recently Ronald Eller praised the progress already being made by Appalachian scholars in "transform[ing] our vision of Appalachians from that of victims to actors."[64] Stephen L. Fisher has brought together a series of articles by prominent Appalachian scholars doing just that in *Fighting Back in Appalachia*. The book puts to rest "the notion of Appalachians as victims, as non-actors in determining their fate." The authors attempt to discover in their examinations of various facets of the Appalachian experience "which organizational instruments and strategies are best suited for building progressive movements" and which have been shown to fail. Events are not portrayed so that they affirm or deny a particular theory; they are examined to determine what can be learned from them.[65] As Eller said in 1986, "More confident of who we are [we can] put aside our defensiveness [and] our regional chauvinism and . . . engage in self-criticism and self-analysis. . . . For the first time we [are] able to ask questions not born of defensiveness or the need to explain [and we can open] up untold areas of rich research."[66] Rodger Cunningham, in his mind-stretching *Apples on the Flood*, challenged

Appalachian scholars "to sort out the questions of positive versus negative aspects of mountain culture and society, and the related questions of native versus outside efforts to redress matters."[67] It is this challenge, as well as the collective spirit of Eller and Whisnant, that has led me to undertake this study of the Caney Creek experience and its significance.

Two other works by Appalachian scholars have attempted somewhat similar tasks. James S. Greene III has examined the story of the Pine Mountain Settlement School in his 1982 dissertation, "Progressives in the Mountains: The Formative Years of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, 1913-30."[68] Greene's work does much to explain what was attempted, and why, at one of the best known schools of its type. Greene deals with many of the same issues discussed in this work, but his protagonists, especially Katherine Pettit and Ethel de Long Zande, resolved them in ways that were at times strikingly different from the way Alice Lloyd dealt with them.

John M. Glen tells the story of the Highlander Folk School (the Tennessee school that many southerners loved to hate because it championed the causes of racial equality and economic justice) in *Highlander: No Ordinary School, 1932-1962*. The school's founder and leading light, Myles Horton, believed, as did Alice Lloyd, "in the power of education to change society [and that] the poor of Appalachia and the South [could] take control of their own lives and solve their own problems."[69] Horton, however, was primarily interested in working with older adults rather than more traditional students; he was ever ready to challenge aggressively the existing social and economic structure, whereas Lloyd wanted her students to succeed within it; and his attention shifted from one cause to another as conditions in the South changed. Glen's account of the Highlander experience reveals both the school's successes and its failures. There is no attempt to place the school high upon a pedestal, nor is its failure to change the world used to prove the futility of its work. Instead it is a balanced account of an admirable effort to do good.

Before moving on to the story of Alice Lloyd, it would be appropriate to add a word about the literature that has already been written about the woman and her work at Caney Creek. As shown in the bibliography, a number of books and television dramas have been written about, or include accounts of, the school and its founders. None of these have fully explored the ample research material that is available, and most of them have failed to distinguish between the myths and the realities of the experience. Collectively they make up

a morality play in which the questions of right and wrong, good and bad, appropriate and inappropriate behavior have all been decided in advance. This present work, while drawing on what has been written and shown before, is the first attempt to include all the evidence, to avoid taking sides, and to understand the woman and her work as they deserve to be understood.

2

The New England Years

ALICE LLOYD'S CAREER after 1915, when she first arrived in Kentucky from New England, is quite well known because her work attracted a considerable amount of attention by the national press.[1] These reports, plus the recollections and reminiscences of her former colleagues and students, provide the essential details of the last forty-eight years of her life.[2]

What is far less well known is the life she had prior to coming to Kentucky at the age of thirty-eight. In 1970 a researcher writing a 1,500-word biographical piece on Lloyd for *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary* concluded that after her arrival in Kentucky she had "rejected queries about her early life, and it remains shrouded by questions."[3] In 1986 a doctoral-level graduate student attempted to penetrate the fog surrounding the early years. In her dissertation she recited the few details she had been able to piece together on Lloyd's early life and then concluded, "Beyond that is mystery."[4]

I embarked on this search for Alice Lloyd's New England years confident that sources existed that could answer the questions and solve the mystery.[5] In some measure my confidence was justified, but not completely. As this chapter will demonstrate, there remain unanswered questions and probably always will. Enough of the record has emerged, however, to allow us to understand something about who this woman was, what experiences shaped her view of the world, and what personal traits she possessed—traits which enabled her to accomplish so much in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky. In the account of her New England years that follows, one can see the

dominant interests, personality, and unique characteristics which so clearly marked her years in Pippa Passes. This connection between the years prior to 1915 and those after it is important because it helps dispel an erroneous impression that her move to Kentucky marked a significant departure from the life she had previously led. In some respects this is true, but in the main the woman who founded Caney Creek Community Center and directed its activities can be seen in the committed, hard-working, ambitious, determined woman of New England. Perhaps more important for the purposes of this study, it shows that even before going to Kentucky Lloyd had already begun to incorporate into her life activities designed to enrich the lives of children, the poor, the uneducated, and others less fortunate than herself. It was the existence of substandard living conditions in some parts of Appalachia that was important to her, not—as Appalachian scholar David Whisnant insists—the existence of an Appalachian culture that was very different from her own and in need of "fixing."

Any attempt to understand Lloyd's nearly four decades in New England (during all but two years of which she was known by her maiden name, Alice Spencer Geddes) must begin with the voluminous collection of newspaper and magazine clippings she assembled at that time. Some years ago the staff at Alice Lloyd College sorted through this material and saved some of it in several large scrapbooks.[6] Some of the material is about her and her family; other material was written by her when she was a reporter and feature writer. Unfortunately, much of it is undated, it is not organized either chronologically or by subject, and consequently it is very difficult to construct a good account of her first four decades from this material alone. Despite these shortcomings, the scrapbooks do provide the clues necessary to direct further research.

That search takes one to the Boston area and southern New Hampshire, to newspaper files, school records and city directories, and, in the end, to drawing some logical deductions from the surviving written record.

Alice Geddes's parents were William E. Geddes and Ella Mary Bowker Geddes. Some researchers have confused her father with Professor James Geddes, a prominent Boston University teacher with whom Alice Geddes once worked on a voluntary basis on a project to catalog and preserve scientific information. The confusion apparently arises because she kept with her personal papers a long newspaper article about the professor, but the reason for doing so was that it contained

a reference to her own role in his organization. The professor was born in Scotland and appears to have been no relation.[7]

The senior Geddeses were living in the small central Massachusetts town of Athol when Alice Geddes was born on November 13, 1876.[8] Within five years the family had moved to the Boston area where young Alice remained, with the exception of trips to Europe to visit her parents, until she went to live permanently (or so she thought) in New Hampshire in 1914.[9]

There are two important facts about her parents that very likely had a strong impact on the young Alice. The first is that her parents lived abroad in England for most of her formative years. We can locate William Geddes at 22 Inman Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1885 along with his mother, Alice Ainsworth Geddes, and presumably his wife and daughter. By 1887 only the grandmother and young Alice are listed at that address, and in 1889 William is listed as having his residence in England and as being the manager of the London office of an American company that produced and sold St. Jacobs Oil, a patent medicine.[10] In 1895 Alice Geddes's transcript at Radcliffe College gives a London address for her parents, as well as a Cambridge, Massachusetts, address for herself.[11] From then until her grandmother's death in 1909, young Alice appears in various city directories as a "boarder" at the address of her grandmother.[12] In August 1913 a New Hampshire newspaper doing a feature story on interesting summer residents stated that Alice's mother, Ella Geddes, had recently returned from thirty years in England where her late husband had been in business.[13]

The second fact is the time of her father's death. One story about Alice that has circulated for many years is that her father died while she was young, leaving her destitute.[14] It is said that this sudden impoverishment caused her to leave Radcliffe College just before she would have graduated. The record does not support this version of the story. When she abandoned her studies at Radcliffe the first time in 1896, and again when she left after a second year in 1900, she and her grandmother continued to live in a house described in a newspaper article as "a charming house on Massachusetts Avenue," at that time a quite acceptable address. The evidence strongly suggests that her father died in 1913, or shortly before, while working abroad, long after Geddes had established herself as a successful journalist and entrepreneur.[15]

This brief look at young Alice's parents and grandmother is important because it suggests that the European trips that form part

of her story are true.[16] Her parents lived abroad long enough to qualify as true expatriates. She visited them on more than one occasion and herself became a seasoned traveler.[17]

It also suggests that it was her grandmother, described in several city directories as "a teacher of cooking," who had the greatest influence on her during her school years and whose social position would have determined Alice's own.[18] The description of the grandmother's home and her occupation indicates that Alice Geddes grew up in comfortable middle-class circumstances, but it does not support the suggestion that she was a member of Boston's social elite, as most Alice Lloyd stories would have it. (There is no evidence that there was any estrangement between the child and her parents. From the time of her mother's return to the United States around 1913, she and Alice were rarely apart. Mrs. Geddes joined her daughter in New Hampshire and later in Kentucky, where she remained for the rest of her life.)[19]

Finally, it suggests that Alice Geddes's father's financial misfortunes, if in fact there were any, may have been used later in her life to provide an acceptable excuse for why she—the founder and head of a college—never earned a college degree herself. As discussed below there seem to have been other reasons for not graduating, particularly lack of interest, that she might not have wanted to admit after becoming a top educator in Kentucky. (In 1933 she was not only the head of an accredited college but also a member of the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Association of Colleges and Universities, the state's leading organization for higher education.)[20]

Alice Geddes's education has been described in generally glowing terms by those who have written about it. One man who knew her for more than twenty-five years in Kentucky, and who served for many years as the president of the college's board of trustees, said that she "was a summa cum laude graduate from Radcliffe College."[21] Another called her a product of the best education New England could provide.[22] The actual story is quite different. She did, indeed, attend good schools, but her performance at them was somewhat less than sterling.

In 1887, as she neared her eleventh birthday, school records show that Alice Geddes enrolled at the Chauncy Hall School as a first-year upper department student.[23] Chauncy Hall was a prominent private college preparatory school located on Boylston Street in what is now the heart of downtown Boston. However, at the time that young Alice

attended the school, it had much more of a suburban, even rural, setting, which allowed it to occupy a substantial lot with ample room for playing fields.[24] Originally the school was for boys only, particularly those who were destined for Harvard and MIT.[25] In 1862 the male-only policy was changed to admit girls "upon request of their parents," but girls never represented more than about 25 percent of the student body.[26]

The school prided itself on providing a strong classical education tempered by using the "latest advances in scholarship and methods of teaching . . . [and avoiding] all dangers of over-conservatism."[27] With respect to its female students, the school stressed that it set high standards and required considerable homework because "hard workers become healthy adults." It also emphasized "the simple dressing of girls" so that fashion or personal wealth would not be a factor in setting the school environment.[28]

The young Alice lived at home, as did most Chauncy Hall students, with her grandmother. The surviving records at the school indicate that she lived in Cambridgeport, a term which was once used to designate the area in which her grandmother lived in 1887.[29] The daily commute to Chauncy Hall would have involved a relatively short trolley ride across the Harvard Bridge and up Boylston Street to Copley Square, where the school was located.

Unfortunately, the wooden building holding the Chauncy Hall School archives burned to the ground in 1979. Along with the archives went all evidence of Alice's years there, other than the simple listing referred to above. We do not know what kind of student she was, whether or not she participated in extracurricular activities, who her friends may have been, or whether or not she actually graduated from Chauncy Hall School in June 1894 as is believed.[30]

One reason for questioning her graduation is simply that her application to Radcliffe College made in June 1895 fails to mention that she attended Chauncy Hall. Under the heading "School" in what is probably the registrar's handwriting are listed "The Berkeley School of Boston, Massachusetts" and "Cambridge Latin School of Cambridge, Massachusetts."[31] The latter was a good high school near where she lived. At least one of her close friends and business associates from later years graduated from Cambridge Latin School, and the temptation to say that they went to Cambridge Latin together is strong.[32] However, the records at Cambridge Latin School, which are incomplete, do not list her as a student, so it is not possible to verify that supposition.[33] In any event, it is strange that Radcliffe

College failed to list Chauncy Hall on her transcript, while listing two other schools that should not have been nearly as important to them.

Another reason for questioning whether or not she graduated from Chauncy Hall School is the quality of her Radcliffe College entrance examination results. Alice Geddes took the examination in June 1895, and the results are recorded on her college transcript. Seven subjects were tested: English, Latin, German, French, Ancient History, Algebra, and Geometry. Her results included six D's and one C.[34] Chauncy Hall's reputation for preparing students for Harvard College and MIT is certainly not enhanced by these results. Three possible answers suggest themselves: during the year between graduation in 1894 and taking the test in 1895 she forgot much of what she had learned; she was a poor student who simply failed to take in the education Chauncy Hall School offered; or she did not remain long at that school.

Radcliffe College was founded in 1879 by a group of prominent women in Boston to provide an education for young women which would be the equal of that provided for young men by Harvard. Harvard's strong-willed president, Charles W. Eliott, refused to permit women to enroll at his college, but he was willing to permit his faculty to teach at Radcliffe, which they did in large numbers.[35] The curriculum at Radcliffe College was essentially the same as that provided at Harvard. It consisted of the traditional liberal arts courses with special emphasis on English, history, philosophy, the sciences, and foreign languages. The college was incorporated as a degree-granting institution in 1894. Elizabeth Carey Agassiz, the college's first president, said that it was her intention to insure that "Radcliffe . . . always be respected for the quiet dignity of its bearing, for the genuineness of its work and for its adherence to the noblest ends of scholarship."[36]

In the various accounts of Alice Geddes's first forty years little seems to be straightforward. Some "facts" prove to be unfounded, and other claims cannot be adequately verified to justify certainty. Her record at Radcliffe College is a notable exception. In this case, her transcript is complete and it contains a surprising amount of useful information (e.g., it provides her parents' address in London; it confirms her mother's maiden name; it shows that Alice lived at the same address as her grandmother), in addition to providing a record of courses taken and grades received. Several things stand out in the record: she attended Radcliffe for only two years; there was a gap of

three years between her freshman and sophomore years; English was her chosen discipline; and she was at best only a mediocre student.[37]

Part of the three-year gap between her freshman and sophomore years may have been spent in England with her parents. A 1903 Boston newspaper article mentions that she had spent a year studying at Newnham College, Cambridge University, England.[38] In addition, her transcript shows that she took two more entrance examinations at Radcliffe in June 1899, prior to starting her sophomore year in September 1899. She received a B in Greek and a C in Physics, suggesting that she studied these subjects while in England. Unfortunately, the Newnham College archivist reports that there is no record of an Alice Spencer Geddes having attended the institution.[39] It is possible that she was privately tutored there without having registered, although the archivist doubts this, or that she studied at another institution and not Newnham College. (Newnham College was a relatively recent addition to the long list of distinguished colleges at Cambridge University and was exclusively for young women. Geddes's stature in Boston would have been enhanced by her association with it.)

Alice Geddes's educational record is substantially different from that contained in previous accounts of her life. The record is less glowing than previously thought; it is not fully substantiated by the available historical record; and it hardly suggests that the woman who created it would be the one to bring higher education to the people of a remote part of the Appalachian Mountains. The discrepancies between what has been thought to be true with respect to Chauncy Hall School, Radcliffe College, and Newnham College may simply reflect the fact that the evidence which would explain them no longer exists. The more likely explanation is that we have some résumé inflation reflected in the traditional accounts of her education. (One can see other incidents throughout her life where she chose to exaggerate her accomplishments or stretch the truth—or not to correct others who did so on her behalf—in order to achieve what to her were important goals. This habit often led to difficulties between her and her neighbors and colleagues and was at the root of many of the controversies in which she found herself.)

Alice Geddes's early career in New England as a reporter, journalist, and freelance writer was marked by success from her first working days. In 1898, probably after returning from an extended visit with her parents in London and prior to her second stint at Radcliffe

College, she began to work at the *Cambridge Chronicle*, a weekly newspaper in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In December of that year the editors of the *Chronicle* told their readers that the first appearance of a special women's section "was received with so much pleasure" that it was to become a permanent feature. The section was called the "Women's Chronicle" and it was "conducted by Alice Spencer Geddes."[40]

The "Women's Chronicle" (the name was later changed to the "Woman's Corner") contained local news of interest to women. The meetings of various clubs were covered; the goings-on of well-known women in the community were related; occasionally an editorial opinion was offered; and the activities of various charities were reported and applauded.[41]

Geddes continued to "conduct" the women's department for the next four years, even while she returned to Radcliffe for her second year. Her lackluster academic performance during her sophomore year (one B, six C's and one D) reflects the fact that a significant amount of her time and energy was devoted to her newspaper work. In contrast to her later distaste for personal publicity, it is interesting to note that the "Woman's Corner" included a number of reports about her own comings and goings. For example, in December 1898 she is reported to have been one of four young women serving "frappe" at a meeting of the Cantabrigia Club, a large (more than 600 members) and important women's organization in Cambridge.[42] In the spring of 1902 she is mentioned regularly for several weeks while the "Woman's Corner" covers the annual election of the officers of the Cantabrigia Club. The paper reports Geddes's decision not to stand for re-election as clerk of the club but instead to compete for the chairmanship of a key club committee, the Civics and Current Events Section. In the event, she lost the election to a former president of the club who rather suddenly and unexpectedly came out of retirement to contest the election. The "Woman's Corner" dutifully reported the results the following week.[43] (It is impossible not to wonder if the former president's action was the result of a concerted effort to deny Geddes, a comparative youngster of twenty-six, and an assertive one at that, an important club post.)

In 1903 Geddes bought a weekly newspaper. The paper was called the *Cambridge Press* and apparently was in need of a significant upgrade. Along with two women friends she gave the paper a face-lift, began an aggressive marketing campaign to build subscription and advertising revenue, and set out to provide the community with

"frank and free criticism"[44] of events of local interest. Unfortunately, I have found no copies of the *Cambridge Press*, even in the collection of clippings at Alice Lloyd College. This is odd, given the mass of other material which she did save. Perhaps the reason for its omission is that it was, in the end, not a happy experience.

The significance of this entrepreneurial effort by Alice Geddes needs to be understood in the context of the times. She was a young woman of twenty-seven taking on the newspaper establishment. The *Cambridge Press* billed itself as "the only paper in New England edited and printed solely by women."[45] The early twentieth century (a period of intense competition in the newspaper business) was not a time when women of any age were expected to compete in the rough and tumble, male-dominated newspaper business, let alone a young woman in her mid-twenties. Clearly, Geddes was not inhibited by timidity, lack of purpose, fear of failure, or too much worry about women's place in the early twentieth century. Instead, she was determined, highly energetic, creative, and ambitious, all traits which would serve her well in her Kentucky years. Moreover, the fact that she was able to buy the newspaper with her own money in 1903 adds further evidence in support of the conclusion that it was not financial problems which caused her departure from Radcliffe.[46]

For reasons that I do not understand, the *Cambridge Press* lasted only fifteen months.[47] If there was a period of financial crisis in Geddes's life, it might have been at the time the paper failed. In 1904 she and her grandmother left "the charming house [at 878] Massachusetts Avenue" and moved for one year to 770 Massachusetts Avenue.[48] Whether or not the first house was mortgaged to buy the paper and then lost when the paper ran into trouble is not known. An outcome of this sort is not unheard of from a high-risk entrepreneurial venture.

In 1905 Alice Geddes and her grandmother, Alice Ainsworth Geddes, moved to Wakefield, Massachusetts, a small town a few miles north of Cambridge, where the younger Geddes became the assistant editor of the *Wakefield Citizen and Banner*.[49] (Today, Wakefield is an integral part of the metropolitan Boston area, but at the turn of the century it was at its far fringe.) This was a low point in her professional career. The *Wakefield Citizen and Banner* was a decidedly drab, small-town weekly with a parochial outlook that could not have offered Alice Geddes an opportunity to exercise her proven talents nor satisfy her ambition.[50]

In addition, she was only the paper's assistant editor, not the

editor, despite later claims to the contrary.[51] The owner and publisher of the paper had put a relative, probably either his daughter or his wife, into the editor's position shortly before Geddes arrived on the job.[52] The position at the *Wakefield Citizen and Banner* lasted until sometime around 1908. In the 1907 city directory she is listed as "assistant editor" with offices at 376 Main Street, the newspaper's business address. In 1909, the biennial city directory continues to list her and her grandmother, but it no longer indicates that she is an assistant editor.

From this time until her departure for New Hampshire and Kentucky, Geddes's career as a freelance writer blossomed, based on the number, length, and subject matter of the articles she kept in her collection of memorabilia. In addition, her writing begins to show signs of increasing maturity, focus, and insight. Gone is the breathless enthusiasm that marked the "Woman's Corner" and some of the public statements that accompanied her purchase of the *Cambridge Press*. In its place one finds a much more thoughtful writer who has gained the confidence to tell her readers what they should think and how they should act. In "The Possibilities in an Old House" she describes how an old house presumed by many to be fit only for demolition could be restored to beauty and functionality.[53] The article shows a keen sense of appreciation for tradition, economy, and architectural style and suggests that Geddes could distinguish between the "new" that was good and the "new" that was simply a novelty.

The article entitled "Aristocracy's Badge: Hair Ribbons Mark Social Distinctions Among School Girls" tells the story of how girls, with the willing approval of their parents, were controlled by fashion and the desire for ostentatious display. Geddes calls for a return to clothing that serves its intended purpose without calling attention to the wearer's position in an overly materialistic society.[54] (Her later insistence that her female students at Caney Creek wear uniforms indicates the depth of her commitment to this particular idea and her general willingness to practice what she preached.)

Geddes covered the 1912 baseball World Series between the Boston Red Sox and the New York Giants from "the [Boston] Globe Woman's" point of view and reported the results in "Red Sox and Giants Charm Globe Woman." She displays a good sense of humor, as well as some striking irreverence for the day's major sports figures.[55] Perhaps equally important, the article—which shows a reasonably good understanding of the sport—reflects the breadth of her

interests and demonstrates how adaptable and flexible were her writing skills.

In "The Slender Lady With The Dark Green Corduroy Bag" Geddes profiles Ada Marie Molineux, one of the country's first female Ph.D.'s, a former secretary of the Robert Browning Society in Boston and a well-known lecturer, teacher, and reformer. In the article, Dr. Molineux is quoted as saying, "Browning is my perpetual joy. Without him I should never have been able to keep my faith that 'All's right with the world.' " A few years later Alice Geddes was to name her Kentucky community after the Browning poem from which this phrase comes.[56] Molineux also was a featured speaker at a 1913 social event hosted by Geddes and was an early supporter of her altruistic activities in New Hampshire and Kentucky.

In "Running Away From Ourselves" and "The Saving Grace of a Smile" Geddes examines the position of women in the modern world. In the former she asks women to take charge of their own lives, to recognize who they are and go about their business with pride and confidence.[57] She makes clear her own awareness of the conflicting pressures many women faced at the time, and she insists that they seize the opportunities then opening up for them and stop hiding behind the traditions of an earlier time. In the latter article she celebrates the transitional status of early twentieth-century women who were moving from "the four-walled-in women of yesterday [to] the world wide women of tomorrow." While recognizing the difficulty and the importance of the transition, she chided the modern woman for being too busy to smile.[58]

The success of Alice Geddes's career between 1908 and 1914 is indicated by the fact that she and her grandmother moved three times while in the Wakefield area, each time to a better location and a better house. The third move took them to Park Avenue, at the time a country road which connected Wakefield to Stoneham, an even smaller Massachusetts town. Park Avenue contained only a handful of houses in 1908, most of them large and gracious.[59] Alice Ainsworth Geddes died in the Park Avenue house in early 1909, and Alice Geddes continued to live there until about 1913.[60]

In addition to her career as a writer, she lectured on a variety of topics around the country and taught writing courses. The extent of her success—and its importance to her own self-esteem—is perhaps best indicated by the fact that she attained a listing in the 1910-11 *Who's Who in America*.[61] Not yet thirty-five—and a woman—that was a remarkable feat in 1910 based on the paucity of women listed

in the edition of that year. Her complete listing appeared in *Who's Who* again in the 1912-13 edition, but from then on only her name appeared, along with a notation directing the reader to see the 1912-13 volume. In the 1942-43 book even that entry disappeared. (She never attained a listing under her married name, Alice Lloyd, in *Who's Who in America*, although she was listed under that name along with her Caney Creek associate June Buchanan in the 1947 edition of *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*.)[62]

We have no indication of what Alice Geddes's extracurricular interests were as a student. There is no record at either Chauncy Hall School or Radcliffe College that would indicate what role she played in school affairs or if she displayed the kind of energetic leadership that she did in her later life. With respect to her adult years, however, there is no question but that she was very active in the community.

Even before her second departure from Radcliffe College, Geddes was an active member of Cambridge's most important women's club: the Cantabrigia Club. Some said that it was the largest women's club in New England, and many women of accomplishment belonged to it.[63] The club was instrumental in arranging educational, cultural, and philanthropic activities for its members. Geddes was elected an officer of the club around 1900 at the age of twenty-four. Her fellow officers included the former president of Wellesley College, Alice Freeman Palmer, and the wives of prominent Boston-area men.[64]

At about the same time, she and several friends founded another women's club, but this time its membership was restricted to women under the age of thirty. This club, appropriately named the Camaraderie Club, was more social in nature than was the Cantabrigia Club. One of its more interesting activities, especially given Alice Geddes's later prohibition of contact between the sexes at Caney Junior College, was a monthly meeting to which each member was required to bring a gentleman friend.[65]

Another major activity in which she was involved was a literary club called the Manuscript Club. This group consisted largely of writers and would-be writers who combined their literary interests with their social interests. On one occasion, the afternoon of June 27, 1913, she and her mother entertained seventy-five members of the Manuscript Club at Sunset View, their Park Avenue home in Stoneham. Wakefield's small newspaper described an event that was charming, interesting, and presented with style and grace.[66]

The accounts of this event are important not only for what they

tell us about the hostess, but also because they are yet another reminder that parental financial troubles did not raise havoc with Alice Geddes's New England years, as the common version of her life history would have it. A household that could entertain seventy-five people at home, complete with an all-female music ensemble, was not destitute.

The invitation to this party was sent out in the name of "we seven at Sunset View," but the seven included the "Special-Writer-Person," her mother, a cat, a dog, and three kittens.[67] The makeup of "we seven" is important not only because it tells us who was in the household, but also because it is another example of her sense of humor, as was the irreverent article on the World Series mentioned earlier. It is useful to remember this characteristic when one hears the stories of the stern disciplinarian she was said to be in her later years. The later stories stress the unbending side of her nature and do an injustice to a warmer, more human side.

During her years in the Boston area she also claimed membership in the New England Women's Press Club, the Browning Society, the Modern Thought Club, the Women's Charity Club, the Unitarian Church, and the Ruskin Club.[68] This last activity may have had a particularly important influence on her later life, given Ruskin's views on the need for the elimination of the stark inequalities he saw in nineteenth-century society.[69]

Geddes was an active participant in community affairs, be they cultural, social, or educational. She displayed the same leadership, initiative and ambition in her non-professional activities that she did at work. The unsteady, crippled old woman shown on national television in 1955, and the repeated use of still photos from that program, left viewers with a totally misleading impression of the sort of person she was.[70] In the prime of her life, despite being partially paralysed on her right side, she was anything but frail and helpless. Even today, when they talk of her, people seem to have in their minds the person she was late in her life, not the vital, strong-willed, action-oriented person she was for most of her adult life.

By 1913 Alice Geddes not only had reached the high point of her local prominence, but also had begun to display the stirrings of social conscience that were to be a major influence during the remainder of her life. During the same month in which she hosted the Manuscript Club, the *Boston Globe* was featuring her thoughts (along with those of three other writers) on fashion, women, and women's role in

society. Alice Geddes made her position abundantly clear when she wrote, ". . . Bona fide women—Jane Addams sort of women—are not guilty of abusing fashion." At that time Jane Addams was the widely known and respected founder and resident head of Chicago's Hull House Settlement. Addams had by then worked among the poor of Chicago for more than twenty years and was well on her way to becoming "Saint Jane" to many Americans.[71] This was the type of woman Geddes held up as a model for her readers. At another point in the article, Geddes wrote that women's role was to accept "responsibility for the generation already here and [to give] a eugenic forethought for the generation to come."[72] As later events make clear, she was prepared both to accept her share of that responsibility and to act on the tenets of eugenics, a philosophy popular at the time that described itself as "the science of the improvement of the human race by better breeding."[73]

Alice Geddes and her mother spent the summer of 1913 on a farm in the town of Gilmanton Iron Works, New Hampshire (about eighty miles north of Boston), with Geddes's longtime business associate, Park Avenue neighbor, and friend Arthur W. Lloyd. Lloyd had purchased the farm in 1911 and had begun to spend his summers there.[74] The favorable impact that rural living had on Alice Geddes is reflected in a number of articles she published during the ensuing year extolling the virtues of country living, its simple pleasures, and its economical lifestyle.[75] The variety of articles she was able to publish based essentially on that one experience also illustrates her entrepreneurial instinct. She was able to fashion a series of articles, each of which had a different emphasis, by the simple expedient of adjusting the facts to support her main editorial thrust.

It became clear later that summer that this sojourn was not simply a temporary escape from the growing complexity of urban life. It was meant to be the beginning of a new life. In the account of an interview conducted by a reporter for the *Laconia (N.H.) News and Critic* who visited the "Arthur Lloyd family," it is clear that something more important than a summer vacation was in the works. The reporter, responding to an invitation from the "family" (meaning Geddes) to pay them a call, found that Arthur Lloyd and the Geddeses (Ella Geddes was also present) intended to move permanently to the small southern New Hampshire town. He also reported that Alice Geddes had appeared as a featured speaker at that year's annual "Old Home" festival. If the interview had been arranged by Geddes in order to get herself properly introduced to the community—as I believe—it

was a resounding success. In closing the article the reporter wrote, "The writer feels impelled to say 'Give us a few more [newcomers] like 'em' " and we will all be better off for it.[76]

Whether it was for love, convenience, or propriety we do not know, but in February 1914 Arthur Lloyd and Alice Spencer Geddes were married in New Hampshire—to the surprise of some of their Boston friends—and embarked with enthusiasm on their new life in that state. Ella Geddes joined her daughter and son-in-law in the summer of 1914 and also settled in as a permanent resident.[77]

During the next eighteen months the Lloyds were active in the community. From the earliest days of their stay in New Hampshire, their comings and goings were reported regularly in the *Laconia News and Critic.* (Laconia is the county seat for Belknap County, in which Gilmanton Iron Works is located.) Given the fact that the newspaper's stringer for Gilmanton, Gilmanton Iron Works, and Smith Meeting House Hill (the towns and hamlets immediately surrounding the Lloyd's farm) relied upon local informants for news, one cannot escape the thought that Alice herself planted the articles about her activities. During some periods there were reports about the Lloyds in the paper every week for months at a time,[78] especially with respect to the good works she had undertaken. In quick succession beginning in the summer of 1914 the newspaper reported: that Mrs. Lloyd would devote a portion of her Saturday afternoons to the children of Gilmanton; that she had begun a series of "readings" in her home; that she had started a "Free Library" at her home and invited everyone to make use of the books and magazines she had assembled; that she had begun to conduct "flower walks" for local children and to give prizes for those who learned the most; that Mrs. Lloyd's "generous and self-sacrificing work . . . deserve[d] the hearty support of all good citizens"; that she had begun a series of "story tellings" in the schools; that the notion that Mrs. Lloyd was receiving "financial recompense" for her work was mistaken, the work was freely given and deserved the support of local citizens; that the Lloyds had accepted into their home as a "permanent member of their family" a little girl from a poor home; that Mrs. Lloyd had started a campaign to provide a library at each of the area's nine primary schools; that she was at home recovering from injuries suffered when she was thrown from her wagon one wintry day while making calls on the area's poor; and that Mrs. Lloyd had published a letter in the *Boston Transcript* seeking help for the "unfortunate victims of depravity" in New Hampshire.[79]

In a later accounting of her activities to the townspeople, activities she described as "my friendly, social and educational labors," she added to the list of benevolent works: collecting and distributing clothes both new and used, obtaining prints of "masterpieces" to decorate one-room school houses and rural homes, organizing a chapter of Big Brothers/Big Sisters and a Child Welfare League, setting up a market for women's industries and crafts, and designing a model playground.[80]

Predictably, Lloyd's activities on behalf of children and the poor annoyed some elements of the town. The local newspaper reported that it had received a number of citizen complaints, especially concerning the manner in which their town was being portrayed to the readers of Boston newspapers. The paper regretted the fact that the one letter it had received in support of her work was unsigned, and therefore it would not be published.[81] One complainant, Professor J.W. Sanborn, railed against "the same patronizing air of those behind the nationwide movement for country uplift fathered by our city cousins." The paper's editor tried to mediate the dispute by pointing out that "the contending parties are after all not so far apart," but to no avail.[82]

Professor Sanborn's article appeared in February 1915. From that time until the Lloyds' departure in late summer, the newspaper continued to report what were obviously Alice Lloyd's continuing activities, but with only an occasional mention of her name. On June 30, 1915, the paper published a long, very detailed letter from Alice Lloyd under the heading "Alice Lloyd Replies to Her Critics." The letter contains not a word of explanation, apology, or request for acceptance; it simply lists an astounding array of good works accomplished in a very brief period of time. On August 11, 1915, the newspaper reported that Bishop Parker of the Episcopal Diocese was "in the vicinity [the previous] Thursday discussing methods of continuing the friendly and educational work that ha[d] been started by Alice Spencer Geddes Lloyd who [was] about to leave town permanently."[83] The pathos of the last seven words, especially in contrast to the feelings of joy in the earlier announcements, is impossible to ignore.

Lloyd herself rarely mentioned her New Hampshire activities in later years, but she did realize that her own actions had led to her failure there. In January 1916, during her first year in Kentucky, she wrote to Ruth Huntington of the Hindman Settlement School that one reason she had been unsuccessful in New Hampshire was that

she could not win the cooperation of the local leaders. In another letter to Huntington written eighteen months later she noted that her "rescue of a maturing girl" from an unwholesome environment and the resulting bitterness had "made it necessary for us to leave that town." She consoled herself by remembering that the work itself had been continued under the auspices of the Episcopal Church.[84]

Sometime in the spring of 1915 Lloyd had prepared and printed a brochure describing her charitable and educational efforts in New Hampshire. This material reached, among others, the Hindman Settlement School in Hindman, Kentucky, which had been asked to help the Lloyds in their search for greener pastures.[85] By early fall of that year the Lloyds were living in Ivis, Kentucky, a tiny settlement about four miles from Hindman. Ella Geddes remained behind in New Hampshire for a few weeks, after which she, too, went to Kentucky.[86]

The Lloyds, especially Alice Lloyd, had come to New Hampshire to enjoy the pleasures of rural living and to participate in community life. Within a few months of their arrival the Lloyds were among the founders of a community social club (Alice Lloyd was elected its treasurer), and they had organized dances, debates, and outings.[87] Based on the content of what she placed in the newspaper and the frequency with which she did it, however, it was her altruistic activities that were of most importance to her, not her social activities. When her uplift efforts were criticized and her intentions questioned, she was unable or unwilling to make adjustments in the approach she took. Escape was her solution to the problem.

Alice Lloyd's experience in New Hampshire had to be disappointing. She, along with her husband and mother, had come to the area filled with enthusiasm and resolve. That she considered it a permanent move is best indicated by the way that she threw herself into local affairs. Moreover, in a transaction that is a bit puzzling viewed from today, Ella Geddes actually bought Arthur Lloyd's farm in the summer of 1914.[88] Whatever this may say about Arthur Lloyd's long-term plans, it does suggest very strongly that Alice Lloyd and her mother planned to keep a presence in New Hampshire.

The rapidity with which Alice Lloyd's plans unraveled and the totality of her rejection by her neighbors must have been a crushing blow. In 1940, *Time* reported that the reason Alice Lloyd had gone to Kentucky was to recover from a nervous breakdown.[89] There is no evidence that this is true, other than *Time*'s speculation; but it is not inconceivable that the New Hampshire episode could have produced some form of depression. In any event, Lloyd's time in New Hamp-

shire ended unhappily and undoubtedly influenced the way she went about the rest of her life's work.

The question of motivation has long intrigued people who try to explain what has happened in the past. Writing in *Freud for Historians*, Peter Gay said, "In the course of his work . . . the historian does many things, but his most difficult and, I think, most interesting, assignment is to explain the causes of historical events."[90] This statement is particularly true in the case of Alice Lloyd's decision to devote the remainder of her life to benevolent work.

As the oft-repeated story would have it, Lloyd went to Kentucky to recover from a life-threatening illness. While in the process of regaining her health she is said to have seen the great need around her and made the decision at that point.[91] As this chapter has made clear, a pattern of benevolent work had already been established before coming to Kentucky. Her high level of activity during the winter, spring, and summer of 1915 precludes any serious illness at that time, other than the possible mental depression referred to above. There simply was not sufficient time for her to have been stricken, convalesced, become well enough to travel, gone to Kentucky, and settled in Ivis by late summer 1915. And last, but not least, there was the printed brochure—and the campaign to find another place of benevolent work for herself and her husband.

What, then, accounts for the decision? Without making any pretense of engaging in psychohistory (a skill far removed from this writer's competence), two causes suggest themselves. The first would be the general tenor of the times. The second would be a personal crisis that prompted Lloyd to resolve the tensions created by the first.

Alice Lloyd grew up in the Boston area and, until 1915, when she was thirty-eight, participated fully in the area's educational, cultural, and social activities. Her life in Boston coincided almost exactly with the rise of the turn-of-the-century reform movement. Although one cannot determine precisely when or how she became one of the reformers, it is possible to examine some of the likely influences.

The first, and perhaps the most important, was simply the attitude toward reform that existed in Boston at the time. Arthur Mann examined this subject in *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age* and concluded, "Bostonians organized themselves into all sorts of societies to agitate for Nationalism and Christian Secularism, women's rights and justice for Armenians, peace and anti-imperialism, clean government and direct legislation, the Single Tax and public owner-

ship of utilities, the eight-hour day and the abolition of the sweatshop."[92]

Turn-of-the-century Boston was a place where it seemed perfectly natural for a dying mother to instruct her daughter to spend her life "making the world better," as did Lucy Stone. Stone was a prominent feminist and a powerful figure in the women's movement of the nineteenth century. Her daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, had attended Chauncy Hall School, gone on to college, and spent the rest of her life as a writer, editor, and activist. Blackwell was about fifteen years older than Alice Geddes, but it is highly likely that they knew each other and shared common ideas about the world and their respective roles in it.[93]

The likelihood of a connection between Geddes and Blackwell is based on the similarities of their educational backgrounds and their similar vocational pursuits. In addition, one of Blackwell's closest friends, and a classmate at Chauncy Hall and Boston University, was Ada Marie Molineux.[94] The connection between Geddes and Molineux is well established. Molineux was the subject of a long profile written by Geddes for the *Boston Globe* (see n. 56), was a prominent guest at Geddes's party in June 1913, and was an early Caney Creek financial sponsor. (Molineux's name appeared on Lloyd's stationery at Ivis Community Center as one of "our friends.") It is wholly conceivable that Molineux would have introduced Geddes to Blackwell, or at the very least discussed her friend with Geddes.

The reform movement in Boston was both secular and religious; upper class, middle class, and working class; urban and suburban; male and female; radical and moderate. Mann suggests that not everyone in Boston was involved—indeed he describes the reformers as "not numerous" compared to the city's population—but he does make it clear that anyone active in the community would have known of its existence.[95]

A second likely point of contact for Lloyd and the reform movement would have been her church. In 1910 she described herself as a Unitarian,[96] and it was the Unitarian Church that played an early and major role in the Social Gospel Movement—the movement that dedicated itself to focusing the energies of organized Christianity on the social and economic problems of turn-of-the-century America. Charles Hopkins clearly indicates the importance of the Unitarian Church in *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism*, as does Mann.[97] The Unitarians preached, "There is no remedy for our social burdens but to acknowledge our entire interdependence."[98]

Moreover, they insisted that those who were more fortunate than others had an obligation to become "leaders of social reform." Unitarians were more concerned with understanding the requirements for an ethical life than they were with the nuances of religious doctrines. They were convinced that an ethical life demanded that one use one's skills and talents in the service of others.

Another area of contact with reform ideas would have been her position as one of the "new women" who were well-educated, independent, earning their own keep, and active in many social and cultural affairs. As Mann claims, Boston's new women "were not preoccupied with the inferior status of women in America; [they were concerned with] the humanitarian use of their learning [and the] social and economic regeneration . . . of the laboring poor."[99] Vida Scudder is Mann's archetypical new woman in Boston. Scudder was a Wellesley College professor; an ardent believer in the Social Gospel; a devotee of Ruskin, Browning, and Toynbee; and one of the first leaders of the settlement house movement in America. She was a prominent figure in the city throughout Lloyd's working career in Boston, and it is highly likely that Lloyd knew, or at least knew of, Scudder, just as she knew of Jane Addams.[100]

Lloyd was an avid fan of Browning's poetry, was a member of the local Ruskin Club, and, as a journalist and feature writer, was aware of the area's important personages and issues. Given the similarity of their interests, Scudder's prominence, and Lloyd's position as one of the new women herself, the older woman's views could well have had an influence on those of the younger.

Some historians have examined the career decisions women made at the turn of the century and found that there were severe limitations on what they could choose. Only certain occupations were open to them, even for those relatively few women who had a college education.[101] Among the careers available for educated women were teaching, social work, and, as the movement gained momentum, benevolent work in the urban settlement houses and foreign and domestic missions, and altruistic activities in areas such as the Appalachians.

As a result of these limitations, the historians conclude, women made their career choices not because they wanted to devote themselves to these service occupations but because they had no other choices. While this situation may well have been behind the decisions many women made, it does not apply to Alice Lloyd. She had already been gainfully employed for nearly twenty years as a journal-

ist, writer, and business woman when she turned to philanthropic work. In addition to her work for the *Boston Globe* and other newspapers and magazines, Lloyd owned and managed a school for writers in Boston.[102] In Lloyd's case, the motivation for her choice was one or more of the others discussed above.

With respect to being aware of need in America, Lloyd certainly would have read or known about Robert A. Woods's ground-breaking studies on poverty and the settlement house movement in Boston.[103] The districts where conditions were most wretched were only a short distance across the Charles River from where she lived until she was thirty, and Woods described them in great detail. Some of the articles she published during the 1905–1915 period dealt with the poor, the immigrant, and the unfairness of certain aspects of the early twentieth-century economic system in America. Like many of the Bostonians whom Mann described, her sympathies were aroused by what she saw and read.

In addition to the growing awareness of poverty and the determination to do something about it, there was also a growing interest among many middle-class urbanites for a return to the supposed virtues of the rural way of life. T. J. Jackson Lears has described this movement in *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920.* Lears comments that a "return to the soil promised more than domestic revival; it also meant the return of [the middle-class] to virtuous and productive li[ves]. . . . Rural life [was] a path to moral regeneration . . . and seemed essential to national revitalization".[104]

Given the way Lloyd readily embraced country living and the strong endorsement she gave it in her magazine articles, she qualifies as one of the people Lears is describing. If she had been interested only in doing good, she could have stayed in the Boston area, where there was ample opportunity. Instead, she purposely chose to work in a rural setting not only once (in New Hampshire) but, when that did not work out satisfactorily, a second time when she went to Kentucky. [105]

The reform and "Simple Life" movements of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century were at their most intense in the years around 1915, and Boston was no exception. Yet most Bostonians did not become reformers nor did they move to the country. Only a tiny handful made the sort of commitment that Lloyd did. The influences that led her to do what she did included those discussed above; but other people were exposed to the same influences and did not

respond as she did. The answer to the key question of Lloyd's motivation needs other causes with the power to touch her in a more personal way.

Several anecdotes survive that suggest that her grandmother had a profound impact on Lloyd's sense of her own personal obligation to be concerned about the welfare of others. A student at Caney Junior College in the 1930s recorded a conversation she had with Lloyd's mother in which the older woman described how Lloyd's grandmother had required young Alice to share her good fortune with others. On one occasion the grandmother had insisted that a birthday bouquet of flowers from classmates at Chauncy Hall be taken to the local hospital for the patients to enjoy.[106] On another occasion the grandmother suggested, and Alice agreed, that a fine new winter coat sent from England by her parents be given to the poor, since Alice already had a perfectly suitable one.[107] William Hayes, who worked closely with Lloyd for twenty years at Caney Junior College (and who was later its president) reported that Lloyd often told him that her grandmother had constantly used the phrase "noblesse oblige" to instill in her a proper understanding of right conduct.[108] Based on these accounts, it is clear that the household in which Lloyd matured was one that cherished altruism and was willing to practice it.

Hayes believed that the illness that left Lloyd's right side partially paralyzed was also a key source of her motivation.[109] I could not determine when she was afflicted, but most accounts suggest that it first occurred when she was young, and perhaps reappeared later.[110] As Hayes recalls it, Lloyd said that she reached a decision to orient her life toward some useful service while in the midst of a long, bed-ridden convalescence.[111] While the "sick-bed-conversion" cannot have been the only cause, it does make sense in the context of a household and community where reform and service were highly esteemed and where there may have been a predisposition toward such activities as a result of her "new woman" status. Her early career as a newspaper woman and writer can be seen as providing useful service because of the opportunities these professions offered for fostering progressive views. (The kinds of articles she wrote, as discussed earlier, clearly demonstrate her willingness to use her writing talents to influence others.) Her later work in New Hampshire and Kentucky becomes, then, simply a progressively more direct, intense, and personal involvement in useful service. The same environmental and psychological roots would explain both, the differences being of degree rather than of kind.

We will never know all the factors that motivated Alice Lloyd to become so intensely involved with benevolent work, nor their relative importance to one another. What is clear is that the reasons were far more complex than the one usually given. She did not inadvertently stumble into benevolent work while recuperating from an illness in Eastern Kentucky. She had already made the decision to do so prior to moving to New Hampshire. The larger society, her special place in it, her personal burdens, her admiration for women like Jane Addams, and her growing sensitivities to some of life's absurdities all came together in some fashion to set her on the road to total involvement with doing good. When her efforts to do so were frustrated in rural New Hampshire, she turned her attention to rural Kentucky.

3

Community Development in Knott County

DURING THE SPRING and summer of 1915 Alice and Arthur Lloyd solicited suggestions from their friends and acquaintances in New England about where they might continue their benevolent work. Among them was Henry White from Boston who wrote to the Hindman Settlement School in July of that year on their behalf. In response, Ruth Huntington, an aide to May Stone, Hindman Settlement School's founder, referred the Lloyds to the "Presbyterians who are just waking up to social work" and suggested that they seek advice from them.[1] Through this contact the Lloyds were given the use of Hope Cottage, a small cabin in the tiny hamlet of Ivis, Kentucky, that had been abandoned by Presbyterian missionaries. Ivis was about four miles from Hindman, Kentucky, the county seat of Knott County and the town in which Hindman Settlement School is situated.

Knott County was a relatively recent addition to Kentucky's long list of counties. It was formed in 1884 when peripheral parts of four existing Eastern Kentucky counties were gathered together to make a new county in order that the residents of these areas could be closer to a seat of government. (Shortly after the county was formed some uncharitable souls held that it was created solely as a means of enriching a few local residents and that it had no other reason for being.)[2] In 1885 the *Louisville Commercial* reported the celebration that accompanied the county's birth in a model of the cynical, condescending reportorial style that characterized so much of what was written about the Appalachian region. After describing scenes of barefoot maidens, swaggering and inebriated swains, fist fights, rowdiness, and bawdy behavior, the article reported that the rising sun

had found the revelers sleeping peacefully wherever they had fallen the previous night. While questioning the manner in which the county had been formed and the way it had applied to the state treasury for reimbursement for its organizing expenses, the paper concluded, "Thus it seemed that one of the first acts of the new county was to raid the state treasury for the private benefit of a few citizens."[3]

The county was located in an out-of-the-way place within an area that was itself out of the way, at least from the standpoint of the state's fast modernizing urban areas such as Louisville and Lexington. By the turn of the century, Hindman had six hundred inhabitants. It functioned as the county's commercial, judicial, and educational center. The town had a secondary level boarding school, the newly formed Hindman Settlement School, two churches, a bank, a general store, a rudimentary medical facility, a post office, and the county court house. Hindman was the county's connection to the rest of the state and the country.[4]

Despite its importance to the county, the town's location was by no means central within the state. As one lifelong resident remembered, "If you got to Hazard [a town twenty miles from Hindman] in the 1920s it was like going to New York City [today]."[5] Even as late as 1932 there was only one telephone in Hindman, and most of the local schools were accessible only by horseback, jolt wagon, or foot.[6]

Other parts of the county were even more isolated than Hindman. Carew Slone, a member of a very large family that welcomed and supported Alice Lloyd throughout her stay in the mountains, reported that he saw his first American flag at the age of eight when he went to her community center in 1917.[7] Perhaps the most graphic illustration of the county's isolation was given by Alice Slone (no immediate relation to Carew Slone), who described a twelve-mile journey in 1919 from Caney Creek to a railhead at Wayland, Kentucky, in this way: "I remember that . . . we left for Wayland [at 4 a.m.] in our jolt wagon. The mules fell three times on our way, but we got there by 11 a.m. and the train left at 1 p.m."[8]

One must be careful not to exaggerate the county's isolation. There was contact with the wider world around it, particularly through the United States Post Office, which seems to have worked well. The records at Alice Lloyd College and Berea College and in the state archives are filled with examples of correspondence sent, received, and replied to within a time span that would satisfy the most demanding postal client of today.[9] The Louisville and Lexington

newspapers were available (although there were few subscribers), and in the 1930s the University of Kentucky established a network of radio receivers located in centers throughout Eastern Kentucky (including one at Caney Junior College) in order to reach the state's rural population with a variety of educational and extension programming.[10]

There were opportunities to keep up with the outside; the main deterrent for doing so may simply have been lack of interest on the part of a group that was accustomed to being self-sufficient.[11]

Cratis D. Williams, one of the first and most respected of the new breed of Appalachian scholars, divided the residents of the mountains into three basic categories. First, according to his analysis, there were the town and city dwellers—people who lived in incorporated places of 1,000 or more; second, there were the valley farmers who tended to farm the better land and were "more or less prosperous rural folk"; third, there were the branchwater mountaineers who lived in "the inaccessible parts of the mountain region [and who tended to be] small holders of usually poor land, or tenants or squatters [who became] the mountaineers of fiction." Williams concluded that "the resentment against fictional interpretation of mountain life and character arises largely from the town and valley folk, who rebel[led] against the exaggeration of the weaknesses and virtues of individuals in the third group and from presenting as typical the picturesque, exceptional, or distressing conditions under which some of them live[d]" because it tended to make people think that everyone in the mountains lived under such conditions.[12]

Of the 12,000 residents of Knott County in the early twentieth century, all fell into the "valley farmer" and "branchwater mountaineer" categories. Williams believed that for the Appalachian region as a whole, the valley farmer group was the larger of the two; but, given its remoteness and the fact that it had "a population far in excess of [the land's] ability to support" it, the situation was reversed in Knott County.[13] As later events made clear, both groups were there; and part of Lloyd's future difficulties arose from the way she tended to concentrate her attentions—and certainly her public relations efforts—on those Williams called "branchwater mountaineers," to the annoyance of the valley farmers.

I have tried to answer the question "What were conditions in Knott County like when the Lloyds arrived?" by examining contemporary accounts or the later recollections of contemporaries. A writer working for the WPA Writers' Project during the Depression used

Horace Kephart's words written in 1913 to describe the average mountain home that he saw in the 1930s as

> a pen that can be erected . . . in one day and finished at [the owner's] leisure. . . . It is difficult to keep such a cabin clean. The whole structure being built of green timber soon shrinks, and sags so that there cannot be a square joint, a perpendicular face or a level place anywhere about it. The roof drops in a year or two, the shingles curl and leave open places, puncheons shrink apart, leaving wide and irregular cracks for the winter winds to blow through. Everywhere there are crannies and rough surfaces to hold dust and soot.[14]

This same writer, again using Kephart's words, concluded that the "man of the house was lord . . . whether he shall work, visit or roam the woods is nobody's business but his own. . . . [His] wife is . . . a household drudge, [and] a field hand as well."[15] There was no room for the new woman in a branchwater mountaineer's home as there was in Boston.

Writing about one of Knott County's early educators, a reporter reflected upon the role violence played, even in school matters. "Once," he wrote, "seven people were killed at Clayhole . . . over a school trustee [election,] as were two men . . . in Knott County."[16] Verna Mae Slone, a home-grown mountain writer whose work generally suggests that mountain life early in the twentieth century was of a high quality, inadvertently undermined this position when she described a fight her father had as "all in fun," even though "he almost scalped [his opponent] by biting a large chunk of hair and skin, [causing a scar which the man] wore for life."[17]

The diaries and letters of Helen Dingman and other workers at Hindman Settlement School during the 1910–1920 period paint a picture of a community where homes lack potable drinking water, where the haphazard disposal of human and animal waste is a threat to health, where the constant presence of dirt and dust makes cleanliness impossible, where the diet is unhealthy and unpalatable, where disease spreads rapidly in closely confined living quarters, and where there are virtually no professional medical services. All of this created a situation in which glaucoma, diphtheria, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, pellagra, hookworm, pneumonia, malnutrition, and the serious accidents that are a part of farm life were all too prevalent in the mountains.[18] All in all, there are many accounts by both inside and outside observers that describe a situation that is as disconcerting as anything written about the urban slums of the early twentieth century.[19]

At the same time another contemporary observer, John C. Campbell, wrote "that Southern Highlanders have too much that is worthy of conservation to ignore their solidarity or apologize for it."[20] He and others (e.g., Kephart, Raine, Thomas, and the letter writers from Hindman Settlement School) pointed out that the society and its culture had stood the test of time, had met the needs of its people through several generations, and had avoided the soul-destroying excesses of industrialization, urbanization, and the market economy.

With respect to living conditions in Knott County early in the twentieth century, Verna Mae Slone described her father and his lifestyle in *What My Heart Wants to Tell* in the following way: "[My father] is only one of many mountain people—proud, brave, sturdy, hardworking, god-fearing and sensitive—living in a place and time so unique and different that its very simplicity is too profound to be fully understood and explained."[21] Yes, the homes were made from logs; yes, there was little formal education; yes, there was some violence; yes, there was sickness and inadequate health care. But overall there was a way of life that cherished the family, respected the individual, knew right from wrong, lived with nature, not against it, and accepted both the joys and sorrows of life as inevitable components of existence.

In Jesse Stuart's account of his career in education during the 1920s, as reflected in *The Thread That Runs So True*, he makes clear that he found both aspects of mountain life in his work. He found a lack of respect for formal schooling among some of his Eastern Kentucky neighbors, but he also found a level of support that allowed him and his students to reach whatever levels of excellence they set for themselves. He carried a gun and used violence when necessary, but his greatest feats were those of the mind, not the fist. Some of the communities in which he worked wanted to retain the traditional values that had sustained them and their families for generations; some wanted to embrace the new ways that were spreading into the mountains from the outside. Political corruption was a continual bane of his existence, but he also discovered that people were often willing to fight for honest government. And he traveled the country and the world searching for new answers to the problems that his homeland could not solve for itself.[22]

To me, Stuart's account is the most balanced. When the Lloyds arrived in Knott County it was not the den of depravity, disease, and destitution that some missionaries and fund-raisers portrayed, nor was it the self-sufficient rural paradise asking only to be left alone that others liked to imagine. Instead, as Waller points out in *Feud*, it

was an area much like other areas in the mountains, struggling with the dilemma created when traditional and modern values come into conflict.[23] The twentieth century had arrived in Knott County, and not everyone was willing to welcome it.

The Lloyds arrived in Ivis near the end of summer in 1915 and, according to press reports in the *Boston Globe* in 1917, immediately set about putting into place a community and civic center, a free school, a public library filled with books, a Community Service Club, the services of a Red Cross nurse, and a demonstration farm.[24] The range of activities and the level of intensity with which they worked were very reminiscent of the Lloyds' days in rural New Hampshire (as was the all-encompassing nature of the varied services they claimed to be providing). As in New Hampshire, the Lloyds depended upon friends, acquaintances, and interested strangers in the Boston area for financial and material support. A letter to the editors of the *Boston Transcript* from Mrs. Lloyd was published in 1916, thanking specific people by name for contributions of cash, books, and supplies to the Ivis cause and pleading for another $227.50 to complete the community center building.[25] A third appeal from the people at Ivis was described in the *Wellesley College News* of October 4, 1917, under the heading "What Is the Ivis Community Center?"[26] The student paper expressed concern about the appeal, especially in view of the college's longstanding practice of supporting the work of the Hindman Settlement School.

The Lloyds had begun their work at Ivis in much the same way that they had in New Hampshire. There was a whirlwind of activity and an aggressive campaign to organize outside support; and, in rather short order, there existed a group of disgruntled critics who felt that their own turf was being invaded. By the summer of 1916, the Hindman Settlement School was refusing a request from Alice Lloyd that she, her husband, and her mother be granted one salary for the three of them from the Hindman Settlement School. Hindman administrator Ruth Huntington made it clear that "we are each bound to paddle our own canoe."[27] Writing in 1925 concerning Lloyd's early days in Kentucky, Hindman founder May Stone complained that Lloyd "seemed to have quite different ideas of the way work should be done in the mountains [and wanted no] suggestions from others who had more experience."[28]

Berea College president William Goodell Frost found himself in the middle of the dispute between Alice Lloyd and the people at Hindman Settlement School—as did his successors for many years to

come—and cautioned his staff in 1917 to "help all mountain schools but endorse none, and keep out of all quarrels."[29] Of particular concern to Frost at that moment was a fund-raising appeal sent out by Lloyd that "seems to say Hindman [Settlement School] does not exist and certainly reports much work of Mrs. L. which does not exist."[30]

Given the fact that Hindman Settlement School was willing to give freely of its advice but not its material support and that Alice Lloyd was trying to develop a base of support among the very people who were supporting her neighbors, it is little wonder that relations were strained. When one adds to this the fact that Lloyd did have very different ideas about how best to assist the local people (as is discussed later in this chapter and in chapters 4 and 5), there was little likelihood that the people of the two institutions could ever become close collaborators.

Into this situation in the fall of 1916 came an opportunity for the Lloyds to expand their operations into Caney Creek, a very remote part of Knott County, and they quickly took advantage of it. According to legend a man by the name of Abisha Johnson walked twelve miles barefoot through rain and sleet to offer the Lloyds "a piece" of his property if they would come to Caney Creek to teach the children there who had no school. (Interestingly, this story is very similar to the one concerning the founding of Hindman Settlement School, except for the heroic element added by the rain and sleet.)[31]

The more likely version retains the essential parts of the story but removes the melodrama. Alice Slone—a resident of Caney Creek at the time and later a prominent Kentucky educator herself—remembers that Abisha Johnson went to the Lloyds' cabin at Ivis, as did Slone and her brother, to get a supply of newspapers and magazines from the "library" with which to paper the interior walls of their cabin in preparation for the coming winter. As a result of that visit and subsequent meetings, Abisha Johnson decided to deed a small piece of his property (a lot about seventy feet by one hundred feet) to the Caney Creek Civic Betterment Association "to serve the advancement of Civic Betterment." If the Caney Creek Civic Betterment Association failed to meet the terms, then the ownership of this parcel of land would revert to the donors. The trustees of the recipient organization were Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd and Marshall E. Vaughn, the secretary of Berea College.[32]

For a time the Caney Creek activity was carried on as a "branch" of the Ivis Community Center.[33] Alice Lloyd continued to live at Ivis,

and she used an Ivis address for her fund-raising activities until the spring of 1917, by which time her husband and local Caney Creek residents had built a cabin for them.[34] From that point on, the Lloyds decided to concentrate their work in Caney Creek, and gradually all mention of the Ivis work ceased. In what can be recognized as standard Lloyd hyperbole, she claimed in a mid-1917 article published in a Boston paper that the "Ivis Community Center [was] established on a firm basis," thereby freeing her to devote her energies to Caney Creek.[35]

In early 1917 the Lloyds prepared a lengthy statement concerning their "constructive plans for 1917." The statement described the social and economic conditions that they had found, especially those in Caney Creek, that required their attention; outlined a series of very ambitious plans for improving the situation; and requested that the statement's recipients decide "what you can do to help our sacrifices." There was a specific appeal for $2,000 which was to be used to initiate a system of "reciprocity" whereby the local residents would repay the community center for help received by "passing along equivalent services of labor or material to other individuals or the community as a whole."[36]

Arthur Lloyd had a major role in preparing the reciprocity plan, as he did in all of Alice Lloyd's activities during the first thirty months of her stay in Kentucky. His name appears first on its front page, and he is mentioned in nearly all of the correspondence she sent out. When John C. Campbell described his visit to Caney Creek in 1918, he made it clear that Arthur Lloyd was a full partner in the Lloyds' endeavors.[37] Earlier it had been Arthur who had carried on the negotiations with the Post Office Department, through his congressman's office, that eventually resulted in Caney Creek's receiving its own post office.[38] His special area of interest was agricultural improvements (the model farm was his project), and there is no evidence that he had grown weary of their development activities when he left in early 1918.

The reason for his departure was a far simpler one: Alice Lloyd had discovered that Arthur "and her best friend had been in love for a number of years." She "legally released him" and sent him away in February 1918. Her husband's departure under these circumstances and her own romantic involvement shortly thereafter with one of the men who had volunteered to help out at Caney Creek created considerable "publicity [about her] personal affairs." In order to quell this talk, or at least to put her actions in the best possible light, she wrote

Linda Neville, a Kentuckian well known in humanitarian circles, and told her the story. Lloyd claimed that she, her now-former husband, and her best friend remained in cordial contact and that the new relationship with her co-worker had been an honorable one. This new relationship had failed to end in marriage, she said, only because she discovered he had a drinking problem, and she sent him away as well.[39]

Alice Lloyd's personal life in the period leading up to the breakup of her marriage was not a particularly happy one. Her efforts to do good in New Hampshire had been rejected; there was considerable hardship involved in her move to Kentucky, especially given the cool reception she received from neighboring benevolent workers; Caney Creek was an isolated outpost for a woman of her experience and talents, even by Knott County standards; the betrayal by both husband and best friend hurt deeply; and the failed romance, with its accompanying scandal, tested her resolve to the utmost. This time, unlike the decision she made in New Hampshire, she rejected the temptation to flee, and instead committed herself anew to her work at Caney Creek. As she said in a newspaper report about the matter, "My life means more than romance."[40] In the end, she remained in Eastern Kentucky for the next forty-five years, leaving only occasionally, and then almost always in the interest of her work.

Although the Caney Creek Community Center was not formally chartered by the State of Kentucky until August 11, 1922, it began immediately in 1916 to involve itself in a variety of community activities. Newspaper and personal accounts of those involved indicate that one-room school houses were built and staffed in a number of neighboring communities; a used clothing store was established where people could exchange crops or cash for boots, trousers, dresses, coats, and household furnishings; a traveling nurse was brought in to "bring the regenerating message of prevention of the spread of disease"; model houses were built and leased to families who pledged to live by Lloyd's rules (no drinking, no guns, and plenty of cleanliness); a community service club complete with constitution, local officers, and regular meetings was established; a library was created; a post office was granted by the United States government; an improvement program for local farmers was begun; a saw mill and printing press were bought and placed in use; a Christmas party for all the children became an annual event; and, finally, the long line of

benevolent workers, contributions of cash and goods, and public notice from the outside began.[41]

There was no aspect of community life that Lloyd deemed to be outside her purview—except the distillation of illegal beverages, politics, and local religious practices, which she recognized early on were too sensitive to touch.[42] Her instinct to avoid these matters was well founded, especially with respect to religion.

By the time Lloyd arrived in Kentucky, the major religious denominations in many Appalachian mountain areas (principally Baptists and Methodists) already perceived themselves to be under attack from the missionaries sent by "foreign" churches.[43] The missionaries were generally seminary-educated adherents of the Social Gospel intent upon "freeing" the mountaineers from the "burdens" imposed on them by such "old-fashioned" concerns as predestination, personal salvation, and the literal interpretation of the Bible.[44] Predictably, since these concerns had been the bedrock of local faith for generations, any attempt to change them often met a hostile reception.[45] Lloyd, unlike many outsiders in the mountains, wisely decided that her work could be accomplished within the framework of existing religious practice.

One of Lloyd's admirers at that time was Henry E. Jackson of the United States Bureau of Education. Jackson was a specialist in community development and had a particularly keen interest in rural development. He visited Caney Creek in 1919 and came away quite impressed with the work going on there. Shortly after this visit, he wrote letters praising Lloyd's work, a not surprising result given the fact that she seems to have been using many of the ideas he had included in his recently published book on rural community development.[46]

In a manner very reminiscent of the way she had gone about her philanthropic work in New Hampshire and the way in which she had filled her life with a myriad of professional and social activities in Boston, Alice Lloyd made her presence felt locally. Several local residents shared their memories of the events long afterwards. In 1971, Carew Slone recalled that the people of Caney Creek were "leery of Mrs. Lloyd" and thought that "she was a German spy." She gradually won the confidence of most of the local people, however, and in the end, he said, she "knew what we needed better than we did."[47]

Writing in 1978, Verna Mae Slone, the fine, late-blooming mountain author mentioned earlier, recalled that many of her neighbors

"shared [Lloyd's] dream and were willing to help [without pay]. . . . Although their families needed money, they wanted a school more."[48] On a more personal level Slone told a story of the heartbreak she suffered when her first Christmas gift turned out to be a ragged cast-off doll from one of Lloyd's northern contributors. The acute disappointment, anger, and shame that she and her father felt at the moment of opening the gift comes through with great intensity sixty years after the fact.[49]

Together, these recollections—two very positive, one very negative—probably come very close to portraying the range of feelings directed toward the outsiders and their efforts. On the one hand there was a recognition that an outside catalyst, the introduction of new ideas and methodologies, and the availability of new resources were good for the community. On the other hand, the conditions of dependency and inferiority implied by the community center's very presence and some of its actions were deeply resented by those who were sensitive to such issues.[50] Given the aggressiveness and assertiveness with which Lloyd typically went about her work, it is easy to imagine that she elicited both reactions—the latter inadvertently—in large numbers.

From the record, it would appear that Lloyd's own assessment of the situation was positive from the start. In February 1917, even before moving to Caney Creek, Alice Lloyd purchased Abisha and Mary Johnson's entire farm in her capacity as sole trustee of the Kentucky Mountaineer Improvement Fund.[51] The purchase price for the fifty acres is listed in the deed as "One Dollar and other valuable considerations to them in hand." It is likely, based on the fact that Johnson purchased another farm within a month for $1,100 in cash and a $100 note to be paid later, that Lloyd paid $1,100 for the property. The deed also removed the reversion clause that would have returned the original lot to the Johnsons if Lloyd had failed to bring "betterment" to the community.[52] By that early date Lloyd had made her own personal commitment to remain in the area.

The story of the Caney Creek Community Center, and later Caney Junior College, is filled with the names of men and women who helped in Lloyd's work. They came from all parts of the country, including the immediate Caney Creek area (despite what has been said about their largely northeastern origins) and generally stayed for a period of a few months to as long as a few years. The work that was

done could not have been accomplished without the brains and brawn of many people.

June Buchanan, who arrived in 1919 at the age of thirty-two, direct from graduate studies at Wellesley College, was one of the most important of those who helped with Lloyd's work. Her stay (sixty-eight years) was even longer than Lloyd's, and her contribution was second only to Lloyd's own.[53]

Buchanan was born in 1886 in upstate New York. Her parents were prosperous middle-class residents of a small town near Syracuse. According to her biography, *Miracle on Caney Creek*, by Jerry C. Davis (president of Alice Lloyd College from 1977 until 1987), she grew up in a religious household, graduated as a science major in 1913 from Syracuse University, taught school in the small town of Groton, New York, and went on to do graduate work at Wellesley College in 1915.[54]

While at Wellesley College she changed her academic interests from science to the liberal arts, especially the poetry of Robert Browning. She took the full-year course (English 7, which included the study of Robert Browning's work) twice, once in 1915-16 and again the following year.[55] The sentiments of Browning's poem "Pippa Passes" (i.e., one person can create an immense amount of good) became deeply entwined in the daily experience of students at Caney Junior College as one result of these classes.

Buchanan studied with Katharine Lee Bates and Vida Scudder, each of whom was an ardent and active supporter of the settlement house movement.[56] Buchanan's long life as a worker in Appalachia suggests that these two women had a significant impact on her, as did Wellesley College—whose motto was, and remains, "To serve, not to be served."

It is possible, based on information presumably supplied by Buchanan years later for *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*, that she spent some time between leaving Syracuse University in 1913 and her arrival at Caney Creek in January 1919 traveling in Europe.[57] But given the fact that World War I was raging for most of that time, it is unlikely that the trip took place.

Alice Lloyd had been soliciting donations and volunteers from Wellesley College students since her earliest days at Ivis. Appeals were sent directly to students and alumnae, and occasionally these letters were mentioned in the college's student newspaper.[58] As Buchanan told the story seventy years later, it was in this manner that she first became aware of Lloyd's work in Kentucky.

Whereas Lloyd had successfully dealt with the career dilemma facing educated women at that time, Buchanan in 1919 had not. Her efforts to find a satisfying career had led only to a two-year stint as a high school teacher. She was at loose ends when she arrived at Caney Creek and quickly accepted Lloyd's offer to stay on. Although her dedication to the Caney Creek effort was proven over many years, she never reached the level of total dedication that Lloyd had. Buchanan regularly returned to her New York home, maintained her outside contacts, and had a life of her own.[59]

Based on what I know of the two women, the conventional wisdom is correct: Alice Lloyd was the driving force behind the enterprise, and Buchanan was the trusted and loyal implementor of her colleague's decisions. This assessment is consistent with the high level of energy Lloyd displayed in New England and with the views of many who knew her. Typical of these is the comment of William Hayes, who was her colleague at Caney Creek for the last twenty years of her life and head of the college from 1962 until 1977. He said, "Mrs. Lloyd created Caney, she imagined, conceived, initiated, organized, and directed it. . . . She made all the major decisions. . . . She was determined" to be successful.[60]

June Buchanan's role is often described as having been the "good right hand" of Alice Lloyd, literally and figuratively. One former student said that Buchanan "did most of what I call the bossing" of students. That is, she saw to it that the work got done by those who were supposed to do it.[61] But there was another equally important role for Buchanan to play. She was the romantic, the idealist, the human face of the school. Verna Mae Slone is reported to have said that "Mrs. Lloyd would tell you how to get out if you were stuck in a muddy ditch, Miss June would get down in the ditch to help."[62] Lloyd laid out the college program, but often it was Buchanan who translated the program into a teachable format, especially with respect to the college's character development component. It was Buchanan who saw to it that service was deeply ingrained in every student's soul.[63]

In the years prior to Buchanan's arrival and for a few years afterward, the focus of Lloyd's Caney Creek effort was toward general community development. By community development Lloyd meant what her mentor in this regard, government specialist Henry E. Jackson, described in *A Community Center: What Is It and How to Organize It.* He proposed a process whereby the collective resources of the community are brought together, under its own leadership, to identify and address community needs and problems. The range of

appropriate activities for the community center depended upon what the community desired. They could include education, health and nutrition, agricultural improvements, economic co-operatives, road building, citizenship training—whatever the community decided on.[64] Lloyd liked to advertise her own work as unique in the mountains. She stressed that her efforts were concentrated on "civic education" not "academic education." She believed that the focal point of uplift work should be a community center, not a school or a church. As she wrote in a letter to the dean of Radcliffe College, "If civic education had been started in the mountains twenty years ago, the mountains would now be ready to take their rightful place in the nation."[65] Despite her claims to uniqueness, there were many similarities at this time between what she was doing and the work at, for example, Hindman and Pine Mountain Settlement Schools. All three institutions were attempting to address the fundamental problems associated with inadequate resources and lack of modern methodologies.[66]

This focus on overall community development gradually shifted as it became apparent, at least to Lloyd, that the region's educational needs were more pressing. The local primary school was inadequate; there was no high school within reasonable reach; and a college education was deemed irrelevant for all but a tiny handful. (As Cratis Williams said, "Most parents . . . tended to see little value in educational programs for their children which appear[ed] to bear no relevance to life as they [knew] it, culture as they perceive[d] it, and problems with which they themselves [had to] deal.")[67]

The deficiencies in the school system were only part of the reason for the shift. An even more important reason for moving to what the women later called an "educational philanthropy"[68] was Lloyd's perception that the area lacked progressive leadership. As Lloyd remarked in 1929, she had been motivated by the thought that "people can not advance farther than their leaders will take them. [The great challenge] is to train leaders who will remain in the mountains and serve their own people."[69] This conclusion was dramatically illustrated by—and was perhaps a direct result of—Knott County's woeful experience in the "County Achievement Contest for Eastern Kentucky" sponsored by the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and the Berea College Extension Department.

Berea College was founded in 1866 by a group committed to providing an education that would be "under an influence strictly Christian, and as such opposed to sectarianism, slaveholding, caste and every

other wrong institution or practice."[70] Its first class was virtually equally divided between white and black students, and it remained devoted to bi-racial education until Kentucky's Day Law, passed in 1904, prohibited blacks and whites from attending the same institution. Faced at that time with the need to remove one group or the other from the college, President William Goodell Frost decided in favor of his white students.[71] Frost also decided that the school would cater exclusively to the needs of white students from the mountain regions of the southern Appalachians. He devoted the remainder of his term in office (the next fourteen years) to creating such an institution.

Using the example provided by the many newly emerging Land Grant universities, Berea College began an extension service designed to carry the messages of modern agriculture, preventive health care, nutrition, and home economics directly to the people of the mountains. In 1914 Marshall E. Vaughn, the same man who in 1916 was to be one of Alice Lloyd's original trustees at Caney Creek, was appointed director of the Extension Department at Berea College. He remained in this position for more than a dozen years, energetically working to improve the quality of mountain life.[72]

The most ambitious of his programs was a two-year contest launched in August 1922 for ten counties in the Kentucky mountains.[73] Its primary purpose, according to a letter written to Lloyd in the midst of the activity, was "the promotion of cooperation among the people" in pursuit of "social and economic progress" for all.[74] Vaughn had prepared a detailed program calling for the creation of a citizens' council composed of community leaders and various working groups concentrating on the schools, sanitary facilities, roads and bridges, agriculture, home improvements, and the development of grassroots organizations for both adults and young people. Vaughn's expectation was that every county would be a "winner" because improvement in these areas would be long-lasting and self-perpetuating.

In order to heighten interest in the program, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* agreed to award $5,000 in prizes to the top two counties. (In 1990 dollars the prize money was roughly $100,000, enough to make a difference in many mountain county budgets.)[75]

It is clear that Lloyd became involved in the contest in her usual energetic fashion. Within six weeks of its start she had turned her weekly newspaper, the *Beacon Light of Knott County*, staffed by Caney Creek high school students and printed in the center's printing

shop, into a means for helping the county in the contest. The paper declared its purpose to be to "organize and coordinate the entire work of the county for greater progress and efficiency." The first edition listed by name sixty-two Knott County citizens (including elected officials, ministers, businessmen, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and ordinary people) who were serving in various capacities connected with the contest. Lloyd chaired one of the eight working groups, and another seven of her Caney Creek Community Center colleagues (both mountaineers and outsiders) were members of one group or another.[76]

The first major activity in which Alice Lloyd took part was a two-day road repair project in the contest's second month. According to an evaluation report written by Vaughn in 1925 after the contest ended, three thousand men, women, and children turned out in Knott County to participate for the full two days. Vaughn and the *Courier-Journal* were ecstatic and used the episode as an example to the other counties of what could be accomplished with the right attitude. One photograph (probably taken by the *Courier-Journal)* shows Alice Lloyd, June Buchanan, and a third woman proudly looking on as dozens of people work on the creek-bed road in Caney Creek.[77] Knott County was off to a fine start.

Early in 1923, after the contest had been running about six months, Alice Lloyd left the area on one of the school's annual Crusades (extended trips with students outside the mountain region designed to build support for Caney Creek activities), which did not end until early May. Awaiting her return was word from Vaughn that the "movement [in Knott County was] hopeless." The county chairman "absolutely ignores my requests," Vaughn complained, and he requested that Lloyd do something to get the county moving again.[78] In response, Lloyd appropriately said, "It would be unwise for me to take the lead" in recognition of the fact that local people were the key to permanent change.[79] In the end Knott County finished last among the seven counties that completed the program, and its achievements were never mentioned in the final evaluation report from the judges.[80] Vaughn's own report cited "lack of harmony among the leaders [and] factional politics" as the reasons for the county's poor showing.[81]

It is hard to judge from a distance of seventy years, and in the absence of a written record from the participants, the extent to which the County Achievement Contest diminished Alice Lloyd's enthusiasm for general community development work. She was disappointed

at the results—equanimity while finishing last was not in her character—and her recognition of an outsider's relative impotence in the face of local opposition or disinterest is shown in her reply to Vaughn.

There are a number of good reasons why the Knott County results were disappointing. David Whisnant examined in *Modernizing the Mountaineer* several major attempts to develop or modernize the southern Appalachians.[82] Invariably he found that the attempts failed, often as a result of factors that were present in the County Achievement Contest. The whole scheme was a "top-down" exercise that the participating counties had no voice in setting up. Marshall Vaughn, the public voice of the program, although a sixth-generation citizen of Eastern Kentucky, was by no means a "common man." He was a college-educated, professional administrator with no direct experience in the social and political lives of the counties involved. The program, particularly its scoring mechanism, was a bureaucrat's dream with its complex rules, its lack of flexibility, and its assumption that each of the ten counties needed to concentrate on improving the same set of conditions. Finally, the regular progress reports published in the *Courier-Journal* were models of condescension guaranteed to annoy many of those taking part.

In finding these faults with the County Achievement Contest, as Whisnant did with the development efforts he studied, it is important to note that the world has had the benefit of several decades of serious study by national and international authorities into the dynamics of social and economic development. They may not have yet found the key that will unlock the development puzzle, but they certainly have learned what does not work.[83]

Lacking access to such knowledge, Alice Lloyd had to look for the problems that her experience allowed her to see. From that standpoint the problem was one of poor leadership. She saw local leaders who refused to lead, who refused to consider change, and who rejected good advice (both her own and that of the contest organizers). And, finally, she saw that it was the local leaders who, in Vaughn's words, caused "the most disappointing [results] of the Achievement Contest, . . . the lack of development of [the] county schools [and the failure to put] into the school room teachers with as much training or experience as the children deserve."[84]

A half-century later, in 1973, an economist and a sociologist studied Eastern Kentucky to determine why the region lagged behind the rest of the country in accepting "modernization."[85] (By modernization the authors meant "a process of change, rather than an end";

change that would lead to "opportunities for a more humane, abundant, and democratic existence."[86]) In their book *Elites and Change in the Kentucky Mountains*, H. Dudley Plunkett and Mary Jean Bowman concluded, as had Lloyd, that the local leadership was the major obstacle to the acceptance of new ways of addressing old problems. The authors reported: "It is clear that the localist attitudes that we found to prevail among the native leaders, especially those in the administrative elites, must inevitably foster inhospitality to that minority of outsiders whose activities are essential for modernizations of eastern Kentucky."[87] The authors also concluded that the one "with the fullest knowledge of . . . [modern] culture and society will not necessarily be the most effective" in bringing change. The best change agent "must possess genuine empathy with mountain people [and be able to] bridge the gap between the localistic mountain and cosmopolitan national cultures. [Such people] are extremely rare."[88]

Lloyd's solution to this dilemma was to create a new leadership that was both of the mountains and willing to consider new ways. Before the County Achievement Contest was even over she began the process that would turn Caney Creek into an "educational philanthropy" with its primary focus on higher education. She believed that the addition of a college to the primary and secondary schools she already had would solve the leadership problem. In mid-1923 she declared her college open and set about achieving official recognition for it.

4

Higher Education Comes to Knott County

ALICE LLOYD DECIDED to place her junior college in a remote Knott County location, an area with no highways, no railroads (other than two small trunk lines into the coal fields) and no prospects for either in the foreseeable future.[1] (Even in 1932, when Ella Geddes, Lloyd's mother, fell seriously ill, sixty men labored for two days improving the creek-bed so that an ambulance could make its way to the isolated area and bring the woman out to the highway and medical care.)[2]

The county had four high schools, sixty-four elementary schools for white children and two elementary schools for black children. Two of the high schools, one at Hindman and the other at Pippa Passes (the latter run jointly by the county and the Caney Creek Community Center) were fully accredited by the state as class A high schools.[3] The nearest colleges (four junior colleges and Berea College) were far enough away and expensive enough that they were not real options for most Knott County citizens.

The tasks of starting a college under such constraints were daunting. The women heading the effort had no relevant experience, no buildings to house a college, and, as always, no money to pay the added costs. Despite these obstacles Lloyd gave an Irish woman, V. Mignon Couser, the somewhat grandiose title, under the circumstances, of dean of the college and charged her with providing two freshmen—the entire student body—with the first two years of a four-year college academic program.[4]

The legal formalities associated with starting a college had been handled with relative ease the previous year. The Caney Creek

Community Center, the parent organization of Caney Junior College, was awarded a charter by the Kentucky secretary of state on August 11, 1922, "authorizing and empowering [the conduct of] business."[5] (There is no record in the Kentucky State Archives or in the office of the secretary of state indicating that Lloyd had formally chartered any of her preceding legal entities, such as the one that bought Abisha Johnson's property.)

The charter issued by the Commonwealth of Kentucky authorized the center to involve itself in every conceivable area of charitable and benevolent work including, as the first activity mentioned, "establishing, keeping and maintaining a school or schools . . . and for teaching in all branches of education."[6] It was this phrase that governed Caney Junior College until a charter amendment was made forty-one years later in 1963 that recognized the preeminent role of the college in the center's activities.)[7]

As is usual with charters of the type granted to the center, the management of the organization was completely in the hands of a board of trustees, which had the power to appoint its own successors. Management theorists have long counseled against captive boards (i.e., boards that owe their allegiance to an individual rather than to a corporate purpose), and the original Caney Creek Community Center board was just that. Lloyd was joined on the board by two of her employees and a benefactor living far from Pippa Passes. For the next forty years, outside evaluators complained that the board was an acquiescent rubber stamp for the center's president, Alice S.G. Lloyd.[8]

During its first three years of existence, Caney Junior College was as much a special tutoring program as it was an institution of higher education. The fifteen graduates of the classes of 1925, 1926, and 1927 were individually prepared for further study at other colleges and universities. In some cases their high school teachers simply extended courses to cover college-level material. The separation between the high school and the college was blurred. Both high school and college students were in the same classes, and the same teachers taught primary, secondary, and college courses.[9] The acceptance of each student's Caney Junior College credits for transfer was negotiated separately by the staff, generally with success, and all but one of them went on to professional careers.[10]

By the fall of 1927, however, it was clear that Caney Junior College needed formal accreditation if it was to survive. Without it the school's graduates could not easily transfer their credits, the

school could not attract the best students, and its appeal to potential donors would be substantially lessened.

Lloyd wrote the University of Kentucky, the accrediting source in the state at that time, asking for approval.[11] The university replied that an inspection team would be sent when it had time to make the evaluation. After several months with no inspection, Lloyd, once again displaying the traits that made her such a formidable organizer and administrator, wrote the state's Department of Education demanding that it intercede. It did, and in short order the university decided that it could make the evaluation by mail. On March 7, 1928, after an exchange of letters dealing with faculty, finances, curricula and administrative matters, the university granted Caney Junior College a class B ranking for the school years 1927–28 and 1928–29.[12] In her letter acknowledging receipt of the class B accreditation, the college's second dean, Anna C. Lee, said, "How I wish you could have heard the cheering and singing when I announced last night . . . that the Caney Junior College is accredited!"[13]

In the fall of 1928 William D. Funkhouser, chairman of the zoology department and later the first dean of the graduate school at the University of Kentucky, visited Caney Junior College. Based on his positive report, the school was upgraded to class A, effective for the 1928–29 school year.[14] The difference between class A and class B was that the former permitted all satisfactory academic work at Caney Junior College to be transferred to the University of Kentucky; class B meant that only a portion of the work could be transferred.

From the college's standpoint Funkhouser was a fortunate choice to carry out the university's initial on-site visit. He was an ardent eugenicist, as was Lloyd, and they shared many common concerns.[15] Both were in total agreement that the world needed to give "eugenic forethought" to the generations yet to come. In a speech he had given earlier, Funkhouser asked, "Would it not be worthwhile to consider very seriously the possibilities of preventing undesirable hereditary characters from appearing in future generations?" He proposed to employ the practices of preventive medicine (and some not-so-gentle arm twisting) to achieve this end.[16] Lloyd's practice of banning any contact between the sexes on her campus, her refusal to accept as students the children of families showing—in her view—signs of genetic deterioration, and her constant preaching against marriage among close kin fit perfectly into his overall plan.

Unfortunately, Funkhouser's report on his site visit has not survived. The fact that he did recommend that the B rating for the

year then half completed be upgraded to an A suggests that he was suitably impressed by Lloyd and her college.

Caney Junior College has undergone accreditation evaluations periodically ever since the Funkhouser visit. The next was in 1930 when the University of Kentucky conducted a major evaluation of fifteen junior colleges in the state, including the college at Caney Creek. University officials had come to realize that the junior college movement was gathering momentum in Kentucky, as elsewhere in the country, and that they needed to understand the situation better. With respect to Caney Junior College the evaluators recognized the special nature of the school (i.e., the type of student it enrolled, its remoteness, and the benevolent aspects of its mission) and applauded its overall program. The report did single out for adverse comment the fact that the school's teachers were the worst paid of those surveyed ($1,098 in annual salary and benefits compared to a median of $1,628); that the facilities were "roughly constructed and somewhat crude"; that the center's work in higher education was being diluted because of the pressing concerns of its primary and secondary school activities; and that its financial position was precarious. The evaluators expressed doubt that Caney Junior College (as well as several other Kentucky junior colleges) could ever meet the accreditation standards of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Nevertheless, the college retained its A rating, and its work was readily accepted at the University of Kentucky and elsewhere.[17]

In 1938 the university again conducted an evaluation of Caney Junior College.[18] The evaluators worried that "this institution operates without a functioning board of control." The difficulty in reaching the Caney Junior College campus and the sporadic nature of the school's board meetings meant, in fact, that Lloyd was "the sole authority" for whatever happened at the school. The evaluators warned that this state of affairs jeopardized the future of the organization because it prevented any process of institutionalization from taking place.[19] By this date Alice Lloyd was sixty-two and was, so the evaluators thought, reaching the end of her working career.

Another source of concern was the acknowledged practice of weeding out those students considered unfit for college work. The visiting committee believed that school authorities were being too harsh and subjective in their decisions. The evaluators were particularly concerned that "two-thirds of the [grades awarded] represent either failure (16%) or the lowest possible passing grade (50%)."[20]

As usual the school's bank account, or more accurately, the

absence of much money in it, was a problem for the evaluators. The level of financial support from outside contributors—virtually the institution's only source of cash income—had dropped dramatically as a result of the Depression. Pre-Depression annual contribution income averaged about $52,000 from 1923 until 1928. From 1929 until 1937 the annual average income was only about $39,000. The committee pointed out that such a reduction could be accommodated only by failing to make needed capital investments and by paying teachers inadequately. In both instances they were correct.[21]

The evaluators' report in 1938 placed considerable emphasis on those aspects of the program that it considered weaknesses, but in the end the university granted continued accreditation. This time, however, they urged Lloyd to "study this report carefully and endeavor to eliminate the deficiencies and weaknesses noted."[22]

The University of Kentucky had long wanted to shift the burden of accrediting the state's junior colleges to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. During the Depression years this was impossible because it would have meant the loss of accreditation for most of them. The state's junior colleges simply lacked the financial resources necessary to meet the standards of the regional accreditation body, and until the economy improved there was no possibility that this situation could be altered. Following the end of World War II this began to change. By the early 1950s the university felt confident enough to declare that membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools would be required if the university was to accept credit for work done in the state's junior colleges.[23]

At Caney Junior College this ruling created a sense of urgency. The standards set by the association were much more stringent than anything the state had imposed earlier. The war years had added further wear and tear to the facilities, and the ongoing improvements so noticeable at other colleges were not taking place at Caney Creek. Nevertheless, the effort was made to bring the college into conformity with the standards, and an on-site visit took place in 1951.

According to William Hayes, then academic dean of the college, who directed the college's accreditation efforts, the turning point in the evaluation came when the two evaluators took a short break at a nearby general store. Inside they found several branchwater mountaineers. Luckily introductions were made and the evaluators discovered to their amazement that these typical mountain men had among their children a dozen college graduates as a result of Caney Junior

College's presence in the community. The tenor of the evaluation changed markedly for the better at that point.[24] The association's study team made clear in their report recommending accreditation that it was warranted not because the college met all of the appropriate standards, but because the evaluators felt that there were special mitigating factors to be considered. The team concluded that "in the process of holding the institution up against the yard-stick of standards, ordinary procedures of evaluation cannot be used. . . . [The institution is] a picture of the human spirit at its best, . . . [and its] job in the valley is far from complete."[25] Caney's relationship with the Southern Association was not to remain a happy one, as will be discussed in a later chapter. In the early 1960s the association placed the college on probation when it finally faced up to the fact that Caney Junior College had become an anachronism. Its facilities were woefully out of date, its curriculum lacking, its faculty badly underpaid, its governance a one-woman show, and its finances, as ever, disturbingly uncertain. It was this challenge to its very existence that the college had to deal with as the Lloyd years came to an end. But, except for the last portion of Lloyd's long tenure at Caney Creek, the college enjoyed full accreditation, partly as a result of the soundness of its programs and partly because the various evaluators made special allowances for the distinctive nature of its mission.

Alice Lloyd's education was solidly grounded in the liberal arts, and it was to this curriculum that she turned for her own college. Her experiences at Chauncy Hall (and the Cambridge Latin School, if she had, indeed, attended that institution) and Radcliffe College introduced her to a type of education that is typically described as traditional and classical. Course work at Chauncy Hall emphasized English, History, Latin and Greek, the sciences, and mathematics in accord with its stated objective of "preparing its students for Harvard and the Harvard Annex," as Radcliffe College was called in the 1880s.[26] At Radcliffe Lloyd studied English, German, French, History, and Philosophy and was constantly exposed to the clamor of Harvard's faculty defending the sanctity of the liberal arts.

Given this educational background—and the absence of any obvious exposure to the newer theories of education in vogue in the early decades of the twentieth century—it is not surprising that Lloyd built her own college around a liberal arts curriculum. As she said in a 1942 newsletter, "Caney has never been a vocational college. Its specific purpose is a liberal arts education."[27] She had great faith in

the efficacy of a college program based on the study of the material with which she herself was familiar. As former president Hayes remembered, "[Lloyd] saw liberal arts preprofessional education as the way for mountain young people to become leaders." Furthermore, she insisted that her students study the same courses that were taught at the most prestigious colleges of the Northeast and that they be evaluated using the same standardized tests wherever possible. Only a traditional liberal arts curriculum could, in her opinion, produce the open, inquiring mind that she wanted her graduates to possess. Equally important, it was this type of education that the best four-year colleges demanded of transferees and that professional schools required for admission.[28]

Charlotte Madden, an early student at the college and later a faculty member and librarian, remembers that the curriculum "was all academic, . . . we had Latin . . . [and] a lot of foreign languages. . . . There was a good variety in the classes [of study Mrs. Lloyd] chose."[29] Another former student mentioned music appreciation, while many others remembered their English courses, particularly Shakespeare.[30] Another alumnae recalled, "We had more of the classics than any other college you could [go] to. . . . We didn't play much. . . . We studied. We did mostly brain work. . . . The classics were taught and drilled. We just were drilled in English, history, science and foreign languages and math courses."[31]

In its first quarter century Caney Junior College produced two types of graduates. The first type included those men and women who went on to complete four-year degrees at other colleges or universities and, in some cases, continued on to obtain professional degrees. These were the graduates in whom Lloyd took greatest pride and about whom she wrote in her publicity material.

The second type of graduate was greater in number than the first and consisted of those graduates who had "complete[d] the educational and professional subjects required for a professional elementary [teaching] certificate issued by the State Department of Education."[32] Until the mid-1950s Kentucky's minimum requirement for teaching in public elementary schools was two years of college. Because the state was rapidly increasing the number and quality of mountain elementary schools, this certificate was a highly prized possession and permitted its holders to find relatively high-paying jobs close to home.

The University of Kentucky's accreditation study of Caney Junior College in 1938 found that of the forty-eight graduates in the class of

1937, 58 percent had gone directly into teaching, 40 percent had gone on to senior college, and 2 percent had sought other employment. (The study also includes data for the 1932–37 period as a whole, showing a generally similar pattern, but it does not distinguish between those teaching with two years of college and those teaching with four years of college.)[33]

The important point to remember, however, is that even those students who chose to pursue a primary school teaching certificate did the bulk of their academic work in the liberal arts. The 1938 accreditation study showed that education classes represented only 14 percent of the total academic credits awarded during the 1937–38 school year. The traditional liberal arts courses represented 81 percent of the total. The remainder included physical education and health.[34]

The 1952 accreditation study conducted by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools reached the conclusion that "the college curriculum is strictly a liberal arts program designed to prepare students for the last two years in senior college."[35] This finding reflected the fact that the college continued to be faithful to its founder's vision and also the fact that Kentucky certification standards were being raised. Although it was still possible to teach at the elementary level with only two years of college study—and some Caney Junior College graduates from the early 1950s were doing so—it was clear that stricter state standards would soon be in effect. The visiting committee was so impressed with the quality of the curriculum that it recommended that Caney Junior College begin to award the Associate in Arts degree (then a relatively new concept), because in its view "no institution could be more justified in awarding this degree [since] the program is so definitely a program of liberal arts."[36]

As the Lloyd years were drawing to a close, the Bulletin for 1961–62 declared that the college "offer[ed] a liberal arts curriculum designed for transfer to senior college or university specializations."[37] Of the eighty-three semester courses listed for the school year, all but seven fit comfortably within a liberal arts tradition, and these exceptions (four courses on educational psychology, a physical education course for prospective rural teachers, a health course, and a first aid course) can easily be related to the school's special situation.

Befitting its standing as a junior college, the courses taught were generally of a basic nature. English courses included composition and surveys of the great writers (e.g., Shakespeare, Browning, modern

poetry, and fiction). History courses introduced students to world civilization and the American and European pasts. Math and science courses were designed to meet the typical freshman and sophomore university requirements. Lloyd was also committed to the arts. She believed that her college should provide students with at least an awareness of the fine arts tradition in Western civilization. In the mid-1930s students could take courses in Appreciation of Art, History of Architecture and Sculpture, History of Painting, and Appreciation of Music.[38] Students from that era remember with pleasure being introduced to the works of Beethoven, Brahms, and Mozart on the school's wind-up victrola.[39] Sunday afternoons during the 1940s often found students at the Hayes home listening to classical music concerts over the radio or on their hosts' record player.[40] From the very beginning the college presented student productions of Shakespeare as well as more modern playwrights, and one of its proudest possessions was a curtain made to professional standards for its theater.[41]

At the same time the college was aware of the special needs and interests of the mountain region. On occasion Shakespeare was produced using actors in mountain-style dress and using mountain artifacts for stage props. Several plays were written depicting mountain life and issues and were performed not only on the campus (all of the college's neighbors were invited to attend) but also in cities outside the Appalachian region. Individual courses also were designed to address local concerns when appropriate. The Appreciation of Music course, in addition to the classics, included the study of "the old English ballads which linger in the isolated hills."[42] Economics 3 analyzed "labor problems . . . and the safeguarding of the interests of the public in relation to employment and the improvement of the condition of wage earners."[43] Lloyd's curriculum not only reflected her commitment to the liberal arts but also reflected her awareness of the Appalachian world around her.

Many of those who were associated with Caney Junior College during the Lloyd years recall that recruiting competent faculty was the second most difficult task she faced. (The most difficult, of course, was raising money to keep the institution alive.[44]) Living conditions at the school were hard, pay was poor and at times nonexistent, teaching facilities were primitive, and the college head was known to be a stern and single-minded administrator. It is little wonder that faculty recruitment and retention was difficult.

James Still, the author of many fine mountain-based stories, has

described his own career as a faculty member at Caney Junior College in 1932 as one that lasted less than twenty-four hours. He had reached an agreement with Lloyd to become one of her teachers for the fall term. After walking the ten miles from Hindman (where he had been staying) to Caney Creek, he received a cool greeting from Lloyd, discovered that there was no food for his evening meal, met a very disgruntled—and unpaid—fellow faculty member, and went to bed hungry in a seedy shack. In the wee hours of the morning he awoke to a full moon; without waiting for daylight, he walked back across the mountain to Hindman.[45]

Still's reaction to conditions at the college was extreme, but he was not alone in his initial feelings of dismay. Hayes arrived at the college with his wife and infant son ten years later and had some of the same feelings. The Hayeses had hitched a ride across the mountain in the back of a pick-up truck, were received by a busy and "reserved" Mrs. Lloyd, and were shown to quarters that had open spaces in the walls and floors, no plumbing, and only an open fireplace for heat. While they later admitted to having been discouraged at that point, they persevered and in the end stayed on for the next thirty-five years.[46]

Lloyd's recruiting efforts for college faculty were initially centered on women's colleges in the northeast, but soon spread to other institutions across the country. She appealed to those who were beginning their teaching careers, as well as those who were in mid-career or at the end of their working lives. The University of Kentucky's examination of the state's junior colleges in 1930 showed that five Caney Junior College faculty members were quite new to the profession and that the other three had ten years' or more experience. Four of them were graduates of eastern universities and four were from midwestern universities. Six of the eight held master's degrees, although the examiners faulted the school for permitting some faculty to teach courses in which they had limited preparation.[47]

The university's accreditation review in 1938 reported that seven of nine college faculty members had master's degrees; the other two held bachelor's degrees. Four of the nine were from midwestern universities and five were from eastern universities. Contrary to what is usually believed, none of the faculty members at this time were from the prestigious eastern women's schools—with the exception of June Buchanan.[48] (It should be noted that Lloyd did attract a number of graduates from the well-known eastern women's colleges

for the primary and secondary schools, especially in the early years. But because college accreditation standards favored teachers with advanced degrees, the typical new graduate with a bachelor's degree was not suitable for the junior college.)

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools conducted its first accreditation study of Caney Junior College in 1951. It echoed the earlier findings of the University of Kentucky: Most of the faculty held master's degrees; they came from a range of eastern and midwestern universities, and "for the program offered [they could] be considered quite adequate."[49]

The recollections of college alumni from the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s with respect to the quality of their teachers is highly favorable. One student from the college's earliest days said, "I know lots of things I wouldn't know today because . . . we had all these intelligent teachers. We had one teacher, Miss Cline, from Canada, and we had them from New York, . . . from Minnesota and just all over the world. So we learned what they knew."[50] Another recalled that he had studied music under a man who had performed in the major concert halls of the Northeast, that his history teachers had been the equal of any in the country, and that the head of the Education Department had made his mark professionally during a thirty-year career at some of the country's leading universities.[51]

Not all the recollections are favorable. Verna Mae Slone, a lifelong neighbor of the school and an occasional student at it, recalls more than one teacher who was not accepted by the local people and was forced to leave.[52] Adrian Hall, who as a student in the late 1930s physically carried Alice Lloyd from her living quarters to her office, reported that she established very exacting standards for her teachers and enforced them rigorously. Faculty members who failed to measure up to them were fired, and Hall remembers a number of instances when this happened.[53]

Perhaps what is most surprising about graduates' recollections is the degree to which memories of Alice Lloyd and June Buchanan overshadow memories of teachers. Virtually all the students from the Lloyd era can recite in detail their contacts with Lloyd and Buchanan—and they do so willingly. It is more difficult for them to remember and discuss the faculty who taught them. One suspects that this is so only partly because of the commanding positions occupied by Lloyd and Buchanan. The other part of the answer is that, as the accreditation examiners were constantly pointing out, faculty turnover was always high. Some faculty members, as the Southern Asso-

ciation noted in its 1951 evaluation, had purposely come to Caney Creek to teach only for a year or two.[54] Such had always been the case as a result of the college's association with benevolent work. The young women (and a few young men) who came to the college were drawn away by marriage, career advancement, the need for a larger and more reliable salary, and a waning of the sense of mission that had earlier motivated them. At the other end of the age spectrum nature imposed its own limit on the faculty members who were topping off their careers with a period of service in a venue that was simultaneously exciting, demanding, and spiritually rewarding. The net result was a constantly changing faculty and an institutional uncertainty that was a source of great concern.

The faculty members have left little in the way of a record of their experiences. Three of them have made it clear by their long-term affiliation with the institution that it was a defining point in their lives. Edna Hughes Carrow was a teacher at Caney Creek, although not at the college level, for several years prior to her marriage in the early 1920s. Carrow, a Wellesley College graduate, was typical of the young women who came to the mountains in response to the call to do good.[55] She worked at the Community Center, taught at the primary school, founded (and built with her father's money) a model school in a nearby town and, as she was leaving to be married, paid the expenses of a 1923 public relations tour. Carrow remained active in the center's affairs for the next seventy years as a contributor, trustee, and honorary trustee.

Charles Hubley Houghton, the son of an early Caney Creek supporter, came to the college to teach in 1932. (He recalled years later that he taught his first class standing up because the hard ride in on the back of a mule left him unable to sit.)[56] After teaching briefly at the college, he devoted full time to raising funds for the school for several years. After returning to his commercial interests, he served as chairman of the college's board of trustees for nearly thirty years, during which time he was an outspoken advocate for the good work being accomplished by Lloyd and her colleagues in the mountains.[57]

In the 1950s Leila Custard, armed with a Ph.D. and several decades of teaching experience, joined the Caney Junior College faculty. Although her stay was relatively short, only three or four years, the impact the college had on her was significant. In 1955 she wrote a 221-page manuscript relating her version of the history of the Caney Creek Community Center. It is a history filled with students described as the "radiant ones," love and admiration for the sainted

woman with the "incisive intelligence and iron determination" who leads it, and the astonishment Custard felt upon seeing "how far this little candle throws its beams."[58] Custard, like Carrow and Houghton, later served the college as a trustee. When she died in 1969, she left a portion of her estate to the college that had meant so much to her.

Carrow, Houghton, and Custard are examples of the extraordinary dedication that the college and its founder were able to create. Their feelings toward the school and its founder represent one end of the spectrum. At the other end is a former faculty member by the name of Theodore W. Fowle who had the great misfortune of accepting his position at Caney Junior College in 1937 without understanding its mission element (i.e., he might not receive his salary on a regular basis), without realizing that Alice Lloyd was dead set against vocational education (and, therefore would object to his efforts to start a chair factory on campus), and without the good sense to know that he should keep his complaints to himself. When Lloyd learned that he had disparaged her leadership and educational philosophy to the president of Berea College, she promptly dismissed him. He later sought relief through the good offices of the American Association of University Professors, an organization dedicated to protecting the interests of college faculty. The outcome of his case is unknown, but given Lloyd's nature it is highly likely that he received no satisfaction.[59]

There were those on the faculty who cherished their experience, and there were those who hated it. But the larger number probably would have been comfortable with the point of view expressed by Ada Vassar Taylor, the college librarian for several years during the 1930s. In 1936 Alice Lloyd wrote Taylor, "We miss you very much. . . . I hope that you can [return by August 1]. . . . I am very sorry indeed that I am late with [your salary check]. . . . I will send [it] just as soon as humanly possible."[60] As she had in the past, Taylor did return to carry on her work because it was something she felt was special and important, even if, on occasion, she was paid late. After her death in 1975, her son found that she had saved many mementos of her Caney Creek days, including the following poem:

I have left the land of corn and beans
Of rice and frigid turnip greens
And macaroni—can't forget
The taste, poor wretch? Oh no, not yet.

I've left behind the model school
With many a precept, many a rule,
Which every Jacob, Slone and Hall
May take or leave—and break them all.

I wear a gay silk dress again
And, hush, don't tell, I talk to men.
And, Oh, I have a lovely tub
Where I can scrub myself and scrub.

Oh, Caney School. Farewell to you.
I turn my eyes for one last view
Of hills and rocks I've stumbled o'er
And mud I'll wade through never more.
And now triumphantly I shout
Farewell, farewell, for I've "gone out."[61]

On some level, faculty members everywhere can identify with the general sentiments expressed in this poem (although one hopes not with the specific complaints). It speaks to the common frustrations people experience with institutional authority and the eagerness with which they anticipate periodic respite from it. At Caney Junior College it also spoke of shared hardships, of a monotonous and dreary diet, of the physical demands of mountain life, the absence of everyday niceties, and the understandable longing to get out. Taylor's experience included both the satisfaction of doing something that she considered useful and the inevitable frustration that comes with continually struggling against the odds, a condition that was very much a part of life at Lloyd's Caney Creek.

James Green, in his study of Pine Mountain Settlement School, found that faculty and staff there were similarly afflicted. He reports that they suffered from the "tension built into the situation due to isolation [and] living with a limited group of adults for long periods of time."[62] Pine Mountain's leaders, as a result, also had difficulty recruiting and retaining their workers. It was the exceptional people—May Stone, Katherine Pettit, Ethel de Long Zande, June Buchanan, and especially Alice Lloyd—who could find fulfillment in their mountain lives. The others found meaning and significance in what they were doing, but, sooner or later, the time came to leave, and leave they did.

Caney was more than just a junior college. Its concerns extended beyond the traditional ones of accreditation, curriculum, and faculty to encompass those of the surrounding community. Growing as it did

out of a broad-based effort at community development, the school's affairs were inseparably entwined with the community's. Neither the school nor the community was self-sufficient; each depended upon the other for survival.

In its earliest years the Caney Creek Community Center needed the assistance of the local people if it was to become anything more than the mountain residence of a handful of outsiders. The initial suspicion that was directed at the center, and the manner in which it was overcome, has been told many times.[63] Some of the accounts are quite likely exaggerated, apocryphal, or even simply false. But whether or not Abisha Johnson really heard a voice telling him to seek out Alice Lloyd, whether or not rifle fire really did shatter Lloyd's living room window one dark night, whether or not local citizens thought Lloyd intended to blow them all up once she had enticed them into her meeting room, or whether or not a local woman really did say, "Stay on stranger," once she realized that Lloyd was a kindred soul, is not important. What is important is that over a period of months and years a large number of the people who lived in and around Caney Creek came to accept Lloyd's presence and to participate actively in her work.

Verna Mae Slone has made her own assessment of the degree to which her kin and neighbors are responsible for the center's success in *Common Folks*. In that slender but heartfelt book she said, "There are a lot of . . . our mountain people who in their way did just as much [as Lloyd, her mother, and June Buchanan did]. Without [the common folks] the school would have died before it was born." In her book she lists nearly thirty people by name in order to credit them with specific accomplishments. If she had extended her list to include the members of succeeding generations who also helped out, the number would have been in the hundreds.[64]

Curiously, one of the early criticisms of Lloyd's work at Caney Creek was that she had depended for help upon "mountain people who [had] not hitherto borne the best of reputations." John C. Campbell reported to "My dear Miss Neville" that "other schools" in the area (presumably the settlement schools at Hindman and Pine Mountain) believed that the Lloyds were working with the wrong sort of mountaineer and that this practice would doom their efforts. The Lloyds defended their choice of helpers by saying that it was the current results these people were producing that were important, not past reputations.[65]

The Caney Creek enterprise depended upon local people to con-

struct and maintain the buildings, to man the saw mill and printing press, to do the cooking and cleaning as the number of residents grew, to haul supplies from Hindman and Wayland, and to do the many other chores without which the center could not survive. The work was faithfully performed even when there was no money to pay the workers. Lloyd issued checks, but the recipients were told to keep them in a safe place until there was money in the bank to make them good.[66]

By the 1940s local people began to assume other roles at the center. The teachers at the Caney Creek primary and secondary schools at that time were virtually all mountaineers, as were some of the college teachers and administrators.[67] Some of the earliest graduates had returned to the area after World War II as doctors, lawyers, elected officials, and school superintendents, and these people often became members of the college board of trustees.[68] As at the beginning and throughout the Lloyd years (and beyond) the connection between the center and the community was very close. There was always a recognition that each needed the other's presence if the work was to go forward.

Alice Lloyd brought higher education to a remote corner of the Appalachian Mountains. She managed the college's successful accreditation efforts, she designed its curriculum, and she hired (and fired) its faculty. Her acceptance by the local people and their willingness to work with her in a common cause were essential components of the effort. The college's survival was due to the hard work and persistence of many people and to the fact that its program was uniquely designed so that its impact on students (and its appeal to their benefactors) was substantial. And it is to these crucial concerns of the college—its mission, philosophy, extra-curricular activities, and methodologies—that we turn next.

5

Our Purpose Is to Train Leaders

THE EDUCATIONAL MISSION of Caney Junior College was very well-focused in the early years and remained virtually unchanged until Alice Lloyd's death in 1962. The school's purpose was to develop a leadership cadre for the mountains from among those who lived there. Lloyd's statement of faith was, "The leaders are here."[1] They needed, she believed, only to be given the opportunity to develop their potential for leadership and to be instilled with a sense of service to insure that the leadership skills were used for appropriate purposes. In 1929 Lloyd announced to her growing list of contributors that "the mountain problem [can be] solved in one generation" if the area is provided with "trained leaders of [its] own" and that this task was the mission of the Caney Creek Community Center. In return for a free education, "a life-time fee" was exacted from each student in the form of an unwritten pledge "to settle in the Southern mountains and take a decided stand for capable and consecrated citizenship."[2] Implicit in Lloyd's call for new leadership was the judgment that the existing leadership was either inadequate or uninterested in bringing about the changes she thought were needed to solve the problems she saw around her.

Throughout the years the mission remained constant. In 1931 the Caney Junior College Bulletin stated, "It is the purpose of Caney Creek Community Center to train leaders."[3] By the time the 1935–36 College Handbook was written, the mission was the same, although stated in somewhat more elaborate language: "Objective: The training of selected mountaineers as professional men and women, for efficient and consecrated leadership in the Southern Highlands."[4]

THE MOUNTAIN PROBLEM SOLVED
IN ONE GENERATION

HOW — By trained leaders of their own.
A people cannot advance farther than their leaders will take them.

The purpose of the Caney Creek Community Center is to train leaders who will remain in the mountains and serve their own people. No charges are made, either in the Foundation School or in the Caney Junior College, for room, board or tuition.

The life-time fee is the unwritten pledge to settle in the Southern mountains and take a decided stand for capable and consecrated citizenship. 164 boys and girls now in residence.

CANEY JUNIOR COLLEGE — Class A. Accredited by the University of Kentucky.
Member of the American Association of Junior Colleges.

NORMAL PRE-MEDIC — Pre-Law, Arts and Science.

KNOTT COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL — Accredited Class A by the Kentucky State Department of Public Instruction. Member of the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges.

FOUNDATION SCHOOL — School #45 of the Knott County Board of Education.

OUR
WAITING
LIST
TWELVE HUNDRED

Figure 1. The principles that guided the work at Caney Junior College are succinctly stated in this first page of a four-page fund-raising pamphlet from 1929.

In 1938 the evaluation report for the University of Kentucky's accreditation committee stated that the college's mission, as reported by its president (presumably Lloyd) was "to select mountain boys and girls who are physically fit, mentally capable and spiritually righteous; and to train these youth through the various professions to become actively efficient and morally consecrated leaders of their

own mountain people."[5] In 1961 the College Bulletin announced that it served the region by "rescu[ing] talented youth for leadership."[6]

There was a remarkable consistency through the Lloyd years in the way the school stated its mission. The central themes of leadership, community service in the mountains, and an unbounded faith in the abilities and potential of selected mountaineers remained constant despite the travails of the Depression, World War II, and the coming of modern times in the 1950s.

This intent to produce dedicated leaders for the mountains, so clearly articulated and insistently proclaimed by Alice Lloyd, was unusual for a mountain settlement school, but it was not unique. Former Union general and governor of Vermont O.O. Howard, who, with the help of others, founded Lincoln Memorial University in Cumberland Gap, Tennessee, had much the same aim. He asked that his students return to their mountain homes once their education was complete, although this aspect of its mission was never elevated to the almost religious nature it acquired at Caney Junior College.[7] At Pine Mountain Settlement School, founded by Katherine Pettit and Ethel de Long Zande in 1913, the leaders also were concerned with instilling the qualities of leadership in their students. But, as James Green has noted, "they never totally resolved on any special methods for teaching leadership other than the general effects of life at the school." In fact, Zande, the woman who was responsible for the educational component at Pine Mountain, "was dubious that one could actually consciously teach it."[8]

With respect to Caney Creek Community Center's nearest settlement school neighbor—the Hindman Settlement School—the approach was very different. At Hindman Settlement School, founders May Stone and Katherine Pettit (Pettit was also involved in the founding of Pine Mountain Settlement School) had as their stated mission an exchange of the best aspects of two cultures—the mountain culture and the culture of progressive, early-twentieth-century America—to the advantage of both.[9] In practice the Hindman effort was designed to educate its students in ways that would lead to a better life for them within the context of the existing environment. In a book published in 1926, the Hindman Settlement School was praised for the skills it taught in weaving, agriculture, health and nutrition, homemaking, and the industrial arts.[10] A longtime Hindman resident remembers that they "taught sanitation; they taught better methods of cooking, homemaking, singing, kindergarten, woodwork and furniture making. In fact, they geared the curriculum to

meet the needs of the community, which they did in a beautiful way."[11]

As David Whisnant observed, Stone and Pettit had embraced the conservative industrial school model as their ideal. They wanted to give their students the ability to make the best life possible for themselves and their families within the mountain context. In many respects, the two "fotched on women" had embraced the fundamental principles of the educational model advanced by Booker T. Washington for the improvement of black Americans struggling to find a satisfying life. The primary emphasis was to teach skills that would permit an improved daily existence and leave the "giant steps forward" for a later generation.[12]

In addition, as Whisnant describes in detail, the Hindman program included a conscious effort to "support or revive local culture as a basis for personal identity and growth, and community stability and continuity."[13] This emphasis led to the rescue of dying folk arts, to the rediscovery of songs and ballads, and to a celebration of what, in the eyes of the Hindman staff, was truly valuable and worth saving in the mountain culture.

Hindman did offer an academic education through high school as part of its program. One of the early graduates of its academic program, Josiah Henry Combs, received a good education as well as a strong appreciation for the customs and traditions of his mountain kin. Combs went on to obtain his B.A. degree from Transylvania University and his Ph.D. from the Sorbonne, the well-known French university. His doctoral dissertation examined the history of folk songs in the southern United States.[14] Another early graduate, Carl D. Perkins, went on to graduate from Caney Junior College and eventually represent Eastern Kentucky in the United States Congress for many years.[15] Despite the existence of some notable exceptions, it would appear that the majority of Hindman's academic graduates did not remain in the mountains. According to the recollections of one of Hindman's earliest graduates, a man who went on to college and law school, very few of his colleagues who obtained "a first class education" went back to the mountains.[16] Hindman prided itself on educating children "back to their homes rather than away from them," but it would appear that the "talented tenth," as black historian W.E.B. Du Bois dubbed the most able of his own people, used their Hindman Settlement School education as a ticket out of town.[17]

The central thrust of the program at Pine Mountain Settlement School was very similar to that of the Hindman institution, despite

contemporary statements to the contrary. It, like Hindman, stressed industrial training and home economics in order to give its students "the foundation arts of their environment."[18] Most of its students were expected to live in the mountains, as their parents had; and the school aimed to instill in its students the skills and habits of industry, cleanliness, healthful living, and "quiet, worshipful [religious] service."[19]

Where Pine Mountain differed from Hindman was in its underlying commitment to the most progressive of the day's educational theories. The model it wanted to emulate was New York's Lincoln School, a well-known experimental school which pursued a child-oriented curriculum with a vengeance.[20] The purpose of the Lincoln School, according to its chief proponent, educational innovator Abraham Flexner, "was to give children the knowledge they need, and to develop in them the power to handle themselves in [their] world."[21] It assumed that students should be prepared to deal successfully with the world that existed right outside the classroom. That was the real world; it was the world that they would live in. Similarly, Pettit and her colleagues wanted their students to be able to make the most of the mountain life that awaited them. Alice Lloyd, on the contrary, set out to produce students who would challenge and change the status quo, not simply make the best of it.

As at Hindman, those students from Pine Mountain who went on to college often left the mountains for good. In answer to the charge that Pine Mountain had educated its better students to leave the area, one graduate reflected years later, "Of course the youngsters they took in and taught later left the area to seek better work, a better environment, a better way of life. Isn't that what we all do if we can?"[22]

Hindman and Pine Mountain and many other settlement schools were not alone in their advocacy of an education that prepared students for their most likely future role in life. Historian Herbert M. Kliebard has documented the powerful appeal that "vocationalism" had for educators in the early decades of the twentieth century in *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958*.[23] Kliebard concluded that in its heyday, the idea that education should prepare students for their "probable destination" in life was nearly unopposed by "educators of any consequence." The voices raised against it, like the adherents of the traditional classical approach to education, or those like W.E.B. Du Bois, who felt that vocationalism deprived students of the intellectual training they needed to rise in American society, were lost in the loud praise for the "efficiency" with which

education was dealing with the challenges of industrialization in the twentieth century.[24]

The debate between those educators who favor an educational system that meets the needs of the majority—the average students from average families destined to have average lives—and those who favor an educational system that addresses the needs of the best and the brightest continues to the present day. The former extol the realism and democratic nature of their position, pointing out that their approach is consistent with the principles that govern American life. The latter stress the importance of stretching individual minds as far as they can go and of preparing the next generation of decision makers. In practice both approaches have merit and each has its place. Lloyd, however, was interested primarily in those students who could master the challenges of the traditional liberal arts college curriculum. (One of the many ironies of Lloyd's experience in Caney Creek is that the children of Abisha Johnson, the man credited with bringing her to the area, did not meet her criteria.)[25]

The negative connotations inherent in the concept of elitism (i.e., that it is undemocratic, based on class distinctions, and exclusive rather than inclusive) were not part of Lloyd's make-up. She wanted to insure that Appalachia trained and retained a leadership cadre, and her college was designed to insure that it happened. Stone and Pettit, by contrast, prepared the majority of their students for the mountain world that existed. Given the sharp philosophical differences between the two approaches—and the single-mindedness with which Lloyd pursued her vision—it is little wonder that the two camps often found themselves at odds.

In this context it is important to recognize that Lloyd did not restrict the term "leader" only to those in law, medicine, government, or business, but included teachers, educational administrators, social workers, and homemakers who could exert leadership both at home and in the community. For some, this definition of leadership may be too broad. Leaders are supposed to be people who hold high public office, who work in respected professions, or who are constantly in the public eye. But for Lloyd leadership and commitment to service could be exercised at all levels, particularly by classroom teachers. The important point for Lloyd was to see that only the most qualified, best educated, and properly motivated people attained these positions.[26]

As the balance of this chapter will demonstrate, Lloyd put in place a variety of programs at Caney Creek to enhance the likelihood that

the center's educational mission would be accomplished. As has been discussed previously, the formal curriculum was based upon the liberal arts. It was designed to be the same as it would have been during the first two years at a four-year college. Lloyd was a firm believer in the long-lasting benefits bestowed on students by a heavy concentration on English, history, the sciences, mathematics, and foreign languages.

It was, however, the array of other programs that Lloyd put into place that created a very special atmosphere on campus, an atmosphere that worked to insure that Caney Junior College students accepted and internalized the essential elements of the school's mission. These programs included such administrative measures as the student selection process and the rules governing student conduct. There were also participatory programs such as the students' unwritten pledge to devote their lives to service in the mountains in return for an essentially free education, structured discussions that challenged students to undertake lives of purposeful service, and mandatory debates that forced students to face moral and ethical issues. Finally, there was the all-pervading climate of the campus that supported the "service-to-the-mountains" tenets of the school's founders. The alumni chosen for special praise, the students given the highest positions of responsibility, those sent to the "outside" as good-will ambassadors, and those who were "scholarshipped on" for professional study were all exemplars of the commitment to the center's service goals.

In hindsight the total effort fits together as pieces of one overall program. However, a question that arose early on in this project was whether or not there was a philosophical foundation for the program or whether the school's approach had simply developed on an ad hoc basis, one element at a time. As it turned out there was a very firm foundation and it had its roots at Harvard University in the person of George Herbert Palmer, the chairman of a very distinguished Harvard philosophy department from 1890 to 1912.[27]

Both Alice Lloyd and June Buchanan were acquainted with Palmer's ethical and philosophical teachings. Lloyd had attended Radcliffe College while Palmer was teaching there. (It was common for Harvard professors in the 1890s to teach their courses to the women at Radcliffe College also.)[28] Lloyd served as an officer of the Cantabrigia Club with Palmer's wife, the former president of Wellesley College, and reported on the Palmers' activities in her column at the

Cambridge Chronicle. George Herbert Palmer spoke to the Cantabrigia Club on the subject of education on at least one occasion.[29]

Among Buchanan's personal effects left in the cottage where she lived at Pippa Passes was a note bearing George Herbert Palmer's name and the typed message, "You have outlined an ethical road that stimulates wonder and admiration. It is going the right way."[30] In addition, transcripts of conversations during the late 1970s between Buchanan and Jerry C. Davis, then president of Alice Lloyd College, and a speech Buchanan gave in May 1978 show that she acknowledged the philosophical debt she and Lloyd owed to Palmer.[31]

Palmer's philosophy was spelled out in several books published between 1901 and 1920 and summarized in his autobiography published in 1930.[32] Essentially, Palmer was an idealist who believed that one can control one's own destiny by recognizing the inter-relatedness of one's own existence and society's; by learning what goodness is and how to achieve it; by deciding on one's purpose in life; and by working constantly to assure its attainment. The individual, Palmer believed, cannot exist alone; an individual is always part of society; and the individual's true interests are always those of the society. Therefore, when one serves the society, one is also serving oneself, making self-sacrifice good both for self and for others.

For Lloyd and Buchanan a key part of Palmer's work was that he provided, in essence, a road map for one to follow on the way to achieving one's ultimate goal: personal goodness, which always expressed itself in service to the larger community. Foreshadowing the intense interest in sequential learning of the 1960s, Palmer's plan included the following steps:

1. Self-Consciousness: The process by which one acquires the "knowledge that I am an I." Without self-consciousness one remains no different from an inanimate object, in Palmer's words, no more than a "thing."

2. Self-Direction: The personal action that is necessary to translate self-consciousness into a purposeful goal and begin to seek its attainment.

3. Self-Development: The continual process of improvement that permits an individual to achieve his or her full potential.

4. Self-Sacrifice: The "very culmination of moral life," the ultimate expression of the Good.

The last step, self-sacrifice, exists on a special plane of its own. The first three steps lead logically from one to the next until one reaches, or is in the process of reaching, personal goodness through

perpetual self-development. For Palmer, self-sacrifice in its deepest sense is truly possible only for those who have reached the point where they do not distinguish between self and society, where ethical thinking and action are habitual and occur without conscious effort.[33]

From the way Lloyd and Buchanan lived their lives, one can see that Palmer's philosophy may have struck a responsive chord in both, or even been a primary influence in the direction their lives took. This would be especially true for Alice Lloyd, who, as the years passed, concentrated more and more on the development of her college until it became virtually the only thing that mattered to her. She sacrificed family, friendships, the comforts of modern life, and the intellectual stimulation of the urban environment in order to pursue her vision in a remote part of Eastern Kentucky.

Palmer's philosophy for what the women wanted to accomplish at Caney Creek—the development of homegrown leaders who would have a sense of purpose and service—was perfect. Palmer believed that values could be taught, just like any academic discipline. Granted, they were not easily taught, nor could everyone master them; but for the best of the students (those who were to be the future leaders) it could be done.[34] His philosophy was grounded in the belief that every person had the capacity to rise above being a "thing" and to achieve personal goodness. This was particularly important for Lloyd and Buchanan because they were working with students who had never been in contact with the outside world. The women needed assurance that "our contemporary ancestors" could be taught to be effective in the modern world. Palmer provided a sequence of steps, almost a lesson plan, through which a person passed on the way to achieving the desired end; and his world view was deeply religious, as was the mountaineers' and the two women's. And, finally, Palmer's ultimate Good (being of service to others) was precisely what the women wanted to instill in the minds of their students.

There is some question as to which of the two women introduced the Palmer philosophy to Caney Creek. I am convinced that it was Alice Lloyd who did so, both because she was the deeper thinker of the two and because anything of such fundamental importance to the program would almost certainly have been initiated by her. On the other hand, Buchanan did translate the philosophy into a form suitable for classroom use (the philosophy as expressed by Palmer in his books is not readily accessible to the casual reader), and most students

experienced its impact through her daily involvement in the program.[35]

Whatever its origins, one can see evidence of the Palmer philosophy in many aspects of the school's activities, particularly in the manner in which students were selected, the rules and regulations that governed student conduct, the unwritten pledge of service in the mountains, and the participative programs designed to deal with ethics and purposeful existence.

Educators have known for many years that the environment in which learning takes place is critically important. The traditional customs and values that permeate the campus, the attitudes and activities that are stressed, the behaviors that are rewarded (and those that are punished), the personal examples set by faculty and administrators, the rhetoric used to describe institutional goals and purposes, even the physical setting, all come together to influence the way students are changed by the educational experience. The more consistent the environment is and the fewer deviations permitted from the established patterns, the more powerful the environment becomes in determining student values and actions.[36] The environments that are created and manipulated to produce U.S. Marines, Jesuit priests, and "Moonies" are examples of this phenomenon in action. Faced with an environment that is securely based and unwavering, a student must change himself or herself to conform to the environment, change the environment, or leave the environment.[37] Except in the most unusual circumstances, student action is limited to the first and third alternatives.

The college that Alice Lloyd created and managed during her lifetime is an excellent example of a situation where the overall institutional environment was a key factor in assuring that its mission was accomplished. Lloyd had a firm idea of what she wanted to do—produce graduates who could bring change to and would stay in the mountains. She had a philosophical foundation (Palmer's) on which to base her efforts. And she put in place a liberal arts curriculum and a variety of programs that together created an environment that reinforced everything else.

The process began with the initial selection of students. The college drew its student body from the area immediately surrounding Caney Creek. The 1937–38 student body at Caney Junior College was typical. In that year 88 percent of the students came from within a hundred-mile radius of the school,[38] a pattern that did not change

substantially until an effort for diversity was undertaken in the 1970s.[39] Usually two-thirds of the students were men. Lloyd personally interviewed every applicant, and her decision with respect to matriculation was absolute. Former students recall that the interview with Lloyd was a challenging, even fearful, experience.[40] At the junior college level there were certain entrance requirements that had to be maintained in order to achieve and retain accreditation. In the early years these requirements were not rigidly enforced at Caney Junior College in cases where Lloyd saw the potential for success in an otherwise unqualified student.[41] By the 1940s, however, she began to require students lacking specific credits to take summer courses (which she provided free) to make up any deficiencies.[42] Lloyd's admission decisions were based on her subjective assessment of a student's likelihood to do well, on the applicant's willingness to accept "certain rules of moral conduct," on her personal knowledge of the applicant's family background (following her eugenicist beliefs), and on the applicant's personal goals in life.[43] On the latter score one applicant was refused admission on his first attempt when professional baseball was his stated goal; a year later, when his goal had changed to medical doctor, he was admitted. Denzil Barker, an early Caney Junior College graduate whose first love was baseball, did go on to become an M.D.

Contemporary educators sometimes faulted Lloyd for relying so completely on her personal judgment in making important decisions regarding students. They objected to her intuitive approach as well as to her insistence that admitted students commit themselves to one vision of life's purpose—the vision that she held. Despite the critics—and some of her own faculty were among them—she rarely diverged from her own way of doing things. If she discovered that she had made an error in selecting a student, she quickly corrected it. Again, the 1937–38 experience at the Junior College was typical. In that year seventy-four freshmen began the first semester; only fifty-seven began the second semester. The University of Kentucky evaluation team called the 23 percent attrition rate "the deliberate and planned elimination of those students who, according to the estimates of the faculty, should not continue college work." The evaluators questioned whether there was a rational basis for these decisions, but they were judging the situation from the perspective of the usual college, not from Lloyd's perspective.[44]

Once enrolled, the students faced a code of conduct that was very stringent, and not at all reflective of mountain ways. On the campus

The Alice Lloyd College campus is shown in the mid-1970s as it begins to emerge from nearly five decades of making do with the bare necessities of college life. Photo courtesy of Edith Hayes who, along with her husband, Will Hayes, gave thirty-five years of dedicated service to the school.

Unless otherwise indicated, all photos are from the Alice Lloyd College Archives.

Alice Lloyd, in her mid-forties, stands on the porch of the house she called "IF" after the Kipling poem that promises "Yours is the Earth . . . ," if your character is strong and well developed.

The focal point of Lloyd's initial efforts was the Caney Creek Community Center, shown around 1920. From the Center she organized programs to provide primary education and to introduce new ideas about health and nutrition, agricultural innovations, improvement of local roads, and cooperative community participation. Other benevolent workers in Appalachia criticized her for trying to do too much at one time.

The ubiquitous jolt wagon was the preferred mode of transport into and out of Caney Creek. Here it is used to bring in new teachers and workers over roads that were often impassable for less sturdy vehicles.

This typical communal residence on the campus reflects Lloyd's insistence that the buildings use locally available materials and incorporate design elements consistent with mountain usage. The prominently displayed American flag suggests the depth of her patriotism, as did her request that her coffin be draped with the flag.

A group of Caney Junior College students and men from the community work to repair a creek-bed road near the college. The college site at Caney Creek was made all the more isolated by the absence of a dependable road network anywhere within miles. Ironically, late in life Alice Lloyd rejected state efforts to bring a paved road to her area.

This view of the Caney Junior College campus in winter in the late 1920s is not greatly different from what it was in the 1940s and 1950s. Throughout the Lloyd years the physical facilities at the site remained what one newspaper in 1963 called "antiquated, ramshackle and hazardous."

Lloyd is pictured here in 1920 with her ward, Dan Martin, when she was forty-four and he was ten. Lloyd and her mother, Mary Ella Geddes, raised Martin, supported him through college and law school, and watched proudly as he became a prominent Knott County attorney.

The young men Lloyd selected to represent her college to the non-mountain world were uniformly presentable, well dressed, and self-assured. This group from the 1930s includes two "Crusaders" in costume for one of the theatrical skits often included in the program.

Left, this group of "Crusaders" from the late 1930s is in costume for a performance of "Feudin' and Larnin'," a morality play that stressed Caney Junior College's role in bringing progressive ways to the mountains. Students went on annual "Crusades" beyond the Appalachian region to build support for their institution.

After World War II the "Crusaders" were replaced by the Voices of Appalachia (below), an a cappella choir that tours each year to wide acclaim.

The original "Caney Cottage" housed Caney Junior College graduates who were scholarshipped on to the University of Kentucky. The small wood-frame building was given to the college in 1936 by one of Lloyd's supporters. In 1992 it was replaced by a substantial brick structure through the generosity of a California benefactor.

Alice Lloyd directed the activities of the college well into her eighties, even during her last years, when she was confined to bed. Although she relinquished formal control to Will Hayes in 1960, she continued to make her presence felt until her death in 1962. Despite appearances in this photograph, she could not use her right hand.

Will Hayes and June Buchanan share a happy moment at commencement exercises in the 1970s. Hayes served the college for thirty-five years as teacher, academic dean, and president. Buchanan served even longer. She arrived in 1919 and remained a key figure on campus until her death in 1987, a few weeks short of her hundred and first birthday.

Today's Alice Lloyd College campus is both functional and aesthetically pleasing. It sits nestled into the same steep hillside as in earlier days, but now the buildings are modern, well maintained, and fully consistent with the school's educational mission.

of Caney Junior College there was to be no smoking, no guns, no drinking, and no contact with the opposite sex. The penalty for violating any of these rules was automatic: expulsion. It was not without reason that a Boston paper declared in a 1941 headline connected to an article about the college, "Hub Woman a Stern Dean."[45] Lloyd was hardly alone in discouraging guns, smoking, and drinking. Most of the local churches did so, as did Hindman and Pine Mountain Settlement Schools. The major differences between these other organizations and Caney Creek was the ban on contact between the sexes and the severe penalty for breaking the rules.

The prohibition on contact between the sexes was based on the fact that Lloyd (like, for example, Katherine Pettit at Pine Mountain Settlement School) was greatly disturbed by the practice of girls' and boys' marrying early. As Pettit wrote in 1926, "Dull lives have driven many undeveloped children to the only amusement they see within their reach, sweethearting . . . [and] serious love-making." Whereas Pettit introduced "new mental interests" and recreational and cultural activities to divert her students' attention, Lloyd, in keeping with her direct approach to problems, not only provided dawn-to-dusk activities but also simply proscribed all contact between the sexes.[46]

Lloyd was also concerned that some of the families in and around Caney Creek had suffered irreversible genetic deterioration as a result of intermarriage among close kin. In a letter to Berea's president Frost in 1916 she expressed this concern: "While we are here but a year at the service, yet we are convinced that unless . . . health education is carried immediately [to the remote areas] large strains of this wonderful stock will become extinct. Several families have already deteriorated into nothing but 'blind fits.' "[47]

She tended to refuse admission to the children of the families which she placed in this category and, conversely, tended to favor the siblings and cousins of students who had already demonstrated their good breeding by being successful at her school.[48] Following the advice she gave women in a 1913 newspaper article "to give a eugenic forethought" in carrying out their responsibilities, she forbade contact between the sexes in the hope that the later her students began courting, the more likely it was that they would marry outside the closed circle into which they were born.[49]

Lloyd's adherence to the tenets of eugenics seems particularly naive and overly simplistic when examined from today's perspective. Before passing judgment, however, it is helpful to remember that she

was in excellent company in this respect. John C. Campbell had praised her "eugenic survey" in 1918, saying, should it succeed in convincing people to "end such practices [i.e., intermarriage and illegitimacy] it would have accomplished something worthwhile."[50] In 1927 the Supreme Court of the United States had accepted the basic concepts of eugenics, explaining in the infamous words of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Three generations of imbeciles are enough."[51] Lloyd had embraced eugenics early in her adulthood, perhaps during one of her stays in England, where its concepts were widely accepted in intellectual circles.[52] There is no evidence that she ever abandoned this belief, and her fears about the dangers of inbreeding in the mountains continued to find expression in her appeals for money into the 1950s.

In addition to her eugenic beliefs, Lloyd's own New England background and the puritanical influences of middle-class Boston made it easier to justify to herself restrictions on her students that today seem totally unworkable. In this respect, Palmer's philosophy would also have provided comfort. As he stated in his autobiography, "The philosophical influence which was supreme over my youth and [which] has left its honored mark on my age was Puritanism."[53]

Palmer's Puritanism venerated self-discipline and the subordination of the natural (i.e., base) instincts so that an individual might make continued progress toward "wholeness," which he saw as the ultimate purpose of existence.[54] For Lloyd, with her immense capacity for concentrating single-mindedly on the goal at hand, the immediate discomfort these restrictions placed on her students was far outweighed by the long-term benefits that would flow to them.

One of the most powerful of the programs that Lloyd put in place involved the pledge students had to make. This pledge, although unwritten, was a constant theme on campus and required that students remain in their Appalachian homeland to serve once their free education was completed. Except that it had no sanction of law, the pledge was a forerunner of similar programs today, which, for example, require medical doctors to practice in underserved areas in return for financial assistance during training.

The outward migration from the mountains of Eastern Kentucky was well under way by the early decades of the twentieth century, stripping away from the area the human resources that could have confronted the challenges of modernization.[55] Lloyd saw this problem as early as 1922 when she pleaded with various administrators at Berea College to encourage their graduates to fill vacant teaching and public administrative jobs in the remote areas. She pleaded in

vain because, as she was aware, the best graduates from Berea College and Pine Mountain and Hindman Settlement Schools were taking their talents elsewhere.[56] If the mountain situation was to change, those mountain people with the right skills and training must be kept at home.

At Caney Junior College the mechanism for doing this was the unwritten pledge. In later years, both Alice Lloyd and June Buchanan were accustomed to evaluating the success or failure of individual students (and the school as a whole) on the basis of whether or not the student redeemed his or her pledge. There is no evidence that Lloyd or Buchanan worried about the possibly coercive nature of this pledge. Today, one could almost describe it as "an offer you couldn't refuse," given the absence of alternative sources of higher education in the area at that time.[57]

Even if the two women had been concerned about the morality of requiring such a pledge, Palmer's philosophy would have gone a long way toward alleviating it. For Palmer, being of service to others was the ultimate expression of Good. The opposite was when the "separate self" (i.e., the self acting on its own for itself without regard to the claims of society) was allowed to prevail. Therefore, asking the students to pledge to stay and serve was no more than asking them to do what they themselves would want to do as they advanced along the path of self-realization.

Perhaps the best-remembered part of Lloyd's program to produce graduates who would fit the mold she had designed was an intellectual exercise based on Palmer's principles. Buchanan used these principles to create an exercise that became the basis for weekly discussions devoted to the purpose of life, to the establishment of personal goals, and to the proposition that service was the highest expression of human development. Although the principles expounded were Palmer's and the guiding hand was Lloyd's, the methodology was largely Buchanan's. She developed over a period of years a diagram that guided the discussions, encouraged right thinking, and provided a vocabulary that enabled students to discuss complex philosophical issues in rather simple terms. She termed the overall project "The Purpose Road."[58] A copy of the diagram from a booklet called *Ethics*, printed at Caney Creek in 1925, is shown as Figure 2.

The important points to note on the diagram are the following:

1. Persons are represented by the symbol HM, which stands for Human Machine. Palmer had at one point written "a human being, so like, so unlike, a machine."[59]

2. In order for the HM to enter into "Responsibility" and get on

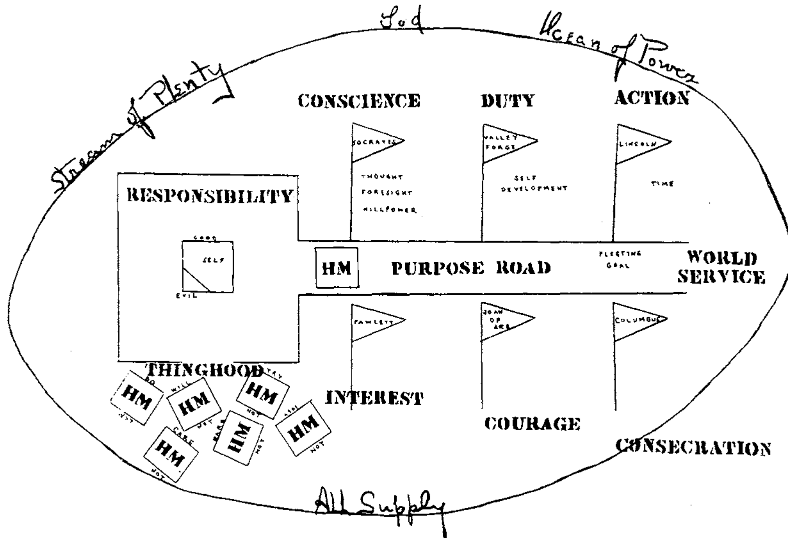

Figure 2. "The Purpose Road."

the "Purpose Road," he or she had to escape from "Thinghood," where life is without purpose and nothing is ever accomplished. For Palmer the ultimate failure in life was for a human being to remain a "thing."

3. The "self" (the box in the middle of Responsibility) consists of both "Good" (the larger part) and "Evil" (the smaller part). (Palmer used the word "Spiritual" in place of "Good" and "Natural" in place of "Evil.")

4. The HM on the "Purpose Road" had as its goal world service—the preeminent Palmer ideal. The existence of a "fleeting goal" indicates that when one attains an intermediate goal, one sets a more demanding one and continues the process of self-development.

5. Along the way are signposts giving (as Palmer suggested) examples of real people (e.g., Joan of Arc, Abraham Lincoln) whose lives can illuminate the quest for purpose and goal attainment.

6. Personal characteristics (e.g., Duty, Action, Interest, Courage) are highlighted to call attention to what is required to be successful on the road of service.

7. Surrounding everything is God: "the ocean of power," "the all-supply," and "the stream of plenty." (Like Palmer's, Buchanan's faith in God was boundless.)

To enter on the Purpose Road required self-consciousness, as well as self-direction, self-development, and ultimately self-sacrifice. Buchanan emphasized that the reason for traveling down the Purpose Road was not just to get to the point of being of service. It was especially to be of service to the people of the mountains.

The Purpose Road became so deeply enmeshed in the life of the school that it "became intertwined with nearly every subject taught at Caney Creek."[60] Decades after the fact graduates can describe the exercises in great detail; they remember the terminology; they can reproduce the diagram from memory; and they discuss their own lives using words and concepts first introduced to them in their purpose road sessions.[61] One graduate of the 1930s has written: "Ask any alumnus what two or three things influenced his or her life the most . . . and the chances are that you'll be told that it was the Purpose Road."[62] The main road through campus is still called Purpose Road, and today Philosophy 300 is required of all juniors. It uses the study of philosophy to "encourage positive goal-oriented approaches to solving problems."[63]

The connection between Buchanan's homey exercise and the eminent Harvard philosopher whose work underlies it is long since forgotten. (In 1978 Buchanan referred to him as "George Herbert Carmer.") People tend to look at the Purpose Road and exclaim, "My, how quaint!" without ever realizing that it is a philosophically cohesive statement of the meaning and purpose of life. The Purpose Road served Caney Junior College students well; it is remembered by them with great fondness, and its legacy lives on in their lives.

Not everyone shared Lloyd's and Buchanan's enthusiasm for the way they introduced their students to the concepts of service, life's purpose and personal responsibility. May Stone wrote to Ethel de Long Zande in 1922, while the Purpose Road exercise was in its early stages of development, that Lloyd "may have organized a few citizen clubs, but if they are as impractical as the 'Purpose Road' at Caney they are worth nothing."[64] Stone's problem with the exercise seemed to be that one could not eat it or wear it or display it or sell it. It was impractical and probably cluttered up the mind as well. Here in a nutshell is the major difference in how the two camps viewed education. One (Caney Junior College) wanted to deal with the abstract principles and philosophical issues that should govern how a responsible citizen lives his or her life. The other (Hindman and Pine Mountain Settlement Schools) wanted to improve the here and now by giving students the practical skills they so obviously needed.

One other distinctive program at Caney Creek that is remembered well by graduates is the Christian Forum. Each Sunday evening the school body met to discuss and debate ethical and moral issues. Topics ranged across the entire spectrum but often centered on issues similar to those raised in the Purpose Road exercise. For example, questions included, "What does a Human Machine owe to his Society?" "Is it true that what you give you receive?" "Are all men created equal?" Students were assigned one side or the other of the debate, given a few minutes to prepare, and then required to stand and explain their positions.[65]

The Christian Forum was important to the school's overall objective because it forced every student to deal with the issues of right and wrong, fairness, the purpose of life, and one's responsibility to oneself and to others. Equally important, it developed the student's capacity for speaking and thinking on his or her feet, for presenting and defending a particular position, and for rebutting opposing positions. Like the school's dress code, which insured that Caney students were always presentable, the Christian Forum produced graduates who could function effectively in public. One can well imagine the pleasure with which Alice Lloyd read this newspaper account of the goodwill ambassadors she sent on a Crusade in 1928: "The girls' diction, clear enunciation, faultless poise, fine manners and clearness of thought astounded their hearers."[66] Here was confirmation that her system worked, that it produced the kind of students she wanted, and that the outside world would respond positively to them.

In view of Lloyd's professed intent to avoid interfering in matters of religion, it is ironic that an unintended result of her program was just that. Her liberal arts curriculum, the Purpose Road exercise, and the Christian Forum with its debate format, all encouraged students to question the world they saw about them, and inevitably some of them questioned their religious beliefs. A graduate from the early 1950s, Lawrence Baldridge, explained, "I found to a large degree the traditional church was incompatible with my [new] freedom of expression," and he sought a faith other than the one in which he had been reared.[67] (Baldridge did not stray far; he completed his divinity degree and became the pastor of a Missionary Baptist church in Pippa Passes, Kentucky.) There is no way of knowing how typical Baldridge's experience was, but the experience of other college students suggests that he was not alone.[68] Once the habit of questioning is ingrained, it is hard to put aside.

Lloyd intuitively understood that all of the elements of her

program worked in harmony to produce graduates who would match the model she envisaged. She rejected vocationalism and the notion that students should be prepared to make the most of their probable destinations, unlike the leaders at Hindman and Pine Mountain Settlement Schools who embraced them, at least for the majority of their students who were not academically inclined. Lloyd wanted graduates who would hold certain values, who would view the purpose of life in a certain way, and who would have the character traits that she considered most important.

I doubt that it ever entered Lloyd's mind that her program could be called "cultural intervention" as readily as it could be called "education," but today just such a charge might be leveled. Appalachian scholars have not been kind in their assessments of attempts, especially by outsiders, to change mountain lifestyles. David Whisnant is probably correct when he notes the irrelevancy of introducing some of the trappings of middle-class society (e.g., the proper way to set a table, "pretty" ideas for decorating the home) into mountain culture.[69] But one can question the more serious charge he makes: that an indigenous culture suffers following the intervention of a foreign culture that brings with it, justifiably or not, an aura of modernity, sophistication, and superiority.[70] The general nature of his criticism has been discussed earlier, and the extent to which Lloyd's work merits similar criticism is discussed in the final chapter. Here it is sufficient to add a bit of balance to the debate by reminding the reader of George Brown Tindall's conclusion in *The Ethnic Southerners* in which he said: "We learn time and again from the southern past and from the history of others that to change is not necessarily to disappear; . . . to change is not necessarily to lose one's identity; to change, sometimes, is to find it."[71]

6

The Unwritten Pledge Redeemed

OF ALL THE QUALITIES that Lloyd wanted to instill in her graduates, the single most important one was the commitment to remain in the mountains. Nothing would be accomplished if her charges developed their talents to the fullest and then took them elsewhere. For Lloyd, place of residence would be the sine qua non by which she would judge her graduates.[1]

The urgency she felt in this matter was well founded. For years outmigration had been a major problem for the Appalachian region. As Harry M. Caudill wrote in *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, "Nothing was more ruinous [than] the disappearance of the plateau's best human material. Most of the thousands who left were people who recognized the towering importance of education. . . . Too many of those who remained behind were without interest in education . . . [and without] ambition."[2]

Caudill also reported that "a substantial number of the more aggressive . . . sort managed to move away [during the Depression]. Their lives were grim and hard as they built W.P.A. roads and drew relief rations in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, but many of them stuck it out and never returned to the coal fields."[3] Even the young were affected, as "hundreds of teenage boys [in the Civilian Conservation Corps] built observation towers for forest fire detection and pounded out other miles of rural roads."[4] They learned from their fellow corpsmen that there existed a way of life other than the one they knew. Like their elders, they heeded the call to a new life and left the mountains in large numbers—often for the armed services.[5]

James S. Brown had discovered the same situation in the 1940s

when he did his research in the Eastern Kentucky community of Beech Creek (the fictional name given to the area where he did his work). Brown found that the people most likely to leave the mountains were the ones who were "oriented toward 'pushing ahead,' had received better educations, and thus had widened horizons of contact and desire."[6] He also discovered that improvements in mountain education had the unintended result of making it difficult for those who took maximum advantage of the available schooling to remain at home. They had become exposed to a different way of life—a way of life that simply was not available even to the upper-class mountaineer—and in order to partake of it they needed to emigrate.[7]

Appalachian historian Ronald D. Eller found that the turmoil in the coal fields—fierce competition among hundreds of small mines, low wages, short hours, precarious future prospects—caused even larger numbers to seek employment in the auto plants and steel mills of the Midwest.[8]

Whatever the reason—whether it was a case of dire necessity or of opportunity seized—the hundreds of thousands of people who chose to leave represented a serious threat to the stability of a region where geographic mobility had been traditionally very low. No society can prosper (in every sense of the word, not just its economic sense) if its most qualified citizens leave, and this was happening throughout Appalachia.

The problem of outmigration was particularly severe among those who benefited from the education offered by settlement schools. David Whisnant discovered how serious the problem had been from two settlement school graduates, one from Hindman Settlement School and the other from Pine Mountain Settlement School. The former "recalled that very few who managed to get a first class education went back to the mountains." The latter wrote "that he knew of no pupil who finished at Pine Mountain who returned to his mountain community."[9] Lloyd herself pleaded with the president of Berea College, apparently in vain, for him to do more to convince his mountaineer graduates to return home and take up teaching positions.[10] But they, like so many others, had discovered that there were advantages to living in the "flatlands," and they would not be denied.

Lloyd had been in Eastern Kentucky for eight years when she started the junior college. She saw the need around her; she was fully aware of the problem of outmigration. She knew that outsiders could only help; they could not lead. Thus she decided that her students would pay for their education not with money but with a pledge "to

settle in the Southern Mountains and take a decided stand for capable and consecrated citizenship."[11]

At the time of its founding and for some years thereafter Caney Junior College was the third level of formal schooling provided by the Caney Creek Community Center. The center had begun its educational work shortly after it opened in 1916 by assuming responsibility for the public primary school located near it. At the time, the school was a typical example of the inadequately funded, poorly staffed, and badly housed country school that was all poor jurisdictions like Knott County could afford.[12] In 1919 the center built and staffed a high school in Caney Creek in cooperation with county officials. It was understood by both parties that the center would turn full control of the high school over to Knott County as soon as the county was able to assume the responsibility.[13] (The record shows that it would be twenty years before the county could do so.) In 1923, Caney Junior College was founded as a means of providing two years of college education. Initially, the college catered to the most promising of the center's high school graduates, but within a few years students came from throughout the county and eventually from all of Eastern Kentucky.

These students had virtually no other opportunity to pursue a college education. The nearest college was Berea; and, while it is now only two hours away by car, in the 1920s and 1930s it was accessible only with great difficulty because the main routes of travel out of Knott County were creek beds. Regardless of the difficult travel conditions, there were other even more insurmountable problems. Families living in the area had virtually no disposable income. A study conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture showed that average annual family cash income in Knott County during 1930 (seven years after Caney Junior College opened its doors) was $447, or about $73 per family member. At a time when one of Knott County's few prosperous families reported that it spent $162 a year to send a daughter to Berea College, it is obvious that the typical family could not afford to do so.[14] The cash that was available to the average family was hardly sufficient to purchase those essentials that the family farm could not provide, let alone pay for a college education.

To make matters worse, there was no college-going tradition among Knott County residents, nor even much respect for formal education. Prolonged schooling, especially at the college level, simply

was not a prized commodity. In *Beech Creek* James Brown wrote that families that had college-educated members were invariably from the very tiny group of relatively prosperous families in Appalachia, since these were the families who had both respect for the value of an education and the financial means.[15] In Knott County there were even fewer of these families than elsewhere in the mountains as a result of its poor land, lack of roads, and nonexistent manufacturing base.

Although family income data is not available for students from the early decades, there is ample anecdotal evidence to support the conclusion that almost without exception Caney Junior College students came from modest circumstances. One graduate from the class of 1928 recalled that "many of the students, especially the boys, [needed to be given] clothing from the [used clothing] exchange to help meet the appropriate dress standards."[16] Another talked of Lloyd's sensitivity to questions of relative material wealth and her insistence that all of her female students wear simple uniforms so that the many students who were unable to dress well on their own would feel no shame or disadvantage.[17] A third explained to the author that he stayed at Caney Junior College for only one semester because he found his fellow students to be too "rough" and educationally backward for him to feel comfortable there.[18]

The college continued to serve essentially the same kind of student throughout its first four decades. In a report to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools submitted in 1963, the student body was described as "promising, intelligent [and] overcoming handicaps." In this latter respect, it said that 70 percent came from substandard homes with no indoor sanitary facilities; 60 percent of them were the first members of their families to graduate from high school (let alone attend college); 65 percent had annual family incomes below $3,000; and the "alternative to [an] education in Alice Lloyd College [was] migration as [an] unskilled worker to the north."[19]

From its earliest days Caney Junior College was meant to provide the first two years of a college education exclusively for the young people of the Appalachian Mountains, particularly those from Knott and adjacent counties. A survey conducted by the University of Kentucky showed that 50 percent of its student body came from Eastern Kentucky's Knott and Floyd counties in 1937–38 and the balance from other nearby counties.[20]

In 1951, when the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools did its initial survey of Caney Junior College, it found that admission

required "fifteen acceptable units from an accredited high school in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky."[21] Although some exceptions were permitted (e.g., adult students could be admitted upon examination), it is clear from this requirement that the emphasis continued to be on educating mountain youth. In the 1961–62 edition of the *Caney Junior College Bulletin*, application for admission was restricted to "youth of Eastern Kentucky Mountain counties . . . who [would] come realizing Caney's special dedication and seeking to join in Mountain Service."[22]

It was not until well after Lloyd's death that the school began to reach outside the Kentucky mountains for a portion of its students. Until that time the student body was homogeneous almost to a fault. The students were from one culture; they spoke with one accent; and their world views were all shaped by a common set of traditions. It was the job of the college to broaden that view, while simultaneously making certain that the link between the students and their Appalachian homeland remained strong. It was a challenging task. Other schools "educated [students] away from their homes"; or, they provided vocational training to make them more adept at the mountain way of life but left students satisfied with the old ways and lacking any new vision for the future. Lloyd's decision to attempt a more difficult middle course was fully in keeping with her character and with her assessment of what was needed in her adopted home.

As was noted in its report, the University of Kentucky's study team in 1938 "gained the impression that [Lloyd and Buchanan] maintained a decided bias in favor of men students."[23] A Caney graduate tells the story of being caught violating the no-contact-with-the-opposite-sex regulation. For him the shock was not in being caught; the shock came when he was told that the woman involved would be sent home, while he would be permitted to stay.[24] All of the students sent to live in the school's annex at the University of Kentucky were men, as were virtually all of the students and graduates singled out for special praise by the school's administration.[25]

From these accounts it is clear that male students were favored; but in the context of the time and the place, what is more notable is the attention paid to female students. Many commentators have noted that women were severely disadvantaged in Appalachia, even after making allowances for the fact that women throughout the country were generally assigned subordinate roles. Horace Kephart, whose *Our Southern Highlanders* provided the first introduction for many Americans to the Appalachian region, concluded that to the

male mountaineer the female was "little more than a sort of superior domestic animal."[26] James Brown, describing conditions he found during the 1940s in the settlement he called Beech Creek, noted that "according to ideal patterns a husband should be the head of the household and be dominant. . . . [And he] was expected to speak for the family in public."[27] John Day, writing in 1940, said in *Bloody Ground*, "Many of the highlander's manners are manifestations of a belief in male dominance. A backcountry mountaineer does not tip his hat to a woman. . . . [After marriage] he walks in front and she heels. . . . [She] does not generally eat with the men and if [she does] the food is not passed to her first. Usually the women stand and serve."[28] In this type of environment the fact that Caney Junior College was usually one-third female was not an indication that women were being slighted; it was an indication that someone was paying attention to them.[29] In addition, women students fared considerably better at Caney Junior College than did the men. During the Lloyd years the women completed their courses of study at a far higher rate than the men. In the thirty-five-year period from 1929 until 1964, 45 percent of those who completed the two-year program were women, a significantly higher proportion than the 33 percent of the entering classes that they constituted.[30]

Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the student body at Caney Junior College during this period was the fact that this group of men and women had the personal resolve to undertake a course of action that was so very different from that chosen by most of their contemporaries. They came from a society where subsistence farming was the mainstay of life, where formal schooling was considered by many to be irrelevant to their daily existence, where the responsibilities of marriage and childbearing began early, where matters of personal appearance and cleanliness were of secondary importance, and where personal ambition was limited to repeating the lifestyle of the preceding generation or migrating to unskilled jobs in distant cities.[31]

The students who attended Caney Junior College were willing to break with many of the traditions of the society that formed them and embark upon a whole series of new challenges. Lloyd required that students undertake serious scholastic study, that they pay special attention to dress (men had to wear a coat and tie at all times, except when involved in physical labor or athletics), that they follow a code of conduct that was unlike anything mountain society de-

manded, and that they learn to deal with the outside world on its terms, not on their own.

These students made a conscious, affirmative decision to accept Lloyd's conditions. They did so because the school offered something that was personally valuable to them. Some of the Appalachian scholars (Harry Robie of Berea College, for example) have put too much stress on the idea that the benevolent workers imposed their values on an unsuspecting and defenseless people.[32] While this may have been true in some instances, it is not true for Caney Junior College. Lloyd made it abundantly clear what she expected from her students, and students and prospective students alike were able to accept the program or reject it at any time. If the school standards were a burdensome intrusion on a cherished lifestyle, they could be avoided simply by walking away. To call the school's program an unwelcome imposition is to denigrate the very idea of the independent, self-reliant mountaineer who was quite capable of making his or her own decisions. One early student recalled, "Those who were eager for education . . . would take [advantage of the opportunity] immediately, [and, as a result, they] had [a] great advantage."[33] It was only later that those who had passed up the opportunity or had been rejected by the college became resentful and the talk of imposition began.[34]

In summary, the students who attended Caney Junior College were both typical of and different from the society that produced them. They came from the mountains of Eastern Kentucky; they reflected the full spectrum of the social and economic classes in the mountains; and they shared the culture and values of their forebears. At the same time they were ready to explore new horizons, wanted to test the limits of their potential, and were willing to pay a price for the opportunity to do so. The price asked was a commitment to use their newfound skills and visions in the mountains of their birth.

The Alice Lloyd College alumni records are only now being reconstructed so that one can determine the extent to which college alumni have kept the requested commitment. Prior to this time the evidence presented on the question of residence and career choices has been largely anecdotal. A number of oft-repeated examples of those who best illustrated the fulfillment of the commitment have been used to represent the whole, among them the following:

1. The woman who returned to the mountains to found a settlement school, thereby foregoing marriage and the affluent city life that could have been hers.[35]

2. The man who became a doctor at Tulane University Medical School, served in World War II, and returned to Knott County to make house calls in his jeep.[36]

3. The lawyer who became a powerful congressman in the nation's capital, who was a major factor in passing legislation that permitted hundreds of thousands of needy students to obtain a college education, and whose modest mountain home was always open to his constituents.[37]

4. The two prominent educators, one of whom founded a mountain-area vocational school and the other who, as school superintendent, brought a large mountain school district into the modern world.[38]

5. The business administration graduate who completed his education at the University of Kentucky and Ohio State University and returned to Knott County to open (along with an Alice Lloyd College classmate) the nationally acclaimed nonprofit East Kentucky Health Services Center.[39]

In addition to these more prominent alumni, the college pointed with pride to the many teachers, supervisors, and principals it had produced for the mountain school systems. In 1951 the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools survey team reported that "two-thirds of the teachers in [a]county serving a total population of 20,000 people are graduates of Caney College."[40] The Alice Lloyd College Archives have numerous clippings from mountain newspapers listing the names of faculty and administrators for one school district or another. The names of the Caney Junior College graduates included in the listings are underlined or circled. Frequently, 50 percent or more of the total are so designated.[41]

These stories are impressive, but the question is, Are they representative? The skeptic can shrug his or her shoulders and think, to paraphrase an old saying, "Anecdotal evidence is the last refuge of the scoundrel."[42] The individual stories each may have been true, but they could just as easily have been the atypical experiences of a minority as the typical experiences of a majority. What is needed is an analysis of a representative group of graduates to determine the extent to which they fulfilled their part of the agreement.

The residents of Caney Cottage at the University of Kentucky from its founding until 1963, the year after Lloyd's death, represent

just such a sample. The school has their names, and in many instances a brief biographical sketch sufficient to answer the question of what they did after college and where they did it. It has been possible for the author to develop similar information for most of the remaining Caney Cottage residents with the help of surviving classmates, relatives, and school administrators.

From its earliest years the center and Caney Junior College provided financial support for a selected few of its students while they obtained their bachelor and professional degrees. Initially Lloyd arranged for perhaps twenty-five or more of the young people from in and around Knott County to attend college by finding outside sponsors for them. (In her earliest years in Knott County Lloyd sent most of her college-bound students to Berea College, although others were sent to more distant colleges and universities.[43]) With the advent of Caney Junior College the program became a formal part of the school's mission and students were regularly "scholarshipped on" to the University of Kentucky and elsewhere.[44]

In the early 1930s Lloyd concluded that her purposes would be better served if she had a central location in Lexington in which to house her students while they attended the university. There would be obvious financial efficiencies if the students could avoid paying the normal room and board charges levied by the university; but, equally important, the unique spirit and purposeful commitments engendered by the Caney experience could be protected. Throughout the Lloyd years the residents of Caney Cottage were expected to adhere to the standards enforced at the junior college. There was to be no smoking, drinking, or possession of firearms in the cottage. Women were not permitted to enter its doors (although this restriction presumably did not extend to Lloyd, Buchanan, and other women officially connected to the cottage). All visitors had to have written permission from Lloyd herself in order to be given entrance. Cottage residents could not have cars in Lexington; they had to do their own cooking, housekeeping, maintenance and repair work; and they had to "at all times conduct themselves as gentlemen."[45]

Caney Cottage was christened in 1934 when the first group of students came to live at the rented small wood frame house and garage that stood near the campus on Clifton Avenue in Lexington. Within a year it was apparent that the experiment was a success and also that the monthly rent was a burden on the Community Center's ever-precarious financial resources. After failing to convince the executors of the estate that owned the house to donate it to Caney

Junior College, Lloyd began the search for donors who might provide funds to buy it outright.

For some time Lloyd had been receiving regular financial support from two spinster sisters living in Passaic, New Jersey. The sisters, Mary and Marsha Hird, were supported by an inheritance from their deceased parents. The correspondence between Lloyd and the sisters regarding the possibility that they might provide the money for the house covered a period of many months. Lloyd was at her persuasive best, and the sisters finally agreed that they would each contribute $1,000 toward the purchase price.[46] The sale was completed in mid-1936, and the property remained in the college's hands until 1992, when it was deeded to the university in exchange for the property on which a fine new facility was recently dedicated.[47]

Lloyd quickly learned that it was one thing to control student conduct at Caney Creek; it was quite another thing to do so at a large state university. In 1936, two years after its founding, she wrote to one of her students at the cottage, "Are you smoking? . . . There seems to be a great deal of it going on by the inhabitants of the Cottage. I hope you are not. . . . You and I have made a contract and I am keeping my part. Are you?"[48]

Despite such backsliding, the more important parts of the contract were well adhered to. In a 1962 letter commenting upon his many years of experience with students from Caney Junior College, the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky said that "the students [Caney] sends us are (1) willing to work, (2) know their goals, (3) interested in being of service to mankind, and finally are (4) the kind of human beings that the world needs in greater number." Ironically, this letter singled out for special praise the very same student whose smoking habits and personal commitment to his contract Lloyd had questioned in 1936.[49]

During Lloyd's lifetime only men lived in Caney Cottage, partly as a result of her own feelings concerning contact between male and female students, but also because the university required that all female students live in the dormitories. Women were not permitted to live off campus, as men were, until well after World War II.[50] However, this did not mean that women graduates from Caney Junior College were not supported in furthering their education; they were, and some did reside in university dormitories. Despite this, it would appear from the available records that by far most of the students "scholarshipped on" were men and that it was they who received Lloyd's primary concern and interest.[51]

The students selected to attend the University of Kentucky and live at Caney Cottage were chosen by Lloyd based on their records at Caney Junior College and on her personal assessment of the likelihood that they would be successful. One former Caney Cottage resident and Caney Junior College faculty member recalled that the ones sent on to Lexington were those who had "survive[d] the scholastic, spiritual and moral tests" that made up the junior college program.[52] The previous chapter has described how these tests together produced the unique environment at Caney Creek College that insured that the college graduated a particular kind of person, the kind who would provide the leadership Lloyd deemed necessary for the improvement of mountain life. The key question is, Did it work?

During the period analyzed there were 130 students at Caney Cottage, most of whom were in residence for more than a year. Of these it was possible to obtain biographical data for 115, or 88 percent. An examination of these 115 students reveals that a large majority (76 percent) spent all or a significant part of their working lives in the mountain communities of Eastern Kentucky and that most were in jobs that were clearly service oriented (e.g., teaching, school administration, medicine, public service). Occupation was not as important an indicator of commitment to Lloyd as was residence, although she did prefer to use those who excelled in jobs with a community service component as examples in her fund-raising material. Of the 24 percent who did not settle in mountain communities, the majority (57 percent) were in service-oriented jobs in non-mountain communities.

If there is an error in this analysis, it is probably on the side of undercounting the students who redeemed their pledges. One graduate not counted as doing so was a Lexington lawyer who was active in fund-raising for Alice Lloyd College, thereby insuring that the college could continue to educate mountain youth. Several others not counted were teachers in small towns in Indiana and Ohio where community needs were very likely similar to those in the mountains. Also not counted were two career military officers and an FBI agent, even though their career choices reflect a serious commitment to ideals Lloyd cherished. (Lloyd was very much a patriot throughout her long life, and at the end instructed that her simple homemade casket be covered with the American flag.[53])

Even without counting these exceptions, the experiences of the Caney Cottage group show that Lloyd's program at Caney Junior

College worked—and worked well. The results from this group are particularly impressive because they were the ones most likely to find opportunities outside the mountains. They were the best qualified, the best trained, the most exposed to the rewards offered by the non-mountain world, and the ones who had already passed beyond the trauma that comes with leaving home. If any group of students had the opportunity to walk away from the obligations of the unwritten pledge, it was this group. The fact that they did not is convincing proof that Lloyd's approach to higher education could produce the type of graduate she desired.

The same conclusion emerges when we examine the graduates who were not affiliated with the cottage. An analysis of two "snapshots" in time, one from the earliest years, the second from near the end of the Lloyd era, produces evidence as compelling as the Caney Cottage experience.

The first three graduating classes from Caney Junior College were the classes of 1925, 1926, and 1927. In all there were fifteen graduates: eight men and seven women. The school has good biographical data on thirteen of the graduates, and the results are again impressive. The data show that ten of the thirteen (77 percent) remained in the mountains and all but one of the thirteen embarked on service careers.[54] The group included four M.D.s, one Ph.D., six teachers, one career military officer, and one "beauty consultant." (One M.D., the career military officer, and the beauty consultant lived outside the mountains.)

The second snapshot is of the class of 1958. It had thirty-eight graduates: fifteen men and twenty-three women. There is biographical material on thirty-two of the graduates.[55] Of these, twenty-seven (84 percent) remained in the mountains primarily as teachers and educators, and another four became teachers but lived outside the mountains.

Just as at the beginning of the period, as the Lloyd years were drawing to a close, a large majority of graduates continued to remain in the mountains following the completion of their formal education. If any major change occurred in the career and residence choices made by Caney Junior College graduates, it would appear to be that fewer were entering the professions. Only one graduate of the class of 1958 did so (as a lawyer), whereas the much smaller combined classes of 1927, 1928, and 1929 had produced four M.D.s and one Ph.D.

Taken together, the results of the statistical and anecdotal analyses strongly support the conclusion that Caney Junior College was

successful in its efforts to produce graduates who would remain in the mountains as contributing members of the community. That they did so is even more impressive when one remembers that the graduates from the academic programs at other mountain educational institutions (e.g., Hindman and Pine Mountain Settlement Schools and Berea College) were notable primarily for their decisions *not* to remain in the mountains. The degree to which the graduates of other academic programs stayed in the mountains has not been measured to my knowledge. The anecdotal evidence that survives suggests that it was not high. In 1965 June Buchanan charged that Berea College was known as "the backdoor out of the mountains" (see n. 53 in chap. 8), and Harry Robie concluded that "mountain schools . . . educated many people who used their education as a ticket into mainstream society (and thus . . . drained the region of some of its best and brightest potential leaders)."[56]

Appalachian scholars like Whisnant and Robie, while not speaking directly to the Caney Junior College experience, have suggested that the price the region had to pay for such assistance was too high. They point to the fact that the values promoted by Lloyd, and other outside do-gooders like her, were rooted in a culture that was foreign to the Appalachian people. In accepting Lloyd's way, the charge goes, the students had to reject that which made them Appalachians. The result was that an indigenous culture was weakened, if not destroyed, and in its stead was placed a culture that was alien and unwelcome.[57]

There is another way of interpreting the impact of Lloyd's program on her students other than its impact on their culture. That is, that it did precisely what one would expect a college education to do. Two specialists in higher education, Ernest T. Pascarella and Patrick T. Terenzini, recently summarized academic research measuring the impact of a college education on students and concluded that the experience produces graduates who "think in more abstract, critical, complex and reflective ways; [experience] a general liberalization of values and attitudes . . . [and undergo] an expansion and extension of interpersonal horizons, intellectual interests, individual autonomy and general psychological maturity and well-being."[58]

The fact that Lloyd's students emerged from the college experience different from the way they entered—and different from their peers who did not attend college—is hardly surprising. In order to condemn these changes one must assert that the Appalachians would have been better off if they and their culture had been left frozen in time. Sociologist Allen Batteau continues to warn against the dangers

inherent in trying to "protect" traditional Appalachian culture from the forces of change. His point is that it is better to accept change in Appalachia than to stifle its development by insisting upon the sacredness of the past.[59]

What Caney Junior College did was to provide students with better ways to deal with change. The students did not have their own culture destroyed; instead, they were given a new set of tools to direct its continued unfolding. They were not turned into agents of their own destruction; they were turned into men and women who could insure their own survival.

7

Faith and Friends Sustain Us

THE CANEY CREEK COMMUNITY CENTER and its educational department, Caney Junior College, were able to exist only because they could raise money for operating expenses and capital improvements from private sources outside the Appalachian region. During the course of her forty-seven years at the center, Alice Lloyd raised about $2.5 million in cash contributions and a very large amount in non-cash donations ranging from books to kitchen equipment to used clothing.[1] To put the $2.5 million in cash into a more meaningful perspective, one can think of the sum as equalling about $20 million in 1990 dollars.[2]

In the earliest years the center would spend, and need to raise, about $20,000 each year. Once the junior college program came into being, however, the annual expenses increased significantly. In 1927, for example, operating expenses were about $50,000. By the 1950s annual expenses were about $75,000, and at the time of her death in 1962 the center's budget regularly exceeded $100,000.[3]

Spending in any given year was dictated by what could be raised, not by what was needed. Rarely was the school spared a sense of impending financial disaster. Lloyd was continually fending off those to whom she owed money, begging for more credit, more time to pay, and special treatment because of the nature of her work. A typical example of the length to which she had to go is found in a letter from Lloyd to a creditor dated April 20, 1936, in which she wrote, "We agree with you perfectly—we owe you 10% of all monies sent us. But [another creditor] has us cornered. He forces us to give him a check every day—whether we have money in the bank or not. Otherwise

he will not sell us the food we need for the two hundred in our family."[4]

Lloyd's spending priorities were rigidly adhered to. First in line came the bare necessities of keeping school and maintaining accreditation; last in line were physical amenities (buildings and indoor plumbing), commercial creditors, and teacher salaries. The University of Kentucky's evaluation of the state's junior colleges in 1930, its accreditation review in 1938, and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools' evaluation in the early 1960s all singled out low and unpaid teacher salaries at Caney Junior College for adverse comment.[5] The school could not boast of complete indoor plumbing until the mid-1960s, and photographs from that era show a campus that still matched Lloyd's claim of twenty-five years earlier that the college offered "plain living and high thinking."[6]

Throughout its existence until the late 1960s, the college's lifestyle was hand to mouth. But that is not the important point. Virtually all of the benevolent institutions in the mountains suffered from financial problems and many failed during these difficult times. What is important is that the center did raise enough money and it did survive. There is agreement among all of those familiar with the school's past that Lloyd saw the job of raising money as primarily hers. Although finding money was clearly Lloyd's responsibility, she did use the services of others in this effort, especially to make personal contact with actual and potential contributors. During the depths of the Depression she gathered together enough money to buy a Ford for Charles Houghton, later the chairman of the school's board of trustees, so that he could travel the country finding and cultivating donors.[7] Earlier she had enlisted the enthusiastic help of Local Colorist Eliot Marlowe Robinson to canvas Harvard University's affluent alumni. He also defended her activities publicly when the Caney Creek Community Center was under attack.[8]

Lloyd devoted a large portion of her considerable talents and energy to raising money not only from her friends but from a growing list of strangers. Once a name from either group landed on the list, it was there for life, and there are many examples of people who have been solicited by the school, and contributed to it, for decades.[9]

The success Lloyd achieved in raising funds came at a price. It was her fund-raising efforts that disturbed many of her fellow educators and benevolent workers, offended her neighbors, and perpetuated the negative aspects of the mountaineer stereotype that prevailed outside of the Appalachian region.

By the early years of the twentieth century American philanthropy had, in some large measure, become organized, professionally managed and funded to an extent never before attained. The great fortunes of the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Russell Sages, and many others had been put into trusts from which money flowed to schools, libraries, hospitals, economic and social experiments, cultural institutions, and uplift programs for certain segments of the population deemed to be in need of such assistance.[10] Simultaneously, the spreading influence of the Social Gospel, with its emphasis on the individual Christian's obligation to help alleviate social problems, created a broad mass of small-scale philanthropists ready and willing to support good works wherever they might exist. Not surprisingly, the two groups tended to be very different from one another.

The large philanthropies—and some of them were, and remain, very large indeed—were led by professionally trained directors "who [made] it a life work to manage . . . this business of benevolence properly and effectively."[11] Among the largest of these organizations was the General Education Board, a Rockefeller-funded group that promoted education, agriculture, and health and nutrition, particularly in the South.[12] Moreover, the GEB "served, in effect as an interlocking directorate or holding company for vast philanthropic interests."[13] In this last capacity it established the principles on which its own giving decisions and those of many other organized philanthropic institutions were based.

These principles (today's philanthropists talk of "giving strategies") dictated that funds be awarded to causes that attempted to solve basic, structural problems. They spent their money to improve medical schools, to eradicate hookworm, to found libraries, to endow the great universities, and to improve the lot of the former slaves by providing access to elementary education. The dictates of these professional managers specifically prohibited support for current operating expenses, purely local activities (except as demonstration projects), individuals or families in need, or activities that lacked strong community support. To do so, they believed, was simply to apply a band-aid to a serious wound; although there might be some immediate relief to the recipient, society received no lasting benefit.[14]

It was this last set of conditions that made it very difficult for the workers in the Appalachian Mountains to gain access to the beneficence of the major American philanthropic trusts. Invariably, the

mountain settlement schools, community centers, and medical stations needed just the kind of assistance the professional directors forbade. They needed money to feed and clothe people, to construct buildings, to obtain the services of a nurse and necessary medical supplies, and to meet the expenses of everyday life. The money would be needed today, tomorrow, and for many tomorrows to come. From the standpoint of the professional philanthropists the money failed to address root causes, and therefore failed to qualify for their largess. As a result, except in a handful of instances, the major philanthropic foundations were absent from the scene of the small independent institutions in the Appalachian Mountains.

Although mountain institutions were precluded from receiving help from the major philanthropic trusts, their needs were just the sort to appeal to the pocketbooks of individual givers. These donors wanted their money to alleviate immediate suffering; they wanted it to be personalized; they were more interested in addressing a problem firsthand than they were in correcting structural problems that seemed remote from the daily lives of people.[15] The Social Gospel, and, in a less immediate sense, the progressive movement itself required a personal commitment and a personal involvement that the rational, efficient style of the major foundations simply could not provide.

In her book on Berea College, Elisabeth S. Peck concludes, "Berea's financial support [has historically] come from individuals rather than the great foundations."[16] The autobiography of Berea College president William Goodell Frost is one long account of innumerable fund-raising trips, calling on individuals in Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and "Newport, Rhode Island, and the coast of Maine," the last two taking place during the height of the summer season when the list of potential givers would be most promising.[17] The gifts to Berea College, both large and small, came from individual donors; the foundations were notable primarily by their absence.

The biography of Martha Berry—the woman who built the Berry schools in the mountains of Appalachian Georgia and whose renown ranked alongside that of Jane Addams in the 1920s—tells of long, exhausting trips making "cold calls" (the salesman's nightmare) on potential givers throughout the northeastern part of the country.[18] In the end, she did succeed in enlisting the aid of some of the country's richest families (e.g., Carnegie, Ford, and Sage) but only in their

individual capacities, not through their formal philanthropic organizations.[19]

Other mountain institutions were supported by a single benefactor (e.g., the Sandy Valley Seminary by the Kentucky mine owner and land speculator J.C.C. Mayo) or by one of the mainstream Protestant denominations (e.g., the Pikeville Collegiate Institute).[20] The Hindman Settlement School was initially affiliated with the Women's Christian Temperance Union, although within fifteen years it had severed this connection because the association was too constraining in the context of Appalachian Kentucky. In no instance is there evidence that the major philanthropic organizations played a significant role in the southern mountains.[21] From this standpoint, the Appalachian experience was very unlike that of the southern schools and colleges that catered to the needs of black students. The General Education Board, as well as many of the other foundations, devoted major attention to these institutions. Why this difference existed is beyond the scope of this project, but it may well be that it was caused by a combination of the relative invisibility of the "quaint highlanders of the mountains" hidden away in their hollows and a feeling on the part of the philanthropic managers that the mountaineers were beyond salvation.[22]

Even though Lloyd attempted to find support among the major foundations early in her mountain career, she quickly abandoned the effort.[23] Either of necessity or by choice Lloyd began to concentrate her fund-raising efforts on individuals. With the single-mindedness that characterized so much of what she did, she maintained that concentration until her death. Her major concerns would be familiar to a modern direct-mail specialist: the amassing of a high-potential mailing list, the development of fund-raising appeals that would have the greatest impact on those people whose names were on it, and the personalization of every request whenever possible. Lloyd's financial support was destined to come in small bits and pieces from thousands of donors spread throughout the United States. She never lost her faith in the generosity of average Americans, nor in her own ability to win their support.

The heart of Lloyd's fund-raising program was the solicitation of support through periodic mailings to everyone on her growing list. Late in her career she described her fund-raising techniques in an article published in *Junior College Fund-Raising Campaigns* under the sponsorship of the American Association of Junior Colleges. The

objective of what she described as a "continuous fund-raising program" was "a steady response of small personal donations" that would meet "operating needs dependably." Her mailing list contained 19,000 names of "friends of the settlement." These friends received material that was purposely "crudely printed" so that it would reinforce the primitive nature of the setting she described. The recipients read stories that stressed "the eagerness of mountaineer youth to emerge to service," the "untaught lovely character" of the local people, and the college's role in "conquering meager surroundings and material neglect." She personally acknowledged every gift (even if the acknowledgment was often weeks late) and incurred fund-raising administrative expense that "averaged six per cent in cash expenditures for stamps, paper, ink and the services of a printer."[24]

There is no record of how many pieces of material were sent out in a year's time, but it is possible to make an estimate that would be reasonably accurate. In 1928, for example, the financial audit report shows that $2,850 was spent on postage. Based on the rates then in effect for second class mail, it would appear that as many as 75,000 or 100,000 pieces of mail were dispatched in that year, or an average of four or five pieces per address.[25] Typically, each year there would be mailed two or three newsletters—each telling a story or describing some aspect of mountain life—and two specific requests for money. One request would be mailed at Christmastime asking for funds to support the center's educational activities and another in the summer requesting money for food. At a time when there were no postage meters, no computer-driven data bases, and no programmable printers, it is little wonder that Lloyd occasionally seemed especially defensive about the time and effort her students were required to devote to the administrative details associated with her fund-raising activities.[26]

A review of the hundred or more pieces of fund-raising material which have survived in one archive or another shows that several major fund-raising appeals recurred constantly. The most frequent was the unrealized potential of the mountaineer. In the mountains, she said, there were young people with the potential to lead their people out of misery and backwardness if only they could be educated by Caney Creek Community Center.[27] Another favorite was an unanticipated, urgent need that must be met *now*. During the course of forty years, floods, fires, and epidemics all served as the basis for numerous fund-raising appeals. In the absence of natural disasters,

EXPENSES FOR YEAR 1928

Sawmill	(Labor	$1,501.44
	(Logs and Supplies	2,388.16
Weaving, Chairshop & Industries	(Labor	1,150.04
	(Supplies	746.64
Print Shop	(Labor	2,307.23
	(Supplies	1,033.68
Salaries - Teachers at Center	(14 Teachers)	9,390.90
Salaries - Other Workers at Center		1,855.25
Salaries - Administrative Center (4 people)		2,500.00
Salaries - Teachers Outside Center		198.00
Supplies and other Expenses - Outside Center		1,032.31
Student Education - Outside Colleges (6) students		1,325.30
Clinic (Including Salary of Nurse)		850.53
Dining Room(Yearly Contract for Cooks and Help)		2,600.00
Food for 150 people - 11 months		11,915.05
Laundry		1,075.34
Legal and Travelling		720.00
School Supplies		961.80
Heat and Light		1,717.72
Crusades (Including Depreciation on Auto)		1,592.09
Clothing Children		222.62
Postage		2,850.86
Insurance - Fire		1,093.57
Interest on Notes and Accounts Payable		695.75
Freight and Cartage		2,446.42
General Repairs and Remodeling of Buildings		4,660.86
Miscellaneous Expense		3,346.38
Miscellaneous Service		560.80
Miscellaneous Supplies		241.75
Total Expenses		62,980.49

The school and industries are as efficiently and well managed as any private industry we have had the opportunity to observe. The money and supplies donated have been utilized to the fullest extent for the benefit of the institution, and purchasing is done by the management as effectively and economically as it could be.

We have made a detailed audit of the accounts of the Caney Creek Community Center, Inc. from the time the accounts were opened in August 1922.

(Signed) WEAVER, ALLEN, BURTON & ABT
Accountants
Buffalo, New York

Figure 3. The college's expenditure report for 1928 contained a highly laudatory statement from the accountants. Their uncharacteristically enthusiastic endorsement reflected Lloyd's need to combat continuing criticism about her financial management.

the need to feed several hundred hungry students and staff was a regular standby.[28]

Each year a "Gift-of-Opportunity" appeal went out prior to Christmas, tying in a request for money with the spirit of the season. The plea was based on the claim that even a small donation would provide an otherwise unattainable opportunity for a mountain-bred boy or girl. (Given the number of times Lloyd promised creditors to settle accounts once the Christmas gifts were received, it appears as if this annual campaign was the principal source of funds.)[29]

As the school's track record lengthened, she began to include student success stories—stories that merited special praise and support. Among them was the one about the graduate who would spend his life fighting for good government, or the law school student whose boyhood friends were now in jail or had died violent deaths, or the girl who was now a school teacher, or the boy who was in medical school.[30]

Lloyd was particularly effective in building a sense of history and tradition through her appeals. The experiences of individual students were followed over a period of years, creating a sense of closeness between them and the donors. Certain stories were repeated periodically so that donors came to know well Abisha Johnson (the man who invited Lloyd to Caney Creek), Elizabeth of the Mountains (a young woman who was "rescued" by the center and who became a mountain educator herself), Preacher Billy (the uneducated minister who interceded with the local people on Lloyd's behalf), the creek bed that was the only road in the area, the darkness and squalor the donor's money was gradually overcoming, and the quaint dialect used by local residents. The net result of all this was that thousands of people who had never been there felt not only as if they knew the school, but as if they knew it well. As Lloyd said, the whole effort was designed to appeal "to the obligation felt by generous men and women everywhere to support a spiritual work of real effectiveness."[31]

The results of a fund-raising campaign are usually only as good as the list of prospective donors with which it works.[32] This is particularly true for campaigns that rely upon an impersonal approach such as direct mail. We do not know if Lloyd learned this fact from someone else—her father, for example, was in a business that relied on such marketing techniques—or if she learned it based on her own experience; but learn it she did.[33] Her early fund-raising efforts were aimed at people she knew or with whom she could

establish some sense of commonality. The graduates of Chauncy Hall and Radcliffe College were among the earliest contacted. Later appeals went out to the students and graduates of other women's colleges, to Harvard College graduates, to the members of the many Browning clubs around the country, and to whomever she could think of to put on her list.[34] In the end, however, Lloyd was unable to develop a sufficiently large list of prospective donors in this way. If her mail campaign was to succeed—and given her physical infirmity and growing dislike for travel, it was the only practical course of action available to her—she needed to develop a much longer list.

Lloyd's answer to the problem was to select a handful of her best students and take them on tour to cities outside Appalachia where they could meet groups of people interested in the southern mountains. The students and their adult chaperons met with civic groups, church congregations, students from other schools, officials of all kinds, and newspaper editors and reporters.

As Lloyd said about the second such tour in a March 1923 newsletter, "It was not a tour deliberately to raise money. It was a tour for education . . . [and it] convinced over one hundred thousand persons that our mountain lads represent a higher grade of people than they had supposed to exist in the hill country."[35] Announcements in the local press telling of impending visits from the Caney Creek students invariably stated that no collection would be taken, and it was not. But the students and the chaperons were expected to obtain the names and addresses of those attending these events. These names were added to the mailing list and a financial return was often realized within a very short time.[36]

Lloyd initially called these tours "The Forgotten Child Crusades," but those who participated in them shortened the name to "Crusades" and referred to themselves as "Crusaders." From the beginning in 1922 until 1927 only male students participated, but in 1928 a female student Crusade was also begun. Lloyd herself participated in the early Crusades, but in a short time June Buchanan assumed the leadership role.[37]

On tour the students would present plays, tell stories about mountain life, sing songs from the mountains, describe the school and its mission, and answer questions from the audience.[38] After a group of Crusaders visited the nation's capital, Congressman John Langley of Kentucky said, "I have noted with much pleasure the wonderful impression that the Forgotten Children Crusade is making and I am very proud of it."[39]

Press reports were uniformly glowing, as was the reaction of the interested public. In an article that was typical, a reporter for the *Bridgeport Post* in Connecticut noted that a group of students from the Kentucky mountains had visited the city "and a more charming [group] I have never known. Their manners, their courtesy, their poise are something that many metropolitan children might emulate."[40]

The students who participated in these extended tours throughout large parts of the United States remember them with great affection. For Claude Frady, a student at the college in the late 1930s, the three months he spent on the road as a Crusader were a high point of his education. The group visited towns and cities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and several New England states. They traveled in two cars, stayed in private homes, spoke to thousands of people, and collected names for the ever-growing mailing list.[41] World War II halted the Crusades and, although they were never resumed in the earlier form, they were in a sense replaced by the Voices of Appalachia, an a cappella choir that tours each year to wide acclaim.

Lloyd never developed contacts with individuals who had the potential to make large gifts in the way that William Goodell Frost did at Berea College or Martha Berry did for her institution. Both Frost and Berry were able to bring in single gifts amounting to tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of dollars, but this did not happen at Caney Creek until after Lloyd had died.[42] Lloyd's most successful single fund-raising effort was, in fact, not hers at all. In 1955 she appeared on the television program *This Is Your Life* as a result of the publicity generated by a story on Caney Creek that appeared in *Reader's Digest*.[43]

The show's well-known host, Ralph Edwards, asked his large audience to send in one dollar each to help in the work at Caney Creek. As a result, the college received about $150,000 during the ensuing months. Ironically, as Lloyd later admitted to a newspaper reporter, she had expected to receive far more than that. A previous episode of *This Is Your Life* had featured the founder of a small, struggling college for black students, and it had raised nearly $2 million. Lloyd's expectations were equally high. Her acute disappointment is the only possible explanation for her most uncharacteristic publicly aired complaint.[44]

One of the legends that has attached itself to the story of Alice Lloyd is the immense respect that her fund-raising skills received. It is said that on more than one occasion she was offered what in those days were princely sums to bring her direct mail marketing skills to

one or another of the major consumer goods companies.[45] Based on the results she achieved, it is just possible that this legend is true. What Lloyd did from the 1920s onward by instinct and intuition is still being taught—dressed up, of course, in appropriate jargon—in the marketing courses of most business schools.

Caney Creek Community Center was among the last of the settlements to be founded in Appalachia, especially in Eastern Kentucky. When Alice Lloyd arrived in the area in 1915, the Hindman Settlement School had already been in existence for fifteen years. Berea College had been in the mountains for fifty years. Pine Mountain Settlement School, although only three years old at that time, had the advantage of being led by a woman (Katherine Pettit) with many years of experience in mountain benevolent work. Dozens of individual denominational schools were scattered throughout the Appalachian area, some of which had been in place since well before the turn of the century.[46]

Accordingly, it is not surprising that Alice Lloyd, as the most recent arrival, found herself considered something of an outsider. When she compounded the problem by using aggressive fund-raising tactics that not only seemed to denigrate the work of other benevolent groups but also sought to raise money from their own traditional supporters, the enmity of the others was assured.

In 1916, in a press release sent by Lloyd to the Louisville *Courier-Journal* announcing her plan to build a free library and civic club in Ivis, Kentucky, she claimed that "the institution is the only one of its kind in the county."[47] While this statement was, strictly speaking, true (it was a civic club, not a settlement school), it would surely have annoyed the benevolent workers at Hindman who by then had built a rather large institution just a few miles away.[48]

Another early request went to Wellesley College students in 1917, again asking support for her work at the Ivis Community Center. The student paper, after noting that the Wellesley graduate Lloyd had given as a reference never attended the college, stated bluntly that "the Hindman School is the authorized Wellesley settlement in the Kentucky Mountains."[49] Again in 1917, after writing separately to Radcliffe College graduates and graduate students, Lloyd wrote to the college's undergraduates saying, "We are bringing renewed health, higher education, safer cabin life, more respectable citizenship to as many as possible of the 11,000 inhabitants of this

dark county; a county into which constructive social service has never penetrated."[50]

There is simply no way that Hindman Settlement School workers could read that sentence (and, given the extensive contacts Hindman had in Boston, they likely did read it) without being insulted. They had to accept either that they did not exist or that they did not provide "constructive social service."

Although it would appear that any annoyance on the part of the Hindman Settlement School people was justified, they were not alone in being on the receiving end of Lloyd's criticism, either real or implied. After being in the mountains for only a few months, Lloyd wrote to one of her supporters in Boston, "I cannot help but feeling that the missionaries . . . could have accomplished more if they had been less dogmatic, less insistent upon communion of a certain ceremony and more emphatic about health and hygiene and rational living."[51] In 1922 she wrote her congressman in Washington, "Oh! Congressman! What a terrible pity it is that this section of the country should be considered a missionary field for the exploitation of some religious or other fad."[52]

Shortly thereafter, while on a Crusade in Boston, she suggested publicly that religious schools in Appalachia antagonized the local people because the schools were pushing unwelcome religious doctrines. She said that "outside interference had done more harm than good" and that education was far more useful than "force and coercion." She pledged to work only through existing public institutions (meaning the public school system), unlike the others who acted as if the public schools were beneath their notice.[53] Finally, in case anyone had missed the point she was making, except for one visit in 1919 she refused to participate in the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers, a group largely controlled by the representatives of the various Protestant denominations active in the mountains.[54]

The response from the other mountain betterment institutions was prompt, coordinated, and harsh. In yet another letter to her congressman (Lloyd maintained close contact with her Washington representatives throughout her life) she complained that "there is such jealousy against the success of this work among established settlements and there has been lodged at the [Rockefeller] Foundation an utterly unfair report [about my work at Caney Creek.]"[55]

In 1922 Lloyd's critics seized upon the recently launched Crusades as evidence of her "ruthless unscrupulousness." Ethel de Long Zande of the Pine Mountain Settlement School commented that the

first Crusade "really amounted to exploitation of the children, such as we would not expose our own children to."[56] Shortly thereafter May Stone of the Hindman Settlement School wrote that Lloyd's Crusade "ha[d] certainly ruined the boys."[57] Both women seemed to be particularly disturbed that Lloyd was using her publicity-generating skills and what today would be called her ability to manipulate the media to raise money for her work in the mountains. One cannot escape the thought that Stone and Zande were more than a bit annoyed that Lloyd had introduced the crass techniques of the business world into the decorous and ladylike world of the settlement schools.

The American Missionary Association, perhaps in retaliation for Lloyd's disparaging remarks about the work of missionaries in the Appalachian Mountains, led the chorus of disapproval that rained down upon the enterprise at Caney Creek. In 1923, while Lloyd was leading the second Crusade through New England, the district secretary of the Eastern District of the American Missionary Association wrote to a large number of "Dear Friend[s]" that he had information that "raises serious questions regarding Mrs. Lloyd and her methods. The evidence is cumulative, pointing to unwise or deficient methods, low educational standards, careless administration, promises that cannot be fulfilled. For this reason we cannot endorse this work and we advise our friends not to put their money into it."[58]

Having been given a copy of the AMA's letter, Lloyd personally confronted its author in his office, threatened a law suit, and demanded a retraction. The district secretary refused, and Lloyd set about obtaining the names of those to whom the letter had been sent and writing them directly. In her defense Lloyd pointed out that her work had been endorsed by the National Information Bureau, an agency that evaluated the work of philanthropic organizations, and that one of her chief detractors, the Hindman Settlement School worker and popular author Lucy Furman, had written a letter to the AMA withdrawing the charges she had made against Lloyd.[59]

The surviving records indicate that the charges and countercharges continued throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. In the early 1920s the National Information Bureau was urged to rescind its endorsement of the Caney Creek project by a well-orchestrated campaign led by the women at Hindman and Pine Mountain Settlement Schools, various Boston-based charities, and a number of Eastern Kentucky citizens. Olive Dame Campbell, the widow of John C. Campbell, who had endorsed Lloyd's work in 1918, declared that

Lloyd "was a fanatic . . . with a natural tendency to exaggerate and distort." Mae Stone charged that Lloyd's claims of accomplishment were "purely fanciful if one does not want to designate them by a more unpleasant name." Ethel de Long Zande wrote an article for the Smith College Quarterly denigrating Lloyd's work and counseling Smith College alumnae against supporting it. Two women in Boston—one representing the American Missionary Association, the other the Lend A Hand Society—actively solicited damaging information about Lloyd, investigated the background and character of Lloyd supporters (e.g., Elliot Robinson), established a "truth squad" to verify Lloyd's claims, and wrote to the National Information Bureau demanding that it take punitive action. The conspirators even caused three Knott County citizens (two attorneys and a minister) to write damning letters to the bureau describing how Lloyd had failed to complete one major project she had attempted.

Some of the charges against Lloyd and her supporters were serious, others were petty. Henry White, the Boston man who originally introduced her to the people at Hindman, maintained that she was in uplift work "primarily, if not solely, as a means of support [for herself and her mother]." Olive Dame Campbell censured her for "immorality." At the other extreme was Annie Bridgeman of the American Missionary Association, who sneered at Lloyd's penchant for using her full name by calling her "the woman of many names." Another disparaged whatever Robinson said on Lloyd's behalf because he had served in France during World War I as a YMCA secretary rather than as an infantryman. The charges were many and varied but rarely supported by solid evidence, and their truth was never verified. What cannot be denied, however, is the intensity of the hostility directed toward Lloyd. Just as in New Hampshire, she had again shown a remarkable ability to make people exceedingly angry.[60]

Caught in the middle was the National Information Bureau. After a yearlong examination of the situation, the Bureau reported in 1923 to a presumably disappointed Annie Brown at the Lend A Hand Society that it "was very favorably impressed with the work being done [at Caney Creek]."[61] In 1924 the Bureau lamented, "We have as much definite evidence of misrepresentation and misstatement by the Hindman Settlement people as by the Caney Creek authorities."[62] In June of that year, after consulting with Berea College president William J. Hutchins and college secretary Marshall E. Vaughn, the Bureau concluded that "the principal source of criticism

of Caney Creek was absolutely unreliable," and Lloyd and her work retained its endorsement.[63]

The debate did not die, however, and in 1928 President Hutchins once again found himself in the middle of a dispute about Caney Junior College. He was asked to comment upon a charge that "it is quite evident that [Caney Creek] has been fostered to support and fit the pride of its head rather than to actually perform a service to the people of the mountains."[64] His reply is not in the record, but, given his previous support of Lloyd's work, it is likely that he refuted the charge, or at least was noncommittal about it.

In 1930 Helen Dingman, head of the Southern Mountain Workers Conference, noted in response to another query, "It is interesting that real doubt seems to have been spread all over the country in regard to [Caney Junior College]." She went on, somewhat reluctantly it would appear, to say that since the college had recently been accredited by the University of Kentucky, "it must be measuring up."[65]

The last entry in this record of internecine strife is from 1931 and is Lloyd's response to hearing that a Berea College administrator had expressed doubt to a third party concerning the "conventionality" of the religious atmosphere at Caney Creek. In her response—which is direct, sharply worded and, in my view, most compelling—she describes an atmosphere that should have satisfied any but the most committed of denominationally biased observers.[66]

By this time, however, conditions in the mountains—and in the country at large—had changed. Many of the church-affiliated schools had disappeared as the public school systems in the mountains became stronger and the interests of the home missions shifted to other concerns. The Depression had caused financial havoc among the surviving settlement schools, as well as in the communities they were attempting to serve, and the energy needed to continue fighting among themselves simply was no longer there. The energy to continue the fight may have dissipated, but emotions underlying it had not. In 1954 Lucy Furman, a longtime Lloyd critic, wrote on the occasion of a favorable account of Caney Creek in the *Reader's Digest*, "I feel that the Digest editors ought to be told what sort of creature Mrs. Lloyd is so they would do nothing in the way of sponsoring her in the future."[67] In 1956, following the "This Is Your Life, Alice Lloyd" television program, a Hindman Settlement School trustee wrote, "I am so mad about the Caney Creek thing. . . . I am afraid Miss Furman will have a heart attack when she realizes what is going on."[68]

The record strongly suggests that Alice Lloyd started the fuss by her aggressive fund-raising, by the way she positioned her own work as unique in the mountains, by the way she implicitly and explicitly called into question the value of the work performed by other groups, by her unwillingness to join with other benevolent workers in common cause, and by her sharp, public criticism of denominational missionaries. One can make a case that the hurt caused the other groups was inadvertent—a result simply of the single-mindedness with which Lloyd went about developing support for her own work—and that the response of the others was excessive. I am inclined to accept the accuracy of this assessment; but, regardless of its validity, the end result was the same: hard feeling, bickering and an unseemly fight among people who should have known better.

In concluding his pioneering study, *The Southern Highlander & His Homeland*, John C. Campbell suggested a number of ways that the benevolent workers could improve themselves and their work. Among the first mentioned was a plea for truth and moderation in their fund-raising efforts. He condemned "the unfairness of citing local and particular instances in such a way as to give the impression that they were universal and typical." He knew that his colleagues did so because this was the most effective way of raising money. People far from the mountains were moved to give more by tales of "the pathetic and the picturesque" than by stories that mentioned the admirable qualities of mountain life and the progress the local people were making through their own efforts.[69]

Nearly seventy years later a modern Appalachian scholar, Durwood Dunn, undertook to study in great detail a single mountain community. His work showed that the negative stereotypes that had been created by outsiders had in fact little historical basis. Dunn concluded that, while one could find isolated examples of the stereotypical mountaineer, in the main they were "ordinary, decent citizens who often reacted collectively . . . to the enormous economic fluctuations, social change and political disruptions" that directly affected their lives, just as did other Americans throughout the country.[70]

From Campbell's time until Dunn's and beyond, the stereotype has persisted. Campbell's plea for accuracy in the way mountaineers were described went largely unheeded. And, as much as one might want to overlook it, Alice Lloyd helped to perpetuate, and even broaden awareness of, the stereotype through her fund-raising activities.

The hundreds of thousands of appeals mailed to potential donors throughout the United States had certain recurring themes that virtually assured that the image of a "strange land and peculiar people" would persist. The author's survey of forty years of mailings revealed that Lloyd's favorite themes stressed that moonshine liquor and violence were the ruling passions of the mountain menfolk;[71] that living conditions were so primitive that mountain homes were unfit for civilized habitation;[72] that isolation, inbreeding, ignorance and squalor had sapped the will of the mountain people;[73] and that even the best of the mountaineer children were doomed to repeat the degraded lives of their parents.[74] For all these conditions, the appeals declared, the best, perhaps the only, solution was the continuation of the work being done by the Caney Creek Community Center. It would get rid of liquor and violence; it would bring cleanliness, sanitation, and preventive health measures to the mountains; it would produce the leaders that would bring regeneration; and it would rescue the doomed children by bringing the light of education into the mountains.

In addition to the content, the very design of the fund-raising leaflets was meant to reinforce the sense of deprivation and need in the mountains. The printing was crude and the paper stock was of poor quality, both purposely done in order to enhance the appeal being made. There was nothing in the fund-raising material to suggest modernity, sophistication, or even printing competence until the 1960s.[75]

In some measure the Crusades worked to counter the mountaineer stereotypes. The students were well dressed and articulate, clearly not relics of an earlier century. But the newspaper accounts that always accompanied their appearances, the plays they performed, the songs they sang, and the speeches they gave often counteracted the personal impression they made. A Boston headline read, "Trachoma, Hookworm and Insanitation Suck Vitality of Primitive Cumberland Natives."[76] A play called "Feudin' and Larnin'," which was performed by Crusaders in cities outside the mountains from the early 1920s until as late as 1940, told of the conflict between educated children and a feuding, moonshining, lawless father. The play takes place in a slovenly, windowless cabin containing little other than a still and a keg of beer (according to the stage directions that accompanied the script). The problem with the play is not the generational conflict that it describes; it is the portrayal of the father as the stereotypical mountaineer. His children, with their Caney Junior

College learning, represent all that is good; the father, all that is bad. He has not one redeeming feature until in the last scene he repents his traditional, hidebound ways, is reconciled to his children's educated ways, and falls dead on the floor.[77]

In 1954 *Stay On Stranger*, an account of Alice Lloyd and the Caney Creek experience, was published in book form by a New York firm and by *Reader's Digest* in condensed form.[78] The author of the book based his account on the long discussions he had had with Alice Lloyd, so she must accept some responsibility for its contents. In the words of Verna Mae Slone, the book "is just one big pack of lies from beginning to end, and I've spent years trying to get people not to believe it."[79] Partly in rebuttal she wrote her own books *Common Folks* and *What My Heart Wants to Tell* in order to dispel the image of a "gun-totin', 'baccer-spitting, whiskey-drinking, barefooted, foolish hillbilly, who never existed."[80]

Based on comments recorded in the Appalachian Oral History Project or made to the author in personal interviews, it is generally accepted that Lloyd's fund-raising material exaggerated the negative side of conditions in the mountains. Alice Slone, herself a remarkable mountain educator and one of the first to benefit from Lloyd's work, believes that part of the problem was that Lloyd had been inside few mountain homes other than Abisha Johnson's, which "was pretty terrible and the housekeeping there was bad."[81] Former college president Hayes recalls that Lloyd was much more interested in the situation of the poorest families than in that of the more prosperous ones and that her fund-raising material was more reflective of the former's situation than of the latter's. Two others who are familiar with Lloyd's work from the earliest days say simply that she exaggerated conditions, or wrote only about the worst problems, in order to raise money to keep the center in operation. Neither sees it as particularly regrettable; rather it was a matter of the means employed being appropriate to the desired ends.[82]

In addition to the fact that the stereotypes were better for fund-raising purposes, Lloyd's infirmities had become more and more limiting, restricting her ability to move about. She spent virtually all of her time in her office and rarely ventured beyond the confines of the college grounds. Her physical condition, combined with what Lloyd called "the reticence which is [itself] in every cultured Bostonian," acted to keep her contacts with the broader community few and far between.[83] She seems to have relied more on the descriptions

contained in Kephart's *Our Southern Highlanders* than on her own observation of the world around her for her material.

It would be wrong to leave the impression that all of the fund-raising material emphasized the negative. Such was certainly not the case. Lloyd often described how the people came together in small villages throughout the area to provide "land, labor, money [and] cooperation" in order to build and furnish schools and community centers.[84] In 1923 she made clear her respect for Appalachian culture when she wrote to her supporters, that "city folk [must remember] that which is so easily forgotten . . . that culture is merely adaptation to one's environment. That the rough, little, common-like home is home, after all, [and] that it fits the massively rough mountains."[85] She constantly preached that the mountaineers did not lack intelligence; rather they lacked literacy and opportunity. As one of her mailings claimed in 1938,

INTELLIGENCE IS HERE	WE WANT TO ADD LITERACY[86]

She talked about her "two hundred glorious youth"; she praised "Kentucky's Rhodes Scholar" and the once barefoot mountain boys and girls who were now in medical school, running large public school systems or teaching throughout the Appalachians. Lloyd did see, and write about, the positive aspects of mountain culture. As one longtime colleague said, "She appreciated the people in the area as they have never been appreciated before."[87] But it is also true that her fund-raising efforts stressed the negative aspects of life in the mountains, and in this way reinforced the stereotype that was—and is—so hurtful to many of those who have to bear its burden.

Every year Caney Junior College had to depend on the generosity of a large number of people. In 1930, for example, fully 94 percent of its operating funds came from individual donations. The remaining 6 percent came from a student "goodwill" offering, a voluntary contribution made each semester, either in cash or in farm products, by students as a demonstration of their commitment to the college.[88] There was no endowment revenue, no denominational church support, no tuition or room and board payments, only the funds that could be raised through Lloyd's mail solicitation program. Literally everything rose or fell on the success or failure of the periodic mailings.

In this respect Caney Junior College was very unlike the other junior colleges in Kentucky, based on a survey of eleven junior colleges (including Caney Junior College) that was made by the University of Kentucky in 1930.[89] This survey showed that the typical institutions were far less dependent on donations than was Lloyd's school. They could rely upon a combination of other income sources that reduced the importance of individual donations to fairly modest levels, as shown in the following table.

Percent of Operating Expenses (1930)

	Caney Junior College	Ten Other Junior Colleges
Tuition & Fees:	6	48
Endowment:	—	14
Denominational Support:	—	23
Individual Donations:	94	13
Other Sources:	—	2

In the absence of any other significant source of income, it is little wonder that Caney Creek Community Center's fund-raising efforts were carried out so aggressively and required so much time and attention. If they failed, it was not simply a question of temporary hardship; it was a question of survival.

This situation prevailed from the center's earliest days until Lloyd's death in 1962. Occasionally there was the providential windfall, such as followed the *This Is Your Life* episode, or the arrival of a bequest from the estate of a longtime supporter. But these gifts went immediately to pay off accumulated debt or to correct deficiencies that threatened the college's accreditation. There was no excess cash to fund an endowment that could cushion the college from future financial shocks.[90] Lloyd was in the midst of thinking about such an endowment campaign in 1960 when her advanced age finally got the better of her and she withdrew from active management.[91] At the time of her death, Lloyd's school was still in its traditional hand-to-mouth mode, and its financial future was as uncertain as ever.

One is tempted to speculate on why Lloyd was unable to achieve even a modest level of financial security for the school during her long years of fund-raising. Part of the answer is obvious: she refused to ally herself and her institution with any religious denomination and thereby closed off this route of financial support. Moreover, given her determination to provide free education to worthy students from

the mountain region, she could not charge tuition or room and board fees. As noted earlier, the foundations were not particularly interested in benevolent work in the mountains, leaving only individual contributors as a source of income.

Lloyd's ability to reach this group of people was demonstrated time and time again—but almost always at the $1, $5, and $10 levels. Only rarely did a contributor give as much as $1,000, $5,000, or $10,000, and even on those occasions the money was quickly spent on some urgent need. For some reason, she could not reach the big givers or perhaps did not even attempt to do so. During the 1950s the fund-raising appeals sent out continued to request small sums for small purposes. In 1953, 1954, and 1955 her major concern seemed to be the cost of food, and she requested the donation of money to buy beans, corn, and milk.[92] Each year the annual "Gift of Opportunity" sought thousands of small gifts to meet operating expenses. Even the television program *This Is Your Life* limited itself to asking each viewer to send in just one dollar to support the college. It would appear that Lloyd simply preferred to obtain the school's basic needs from a large number of small contributors, even if their gifts in total hardly reached the amount that a single large contributor could have given.

The reasons she did so are unclear. It could have been, as some detractors suggested, that she wanted to avoid being beholden to others or having to take into account their wishes—and thereby losing absolute control of her enterprise.[93] It also could have been, as she stated in *Junior College Fund-Raising Campaigns*, that "a steady response of small personal donations . . . is exactly suited to the school's spiritual objectives."[94] Lloyd was comfortable with a program that relied upon small, affordable amounts from large numbers of ordinary people. She truly believed that

> Faith and Friends
> for
> Thirty Years
> Have thus far
> sustained us![95]

and she would not abandon that sentiment. It would be left to her successors to find the substantial sums of money needed to enable Caney Junior College to meet the higher standards that were fast becoming the norm even for schools like hers.

One must acknowledge Lloyd's skill, her determination, and ultimately, her success in raising money. These funds kept her institution alive. And that, in turn provided college education for more than a thousand mountain students, most of whom would have had to do without if it had not been for Alice Lloyd and her hundreds of thousands of crudely printed leaflets and heartrending, if exaggerated, appeals for support.

8

The Post-Lloyd Era

THE DECADE OF THE 1960S was a watershed period for Caney Junior College. There is little doubt that without the changes in administration, fund-raising, physical facilities, and student regulations that were made in these years the school would have disappeared. While the Appalachian region remained economically impoverished (average annual per capita income in Knott County was only $364 in 1961),[1] it was no longer isolated from the mainstream. Paved roads had reached many parts of the region, most inhabitants lived in small towns rather than remote hollows, there was a functioning public school system, radio and television sets were commonplace, and there were many opportunities for students to continue their education beyond high school.[2]

The college itself was in many respects an anachronism at a time when the space age was under way, when government programs were expected to solve all of the nation's social and economic ills, when a new generation was jettisoning traditional codes of conduct, and when a Caney Junior College education no longer automatically qualified its possessor for a position of leadership in the local community.[3] The college continued to be housed in facilities that one publication described as "ramshackle," "antiquated," and "hazardous."[4] Most buildings were without indoor sanitary plumbing, modern lighting was needed throughout the campus, and buildings were heated through the efforts of "the boy[s] who carry the coal."[5]

A photograph of the campus included in the college's 1961–62 *Bulletin* shows a setting that is literally little changed from that shown in photographs taken twenty-five years earlier. The college is

strung out along a dirt road, its buildings are a collection of unrelated and outdated structures, the hillsides are barren, and the overall atmosphere is one that confirms the school's adherence to at least the first part of its motto, "Plain living and high thinking."[6] The state's leading newspaper reported that "the fifty odd buildings, constructed of mountain stone, giant logs and rough planks, are much the same as when built years ago."[7]

The preceding description of the campus in the early 1960s is not meant to suggest that learning can take place only in a setting that matches the colonial or gothic styles of the proverbial liberal arts college located in a New England village. Obviously, as Caney Junior College's record demonstrates, such is not the case. It is meant to show, however, that the institution's physical plant had reached the point where it accurately reflected forty years of hand-to-mouth existence. The unfavorable contrast between it and other institutions in the 1960s was made even more clear as a result of the dynamic growth experienced by colleges and universities in both facilities and students during the postwar period. Whereas living standards at Caney Junior College were adequate when it was virtually the only alternative available to students in and around Knott County, their adequacy was sorely lacking when the alternatives multiplied.

Similarly, the regulations that governed student behavior were questioned more and more as the 1960s unfolded. Women at Caney Junior College were still required to wear uniforms; men, coats and ties. Social contact between the sexes was still sharply curtailed. Drinking, smoking, and firearms were still prohibited. And, perhaps of most importance to students, they were expected to do as they were told and continue the tradition of providing leadership in the mountains.

In 1961 students, with the support of some faculty members, protested a further restriction on their freedom to leave campus on weekends. (Instead of being required to remain on campus one weekend in four, they were required to do so one weekend in three.) The students scheduled a walkout, but the plan was discovered by the school administrators. In order to ease tensions classes were cancelled for two days, the campus was cleared, two of the faculty members involved were dismissed, and replacements were found for two others who decided to leave as a result of the administration's actions.[8]

Calm was restored and the students returned to campus, but the message that had been delivered was very clear: students wanted a

voice in their own lives, and even faculty members could no longer be counted on to follow blindly the old ways.

The precarious nature of the college's finances was a constant refrain throughout its first forty years. The early 1960s were no exception; if anything, because of the immense amount of work needed to modernize facilities, the situation was even more uncertain. During the period 1952–61 Caney Junior College raised $870,000 in contributions and bequests (including $150,000 from the TV program *This Is Your Life*) and spent $807,000 on operating expenses.[9] The modest surplus of income over expenses was a result of the fact that the institution made virtually no investment in facility upgrades during the decade and continued a policy of woefully underpaying faculty.

Every assessment of the school made by outside evaluators recommended that faculty salaries be raised to insure the retention of good teachers and the ability to hire new ones.[10] Throughout the decade of the 1950s, the typical teacher salary at Caney Junior College was about $150 per month, plus room and board.[11] During that period teachers at the college would have fared better if they had been employed at the Federal minimum wage, which was set at a rate that would have paid teachers slightly more than they were making in Pippa Passes.[12]

The serious financial problems at the school were due to the continued reliance on Lloyd's long list of small contributors. There was no modern development effort (the term currently used to describe fund-raising at eleemosynary institutions) and without it the school could not raise the money needed to bring itself into the postwar world.

Lloyd remained in her position as undisputed leader of the college until late 1960, when an accidental fall limited her ability to manage the affairs of the school and she relinquished her duties to William Hayes.[13] Hayes had been at the school by then for nearly twenty years as teacher and academic dean and was well versed in Lloyd's way of doing things. She remained bed-ridden until her death two years later in September 1962 at the age of eighty-six. Her passing was marked by a simple funeral service held on the hillside behind the small cottage that had been her home for nearly half a century. She was buried in a wooden casket made by local carpenters, alongside her mother, who had been buried at the site in 1945.[14]

The college's position in late 1962 was not promising. Its facilities were badly out of date; its student body was becoming restive under

increasingly antiquated regulations governing their on-campus behavior; its finances were as uncertain as ever; and its founder and guiding spirit was dead. As a final blow, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools placed Caney Junior College on probation in November 1962 with a stern warning that its accreditation was in serious jeopardy.[15]

The problem with the Association had begun when Hayes informed it in 1961 that he had fired faculty members who had fomented campus unrest. Instead of preempting adverse Association action, as he expected, the result was a formal visit to the school.[16] Unlike the evaluators who had visited the college in 1951, those who visited in 1961 were determined to uphold the letter, not just the spirit, of Association standards. When they applied their standards concerning administration, faculty, educational programs, facilities, and finances to the Caney Junior College situation, they found much to criticize.[17] Fortunately for the school, the Association was in the process of putting into place new policies governing accreditation procedures. These policies required a lengthy institutional self-examination as an integral part of the process. As a result, Hayes and the school could begin the long self-examination while at the same time using the many months of self-study to correct the most damaging of the deficiencies that threatened the college's accreditation.

If it lost accreditation, Caney Junior College would cease to have any reason for being. The curriculum was the equivalent of the first two years of a four-year program. The school did not provide vocational training; there were no terminal programs; it was a two-year liberal arts program. If its course work could not be transferred to a four-year institution, its usefulness would end. As one of its consultants said at a 1963 Board of Trustees meeting, "Accreditation is imperative. . . . We cannot survive without it."[18] The college could either retain its past traditions and accept the risk that it would disappear as had so many other small colleges; or it could change and at least have a reasonable prospect of continued existence.

Shortly after Alice Lloyd's death, the college's Board of Trustees met to set a course for the school in the post-Lloyd era. At that meeting two significant decisions were made. First, the school was renamed Alice Lloyd College in recognition of her pivotal role in its founding and survival. Second, Hayes was confirmed in his position as executive director of the college, "responsible directly to the Board of Trustees" for all of its educational and administrative activities.[19]

The significance of the second decision soon became apparent as Hayes began to correct the college's problems. Remembering Hayes's impact on the college long afterward, Claude Frady, one of the trustees who appointed him, said, "It was [Hayes whose] courageous leadership enabled the school to survive, . . . who developed a working board of trustees, . . . who was responsible for [restoring] accreditation . . . [and] who led the school toward national recognition for innovative programs."[20]

Hayes led the college as executive director and later president for fifteen years.[21] His accomplishments were not only far-reaching, but also, as discussed later in this chapter, controversial. Underlying everything he did was his insistence on two major goals: the college must be modernized and it must be professionalized.

Modernization was essential to survival. Without it he believed that the college would lose both its accreditation and its student body. What was once seen as idealistic and noble was now seen as "hazardous" and "ramshackle." Modernization (and raising the money to pay for it) was no longer a luxury that could be postponed indefinitely.

College administration had long since ceased to be merely a matter of hard work, long hours, and good intentions. It now required a degree of training, skill, and experience unlikely to be found in one person. Hayes rejected Lloyd's do-it-yourself type of management and relied upon professional advice from a wide variety of sources, both in and outside the field of higher education. He hired staff to direct the college's academic activity and its development efforts, to supervise student affairs, and to expand the college's presence in the community. He retained outside fund-raising consultants, professional architects to design a new campus, and experts from within the field of higher education to advise him on the major issues he and the college were facing.[22]

The urgency with which he went about bringing change to the newly named Alice Lloyd College was not only a result of the seriousness of the school's plight early in the 1960s, but also reflected his growing frustration with the school's failure to modernize during the 1950s. In a valedictory interview published as he neared retirement in 1977, Hayes paid a tribute to the "wonderful idealism" created in Lloyd's time and then went on to say, "But, yes, the college did have great difficulty. Buildings were really primitive. No running water or furnaces. Repair and maintenance were lacking. A little board of trustees came to visit Mrs. Lloyd once a year—they would

pat her on the shoulder, tell her to keep on doing a good job, and leave."[23]

In the early years of Hayes's tenure as president he transformed the campus from a rural mountain settlement to something much closer to a modern college campus. For the first time professional architects and builders were used to plan and construct new facilities.[24] A long-range plan was approved and its implementation was begun.[25] Three major new buildings were constructed, as were a number of faculty residences and student dormitories.[26] The road running through the heart of the campus was finally paved, modern plumbing was installed, and a conscious effort was initiated to incorporate aesthetic beauty into the campus environment.

For many years it had been apparent to Hayes that a system of college governance was needed to replace the one-woman rule that had characterized the school from its beginning and that had drawn so much outside criticism.[27] In mid-1962 he was able to report to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools "that the former administration of Mrs. Alice Lloyd [had been] relinquished to Mr. Hayes."[28] By the end of the decade he had a functioning Board of Trustees that was actively involved in setting institutional policy and evaluating management's progress in carrying it out. One of the ironies of the Hayes years was that the active, responsible Board that he created eventually forced his early retirement when it lost faith in his ability to control the pace of change taking place at the college.

As the 1960s progressed, the college's fund-raising activities were given a badly needed upgrading. As a result, new sources of funds were developed, particularly among the country's philanthropic foundations, a source never tapped in the earlier days. Between 1962 and 1976 the average annual gift from private sector sources was $610,000, compared to $100,000 in the years immediately prior to Lloyd's death.[29] In addition, Federal funds were obtained to support building projects and to fund special student programs.[30] The high point in fund-raising during the Hayes years was reached in 1977, just a few months before he left office, when the college received a large gift of stock from the estate of Eli Lilly.[31]

Hayes gave the college's professoriate the status of a faculty rather than continuing Lloyd's practice of treating them as individual teachers. For Lloyd the faculty was a constantly revolving pool; she assumed that they were at the college only temporarily, that part of their recompense was the satisfaction of giving of themselves, and therefore that they need not be paid as much as were faculty at other

colleges. In their "temporary" status she did not expect them to act as a faculty in the traditional sense nor were they expected to constitute a legitimate interest group on campus.[32] The situation with the faculty was a major reason why the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools had placed the college on probation. In recognition of its importance Hayes increased faculty salaries, improved faculty living conditions, and instituted programs for its professional growth and development.[33]

The four areas in which Hayes concentrated his efforts to bring modern and professional management to the college (physical facilities, institutional governance, professional fund-raising, and the development of faculty competence and involvement) were areas that held little interest for Lloyd. When she was told by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools' evaluators in 1961 that deficiencies in these areas would lead to a loss of accreditation, she is reported to have figuratively shrugged her shoulders and said, "So be it."[34] Of course, the reason for reacting this way could well have been her advanced age and the fact that she had no more energy to devote to her creation. It also could be that she remained as she always had been, convinced that her way was the only way and quite willing to go it alone. This one-time vigorous proponent of change could no longer see when change was needed. The University of Kentucky's Bureau of School Services nearly proved prophetic when it wrote in 1938, "This plan of management [i.e., the president as sole authority] violates many of the generally accepted principles of educational administration. In fact, the future of the program is greatly jeopardized since there is no [other individual, group or organization] that can be relied upon."[35]

If Hayes had not been at Caney Creek in the early 1960s, there is no assurance that someone else would have stepped in to do what was necessary to save the college. Certainly there was no one else on the staff who could have done so, and the Board of Trustees had not yet demonstrated its own competence. Moreover, no newcomer would have had the necessary understanding of this unique institution to manage the degree of change necessary without destroying it.

It is important to understand Hayes's role in creating the modern Alice Lloyd College, not only because of what he accomplished but also because it restores a portion of the Alice Lloyd College story that has been ignored in recent years. As this chapter will make clear, Hayes's presidency ended amidst controversy. Since the Hayes partisans lost the struggle for control of the school's future, it has been

their opponents who have written the school's history. In their history Hayes's role in saving the school has been largely ignored.[36]

In summing up his work at Alice Lloyd College, Hayes concluded that the most important part of his job had been "to examine and clarify the mission of this wonderful institution."[37] For its first forty years the college had unwaveringly adhered to a simply stated mission of educating selected mountain youth for leadership roles in their own mountain communities. As one graduate remembered, Alice Lloyd's "idea was to train leaders. . . . She wanted you to be dedicated. . . . When you went [to Caney Junior College] you promised to dedicate your life to the mountain people."[38]

By the early 1960s Hayes had serious questions about certain aspects of the mission. As he wrote in a 1964 self-study for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, "a humanizing of college purposes" was under way in two key respects. He eliminated the implication of "survival and primary selection" (i.e., the survival of the fittest) inherent in an institution that described itself as a "sociological laboratory for the testing of mountain youth" and replaced it with a commitment to "select and educate" promising mountain youth. He also abandoned "the unwritten pledge of lifetime service" and instead asked students "to choose such a dedication" if it was consistent with their own needs and goals.[39]

In a late 1965 Board of Trustees meeting the concept of "consecrated service in the mountains" was further diluted when the Board approved "an expanded concept of Alice Lloyd College's mission": that the college could train leaders not only "to bolster the mountains [but also to] make a contribution to the prairies and plains." (There was one dissenting vote on this motion, and Board approval was granted only under the condition that the new concept be used "with great restraint.")[40]

The continuing effort to humanize college purposes led to an attempt to educate the whole person, as the jargon of the day described one of the then-current ideas in education.[41] In the college's self-study project for 1973–74 the college's mission was "to provide service-oriented leadership education for the Appalachian area and beyond by attracting, retaining and significantly benefitting the development of the character and capabilities of Appalachian and other students."[42] This was to be accomplished based upon the "needs of the student" and through "meaningful student and college service and interactions with [the Appalachian and other] communities."[43]

In one of his last annual reports, Hayes wrote that Alice Lloyd College's "commitment is unswerving—to provide a leadership education opportunity that will greatly benefit students and valuably affect the region and the nation."[44]

As the college's new mission emerged in the Hayes years one can see its roots in the traditional mission decreed by Lloyd in 1923. The concept of leadership is there, as is the concept of service to the Appalachian region. But there are major differences. Under Lloyd the needs of the Appalachian region, as she defined them, were paramount; the students' needs were decidedly secondary. Under Hayes, it was the student who would "greatly benefit" while the region shared its benefit with the nation at large.

Lloyd kept her students relatively isolated from direct involvement in the Appalachian community until they were fully prepared to undertake leadership roles in the community.[45] Hayes made every effort to involve them in the community even to the extent of blurring the line between the curricula and the extra-curricula to encourage involvement.[46] The Alice Lloyd College that emerged during the 1960s and the 1970s abounded with opportunities for students (and faculty and staff) to become deeply involved in the community life of the area. The college developed an outreach program staffed by students "to bring health programs and educational enrichment to the children, families and communities in . . . remote locations."[47] An oral history project was begun in the early 1970s that sent students into the community to record the recollections of ordinary Appalachians about past mountain life-styles, culture and events.[48] The publication of *Appalachian Heritage* provided a magazine devoted to mountain life and culture. Its purpose was to show the "Southern Mountaineer . . . as a man of considerable intelligence who responds to [his] environment with considerable verve, humor and imagination."[49] An "Appalachian Term" program was included during the summer to give students an opportunity "to systematically examine and research the dynamics of Appalachian life and culture" by immersing themselves in it.[50]

By the end of the Hayes years in 1977, the mission of Alice Lloyd College had changed in significant ways from what it had been during its first forty years. Earlier it had been the rescue of deserving mountain youth for consecrated leadership in their own Appalachian homeland. Later it shifted its focus to enriching students' lives by providing educational opportunity and substantial exposure to, and involvement in, the Appalachian community.[51]

In many respects the changes that took place at Alice Lloyd College in the late 1960s and the 1970s mirrored the changes that were taking place throughout higher education. The role of the student was much more important than it had been; student rights had replaced in loco parentis as a guiding force; the ivory tower was abandoned in favor of community involvement; and curricula offerings had been broadened and diversified in ways that could not have been imagined two decades earlier. Students were no longer empty vessels waiting to be filled with knowledge; they were equal partners in the search for truth and meaning. As Hayes had said in 1964, his intent was to "humanize" the purposes of the school by taking into account the needs and wants of his students. This he did, but in the process he also created doubt and controversy that in the end led to his premature departure from the college.

The controversy had its roots in disagreements over both the definition of the school's mission and the matter of student conduct. In both issues it was a case of one group of people (a number of the trustees, prominent alumni and townspeople) finding that the college and community values they cherished were being exchanged as the 1970s progressed for values they did not share. Arrayed on the other side of the issues was another group of people, including many, if not most, faculty and students, intent upon making the college "relevant" in a rapidly changing world.[52]

For most of the years of Hayes's presidency the latter group was in the ascendancy. Its success in restoring the college's full accreditation, building a modern college campus, and establishing at least a modicum of financial stability tended to quiet the voices of the former group. But even during this time there were faint echoes of concern being expressed in one arena or another. In 1965, while the trustees were deciding to abandon the unwritten pledge of service in the mountains, June Buchanan and at least one other trustee questioned whether or not it was the right step to take. Buchanan contrasted Berea College's role as "the backdoor out of the mountains" for mountain students with Alice Lloyd College's far more praiseworthy role of educating students to stay in the mountains.[53]

Another trustee at the same meeting speaking for "the middle-age group of Alumni," lamented the absence of "some type of indoctrination" that would instill in students "the sense of dedication" that had been the mark of a Caney Junior College student in earlier times.[54] Nevertheless, the full Board of Trustees voted in favor of the

change, with only one dissenting vote, because, as one of the supporters said, "It is not a mistake for the Board to re-examine its basic ideas almost annually in our fast-changing world."[55]

Two years later in 1967, at another Board of Trustees meeting, an alumni trustee requested that the college reinstitute "daily practices to ingrain habits of leadership which would not fail students . . . in later years."[56] A second trustee wanted the college to do more "to replace the primitive challenges of Spartan self-discipline" that had been so positive a force for student development in the past.[57] Neither suggestion stimulated discussion from the Board as a whole, and the majority continued on its path of change.

By 1971, the school had extended its student recruiting efforts beyond the mountains in order to insure a sufficiently high enrollment and diversity in the student body. (A shortage of students had become a problem at Alice Lloyd College, as at many other small private colleges during these years.)[58] Again, alumni trustees expressed their concern about going too far in this direction. The administration was proposing that 50 percent of students come from the mountains, 30 percent from mountain families living outside the mountains, and that 20 percent need have no mountain connections. Some of the trustees were concerned that too much diversity would dilute the college's unique environment.[59] In the end the proposal passed, and the search for students moved into the cities of the adjacent states.

The nagging concerns of a minority of the trustees over the gradual changes being made in the college's educational mission surfaced only occasionally. It was not until another problem arose, one that was far more apparent and immediate than the somewhat intangible idea of "institutional mission," that the problem reached a point at which it could not be ignored. An irreconcilable conflict had arisen over student conduct on the one hand and college tradition and community standards on the other.

The college administration had gradually relaxed the stringent personal conduct standards that had marked the Lloyd years. Within months of her death in 1962 the rules forbidding any contact between the sexes were modified to permit men and women to have conversations and to have mixed seating in classrooms.[60] By the mid-1960s dances were held on campus, uniforms were being phased out for women, and the coat and tie rules were relaxed for men. Students were brought more completely into the decision-making process, especially with respect to the establishment of rules governing their

own behavior. And, eventually, the social revolution of the late 1960s and early 1970s that had so drastically changed mainstream America reached Caney Creek.

Verna Mae Slone, the longtime defender of mountain culture, was representative of the neighbors of the college who were disturbed by what they were seeing. "Well," she said in a 1974 interview, "They teach so much [at the college] that is contrary to the Lord and the Bible and they let too much of this lust and things go on. . . . They're letting it go too loose [at the college] now. . . . This drinking and . . . the lowering of their morals. You know, that's not right. I mean, they shouldn't do that."[61]

Of more immediate concern to the college, perhaps, should have been the views expressed by a woman who had been president of the Alumni Association for some years and who remained in close contact with the school. After expressing her "shock" at seeing a girl in shorts and a boy sprawled out together on the grass in the center of campus, she said, "I realize that Alice Lloyd [College] had to change in order to cope with the present time, . . . but I think there is a little too much freedom right now. . . . I think it is degrading. . . . [The college is not producing students] as dedicated right now as we were."[62]

The campus newspaper in 1975 contained a photograph of what was probably a not infrequent scene.[63] In it a young woman and young man are on a stone wall necking, their arms and legs entangled with one another's. The wall ran along the main road, which not only went through the campus but also went on to the town cemetery. All of the traffic, including the somber funeral processions, were given the opportunity to see for themselves how "Mrs. Lloyd's college" had changed.[64]

Compounding the problems created by the open display of affection among men and women on campus was the fact that some of it was bi-racial. Although I have found no written record that this concern existed, there is ample anecdotal evidence to suggest that it was a major complaint among the college's neighbors.[65] In their efforts to increase diversity on campus, in the early 1970s college officials had begun to enroll black students from the mountains as well as from adjacent cities. Hayes believed that black students felt welcome and comfortable on campus—and college yearbooks from the mid-1970s show that black students were involved in many activities—but that they were very uneasy about venturing into the surrounding area.[66]

After nearly a half-century during which Caney Junior College students could be recognized at a distance by their erect posture and neat dress, the students at Alice Lloyd College in the 1970s were distinguished by their long hair, beards, and curious sense of fashion.[67] The reader will be well aware that this situation was hardly unusual at the time; virtually every college and university campus was experiencing the same phenomenon. But in the context of Knott County and its traditions, what was happening at Alice Lloyd College was a radical and worrisome departure from community standards.

Particularly worrisome was the feeling that the college administration was doing too little to control student conduct. If the regulations governing drinking alcoholic beverages in the dormitories were any indication, they may have been right to worry. The regulations clearly stated, "No drinking." But the penalty for a first offense was an appearance before the Dorm Council. If the offender continued to violate the prohibition, he might have a second hearing before the Judicial Board. If he kept violating the regulation (and getting caught while doing so) yet another hearing could "result in probation, suspension or expulsion."[68] The contrast between this most permissive prohibition and Alice Lloyd's own ("The penalty is automatic. Expulsion!") is unmistakable.

The controversy surrounding the direction that Alice Lloyd College was taking reached the point where the Board of Trustees acted to bring in new leadership. Hayes had already announced his intention to retire in 1978, but the Board moved the retirement date up a year to 1977 and began the search for a new president.[69] As the successful candidate, Jerry C. Davis, remembered a few years after the fact, the Board had been sorely troubled at the time. Its representative had told him, "Alice Lloyd College is at a crossroads. You will either preside over a dramatic reaffirmation of its purpose or else you will preside over its demise."[70]

The pendulum of change had apparently swung too far in one direction. The actions of the administration during the 1960s and 1970s to humanize the college magnified the concurrent social revolution that had altered social norms throughout the country. What was meant to be a loosening of traditional bonds appeared instead to be a wholesale rejection of community standards. And the community was not ready to acquiesce in the rejection.

Davis assumed the presidency of Alice Lloyd College on August 1, 1977, the last day of Hayes's tenure as president. Davis was welcomed

by one alumnus as a "knight on a white horse" who could see what the college had become and knew how to go about changing it.[71] He was himself a product of a similar educational institution—the Berry Schools in the mountains of Georgia—and had received advanced degrees from the University of Tennessee (M.S.) and Ohio State University (Ph.D.). He had impressed the search committee with his youth (he was thirty-two), his energy, and his commitment to traditional ideals.[72] He remained at the college for more than ten years and presided over its further modernization and growth.

For the purposes of this chapter's brief review of the post-Lloyd era at the college, two of his accomplishments are important. He led the "reaffirm[ation] of [the college's] commitment to the mountains as envisioned by its founders [and renewed emphasis on] the principles of self-help, value-oriented education and the pursuit of academic excellence."[73] He also upgraded the college to a four-year institution offering Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees.

Davis described the situation he had found upon his arrival as a "sex and marijuana culture." He faulted the previous college leadership for having "abandoned time-honored customs" in its haste to embrace "newly defined 'progress.' "[74] The new president, a strong-willed conservative, took very decisive action to deal with the situation. In his words, "We did it by playing hardball. . . . We had to suspend a fourth of the student body and a number of staff members in 1977. . . . At one point we had more employees than students. But I do not regret a thing. We were going to make this college what [Lloyd and Buchanan] wanted it to be or we were going to close it."[75]

Davis reestablished firm codes of conduct for students (although he did not attempt to turn back the clock to the days of uniforms and no contact between the sexes), eliminated the small tuition fee Hayes had initiated, refocused student recruitment on mountain communities, and reestablished a program to inculcate moral and spiritual values.

From the standpoint of the community and the college's new administration, this strong dose of conservative medicine worked well. Enrollment went from 131 students in the fall of 1977 to more than 400 in the fall of 1981.[76] The college's financial situation remained healthy (Davis had inherited a financially sound institution from Hayes[77]); and a vigorous building campaign added a library, recreational facilities, more modern dormitories, and a performing arts center to the campus.[78]

In 1979 the Alice Lloyd College Board of Trustees, acting on

Davis's recommendation, approved a proposal to convert the school from a junior college to a four-year institution granting bachelor's degrees. This proposal became a reality in short order. The college's first junior class was admitted in the fall of 1980, and the first senior class graduated in May 1982. Moreover, in the course of the conversion from two-year to four-year status, the school remained committed to its original mission. As Davis said in 1979, the school "[would] retain its character, . . . offering liberal arts pre-professional education intended to prepare young men and women for lives of leadership and service in the mountains."[79]

9

Conclusions

UNTIL THE MID-1960S historians had looked back upon the American men and women who went off to do good at the turn of the century as a highly motivated group whose purpose was, in the words of Social Gospel proponent Walter Rauschenbusch, to mold "our present conditions . . . into a juster and happier community."[1] The task of uplifting the poor, the immigrant, the sick, and the downtrodden was seen as a noble endeavor that benefited the recipients, the donors, and the entire society.

This view began to change when a new breed of scholars, nurtured by the iconoclasm of the 1960s, looked into the matter. They found much to merit displeasure, especially with respect to the people who went to Appalachia. In 1967 John Fetterman called them "pious, prim, pathetic little men and women . . . driven as though by demons 'to do unto others.' "[2] A few years later in 1971, historian Gerald Jonas lamented that good works and the people who do them had fallen under great suspicion. The very idea of do-gooders "conjures up an army of self-righteous busybodies intent on reshaping society in their own image," he wrote in an introduction to a book defending the record of the American Friends Service Committee.[3]

The criticism of do-gooders continued throughout the 1980s; and in 1991 Harry Robie, a Berea College faculty member, concluded that the outsiders who came to the mountains ostensibly to help "were one of the major influences in the destruction of the distinctive mountain culture."[4] And by that time David Whisnant had become the most important of the voices questioning the "origin, intent and effect" of the benevolent workers in Appalachia[5] and those who were

"driven both by demons and self-guilt to do unto somebody, somehow."[6]

Whisnant developed a new set of questions to guide the assessment of the do-gooders in the mountains. He asked that the historian forgo the relatively simple question "Did [it] work in some limited (usually economic) sense?" Instead he wanted to answer a far more difficult set of questions: "Out of what complex social dynamic did [a particular benevolent effort] arise, toward what vision of a desirable social order was it directed, and how did it impinge upon the human lives it touched?"[7]

His own efforts to find answers to this three-part question were reported in Modernizing the Mountaineer (1980) and All That Is Native and Fine (1983). He found that the "complex social dynamic" that sent many women, and some men, to Appalachia was indeed complex, even conspiratorial. He decided that the do-gooders had been "fired by an ethnocentric conviction that bringing 'advanced' (New England or Bluegrass) civilization to social and cultural pre-moderns was humane and enlightened despite its physical, social and cultural cost to the indigenous population." He believed that the rapacious economic interests that were plaguing Appalachia welcomed and supported these individuals in their efforts to ameliorate the conditions in the mountains because they were "provid[ing] a convenient mask" for business exploitative activities. Naive do-gooders were being manipulated by greedy economic interests who were, in turn, unwittingly abetted by a local population who failed to see the connection between the do-gooders and the commercial firms. This combination proved to be too much for the mountaineers, who were unaccustomed to the ways of northern capitalists. The local populace was, in Whisnant's view, not in a position to safeguard its own best interests. They simply did not understand that those people who seemed to be helping them were really a part of the process that was destroying their homeland.[8]

He believed that the altruistic outsiders, mainly women, wanted to move mountain life toward "a desirable social order" that would incorporate the manners, morals, and niceties of upper-middle-class America while simultaneously " 'rescuing' or 'preserving' or 'reviving' a sanitized version of [local] culture."[9] Part of the reason they wanted to do this derived from the women's own naivete and ethnocentricity. In addition, and of greater importance, was the fact that they were "first, last and always the Protestant, Victorian daughters

of conservative New England business and professional men."[10] That is, as a result of the circumstances of their birth, they were fated to become apologists for the interests of a dominant and exploitative class.

Finally, with respect to how a particular benevolent effort "impinged upon the human lives of those it touched," Whisnant concluded that even if it had accomplished some good, that good was achieved at too high a cost. Part of that cost was cultural. Because of the work of the outsiders, Appalachian culture changed as a result not of its own unfolding but as a result of an act of cultural intervention. The intervenors, being outsiders, never understood the indigenous culture. They, not the local people, decided what was legitimate, what was worth saving or reviving, and what, by neglecting to save or revive it, was to be abandoned. The result is, ironically, that a later Appalachian generation finds itself defending "cultural traditions" that are not truly its own.[11]

The other part of the cost borne by the mountaineers, according to Whisnant, was that the benevolent work prevented the accomplishment of far more important tasks. The good works of the settlement schools, the community centers, the clinics, and missions became "substitute[s] for engaging with the political and economic forces, processes, and institutions that were altering the entire basis of individual identity and social organization in the mountains." The energies that could have been enlisted to create structural change in the economic and political realms were diverted to the treatment of symptoms, not causes, and to the creation of a "romantically conceived culture" that had its reality only in the women's imaginations.[12]

When Whisnant's three-part question is raised with respect to the Caney Junior College experience, the answers are different from his conclusions. Although the Caney Creek experience is only a piece of "a puzzle being assembled by many hands,"[13] the fact that one analysis does not support his overarching generalizations should alert us to the possibility that more such divergent examples exist.

Out of what complex social dynamic did the Caney Creek experience arise? Even to ask the question is to be confronted anew with intellectual historian Peter Gay's caution concerning an attempt "to explain the causes of historical events." He warned against the effort to reduce "the glittering, multicolored costume of historical experience [to] a single dominant set of impulsions."[14] Instead Gay sug-

gested that each attempt to explain causation "must naturally vary with each historian's definition of what matters most, and what, in that light, deserves to be included" in the explanation.[15]

In this respect my definition of what matters most includes the importance of understanding the actual people who were involved in an activity and the individual circumstances from which they came; the actual social, economic, and cultural conditions in the area in which they worked; and the larger forces that were reshaping America in the early years of the twentieth century.

The "complex social dynamic" that created the Caney Creek Community Center and its long list of good works obviously included those powerful intellectual currents that were described in chapter 2. Particularly in New England, a cluster of factors had come together to put reform on the agenda of turn-of-the-century America. Included were the growing awareness of poverty; the dislocations created by urbanization, industrialization, and immigration; the emergence of college-educated women in need of an outlet for their energies and abilities; a shift in religious ideology (particularly among mainstream Protestants) away from individual salvation toward the establishment of a more just society; the existence of (and the abuse of) large personal fortunes; the rise of commercial monopolies; and the appearance of a handful of gifted, committed, high-profile leaders who made reform a personal matter.

The benevolent impulse was also created by the existence of deplorable conditions in many areas of this country and beyond its shores, and by the existence of a group of men and women who "believed they had an obligation to reform society."[16] Alice Lloyd did not set out to make Appalachia like the society from which she came, a charge often leveled against the women who went to Appalachia.[17] She went to Appalachia to do the same thing she had gone to New Hampshire to do: to make the world a better place. She went because her efforts in New Hampshire had been thwarted, and because the social and economic conditions that concerned her (poverty, ill-health, illiteracy, lack of education) could be found in the Appalachian Mountains as well as in rural New Hampshire. She was able to distinguish between the worrisome conditions she found in some parts of Appalachia and the Appalachian culture itself. She deplored the former and admired many aspects of the latter.

Certainly not every part of Knott County was destitute nor was every family in dire need. But in large measure the county's standard of living was well below that of other rural areas, such as, for example,

those in Vermont and Wisconsin.[18] The school system was staffed—where it existed at all—by teachers with, at best, eighth grade educations; professional health care was virtually nonexistent; communicable diseases were widespread; family incomes were woefully inadequate; less than 10 percent of the families had an adequate diet; and there was no prospect of assistance from county, state, or national authorities. These conditions were part of the "complex social dynamic" that gave rise to Lloyd's work in Eastern Kentucky. If they had not existed, i.e., if social and economic conditions in Appalachia had been the same as in other parts of rural America, the fact that the region had abundant natural resources and a culture that some in mainstream America considered "peculiar" certainly would not have called the Caney Creek Community Center into being.

The most difficult part of the "complex social dynamic" to understand is Alice Lloyd herself. It is relatively easy to describe the national and local conditions that created a situation in which the center could exist. But how does one explain the motivations of the woman who made it happen? To note that she was a product of middle-class Boston; was a woman hemmed in by a male-dominated world; was a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant; had attended college; and had survived a serious illness is to explain very little. Virtually no other person having one or more of those qualifications did what Lloyd did. She had the unique combination of motivation, capability, forcefulness, and single-mindedness necessary to achieve what she set out to do.

We will never be able to explain what it was that made Lloyd the person she was. After all, as Peter Gay has said, "One cannot, when all is said, psychoanalyze the dead."[19] We can, however, confidently rule out some of the motivations that have been ascribed to outsiders who came to the mountains. For example, the evidence strongly suggests that she was not a "liberal facade for private development," as Whisnant believes the group as a whole was.[20] She received virtually no support from business or industrial sources. In fact, some of her greatest problems came from banks and coal companies.[21] In one of her Caney Junior College handbooks she declared, "If the mountaineer expects to control his own natural resources, he must equip himself immediately with a workable knowledge of business finance."[22] That is both good advice and a view one would not expect from someone in league with outside exploiters.

Nor was she a representative of the "metropole" (Rodger Cunningham's word for the developed part of a society), intent upon

keeping the Appalachian region a periphery upon which it could feed.[23] Her struggle to educate a leadership cadre that could defend and promote the rights of Appalachians is proof enough of that. She wanted her graduates to be the equal of those from the metropole, not their servants—hence her insistence that their education be the same.

There is no evidence that she was fleeing the restraints imposed upon women by a male-dominated society. She had made her way successfully in that world for nearly twenty years before going to New Hampshire. Her most productive years as a magazine and newspaper writer were those immediately prior to her departure for Kentucky. She may have been fleeing an unhappy situation in New Hampshire when she went to Kentucky, but that was a situation of her own making, not of someone or something beyond her control.

She was not driven by a sense of guilt over her own good fortune compared to the appalling lack of good fortune on the part of others. She came from a middle-class family, not a wealthy one. Her father was a salaried employee in a patent medicine business; her grandmother was a "teacher of cooking." Her own health and business problems should have eased any excessive guilt over her own good fortune. She had been partially paralyzed by polio as a girl and was to endure the effects of that illness for the rest of her life. Her first business venture, the ownership of the *Cambridge Press*, ended, it would appear, ignominiously and would hardly have made her feel guilty over her good fortune. One can possibly make room for gratitude as a motivating force because of her success in overcoming a life-threatening illness, but not guilt.

The "complex social dynamic" that produced the Caney Creek Community Center was indeed complex. It included broad social movements that affected the entire country, and it included conditions that were specific to certain parts of America and the world, one of which was the Appalachian region. Of even greater importance than either of these, however, was the fact that a particular individual decided to make it happen. Why did she do it? The answer might well be simply because she thought it the right thing for her to do. She was a product of her time; she possessed the unique set of capabilities necessary for its accomplishment; and she wanted intensely to "make the world a better place," as a dying Lucy Stone, the pioneering nineteenth-century feminist, instructed her own daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, to do.[24]

Toward what vision of a desirable social order was the Caney Creek experience directed? Alice Lloyd was not one for putting her plans in

writing, nor did she confide to those close to her what grand design she may have had in mind. But based on her actions one can infer the sort of world she wanted to create.

The key to understanding Lloyd's vision is in George Herbert Palmer's philosophy. Palmer, it will be recalled, envisioned an ideal world in which every individual would recognize the inseparability of self and society, where each could develop his or her potentialities to the fullest, and where the ideas of a life purpose and service to others would be deeply ingrained in society's ethical code. Moreover, Palmer believed that everyone had the innate ability, if given sufficient guidance, to rise above "thinghood" and become a responsible member of society. Finally, Palmer's world was a deeply religious one in which God's presence and intervention were a constant. Palmer's vision was a key component of the "desirable social order" that Lloyd and her colleagues preached from the college's earliest days. It is reasonable to conclude that it was also the one to which she herself subscribed.

There were, however, other important components of Lloyd's vision that were not as clearly articulated as the Palmer philosophy but were still essential to it. She believed in "meritocracy." That is, she believed that those who demonstrated through their actions that they best met the prevailing standards of excellence (in this case they were the standards she set) were the ones who should lead. Performance, not family or wealth, should be the basis on which one advanced. Being selected for advancement was not a free passage to the promised land of status and respect in Lloyd's world. It carried with it the moral obligation to act with honor, kindliness, and generosity to those less privileged.[25] The Caney Junior College's unwritten pledge is the most obvious example of putting this belief into practice. From Lloyd's standpoint the pledge was not an infringement on individual freedom; it was the price one paid for privileges received.

She had a high regard for a set of moral values variously described today as the protestant ethic, middle-class values, or the values of the developed world, and she insisted that her students embrace them. Lloyd cherished hard work, self-respect, decorum, sobriety, abstinence, good manners, and purposeful existence. Those who criticize the work of the settlement schools, the missions, and other benevolent activities love to disparage the promotion of "middle-class values" without ever really pinpointing which of these values they would reject.[26] Presumably the disparagement has something to do with materialism—hardly a condition unique to the middle class.[27] But it is important to note that absent from Lloyd's list of essential

values is any hint of materialism. The Caney Creek lifestyle itself during her time is ample proof of its rejection.

A third element in Lloyd's ideal society was that it be in the countryside. Increasingly as she grew older she rejected the trappings of the city. Several of the long magazine articles she wrote in 1913 and 1914 extolled the virtues of country living and called into question the supposed advantages of urban life. In this way she was echoing the sentiments of many of her early-twentieth-century contemporaries, especially in the Northeast. As T.J. Jackson Lears showed in his 1981 book *No Place of Grace,* at the turn of the century many Americans were longing for the "simple life." They were worried about the negative impact of the city, the factory system, the bureaucratization of business and government, and the loss of the values of an earlier time. "Resisting the emergent [values], Simple-Lifers . . . sought to revitalize older producer values, . . . [the] sanctity of hearth and home, the virtues of life on the land, and the ennobling power of [physical] work."[28] Lloyd's identification with these ideas is quite obvious in her writing. Her "permanent" move to New Hampshire was another expression of it, as was her move to Eastern Kentucky.[29]

Lloyd's desirable social order was radical only in the sense that she believed that the needs of the whole should come before the needs of the individual. In most other respects it was well within the mainstream of American tradition. She believed in her country (among the first gifts sent to a new school or community center was an American flag); she believed that formal education was essential for progress; she supported (and used) the established political order; and she objected only to the exploitative methods of the commercial firms, not to the economic system that permitted their existence.

She wanted to rid the region of those social and economic conditions that handicapped large numbers of its people: illiteracy, excessive drinking, poor health and nutrition practices, rejection of formal schooling and new ideas, intermarriage, and the fatalistic acceptance of one's lot in life. She was not intent upon changing the culture whether by modifying religious practices, deciding which ballads were authentic and which were not, encouraging emigration, or rejecting longstanding values. As one local resident and longtime colleague said, "She appreciated the people in the area as they had never been appreciated before."[30]

How did the Caney Creek experience impinge upon the lives it touched? The answer to this question is more complicated than

might at first appear because more than one group is involved. The most obvious groups touched by the center were the students who were educated there and the local men and women employed by it. Given the center's outreach activities, the schools it started, the health clinics it sponsored, its clothing exchange activity, and the impact of returning students on their families and communities, many others in the mountain region were also touched by Caney Creek's activity. For some, especially those in the first group, the impact was very beneficial; for the others it was a mixed blessing. One longtime local resident remembered that "we all got mad and quarreled at [her]" but in the long run "she knew what we wanted better than we did."[31] It would be a rare community that could have in its midst such a strong-willed intervenor and not regret her presence at least some of the time.

The group on which it is easiest to determine the center's impact is the college's alumni, assuming that one agrees that those best able to judge the nature of an experience are the ones who went through it. The alumni have recorded their feelings about the college in the Appalachian Oral History Project, in the memoirs they have written and the published interviews they have given, in formal discussions with the author, and in countless informal meetings. With near total uniformity they reflect a profound depth of gratitude for the opportunity given them.

In October 1991 Alice Lloyd College celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of Lloyd's arrival in Caney Creek. On that occasion fourteen graduates from the Lloyd years publicly reflected on what the experience had meant to them personally and professionally. Given the nature of the event, it is hardly surprising that these fourteen voices were unanimous in praising the school. What was surprising was the depth of gratitude expressed, the personalization of the impact of Lloyd's presence (she had been there for them in a very positive way), the way the campus environment had forevermore shaped their lives, and their certainty that without Alice Lloyd and the college their own lives would have been immeasurably bleaker. A cynic could speculate that this was just another instance of Lloyd's orchestrating her students for her own ends. But a fair-minded observer watching a videotape of the proceedings simply cannot escape the conclusion that something meaningful and marvelous had happened to these men and women.

In several interviews I had with alumni from the 1930s and 1940s they were overcome with emotion as they tried to describe the way their lives had been improved by Caney Junior College. Typical of the

comments made by alumni were those of a retired college administrator and teacher who said of the effect the college had on him, "My eyes were opened, my purposes clarified and my resolve strengthened."[32] Another told of her many years in residence at the school (she attended the primary and secondary schools, as well as the college) and concluded that Lloyd and the college were "wonderful. . . . We all loved her. . . . She made us feel wanted. . . . She made us feel dedicated."[33] But perhaps the most common sentiment expressed by the alumni was the following from another successful graduate, now retired: "I . . . greatly appreciate the opportunities Caney Creek Community Center gave me . . . .[Without it], considering the difficult times, moneywise, I doubt that I would have been able to continue my education beyond the elementary school. What is and what might have been always seems to haunt us."[34] It is this sense of doors opened, opportunities presented, misfortune avoided that characterizes the assessment of those most directly affected by the center. There may be some alumni from the Lloyd years who feel otherwise, but their voices are rarely, if ever, heard. The graduates, 75 percent of whom remained to work in the mountains, do not lament a way of life lost; they cheer a way of life made better.

The unanimity found among the direct beneficiaries of the center's activities did not extend to the community at large. In this wider group of people there were both those who hailed the center's presence as a good thing and those who saw it as an intrusion. In an interview conducted under the auspices of the Appalachian Oral History Project in 1971, Alice Slone, one of the very early beneficiaries of the center's work and herself a pioneering mountain educator, tried to explain why some of her neighbors "caught [Lloyd's] vision and wanted to go with her, [while others] wanted her driven out." In addition to the adjustments "anyone [would have] going into a [new] community," Slone pointed out that whenever possible Lloyd wanted her students to board at the school as a means of more quickly instilling her program in them. This separation and the new ways learned at the school invariably strained the relationship between students and those left at home. As Slone concluded, "It's not always good, you know, to break the home ties."[35] The play performed by the Caney Junior College Crusaders described in chapter 7, "Feudin' and Larnin'," was based on just such a generational conflict.

Because the school could accept only a small portion of the students who wanted to attend, there was always a contingent of dissatisfied would-be students. These, as well as those who did not

apply and later regretted it, "became resentful of the ones who got their education." The resentment was directed primarily at the school and its head.[36]

Another source of discord, and perhaps one of even greater importance, was the criticism implied by the very presence of uplift workers. As one commentator has pointed out, "We can degrade people by caring for them; and we can degrade them by not caring for them."[37] Some in the Caney Creek community chose to interpret the caring as belittling and chose to identify with the first half of that statement. Among them was Verna Mae Slone, whose condemnation of the way Lloyd and others portrayed the Appalachian people and her own childhood heartbreak over one of the center's "Christmas Pretties" has already been described. In *What My Heart Wants to Tell* one senses the struggle Slone and her family had in accepting Lloyd's presence. In one episode she describes the revulsion she and other women in the family had to the very idea of wearing used clothing from the center's exchange.[38] In *Common Folks* Slone reflected upon her decision not to ask Lloyd to help educate her five sons and concluded, "I did not want to be beholden to anyone." The presence of help from the outside and all that it implied clearly rankled Slone and very likely some of her neighbors as well.[39]

Another major irritant for Verna Mae Slone was the way some of the outsiders paraded their self-conferred superiority before the local people. She described one of Lloyd's volunteer workers as a woman "whose very walk seemed to say, 'God made me of better material than he did you, and I was privileged to be born up north.' "[40] Slone was strong enough to fight back (the way she did in this instance is a good story in itself), but not everyone had as strong a constitution as did Verna Mae Slone. Whisnant makes a very valid point when he concludes that the representative of a culture with greater "status, power, and established credibility" can have a disproportionate influence on the people of a culture not so endowed, regardless of whether or not the representative has something of value to offer.[41] One need only note the many less admirable parts of American popular culture so eagerly embraced by so many around the world to understand the point he is making.

The preceding account of the negative feelings toward the center on the part of the community is not meant to suggest that such was the feeling of the majority. That was not the case; there is on the record strong and vocal support for the center from all segments of the community throughout the Lloyd years. It is also true that there

has always been tension between the school and the community. In the early years there were, as Alice Slone reported, some who wanted Lloyd driven out. In the late 1920s there was an extended struggle between the college and other parts of the community, particularly a vocal faction in the town of Hindman, over the selection of a replacement for Lloyd's mother as postmaster of the Pippa Passes post office.[42] There are a number of accounts of faculty members who were forced to leave the area, usually at Lloyd's insistence, when local people objected to them.[43] After World War II, Lloyd battled townspeople over whether or not a paved road should be extended to Pippa Passes.[44] Throughout the entire period there was the feeling among some families that the college purposely held itself apart from the community, and that it did so because it lacked respect for its neighbors. The community's disenchantment with the college in the 1970s has been described above, and there is undoubtedly still some degree of town-gown tension today.

The question for the historian to decide, however, is whether the level of discontent over the college and its ancillary activities was excessive, or if it was simply a reflection of the fact that no activity is so flawless that it can escape criticism. The preponderance of evidence suggests that most people held either positive or, at worst, neutral feelings toward the college. They generally welcomed its presence and its activities and were willing to accept the occasional trouble it caused in return for the benefits it offered. If that had not been the case, in due course the college would indeed have been driven out, perhaps not so much by force as by finding itself totally irrelevant to the life around it.

The Caney Creek Community Center certainly had an impact upon those lives it touched. In most instances, based on the testimony of those affected, the impact was positive. The students went on to lead lives that for most of them would have been impossible without the school. Moreover, unlike so many students who received a first-class education at other mountain schools, Caney Junior College students remained in the mountains as contributors to their communities. There is no evidence that the students believed that they had to surrender their cultural heritage in order to obtain the education they so badly wanted. In fact, any number of graduates went on to become active proponents for protecting and enhancing the cultural traditions of their parents and grandparents. Because so many of the college's graduates became teachers in the mountains (the reader will recall that 50 percent or more of the teachers in many

school districts during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s were Caney Junior College graduates) the college had a very substantial secondary impact on the region. Only someone who rejects formal education as an essential component of modern life could fault the value of this secondary impact.

My answers to Whisnant's three questions are different from his. It may be that we are simply describing different aspects of a common experience, in much the same way that the apocryphal blind men described the elephant. It is more likely that a single set of answers cannot adequately describe a movement as diverse as the one that brought so many different people, each with his or her own special set of circumstances, to work briefly or for a lifetime in Appalachia.

I feel quite certain that there are other episodes from the Appalachian past that would confirm that the Caney Creek experience was not unique. Durwood Dunn's 1991 article on Jessie Mechem, a teacher from 1922 to 1929 at the Pittman Center in the mountains of eastern Tennessee, describes one such instance. After examining Mechem's story, Dunn concluded that "however plausible or appealing such theories as Whisnant's are at the macro-level of regional analysis, like so many earlier stereotypes of Appalachia by well-meaning writers, these generalizations seem gross distortions of objective reality when measured against individual accounts from those . . . actually involved in mountain . . . work or by the testimony of their former pupils."[45]

Similarly, Nancy K. Forderhase has taken a fresh look at women reformers in Appalachian Kentucky and found that "they saw themselves in their work as living the simple, natural life in a society isolated from the modern and confusing trends found in the rest of the country, [while also] introducing the ideas of progressive education, improved health standards and community development to the people of the Appalachian region."[46] These women were in the mountains to embrace the mountain lifestyle, not to supplant it with the one they were fleeing. Forderhase believes that Whisnant "gives too little credit to the very extensive community and educational work carried out by the women workers in the mountains."[47]

If a popular account of Martha Berry and her schools in the Georgia mountains (Harnett T. Kane's *Miracle in the Mountains*)[48] is any indication, a scholarly review of that experience will provide yet another episode that calls into question the universal applicability of Whisnant's macro-level theory. Martha Berry, the daughter of a

prosperous planter and businessman, gave up the prospect of marriage and a traditional life in order to build the now famous Berry schools. At her death in 1942, the *Atlanta Constitution* wrote, "No woman of our time has achieved more in life than did Martha Berry." Another newspaper claimed that "her monument will not be the brick and stone and wood and land of the Berry schools, but the light that she lit in the minds." A magazine called her story "one of the epics of American social history."[49] I find it hard to believe that behind these words was a woman intent upon uprooting an indigenous culture and masking the works of exploitative commercial interests.

David Whisnant has established the framework for the discussion of the work done by the men and women who attempted to bring a new understanding of education, health, and community development to Appalachia, and he has led the way in explaining its meaning for the region. Now, however, the work must go forward. As it does, we will discover that the many and varied events that make up this effort, and the individuals who peopled it, were far more diverse and complex than previously thought. Moreover, the participants will emerge in the telling of their stories as people with real flesh and blood, not as straw men constructed to further a particular world view.

At the outset of this study I was hopeful that an analysis of Alice Lloyd and her college in Appalachia would lead to some useful conclusions that would apply beyond the narrow confines of the Caney Creek experience itself. I believe that this hope has been fulfilled. The most important conclusion is that no culture, except in very rare circumstances, is immune from outside influences. Whether or not one calls these influences "interventions" or, perhaps more appropriately, "exchanges" is not particularly important. The important thing to recognize is that cultures influence one another and have done so forever. To lament the occurrence of these influences is to miss the point of how societies evolve. To try to prevent their happening or to extract their effects after the fact is even worse. As Allen Batteau has said, a too aggressive concentration on "an artificial closure of identity, a rigid and reflexive distinction between 'we' and 'they' " runs the risk of creating in Appalachia "a museum piece preserved for the entertainment of the elite."[50] Change, whether or not one wants it to be, is an essential part of human experience, and its coming does not await our sufferance.

There is no question but that the Caney Creek Community

Center and Caney Junior College (and similar benevolent institutions) influenced the culture of those whom they touched. Whether this was a positive occurrence or a negative one was best answered by the words of a Pine Mountain Settlement School graduate when he said, "There was no attempt to substitute an alien culture for that which was present. Instead, there was an exchange of the best of both worlds. . . . The school encouraged better farming methods, . . . local adults taught both the students and the teachers how to spin, dye and weave. The students were taught personal hygiene and manners. They, in turn, introduced their teachers to ballads and singing games. The existing culture was emphasized and encouraged, not harmed."[51]

We should not be concerned that one culture or another is exercising influence on our own. We should be concerned as to whether or not we have the sense of self, the personal dignity, the breadth of experience, and the freedom to choose which elements of the new culture should be accepted and which should be rejected. Whether or not we have those characteristics depends upon many things, but among the most important of them is education. And education was Alice Lloyd's gift to many in Eastern Kentucky.

The Caney Creek experience also shows clearly that a single individual can have a powerful impact on the course of history, especially at the grass-roots level. Obviously, Alice Lloyd had the support of many people from both inside and outside the local community, but without her the center and the college never would have existed. As the writing of social history (i.e., history written from the perspective of the masses of ordinary people) has become more prevalent, the importance of individual action in historical writing has been diminished. One of the most depressing expressions of this tendency comes from the French historian Fernand Braudel, one of the founders of the "new" history, who said, "When I think of the individual, I am always inclined to see him imprisoned within a destiny in which he himself has little hand."[52]

Alice Lloyd's example clearly refutes this assertion. She was able to change the circumstances in which she found herself throughout her life, and particularly during her years in Eastern Kentucky. At the heart of her educational philosophy was a belief that the young men and women of the mountains could become the agents of change in their own communities. In her own life she had overcome the limitations imposed by her physical affliction. She was certain that her students could overcome whatever obstacles stood in their way as well. She believed that the purposeful action of even one individual

could bring about beneficial change; the purposeful action of many such individuals could change a society.

Lloyd was a very complex individual. She had, in the words of one woman who taught at Caney Creek for two years, "certainly . . . her good points as well as those which may perhaps most charitably be described as her 'other points.' "[53] Her methods often reflected the competitive, no-holds-barred standards of the marketplace, not the far more genteel standards of the prestigious eastern women's colleges. Lloyd's life and work do not make her a candidate for sainthood. She was much too human for that. She had her blind spots and her prejudices, and her pragmatic tendencies sometimes got out of control. But as an individual she was what today's sports writers call an "impact player"—she made things happen. In the case of her work at Caney Junior College they were good things. Her overall goal—the development of an indigenous cadre of committed, progressive leaders—stands out as a worthwhile objective to this day. The Alice Lloyd story demonstrates that individuals are still important and that this particular individual warrants our admiration, respect, and gratitude.

Conversely, the Caney Creek experience shows that there are limits to what outsiders can accomplish in creating change. Lloyd's experiences in New Hampshire and in Kentucky prior to 1923 clearly show that local circumstances can, and usually do, frustrate the efforts of outsiders, no matter how well intentioned, if there is not strong, committed local leadership. Lloyd learned this lesson the hard way and shaped her life's work accordingly. Ironically, we are still learning the lesson. Ronald Eller said in 1987, "Appalachia will not be rescued from the outside, whether by the federal government or the private sector. Renewal must begin from within, with the revitalization of communities and the spirit of self-help and civic virtue."[54]

The fact that there are limits to what outsiders can accomplish does not mean that the help of outside resources should be denied by donors, be they public or private, or rejected by prospective recipients. Two Alice Lloyd College graduates of the 1960s, filled with the sense of purpose and commitment that came, at least in part, from their education, demonstrated how local leadership supported by outside funds can create a model rural medical center.[55] Similarly, the provision of free specialized training (a Caney Junior College education) in return for service in Appalachia (the unwritten pledge) has kept two generations of students from one college at home in Appalachia, stemming at least a bit the continuing emigration of young people.

The key point is that help should be given, and accepted, in a spirit of equality and mutual interest.

The difficulty in doing this should not be underestimated. Peter Berger examines the issue in *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change*. He rejects the doctrinaire approach to development both of the Left and of the Right. Instead, he proposes a "pragmatic [approach] which cuts across the capitalist/socialist dichotomy."[56] By development Berger means "*good* growth and *desirable* modernization" [emphasis in the original] as defined by the people undergoing the process.[57] Essential to this process is the existence of local cadres—dedicated and able leaders—"capable of combining a commitment to [local] human values with cool intelligence, moral engagement, openness of mind, compassion and competence."[58] And, I would add, it requires the availability of resources, both financial and intellectual, to give the cadres something with which to work.

Finally, the Alice Lloyd story shows that it is possible for a college to have a major and long-lasting impact on student attitudes and behavior. Caney Junior College was remarkably effective in producing graduates who reflected the values the college wanted to instill. Approximately 75 percent of the school's graduates settled in the mountains as contributing members of their communities, just as the founder wished, instead of joining the throngs of their contemporaries flocking to urban areas beyond the mountains.

The lesson for higher education is clear. If an institution wants to have a similar impact on its students, it must first have a very clear idea of the behavior and attitudes it wants to produce. Then it must organize every aspect of the school's being, including its hidden curriculum, to promote the attainment of its goal. At Caney Junior College this was the case: the courses of study, the extra-curricular activities, the faculty, the very atmosphere on campus, and the students chosen for special marks of favor were all part of the program meant to insure that the school's mission was accomplished. Any evidence of deviation from that mission was cause for immediate expulsion or dismissal. Whether or not today's institutions of higher education have the certitude required to install such a program is open to question. If they do, the Caney Junior College experience suggests that, at least in some circumstances, it can work.

The Caney Creek saga continues to unfold in Pippa Passes, Kentucky. Most of the students are still from the Appalachian area; many are

the first members of their families to attend college; and, if one is to believe what is said in the library, the dining room, and the classroom, most hope to be able to live and work in the mountains.

There is still a great deal of admiration in Eastern Kentucky and throughout Appalachia for the college. Some town-gown problems persist, though, and the Hindman newspaper occasionally prints an editorial asking that the college change in this or that way.[59] The troubles between the college and the Hindman Settlement School are long gone, and one finds people at each institution who have very close ties to the other.

Financial support still comes almost entirely from outside the mountains, in amounts that would have been incomprehensible during the Lloyd years. Moreover, it is not at all unusual for the college to receive a bequest from the estate of someone whose name went on the list decades ago. The old attachment between donor and recipient remains as strong as ever.

But, most important of all, the college stands as living proof that the men and women who went off to do good at the turn of the century did indeed do good. We do not have to apologize for their work, nor can we denigrate it. We must accept it for what it truly was: an expression of faith that the world could be made a better place.

Notes

1. The Alice Lloyd Story and Appalachian Literature

1. Lloyd always preferred to use her full name. Based on the material in various archives, she signed her letters and newspaper articles "Alice Spencer Geddes" or "Alice Spencer Geddes Lloyd" or "Alice S.G. Lloyd," never "Alice Geddes" or "Alice Lloyd." There may have been a special reason for doing so while she was in Kentucky. She was one of two Alice Lloyds active in state affairs in the first half of the twentieth century. The other Alice Lloyd was briefly principal of the Madison Institute in Richmond, Kentucky, and later lived in Maysville, Kentucky, from where she frequently corresponded with prominent Kentuckians such as Governor Alben Barkley and Laura Clay.

2. There is some confusion as to whether Alice Lloyd or June Buchanan, Lloyd's longtime collaborator, actually came up with the name "Pippa Passes." Given the fact that the U.S. government established a post office named Pippapass more than a year before Buchanan arrived on the scene, it seems clear that the naming was Lloyd's alone. The post office was activated on December 31, 1917, and named Pippapass in keeping with Post Office policy to limit place names wherever possible to one word. Lloyd did not have sufficient political clout until 1955 to have the name changed to Pippa Passes. The poem "Pippa Passes" tells the story of a young girl, Pippa, who brings goodness and redemption into the lives of the people she passes on a day's walk through her factory town.

3. See, for example, "School in Caney Valley," *Time*, 8 Apr. 1940, 52-53. "The School at Pippa Passes," *Appalachian Heritage*, Fall-Winter 1974-75, 13.

4. *Alice Lloyd College Catalog, 1990-92* (Pippa Passes, Ky.), 7.

5. The story of the modernization of the college and its conversion to four-year status is told in chap. 8.

6. The label "Betterment Movement" has been used by some scholars to describe the combined activity of a variety of benevolent groups working in Appalachia. The term, however, is of uncertain origin. I have found no contemporaneous use of the term in exactly this fashion. James Watt Raine used the expression "movements for betterment" to describe collectively various philanthropic groups in the mountains in *The Land of Saddle-bags* (New York: Council of Women for Home Missions, 1924), 245; and in 1916 Alice Lloyd named her first organization in Eastern Kentucky the "Caney Creek Civic Betterment Association." In view of the questions surrounding the use of this term, it is not employed in this study.

7. David E. Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1980), xvi-xvii.

8. Ibid., xvi. This book, as well as his next one, *All That Is Native and Fine* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1983), is in large measure a response to his own call for detailed studies of the efforts of the do-gooders from outside the mountains.

9. Ronald D. Eller, "Finding Ourselves: Reclaiming the Appalachian Past" in *The Cratis Williams Symposium Proceedings* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1986). Eller cautions against a continuation of the tendency among Appalachian scholars to show the Appalachian people as victims, and urges, instead, that they take a broader view. See also Stephen L. Fisher, ed., *Fighting Back in Appalachia* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1993), for an examination of the tradition of resistance in Appalachia; and Margaret R. Wolfe, *Kingsport, Tennessee: A Planned American City* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1987), for an example of Appalachians making and carrying out their own decisions regarding their own future.

10. See, for example, Durwood Dunn, *Cades Cove: The Life and Death of a Southern Appalachian Community, 1818-1937* (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1988), and Altina Waller, *Feud: Hatfields, McCoys and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860-1900* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988).

11. Leila Custard, "Flowing Through Pippapass," c. 1955, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

12. See esp. Whisnant, *Native and Fine.*

13. In *Feud* Waller describes how one of the two feuding groups packed up its belongings and took to the hills to avoid the complications that came with the encroachment of modern times on their rustic existence. In many ways Lloyd's reaction to change later in her life was similar.

14. Eller, "Finding Ourselves," 38.

15. See Alan DeYoung, "Economic Underdevelopment and Its Effect on Formal Schooling in Southern Appalachia," *American Educational Research Journal,* Summer 1991, 297-315, for a good example of how inadequate local leadership can frustrate otherwise well laid plans.

16. In earlier drafts of this work I used the word "natives" to describe the local residents in much the same way that Alice Lloyd did throughout her life. In New England it is a very common usage and has no connotations other than that those referred to were born in the area. For example, a New Englander might ask, "Is he a native or from away?" However, in reviewing

some of the oral histories collected in the Appalachian Oral History Project at Alice Lloyd College, I discovered that many people—Appalachian author James Still among them—objected to Lloyd's use of this term because it suggested a belittling of local people. Accordingly, I have refrained from using "native" to describe the people of Knott County even though my understanding of the term carries no such meaning.

17. See, for example, Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1978), 264, for Shapiro's discussion of John C. Campbell's recognition prior to 1920 that the Appalachians might be geographically one, but the people living there "were by no means socially homogeneous."

18. There is no attempt in this review of the literature to be completely comprehensive. No poetry or modern fiction has been considered, for example, nor has there been an attempt to cover all of the earlier works. However, the review does cover enough ground to make clear the way in which the literature has developed.

19. Shapiro, 28.

20. Waller, chap. 8.

21. Shapiro, 28.

22. This assertion is not totally proven but appears to be true. It is partially supported by a letter written by May Stone of the Hindman Settlement School in 1925 and a letter written by Lucy Furman in the same year. Both letters acknowledge serious difficulties in the relationship between Lloyd and Furman and the use of lawyers to settle the matter. Copies of both are in June Buchanan's papers at Alice Lloyd College.

23. Eliot Marlowe Robinson as quoted in "Four Kentucky Students in Boston on Tour Today," *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 Mar. 1922, 1.

24. See the autobiography of William Goodell Frost, *For the Mountains* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1937).

25. William Goodell Frost, "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains," *Atlantic Monthly* 83 (Mar. 1899): 311-19.

26. A brief sketch of Horace Kephart's life is contained in an introduction by George Ellison to the reissue of Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders* (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1976).

27. Ibid., 330-32.

28. Ellison in Kephart, ix.

29. Alice Lloyd's frequent references to the need for leaders in the local communities of Appalachia, and her belief that local youth could be the source of that leadership, are taken directly from the last two pages of Kephart's book. She also often used his colorful descriptions of Appalachia and Appalachians in her fund-raising literature when it suited her needs.

30. John C. Campbell, letter to Linda Neville, 21 Mar. 1918. I am indebted to Professor Nancy Forderhase for finding this letter for me in the Linda Neville papers at the University of Kentucky Library.

31. Harry M. Caudill, afterword in *Bloody Ground* by John F. Day (1941; reprint, Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1981), 325.

32. Caudill in Day, 326.

33. Ibid., 59.

34. Stewart L. Udall, foreword to *Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area* by Harry M. Caudill (Boston: Little Brown, 1962), viii.

35. Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1965), chap. 8.

36. See Rodger Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood: Minority Discourse and Appalachia* (Knoxville: UP of Tennessee, 1987), 118-19, for a good discussion of the weaknesses of this type of literature.

37. John B. Stephenson, preface to *Beech Creek* by James S. Brown (Berea, Ky: Berea College Press, 1988), ix. The book is an edited version of the original dissertation.

38. Thomas R. Ford, afterword, in Brown, 293.

39. See Brown, preface, for a good discussion of the way *Beech Creek* has influenced the work of various Appalachian Studies scholars.

40. See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1988), esp. chap. 13, for an excellent account of how these changes influenced the way history was written.

41. Ibid., 426.

42. Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1988), 2.

43. Cratis Williams, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction," Ph.D. diss., New York U, 1961.

44. Carl A. Ross, "Cratis Dearl Williams, 1911-1985," *Cratis Williams Symposium*, 3.

45. Williams, "Southern Mountaineer," 1145.

46. Ibid., 1207-15.

47. Ross, 4.

48. Shapiro, 265.

49. Shapiro's work echoed the growing disenchantment in the 1970s among American intellectuals with the "consensus" view of the nation's past that tended to emphasize similarities rather than differences. See Novick, chap. 11.

50. Shapiro, 265.

51. Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer*, xvi.

52. Brown, 175.

53. Whisnant, xvi.

54. Ibid., xix.

55. Ibid., xix-xx.

56. John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Urbana, Ill.: U of Illinois P, 1980). The book won four awards, including the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Book Award of the American Political Science Association.

57. Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers: The Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880—1930* (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1982), xviii.

58. Ibid., xxv.
59. Dunn, *Cove*, xv.
60. Ibid., xiii.
61. Ibid., 256.
62. Gordon B. McKinney, "Industrialization and Violence in Appalachia in the 1890's" in Joel W. Williamson, ed., *An Appalachian Symposium* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium P, 1977), 131-44.
63. Waller, 249.
64. Eller, "Finding Ourselves," 38.
65. Fisher, ed., introduction.
66. Eller, "Finding Ourselves," 38.
67. Cunningham, 132. I have refrained from explaining Cunningham's work on Appalachia further because I am slightly intimidated by a work on Appalachia that begins with the conquest of Britain by the Romans and moves forward from there. Just possibly the book is a brilliant conceptualization of one part of the human experience; just possibly it is not.
68. James S. Greene III, "Progressives in the Mountains: The Formative Years of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, 1913-30," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State U, 1982.
69. John M. Glen, *Highlander: No Ordinary School, 1932-1962* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1988), 1.

2. The New England Years

1. See, for example, *Time*, 8 Apr. 1940; *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 Apr. 1956; *Boston Globe*, 8 July 1917 and 5 Sept. 1962; *Chicago Tribune*, 12 June 1984; *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 15 Nov. 1953; *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 20 Mar. 1956; *This Is Your Life, Mrs. Alice Lloyd*, NBC-TV, 7 Dec. 1955; *Reader's Digest*, Jan. 1954.
2. See, for example, Jerry C. Davis, *Miracle on Caney Creek* (Lexington, Ky.: Host Communications, 1982); Robert Sloane, *Boston's Gift to Caney Creek* (Lexington, Ky.: Thoroughbred Press, 1984); Custard, "Flowing Through Pippapass."
3. Richard Lowitt, "Alice Lloyd," in Edward T. James, et al., eds., *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary: The Modern Period* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971).
4. Carolyn Turner, "Patterns of Educational Initiative," Ph.D. diss., U of Kentucky, 1986, 40.
5. My confidence was based primarily on the fact that no one had actually gone to New England to search out available sources.
6. The scrapbooks can be found in the Alice Lloyd College Library, Founder's Room, Pippa Passes, Ky. Unfortunately, some of the original material did not survive the sorting process.
7. "James Geddes," Albert Nelson Marquis, ed., *Who's Who in America 1910-11*, 6 (Chicago: A.N. Marquis, 1910-11): 726.
8. "Alice Spencer Geddes," Ibid., 725.

9. "Note From Mrs. Lloyd," *Athol (Mass.) Transcript*, 28 Mar. 1922.

10. St. Jacobs Oil was one of many such concoctions being sold during the latter part of the nineteenth century as a general cure-all for aches and pains. St. Jacobs Oil, which claimed to be made from a formula developed by the monks of the Black Forest, advertised itself, for example, as "The Great Remedy for Pain. Cures rheumatism, neuralgia, sciatica, lumbago, backaches, headaches, toothaches, sore throat, swellings, sprains, bruises, burns, scalds, frost bites." (This claim appeared on a label copyrighted in 1887.) If the elixir was like the many other products of its type, it probably achieved its relief by including a goodly portion of alcohol in the recipe. A copy of the label can be found in Hal Morgan, *Symbols of America* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1986), 79.

11. Alice Spencer Geddes transcript, Radcliffe College Archives, Cambridge, Mass.

12. See the city directories for Cambridge, Wakefield, and Stoneham, all in Massachusetts.

13. "Gilmanton," *Laconia News and Critic*, 27 Aug. 1913, 5. The *Laconia News and Critic* was the newspaper that served the rural area in New Hampshire where Lloyd spent her time in that state. News of her activities was included under various headings including "Gilmanton," "Gilmanton Iron Works," and "Smith Meeting House Hill." Microfilm of the newspaper is available at the Laconia (N.H.) Public Library.

14. Turner, 40; Custard, 7; and Davis, 25.

15. Alice Spencer Geddes said in 1903 that her parents lived in England. In 1913, her mother was living with Alice in Massachusetts and was described as having lived for nearly thirty years in England where her late husband had been in business. This would fit in with my guess that the senior Geddeses moved abroad in about 1885 and remained there until about 1913. Since it is unlikely that her mother would have remained in England after her husband died, one can reasonably conclude that he died shortly before her return.

16. Davis, 25; Turner, 39.

17. See Custard, 7, where the statement "as a girl Alice spent much time in England and Europe" can be found. Also see "Is a Real Newspaper," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 14 Mar. 1903, where there is a reference to a year Alice spent at Newnham College, Cambridge, England. Also William Hayes, her long-time colleague at Caney Junior College, recalls her describing some of the interesting people she met on the boat while making trips between Boston and England.

18. Cambridge city directories for 1885, 1887, 1889.

19. Ella Mary Geddes is buried on a hillside overlooking the college at Pippa Passes, Ky. She died in 1945.

20. In 1933 Lloyd was elected to the Executive Committee; her election was reported in the *Lexington Leader*, 15 Jan. 1933.

21. Charles Hubley Houghton, Phoenixville, (Pa.) *Republican*, 18 Dec. 1974. A copy of this article is in the Alice Spencer Geddes file, Radcliffe College Archives, Cambridge, Mass.

22. Laurel Anderson, "The School at Pippa Passes," *Appalachian Heritage*, Fall-Winter 1974-75, 108.

23. *Sixtieth Annual Catalog of the Teachers and Pupils of 1887-1888, Chauncy Hall School*, Chapel Hill-Chauncy Hall School Archives, Waltham, Mass.

24. Marlene Deahl Merrill, ed., *Growing Up in Boston's Gilded Age* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 112.

25. *Sixtieth Annual Catalog*, 19.

26. Ibid., 11. During the school year 1887-88 girls made up 26 percent of the student body. Earlier, in 1876, less than a dozen girls were in the upper division. In 1909 the school abandoned the practice of admitting girls entirely.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., 55 and 61.

29. A contemporary map, circa 1870, shows the area in which the Geddeses lived labeled as Cambridgeport, a description no longer in use.

30. Davis, 25; Turner, 38; Sloane, 18; and Custard, 7.

31. Alice Spencer Geddes transcript, Radcliffe College.

32. "Is a Real Newspaper," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 14 Mar. 1903. Bessie Brainard, one of the three new executives of the *Cambridge Press*, is reported to have graduated from Cambridge Latin School.

33. Marie T. Sullivan, registrar, Cambridge Rindge and Latin School, letter to author, 3 June 1992. Sullivan reported that she could find no listing for Alice Geddes, but cautioned that her records for the nineteenth century were not necessarily accurate.

34. Geddes transcript, Radcliffe.

35. David McCord, *An Acre for Education: Notes on the History of Radcliffe College* (Cambridge: Radcliffe College, 1954).

36. Ibid., 26.

37. Geddes transcript, Radcliffe.

38. "Is a Real Newspaper."

39. Elisabeth van Houts, Newnham College archivist, to author, 27 Nov. 1991.

40. "Women's Chronicle," *Cambridge Chronicle*, 3 Dec. 1898.

41. See *Cambridge Chronicle* during the years 1898-1902.

42. *Cambridge Chronicle*, 3 Dec. 1898.

43. "Woman's Corner," *Cambridge Chronicle*, Apr. and May 1902.

44. "Is a Real Newspaper."

45. *Who's Who in America, 1910-11*, 725.

46. It seems far more likely that she left Radcliffe College because the life of a student lacked the excitement and challenge she could find outside the academic environment. Her preferred mode seems to have been one of action, not contemplation.

47. "Local Couple Marries," *Boston Transcript*, 18 Feb. 1914.

48. Cambridge city directories for 1904 and 1905.

49. *Wakefield City Directory*, 1905.

50. The author examined copies of the *Wakefield Citizen and Banner*

for the period 1904-1908 at the Boston Public Library. It was not a very impressive newspaper.

51. *Who's Who in America, 1910-11,* 725; Lowitt, 423; Turner, 42.

52. The publisher announced the appointment of a new editor with the publisher's last name in Jan. 1904. Alice Geddes's name never appeared on the masthead.

53. Alice Spencer Geddes, "The Possibilities in an Old House," *Suburban Life,* Sept. 1911.

54. Alice Spencer Geddes, "Aristocracy's Badge: Hair Ribbons Mark Social Distinctions among School Girls," *Boston Globe,* 3 Nov. 1912.

55. Alice Spencer Geddes, "Red Sox and Giants Charm Globe Woman," *Boston Globe,* 3 Oct. 1912.

56. Alice Spencer Geddes, "The Slender Lady With the Dark Green Corduroy Bag," *Boston Globe,* 6 Mar. 1913.

57. Alice Spencer Geddes, "Running Away from Ourselves," *Boston Globe,* 17 Sept. 1913.

58. Alice Spencer Geddes, "The Saving Grace of a Smile," *Epworth Herald,* 13 Oct. 1914.

59. The Wakefield, Mass., Public Library provided a map, c. 1900, which showed that the street was only sparsely settled. Also a drive down the street in Nov. 1991 indicated only a few houses old enough to have been there in 1908.

60. Stoneham, Mass., city directories for 1908-1914.

61. *Who's Who in America 1910-11,* 725.

62. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest* (Chicago: Larkin, Roosevelt & Larkin, 1947).

63. "Is a Real Newspaper."

64. Alice Freeman Palmer's election as second vice president of the Cantabrigia Club was reported in the "Woman's Corner," *Cambridge Chronicle,* 31 May 1902.

65. "Is a Real Newspaper."

66. "Entertaining Manuscript Club at Sunset View," *Wakefield Item,* 27 June 1913.

67. An invitation to the event is included in the memorabilia collected in the Alice Lloyd College Archives.

68. "Is a Real Newspaper" and *Who's Who in America, 1910-11.*

69. Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform* (New York: Oxford UP, 1967), 4-5.

70. "This Is Your Life."

71. Alice Spencer Geddes, "Is Our Character Revealed by the Clothes We Wear?" *Boston Globe,* 8 June 1913. See Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford UP, 1973), esp. chap. 11, for a discussion of "Saint Jane."

72. "Is Our Character Revealed by the Clothes We Wear?"

73. Charles B. Davenport, as quoted in Mark H. Haller, *Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1963), 3.

74. "Gilmanton," *Laconia News and Critic,* 27 Aug. 1913, 5.

75. See, for example, "A Living from an Acre," *Technical World,* July

1913; "My New England Farm and Its Yield," *Craftsman*, Jan. 1914; "The Summer Vacation That Was Different," *Suburban Life*, June 1914; "Buying Ones Own Resort," *Boston Globe*, Nov. 1913.

76. "Gilmanton," *Laconia News and Critic*.

77. See "Gilmanton Iron Works," *Laconia News and Critic*, 4 Mar. 1914, for the announcement of the Lloyd marriage; and the issue of 22 July 1914 for the announcement of Ella Geddes's arrival in New Hampshire.

78. The author examined each edition of the *Laconia News and Critic* for the period June 1913 through Oct. 1915. The most intense coverage of Alice Lloyd's activities occurred during the period June 1914 to Feb. 1915.

79. A copy of the letter to the *Boston Transcript* was published in the *Laconia News and Critic*, 2 Dec. 1914.

80. "Mrs. Lloyd Replies to Her Critics," *Laconia News and Critic*, 30 June 1915, 2.

81. *Laconia News and Critic*, 6 Feb. 1915, 4.

82. Professor J.W. Sanborn, "Moral Quality of Rural Town of Gilmanton," *Laconia News and Critic*, 6 Feb. 1915, 4.

83. "Smith Meeting House, Gilmanton," *Laconia News and Critic*, 11 Aug. 1915, 1.

84. Alice Lloyd, letters to Ruth Huntington, 26 Jan. 1916 and 30 June 1917, Alice Lloyd files marked "restricted access," U. of Kentucky Archives.

85. Ruth Huntington of Hindman Settlement School, letter to "Mr. White," 16 July 1915, June Buchanan papers, Alice Lloyd College. Huntington explained to White, who was from Boston, that she was very impressed by the pamphlet that the Lloyds had prepared to describe their charitable work in New Hampshire.

86. The *Laconia News and Critic*, 22 Sept. 1915, reported that Ella Geddes "was visiting Pittsfield" (a nearby town), and county property records show that on that date she took out a $300 mortgage on the farm, presumably to provide money for whatever fate held for her in Kentucky. (See n. 88)

87. The activities of the Community Club were covered regularly by the *Laconia News and Critic*.

88. The Belknap County, N.H., property records (Book 141, p. 352) show that Arthur Lloyd sold his farm to Ella M. Geddes on 20 June 1914. She owned the property until 1923, when she sold it (Book 170, p. 292).

89. "School in Caney Valley," *Time*, 8 Apr. 1940.

90. Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians* (New York: Oxford UP, 1985), vii.

91. See, for example, Turner, 43; Davis, 26; and Custard, 8.

92. Arthur Mann, *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1954), 234.

93. An excellent account of what life was like for a young woman in Boston at the end of the nineteenth century is found in Merrill. Lucy Stone's dying words to her daughter are found on p. 239.

94. See Merrill 199-236, for numerous mentions of "Mamie," which was the name Molineux was known by among her school friends.

95. Mann, 229.

96. *Who's Who in America 1910-11*, 725.

97. Charles Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1954).

98. Hopkins, 113.

99. Mann, 78 and Hopkins, 81-86.

100. Mann, 217-226.

101. Notable among the works in this area are Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *A Generation of Women: Education in the Lives of Progressive Reformers* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1979), and Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982).

102. Among Alice Lloyd's mementoes at the Alice Lloyd College Archives is a pamphlet announcing the 1913-1914 class schedule for "The Geddes Living-Writing Courses." In the announcement she makes plain that her school emphasizes writing that will sell, not writing that wants to be seen as "art."

103. Robert A. Woods, ed., *Americans in Process: A Settlement Study* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1902).

104. T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 75.

105. The sequence of events in New Hampshire (i.e., the summer visit in preparation for a permanent move, her mother's purchase of Arthur Lloyd's farm, and the search for another rural posting when things went sour in New Hampshire) demonstrates that Lloyd and her mother had decided to abandon city life.

106. Anon., letter to June Buchanan, undated, June Buchanan Papers, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

107. Ibid.

108. William Hayes, personal interview, 12 Oct. 1991.

109. There is some confusion regarding whether Lloyd had poliomyelitis or spinal meningitis. Based on a letter written to her on 9 Sept. 1945 by Denzil Barker, a medical doctor who had known Lloyd since he was a boy and with whom she often corresponded about her health, it was clearly poliomyelitis. The letter specifically refers to "the residual deformities of poliomyelitis."

110. Dating the illness is probably not important, but the period of time that elapsed from the time she entered Chauncy Hall until she entered Radcliffe College is one year more than one would normally expect. The missing year could have been spent in convalescence. Or it could be that the illness was the reason there is a three-year gap between Lloyd's freshman and sophomore years at Radcliffe College in the 1890s.

111. William Hayes, personal interview, 12 Oct. 1991.

3. Community Development in Knott County

1. Ruth Huntington, of Hindman Settlement School, letter to "Mr. White," 16 July 1915, June Buchanan papers, Alice Lloyd College. White was Henry White, president of the University Press in Cambridge, Mass.

2. See W.R. Thomas, *Life among the Hills and Mountains of Kentucky* (Louisville: Standard Printing, 1926), 339-54, for a brief account of Knott County in the 1920s; and Faith M. Williams, et al., *Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky*, Technical Bulletin No. 576 (Washington, D.C.: USDA, 1937), for a very detailed look at lifestyles in the 1930s.

3. *Louisville Commercial*, 8 July 1885. The full article is included in *Appalachian Heritage*, Fall-Winter 1974-75, 7-9.

4. "Knott County Comes into Being," *Appalachian Heritage*, Fall-Winter 1974-75, 11.

5. Ron Daley, "Hindman Life in the 1920's," *Troublesome Creek Times*, 25 July 1984, 5.

6. Mildred Davidson Creighton, "Beckham Combs Career Spanned Critical Period," *Troublesome Creek Times*, 25 July 1984, B1.

7. Carew Slone, taped interview, tape no. 55 A & B, 7 July 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College, Pippa Passes, Ky.

8. John Ed Pierce, "Alice Slone on Cordia," *Louisville Courier-Journal Sunday Magazine*, 12 Oct. 1980.

9. For example, the Alice Lloyd Archives contain letters from Lloyd to her counterparts at Hindman Settlement School that were written on one day scheduling a sporting event for students on the following day. A letter to her congressman dated 10 May 1917 was answered by him on 16 May.

10. In 1922, the *Louisville Courier-Journal* joined with Berea College in a major "development" project that had as one of its objectives "increas[ing] wholesome reading among the people" of Eastern Kentucky. The *Courier-Journal* was available for home delivery but subscribers were few.

11. Verna Mae Slone, in an article written for a special issue of the *Troublesome Creek Times* celebrating the 100th anniversary of Knott County, said, "We did not relate what happened in the outside world to our daily lives." *Troublesome Creek Times*, 25 July 1984, C5.

12. Cratis Williams, "Who Are the Southern Mountaineers?" *Appalachian Journal* 1 (Autumn 1972): 48-55.

13. In "Who Are the Southern Mountaineers?" Williams says, "On Troublesome Creek in [Knott County] it was discovered [in 1918] that every creek at all capable of growing corn (the one staple crop) had a population far in excess of its power to support, and that many of these people . . . were crowded into one and two room cabins, sometimes without windows."

14. Leroy Sturdivant, "Folklore Knott County," WPA Writers' Project files in Kentucky State Archives, Frankfort, Ky. However, it should be noted that this description is taken from Kephart, 314-16.

15. Sturdivant. The careful reader will note that this description is also taken from Kephart, 330-31. The original WPA document contains no attribution indicating that it is not the WPA writer's own work.

16. Creighton.

17. Verna Mae Slone, *What My Heart Wants to Tell* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1979), 137.

18. See, for example, Nancy K. Forderhase, "Eve Returns to the Garden: Women Reformers in Appalachian Kentucky in the Early Twentieth Century," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Summer 1987, for a good

review of Dingman's (and other Hindman workers') diaries and letters home describing mountain conditions. It is also important to remember that many of these same diaries and letters spoke glowingly of other aspects of mountain life, and the picture one gets from them is not all negative by any means.

19. Also see Williams et al., "Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky," 41, for a discussion of living conditions in 1930. Given the slow pace of change in Eastern Kentucky at that time, the conditions described are little different from those that existed in the 1920s. Perhaps the most graphic account of early-twentieth-century urban slums is found in the reissue of the 1890 classic by Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971). This edition contains many contemporary photographs that add immensely to the book's impact on the reader.

20. John C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921), 21.

21. Slone, *What My Heart Wants to Tell*, "Acknowledgement," vii.

22. Jesse Stuart, *The Thread That Runs So True* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1949).

23. Waller, 249.

24. "Boston People Working among Mountaineers of Kentucky," *Boston Globe*, 8 July 1917.

25. "A Mountain Civic Center," *Boston Transcript*, c. 1916.

26. "What Is the Ivis Community Center?" *Wellesley College News*, 4 Oct. 1917.

27. Ruth Huntington, letter to Alice Lloyd, 16 Sept. 1916, June Buchanan Papers, Alice Lloyd College.

28. May Stone, letter to "Mrs. Barnes," 15 Mar. 1925. Barnes was a friend of Alice Lloyd's and had complained to Stone about aspersions being cast upon Lloyd's work by Hindman Settlement School people. June Buchanan papers, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

29. William Goodell Frost, handwritten note to "Dear Rumold," 6 Sept. 1917, Berea College Archives.

30. Ibid.

31. See "The Quare Women," *Appalachian Heritage*, Fall-Winter 1974-75, 95, for the story of how Solomon Everidge came to May Stone's encampment and asked her to come to Troublesome Creek "and do for us what you are doing for them."

32. Alice Slone told her version of the story in taped interview no. 19 A, B, and C, 14 June 1971, conducted by Harriet Connor et al., Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives. The deed granted by Abisha and Mary Johnson to the Caney Creek Civic Betterment Association is on file in Book 35, p. 381, Knott County Records, Kentucky State Library and Archives, Frankfort, Ky. For an interesting account of this wall-papering tradition in Eastern Kentucky see Charles E. Martin, "Decorating the Appalachian House," *Appalachia and America: Autonomy and Regional Dependence*, ed. Allen Batteau (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1983), 14.

33. Various pieces of correspondence exist with the letterhead "Ivis

Community Center and Free Public Library" and the subhead "Branch Community Center on Caney Creek."

34. Charlotte Madden, longtime faculty member and librarian at Caney Junior College and a descendent of people who worked closely with the Lloyds during the early years, confirmed this to the author in an interview, 5 May 1992.

35. "Boston People Working among Mountaineers of Kentucky," *Boston Globe,* 8 July 1917.

36. The Lloyds' nine-page statement, "Constructive Plans for 1917," can be found in the Pine Mountain Settlement School files, Berea College Archives.

37. John C. Campbell, letter to "My Dear Miss Neville," 21 Mar. 1918, Linda Neville Papers, U of Kentucky Library.

38. The letters from Arthur Lloyd to his congressman are in the June Buchanan Papers, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

39. Alice Lloyd, letter to Linda Neville, 6 Nov. 1918, Linda Neville Papers, U of Kentucky Library. Lloyd's account to Neville of her failed romance was essentially correct, but it hardly reflected the real heartbreak of what happened. Charles E. Cake, a former Chicago newspaperman, had arrived at Caney Creek in April 1918. During the six months he was on site, a romance developed between the two of them, and in September 1918 they went to Cincinnati to be married. Literally at the moment Cake was expected to join Lloyd at the altar, he was found in his hotel room too drunk to stand. The *Cincinnati Enquirer,* displaying a bit of professional courtesy to fellow reporters, headlined its story on the event "Illness Halts Wedding." Cake's bender continued for several more days during which he attempted to blackmail one of Lloyd's major supporters in Cleveland. Her attempt to defend Cake led to the supporter's angry resignation from the Caney Creek Community Center Board and a public airing of the whole affair. The details, including newspaper clippings, the report of a private detective agency, and letters from the Cleveland supporters are in the Alice Lloyd "restricted access" file, U of Ky., Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections and Archives (hereafter sited as UKSCA).

40. "My Life Means More Than Romance," *Cincinnati Enquirer,* 12 Sept. 1918.

41. This composite of the center's activities is based upon a variety of sources in addition to the claims made by Lloyd in her periodic fund solicitations during the years from 1916 to 1923. The oral histories collected by the Appalachian Oral History Project contain the recollections of many who benefited from the work. The Alice Lloyd College photographic archives contain pictures of the model homes, the saw mill, the post office, and the many youngsters who attended the center schools. Still, one must remember Lloyd's habit of putting the best possible face on her activities. It is unlikely that on any given day one would have found all of these activities operating smoothly; but it is equally unlikely that one would have found that they did not exist.

42. Carew Slone, taped interview.

43. Alice Lloyd is quoted in Day, 66, as saying that 88 percent of the people of her area were "Calvinist Baptists." See Campbell, 188-89, for a brief review of the threat that the missionary churches posed for the traditional churches in Appalachia.

44. Campbell, 189.

45. Ibid., chap. 9.

46. Custard, "Flowing Through Pippapass," 104-5. The book he wrote was Henry E. Jackson, *A Community Center: What Is It and How to Organize It* (New York: Macmillan, 1918).

47. Carew Slone, taped interview.

48. Verna Mae Slone, *Common Folks* (Pippa Passes, Ky.: Alice Lloyd College, 1978), 78.

49. Verna Mae Slone, *What My Heart Wants to Tell*, 111-12.

50. For a discussion of the causes and results of dependency see Allen Batteau, "Rituals of Dependence in Appalachian Kentucky," in Batteau, ed., *Appalachia and America*, 142.

51. See Book 35, p. 545, Knott County Records, Kentucky State Library and Archives, Frankfort, Ky.

52. See Book 37, p. 500, Knott County Records, Kentucky State Library and Archives, Frankfort, Ky.

53. June Buchanan remained actively involved in Caney Creek Community Center until her death in 1987, just short of the age of 101. The rumors to the effect that there was a lesbian relationship between Buchanan and Lloyd seem unfounded. Both women married in mid-life, long after they would have been aware of their own sexual identities. Moreover, Buchanan did so while deeply involved in her work with Lloyd. Neither seemed to avoid male companionship in their youth, and both were said to favor male students over female students. They did share a cabin together on campus, but this hardly constitutes any sort of proof.

54. Jerry C. Davis, *Miracle on Caney Creek*, chapter 1.

55. The course was titled "English Poetry of the Nineteenth Century" and was taught by Vida Scudder in 1915-16 and by Martha Hale Shackford in 1916-17.

56. Buchanan took "English Drama through Shakespeare" from Katherine Lee Bates in 1915-16. Both Scudder and Bates are discussed as pioneers of the Settlement House Movement in Allen Davis, *Spearheads For Reform* (New York: Oxford UP, 1977).

57. See *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*, 316.

58. See, for example, "What Is Ivis Community Center?"

59. Buchanan took an extended vacation from Eastern Kentucky each year, she remained a lifelong supporter of Syracuse University (from which she received various honors), married in her late forties, and travelled widely on behalf of the college and for her own purposes.

60. William Hayes, letter to the author, November 1992.

61. Buena Ramsey Howell, taped interview, tape no. 42 A and B, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College.

62. This comment was made to Dr. Stephen D. Wilson, history professor at Alice Lloyd College, by Slone on 19 Oct. 1991.

63. See Jerry C. Davis, 87-98.

64. Jackson was one of Alice Lloyd's strongest admirers and recommended her work to various philanthropic groups.

65. Alice Lloyd, letter to Dean Boody, 26 Oct. 1917, Alice Lloyd "restricted access" file, U of Kentucky Archives.

66. See Greene, *Progressives in the Kentucky Mountains*, and Rhonda England, "Voices From the History of Teaching," Ph.D. diss., U of Kentucky, 1989. The latter concentrates on the Hindman Settlement School.

67. For a good description of what education was like in Eastern Kentucky in the early decades of the twentieth century, both the good and the bad, see Stuart. Cratis Williams's comment was made in a speech, "The Role of Appalachian Colleges in Appalachia's Future," a copy of which is located in the Cratis Williams file in the Ky. Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections and Archives.

68. The first use of this phrase was found in the 1961-62 *Caney Junior College Bulletin*, but it undoubtedly was used much earlier.

69. "The Mountain Problem Solved in One Generation," a fund-raising appeal sent out by Lloyd in 1929, includes this phrase and is typical of how she viewed the situation in Knott County at the time.

70. Elisabeth S. Peck, *Berea's First Century, 1855-1955* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1955), 13.

71. See Frost, *For the Mountains*, for a discussion of Berea College's decision following the enactment of the Day Law in 1904.

72. Vaughn was a sixth-generation Kentuckian and a graduate of Berea College. He had taken graduate work at the University of Tennessee and the University of Chicago. Prior to coming to Berea in 1914 he had been a school superintendent in Tennessee. Later he served in Europe with the Red Cross, was a Kentucky legislator, and became editor of *Mountain Life and Work*. In the latter capacity he had called for "a change in the thinking of the outside world" regarding the mountaineer, and he felt that the mountaineer "must be brought to a different understanding of himself." See *Mountain Life and Work*, April 1925.

73. A complete description of the contest is included in *Manual of the County Achievement Contest for Eastern Kentucky*, a pamphlet of the Berea College Extension Department. A copy can be found in the Marshall E. Vaughn files, Berea College Archives.

74. M.E. Vaughn, letter to "Dear Mrs. Lloyd," 21 May 1923.

75. In a forward to the *Manual of the County Achievement Contest*, Robert W. Bingham, president and publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, said that the paper was "glad to be of service" in "helping Kentucky help itself."

76. Alice Lloyd, letter to "Dear President Hutchins" (Frost's successor at Berea College), 8 Sept. 1922, includes a copy of the Sept. 9 edition of the *Beacon Light of Knott County*. In the best publishing tradition, Lloyd had post-dated the paper's publication in order to extend its currency as much as possible.

77. See Raine, *The Land of Saddle-bags*, 149, for a reproduction of the original photograph.

78. M.E. Vaughn, letter to "Dear Mrs. Lloyd," 21 May 1923.

79. Alice Lloyd, letter to "Dear Mr. Vaughn," 5 June 1923.

80. See Marshall E. Vaughn, "County Achievement Contest in Kentucky," in *Southern Mountain Life and Work*, April 1925, 14-19, for an evaluation of the completed program.

81. Vaughn, "County Achievement Contest in Kentucky," 15.

82. Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer*, 283-84.

83. A particularly good critical review of economic and social development theory and practice can be found in Peter L. Berger, *Pyramids of Sacrifice: Political Ethics and Social Change* (New York: Basic Books, 1974). Berger is better at describing what does not work than he is at describing what does.

84. Vaughn, "County Achievement Contest in Kentucky," 17.

85. H. Dudley Plunkett and Mary Jean Bowman, *Elites & Change in the Kentucky Mountains* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1973).

86. Ibid., 2, 84.

87. Ibid., 86.

88. Ibid., 84.

4. Higher Education Comes to Knott County

1. "Knott County Kentucky: Resources, Attractions, Opportunities," Associated Industries of Kentucky, c. 1927.

2. Custard, "Flowing through Pippapass," 64.

3. "Knott County Kentucky: Resources, Attractions, Opportunities."

4. Custard, 141-42.

5. Certificate of Incorporation granted to Caney Creek Community Center by the Secretary of State, 11 Aug. 1922, on file in the Secretary of State's office in Frankfort, Ky.

6. See Articles of Incorporation, Caney Creek Community Center, 22 July 1922, par. 3, on file in the Secretary of State's office in Frankfort, Ky.

7. The amendment was dated 19 July 1963 and is on file at the Secretary of State's office in Frankfort, Ky.

8. For example, in an evaluation of Caney Junior College conducted in 1938 for the University of Kentucky Committee on Accredited Relations, the evaluators concluded, "This institution operates without a functioning board of control." Letter of transmittal, Maurice Esay to Leo M. Chamberlain, Nov. 1938, copy in P.P. Boyd Papers, Box 4, U of Kentucky Archives.

9. See Richard Angelo, "The Students at the University of Pennsylvania and the Temple College of Philadelphia, 1873-1906: Some Notes on Schooling, Class and Social Mobility in the Late Nineteenth Century," *History of Education Quarterly*, Summer 1979, 179-205, for a discussion of the blurring of the lines between the various kinds and levels of schools prior to the advent of the modern American school system.

10. See chap. 6 for a more complete review of what happened to these early graduates.

11. The role of the University of Kentucky in accrediting colleges in the state is described in detail in Larry D. Stanley, "The Historical Development of the Two-Year College in Kentucky, 1903-1964," Ph.D. diss., U of Kentucky, 1974.

12. The sequence of events as described in the body of this work is clearly implied by a letter from Dean P.P. Boyd, chairman of the university's Committee on Accredited Relations, 13 Jan. 1928, to J.B. Holloway of the State Department of Education; and in a subsequent memorandum from Boyd to the committee, 7 Mar. 1928, in which he details the results of his correspondence with Caney Junior College. He recommended a "B" rating and the committee concurred. Boyd Papers, U of Kentucky Archives.

13. Anna C. Lee to P.P. Boyd, 11 Mar. 1928, Boyd Papers, U of Kentucky Archives.

14. The agenda for the Committee on Accredited Relations meeting on 22 Jan. 1929 shows that Dean Funkhouser was to report on his visit to Caney Junior College and Sacred Heart College. The chairman's pencilled notes on his copy of the agenda indicate that both were given class "A" status. Funkhouser Papers, U of Kentucky Archives.

15. The University of Kentucky has a large collection of Funkhouser's papers in its Archives. Among the papers are two speeches prepared by Funkhouser outlining his views on how the principles of eugenics should be put into practice. He recommended, among other measures, the enforced sterilization of a significant minority of the country's population. There is no record of Lloyd's holding such extreme views on the subject. Funkhouser Papers, U of Kentucky Archives.

16. W.D. Funkhouser, "Social Hygiene and Eugenics," c. 1928, Funkhouser Papers, Box 9, folder 14, U of Kentucky Archives.

17. "Report of a Survey of Fifteen Private Junior Colleges of Kentucky," Bureau of School Services, U of Kentucky, 1930, copy in P.P. Boyd Papers, U of Kentucky Archives.

18. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," Bureau of School Services, U of Kentucky, Nov. 1938, copy in the P.P. Boyd Papers, U of Kentucky Archives.

19. Ibid., 5.

20. Ibid., 35.

21. Ibid., 46.

22. Leo M. Chamberlain, secretary of the Committee on Accredited Relations, to "My Dear Mrs. Lloyd," 18 Jan. 1939.

23. Stanley, 68-74.

24. William Hayes, personal interview, 12 October 1991.

25. Irvine Ingram and J.M. Godard, "Special Study of Caney Junior College," Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 10-13 May 1951, 21-22. Alice Lloyd College Archives.

26. McCord, 10.

27. "News Letter," March 1942, Caney Creek Community Center, Pippapass, Ky.

28. William Hayes to P.D. Searles, 18 Oct. 1992.

29. Charlotte Madden, taped interview, tape no. 15, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

30. Dexter Ratliff, taped interview, tape no. 336, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

31. Buena Ramsey Howell, taped interview, tape no. 42 A & B, 28 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

32. *Caney Junior College Catalogue, 1936-37* (Pippa Passes, Ky.), 2.

33. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 2.

34. Ibid., 20.

35. Ingram, 1.

36. Ibid., 6.

37. *Caney Junior College Bulletin, 1961-62* (Pippa Passes, Ky.), 19.

38. *Caney Junior College Handbook, 1935-36* (Pippa Passes, Ky.), 30.

39. Ibid., 30.

40. Hayes, personal interview, 12 Oct. 1991.

41. Lloyd solicited funds for the curtain from the children of Herbert Cushing, the proprietor and head master of Chauncy Hall in Boston, where she had gone to school. Lloyd offered to name the building housing the theater after their father if they would donate the curtain. They accepted.

42. *Handbook, 1935-36*, 30.

43. Ibid., 42.

44. Hayes, personal interview,12 Oct. 1991. See also Greene, chap. 9, for a discussion of the problems of recruiting and keeping workers at Pine Mountain.

45. James Still, personal interview, 14 Sept. 1993.

46. William Hayes, "Conversation," Alice Lloyd College "Newsletter" Feb. 1977, 9.

47. "Report of a Survey of Fifteen Private Junior Colleges of Kentucky," 1930, 37-43.

48. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 24-25. June Buchanan graduated from Syracuse University in 1913 and did graduate studies at Wellesley College from 1915 to 1918.

49. Ingram and Godard, 7.

50. Amanda Slone Hall Adams, interview by Pamela Gail Hall, 27 Feb. 1993, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

51. Adrian Hall, personal interview, 15 Sept. 1993.

52. See Slone, *What My Heart Wants to Tell*, 128 and 134, and *Common Folks*, 78.

53. Adrian Hall, personal interview, 15 Sept. 1993.

54. Ingram and Godard 6.

55. See Greene, 235-36, for a discussion on the motivations of the workers who went to Pine Mountain. It is likely that the same motivations were present among the workers at Caney Creek.

56. Charles Hubley Houghton, remarks recorded on the television program "This Is Your Life, June Buchanan," videotape, 1982, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

57. Houghton was given a new car by Lloyd in 1935 to use on his fund-raising trips. He continued to use it and maintained it in first-class condition until well into the 1960s.

58. Custard, 1 ("radiant ones"), and 219 ("incisive intelligence and iron determination"). See chap. 6 for a discussion of how Caney Creek Community Center extended its reach beyond its borders.

59. The sad story of Theodore W. Fowle is told in a series of letters from him to Berea College president William Hutchins in the fall of 1937. Caney Junior College files, Berea College Archives, Berea, Ky.

60. Alice Lloyd to "Dear Mrs. Taylor," 25 June 1936, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

61. Ada Vassar Taylor, untitled poem, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

62. Greene, 243.

63. See, for example, William Dutton, *Stay On Stranger* (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Cudahy, 1954), 128-32; Sloane, 16-21; Jerry C. Davis, 19-23; and Custard, 30-31.

64. Verna Mae Slone, *Common Folks*, 77-78.

65. John C. Campbell to Linda Neville, 21 Mar. 1918, Linda Neville Papers, U of Kentucky Margaret I. King Library, Special Collections and Archives.

66. As far as is known all of the checks were eventually made good except for one set. These belonged to a man whose wife, in utter frustration and despair that she would ever see cash, tore them up.

67. Adrian Hall, personal interview, 15 Sept. 1993.

68. Among them were Claude Frady, Devert Owens, Dan T. Martin, John Chris Cornett, and Denzil Barker.

5. Our Purpose Is to Train Leaders

1. See, for example, Jerry C. Davis, 133, and Custard, 72.

2. "The Mountain Problem Solved in One Generation" was the title of a fund-raising brochure sent by the Caney Creek Community Center to its list of contributors, probably in 1929. It contained an audited statement of 1928 financial accounts, hence the assumption that it was mailed in 1929. Alice Lloyd College Archives.

3. *Caney Junior College Bulletin, 1931-32*, 2, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

4. *Caney Junior College Handbook, 1935-36*, 1, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

5. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 1.

6. *Caney Junior College Bulletin, 1961-62*, cover.

7. *The Womån's Journal*, 10 Feb. 1917, 35, contains an article concerning Howard and Lincoln Memorial University in which this philosophy is stated.

8. Greene, 225.

9. See Rhonda England's dissertation for a good account of what the founders of the Hindman Settlement School intended.

10. Thomas.

11. Bevie Pratt, taped interview, 30 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

12. See Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 68-72, for a brief discussion of this issue as it pertains to the Appalachians; and James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988), chap. 2, for Washington's views on industrial education for blacks.

13. Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 90.

14. "From Log Cabin School in Kentucky's Feud Country to the Sorbonne . . . and Beyond," *Appalachian Heritage*, Fall 1974-Winter 1975, 55.

15. Pratt, taped interview.

16. Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 289, n. 180.

17. See Anderson, 243, for a brief account of the first use of the phrase "talented tenth" and DuBois's use of it later.

18. *Notes from the Pine Mountain Settlement School* (Pine Mountain, Ky: Pine Mountain Settlement School),Apr. 1926, 2.

19. *Notes*, 3.

20. The school acknowledges its debt to the Lincoln School in *Notes*. Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), 280-91, provides a good summary of the founding and philosophy of the Lincoln School.

21. Abraham Flexner, as quoted in Cremin, 280-81.

22. Vivian Sexton Flannery-Dees, "Resolved," *Appalachian Heritage*, Fall 1991, 48.

23. Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 150.

24. Ibid., 150.

25. Hollis Gibson, personal interview, 10 Oct. 1991. Gibson was a student at Caney Junior College in the 1920s.

26. See Stuart for an excellent account of what a classroom teacher could accomplish in Eastern Kentucky in the 1920s.

27. The Harvard University department that George Herbert Palmer headed included such famous philosophers as William James, Josiah Royce, George Santayana, and Hugo Munsterberg. The story of this department is told in Bruce Kuklic, *The Rise of American Philosophy* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1977).

28. See McCord, chapter 1, for a description of the way faculty were shared by Radcliffe and Harvard and for a list of the Harvard faculty who participated. Palmer is on the list, although Lloyd did not take any courses from him.

29. Lloyd reported in her column in the *Cambridge Chronicle* on 18 Mar. 1899 that Palmer spoke to the Cantabrigia Club on the subject of "Mothers As Teachers."

30. It was the practice at Caney Creek to make typed copies of handwrit-

ten communications that the recipient thought important enough to record. This note appears to have been one of them. There is some suggestion that Palmer actually visited Caney Creek to help develop the program (a comment suggesting such a visit is included in one of the center's pamphlets), but no real record survives of a visit.

31. Jerry C. Davis, 88 n. The speech Buchanan gave was to the graduating class of 1978 and was reported in *Newsletter*, Alice Lloyd College, July 1978.

32. George Herbert Palmer, *The Field of Ethics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1901); *The Nature of Goodness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903); *The Problem of Freedom* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912); *Altruism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920); *The Autobiography of a Philosopher* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930).

33. For a more complete review of Palmer's philosophy, see P.D. Searles, "The Philosophy of George Herbert Palmer and Education at Caney Creek Community Center," unpub. article, availablel from the author.

34. George Herbert Palmer, *The Teacher* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), 47.

35. In the school's early years, Jerry C. Davis reports in *Miracle on Caney Creek*, the center's sawmill whistle would blow each school day promptly at 11 a.m., and all (students and workers alike) would assemble. Miss June, as Buchanan was usually called, would then take them through some aspect of Palmer's work, using material she had developed for the purpose.

36. See Ernest T. Pascarella and Richard T. Terenzini, *How College Affects Students* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991), 41, for a description of what they call an "environmental press." In this instance they use the word "press" in the same sense as in the basketball phrase "full court press," to suggest intensified pressure to accomplish a particular end.

37. See Leonard L. Baird, "The College Environment Revisited: A Review of Research and Theory," *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, vol. 4 (New York: Agathon Press, 1987), 30-31 for a fuller discussion of this subject.

38. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 11, provides data for the 1937-38 school year.

39. During the latter part of William Hayes's term as president (1962-78), he made a special effort to broaden the base from which the college drew its student body both in terms of racial mix and in geographic origin.

40. See, for example, Buena Ramsey Howell, taped interview, tape no. 42 A & B, 28 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

41. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 13.

42. William Hayes to P.D. Searles, 18 Oct. 1992.

43. The importance of family background and reputation was emphasized by a number of former students and particularly by Adrian Hall, a student during the 1930s and now an administrator at the school, in an interview on 5 May 1992; and by Claude Frady, also a student in the 1930s and a retired college teacher and administrator, in an interview on 2 Oct. 1991.

44. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 4.

45. "Hub Woman Is Stern Dean," *Boston Record*, 24 Apr. 1941.

46. "Notes from the Pine Mountain Settlement School," 3.

47. Alice S.G. Lloyd to William Goodell Frost, 20 Nov. 1916, Berea College Archives, Berea, Ky.

48. For example, Adrian Hall was one of many Halls who attended Caney Junior College. His uncle, D. Hollander Hall, was also a former student. (D. Hollander married June Buchanan in 1934 when he was in his late twenties and she in her late forties. He died in 1949. Buchanan never used his last name as her own.)

49. James S. Brown examined inbreeding in the research he did in the 1940s. See *Beech Creek*, chap. 12. He concluded not only that it was a problem but that the people recognized it as such.

50. John. C. Campbell to Linda Neville, 21 Mar. 1918, Linda Neville Papers, U of Kentucky Library.

51. See Haller, *Eugenics*, chap. 9, for a discussion of eugenics and American law.

52. See Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), for a discussion of the rise of eugenics in late-nineteenth-century England.

53. Palmer, *Autobiography*, 6.

54. Ibid., 6.

55. Caudill traces the causes and effects of the outward migration from Appalachia in great detail in *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*.

56. See, for example, Alice Lloyd to President Hutchins, 8 Sept. 1922; to Dean McAllester (of the education program at Berea), 31 Aug. 1922; and to Marshall Vaughn, 6 May 1923; Berea College Archives, Berea, Ky.

57. Former president Hayes stated to the author that he and a few other faculty members were concerned about just this issue during the 1940s and 1950s but that they were in no position to change the stay-in-the-mountain pledge requirement until after Lloyd's death in 1962.

58. An early example of the Purpose Road is contained in a booklet printed at Caney Creek in 1923 called *Suggestion Book for Mountain Teachers, 1923-24*. A revised diagram appeared two years later in *Ethics: To Teach the Children How to Teach the Children by the Children, 1925-26*. In Davis's *Miracle on Caney Creek* a somewhat sanitized version of the Purpose Road is found on p. 89. In this version the "evil" part of self is no longer identified as such.

59. Palmer, *Autobiography*, 123.

60. Jerry C. Davis, 94.

61. See the videotape of the college's 75th anniversary celebration on 16 Oct. 1991 for examples of graduates reflecting upon their own lives using the vocabulary of the Purpose Road.

62. Monroe Wicker, work in progress, chap. 5, p. 5. An early draft of this manuscript was provided the author by Alice Lloyd College president Fred Mullinax.

63. *Alice Lloyd College Catalog, 1992-1994*, 125.

64. May Stone, letter to Ethel de Long Zande, 20 Apr. 1922, Pine Mountain Settlement School Collection, Berea College Archives. This 2,500-word letter is devoted almost entirely to criticizing Lloyd and her work.

65. Many examples of Christian Forum topics exist. For another set see Jerry C. Davis, 95-96.

66. "Audience Amazed by Kentucky Girls," *Boston Globe*, 23 Apr. 1928.

67. Laurel Shackelford and Bill Weinberg, *Our Appalachia: An Oral History* (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1977), 289.

68. Pascarella, 280-82, 293, and 326.

69. Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 257.

70. In addition to Whisnant, see Batteau, "Rituals of Dependence," in Batteau, *Appalachia and America*; Gaventa; and Cunningham.

71. George Brown Tindall, *The Ethnic Southerners* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1980), 21, as quoted in Jim Wayne Miller, "A People Waking Up: Appalachian Literature Since 1960," *Cratis Williams Symposium*, 54.

6. The Unwritten Pledge Redeemed

1. One frequently told story concerns Lloyd's practice of pinning photos of her favorite students on the walls of her office. In the late 1940s she removed one of the photos because the young man had failed to return to the mountains to honor his pledge. She had been keenly disappointed and was insistent that his photo be removed. When he finally returned to the mountains, after completing a diplomatic mission in Asia, she restored the photo to its original place.

2. Caudill, 326.

3. Ibid., 179.

4. Ibid., 184.

5. Ibid., 214-15. The number of young men taking the military service option was so large that even prior to the enactment of the Selective Service Act in 1940, 2,000 men from one Eastern Kentucky county (Harlan) were already in the military.

6. Brown, 217.

7. Ibid., 214.

8. Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers*, 157.

9. Whisnant, *Native and Fine* 289, n. 180.

10. Alice S.G. Lloyd to "Dear President Hutchins," 9 Aug. 1922, Berea College Archives.

11. "The Mountain Problem Solved in One Generation," a fund-raising leaflet sent out from Caney Creek Community Center in 1929, stated this requirement.

12. Williams et al., "Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky," provides a very detailed picture of life in Knott County during the 1930s based on the 1930 U.S. Census and on extensive field work. In view of the slow pace of change in Appalachia prior to the late 1940s, it is likely that this picture is valid for most of the first half of the twentieth century.

13. "Report of a Survey of Fifteen Private Junior Colleges of Kentucky," Bureau of School Services, U of Kentucky, 1930: 127.

14. Williams et al., 29 (for data on the average annual family cash income), 8 (for the average family size), 59 (for the annual expenses of attending Berea College).

15. Williams et al., 59. Brown 159, provides an analysis of interest in education by family class.

16. Wicker, chap. 3, p. 20.

17. Carew Slone, taped interview, tape 55 A & B, 7 July 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

18. Hollis Gibson, retired U.S. Treasury Department agent and Berea College graduate, personal interview, 10 Oct. 1991.

19. "Report to Southern Association of Colleges and Schools," Alice Lloyd College Archives, 10 Oct. 1963, 6 a, b, and c.

20. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," Bureau of School Services, U of Kentucky, Nov. 1938.

21. Irvine Ingram and J.M. Godard, "Special Study of Caney Junior College," May 1951, 4.

22. *Caney Junior College Bulletin, 1961-62*, 6.

23. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 9.

24. Wicker, chap. 4, p. 2.

25. See below for a full account of the annex at the University of Kentucky and chap. 7 for examples of how the school's administrators generally touted male role models.

26. Kephart, 132.

27. Brown, 75.

28. Day, 29.

29. See "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 9, for the evaluation committee's conclusion that the school's admission policy called for one-third women and two-thirds men.

30. These data are based on an analysis of the gender of graduates from Caney Junior College for every fifth graduating class from 1929 until 1964, except for 1944, when women outnumbered men because of World War II. The ratio for the early part of the period was slightly more heavily weighted toward men than in the later years, but not enough to invalidate the conclusion for the entire period.

31. The description of the society that produced the Caney Junior College students is a composite based on data contained in Williams et al.

32. Harry Robie, "Resolved: That on Balance the Settlement Schools Were Harmful to the Culture of the Southern Mountains," *Appalachian Heritage*, Winter 1991. See also Whisnant, *Native and Fine*. Throughout this work Whisnant creates the impression that outsiders came unbidden into the Appalachian region and replaced local customs and values with those they brought with them. The very concept of the "intervenor"—a word Whisnant uses frequently—carries with it a connotation of imposition. Yet, in the afterword he claims that "for every mountaineer who affirms and holds consciously to tradition, hundreds welcome (and even seek) the changes that

intervenors introduce." If his assessment concerning the degree of welcome given the outside do-gooders and their ideas is correct, it would appear that the sins committed by them were far less grievous (if not actually nonexistent) than he suggests throughout the main body of the book. Only if the interests of the one are to outweigh those of the hundreds can the action of the intervenors be condemned.

33. Alice Slone, taped interview, tape no. 19 A, B & C, 14 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

34. See ibid. for one local resident's explanation for why some became resentful about educational opportunities offered by the settlement schools.

35. Alice Slone was sent by Lloyd to Cleveland, where she grew up and was educated. She returned to the mountains in 1932.

36. Denzil Barker. He was also the student whose smoking habits were questioned by Alice Lloyd and who came in for special praise from the dean of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky. See nn. 48 & 49 of this chap.

37. Congressman Carl D. Perkins, an early Caney Junior College graduate, was chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor for many years.

38. Devert Owens and Townsell Hall.

39. Benny Ray Bailey and Grady Stumbo were honored for their work by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1976.

40. Ingram and Godard, 3.

41. These newspaper clippings can be found in the scrapbooks, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

42. As the reader may recall, the original saying is, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," and comes from Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, Everyman edition, 547. The implication is that when all else fails to convince, a scoundrel will pretend that what he is advocating is in the best interests of the country, and anyone who disagrees risks being branded a traitor. The use of the paraphrase here is meant to suggest that not all use of anecdotal evidence is praiseworthy.

43. An early fund-raising appeal from the Ivis Community Center included a photograph of twelve Berea College students whose education was being sponsored by Lloyd. Other students went to college in New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

44. William Hayes, personal interview, 12 Oct. 1991.

45. Custard, 149.

46. The Misses Hird to "Dear Mrs. Lloyd," 23 Mar. 1936, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

47. The old Caney Cottage had stood in the way of the University of Kentucky's expansion plans. The university proposed, and Alice Lloyd College accepted, a plan whereby the old property would be exchanged for another near the campus.

48. Alice Lloyd to "Dear Denzil," 26 Oct. 1936. A copy of the letter was found in June Buchanan's files at Alice Lloyd College. Denzil Barker, a

longtime student at Caney Creek Community Center, at the time was completing his bachelor's degree at the University of Kentucky. He later completed the M.D. degree at Tulane University, served in the U.S. Army in the Pacific, and returned to practice medicine in Knott County for the rest of his life.

49. M.M. White (dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky) to William Hayes (executive director of Caney Junior College), 2 Sept. 1962. A copy of the letter was included in Alice Lloyd College's 1963 "Report to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools."

50. See Sarah B. Holmes, "Annual Report to the President," in Herman Donovan, *Report of the University of Kentucky for the Year 1946-47*, U of Kentucky Archives, for an example of how the requirement that women students live on campus limited the total number of women enrolled.

51. The uses to which some of these stories were put are described in detail in chap. 7, which explores the fund-raising efforts Lloyd put in place at Caney Creek.

52. Claude Frady, "Like a Spirit . . . Something Intangible Is Caney," *Floyd County Times*, 19 Aug. 1954.

53. William Hayes, personal interview, 3 Oct. 1991.

54. One of those credited with remaining in the mountains did so for a number of years after completing his schooling but completed his career outside the mountains following a personal dispute that made his continued stay unwise.

55. The data had been compiled for a class reunion a few years ago and were found in the Alumni Office files. The office is now compiling similar information for all classes, but, since the project is working backward from the class of 1991, data are not available for the classes in which this report is interested.

56. Robie, 9.

57. Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 260.

58. Pascarella and Terenzini, 63-64.

59. Batteau, "Rituals of Dependence," in Batteau, ed., *Appalachia and America*, 162-64.

7. Faith and Friends Sustain Us

1. There is no exact record of how much money Alice Lloyd raised between 1915 and 1962, but $2.5 million is a solid estimate. There are accurate records for 1923-38 and for 1952-62. Assuming that the funds raised in the 1915-22 period were on average $20,000 per year and that the average raised for 1939-51 was the same as for the years for which there are records, the total easily reaches $2.5 million.

2. This estimate is based on the change in the consumer price index during the period under consideration.

3. It should be remembered that these estimates represent cash expenditures only and do not include the value of student labor, in-kind gifts, and the salaries paid teachers, which were below market rates.

4. Alice Lloyd to "Dear Mr. Smith," 20 Apr. 1936, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

5. See "Report of a Survey of Fifteen Private Junior Colleges of Kentucky," 1931, 129, and "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," Nov. 1938, 1, Bureau of School Services, U of Kentucky; and William Hayes, personal interview, 3 Oct. 1991.

6. *Caney Junior College Handbook, 1935-1936,* 4.

7. Houghton, the son of an early Lloyd supporter, told the story of the Ford on the "This Is Your Life Alice Lloyd" television program in 1955.

8. A copy of one appeal from Robinson to his fellow Harvard graduates in 1922 was found in June Buchanan's papers at Alice Lloyd College. The following year he wrote a "Miss Brown" concerning Brown's "opposition" to Lloyd's work and demanding that she provide proof of her charges other than "hearsay evidence of disgruntled or jealous people." Eliot H. Robinson to Miss Brown, 8 Mar. 1923, Pine Mountain Settlement School files, Berea College Archives.

9. Many examples of the fund-raising appeals in the Alice Lloyd College Archives were given by the original recipients' heirs. The college regularly receives sizable bequests from the estates of people who had given small amounts to the college annually for decades.

10. See Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1960) for a good overview of the subject.

11. Ibid., 117.

12. The history of this philanthropy is told in Raymond B. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

13. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1951), 403.

14. Fosdick, 9.

15. Philanthropic groups that bring relief to people in immediate need, as opposed to addressing underlying causes, still appeal to individual donors, as demonstrated by the success of organizations such as Save the Children, CARE, Catholic Relief, and the Red Cross.

16. Peck, 158.

17. Frost, *For the Mountains.*

18. Harnett T. Kane, *Miracle in the Mountains* (New York: Doubleday, 1956). See esp. 236-37 for a summary of the honors bestowed upon Martha Berry. That summary includes the results of a national poll conducted by *Good Housekeeping* magazine in the 1920s in which Berry ranked in the top dozen "most important women in the nation" along with Jane Addams.

19. See Kane, esp. chap. 12.

20. See Turner, "Patterns of Educational Initiative," for a good account of the Sandy Valley Seminary and the Pikeville Collegiate Institute.

21. We do know that the Russell Sage Foundation funded John C. Campbell's efforts in the mountains for many years, but this hardly qualifies as "significant support."

22. See Anderson and Woodward for accounts of the GEB and education for blacks in the South. The possibility that the philanthropists thought the mountaineers were beyond salvation is suggested by the large number who supported the idea that the mountain problem could be solved only by "relocating" the mountaineers to more "modern" areas.

23. On 2 Feb. 1919, Lloyd wrote to Congressman John Langley asking that he say a good word for her work to the Rockefeller Foundation. Presumably she was attempting to gain financial support from them at that time. A copy of this letter is in the Alice Lloyd College Archives.

24. Alice S.G. Lloyd, "Continuous Fund-Raising Maintains Caney Junior College," in C.C. Colvert and Maurice Litton, eds., *Junior College Fund-Raising Campaigns* (Austin, Tex.: American Association of Junior Colleges, 1953), 31-33.

25. The amount of money spent on postage in 1928 is found in "The Mountain Problem Solved in One Generation," mailed in early 1929, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

26. In her article on fund-raising (see n. 24) Lloyd is particularly careful to note that assistance from students is provided in their "spare time."

27. In the Sept.-Oct. 1923 "Newsletter" Lloyd stated, "If the [new] boys' dormitory can be furnished, at least 50 girls can be accommodated [compared to the 20 now present]." In the Summer 1932 "Newsletter" she said, "We do not want to turn the boys and girls of this settlement loose for the summer vacation to [live] among distant and suffering kin in sordid environment." Success depended upon the center's ability to educate the mountain young.

28. In the June 1927 "Newsletter" Lloyd lamented, "The floods have reached us and the work of six years . . . has been destroyed." In Spring 1955 her "Newsletter" shouted, "THEY MUST HAVE FOOD."

29. A letter to a Dr. Chandler from Lloyd, 2 Oct. 1935, said, "Our Christmas circular is starting Monday and from its proceeds we can pay you." Former president William Hayes reported to the author that during his years working with Lloyd it was the "Christmas Gift of Opportunity" that raised most of the money to run the school.

30. In the Autumn 1921 "Newsletter" Lloyd said, "David has dedicated himself to lifting the standards of public officials and public utilities in his land." In a 1934 "Newsletter" Lloyd told the story of a Caney Junior College graduate who, alone among five young mountaineer friends, avoided an early death or time in jail. (The same story was told again in a 1951 "Newsletter.")

31. Lloyd, "Continuous Fund-Raising," 32.

32. See, for example, David C. Ferner, "The Endowment Campaign," *Symphony* magazine, Aug.-Sept. 1985, Dec. 1985, and Aug.-Sept. 1986.

33. Bremner, 140, points out that the profession of "fund-raiser" came into being in the 1920s and the skills these people possessed were widely sought after. The more widely used these skills became, the less proprietary they would have become—and the more available to Lloyd.

34. There is no record of how Lloyd obtained the lists of students and graduates she initially solicited, but it probably was not through their respective alumni offices. In at least one instance the president of a college became very annoyed and asked that Lloyd cease her blanket mailings to Mount Holyoke alumnae. A copy of the letter containing this request is in the Berea College Archives.

35. "Caney Junior College Newsletter," Mar. 1923, Alice Lloyd College Archives. The only possible justification for the claim that "over one hundred thousand persons" were reached with the message is that Lloyd counted among them the readers of the newspapers that covered the Crusades.

36. A frequently told story concerning the financial return from the Crusades involves a young Crusader's answer to the question, "What would you do if you had a million dollars?" The young man said he would buy a mule and ride up and down the creeks collecting children who couldn't walk to school because they had no shoes. Within a few weeks a check for $500 arrived at the school with a note that said, "For the mule."

37. Alice Lloyd went on the 1922 and 1923 Crusades, and probably some others as well. June Buchanan led many more.

38. The best source of information about the Crusades is the Alice Lloyd College Archives, where there are several scrapbooks devoted exclusively to the Crusades and the Crusaders.

39. John W. Langley to Benedict W. Law, 12 Apr. 1923, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

40. "Visitors from Kentucky," *Bridgeport Post,* 17 Apr. 1933.

41. Claude Frady, personal interview, 2 Oct. 1991. See also Buena Ramsey Howell's account of her two Crusades in the videotaped record of Alice Lloyd College's celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Lloyd's coming to Caney Creek.

42. The first substantial gifts were received in the mid-1960s, and the largest gift to date was received in 1977 when the estate of Eli Lilly gave a gift of corporate stock which was eventually sold for $5 million.

43. It has generally been believed that Lloyd was tricked into going to California, where the show originated, and that she was not aware of her starring role in the television program until the curtain went up. Some of her colleagues from the 1950s have told the author that this was not so. Lloyd refused to take such an arduous trip until she learned what the trip's real purpose was—and how much money might be raised as a result.

44. Russell Rice, *Lexington Leader,* 20 Mar. 1956.

45. Will Hayes, Adrian Hall, and Claude Frady were among the people who reported that Lloyd had received attractive offers from commercial interests to use her marketing skills on their behalf.

46. See Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer,* 3-39.

47. "Free Library and Civic Club," Louisville *Courier-Journal,* 19 July 1916.

48. Lloyd's justification for calling the institution the "only one of its kind" could have been that she was following the relatively new concept of "community center" rather than "settlement house." Such a distinction was

lost on the Hindman workers, and Lloyd apologized for the misunderstanding to Ruth Huntington and others at Hindman Settlement School. See Alice Lloyd to Ruth Huntington, 29 Oct. 1917, Alice Lloyd "restricted access" file, UKSCA.

49. "What Is the Ivis Community Center?"

50. Fund-raising letter from Alice Lloyd to "Dear Radcliffe Girl," 23 May 1917, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

51. Alice Lloyd to Mr. Henry White, 15 Jan. 1916, Alice Lloyd "restricted access" file, UKSCA.

52. Alice Lloyd to John Langley, Feb. 1922, Alice Lloyd Archives.

53. Report of an interview with Alice Lloyd in the *Christian Science Monitor*, 24 Mar. 1922.

54. Helen Dingman to W.A. Walls, Feb. 1930, Berea College Archives, in which Dingman laments Lloyd's failure to participate in the conference's activities. See also Ethel de Long Zande, letter to Breta Child, 29 May 1919, Pine Mountain Settlement School Papers, Berea College Archives; and Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer*, 3-39, for a summary of the work done by the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers.

55. Alice Lloyd to John Langley, 20 Feb. 1919, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

56. Ethel de Long Zande, letter to Alice Danforth, 24 Mar. 1922, Pine Mountain Settlement School Papers, Berea College Archives.

57. May Stone to Ethel de Long Zande, 20 Apr. 1922, Pine Mountain Settlement School Papers, Berea College Archives.

58. Alfred V. Bliss, Eastern District Secretary, American Missionary Association, to "Dear Friend," 24 Mar. 1923, Berea College Archives.

59. The personal confrontation between Lloyd and Bliss is recounted in a handwritten postscript to a copy of Bliss's letter of Mar. 1923 contained in the Berea College Archives. Lloyd's actions following the meeting are clearly implied in letters exchanged between her and the Reverend Theodore Bacheler, a recipient of the original AMA letter, dated 9, 14, and 18 June 1923. These three letters are in the Alice Lloyd College Archives.

60. The existence of a concerted effort to discredit Alice Lloyd on the part of May Stone, Katherine Pettit, Olive Dame Campbell, Henry White, Annie Brown, Annie Bridgeman, Ann Cobb, W.T. Francis, Adam Campbell, and H.H. Smith is revealed by letters written by, to, and about them contained in the Alice Lloyd "restricted access" file, UKSCA. The quotations are from these letters.

61. Winifred G. Putman to Annie Brown, 7 June 1923, Alice Lloyd "restricted access" file, UKSCA.

62. Allen T. Burns, director of the National Information Bureau, to William J. Hutchins, president of Berea College, 17 Apr. 1924, Berea College Archives.

63. Allen T. Burns to W.J. Hutchins, 17 June 1924, Berea College Archives.

64. James Nowell to W.J. Hutchins, 10 May 1928, Berea College Archives.

65. Helen Dingman to W.A. Walls, Feb. 1930, Berea College Archives.

66. Alice Lloyd to H.E. Taylor, 27 June 1931, Alice Lloyd College Archives. In the letter she defends the "conventionality" of the religious program at Caney Creek while charging that a "man of his standing" should know better than to criticize an institution with which he has no direct acquaintance.

67. Lucy Furman to Elizabeth Watts, 8 Feb. 1954, Alice Lloyd "restricted access" file, UKSCA.

68. Marian Williamson to Elizabeth Watts, 6 Jan. 1956, Alice Lloyd "restricted access" file, UKSCA.

69. Campbell, 324.

70. Dunn, 256.

71. The "Newsletter" for Oct. 1930 declared, "There were for the Mountain-Folk two ruling passions:. . . Heaven and Moonshine Liquor." The "Newsletter" of Dec. 1936 was headlined, "He shot his self dead."

72. The Summer 1932 "Newsletter" regrets that "unemployment has added idleness and hunger to the normal vice and soot of mining towns."

73. The college "Calendar" for 1936-37 declared that "inter-married heredity and sluggish environment are sapping the life blood of the forgotten-heart-of-the-United-States." In a "Newsletter" from Dec. 1953 Lloyd is still bringing to her donors' attention her belief that "gradually, as the generations increased, they deteriorated, weakened by isolation, disease, and inter-marriage."

74. The "Newsletter" for Dec. 1953, after despairing of many of the mountaineers because of genetic deterioration, goes on to say, "But there are hundreds of others, above normal intelligence, who are without the least chance [if Caney Creek Community Center does not help]."

75. Alice Lloyd explains the purposeful use of crude printing techniques in her article on fund-raising. See n. 24.

76. Lou Morrissey, *Boston Traveller*, 1 Aug. 1921.

77. The play was written by one of the earliest Caney Creek students, Curtis Owen, who later completed his Ph.D. and became a college English teacher.

78. Dutton. The condensed version of *Stay On Stranger* was published in *Reader's Digest*, Jan. 1954.

79. Verna Mae Slone, taped interview, tape no. 660 A & B, 25 Jan. 1974, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

80. Verna Mae Slone, *What My Heart Wants To Tell*, xii.

81. Alice Slone, taped interview, tape no. 19, 14 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

82. William Hayes, personal interview, 3 Oct. 1991; Hollis Gibson, personal interview, 10 Oct. 1991; Adrian Hall, personal interview, 5 May 1992.

83. See Alice Spencer Geddes, "The Slender Lady with the Dark Green Corduroy Bag," *Boston Globe* 6 Mar. 1913, where Lloyd used this phrase.

84. "Newsletter," Autumn 1921, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

85. "Newsletter," Apr. 1923, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

86. "Newsletter," May 1938, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

87. Charlotte Madden, taped interview, tape no. 15, 10 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

88. Lloyd always maintained that this goodwill offering was voluntary. However, some students remember that there was subtle pressure put on them to participate in the program. For many years the offering was set at $10 or its equivalent per semester.

89. The financial results of the survey are reported in H.L. Davis, "Some Aspects of the Financing of Eleven Private Junior Colleges in Kentucky," Ph.D. diss., U of Kentucky, 1931.

90. See Custard, "Weathering the Crises," in "Flowing Through Pippapass," 165-87, for a good summary of the financial and natural calamities with which Lloyd had to contend during her years at Caney Creek.

91. See Dutton, "Stay On, Stranger," *Reader's Digest* Jan. 1954, 15, for his description of Lloyd's plan to raise a $5 million endowment.

92. See, for example, "Newsletter," June 1953, Summer 1954, and Spring 1955, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

93. See Turner, "Patterns of Educational Initiative," 45, for a discussion of Lloyd's desire "to be in charge and do things her way . . . [free from] male dictates."

94. Colvert, 31.

95. "Newsletter," Christmas 1948, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

8. The Post-Lloyd Era

1. *Kentucky Deskbook of Economic Statistics*, 1961.

2. Among the colleges and universities available to Knott County students in the 1960s were Eastern Kentucky University, Morehead State University, and Hazard and Pikeville community colleges, as well as Berea College and the University of Kentucky. Eastern and Morehead had been upgraded from normal schools; the community colleges were new on the scene; Berea and the University of Kentucky were brought much closer by the new highways reaching into the mountains. For many mountain youths Caney Junior College was no longer the only alternative.

3. This statement is not meant to suggest that each of these changes was good or bad, only that changes were occurring.

4. "Caney Junior College," *Camerica*, 8 Dec. 1963, 5.

5. "Self-Study Report, 1962," Caney Junior College, p. 2 of the blue section following p. 23.

6. *Caney Junior College Bulletin*, 1961-62, and *Caney Junior College Handbook*, 1935-36, 4.

7. "Boston's Gift to the Mountains, School Builder Alice Lloyd Dies," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 5 Sept. 1962.

8. "Discord at Caney Junior College," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, 19 Oct. 1961 and 24 Oct. 1961.

9. "1963 Facts and Needs," Exhibit 7, p. 2, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

10. See "Report of a Survey of Fifteen Private Junior Colleges of Kentucky," 1931, 129-130, and "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," Nov. 1938, Bureau of School Services, U of Kentucky, 36. Also Ingram and Godard, 7.

11. "1963 Facts and Needs," Exhibit 7, p. 2.

12. The minimum wage from 1956 until 1961 was $1 per hour. Assuming a forty-hour work week, a minimum-wage earner would have earned $160 per month compared to Caney Junior College's typical cash salary of $150 per month.

13. "College Founder Steps Down," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 24 Oct. 1960.

14. Alice Lloyd's death and burial are described in Jerry C. Davis, *Miracle on Caney Creek*, 129-131. Interestingly, the account was written as if Buchanan were in attendance at the funeral, when according to a number of people who were there she was not.

15. "Alice Lloyd [College], Bethel [College] Get Probation," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 29 Nov. 1962 and 6 Dec. 1962.

16. William Hayes, personal interview, 23 Oct. 1992.

17. In the interview on 23 Oct. 1992 Hayes recalled that Alice Lloyd's reaction to the evaluators' comments was, "We cannot meet your standards," and she was prepared to leave it that way.

18. "Minutes," Board of Trustees, Alice Lloyd College, 19 Oct. 1963, 2.

19. "Minutes," Board of Trustees, Alice Lloyd College, 8 Sept. 1962, 2. The decision to have Hayes report directly to the Board of Trustees was significant because it avoided the problems that might have arisen if he had had to report to June Buchanan, who was president of the college's corporate parent, Caney Creek Community Center.

20. "In Praising Alice Lloyd Don't Forget Will Hayes," *Lexington Herald Leader*, 14 Dec. 1982.

21. "Minutes," Board of Trustees, Alice Lloyd College, 24 Apr. 1965, indicate that Hayes was named president of the college at that meeting.

22. Hayes, personal interviews, 3 Oct. 1991 and 14 Nov. 1991.

23. "Conversation," Alice Lloyd College "Newsletter," Feb. 1977, 9.

24. "Alice Lloyd College Modifies 'Do-It-Yourself' Habit," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 19 Jan. 1964, and "Key Building Designed for Alice Lloyd College," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 17 May 1964.

25. "Annual Report, 1967-1968," Alice Lloyd College, 13.

26. "Conversation," 14.

27. See, for example, "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 5.

28. "Self-Study Report," Caney Junior College, 1962, p. 3 of third blue-page insert. This report contains both a 1956 report on mimeographed pages and the 1962 update on blue pages.

29. "Report of the President, 1971-72," Alice Lloyd College, for the years 1962 to 1972; and "Conversation" for the years 1973 to 1976.

30. See, for example, "Federal Grants Approved for Two Small Colleges," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 28 Sept. 1968, which announced that Alice Lloyd

College received $242,424 to supplement an earlier grant of $116,000 for a new science building.

31. "Alice Lloyd College to Receive $3.5 Million in Lilly Bequest," *Knott County News*, 17 Mar. 1977, 1. The stock was eventually sold for $5 million.

32. See esp. Ingram and Godard, 21.

33. See "Self-Study, March 1964," 45-69, and "Self-Study, 1973-74," 141-64, Alice Lloyd College.

34. Hayes, personal interview, 23 Oct. 1992.

35. "Report of a Survey of Caney Junior College," 5.

36. See, for example, Davis, *Miracle on Caney Creek*, which fails to mention his name; and Carole Ganim, "Significant Omission," letter to the editor, *Lexington Herald Leader*, 14 Dec. 1982, which reports her sadness that the Kentucky Educational Television program "This Is Your Life June Buchanan" also failed to mention him.

37. "Conversation," 12.

38. Leona Foutes, as quoted in "A Wahoo Tree Grew in Caney," *Mountain Memories* (Journal of the Appalachian Oral History Project) Dec. 1975, 18.

39. "Self-study, March 1964," 5.

40. "Minutes," Board of Trustees, Alice Lloyd College, 23 Oct. 1965.

41. William Hayes to "Dear Trustee," 22 Sept. 1970, included the statement that "the desire to deal with students as whole persons was the impetus" for organizing the school's program.

42. "Self-Study, 1973-74," 1.

43. Ibid.

44. "Annual Report, 1974-75," Alice Lloyd College "Newsletter," Jan. 1976, 1.

45. Alice Slone, taped interview, tape no. 19 A, B, & C, 14 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives, expressed the point of view that Lloyd wanted to limit the contact her students had with local people so they would more quickly accept the new ways she was introducing.

46. "Self-Study, 1973-74," 75.

47. "Minutes," Board of Trustees, Alice Lloyd College Archives, 10 May 1969. This is a description of the Alice Lloyd College Outreach program (ALCOR).

48. The Oral History Project was allowed to fade away in the late 1970s. However, the tapes and some transcriptions of interviews remain available for study. Recently (1992) the college has begun to put new life into the project.

49. "Appalachian Learning Laboratory," Alice Lloyd College pamphlet, c. 1977, 14.

50. "Appalachian Learning Laboratory," 23.

51. "Conversation," 13.

52. This conclusion is based on a reading of the Board of Trustees Minutes from 1962 until 1977, conversations with Hayes and other participants, and on the recollections of former students and neighbors of the college found in the files of the Appalachian Oral History Project.

53. For June Buchanan's comment see "Appended Discussion of Alice Lloyd College's Expanded Purpose for Appalachia/America," which was a more detailed account of a discussion that was summarized in "Minutes," Board of Trustees, Alice Lloyd College, 23 Oct. 1965.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. "Minutes," Board of Trustees, Alice Lloyd College, 13 Oct. 1967.

57. Ibid.

58. Hayes, personal interviews, 3 Oct. 1991 and 14 Nov. 1991.

59. When the college first decided to accept students from outside the mountains, it set quotas as follows: 80 percent from local mountain communities, 15 percent from families that had emigrated from the mountains, and 5 percent from families that had no mountain connections. In 1971 the administration requested that the ratio be changed to 50, 30, and 20 percent, respectively.

60. See Joe Creason, "New Era at Mountain College," *Louisville Courier-Journal Magazine,* 21 Apr. 1963, 42.

61. Verna Mae Slone, taped interview, tape no. 660, 1 Jan. 1974, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

62. Buena Ramsey Howell, taped interview, tape no. 42, 28 Jan. 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

63. Debbie Watts, "One Picture Is Worth a Thousand Words," *Campus Voice,* 18 Sept. 1975, 2.

64. Hayes, personal interview, 3 Sept. 1991, reported that he often would be told about critical comments made by drivers along the road, especially from those in funeral processions, concerning the behavior of his students.

65. One story that still circulates concerns the local law enforcement officer who put a black male student and a white female student in jail when he found them locked in a passionate embrace. The outraged father of the woman demanded their release on the grounds that what they were doing was perfectly legal. The law officer is said to have responded, "It's not here! And here they will stay."

66. For example, 25 percent of the informal group photos included in the 1976 Yearbook show blacks and whites together. Hayes made his comment to the author in an interview dated 3 Sept. 1991.

67. A striking illustration of the change in student appearance that took place between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s can be obtained by comparing the photographs in the school yearbooks for both periods. The books from the earlier years show male and female students in attire and involved in activities that Alice Lloyd herself would not have found objectionable. Ten years later she would have thrown up her hands in disbelief, as presumably did June Buchanan, who was still very much on the scene.

68. "Alcoholic Beverages," *Student Handbook, 1976-77,* Alice Lloyd College, 21.

69. Hayes, personal interviews, 3 Oct. 1991 and 14 Nov. 1991.

70. Jerry C. Davis, x.

71. Adrian Hall, personal interview, 5 May 1992.

72. "Minutes," Board of Trustees, Alice Lloyd College, 3 Mar. 1977.

73. Jerry C. Davis, 142.

74. Bill Neikirk, "A Living Legend in Appalachia," *Chicago Tribune*, 12 June 1984, contains the "sex and marijuana culture" quotation. Davis, 135, contains the "abandoned time-honored customs" quotation.

75. Neikirk.

76. Ron Daley, "Alice Lloyd College Begins a New Era," *Troublesome Creek Times*, 19 Aug. 1981, 1.

77. There has been some question about the financial condition of Alice Lloyd College when Davis arrived. However, a review of the college's financial statements for the year ending the day before Davis assumed his position confirms the school's financial health. The school did have debt at the time (a low-interest mortgage for a dormitory). But it had ample unrestricted funds (the Eli Lilly gift had just been received) to have paid off the mortgage if that had been necessary or wise.

78. *Catalog 1990-92*, Alice Lloyd College, 7.

79. "ALC Trustees Approve Four-Year Program," *Knott County News*, 3 May 1979.

9. Conclusions

1. Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), ix.

2. John Fetterman, *Stinking Creek* (New York: Dutton, 1967), 163.

3. Gerald Jonas, *On Doing Good* (New York: Scribner's, 1971), 3.

4. Harry Robie, "Resolved: That on Balance the Settlement Schools Were Harmful to the Culture of the Southern Mountains," *Appalachian Heritage*, Spring 1991, 10.

5. Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 259.

6. John Fetterman as quoted in Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer*, xv.

7. Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer*, xvi-xvii.

8. Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 257-60.

9. Ibid., 261.

10. Ibid., 12.

11. Ibid., 100.

12. Ibid., 13.

13. Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer*, xvi.

14. Gay, *Freud for Historians*, preface.

15. Ibid., 205.

16. Forderhase, "Eve Returns to the Garden," 261.

17. See, for example, Turner, "Patterns of Educational Initiative," 139; and Helen M. Lewis and Edward E. Knipe, "The Colonialism Model: The Appalachian Case," in Helen Matthews Lewis et al., eds., *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978), 25.

18. Williams et al., "Family Living in Knott County, Kentucky," 29. This report shows that per capita income at the end of the 1920s in rural Vermont was twice that of Knott County, and in rural Wisconsin it was nearly three times as great.

19. Gay, 182.

20. Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 260.

21. The local banks from which Lloyd borrowed money were constantly attempting to get control of the money as it came in so that their debts could be repaid first. One coal company sued the college in order to take over all of its land, claiming that the deeds were faulty. A New York court found in the college's favor.

22. *Caney Junior College Handbook, 1935-36*, 43, Alice Lloyd College Archives.

23. Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood*. Cunningham's thesis is that much of Western history beginning with the Roman conquest of Britain can be seen as an attempt by those at the center of civilization (i.e., the metropole) to co-opt those at its periphery.

24. Ibid., chap. 2, n. 92.

25. William Hayes reported that Lloyd often referred to the concept of "noblesse oblige," which carries with it the ideals of honor, kindliness, and generosity.

26. See, for example, David Whisnant, "Change: Yes! Middle Class Values: No!," *Mountain Review*, Sept. 1977, 25. Also see Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion*, 201, for a discussion of the problems one encounters in rejecting "middle-class" values on behalf of another group of people. Himmelfarb concludes, "If thrift, prudence, sobriety, industry, cleanliness and independence [are] middle-class values is it to be assumed that profligacy, imprudence, drunkenness, idleness, dirtiness and dependency [are to replace them]?"

27. It is remarkable that, in a country where as much as 70 percent of the population considers itself to be middle class, middle-class values would come in for so much criticism in academic circles. I have not yet seen a list of middle-class values—values that are truly exclusive to the middle class—to which one can seriously object. Certainly materialism is as classless a condition as exists.

28. Lears, 135.

29. Forderhase in "Eve Returns to the Garden" suggests that a major reason why women went into the mountains to do good was to escape the "modern and confusing" trends of urban life. It could well be that this was a significant reason for Lloyd's settling in New Hampshire in 1914.

30. Charlotte Madden, taped interview, tape no. 15, 10 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College.

31. Carew Slone, taped interview, tape no. 55 A, B, and C, 7 July 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College.

32. Claude Frady, personal interview, 2 Oct. 1991.

33. Buena Ramsey Howell, taped interview, tape no. 42 A, B, and C, 28 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College.

34. Monroe Wicker, ms. in progress, chap. 5, p. 13.

35. Alice Slone, taped interview, tape no. 19 A, B, and C, 14 June 1971, Appalachian Oral History Project, Alice Lloyd College.

36. Alice Slone interview.

37. Steven Marcus, "Their Brothers' Keepers: An Episode from English History," in William Gaylin et al., *Doing Good: The Limits of Benevolence* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 65-66.

38. Verna Mae Slone, *What My Heart Wants to Tell*, 110. In this respect it is interesting to note that Pine Mountain specifically stated that all gifts of clothing should be new clothing, probably to avoid just this sort of adverse reaction.

39. Verna Mae Slone, *Common Folks*, 78.

40. Verna Mae Slone, *What My Heart Wants to Tell*, 124.

41. Whisnant, *Native and Fine*, 260.

42. In the late 1920s the U.S. Post Office complained that its postmaster at Pippa Passes, Mrs. Ella Geddes, was too closely connected with the post office's major client, Caney Creek Community Center. The Post Office insisted on a change. Lloyd attempted to secure the job for D. Hollander Hall (one of her graduates and later the husband of June Buchanan), but he was rejected for the same reason as was Mrs. Geddes. In the end the position went to Mattie Pridemore of Hindman, on whose behalf the people of the county seat had lobbied long and hard. The correspondence between Lloyd and her congresswoman concerning this patronage struggle was found in Buchanan's files at Alice Lloyd College.

43. For one such amusing incident, although it probably was not amusing for the teacher, see Verna Mae Slone, *What My Heart Wants to Tell*, 128-29.

44. In the event, she lost the battle and the paved road was built.

45. Durwood Dunn, "A Meditation on Pittman Center: An Interview with Jessie Mechem Ledford," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, Spring 1991.

46. Forderhase, 244.

47. Ibid., 259, n. 56.

48. Harriett T. Kane, *Miracle in the Mountains* (New York: Doubleday, 1956).

49. Ibid., 312.

50. Batteau, "Rituals of Dependence," *Appalachia and America*, ed. Batteau, 163-64.

51. John H. Deaton, "My Settlement School," *Appalachian Heritage*, Summer 1991.

52. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, as quoted in Himmelfarb, *New History and the Old*, 12.

53. Olive Marsh, letter to Ethel de Long Zande, 15 Dec. 1923, Pine Mountain Settlement School Papers, Berea College Archives.

54. Ronald D. Eller, "The Search for Community in Appalachia," *Contemporary Appalachia: In Search of a Usable Past* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1987), 6.

55. Grady Stumbo and Benny Ray Bailey graduated from Alice Lloyd

College's two-year program in 1965. Each went on to obtain a doctoral degree: Stumbo, an M.D. and Bailey, a Ph.D. They then returned to Knott County to found the East Kentucky Health Services Center with money donated by outside philanthropic interests. The center has become a model for similar rural clinics throughout the country. As Stumbo remembers, it was during their Alice Lloyd College days that they "sorta got infected with the concept that one is supposed to do more for mankind than make money."

56. Berger, 219.

57. Ibid., 35.

58. Ibid., 220-21.

59. The reader should not assume from this statement that the level of town-gown problems is of any more concern than one would find in virtually any college town.

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