PROGRESSIVES IN THE KENTUCKY MOUNTAINS:
THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL
1913-1930

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
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the Bibliography, and I want to thank all of them for their time and interest in my work. I also want to thank these individuals who aided me in obtaining various information: Tommy Lee, Harlan County Court Clerk; Jeff Brock; and Mildred Anderson.

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INTRODUCTION

Perhaps one of the more neglected sides of curriculum study has been the exploration from a historical standpoint of the development and application of curriculum designs in specific school settings. Since its emergence as a subfield of education in 1918, curriculum has tended to focus on designs and their underlying rationales; most of the limited amount of historical research in curriculum has centered on particular theorists and their ideas at the abstract level. This is understandable when one realizes, as Michael B. Katz has pointed out in *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools*, that there is a paucity of studies documenting actual practices in schools.¹ However, as curriculum has entered middle age, there has been an increasing interest on the part of the newer generation of scholars to learn more about what happened in the past at the school level.

The awareness of a need for such research stems in part from attempts of the past twenty years to redirect and broaden the study of American educational history, efforts exemplified by Bernard Bailyn’s *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study*² and by the works of Lawrence Cremin including *The Wonderful World of Eliwood Patterson Cubberly: An Essay in the Historiography of American Education* and *Traditions of American Education*.³ With regard to curriculum specifically, Herbert M.
Kliebard of the University of Wisconsin has persistently underscored the need for historical studies both as a method of avoiding re-inventing the wheel and as a means of strengthening scholarship and giving the discipline a sense of identity through "a dialogue across generations." A few specific studies have appeared including one by Sidney Marland and Carleton Washburne describing the development and operation of the well-known Winnetka plan. Since 1979, scholars interested in the historical aspects of curriculum have been meeting annually in conjunction with the national conference of the American Association for Education Research seeking through the presentation of papers to promote historical investigations into primary source material in curriculum. The writer of a recent work on curriculum textbooks also urges further such work.

This dissertation attempts to provide such a concrete, practice-oriented study by examining the foundation, development, and actual program of a progressively-oriented private school in Appalachia, the Pine Mountain Settlement School of Harlan County, Kentucky. Founded in 1913, Pine Mountain operated until 1949 as a boarding school for mountain youth with simultaneous attention to community work. Later it provided elementary education for neighborhood children in conjunction with the Harlan County Board of Education, and since 1972, has operated an environmental education program and continued to serve as a leader in community development.

The boarding school years of Pine Mountain's history divide into two periods, 1913-30, and 1931-49, based upon the replacement of first generation leadership by a second generation with somewhat the
same concerns but a different style for attending to them. The second
generation's efforts at curriculum reconstruction received national
recognition at the time through a variety of ways among which was in-
clusion in one of the first significant volumes of case studies of
curriculum, Harold Spears's *The Emerging High-School Curriculum and
its Direction*. The first period, however, has not been documented
in any serious or detailed way by scholars, and for that reason, this
study focuses on it.

The women who founded Pine Mountain, Katherine Pettit and Ethel
de Long Zande, subscribed generally to the principles and methods of
education and community work associated with progressivism during the
first two decades of this century. While there is little direct evi-
dence linking them with any particular educational theorist of the
time, there are interesting parallels with some of them, notably John
Dewey in his notions of communication as a sharing of common purposes
and of the school "as a special environment" stripped of the less
beneficial features of modern life. Like progressive educators in
the cities whom they spoke of "following afar off," they too believed
in learning by doing, in actual experiences as a basis for instruction,
in industrial training as a means to character development, and in
the value of play as an educational tool. They too sought to help
the child master his environment and stressed his total development,
not just the academic side of it. Like many other progressive
leaders, they firmly believed that by properly educating the child,
one could change society to make it more humane, and that was their
ultimate goal. This study explores their implementation of these
beliefs in the building of their school and thus provides insight into the application of progressive principles in actual practice.

They also believed in the efficacy of the social settlement approach to working with communities, and as their application of it at Pine Mountain derived in part from their knowledge of urban settlements such as Hull House, Boston South End House, and the Chicago Commons, there is a closeness of methods and ideas which gives this study value to the general historian in seeing how settlement principles were adapted in a specific rural setting, again something which has not been studied in great detail in the literature.

The study should also have interest for students of Appalachia, for Pine Mountain was one of some two hundred schools founded during the so-called "mission school era" of Appalachian history. Even before the urban progressive movement had come into full bloom, other reformers, largely associated with the major Protestant denominations, had discovered that the Southern Appalachians contained, as one of them put it, "a people not yet graded up," a group, who, virtually living in colonial times, constituted "contemporary ancestors" of modern America. To these reformers, education was the principal method of ameliorating mountain life and bringing the people into the American mainstream. The vast majority of the schools they started were church-related and evangelically-oriented, intended, in the words of Richard B. Drake, "to save the mountain child from the errors of his background." However, there were other models including the Danish folk school and the settlement school, which used a respect for mountain culture as a starting point. According to
Frances Ingram, the first application of settlement principles to mountain work in the South came in 1895 at Susan Chester's Log Cabin Settlement located not far from Asheville, North Carolina. However, the pioneer in fusing settlement and school into a single institution was the WCTU Settlement School (known since 1915 as the Hendman Settlement School) established in 1902 by Katherine Pettit and May Stone. As Pettit was also central in the establishment of Pine Mountain, this study assumes significance both for the light it can shed on a specific school of the genre and on Pettit herself as a figure in the movement.

This study can also aid in the understanding of a school linked closely with a community by creating an awareness of some of the factors involved such as the problems inherent when a group seemingly superior in knowledge tries to help those apparently less knowledgeable raise their standard of living.

Pine Mountain during its life as an institution has had the good fortune to have been guided for the most part by history-minded individuals and, as a result, has an extensive collection of materials relating to its past. These include much of the official correspondence of the school administration over the years, minutes of staff and board meetings, reports by various staff members, schedules of classes, lists of textbooks, publicity materials, and photographs. In addition, several former workers or their relatives have donated letters they wrote home during their stay at the school. The most extensive collection of this sort is of the letters of Ethel de Long Zande, a collection located by the writer, catalogued by him during
the course of his studies, and soon to be turned over to the school. Additionally, the writer has been able to correspond with or interview some forty former workers and students about their experiences at the school. These various materials then constitute the resources of the study and have made possible the building of a detailed narrative of the school in operation.

Although curriculum experts often like to deal in models, a narrative approach has been chosen, because the founders of Pine Mountain were not given to making extensive designs on paper and the imposition of another's model on their work would be both anachronistic and destructive of important values which come from respecting the unity of their work. To them, each experience at the school was educational, and all were interwoven like the threads of one of the coverlets the students made in weaving class. While certain strands have been pulled up for close examination, the writer has tried carefully not to break them loose from the total fabric. A narrative approach also has the advantage of making it possible to deal with changes in the program across time and to trace relationships between events or conditions and the development of particular programs to meet them.

The dissertation is organized into three sections. The first of these, consisting of two chapters explores the events leading to the establishment of the school and some of the general operating principles of its program. The second section, composed of seven chapters, examines Pine Mountain as school, looking at the identity of the students, at the nature of the academic and industrial programs offered, and at the arrangements for the moral and cultural development of the
students. It concludes with a chapter on the staff and governance of the school. The third section takes up in three chapters the settlement side of the institution focusing on its general relations with the community and on specific projects undertaken for community betterment. A final "Retrospect and Prospect" reviews the principal themes of the research and suggests needs for further study.
Figure 1: Map showing Pine Mountain in relation to the region; from a brochure for visitors published around 1921.
SECTION ONE: BEGINNINGS
SECTION ONE: BEGINNINGS

"Yet they are begging us to come and establish a school. 'Come over an' civilize us,' was the request of a woman, who, in company with her husband and nine children, is often drunk. 'When will you women come an' larn us things?' These are the beseechings of the whole countryside."

Ethel de Long, 1911.

"A school is the most invited, wanted thing in Eastern Kentucky."

Unidentified Pine Mountain resident, 1911.

"The question everywhere in the mountains now is--how are the changes brought about by the fast incoming railroad going to affect the old ways and the old ideals. Will they simply bring in more comforts and substitute 'city' standards? Shall we lose the gracious, noble characteristics of our old-fashioned civilization, or is this to be developed and made to contribute to the wider life of the nation?"

Katherine Pettit, 1913.

"I have heart and cravin that our people may grow better. I have deeded my land to the Pine Mountain Settlement School to be used for school purposes for as long as the Constitution of the United States stands. Hopin it may make a bright and intelligent people after I'm dead and gone."

William Creech, 1915.
CHAPTER ONE: WHEN WILL YOU WOMEN COME AN' LARN US THINGS?

On a Friday in late April 1899, Katherine Pettit, a brown-haired, blue-eyed, thirty year old Bluegrass gentlewoman, boarded a train in Central Kentucky and departed on a trip that would lead ultimately to the founding of the Pine Mountain Settlement School. Pettit's destination was Harlan County located on the state's southeastern flank, next to Virginia. Though one of the larger counties in land area, Harlan at that time was one of the smaller in population, being land-locked by two parallel chains of mountains. To the south, the Stone and Black Mountain ranges formed the border with Virginia. To the north, Pine Mountain separated the waters of the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers with an almost unbroken wall. Though the crest of that mountain would have made a logical boundary between Harlan and neighboring Leslie and Perry Counties, the General Assembly in its wisdom had ordained that the valleys of Straight Creek and Upper Greasy be included in Harlan. It was in that isolated region, cut off from ready access to its own county seat, that Pettit intended to spend the next few weeks, hiking and learning more about the lifestyle that set the mountains apart from the rest of the state.

The trip had come about as the result of a letter to Pettit from Mary McCartney, a teacher at the Harlan Presbyterian Academy. McCartney, who had yet to meet Pettit, had written her following a
Christian Endeavor meeting earlier that year at which a young visitor had told her of Pettit's interest in mountain work and her love of the outdoors, enthusiasms which McCartney shared. Wasting no time, she sent Pettit an invitation to come tour the Pine Mountain region with her that spring. Pettit, sensing a kindred spirit, had replied favorably, and so, following a district Woman's Christian Temperance Union meeting in Paris, she and a friend, a minister's daughter named Annie Miller, had set out for Harlan.

Since the railroad had not yet made its way up the Cumberland from Pineville in neighboring Bell County, the two women had to go on through Cumberland Gap and up Powell's Valley to Hagan, Virginia, where they left the train and crossed the mountain on muleback, following the Hagan Trail down Catrons Creek and into Mt. Pleasant, the county seat. Mt. Pleasant at that time was a small town of a couple hundred residents. Despite inconveniences caused by hauling in goods over the county's rough roads, the citizens of the town lived in neat frame houses, shopped in one of some twenty business establishments, and could point with civic pride to a handful of recently-erected brick structures including the courthouse, the Presbyterian Academy, and the Masonic Hall. They had a weekly newspaper and a quantity of lawyers and land agents who lived in the expectation that when the railroad came up the river (and it would come they were sure), Mt. Pleasant would be a boom town and they along with it. Of course, the streets were unpaved, turning to mud in wet weather, and cows and hogs roamed them freely, but compared to the surrounding countryside, the place was a grand city.
Outside Mt. Pleasant, Harlan County was still a stronghold of traditional rural life, with most of its people living essentially the same life as their grandparents who had settled the county at the start of the century. In the absence of modern transportation (in traveling about the county one was limited to "nagback" or "shank's mare"), they were perforce subsistence farmers, raising and processing their own food and often still weaving their own cloth for clothing. There were no coal mines apart from little coal banks dug by individuals to supply their own needs, and the only hint of industry were the stacks of logs on riverbanks and in creek beds waiting for high water to float them downstream to mills in Bell and Whitley Counties. Although logging did not create many jobs in the county, it did bring a measure of prosperity to those farmers lucky enough to own a sizeable stand of merchantable timber, a prosperity frequently demonstrated by the building of a frame house. However, most Harlan Countians still lived in the single room and dogtrot log houses of the pioneers, and purchased goods through the barter of ginseng, beeswax, and farm produce. It was this lifestyle that Pettit had come to examine with the idea in mind of later doing some sort of social settlement or other educational work in the area.

On May 1, she, McCartney, and Miller set out on a three weeks' excursion that took them up and down the valleys and hollows of the north side of Pine Mountain into every home (when Pettit was not off inspecting the trillium, which she had never seen before in such profusion.) They found that though the people were poor in worldly goods, they were rich in hospitality and generous with what they had.
Childbearing and hard work to feed and clothe their large families had worn the women down, and the men in frontier fashion preferred to settle disputes with pistols instead of courts of law. Many had never crossed the mountain to the county seat, and nearly all found these lowland women something of a novelty in a world where the only outsiders were itinerant preachers, businessmen after coal or timber rights, or lawyers working on land titles. News of their presence quickly spread as did word of Pettit’s interest in starting a school.

One day as Pettit rested while McCartney tried to chase down a cow to get some milk to drink, two men from Big Laurel Creek came up to where she sat and began to talk to her. They had come purposely to find her and persuade her to visit their community and help them establish a good school there. While they made Big Laurel, located further north almost on the Leslie border, sound quite interesting, Pettit could not then go with them as she had to be back in Lexington shortly for her sister's wedding and to attend the state convention of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs. However, she pledged that if possible, she would return that summer and stay awhile at Big Laurel to determine if that were a good spot for the school she hoped to build. Though events would keep her from getting back that year, she did not forget that she had promised to help and after several years of working in other communities, she would return and start Pine Mountain as her magnum opus.

Pettit's interest in the mountains grew out of her family background. Born and reared on a stock farm just outside Lexington, schooled at that city’s Sayre Female Institute and in Louisville.
Pettit by womanhood had acquired the dignity and charm associated with the Bluegrass gentry of which her family had been a part since the state's pioneer days. Baptized into the Presbyterian Church, she had also acquired a strong sense of social responsibility, a sense heightened by the example of her maternal grandmother who had charge of her following her mother's death when Pettit was twelve, and of her father to whose concern for the mountain people she attributed her own. Visitors to the Pettit household fueled this interest—the Reverend E. O. Guerrant brought tales of his Presbyterian mission schoolwork and University of Kentucky professors told of the beauties of such places as Natural Bridge. The newspapers of the late eighties and early nineties were full of stories of mountain feuds and of the prospects for mountain industrialization. In 1895, after Perry County's French-Eversole feud received renewed prominence due to the death of the last of the feudists, Pettit, then in her late twenties, decided to go look things over for herself. Assembling a party of six other friends, she set out by train and spring wagon for Hazard, the Perry County seat. Although several days of visiting and hiking about the area had their effect, the most telling moment came one morning as the party prepared breakfast. A local woman, watching one of the group making biscuits, began asking questions. Being in a hurry to get through and get on with the day's business, the biscuit maker sloughed them off. Unhappy, the woman exclaimed, "I 'lowed you quare wimmin had come up here to show us wimmin the better way, but 'hit pears like you did not," adding after a pause, "I allus knowed thar was a better way, but I never knowed what it wuz." Pettit
observing this little scene and afterward remaining to talk to the woman, was struck to the heart. From that moment on, she knew where her commitment lay.

However, her family obligations at that point did not yet permit her to give herself completely to mountain work. Nonetheless she returned the next year with another group including Frances E. Beauchamp, head of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Kentucky, and Sarah West Marshall, a prominent churchwoman, to survey the field and assess needs. A report that fall to the state WCTU broached the possibility of trying social settlement work in the mountains, but the group limited its action to establishing a traveling library system, of which Pettit became superintendent, with the responsibility of getting various chapters to prepare boxes of books, of locating sites for their placement, and of keeping the boxes circulating from community to community. The Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, of which she was also a member, took similar steps, and she served on its library committee as well. She also continued to make regular trips to the mountains in early summer, taking with her reading material and flower seeds which she passed out free to those whom she met. As frankness and directness were among her more striking personality traits, she did not hesitate to ask questions about things she observed or to refrain from giving advice and demonstrating better ways of doing things, sweeping floors, for instance. Fortunately, her sincerity and friendliness offset any irritation her forwardness might have caused. By the time of her Harlan trip, she had become free to devote herself to the mountains, and so the Pine Mountain trip had
been in part a scouting expedition.

On her return to the Bluegrass, she went to Frankfort where the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs was holding its annual convention. Pettit, like many others of her circle in Lexington, was an ardent club woman, and the Federation which addressed serious social concerns of the day, provided a place for her to expend her energies on reforms rather than homemaking which held little interest for her. At the moment she entered the meeting hall, the reading of the report of the library committee was in progress. One of the local librarians, a minister from Hazard, had sent the group a fervent plea for help more substantial than books for the young women of his community. "Cannot the State Federation send us a woman—a gentle, womanly woman, a dear old-fashioned woman, young or old, who can win woman's true rights in that conquest that in itself is simply being a woman?" He thought that such a person could spend the summer there providing lessons in homemaking and serving as a wholesome role model in contrast to the immoral one provided by some of the local mountain women. The letter sparked great excitement in the room, and the Federation president, knowing that Pettit had just come from the mountains, asked her to give her views on the matter. Pettit described her recent experiences and expressed the feeling that some sort of settlement work would be beneficial. When she finished, one of the other members moved that they establish such a program, but the treasurer pointed out they didn't have the money for it. Immediately, one woman after another rose from her seat promising twenty-five dollars or some other sum for such work. They soon had nearly two hundred
dollars. They also had a leader, for Pettit indicated her willingness to head up the endeavor, and two recruits, one of them, May Stone, the Federation secretary and daughter of the chief counsel for the Louisville & Nashville Railroad.

Nothing is known of the planning period, but in July, Pettit left again for the mountains, this time on a trip led by H. M. Penniman, a Berea College professor, who had begun spending his summers taking outsiders on tours of the hill country. She brought with her, Madeline McDowell Breckinridge, a close friend and a woman who would become the central figure in progressive reform in the state during the next decade. The Penniman tour covered much of eastern Kentucky, going in via Wolf County and out over Black Mountain in Harlan County and back through Virginia to Cumberland Gap. Pettit's intention evidently was to visit Big Laurel and then go to Hazard to start the KFWC settlement. However, she was unable to complete the trip, for her brother became ill with typhoid and she had to go home. By the time she got there, he was out of danger, and a few days later, she was off again, this time bound for Hazard in the company of Annie Miller and a Miss Morris. (When Miller became ill and had to leave, Morris went with her and they were replaced by May Stone, Amy Thomas and Mrs. Theodore Harris.) They established their settlement on a cedar-covered knoll half a mile from town, calling it Camp Cedar Grove.

Camp Cedar Grove consisted of a tent in which they lived and a kitchen made from cedar branches and roofed with oil cloth. They decorated their quarters carefully so as to provide a model for their visitors whom they hoped would absorb new ideas by assimilation. Their
cots had spreads (mountain beds were often sheetless); their table, flowers and a clean cloth. They hung up pictures, a flag, and Japanese lanterns, and improvised a dressing table and a bookcase out of cloth-covered packing boxes. They suspended hammocks between the cedars, and guests could sit in steamer chairs and look at books and magazines or sip lemonade.

The first day, before they were fully unpacked, a young girl's inquiry about the hemstitched muslin tie one of them was wearing led to their first sewing class. They offered to show her how to make one if she got the material needed, which she did, bringing six friends as well, and tie making became the order of the day. They were soon conducting cooking lessons on a similar basis—the neighbors brought the food, and they taught them new ways to prepare it with emphasis on learning to make beaten biscuits instead of the usual mountain ones yellow from too much soda. They also stressed using less grease. All these activities, Pettit wrote later, they did on a give and take basis "without [their] knowing that it was our chief object to instruct them." They had a kindergarten, helped little girls dress dolls, taught a young teacher shorthand, and made many visits to community homes. During the Perry County Teachers' Institute, they held a reception and lunch for the participants, giving each teacher a picture of George Washington and two American flags for his school. It was six weeks of informal but meaningful interaction in which the women undoubtedly learned far more than they taught. One woman whom they encountered in a store had a slade—they didn't know what it was. She explained that it was a tool used in
weaving. She then came to visit them and inadvertently gave them the nickname that Pettit and Stone would carry with them in their future mountain work—"I never seed any quare wimmen like ye all before, and I have seed sich a good time today." 4

Out of Camp Cedar Grove and her earlier experiences, Pettit began to form ideas about mountain needs, conceptions which would remain with her throughout her career. In the report she gave to the Federation the following summer she said that the three most noticeable aspects of mountain life were the filth, the poor cooking and the use of tobacco by all ages. The people lived for the most part in one or two room cabins crowding perhaps ten people into windowless rooms whose furniture consisted of beds in each corner, a table, some chairs and possibly a stove. Fat bacon, cornbread, and vegetables fried in large amounts of grease formed the bulk of their diet. Bad health habits sapped their physical strength; though mountaineers allegedly were robust, they were in fact "tall, thin, sallow and far from vigorous," often looking ten years older than they actually were. 5

In her view, women and children were the definite underdogs of mountain society. The men, apart from occasionally engaging in logging, moonshining, or operating a country store, did not contribute much towards the work of the family. As she put it, "The women and the children do all the work. They plow the fields or hoe them when the hillsides are too steep for plowing, put in the crops, tend them, build and repair the fences, make the garden, keep the house, cook, wash, sew, milk, and everything else done at all." 6 Women married
young and later frequently led lives far removed from the Calvinistic principles of Pettit's upbringing. Schools offered little relief for these conditions as the country teachers were poorly prepared; some did not even know all the multiplication tables. (Hazard itself was an exception, having an excellent school.) The churches were often not much better, being in the hands of illiterate preachers.

The Federation, pleased over the success of the first summer's work, heartily endorsed a continuation, something for which Pettit had been planning since her return in September. She had spoken at Neighborhood House in Louisville, the only on-going settlement in the state, and had interested the WCTU in the idea of creating a permanent settlement and industrial school somewhere in the hills. In addition to the appeal from Big Laurel, she had received that summer a request from the Burning Springs school for help in adding an industrial program to their curriculum and a plea from eighty-four year old Solomon Everidge who had walked barefoot from Hindman to Hazard to see Camp Cedar Grove. As Pettit recounted it later,

When he was a lad, hoeing corn on the steep hillsides... oftentimes when he came to the end of the row, he used to look up the creek and down the creek and wonder if anybody would ever come and 'larn' him anything. He said, 'Nobody ever came and nobody ever went out,' and he just grew up without knowing anything, but he wanted the 'younguns' that were there now to have their chance." 7

This visit plus the fact that it was more isolated and less touched by urban influences led to their selection of Hindman as the site of the 1900 encampment.

"Camp Industrial," as they named their Hindman settlement, was a more elaborate complex than Camp Cedar Grove had been, consisting of
five levels strung out along the hillside starting with a cellar dug out of the mountain, advancing through a kitchen, a dining area, three tents for bedrooms and sitting room, and ending with a kindergarten area. It was also longer in time, lasting two and a half months. Their activities were similar to those of the preceding summer, but they had added a portable organ and songbooks to their equipment, making possible singing lessons. They also brought educational games and a WCTU library and started Sunday School work after finding that only a handful knew the Lord's Prayer and none, the Ten Commandments. They talked temperance to the teenaged boys, persuading them to sign the WCTU pledge, and they assisted local teachers through participation in the Knott County Teachers' Institute and through visits to area schools. They encouraged them to wash windows and decorate classrooms with paper chains, Japanese lanterns, flags, pictures, and ferns potted in cans—simple things which the teachers could easily do but which most had never thought of. They learned ballads and did lots of visiting, renewing their acquaintance with the woman with the slade, Mary Stacy of nearby Carr Creek. Her home was a revelation of the extent of their previous success for she had adopted many of their ideas. Using a cookbook they had gotten up on their return home and sent to local women, she had learned to fix rice pudding and beaten biscuit, and she had decorated her house with potted plants and fresh flowers.

One of the more revolutionary things they attempted during the summer was to upgrade the status of women by getting a boy to do their milking. While men did this as a matter of course in the Bluegrass,
it was unheard of for them to do it in the mountains. The "quare wimmen" had no intention of subscribing to a local custom which they thought injurious to their sex and so persuaded a local boy to let them teach him how. As it turned out, they also had to each the cow—the boy eventually had to don a skirt before becoming a successful milker.

After Camp Industrial, Pettit and Stone spent one more summer in tent settlement work before succeeding in establishing a permanent institution. This time they went to Mary Stacy's home at Sassafras on Carr Creek in the wilds of Knott County, running the settlement from July to October 1901. Stacy turned her house over to them to serve as the center's hub, and they redecorated it to their taste. They brought with them Pettit's tramping companion from Harlan, Mary McCartney, and also a professional kindergarten teacher, a Miss McNab. The kindergarten became a focal point of their work and involved older children as well as the young ones. Children who never before had had an opportunity to play were cutting and pasting, making cardboard furniture and wagons. McNab used materials at hand, teaching local geography by making a model out of sand from the creek bank. Some of the classes were held in the local one room schools, the teachers joining in the work with their pupils. However, school trustees balked at allowing the buildings to be used for Sunday School, not on grounds of separation of church and state, but out of religious prejudice, believing Sunday School unbiblical and therefore sinful.

These experiences underscored additional problems of mountain life needing attention—the lack of wholesome recreation and the extreme
fundamentalism and denominationalism of religious life.

Another added dimension of the Sassafras settlement came when Pettit visited and worked with a community of black families who lived at the head of a neighboring branch. At least two black women also came to the settlement itself to learn washing, breadmaking, and other skills. (Though Pettit came of slaveholding stock, she was broad-minded enough to see blacks as brothers and sisters in need. Later, according to Alice Cobb, Pine Mountain would be on the underground list of places blacks could stay when traveling through the South, something she attributes to the beliefs of Katherine Pettit.)

During the Sassafras summer, they kept in regular touch with Hindman, going there for the Knott County Teachers' Institute and sending their kindergarten teacher to help a missionary organize a kindergarten there. Even more important were the contacts and discussions concerning a better school. In the eyes of local leaders, the fabric of mountain life appeared to be disintegrating. Solomon Everidge thought each new generation was "wuss" than the one before, and a local judge believed the physical condition of the race was declining. Pettit and Stone returned to the Bluegrass determined to start a school at Hindman and mobilize the resources of the more favored parts of Kentucky to attack the problems of the not so favored, and "at the same time make the one appreciate the vitalizing, strengthening influence of the other."

As the two had become more deeply immersed in settlement work, they had begun to engage in a variety of activities to strengthen their skills. Pettit spent several months in residence at Louisville's
Neighborhood House, and Stone giving sewing lessons there. Mary
Anderson Hill, head resident at the time, later recalled that Pettit
"liked the simplicity of all our methods which were based on the
realization of the unity of man because we are children of God."9
The two also individually or together visited various industrial
schools including Berea College, Lees Institute, Hampton Institute,
and Tuskegee Institute. (Pettit particularly liked Tuskegee, because
of the great emphasis it placed on cleanliness. "When I asked Mrs.
Booker Washington how they managed it, she said when Tuskegee was
started, Dr. Washington said that they should have clean floors, if
nothing else was done,--that every bit of floor space should be
scrubbed every week, and then, if there was time, they would learn
to read and write, figure, make dresses, harness, and all the rest
of it."10) Pettit also studied nutrition at the Battle Creek Sanita-
tarium in Michigan. After they began raising funds for their Hindman
school, they made contacts with various urban settlements, often
staying at them on speaking trips, and settlement leaders such as Jane
Addams and Robert Woods became good friends.

Since Berea College president, William Goodell Frost, had
emerged by virtue of his conceptualizing speeches and articles as one
of the leaders in the movement for a better life for Appalachian people,
they early entered into a working relationship with him, often seeking
his advice and cooperating with him in getting promising young people
to attend Berea. Frost, in his work, stressed several principles to
which Pettit and Stone also subscribed, including the idea that moun-
tain people should be aided in doing things for themselves, that
mountain work should be Christian but nondenominational in nature, and that mountain youth should be encourage to stay in the mountains. "It is our aim not to set these people in motion toward the cities, but to make them sharers in present-day thought and comforts where they are."11 Though Frost's ideas had much influence on them in the early days, Pettit's perceptions of the situation came largely from her own experiences, and she always tested them against how they worked out in actual practice. One of her friends from Lexington, a circuit judge, gave her a piece of advice during this period which came to characterize her approach, "The main thing for you to remember is, that the people who have had the courage and faith of having done the thing can tell you many things. Ask them; but if you have common sense, just go ahead."12 She would not hesitate to get expert opinions, but she always weighed them against her own experiences and understanding of mountain life.

The drive for what became the Hindman Settlement School began in the fall of 1899. Pettit at that time aroused the interest of the state WCTU which became a sponsoring agency for the school (in the early days it would be known as the WCTU School at Hindman), and by April 1900, when a story outlining her plans appeared in the Lexington Herald, contributions had already reached fifteen hundred dollars, half of the three thousand she felt would be needed to start the venture, a figure they would attain during the next two years. To gather funds, she and Stone made trips to the East to speak to various groups and individuals, and their friends Henderson Drinkerfield and Ellen Semple created additional interest through
their reports on the tent settlements to the academic world.

The *Lexington Herald* story of April 1900, written for Pettit by her friend Madeline McDowell Breckinridge, outlined the basic principles behind the proposed school. They were consciously locating the school in a rural county without a railhead, because in mountain neighborhoods already opened to industrialization by the railroad, there had been an influx of outsiders who had filled the new jobs thus created, shutting the local people out of the benefits of progress and creating tensions which they felt would make settlement work difficult. Too, the people in the isolated areas were "anxious and starving for some variety in their empty lives [and] grateful to a degree that makes one ashamed of the small effort in their behalf that is made."

The institution would be a settlement school, a term they created echoing a line from an anecdote told by W. G. Frost who quoted a mountain mail carrier's observation on the differences between the highland and lowland cultures: "'Mixin' larns both parties." There would be give and take. The mountain people would acquire useful knowledge; the state of Kentucky the benefits of their strength—some parts of the mountains even then had "higher social ideals" than parts of the lowlands. Too, Pettit and Stone believed in the equality of Kentuckians—these people were of the same ancestry, the same stock as the rest of the state and were not to be treated as inferior. At Hindmen they would emphasize the good things of mountain culture—ballads, weaving, the natural beauty of the setting—for, as a school brochure would state later, they sought "To educate the children back to their homes instead of away from them," so that mountain society
would be transformed through their training and prosper through their vitality. The core of the work would be a common school program but supplemented by industrial work including cooking, sewing, and manual training as well as agriculture. They would have kindergarten and a normal school course for teachers. There would be a civic league to clean up the community and rebuild it on nobler lines. Workers would be people of good moral character who did not use tobacco and who had an enlightened Christian faith. Academic teachers would come from the best eastern colleges and finishing schools.

By August 1902, they had worked out all the necessary arrangements including purchasing three and a half acres of land towards which Knott Countians had contributed seven hundred dollars as a symbol of their support. Since they were situated in a town, albeit a very small one, the majority of the student body lived within walking distance, and when Hindman opened that month, it began with a daily attendance of one hundred and fifty, a number which by the end of the Pettit years had risen to three hundred. Initially, they had only a handful of boarders, but by the end of the Pettit era, they had around seventy whom they quartered in small groups in several houses rather than in one or two large dormitories. The idea was to provide the boarders with a model home life which they could adapt on their return to their own situations.

The school entered into a cooperative arrangement with the Knott County school system so that the first six months of the year constituted the public school term for Hindman and the remaining three, a subscription school. The county thus contributed to the salaries
of the teachers, but in order to attract good people from outside, the school supplemented them significantly.

A motto used on early brochures summarizes the curriculum—"To train the heart and the hand as well as the head." The school began with primary and intermediate academic departments along with the first permanent kindergarten in Eastern Kentucky. In 1903 they added manual training, probably the first such program outside the cities of the state. By the time Pettit left in 1912, they were giving lessons in carpentry, furniture making, blacksmithing, mechanics, agriculture, cooking, washing, ironing, housecleaning, basketry, sewing, weaving, and home nursing. In addition to formal instruction, the school provided practical experience in these areas by having students do nearly all of the work of the school. In 1909-10, the academic department expanded to include normal and high school departments. Music and sports formed a regular part of school life along with clubs, choirs, and dramatics, and the celebration of various holidays was a highpoint in the lives of the students.

The settlement aspect of Hindman found expression in a variety of ways. The school served as a meeting place for community organizations including the Loyal Temperance Legion, the WCTU, and a Current Events Club. It sponsored socials and parties on weekends, and on Sunday mornings, workers helped with Sunday School at the two local churches. Sunday evenings they held Chautauqua-like vesper services on school grounds.

The school tried to keep alive the best elements of traditional mountain culture, and through its Fireside Industries department, sold
craft items made by the neighbors including blankets, coverlets, and baskets. The women, recognizing the relationship of local ballads to those of England and Scotland, encouraged their singing, and Pettit took down the words to a number, sung mainly by Josiah Combs who later became a renowned folklorist, and had them published in a national journal of folklore. In 1909, the John C. Campbells visited the school while he was doing a study of mountain educational work, and Mrs. Campbell's hearing of "Barbr'y Eler" one evening at the fireside led her into the making of a major collection of words and tunes.

Health problems being at the top of the list of items needing attention in the area, Hindman quickly employed a trained nurse and by 1911 had established a small hospital housed in a student-built log building. Linda Neville, a friend of Pettit's from Lexington, visited the school in 1908, coming in part to learn about blindness in the mountains, and as a result became involved in helping arrange to bring children and adults downstate where they could receive free medical attention for their trachoma-infected eyes. To finance the costs involved in this effort, she started the Mountain Fund for Needy Eye Sufferers (Pettit's sister Minnie Bullock served on the Executive Committee) and went on to become a national leader in the fight to prevent blindness. In 1911, Dr. J. A. Stucky, one of the physicians who had been treating these patients, came to Hindman and held the first of a series of clinics he would hold at the school over the next few years. In keeping with Pettit and Stone's concern to avoid "pauperizing" the people by giving them things, he charged reduced rates rather than provide free treatment, and the people paid
willingly, often in such commodities as honey, baskets, chickens and eggs rather than cash which was hard to come by. As a result of his efforts and those of Neville, the United States Public Health Service investigated the extent of trachoma present in the Appalachians, discovering that it was a major problem and creating federally funded hospitals for the treatment of those afflicted with it.

In an effort to encourage better agricultural practices and to promote a sense of community, the school in 1910 held the first Knott County Fair. There were exhibits of produce, coverlets, handwork, baked goods and jellies with blue ribbons for the best in each class. There were athletic contests including relay races and pole vaulting, a political speaking, and all the excitement associated with bringing friends and neighbors together for a good time.

The school, as might have been expected, encountered a few obstacles, some major, some minor. Not everyone was happy to have a WCTU settlement school in Hindman. Liquor sales in the town dropped dramatically the first year leading the manufacturer to persuade two young men to try to run the women off in exchange for free liquor. Instead of running them off, the pair got themselves run into the nearby creek and ultimately into jail. People in the community were outraged and wanted them sent to the state penitentiary but settled for six weeks in the county jail instead. Later, both men, contrite and sorry for their misdeeds, came to the school and apologized. Mountain prejudices provided another hurdle, as some people didn't think women knew how to conduct a proper school. After "the wimmin" had successfully superintended the building of a log ice house, local
men reckoned as how they might be able to conduct school at that. A
third problem arose from being a public school part of the year.
Teachers had to have state certification which meant passing a test
sent out from Frankfort which demanded an almost encyclopedic knowledge
of facts relating to history, geography, physiology and other subjects.

The most serious obstacle to the school's progress came in the
form of fire. In 1905, 1906, and again in 1910, one or more buildings
burned. The 1910 fire marked a turning point both for the school and
for Katherine Pettit. She had carried in the back of her mind for the
past eleven years the promise she had made to the people from Big
Laurel, intending when the time was right to do something for them.
The earlier fires she had taken in stride, but by 1910 the problems
of getting community cooperation, the constant struggle with the
lower elements of town life, and the advance of the railroad towards
the community (it was then at Hazard some twenty miles away) had begun
to wear on her, and she proposed moving the school to the Pine
Mountain area. However, the people in a mass meeting proposed to
donate what was for them a substantial amount of cash and labor to
use in rebuilding, so she and Stone agreed that if certain adjacent
tracts of land amounting to about fifty acres were purchased by a
specified date, they would stay. If not, they would go to Pine
Mountain. The day came and so did the money, so Hindman continued.
However, Pettit's interest in Pine Mountain had been reawakened, and
in the spring of 1911, she began to take steps to do something about
it.
In the meantime, the woman who would be her partner in the creation of the Pine Mountain Settlement School had arrived at Hindman to be principal of the high school. Ethel de Long was nearly ten years younger than Katherine Pettit and of a much different background. She grew up in Montclair, New Jersey, in a home in which her younger sister Helen and her father were both at times semi-invalids, and her mother "delicate." She faced early the problem of making ends meet, for though the de Longs were middle class, their various illnesses made it difficult for them to support themselves at a fully middle class level. Forced at eighteen to assume a major role in earning their living, and at the same time determined to go to college, Ethel de Long moved her family to Northampton, Massachusetts, and made a home for them there while simultaneously attending Smith College. Obtaining loans to cover her own educational expenses, she supported her parents and sister through tutoring and teaching for a time at Easthampton High School.

Possessed of a strong intellectual curiosity, de Long thrived in the stimulating atmosphere of Smith. She majored in English, participated in debating, was active in Phi Kappa Psi and the Philosophical Society, and edited the Smith College Monthly. Graduating in the Class of '01, she went out into the world carrying with her a keen sense of loyalty to her alma mater and an equally keen awareness of the responsibility she had to be true to the ideals she had absorbed there and to make her education count for something.

From 1901 to 1905, she taught at the High School of Commerce in Springfield, Massachusetts, there coming under the influence of the
superintendent, Dr. Thomas Balliet, and the head of the English department, Antoinette Bigelow. Leaving her family behind in Massachusetts, in 1905 she went to Indianapolis where she taught at the Emmerich Manual Training High School. Her Indianapolis days were happy ones. She enjoyed the independence and freedom she had in the "west", as she called it, as well as the excitement of being on her own and the challenges of her job. She became good friends with Superintendent Calvin N. Kendall and his family, a friendship which endured until Kendall's death some years later. He had quite a bit of faith in her abilities and potential and did much to encourage and advise her professionally. Another important friendship from this period was with a fellow English teacher, Elizabeth C. Hench, who would later serve as secretary of the Pine Mountain Board of Trustees.

In the late summer of 1905, she made her first visit to Hindman. Antoinette Bigelow had become principal of the school and had invited her to spend a few weeks with her in the hills. De Long who had always loved the country drank in eagerly the joys of what she termed a "primitive, quiet, close-to-Nature life," delighting in rides through mountain forests, in glimpses of stars peeping over the ridge tops, and in visits to old-fashioned rural homes. At the same time, she made a strong impression on Pettit and Stone who began to try to get her to come to Hindman to work, an effort she resisted for several years primarily because she couldn't see any money in it. She needed every penny she could garner to pay for medical treatment for Helen and for the upkeep of the de Long menage. Nonetheless, she began to take an active role in promoting Hindman in every way she
could--giving talks in the Indianapolis area to raise funds, taking orders for baskets, getting up boxes of needed materials, interesting her mother and the latter's circle of friends in doing things for the school, writing articles to be used in publicity work, arranging appointments for Pettit and Stone when they came to Indiana, and even critiquing a paper Pettit presented to the National Conference of Charities and Correction. They visited frequently--Kentucky was closer than New England, and they entertained her both at their homes in the Bluegrass and at Hindman.

Despite a growing affection for the place and its leaders, de Long could not for a long time persuade herself that taking a position there would be practical. What she really longed for was to be a departmental head in a large urban high school, preferably in Cleveland which paid more than Indianapolis and which was the home of one of her best friends. Although the superintendent there appeared interested in her, no position materialized. In 1910, her father's health reached the point at which he had to be placed in a rest home. Helen had just graduated from Smith, but was not yet physically up to fulltime employment. De Long decided it would be best to close up their New England home and let her mother and sister board somewhere. At that moment, Pettit and Stone offered her the principalship at Hindman. As the job paid slightly more than her current position and as Hindman provided few opportunities for spending money, she decided that she would probably come out well ahead financially and so agreed to try it for a year.
Her first job on arrival was to organize the high school to meet a new Kentucky law requiring every county to have a high school that conformed with state standards. In addition to supervising the teachers and planning the school program, she also taught and had a formidable schedule by modern standards including four English classes, a grade school arithmetic class, and high school courses in geography, business correspondence, and teaching techniques.

Although life at Hindman had its trying moments due to such things as temperamental children, a monotonous diet, battles with rats and mice, and erratic mail service, it was also rich in adventures. De Long loved what she termed the "primitive thrills" of mountain life and plunged wholeheartedly into them. By the time she went to Pine Mountain two and a half years later, she could write of her return from a trip outside, "I have got to be such a wild'un that the first sight of a man in riding breeches and leggins, after civilized man, 'sent a considerable rapture to my heart'...I wish I'd been a pioneer woman--able to ride anything and shoot splendidly. I think I would have made a good one." She rejoiced in hikes and picnics around an open fire, in "seeing a mountain coquettish with rapid changes yet too nobly beautiful to deserve that word." The local language filled with Elizabethan remnants and colorful imagery had fascinated her from the start, and she seldom passed up the opportunity to visit in rural homes, to attend funeralizings or country socials. She developed an interest in mountain crafts, especially weaving, starting her own collection of coverlets. She also began learning ballads and by the time she left for Pine Mountain had mastered the dulcimer.
By the spring of 1911, Pettit was actively at work on plans for Pine Mountain. She had decided that before leaving Hindman she would help Stone raise an endowment fund of $100,000 so that the work there would be on a sound financial footing. At the same time, she intended to locate a site for the new school and do much of the preliminary work necessary in getting it started. On April 6, 1911, she wrote Lewis Lytle, a Baptist preacher then stationed on Big Leatherwood Creek in Perry County. Lytle, who had lived earlier at Hindman and who as magistrate there had helped break up the illegal whiskey traffic, now served a territory that included the head of Greasy Creek and Big Laurel in Harlan County. Pettit told him of her plans and asked him whether he knew of any suitable sites for a school. He replied in early May, describing a ten acre site at the mouth of Big Laurel which he felt would be ideal. He had also made a list of those in the vicinity interested in having a good school and reported that one man was willing to give five hundred dollars, probably in land, to help get it going. He thought that with a little work they could raise $2500 in lumber, land, and labor from the community and invited her to come look things over for herself, promising to go with her as guide and escort.

On May 16, Pettit set out for Lytle's home, accompanied by Hindman nurse, Harriet Butler, and driven by a Hindman student named Guilford, in a new spring wagon built at the school. They reached Lytle's house on the morning of the 18th, changing to horses at that point due to the roughness of the terrain. Pettit, who was somewhat stout, walked rather than risk injuring a horse with her
weight. They arrived at the mouth of Big Laurel late that same day. The head of the family with whom they were staying wasted no time in telephoning the neighbors inviting them to a meeting that night to start plans for the school. Pettit and Butler in the meantime got acquainted with his mother, a woman "gentle, ladylike, and dignified," who longed greatly for better opportunities for the younger generation and who was willing to give land of her own and to persuade others to provide timber and money. Of their visit, Pettit later wrote, "I came away with the determination to try to get this word to somebody who would give us the money to get the school started." 19 The meeting took place after supper in a dingy, one room school packed with bodies sweaty from their day's labor in the fields. Lyttle gave a sermon and then Guilford spoke on industrial education, a talk which greatly impressed the people who asked Pettit, "Is them the kind of boys you educate at the Hindman school?" 20

The next day they visited others in the area including William and Sal Creech who lived further up Greasy on Isaac's Run. The Creeches had been dreaming of a good school for their community for thirty years and were willing to give a hundred acres of land for one. One of their sons, Columbus, took the Pettit party to the top of Pine Mountain where Pettit found a rare purple rhododendron from which she picked a blossom sending it to de Long as a good luck symbol for the school-to-be. She also had a great surprise, for as they rested there in a wild spot seemingly far from anywhere, they heard the whistle of a passenger train on the just opened Black Mountain & Wasioto Railroad in the Cumberland River valley below. "You can imagine the shock...
when I realized that near this remote mountain region...was the railroad. Still, all the people on Greasy are very remote...but as I hear so much of the evils of civilization that the railroad first brings in, it makes me more than ever wish it were possible to give the mountain people a chance to have good industrial schools before the railroad comes, but one thing we may be sure, the railroad will never come across Pine Mountain to Greasy. 21 What irony there was in these words—the deed to Pine Mountain would be hung up by fear of a railroad and in the midtwenties a temporary logging railroad would jar daily across school grounds within a few feet of Pettit’s front porch.

Returning to Hindman, her ambition supercharged, Pettit immediately got out a publicity letter to a group of selected friends even though she had not yet fixed on a site. 22 In the letter she mentioned the tremendous loss of human potential she had observed. One of the key leaders at Big Laurel was a feudist who only recently had wrecked one of Lyttle’s church services by passing out moonshine to some of the congregation. One of the women they met had mounted her mule, "took her jugs in a bag, and some bottles in the saddle pockets, went to the moonshine still and rode back to her husband and children, shooting off a pistol all the way." Any yet, Pettit observed, "had she been started right in her young days, she would have been a great power for good." Even when some of the people they encountered had tried to get better things for their children by sending them to mission schools in towns they had failed. "The boys learned to smoke cigarettes and sit around and the girls to dress up
in fine clothes." Clearly what was needed was an industrial school of a Christian nature which would stress the dignity of work and whose curriculum would grow out of the life of the country.

To assist her, she wanted Ethel de Long. De Long still concerned about her family's welfare was hesitant about making any long term commitments but did agree to serve as one of the new school's trustees and to come for a few months at the start to help work out its "ideals." She also wrote her sister Helen urging her to prepare herself to work at Pine Mountain by spending some time at Hindman and Berea and hinted that their mother would make a perfect housemother. Although she had intended to spend only a year at Hindman, when Cleveland still had no job for her that fall, she wrote home with a certain relief, "I am awfully glad to have another year at Hindman...I feel as if I could give a certain stability of ideals to the school there." As a matter of fact, she was not only relieved, she was glad, for deep down inside she was hooked. Staying at Hindman meant she could help plan for Pine Mountain.

In November, Pettit made a second trip to Greasy Creek, this time accompanied by de Long. Pettit had concluded that land she had seen on Isaac's Run near the Creeches would make the best site for the school and had already gotten one of the local men to work checking land titles. They spend their time meeting with different neighbors and conferring with the Creech family. Their daughter-in-law Delia took the women to see the site that became Pine Mountain's. As they roamed over it daydreaming about where to put buildings and imagining how it would all look, they became convinced that this was
where the school belonged. There was more room than at Big Laurel, and there was William Creech's determination to get it for them and his vision of what it could all mean.

Creech, a native of Harlan County, whom, following mountain usage, they affectionately called "Uncle William," had grown up on Poor Fork of Cumberland River near the present town of Cumberland. The child of devout but impoverished Christian parents, his education had come from a one room common school with its three month terms and not overly educated teachers. At nineteen, he had served several months as a volunteer in the Union Army during the closing months of the Civil War. On his return, he helped his father farm and soon married Sally Dixon, a member of a prominent though not wealthy Poor Fork family whose relations included two Methodist ministers and a justice of the peace. Finding that the land his father provided him to live on was too exhausted to adequately support a family, Creech went in debt to purchase some undeveloped land ("wild land", the mountain folk called it) across Pine Mountain on the head of Greasy Creek, getting seven hundred acres for an average price of twenty cents an acre.

Only a handful of families lived in the area when the Creeches moved there in 1871, settling in a windowless one room cabin which Creech and his brother had already erected with the help of some friends. Here the Creeches would rear their nine children (five boys and four girls, of whom one died in infancy.). Asked years later, when living in a more substantial frame house, if she wouldn't have preferred to have had it when her children were small, Sal Creech snorted, "Lord God, but they wouldn't have amounted to anything!"
You could fling a dog through the cracks of that old log house, and the young'uns was in and out the hull time and the floor was wet all the time from their tracks and I b'lieve hit agrees with children."24

It was not an easy life. At first, Sal Creech was homesick, and it was a long time between visitors. Although through the sale of most of their cattle, they were able to pay off their debt within a year or so, keeping themselves alive in that country required a tremendous effort. Just to clear enough land to have a satisfactory farm took several years. Whatever they ate and whatever they wore came from their own efforts. Corn and flax were key crops, and there were sheep to mind and hogs to butcher. Their clothes came from the flax and the wool of the sheep which Sal Creech spun, dyed and wove into cloth. Weaving for her was an artistic vocation of the highest order, and her children later recalled that when she was weaving, "we'd have to go naked...for all the notice she'd take of us, and we'd eat all the peach pie we wanted, for dinner."25 On their feet, they wore shoes whose leather William Creech tanned and sewed together himself. Their sugar came from maples they tapped themselves, and their salt they hauled in once a year from a salt-works several days' journey away. Extra cash came from week long 'sanging' forays in the hills, ginseng roots being worth twenty-five cents a pound. Wild game frequently decked the table. All in all, those early years on Pine Mountain were much like those of previous generations of Kentucky pioneers and had their seasoning effect on Creech's character.
Creech soon became important in the community as a blacksmith (although his smithy operated only in the evenings and on rainy days). As he started making a little money, he decided to put it into additional land which he planned to divide among his children so they could have a start in life. He wanted to spare them some of the rough times he had had, but at the same time not be so generous that they would never have to work on their own. He realized that his choice conflicted with getting them properly schooled, but he felt that in view of rapidly climbing land values due to the arrival of timber and mineral speculators, he had better act while he could still secure decent tracts for them. So his own children attended the same sort of little district schools that he himself had attended as a boy.

Around 1883, the Creeches had an outlander as a visitor, a man of some education, who was impressed with the potential of the Greasy valley and predicted that in the future there could well be a large city and a "fine college" there. This last became Creech's dream, and as the years went by, he mulled over and worked out in his head a set of objectives and curriculum for it.

In the meantime he had opened a store (it took six days to haul a typical load of goods by ox sled from Pineville forty miles away) and lived the life of the good neighbor becoming an herb doctor, a dentist, and even ordering himself books on medicine. "An awful lot of people depended on him," recalls his grandson, Brit Wilder, and not just for themselves, but for their stock which he also doctored. Interested in doing all he could to build up his own land, Creech subscribed to a farm journal and attempted with little success to
share it with his neighbors. Learning of the importance of crop rotation, he brought in a supply of rye seed and sold it at cost, but there were few buyers. To improve communications with the outside world, he worked to bring in a post office and became the postmaster, operating out of his little country store which became a community gathering place.

More importantly for his own development, he joined the Regular Baptist Church soon after his removal to the wilds of the north side and made many trips across the mountain to attend meetings. Following his father's death, he succeeded him as church clerk. Eager for the community to have a meeting house open to preachers of all denominations, he sought unsuccessfully to arouse the neighbors' interest in erecting one.

All of these activities reflected his natural progressive bent. Though a man of limited formal education, he was, as de Long would call him later, "a great and gentle soul" noted for "his wisdom, his tenderness for the wayward, his proud hopes for the children of the mountains." He was a deep thinker and out of his years of meditating on his dream of a school emerged a philosophy of education which perceived the school as the central instrument in societal advancement. Although he had a personal interest at stake in reforming Greasy (his grandchildren and his own peace of mind), his concern was primarily civic in nature—-from his own experience he saw that a society without good schools is a society without moral standards, an anarchistic, violent, self-destructive place. The wilderness in which he had settled instead of becoming a moral Eden had become a place
where "drinkins, killins, whorins and abomination in the sight of God" were an everyday occurrence, where a neighbor could raise his children in ignorance and unconcern for the law and then lament his inability to bring up his children "as mean as he wanted them to be." It was a place where human beings could be conceived of on par with lesser animals, a community "going back into Heathenism." 28

In addition to these self-destructive tendencies, Creech also worried about the impact of careless and untutored agricultural practices on the land, land which when he first knew it had been virginal and fertile. Indeed, the young seemed to care little for farming, and more and more the people were supporting themselves through "public works" (a mountain expression meaning working for someone else). Girls no longer mastered spinning and weaving which to his mind were foundation arts, not only for the support of the home, but for the perfection of woman's character. In short, the mountain people were losing their self-sufficiency. Given this and their loss of moral fiber, Creech could not see much good ahead for them unless the children could be reached. "I see no chance to teach the old," he wrote in 1913, "but if the children can be taught up in a better light, they can lay an example even for their parents," for in the end, "it's a lack of knowledge of science that's caused the trouble." 29

His exposition of the type of education which would constitute that "better light" shows him to have had strong convictions as to the purity of farm life—in addition to exposure to the world of books, he wanted training in modern agriculture and home economics so that
the children could wrest a satisfactory living from the land and not be driven to working for others. But though he speaks of learning to run a profitable farm, material gain was secondary. "The question of this world is naught," he wrote. "The savin of the soul is what we should seek. I want all youngguns taught to serve the livin God." Realistically, he knew that they would not all follow, "but they can have good and evil laid before them and they can choose which they will." If then, despite their training, they chose the latter, at least it would have been a rational choice, not one that came from ignorance of the alternatives.

Underlying his concern for the young was a concern for the community both near and far. He didn't want a school to enrich the child materially but one to enrich the nation spiritually through a body of upright citizens. His was a Jeffersonian dream of sturdy yoemen born on and strengthened from their day to day struggle with the land, people who could "be a help to the poor and to the generation unborn." Schools existed as a means of protecting civic virtue by making this vision possible, by taking the young not yet contaminated by the ways of their "foreparents" but still malleable. Robert Wiebe has pointed out the urban progressives' faith that "the child was the carrier of tomorrow's hope whose innocence and freedom made him singularly receptive to education in rational, humane behavior," and their belief that through proper education, the child "in his manhood would create that bright new world of the progressives' vision." William Creech was most likely unacquainted with progressivism, but he would have assented to that idea one hundred percent. In fact, the
more that one examines his "Letter" and "Reasons" dictated to de Long to explain why he wanted Pine Mountain, the more one realizes that they constitute a sort of mountain progressive manifesto. In his concern for restoring order to the social wilderness, for providing reasoned choices, for making both "a knowledge of science" and moral values the basis for action, he echoes the rhetoric of the urban progressives who gloried in the terms "scientific," "expert," and "efficient," and the concerns of their philosophers who longed for order in the urban wilderness.

When Pettit and de Long returned to Hindman, they plunged into work. The land they wanted did not belong to Creech, the owner being the Kentweva Lumber Company of West Virginia, but Creech was willing to swap some of his own holdings in order to get the site they desired. Pettit undertook to negotiate the deal, and at a meeting held on the site in May 1912, secured an oral agreement from company officials. There was one stipulation on their part. Since the company owned a significant amount of timber further up the creek, they wanted to retain the right to cross school grounds to bring it out. The phrasing of this proviso proved a bone of contention when Creech refused to sign the deed (drawn some months later) because it stated that a logging railroad could be built over the property and his understanding was that they had agreed on nothing more substantial than a tram road. Finally, they reached a compromise wording in the latter part of 1913, but by that time the ill will between Creech and the company's Harlan agent was such that the latter tossed the deed out of his second story office window rather than speak to
Creech in person. Creech donated all the initial land for the school with the exception of one small parcel which he sold the school in order to provide a nest egg for his wife; however, Pettit persuaded the officers of Kentevevi to donate most if not all of the purchase price.

De Long's principal Pine Mountain endeavors focused on fund raising to which she brought both a talent with the written word and the ability to speak persuasively to both individuals and groups. (Pettit who had done some speaking for Hindman in years past was uncomfortable as a public speaker and with de Long available, retired from the field.) Their approach was similar to that Pettit and Stone had used for Hindman. They sent out letters of general appeal to potential donors, letters describing in detail the conditions to be met and the plans for meeting them, carefully worded to move the reader but at the same time avoid oversentimentalizing the situation or making the mountain people into curiosities. There were also personal appeals to individuals from whom they hope to receive help for specific items. These though based in part on forms were constructed to fit the recipient and individually typed, so that they seemed completely personal to the reader. Speaking engagements were also vital, both the opportunity to address organized groups such as clubs and missionary societies and also to speak to small groups of people brought together by some friend of the school in her home. De Long began the first of her Pine Mountain tours (she prepared for them by spending the summer of 1912 working eastern resorts on behalf of the Hindman endowment) during the Christmas vacation of 1912 making a whirlwind trip to the Midwest stopping to speak to the Woman's Club
in Lexington so that Pettit's friends could meet her.

The contributions soon began to flow. One of the Hindman students who had gone to Pine Mountain with them told his Bible class of the needs of the region, and the members agreed to donate the surplus in the class treasury to the school—the grand sum of forty-five cents (they later made additional gifts bringing it to eighteen dollars.) Pettit and de Long were delighted for what it symbolized and liked to bill it "the first contribution to the Pine Mountain Settlement School." Technically it was not, for one of de Long's cousins had already sent ten dollars and undoubtedly others had given as well. The first major personal appeal made in the fall of 1912 was to a wealthy eastern woman and sought ten thousand dollars ("Ethel de Long never made the mistake of asking for too little," observed a friend) and five thousand of it soon came in.34 Back on Greasy, Creech had his son Henry and son-in-law B. F. Lewis out canvassing the neighborhood with some success, though Creech himself had retired from fund raising after trying to persuade relatives of an adjacent landowner that he should donate a few acres too, and, in his words, "got a very bad criticizing for being so liberal myself."35 Not everyone was as yet convinced of the merits of the project.

To assure that Creech and other neighbors were, Pettit and de Long invited them to come visit Hindman which they did in mid-January 1913, getting a chance to see firsthand a settlement school at work, to talk with Hindman civic leaders about what that school meant to them, and to review with de Long specifications for Pine Mountain's first building so they could start felling logs for its construction.
As they rode home, William Creech responded to all inquiries about Hindman by saying, "It was far better than the most people in this country thinks Heaven is!"

In preparing for the school, Pettit and de Long consulted a variety of experts including John C. Campbell and his wife, Olive. Campbell, whom Pettit had met several years earlier, was currently working on solutions to mountain needs under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation. As his general ideas about the need for efficiency in mountain work and the preservation of the finer elements of mountain culture were similar to those of Pettit, he was one of the first people she contacted after definitely committing herself to the project of 1911. They met that winter in the east, and the following May he came to Pine Mountain to confer at the time of the land negotiations with Kentweva. In addition, there were several exchanges of letters on certain key points about the school's organization including the type of board the school should have, its relationship to other agencies, and the manner of handling scholarships.

When it came to the type of board Pine Mountain should have, Campbell stood in favor of affiliation with some larger agency. Although acknowledging that independent boards had their merits, he felt that it would be hard to locate the right sort of trustees. If chosen locally, they might prove too parochial. If chosen from outside, they might interfere through ignorance of conditions or be content merely to lend the school their name instead of their services. To assure a continuity of purpose and ideals which would transcend the active years of the school's founders, Pine Mountain
needed a board which would take a vigorous but constructive interest in its development.

Campbell also favored developing a formal relationship with public school authorities. His own feelings about the importance of not supplanting public efforts in education let him to favor a relationship giving the government "a controlling influence," but realizing that Pettit might find this unpalatable, he advocated as a minimum having some important state educational official such as the State Superintendent of Public Instruction or the president of the University of Kentucky serve as an ex-officio member of the Pine Mountain board. He cautioned against creating a situation in which Pine Mountain would compete with the creation of good public schools in the community, recommending that it not offer instruction in those areas included in the local school program and that boarders be limited to older youth above the normal age of public school attendance. He suggested that in designing a curriculum Pettit consider the possibility of using the Danish folk school as a model.

On these points, Pettit ultimately chose a course different from that advocated by Campbell. To her, three major weaknesses of Hindman were its location in a town and near a railroad, its affiliation with the WCTU, and its role as a public school six months out of each year. Being in a town subjected the students to influences which interfered with the learning process, for instance, problems stemming from ready access to liquor. Reported de Long to her family in late 1912, "Almost all the town boys have been drinking, & some of them very drunk--my boys at school, you know (though not the ones in our home"
naturally). There has been a good deal of shooting, & we have all felt greatly troubled." The connection with the WCTU subjected the school to influences not always compatible with Pettit and Stone's conception of needs and also caused potential donors to think that the bulk of its funds came from that group and that it didn't need much extra help, neither of which views was correct. In its functioning as a public school, it had to conform to state regulations including those pertaining to certification, course of study, and textbooks, regulations which often were at odds with Hindman's reform purposes. Although at least two groups offered to back Pine Mountain, Pettit decided after much reflection that only through independence could the new school achieve its dreams, and therefore it would remain unaffiliated with other groups and while cooperating with public authorities, would be, as she put it, "foot loose, to accomplish the largest good."  

Pine Mountain did follow to a large extent Campbell's advice on scholarships which was to create scholarships to fund places in the school rather than specific students. Students, instead of being given the money thus contributed, would earn it by working for a specified period of time daily being paid at a rate in keeping with mountain wage scales. Where possible, he thought parents should also pay a portion of the total amount rather than the school's providing all of it through scholarships. This would keep the relationship honest and dignified and make the education meaningful to the student. Pettit and de Long agreed fully, both believing such procedures a necessary protection for the child so that he would not be made over
and spoiled by some sentimental and unwitting donor, and for the school, so there would be no embarrassment or loss of funds if a particular child did not measure up and had to be released from school.

In addition to Campbell, they drew on several experts from Berea College and the University of Kentucky who provided assistance with such things as site studies, securing a farmer, framing up the first building, and designing a soil drainage system, assistance supplemented by visits from representatives of the United States Department of Agriculture. An Atlanta engineer donated his services to design the water system. De Long also conferred during one of her speaking trips with the U. S. Commissioner of Education, Philander P. Claxton, who had a deep interest in rural education.

The most important of their experts from a practical standpoint was Mary Rockwell of Kansas City, Missouri, an architect whom they contacted through one of the Hindman workers whose sister was one of her friends. Though Rockwell had never met either Pettit or de Long, their plans intrigued her, and she agreed to donate her services on the condition that she be allowed to lay out a master plan for the grounds. As a result, Pine Mountain's natural charm would be greatly enhanced.

By the fall of 1912, they had set the following spring as the target date for beginning the new school, with Pettit scheduled to go over in April and de Long, now committed to working there "for a few years, at least," to follow at the end of the school year in May. In January 1913, Pettit, de Long and three other members of the
original Pine Mountain board, Elizabeth Hench, Mary G. Morton, and C. N. Manning gathered at the directors' room of the latter's Lexington bank to discuss the articles of incorporation and elect temporary officers. They named Pettit and de Long Executive Committee in charge of the work, with Pettit to serve for the time being as board president, Hench as secretary and Manning as treasurer. The articles as finally adopted specified that the school would offer "industrial, intellectual and moral training and education in the mountainous district of Eastern Kentucky" with its program "dominated by a Christian spirit and influence but entirely free from anything of a sectarian or denominational character." In addition, the school would function "as a social center for the people of the neighborhood and community."39

On April 10, Pettit arrived on Isaac's Run, setting up headquarters first at the Creeches' and then moving into a five room frame house loaned them by a neighbor not far from the school site. She was quickly joined by a former Hindman student who would superintend the building program and a young woman who would serve as secretary. One of William Creech's granddaughters signed on to assist with the housekeeping. In May, de Long arrive accompanied by architect Hook and a St. Louis society woman who was to serve on the board. The Pine Mountain Settlement School was at last underway.

Summary. The Pine Mountain Settlement School sprang from a promise given by Katherine Pettit, Lexington gentlewoman and social reformer, to the people of the Greasy Creek section of southeastern Kentucky to help them secure a good school. In translating this
dream into reality, she drew upon the talents of Ethel de Long, Smith College graduate and professional educator, who became an equal partner in the work, and found in William Creech, mountain farmer and civic leader, a kindred dreamer and donor of land. Although Pettit first conceived of the school in 1899, it was not until fourteen years later, after much seasoning in the founding and running of the WCTU Settlement School at Hindman, that she succeeded in starting it, intending it "to be the best in all the mountains, one that other mountain workers may find a great inspiration to visit, a shaper of ideals for many schools." 40
CHAPTER TWO: A FEW BASIC PRINCIPLES

In starting Pine Mountain, Katherine Pettit and Ethel de Long Zande* intended that the school be an instrument of reform and a vehicle for helping mountain people help themselves to a better lifestyle. Like William Creech, they believed firmly in the importance of the younger generation in accomplishing this, a belief confirmed by their experiences at Hindman. Education was thus a central need of the mountains. But education for what? In their view, the mission schools established by various church agencies were often more harmful than ameliorative. Pettit especially continually criticized them for stressing academics and neglecting other aspects of the child's development. She deplored their imposition of a curriculum suitable for urban youth upon mountain children and their substitution of city values for those traditional with mountain people creating in essence a rootless, superficially sophisticated product out of tune with its own people. She sympathized with parents who would rather their children stay uneducated than attend schools where they would come to

* As de Long married in 1918, as she was quite proud of being Mrs. Luigi Zande, and as this and subsequent chapters will treat aspects of her work both before and after her marriage, we will refer to her henceforth as "Zande." As she once explained, the way to pronounce this name is "Zondy."
forsake their culture. The challenge for the mountain school as the women saw it was to create an environment in which the child himself would become an instrument of reform while remaining a part of mountain society. Mountain children, they anticipated, would return to mountain homes, so their school experience must equip them for it, giving them "a whole group of ideals and standards of living, which they will strive to realize later in their own homes." These standards would be compatible with the best in traditional mountain life, complementing and supplementing it rather than smothering it. They did not want to supplant mountain values with urban ones, but they did want to strengthen the positive tendencies of mountain culture while weeding out the negative ones.

Their design for Pine Mountain developed out of the Hindman experience, borrowing many elements from it, and out of their perceptions of the mountains. Central to the latter was their awareness of the isolation of the people, an isolation which manifested itself in a variety of ways. There was, of course, physical isolation due to poor roads and the lack of modern transportation facilities. This led in turn to economic isolation—farmers on the north side of Pine Mountain could not be cash crop farmers for the cost of shipping their produce to market would easily surpass their potential profits. This created a lower standard of living materially, though among the rural middle class, it was not necessarily a miserable or unsatisfying one.

Digging deeper, one found the most serious aspect of isolation was the blockage of communication of ideas. The health problems so
noticeable on the north side arose in large part because the people knew nothing of scientific theories of the causation and prevention of disease or of modern sanitation practices. Learning to build a proper outside toilet or to use individual drinking cups could have a tremendous impact on the inroads of disease. More seriously, in the absence of communication with modern society, and they conceived of communication in the Deweyan sense of a communal sharing of ideas, mountain thought had become ingrown and empty, swallowed up in a monotony that destroyed weaker souls. As Pettit put it, "people almost have to be bad, i.e. drink whiskey and shoot, to stir the stagnating waters of life." Children had few toys and little or no time for play. Religion did not fully meet these spiritual needs for mountain churches were often loosely organized, meeting infrequently when the traveling preacher could come, a preacher who was often illiterate and who stressed minute details of doctrine rather than the relevance of religion for everyday living.

Despite the cooperation of neighbors with each other in "workings" where they came together to help a particular individual with some chore demanding large amounts of manpower, they had no sense of community beyond their own families, no set of common, unifying goals towards which they worked together and which made possible sharing and being shared with. Many had never been more than a few miles beyond their own birthplace—a trip to the county seat was a grand adventure. Thus they had no real understanding of how they fitted into the broader scheme of things and often lacked any meaningful conception of
citizenship in state or nation. Even when they did, it was a view mediated by distance—Pettit and a party returning from one of the tent settlements had trouble one evening finding a place to stay because the little boat on which they were traveling down the Kentucky River flew the "Republican" flag in a community which still remembered the Civil War. Elections were not a matter of civic obligation but a time for wild merrymaking and vote buying.

Despite these negative qualities, Pettit and Zande found many positive aspects to mountain society, illustrated by Zande's statement that "I feel they have much to contribute to this civilization of ours, in fact that they already have civilization and need only culture," a replay of a favorite quote of hers from J.A. Burns, the founder of Oneida Institute.3 There was the colorful language with its strong Anglo-Saxon and Elizabethan remnants, the ballads, the arts of vegetable dyeing and weaving, of basket weaving and chairmaking, and their appreciation of the beauty all around them in the natural environment. More importantly, "the high types of character, the ideals of personal relations, and the ancient code of honor" showed them to be "a people strong in the finest human qualities," which included "generous hospitality," "fine loyalty to kin," "gentle manners and speech," and "high distinction of bearing."4 Many might have been illiterate, but they were far from dull-witted or ignorant. As Sal Creech reminded the women, "We'uns that cain't read or write have a heap of time to think, and that's the reason we know more than you all."5

While quick to make the point that mountaineers were "not
degenerate but undeveloped," Pettit and Zande nonetheless saw mountain society as in transition, deteriorating, moving from a higher to a lesser standard of life, a view shared by Solomon Everidge and William Creech and a number of mountain parents they encountered. 6 While part of the problem stemmed from the stifling long range effects of isolation, the principal force in this process was industrialization, symbolized for them first and foremost by the arrival of the railroad and the subsequent opening of the coal mines. The crucial problem was that the values brought in by the new order were so different from those held by the mountain people. Theirs were the values of a rural, pioneer America, shaped as one astute observer expressed it by living "close to the ground." 7 This observer, Emma Miles, commented at length on the clash of values in a book entitled The Spirit of the Mountains which appeared about the same time that Pettit and Stone were building Hindman into a functional settlement. (While it is not clear that Pettit and Zande had read this work, they were very close to Miles in thought on many points.) A native of the Great Smokies, Miles had observed firsthand the arrival of outside civilization in the form of summer resorts which drew mountain people from their farms to attend to the needs of visitors from other parts of the country. Although these outlanders regarded them as somewhat inferior the mountaineers had never had so much money before (cash being scarce in the hills) and were pleased by the opportunity to earn it. However, money and handicrafts did not coexist well together; neither did money and agriculture in a land where farming was backbreaking work, as
outside employment eroded the need for and the interest in traditional forms of labor. As the erosion set in, the focus of values changed from pleasure in the fruit of one's own labor (the food, clothing, and furniture he produced himself) to pleasure in what the new fruit could buy (larger quantities of food, clothing, furniture and other items cheaper and less enduring than those produced at home). Money thus became central, and materialism entrenched itself in a people who had not heretofore been materialistic.

The process in Harlan County as observed by Pettit and Zande was similar though it was the attraction of making thirty dollars a month washing dishes in a coal camp lunchroom or the even more impressive wage of $3.50 a day working underground in the mine itself that drew mountain youth and adults from their little farms to the crowded, raw, half-unfinished mining towns of the second decade of the century. It was an illusion of wealth, for the mountain people themselves did not share in the profits. Instead, they merely lost the self-sufficiency which had sustained them and shaped their character for generations. In a letter written in 1918, Zande described how the change had affected one family which two years earlier had been living in the traditional way in a home on Black Mountain near Evarts:

I found the family living in the crudest little shack, hastily put up further up the branch, the rocks blown out of the creek, and a coal tipple right where the old house had been. They have no room to keep stock, they have no privacy, the house was full of boarders playing cheap music incessantly on a talking machine; the girls wore silk dresses and chewed gum; there wasn't even a decent place to keep the food they bought instead of raising. The bed I slept in was so dirty that there was nothing left even to the imagination... All privacy, all individual ownership, all thrift seems to be gone.8
What hope was there for a decent family life in such a home? Just as Jane Addams had pointed out the difficulties of adjustment for immigrant women used to the old country village life when they were thrust into the prisonlike tenements of the cities, so Pettit and Zande underscored the difficulties of adjustment for mountain families in the crowded confines of the coal camps. The mountain people thrust into them had become in a sense immigrants in their own land.

This situation greatly concerned the women, because they doubted that most mountaineers had internal standards strong enough to deal with industrialism. For instance, mountain people had a certain naiveté in dealing with outside businessmen; though sharp traders in their own circles, they had no way of reckoning the true value of their own labor to coal operators. Though sensitive to the beauty of the natural environment, they lacked an esthetic sense educated enough to separate the cheap from the gold within the realm of modern products and mores.

The coal operator's answer to this was paternalism, an answer the women rejected. They did not want "a proud people" pauperized and reduced to dependency on others. (They were so adamant about this at Pine Mountain that they told workers they were to give nothing to the people outright—"even the newspapers that people use for lining their houses, were to be exchanged for something, an egg or a potato or an onion."9) Although the miners in time would trade one dependency (the operators) for another (the union), Pettit and Zande preferred that they need none. They wanted Pine Mountain to help the younger
generation build a new set of standards capable of serving as an alternative to those held out by the industrial interests. These standards, derived from traditional American values as exemplified by the genteel traditions of New England and the South as well as those of the mountain people themselves, would preserve the innately beautiful in the mountain soul and at the same time equip it to judge and to come to grips with changing times. Grounded in the creation of a sane and wholesome rural life, such standards would preclude materialism and the need to turn to "public works." Their development was vital; otherwise, there would be a terrible "loss of human possibilities," a matter serious not only for the mountaineers themselves, but for the nation as a whole, for these people were of the stock that first built America, their roots the Revolutionary generation and before.\(^\text{10}\)

Repeatedly, first at Hindman and then at Pine Mountain, Pettit and Zande emphasized the homogeneity of the mountain population, the fact that the people's ancestry was "the purest Anglo-Saxon in America."\(^\text{11}\) (This notion of course was not original with them; William Goodell Frost and others had developed it earlier.) Their hackles rose at the use of the term "poor whites," a phrase which they rejected for its suggestion that mountain people were part of what they viewed as the shiftless lower class of the lowland South, "the type which is the problem of southern cities."\(^\text{12}\) No, to them, mountain people were part of the sound Anglo-Saxon timber that the American middle class of the time feared was being displaced by the waves of southern and eastern European immigrants of the opening years of the century. Speaking in
St. Louis around 1913, Zande asserted that the mountain people would
"count tremendously as a national asset when a proper education is
available to them as against the hordes of foreign immigrants of the
class coming in today."

In a Louisville speech in 1915, she stated that "America, fighting with the immigrant question, may well turn to
the hills for loyal citizens, bred to primitive virtues and strong
with the undegenerated strength of our native stock." Since the
middle class commonly held that immigration was sapping the vitality
of the country, replacing American ideals with foreign ones, the
Appalachian people became important for, despite their handicaps,
they were "a people to bring hope to America," who would supply "the
virility of earlier times, wiriness, and vigor." An infusion of
this "untapped resource" into the national mainstream and into the
middle class (for obviously that was where mountain people belonged,
hence the proscription of "poor whites") would be a powerful antidote
to the deplorable situation then existing.*

For mountain people had much to teach a land whose values every-
where were being ravaged by the same forces of industrialization which

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* With the passage of time and the leavening influences of a broad-
ened knowledge of the people and of her own marriage to an Italian
immigrant, Zande moved away from the "purest Anglo-Saxon" rhetoric.
To a former worker about to speak for Pine Mountain to potential con-
tributors in 1927, she wrote, "Don't allude to the mountain people as
the purest Anglo-Saxons in America. We now know that the blood of the
mountain people also has Irish, French, German, Dutch, and Indian and
here and there Negro, though of course the type of civilization that
has been preserved is really English and Scotch." This did not lessen
her conviction that the people had much to teach the rest of the
country.
threatened the hills. Urban progressives related these forces to the weakening of family life, to the loss of a sense of community and of personal control of one's life, to a growing materialism and the rampant destruction of the environment, and to a challenge to the traditional Protestant rural value system which many believed had made America strong. Implicit in the writings and speeches of Pettit and Zande was the idea that mountaineers could reteach America the old values--family loyalty and love, a sound life without materialism, an unspoiled environment, a strong sense of honor, and a healthy respect for hard work. And what better teachers could be found, for they were unsullied carriers of the heritage of the race, and through their sharing with America, they would be, perhaps even more than William Goodell Frost had dreamed in coining the phrase, "contemporary ancestors." How wonderful it would be if the best of the American past could be retained while using the best of the new--in other words, if one could create in the mountains an alternative to the emerging industrial urban lifestyle which seemed so devoid of "solid values for humanity."17

However, this could not come about if the mountain people were overwhelmed in their contacts with the industrialized world, and as a result, succumbed to it. Since this was just what appeared to be happening, Pine Mountain had an urgent mission "to give the children the finer things before the vices," "to give them an independent viewpoint as they think of making their own livings and raising their own families," to mediate between the old and the new.18
In a speech to the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1916, Zande sketched out the role of a rural school like Pine Mountain in meeting this task. Her central thesis was that for a rural school to come into its own, it must have for its goal, "the supplying of those elements of life that are difficult to attain under rural conditions." This meant acting as "the interpreter between the life of towns and cities and that of the country," functioning "as a true light-house for those sitting in darkness because of the poverty of communication." The school must link its community with "the large agencies of the state and nation" which could help but which, without the school's mediating influence, would remain unaware of the needs. As an example of this, she cited Hindman's role in the development of the national campaign against trachoma. Additionally, the school must include in its program those things missing which were essential for sound community life. If health were a problem, the school would have a district nurse or a doctor or both, operating a hospital when necessary. If recreational opportunities were lacking, it would provide them. If it were a question of proper family life, it would teach manual training and home economics and furnish through its curriculum experience in right living. If economic concerns loomed large, it would devise approaches for handling them. (Pine Mountain would raise funds to build a good road across the mountain and later participate in starting a small credit union to try to furnish capital for the people.) In summarizing, Zande reiterated, "The magic word for all this is neighborliness. Communities are made
over slowly through unconscious influence far more than by consciously directed effort, just as individuals find their chief inspiration through spontaneous contacts."

Pine Mountain, as the speech suggested, operated on social settlement principles. The "workers" (their term for the staff) were not to view themselves as superior to the mountaineers, as benevolent members of a loftier class helping unfortunates, but rather as friends sharing with friends, neighbors with neighbors. Although undoubtedly there were many times when some of them failed at this, the mountaineers with whom they came into contact did much to keep them straight. Sal Creech, confounded by Zande's inability to grasp the elements of spinning, exclaimed, "Wal, I reckon things is about evened up in this world; you've been everywhar an' seen everything, but I kin spin." Like their urban counterparts, Pine Mountain workers shared in the life of the region—mud got tracked into Pine Mountain buildings just as it did into the neighbors' cabins. If the mail carrier quit, their letters sat on the other side of the mountain along with the neighbors'; if there were a smallpox epidemic, they too might come under quarantine; if the price of hauling goods over the mountain became exorbitant, they too had to pay it.

The work of the school was not missionary in nature, but rather designed to bring neighbors and children into "contact with the right people," a phrase the women used often. Wrote Zande in 1921:

I think I can best explain my position about work in the mountains if I tell you that I am not a social worker at all, or a believer in 'uplift work.' I am simply a school-teacher doing administrative work in the mountains in exactly the same spirit I would do
it anywhere. And I believe that the best work is done in the mountains, as elsewhere, by people who are practising a profession rather than trying to 'uplift.'

Pine Mountain, unlike the mission schools as Pettit and Zande saw them, would teach the Christian message in the same low key, natural way—there would be no evangelizing or firebreathing if they could help it.

Although the settlement side of Pine Mountain would be important, it was the school aspect which they would stress, for it was, in William Creech's words, "the rising generation" that they must reach. Pine Mountain would be a boarding school, not just because of the limitations of geography and difficulties of travel, but because social conditions demanded it. Mountain people often spoiled their children, wanting them to be "satisfied," and some thought nothing of allowing them to have moonshine and to smoke. In order to teach the child self-discipline and to attend to the larger task of developing the total individual, Pine Mountain had to provide him an idealized environment and keep him in it long enough for it to 'take.' The curriculum would include all facets of the child's development with every experience an educative act. Pine Mountain, declared an early board report, "isn't an institution, it is a way of life." And that meant education in more than books alone. "The average school teaches the child to answer such questions as, 'What do you know?' but we think that the question that life itself puts to him, 'What can you do?' is of equal importance," wrote Pettit in 1912. At Pine Mountain, the child would "actually do those things which he is expected to perform"
in a larger way in adult life. He should be taught to do them in such a manner as to acquire those elements of character, which we look for in the honest, industrious, self-reliant man or woman."27 Hopefully, upon leaving school, the child would in turn carry the ideals learned there back home and impart them to the community from which he came. As one of the workers explained later, "Every boy or girl who completes a high school education, marries well and has a good home and clean children, is a citizen with initiative, or gets special training as a doctor or preacher or nurse or teacher, does much for the scores of younger boys and girls who are watching."28 And each moment at Pine Mountain would play a part in that assimilation.

**Summary.** Given their perception of mountain culture as in danger of being swept aside and destroyed by the arrival of industrialism in the hills, Pettit and Zande's goal for Pine Mountain became participation in the creation of a renewed mountain society based on the best of mountain traditions coupled to the best of those from the outside world. The school would mediate between the two cultures, assisting each in understanding the other, operating on settlement principles, and giving each student experience in living in an idealized setting based upon the women's conception of suitable new standards for the mountains. Hopefully, each student, upon his return home, would become "an unconscious influence" for reform through his daily life.
SECTION TWO: PINE MOUNTAIN AS SCHOOL
SECTION TWO: PINE MOUNTAIN AS SCHOOL

"Its ideal has been to open the way for the children, to offer them intellectual food that was real mountain fare, to fit them for life in a locality that was rapidly changing, rather than to fit them into a school system by conforming to what other schools were doing."

Evelyn K. Wells, 1922.

"We do want Pine Mountain to give our children tools that will make them fit for the modern life that is coming in, but also we want it to be a place where hearts and souls are trained. Spirit is the most important thing in the whole world."

Ethel de Long Zande, 1921.

"We are the old-fashioned home. You find us dependent on the children for our garden planting, for our clean clothes, for our bedmaking and for our daily meals....Day by day they grow more competent, and more resolute in mettle, because real responsibilities are theirs. Faithful to their scrubbing and their grubbing, they slowly develop sturdiness of character."

Ethel de Long, 1915.

"Well, when I'm all brung up, I'll be a good worker!"

Pine Mountain student, 1918.

"Our ideal is not to bring in any more of the elaborate civilization of the outside world than is absolutely necessary to our well-being."

Katherine Pettit, 1919.

"Pine Mountain isn't an institution, it is a life; people aren't here just to earn their livings; they are living."

Ethel de Long, 1917.
CHAPTER THREE: THE PINE MOUNTAIN STUDENT

One important part of understanding the functioning of educational institutions lies in knowing who the learners are. This is particularly true in dealing with private schools such as Pine Mountain which have the freedom to pick and choose their students. What are the characteristics of those chosen? What factors brought them and school together? In Pine Mountain's case, the type of student reflected the aspirations of the founders as mediated by the pressures of swiftly changing social and economic conditions within the school's service area.

Originally, Pettit and Zande intended that Pine Mountain be a school for rural, mountain, white children. While the casual observer might assume that this embraced virtually all Appalachian children, there were, despite great ethnic homogeneity in the mountains at that time, several distinct social divisions within the population. John C. Campbell in his writings identified three groups: the "urban and near urban," the rural middle class, and the rural lower class.\(^1\) Campbell's definition of the first group, the urban and near urban, was less restrictive than that of the Census Bureau which then defined as urban, communities of 2,500 residents or more. Campbell felt that in the mountains, urban must include communities of 1,000 or less as well as what he termed "industrial nuclei," an
evident synonym for coal and logging camps. His reasoning, basically the same as that of Pettit and Zande, was that such communities, particularly if they were the political or business center of the area, were significantly different in lifestyle and values from the surrounding countryside and exerted a much stronger influence on the region than they would have had they been located in more heavily populated areas. He estimated that nearly a fourth of the mountain population lived in such communities.

The other two classes, rural middle and rural lower, he differentiated on the basis of economic position. While members of both classes were mainly farmers, those in the numerically larger middle class were, within the Appalachian context, prosperous, largely self-sufficient, and enjoyed a simple but relatively comfortable standard of living. These were the people whom Pettit and Zande had in mind when they spoke enthusiastically of the joys of the "old-fashioned rural home." In contrast, the members of the rural lower class were frequently just barely hanging on, were often tenants, and seldom had an adequate amount of the basic amenities and tools needed for survival. To borrow from Campbell's illustrations, the difference in the two could be summed up in part in the fact that the rural middle class housewife cooked on a stove; the rural lower, over the open fire.

It was really the rural middle class that Pettit and Zande wanted to reach. They saw in that group the potential for attaining their vision of a revitalized mountain population immune to the stultifying effects of industrialization. They also seemed the ones most threatened by its approach as their way of life could not long coexist with
the appeal of mine and town. Speaking of two new rural middle class students in 1918, Zande wrote, "The interesting thing is that these boys have the manner of children brought up in 'the best society.' They are quiet, dignified, courteous, and quick to understand. They make you sigh to think that the old type of rural life that can produce such children is disappearing before the industrial conditions that are coming so fast."² Pine Mountain had to take hold of these children before it was too late and gird them with the proper armor for rational, nonmaterialistic living in the new era. For this reason Pettit and Zande would have preferred to have kept Pine Mountain exclusively for rural children. The elimination of the urban and near urban with their bad habits learned from railroad, mining camp, and independent town would have greatly simplified the instructional task. From a rhetorical standpoint, such an exclusion was made for a long time, but in practice, except for the first year or so when the handful of students for whom there were facilities were drawn from the immediate environs, there were always some children from towns.

After all, conditions in Harlan County had not remained static since Katherine Pettit's 1899 tramping expedition. The train whistle she had heard in May 1911 was the audible symbol of a turning point in the county's history, for that August, the railroad carried out Harlan's first carload of coal. Within three years, county coal production passed the million ton mark, increasing almost steadily thereafter, often in leaps of a million tons or more annually, until peaking at fourteen million tons in 1928 just before the onset of the
Depression. The number of men working in the mines grew rapidly as well. Within two years of the opening of the field, the number so employed had gone from 169 to over a thousand; by 1920, it had surpassed seven thousand, reaching eleven thousand by the peak year, 1928. The coal industry pulled mountain people from their hollows and creeks into hastily built company owned towns where the fruits of modern civilization were dumped on them with the thoroughness and dullness of a late twentieth century fastfood restaurant. Knowing no better, they would find it good, at least as long as the pay lasted. The railroad supplemented the local labor supply with flatcar upon flatcar of Deep South blacks and European immigrants, and the map grew dense with the dots of "industrial nuclei": Benham, Louellen, Highsplint, Alva, Yancey, Twila, Chevrolet, Kildav... and that greatest of them all, Lynch, which, with a population of nearly ten thousand, was the largest unincorporated town in Kentucky. The independent towns, of which there were two in 1911, grew to five by the end of the twenties. The county seat sloughed off the bucolic name of Mount Pleasant, adopted the more incisive and businesslike Harlan, and revealed in its new found glory as commercial center to the coalfields. Even the north side of Pine Mountain fell prey to the new industrial order when, in the early twenties, the Intermountain Lumber Company extended a logging railroad over the mountain from Putney, pulling many of the people away from farming and into the world of cash.

Given the resulting social turmoil, how could compassionate women like Pettit and Zande turn a deaf ear to the pleas of a widowed miner
with five children and no way to rear them properly in the raw boom-town that was their home? Despite their wishes, they found themselves accepting more and more coal camp children even though trying hard to give preference to the rural ones. Statistics developed in 1929 by Evelyn Wells for her historical sketch of the school indicate that, apart from the first year, there were children from "towns" (a term including both independent towns like Harlan, Poor Fork, and Wallins and coal camps like Benham and Lynch) in the student population every year, and that typically they constituted thirty to forty per cent of the student body. During two years in the late twenties, they formed a majority.

The dichotomy of backgrounds was striking. To some of the children from isolated farms who had never seen more than a dozen or so people together at once, or who had never been to town, Pine Mountain was "a large city," where they could "view out the world and learn manners."3 On the other hand, Pine Mountain's simple country lifestyle was a challenge to those who had grown up in coal camps. The November 1924 Pine Mountain Notes describe Viola, fifteen "and fresh from waiting on table at a men's club in a mining camp, and running to cheap movies night after night, up against an eight o'clock bedtime rule. 'My God! Me go to bed at eight o'clock!' said she, with good-humored tolerance...and not the least intention of irreverence. For the Violas of our school, making over ways of speech is even harder than going to bed early."4 It was the contrast between the coal camp child "mature in her bearing as a staid young woman" and the girl from
a quiet hollow "shy as a wild flower," between those who thought a jazz orchestra was some sort of animal and those who had been chewing gum and listening to "Salvation Blues" on the phonograph.\(^5\)

This dichotomy had serious implications for the achieving of Pine Mountain's purpose. Pettit and Zande had designed the school to provide experience in an idealized rural lifestyle which the students would take with them back to their homes and reshape their communities accordingly. How would this approach work with those students who had no roots in the land and whose veneer of sophistication predisposed them against rural life? There was also the question of the broadening effect of a Pine Mountain education on the rural child. The more intelligent and gifted rose to a level at which it became difficult to be happy at the head of a hollow or on a farm. Those of lesser abilities found the call of the camps strong. Why should they remain in a life of economic poverty by outside standards, when they could go to the "public works" and make the money necessary to enjoy the "pretties" of modern life? This was an issue which Pettit and Zande never fully faced up to, remaining throughout the period steadfast in their ideal of developing an enlightened rural leadership.

From a geographical standpoint, the majority of Pine Mountain students came from Harlan County, which typically furnished seventy percent of the students in any given year during the twenties. Although in the early days, the school drew heavily on youth from the north side of the mountain, by the late twenties, there was an almost even balance between those from the north and those from the south sides.
In addition to Harlan County, neighboring Leslie and Perry Counties accounted for another twenty per cent of the ranks, the remaining places being filled by students from other mountain counties including Bell, Knott, Clay, and Letcher, with an occasional pupil from the mountains of Tennessee, Virginia, or West Virginia thrown in for good measure.

There were always far more girls than boys in the student body—typically the former comprised two-thirds of the student population. This was largely due to the school's having built more housing for girls initially and also to the fact that girls tended to stay longer than boys. The older boys in particular appear to have had more adjustment problems with school life than did the girls, especially since some of them had trouble giving up whiskey, tobacco, and certain favorite but forbidden expletives.

The outside world held several misconceptions about the function of the school, seeing it as a place for poor, homeless children with nowhere else to go and as an institution for the reform of wayward children. While Pine Mountain had its share of orphans, it was not an orphanage (though at one point Zande proposed building a special complex for such purposes) and being homeless was not in itself a criterion for admission, though when combined with other factors, it did not hurt. As for working with wayward children, that too was beyond the scope of the school's concerns, though again there were a handful of students who fell into that category. As Pettit explained to a woman trying to get them to admit a girl in need of reform, the limited size
of the school and the intense work involved in teaching the children forced Pine Mountain to accept "only those who we think will become leaders in the community when they go back home, and will carry on the ideals we try to hold up to them." Speaking of their preference for children with good attitudes and intellect, she added bluntly, "You know you can't get blood out of a turnip, and it isn't right for us to take scholarship money for children who will not amount to much." Zande agreed, and though acknowledging some responsibility "to help the degenerate and sorry ones," expressed her belief that "there is more joy to be got out of building up young people who have a real heritage." Character and intelligence were what counted at Pine Mountain. Of course, there was a certain rhetorical quality to all this, for they often accepted children for sentimental rather than practical reasons. Pettit always had a brood of very young children in need of mothering at her house, and Zande, before her marriage, had a preschooler in hers to whom she affectionately referred as "Baby." They were particularly partial to people who had hiked miles across the hills uninvited in quest of learning, often allowing them to stay temporarily at least to see if an opening developed.

Students came to Pine Mountain for a variety of reasons. For Mabel Mullins, it was the prospect of a better education than her neighborhood school afforded coupled with the adventure of being away from home that made Pine Mountain attractive. Becky May Sexton came because there was no school close to her home. Boone Callahan's father allowed him to attend due to the moral atmosphere of the place, while other parents were impressed by the beauty of the setting. Allafair
Meeks noted that a factor in her attendance and that of other members of her family was that they could pay their tuition in produce, not a small consideration in an area where cash was hard to come by. Sellable handicrafts were also acceptable—Pettit mentioned with pride the efforts of one girl who spent the summer weaving a coverlet to pay her fees. Other students found the work program attractive along with the fact that Pine Mountain taught more than books.

Student recruitment proceeded largely by word of mouth. Several of the former students interviewed indicated that they first heard of the school from some neighbor whose child had gone there or who knew somebody who had. Pettit, Zande, and other workers did much visiting in the outlying communities, and while these contacts were not usually for the purpose of locating students, nonetheless, they produced many enrollees. In the twenties, the school issued printed brochures which were mailed in bulk to various rural postmasters with the request that they be distributed to postal patrons. At one point, they ran an ad in Mountain Life and Work, although this was probably more for creating an awareness among teachers and potential counselors of youth rather than among the youth themselves.

The admissions process began each year following the close of school in May by contacting the old students to see which wished to return. Once a list of returnees had been established and places reserved for them, they then selected new applicants to fill the remaining spots. Since homesickness and other problems took their toll each fall, they normally accepted more students than they had room for.
in order to assure a full complement. Not that there was much danger of falling short, for throughout the year there would be unexpected arrivals and urgent pleas from desperate relatives and friends to get their charges in. "I have got a uncle wants to get in school there. he is 14 he takes the fifth grade he is real excellent on arithmetic and very good on the other. he doesn't drink whiskey are coffee are smoke. this place isn't fit for to rear boys." On one occasion, two women showed up in the dead of winter with two babies and two primary school children, one of whom had trachoma, and begged that all of them, mothers included, be allowed to stay. But since Pine Mountain lacked facilities for adults and infants, only the two older children could do so; the others trudged off in the snow.

There are two studies available of student tenure at the school. The first, prepared by Evelyn Wells in connection with her history in 1929, gives the turnover during each school year without reference to those continuing the following term, and indicates that that type of turnover during each school year averaged thirty-four per cent across the Pettit-Zande period. This indicates a continual coming and going that must have been distracting to say the least.

The second study, done in 1930-31 during the administration of Hubert Hadley as he attempted to work out new policies for the school, tries to show holding power from year to year from 1923 to 1931. According to the Hadley figures, the average per cent of students returning from the previous year was thirty, meaning that normally seventy per cent of each year's students were newcomers. However, this
study was not fully accurate, being based on initial registration lists which were often incomplete as students drifted in from August until October. The writer's own calculations based on all lists available for a given year suggests a holding power of forty-two percent. Nonetheless, regardless of the figures used, it is clear that each year Pine Mountain faced a major job of orientation.

The high turnover rate during the year noted by Wells resulted in part from parental and family pressures. Needing help at home with a new baby or with foddering or for filling in while someone was sick often led to a letter or visit seeking to have the child come home. To one parent, Pettit wrote bluntly that if she excused his son early to help the family, it would not only be detrimental to the boy's education, but would undermine Pine Mountain's effectiveness with other children whose parents might want the same privilege. One of her favorite stories provides another example of the problems faced in retaining students. Soon after a twenty year old boy had entered the school, he received word that his brother had been killed in a feud. His family's standards of honor demanded that he go after the killer, but being a man of the gun was not what he wanted for himself, and after a long discussion with Pettit, he rode home to figure things out. A week later, he returned, gave her his gun, and told her to keep it for him. He never reclaimed it.

And then there were parents who missed their children. Zande told of a poverty-stricken couple, the husband disabled, who placed their children in the school in the hope of giving them a better chance in
life, but within a week, the mother came to take them home—the father could not do without them. It was almost more than Zande could endure to have to put them back into their own threadbare clothes and send them home again in a gusting snow.

Though family pressures could loom large, difficulties in adjustment on the part of the child played the major role in turnover. Home-sickness, intense in a society in which the family was the whole world, caused a good many to run away. Harriet Bright recalled doing so on her first day, even before her mother had reached the top of the mountain on her return trip home. Escorting firmly back, she found herself locked in the guest room at Pettit's house with some candy for consolation until her mother was beyond reach. Students who ran away on account of homesickness could usually return, but if they ran off to duck work, avoid punishment, or shirk some other responsibility, then they might well have to remain at home. However, since Pettit and Zande were reluctant to let go of any child who had the least bit of potential, a runaway who showed proper contrition, apologizing and accepting whatever punishment they felt he merited, could usually expect to be reinstated. Most runaways, after a day or two at home, were ready to return, though not always. Sometimes the outside world had more charms for them. "(Your son) is dissatisfied because he can't do without his tobacco," or he couldn't do without his whiskey or learn to give up other pernicious habits. Love or imagined love led at least one girl to sneak down a fire escape to an unrequited tryst at the school toolhouse, while another created a sensation when
she eloped with an ex-student. Zande, normally quite tolerant of mountain customs, could get quite vexed by the changeableness of mountain people when it came to their children: "It certainly tears up the opening months of school to have so many children undisciplined and unable to overcome their moods. Of course it is fundamental in the mountains for people to feel that they 'can't do no good if they hain't satisfied.' Alas! Alas!" 10

In the early years, the ages of Pine Mountain students ran from four to just over twenty, with emphasis on younger children. However, as it soon became apparent that older children were needed to do the industrial work of the school and that efforts with smaller children had to be more intensive and therefore more expensive, the school moved to limit the age range. By the early twenties, the normal minimum age for entrance was twelve; in 1924, it became fourteen. This was accompanied by the elimination of the lower grades of the school program so that entering students had to be ready for at least the fifth grade or they would not be accepted.

Tuition policy reflected these changes. Initially, tuition was fifteen dollars a year plus a nonrefundable entrance fee. By 1920, tuition had been put on a monthly basis with a staggered set of rates —$2.60 for those under twelve and $1.35 for those over, the lower rate for the older children an inducement for them to come. In 1922, to make the point clearer, Zande had the tuition raised to $12.00 per month for those under ten, to $5.00 for those ten through twelve, and to $2.50 for those over twelve, a figure raised the next year to
$2.75 where it stayed until 1929 when it went up to $3.00. In the mid-twenties, the entrance fee also increased, but part of it became refundable on the condition that the student leave the school free of debt.

Formal entry into the school involved first registration at the office, then a physical examination by the school nurse or doctor, and then assignment to a house where the first matter of business was a bath. Grace Fortney, a housemother in 1919, remembered how she heated the water for these baths in a big iron kettle on a tripod in the yard and how not only bodies but clothes had to be washed (though sometimes the latter were in such a sad state that they had to be burned). Marguerite Butler, another housemother of the early years, wrote home describing the process: "They have got to be scrubbed from head to feet—and a lot more done to the head part. All the clothes they possess are what is on their back so entire outfit must be raked together for each. You must start to train them from the very first—It is hectic trying to get them to use their own towel and basin & toothbrush they ignore entirely. Oh, dear, and then the work. Each must be trained for their jobs."11

Both tuition and clothing policies reflected the concern of Pettit and Zande that the mountain people be treated as equals and not be demeaned through their contacts with the school. It was important that parents pay something toward the cost of educating their children, even though the amount charged them was small compared to the total cost to the school of two hundred dollars or more per student, an amount
completed by contributions from outsiders. Although initially student labor was a vehicle for earning tuition as well as board and laundry, Pettit and Zande came to feel that tuition must be separated from other costs in order to impress upon parents and students the value of the services they received, and so, after 1921, all students had to pay tuition in cash or goods. If this were not feasible, the student could stay through the summer and work it out then.

Clothing presented a thornier problem. From the start, the school found itself inundated with boxes and barrels from missionary societies, sewing circles, civic clubs, and Sunday School classes, sometimes filled with useful and needed items, sometimes full of junk hardly worth the cost of shipping. Clothing formed a major portion of the contents of these boxes and created a certain pressure on the school to speedily dispose of it. In the early days, many of the children arrived ill clad and the temptation to give them needed items was strong. However, Pettit and Zande quickly recognized that giving clothing to either children or neighbors would undermine settlement principles and lead to dependency on the school for the necessities of life. Therefore, it became a hard and fast rule not to give anything away, apart from an occasional gift within an appropriate social context, and so the school maintained a store from which children could buy or rent needed apparel. As time passed and parents, due to the changing economic situation, had more ready cash, the school did all it could to encourage parents to send their children properly outfitted rather than to depend on the school to do it for them, with the
store reserved for emergency situations.

By the end of the Pettit-Zande period, the nature of mountain society had changed and so had the nature of the Pine Mountain student. Former worker Angela Melville, returning to the school in 1928 after Zande's death to serve as Associate Director in her place, found that the children of the late twenties were "more sophisticated" and had "lost some of the naivete and charm they had in consequence."12 By that period, Pine Mountain could no longer avoid the fact that the more ambitious of its students had no intention of being confined to rural life, and that nearly all its children would ultimately function in a more industrialized setting than originally envisioned. Approximately one third of the students at that time were going to Berea or elsewhere for further education, and none of the boys planned on going into farming. Although the signs had been there earlier, they had been masked somewhat by the return of a few former students to the area as rural teachers and by the filling of two important staff positions at the school by former students. Had Zande lived, she undoubtedly would have faced up to the need for changes—at the time of her death, she had a staff member working on plans for a vocational school at Pine Mountain, an idea Melville would pick up on, though her efforts to get it approved by the board would come to nought. Restructuring Pine Mountain to fit the changing student population would await a new generation of leadership in the thirties.

Summary. Pine Mountain students came primarily from the rural middle and rural lower classes, but as time passed, an increasing
number also came from the urban and near urban elements of mountain population, a fact which contradicted the school's original purpose of educating mountain youth for life in a rural setting. The Pine Mountain student body was subject to a high rate of turnover within and between academic terms due in part to parental pressures and to student problems in adjusting to Pine Mountain routines. Although students did not pay the full cost of their education, they were expected to pay modest tuition, to pay for any clothing given them, and to work for room and board.
CHAPTER FOUR: EXILED FROM SOCIETY AND THE SLUMS

Among the ideas associated with progressive education was the concept of the school as supplier of an experience in living freed of many of the less noble aspects of modern life, thus allowing the student to concentrate on and grow in those areas which would lead to wholesome living in later life. John Dewey, for example, in *Democracy and Education*, identified three tasks for the school with regard to its environment: furnishing a "simplified environment," removing the undesirable elements of contemporary society "from influence upon mental habits," and assuring that every child received "an opportunity ... to come into living contact with a broader environment." Pettit and Zande had similar ideas. They believed that the child would learn best through actual experience in living, and that given their goal of making him a means of communal reform. Pine Mountain should be a boarding school. This would assure a consistency of approach freed from the pressures of relatives whose indulgence of the child or whose conservatism would create a countervailing force to their efforts. Pine Mountain would also be consciously located in a rural area, which would isolate the students from the vices of town and railroad. (This concern also underlay much of the rhetoric about taking only "country" children. As Zande explained to a Harlan civic leader, "We find that
children who have lived in mining camps are a different sort of children, and teach the others forms of 'meanness' they would otherwise be free from altogether." In order to give the child the proper experience, they would seek to make the living conditions of the student as much like those in an idealized home as possible. This meant, among other things, that students could not live en masse in dormitories; instead, they were housed in small groups ranging from six to eight in the smaller houses to around thirty in the largest. Each house had a character of its own, each having grown out of a particular need.

In the beginning in 1913, school facilities consisted of a five room frame house rented from a neighbor, a two story store building used also by the local Masonic lodge, and three tents erected on wooden platforms, all of which were located off campus. Here the workers and a handful of boarding students lived, worked, and studied while the school's first buildings were under construction.

The school grounds lay on Isaac's Run which entered them from the east, cutting a western course between Pine Mountain to the south and a subsidiary ridge to the north until reaching a small knoll. At that point it turned north, soon meeting Shell Run and forming Greasy Creek of the Kentucky River. Southeast of the knoll, the foot of Pine Mountain spread out to form a series of natural building sites. Almost at the center, a small creek known as Limestone Branch came off the mountain to join Isaac's Run on its way to becoming Greasy Creek. As Pettit, Zande, and architect Mary Rockwell envisioned things after a
lengthy consultation in May 1913, three major structures would rise along Pine Mountain near Limestone: a kitchen-laundry-dining hall, a schoolhouse, and an industrial building. They erected the first two, but a disastrous fire which destroyed the schoolhouse and came close to taking the dining hall as well convinced them that scattering the principal buildings about the campus was a safer plan. As for student housing, it too was strung out over the campus with the original intention of placing the larger boys and girls at opposite corners of the grounds. However, as things developed, while they adhered to the separation of the older adolescents by sex, the two buildings most distant from each other housed the smaller children of both sexes.

The first building they completed on school grounds was an old-fashioned dogtrot house—"two pens and a passage"—consisting of two separate one-room log houses separated by a breezeway but sharing a common roof and a porch across the front. In the early days, Old Log House (a name acquired from the fact that most of the materials came from the remains of the first farmhouse on the site) served as a home for Zande, a couple of other workers, and nine children plus the school office. Later, one of its pens served for a term as infirmary, then as weaving room; the other continued to house a small family of students. One of its more distinctive features was the four supporting posts for the porch roof. William Creech personally chose the logs used which he had trimmed so as to leave enough of a stub from each branch to give little boys a foothold to climb on and scratch
their backs on.

In the fall of 1914, the school occupied Big Log House, located on the northeastern end of the grounds (Old Log was on the northwestern end at the entrance to the school). This building, designed by Rockwell before she had set foot on the site, used logs, some as long as forty-two feet, all hand hewn to five inches by twelve in thickness. Big Log became Pettit's home at Pine Mountain, served awhile as kitchen as well, and had a guestroom with a four poster canopy bed. Pettit, assisted by a housemother, usually had some fifteen to twenty young children of both sexes in residence there.

Finding log construction costly in view of the price timber was then bringing on the open market, the school wrangled the donation of a sawmill which was carefully hauled in by oxen over rough country roads. The first dwelling resulting from the fruits of this acquisition was Far House, built in 1915, and so named because of its then isolated position on a hill on the southwestern side of the campus. Designed by Zande, and serving as her home until her marriage in 1918 when she and her husband built Zande House nearby, Far House was a frame dwelling with casement windows, lots of closets, and an air of outward modernity though blended into its setting by Zande's careful touch. With the exception of one year when it served only girls, Far House too was home to fifteen to twenty children of both sexes.

In 1916, the kitchen-laundry-dining hall, Laurel House, entered service. Although the great two story dining room with a balcony on three sides was not ready until 1917, the sleeping porches for the
twenty girls responsible for the school's cooking and washing were ready and went into use under the watchful eye of Ruth B. Gaines, who came in 1914 as housekeeper and dietitian, a position she held until 1932. 

Due to the pressures of getting heavy work done around the school, Pettit and Zande soon became increasingly interested in expanding the number of students at the upper end of the age range, and as a temporary solution to the need for housing for older boys, quartered about sixteen of them in the Mary Sinclair Burkham Schoolhouse following its completion in 1917. In 1919, the building burned, taking the lives of four boys and one worker. This fire resulted in the construction the following year of Boys' House, a large frame structure with a special playroom outfitted with a sawdust floor and gym equipment. Financed with a gift from Addressograph inventor, J. S. Duncan, Boys' House served as home for some thirty adolescent males.

Luigi Zande, an Italian immigrant who came to the school in 1914 to help with the stonework for the foundations of the first buildings, had proved himself a useful jack of all trades and soon became both chief construction supervisor and farm boss (subject to Zande's direction in the former capacity and to Pettit's in the latter). As he had been living in a tent for two years, in 1916, they decided to erect a one room frame house for him. After he married, Farm House, as it was called, was expanded to house ten students, at first boys, and later girls.
These six houses held the bulk of the student population. In addition, there were two other buildings where a handful of students were housed—the Infirmary, built in 1921, where two girls resided as nurse's helpers, and the Model Home (1923) which provided several girls practical experience in managing a small house on a rotating basis.

As housing space grew, so did the enrollment of the school. The first year there were twenty-three students, but only five were boarders. Two years later, there were around fifty students, nearly all boarders. By the early twenties, the housing capacity of the school stabilized at one hundred and was normally filled up. Although originally the women had thought in terms of having 150 students, they came to recognize that the strain of raising running expenses was such that a hundred were about all they could manage comfortably. Nonetheless, at the beginning of the twenties, they did make two unsuccessful efforts to expand, one in the form of a projected house for girls aged ten to fourteen and the other in the form of a group of cottages for fifty orphaned children. Neither of these proposals aroused sufficient interest from contributors in those financially hectic postwar years, and both fell through for want of funds.

Although each house was built to an individual plan, they had several common features. One was the screened-in sleeping porch with its double-decker hospital beds. Open to the weather all year long, the sleeping porch was a fundamental part of healthy living in the eyes of Katherine Pettit, providing as it did the opposite of the crowded,
unventilated conditions found in many mountain homes and thereby reducing chances for the spread of tuberculosis. Former students later enjoyed bragging of how they survived going to bed with wet heads or waking up in the winter to find themselves covered with a fine dusting of snow. "We were hardly ever sick," was the recollection of more than one.

Adjoining the porches, which housed an average of eight children, were dressing rooms in which every child had his own washbasin, clothes cupboard and shelves. In the early days, all water had to be carried in, though later running water was piped in from the school reservoir high up on the side of Pine Mountain. Even then, hot water had to be specially heated outside in an iron kettle on a tripod. Nonetheless, Pine Mountain students were expected to wash carefully both mornings and evenings and to take two full baths a week.

The houses were heated by stoves and fireplaces, later by furnaces. French doors and casement windows fashioned out of cellar sashes furnished light during the day. When kerosene lamps and candles provided a warm light in the evening until 1921 when they were supplanted by the feeble illumination of low wattage electric lights powered by a small Delco generator.

Rooms were paneled in oak, chestnut, or poplar cut from the school timberlands and sawed into broad boards by the school mill. The living room of each house had a large stone fireplace, often built with a niche or two for the display of "pretties," which served as the focal point of family life for the house. Students gathered in front of
it in the evening to sing, to read aloud, to roast chestnuts or to pop corn. Tables and chairs were all local products, some made by students, others by neighborhood craftsmen. Pots of ferns and English ivy, clocks in beautiful wood cases, braided rag rugs on hardwood floors, bookshelves filled with interesting volumes, all added to the genteel ambiance created by the decor. A variety of objects associated with mountain life could also be found in each house, creating as Zande put it, "a juxtaposition of loom and dictionary, spinning wheel and globe, home-made baskets and victrola."³

Outside, mountain shrubs such as rhododendron and laurel mingled with domestic plants and flowers to suppress the institutional feeling that could have so easily pervaded the school and to create a harmonious interplay between buildings and land in keeping with the women's distaste for "buildings that appear to have been thrown at Earth by the hand of man, and which she doesn't seem to take kindly to her bosom!"⁴ Some visitors, equating beauty and affluence, rebuked the school for looking too wealthy, but architect Rockwell's reply to them was that having checked out many schools that had "the proper look," she had found "that it really costs more to look cheap and needy."⁵ A visiting parent summed it all up quite perceptively: "Why, hit's fine here. You got trees and mountains still, and flowers everywhere. You can just get the children across the mountain and do anything you please for them, exiled from society and the slums."⁶

At the heart of Pine Mountain's idealized home was the housemother. Although normally several workers lived in any given house and were
thus available to assist with various projects, the housemother was
the person ultimately responsible for the children of the house and
for their development outside the classroom. Her duties ranged from
"teaching chewing, sneezing, [and] nose-blowing" to conducting even-
ing devotions; from checking ears and necks to supervising study hours;
from inspecting the way beds were made or clothes hung up to being
hostess at weekly parties.7 She had to be a person "of sanity, fine
principles, interest in young people and ability to handle them to-
gether with a fair degree of order and cleanliness."8 Although Louise
Browning recalled that before being appointed housemother, she had to
pass 'the broom test' (Zande gave her a broom and asked her to sweep
the floor), housekeeping ability was less significant than skill in
dealing with children and adaptability to a variety of situations, for
as Zande told the workers, "the housemother of a child takes the place
of its mother in all respects at Pine Mountain."9 She helped them
learn to keep themselves clean and neat and to look after their things,
received their grade reports from the teachers, disciplined them when
they needed it, received the respects of children visiting the house,
and in short, performed all the functions of a mother in a typical
middle class home of the time. Wrote Pettit to a prospective house-
mother, "You really do mother the children, in that you watch their
relationship with the school as a whole, just as the mother of a fam-
ily of children tries to have them grow in the right direction, in any
community where she is bringing them up."10
The daily routine of the houses provides insight into how such mothering proceeded.* The rising bell sounded at 5:30 A.M. signaling that all had ten minutes in which to get up and make themselves presentable for the day, a process including washing face, hands, neck and ears; combing hair; blowing one's nose and putting on one's clothes. (Those charged with milking and preparing breakfast had already been up an hour or two getting things ready. Students in those positions rotated jobs in order to reduce potential damage to their health.) At 5:40, students began the required ten minute chore before breakfast—emptying slop buckets (a job usually falling to the last one dressed), straightening up the dressing rooms, making fires in the living rooms, and so on. At 5:50, each group assembled and set out for Laurel House, being admitted to the dining room for breakfast at 6:00 on the dot. By 6:45, all were through eating and were either in school or at work depending on their age. High school students had classes in the morning, while those in Grades 7 and 8 had theirs in the afternoon. Elementary pupils had a couple of hours of classes both in the morning and again after lunch. The majority of the students worked at their own houses, but the older boys worked on the farm or on building maintenance, and a few other individuals helped at the office or at Zande House.

Apart from the financial angle of student work which allowed them to meet the cost of their room and board through their labor, the work

* The routine given here is a composite of the various schedules and other data which have survived; obviously there would be some slight variations for a particular year.
program had another more fundamental objective. It was an essential part of the overall curriculum and aimed at forming in the students "a fine sense of responsibility and that understanding of the necessity for work which is at the bottom of both success and character."\footnote{11} Through the jobs given them, students were to come to feel a part of the group and to realize that each had a contribution to make to the well-being of all. In other words, through the work program, Pettit and Zande were attacking what they perceived as an underlying problem of mountain life—the absence of a cooperative spirit. By performing some immediate responsibility to the school family, students would develop a mental set favorable to the acceptance of responsibilities to the broader community in the future. As Zande told contributors, "A social code can no more be inherited at the head of a hollow than a fine French accent."\footnote{12} It was something that had to be learned through actually working together on projects of mutual benefit.

A second facet of the work program from a curricular standpoint was to teach the proper way of doing the multitude of chores necessary for the survival of a rural mountain family. Again, the stress was on learning by doing. While it would have been simpler on many occasions for adults to have done certain chores, the women considered it crucial that the children do them for the experience involved. "The housemothers supervise all the work, and plan it, but the children do it all," one worker wrote home. "Most of the work of grownups is in seeing that the children do things right. That is some job."\footnote{13}
It was indeed. Housekeeping alone was a major effort. Bedmaking, for example, had its own special routine. Pettit, trained by a grandmother who thought one "should not associate with people who did not air their beds," insisted for the sake of health that all covers be pulled back to the foot immediately upon rising each day to air the beds. Later, one child per porch had the job of making up all those on his porch "hospital style." On Saturdays, beds were stripped, mattresses turned, springs dusted, the current top sheet transferred to the bottom, and a new top sheet added. At certain intervals, bed frames would come down and receive inspection for bed bugs, then be scalded with boiling lye water to kill any the inspectors might have missed.

As for general cleaning, every corner of each house was dusted each day—not just the furniture, but the trim over doors and windows, all the shelves, and every window screen. Floors had to be swept, and that included the cellar. When a child finished a particular job, he reported for inspection. Pettit carried a linen handkerchief which she ran over surfaces in the course of hers. Other housemothers had their own methods, but all were equally adamant—if the work was not properly done, it had to be done over until it was. Tools used also had to be cared for—brooms cleaned and pails checked for rust and dried out before being put away.

On Saturdays, the heavier housework was done, there being no classes that day. Students carried pitchers, washbasins, buckets, and other such objects outside and washed them with soap and hot water from one of the ever-present kettles on a tripod. They washed and
oiled the split bottom chairs they sat on and scrubbed down porches, stairwells, and halls as well. They also went over benches with sand and washed windows.

On weekdays, "dinner" came around noon. Afterwards, there was again work or school. Each child had one hour a day at the end of his work period which was his to use as he pleased with the exception of being expected to take a bath and do his mending then. As has been mentioned, the school required two baths a week of all children, something which could challenge the housemother, particularly in the case of the smaller children who often had to have a great amount of assistance. Housemothers had to be sure that children made an adequate lather of soap and didn't miss any places. Hair had to be washed in alternate weeks in the summer and monthly in the winter, with even more frequent inspections for lice. There were also toothbrush drills once a week in which formal instruction on proper dental procedures was provided, and on that occasion, children cleaned their teeth carefully with twigs and pumice stone, chalk, or soda. If their teeth were stained, they had to apply tincture of iodine.

The weekly mending day saw housemothers scurrying to assemble needles, thread, and other supplies. Each child had to attend to his own clothing, and if he had no personal repairwork, had to mend items belonging to his house, sheets, for example.

Supper came at 5:00. Following supper, there was a sort of family hour in the houses when the children played together in the living room, heard stories read by their housemother, sang ballads, or sat by
the fire. Study hour followed, and anyone who failed to prepare his lessons received an extra hour on Friday night, a painful punishment since that was the usual time for parties. After getting ready for bed, the children often assembled in the housemother's room for prayers before going to sleep. Bedtime varied according to the age of the child with the youngest going to bed at seven and the oldest at nine, when the workers too had to turn in. (Moaned one worker, used to city hours, "it wasn't that we didn't get enough sleep, it just wasn't in the right places."15) Once lights went out, there was no more talking; students who did were dealt with severely.

Weekend routines were somewhat different. Saturday afternoons were a time for organizational activities such as scouting, and Saturday nights were sometimes the occasion of weekly parties; if not, then of a quiet time at home with a chance for early bedtime and thus extra sleep. On Sunday, work was kept to a minimum. Sunday mornings brought Sunday School and in the early evening there were Vespers, both required activities. On Sunday afternoons, each family stayed at home with one hour devoted to reading quietly together. It was a time to listen to good music on the phonograph or to engage in other cultural activities. Pettit would not receive adult visitors then, spending all her time with her children and those from Laurel House and Boys' House whom she invited over for singings on her front porch or to go hiking in the woods. ("She taught us every plant we came to, every tree."16) This would be followed by a picnic at the Big Log lean-to, a three-sided structure reminiscent of the pioneer hunter's
half-face camp. The other houses had similar activities.

Underlying the routines was the desire to instill in the children habits which could be transferred to their homes. Said the "Routine for Children," "Our children will find their salvation, when they go back to their homes, in the thorough training we are giving them in personal habits of cleanliness, care of things which have been on the floor, the proper use of drinking cups, cooking dishes, etc." While cleanliness was important among these habits, so was order. "Have a place for everything and keep everything in its place all the time, day and night." (Original emphasis) Thus ran the Pettit rules for the operation of Big Log House, which spelled out in detail just what that sentence meant: "Nothing is allowed on the floor of the room closets except baskets of play pretties." "Take things from [clothes] line as soon as dry." "Keep loft swept, dusted, and in order." "Children are not allowed to leave stockings in shoes." "Never leave things on bed...or put things under beds." "Tin cans, old shoes, etc. in can for can dump." To encourage the children along these lines, there were occasional Cupboard Days, on which a team of workers inspected cupboards and closets in all houses, giving a prize to the one whose storage areas were judged best kept. As a reminder that everything had its place, the tool house had a picture of each item stored in it painted over the spot where it was kept.

This concern for order extended outside as well. Pettit was renowned for her ability to spot rusty nails and pieces of paper at great distances and kept crews of students busy picking them up.
Rebecca Collett recalled that one of her duties when working at Laurel House was to sweep out Limestone Branch once a week with a broom. It was no wonder that visitors and students alike commented favorably on the attractiveness of the grounds. "Gee," commented one newcomer, "this is a pretty place; they hain't nary tin can nor old papers around!" Another, expressing a preference for Pine Mountain methods over those of his home, explained, "My mother keeps house country-wise and I like keeping house city-wise."

Neatness of person was also important. They encouraged the children to wear plain clothing in good repair and did not allow them to put on anything soiled or torn. Girls wore gingham or other cotton dresses, while boys wore overalls and khaki or blue workshirts on weekdays. On Sunday, after chores, both sexes dressed up for Sunday School and dinner. Since laundry in the absence of electricity was a major undertaking, and since normally little or no ironing was done, only those fabrics and styles suitable to a rough and tumble life were allowed; this applied to workers as well as to students. Behind this was not only the question of practicality, but also the desire to keep Pine Mountain children from acquiring a false sense of the importance of clothes. To a degree, this was a losing battle, but nonetheless, housemothers regularly confiscated all forbidden items such as rouge, lipstick, and silk dresses. Girls might wear such at home, but not at Pine Mountain. Furthermore, in the twenties when hemlines were soaring, those of Pine Mountain girls continued to hang at a modest four inches below the knee.
Meals, which all took together (workers were strongly discouraged from missing meals or seeking to have them elsewhere), afforded an important opportunity for social contact and for training in manners and nutrition. From 1916 on, meals were prepared and served at Laurel House; prior to that, they had been prepared first at the rented frame house and later at Big Log and carried in buckets to the various houses. Laurel House was a large white frame building which, especially in later years with striped awnings at its windows, had the exterior appearance "suggestive of a country club rather than an educational institution." Designed by Rockwell, the building had roughly the shape of a "U". The dining room ran across the front of the building (one entered from the side by way of a porch and waiting room) and was fifty-six feet long by thirty-six and a half feet wide. A balcony circled the better part of three walls; French doors opened on to a sitting porch on the far side and to a paved courtyard on the back. Under one section of the balcony was an alcove with a huge stone fireplace framed by the stairs to the second floor—this was the Laurel House living room. Upstairs were sleeping porches and dressing rooms for workers and for the girls who worked in the house. Two wings projected back from the dining room on either side of the courtyard. The left wing contained the kitchen and its various store-rooms; the right, the canning kitchen and laundry rooms. A covered passageway at the rear of the courtyard connected the two wings; on the far side of the passageway was another courtyard, this one for drying clothes. The front courtyard had a pool in the center filled
by a constant stream of water brought in by pipe from Limestone Branch. Coming off the mountain as it did, the water was normally cold, and milk and other items needing chilling were kept in the pool until served.

The kitchen was well-equipped and had large coal-burning stoves supplied from the school's own small mine. There was no mechanical refrigeration, so fresh meat was not available every day. Such as there was came from the slaughtering of local cattle or hogs, and this primarily in cold weather. Therefore, the protein served came mainly from fish, chicken, canned meats, and cheese. The school farm provided the bulk of the vegetables and fruit used. Root vegetables such as potatoes and turnips were kept in a cellar not far from the kitchen; other items were canned during summer and early fall, a Herculean task for which all hands were often drafted.

The breakfast menu included cereal (oatmeal or cream of wheat), fruit or eggs, and perhaps fishcakes or fried potatoes. (Mabel Mullins remembered having to peel and slice potatoes the night before in preparation for the next morning's meal—if the knife weren't visible through the slices, they weren't thin enough for the exacting Miss Gaines.) Usually there were biscuits, sometimes hotcakes or French toast. Suppers were similar with one main dish such as rice and milk, potato or bean salad, or soup accompanied by cornbread or biscuits and fruit or dessert.

The noon meal was the principal one of the day. As entrees there might be chicken and rice loaf, creamed tuna fish, macaroni and cheese,
chipped beef, canned meatloaf, or cheese and bacon. There were two vegetables including such things as potatoes, sweet potatoes, peas, green beans, soup beans, beets, or some type of greens. The menu frequently included a lettuce or cabbage salad and a dessert such as pudding, cake, or gelatin. Cornbread or homemade whole wheat bread were also served, but without butter, since it was too expensive to use the precious milk produced by the Pine Mountain dairy herd in that fashion, and margarine was seldom purchased. Pepper and spices were not used in preparing the food—according to Margaret Head, Pettit believed they created a desire for strong drink.

Preparation of meals was another big job. The girls who fixed breakfast had to rise at 4:00 A. M., light the fires, bring in three or four lard cans full of milk from the springhouse (each so heavy as to require two girls to carry it), fix the oatmeal, the eggs, the three or four hundred biscuits, and pour milk into the pitchers for each table, all before six o'clock. On top of that, the pots and pans dirtied in the process also had to be washed before the breakfast bell was rung. Given this and the limited variety of menus, the administration cautioned workers to watch their tongues and to encourage the children to be appreciative of the cooks' efforts. As the Worker's Book pointed out, simple things such as cutting up peppers, onions, and celery for a salad or scraping corn off the cob for fried corn could occupy the better part of the morning when one was serving a hundred or more.

In the dining room were twelve round oak tables stained dark brown, bare except for a pot of ferns or vase of flowers on a
crocheted mat. Diners sat in split bottom chairs, ten to a table, with the housemother or another worker from the house to which they belonged acting as hostess. (Zande was very proud of the fact that workers and children ate together at the same table, something which evidently was not the case at many of the other private schools in the hills.) Two children from each table served the food from a butler's pantry at the entrance to the kitchen. Food and drink were served in white enamelware plates, bowls, and cups; paper napkins, which did not need washing, guarded laps.

Meals began with the singing of grace, led customarily by school secretary Evelyn Wells who timed her arrival to that split second after everyone else had taken his place. Meals were to be pleasant social occasions, and there was a certain leisureliness about them compared to those at other such schools. No one left the table until all had finished. Conversation was generally casual, but sometimes housemothers and children would play word games. There was, of course, a constant but quiet struggle to train people in proper manners. Were hands and faces washed beforehand? Were people sitting straight with feet on the floor and arms off the table? Were they taking small bites? Chewing with mouths closed? Not talking or drinking with mouths full? Did they wait for all including the servers to be served before starting to eat? Did they use frequent "thank you's," "excuse me's," and "pleases"? Most importantly, did they take three bites of everything served them? There were two purposes for this, explained housemothers. It wasn't polite not to try what the cook
offered--feelings might be hurt. And one had to try new things in order to learn to like them. So when confronted with an unappealing dish, Pine Mountain students could not turn up their noses; instead, they had to take out a portion which to them constituted three bites and eat it along with everything else on their plates. There was no wasting food—not if one wanted dessert. (The testimony of former students indicates that the "three bites" rule was one of the more successful of Pine Mountain's educational practices. Most agreed that they could eat anything, and that it was all due to that regulation. The basic motive behind the rule, of course, was the broadening of the mountain diet which Pettit and Zande perceived as too limited and too heavy on starches and grease.

After meals, particularly in the evening, there might be ballad singing, and occasionally they would push back the tables and play singing games such as "Nuts in May" and "Roman Soldiers."

Concern for nutrition was but part of a broader concern for student health. From the beginning, the staff included a nurse and most of the time, a doctor, although as the latter was employed primarily to work with the community, the main responsibility for overseeing student health fell to the nurse. Originally, the medical work was housed in the store building off campus, moving later to the frame house and tents, and then to Burkham School and Old Log. Finally, in 1920–21, they erected a separate three ward infirmary on the hillside across the bottom from Laurel House. The doctor from 1919 on operated out of an extension center four miles away, spending perhaps one day a
week at the school.

With regard to the nurse, the Pine Mountain Notes described her work as consisting of "teaching the building up of resistance to disease, the intelligent care of the body and the physical development of the child."22 This process began for each student as soon as he entered the school, for a thorough physical examination at the hands of the nurse was part of the first day's routine. The next few weeks formed an intensive course in elementary hygiene (intensive from the standpoint of children who had never had to follow a regimen like Pine Mountain's and who would be constantly reminded, teased, and when necessary, punished into submission). The lessons consisted largely of simple things such as learning to blow one's nose on a handkerchief, taking regular baths, washing one's hands before meals, going to bed with clean feet, sleeping in nightclothes, and wearing galoshes when it rained. There were immunizations against smallpox and typhoid and treatments of various sorts. To get rid of lice, a frequent problem in the mountains, they had to shampoo with a kerosene and vinegar solution that remained on the head overnight, following that with a washing soda rinse and a conventional soap shampoo. Once the child had become accustomed to Pine Mountain, there was a weekend at the Infirmary for hookworm treatment, a rugged ordeal which often led to a terrible spell of homesickness and even to running away. Beginning in the mid-twenties, those underweight received a special diet with extra milk and extra rest which soon brought them up to normal.
As the year progressed, some of the more serious problems received attention. Many of the children suffered from various eye problems (those with trachoma were not allowed to stay but were sent to a Federal hospital for treatment) and as a rule, were taken downstate to doctors in Lexington or Louisville. Those with diseased tonsils and adenoids also made a trip to the city for care. As at Hindman, Linda Neville played a major role in making arrangements for these trips, particularly for those with eye troubles who received aid through her Mountain Fund. Individuals in the State Department of Health at Louisville and at certain hospitals also provided assistance in obtaining free hospital beds or free or reduced rates for doctors' services. Over the years, the school held several clinics on the grounds staffed by outside specialists who treated eye and throat problems or provided dental care.

On the whole, the school experienced few major health problems, most of the nurse's curative efforts focusing on colds, earaches, stubbed toes and the like. Although typhoid was common in the hills, the school's reservoir provided pure water, so it was not a problem, nor were tuberculosis or polio. There were occasional epidemics of other childhood diseases—whooping cough, measles, and mumps—which were sometimes severe enough to disrupt the work of the school for a few weeks. In 1915, a member of William Creech's family contracted smallpox, an event which led to the first mass immunization program on the north side of the mountain, Zande setting the example by rolling up her sleeve first. Though a few of the neighbors came down with
the disease, none of the children did, due to vaccinations and to a strict quarantine. A quarantine in 1918 also spared the school from the terrible Spanish flu epidemic which struck the surrounding countryside severely. Immunization and quarantine thus became visible symbols to children and community that disease could be prevented, a concept previously foreign to the fatalistic mountaineers. "It is still a new idea in this country that a cold is contagious, and that it can be broken up, or better still, that it can be prevented," stated the Pine Mountain Notes in 1926.23

Another visible symbol in the fight against disease were the sanitary outhouses constructed by the school out of the stones so prevalent in the fields. Zande described them as "very good looking ...substantial as the hills in their construction," and they undoubtedly impressed students and neighbors, many of whom had no outhouses or who buildings constructed on less scientific lines.24 Unfortunately, the model chosen by the school, the Kentucky Sanitary Closet, was somewhat complicated to build and to maintain properly, and during later extension work, an effort was made to find a more copiable plan. Nonetheless, the point was made, a point vital in a country whose inhabitants lived with the twin scourges of typhoid and hookworm.

Summary. Like other progressive educators, Pettit and Zande thought of the school as a home, only in the case of Pine Mountain, it was in fact an idealized home due to its being a boarding school arranged on a cottage plan with six houses, each home to a small group of students and workers. Through the routine of the houses, the children learned the responsibilities and joys inherent in cooperative
living together. At meals, they learned good nutritional habits and social graces; through the health program, they improved their own physical condition and acquired sound health habits which would serve them in the future. Crucial to the success of this plan were the housemother and the other workers who lived in each house (there was no workers' house at Pine Mountain). As Pettit and Zande liked to remind the staff, "The value of the school lies partly in reproducing family conditions as far as possible and the workers must remember that they work and play and eat and live with the children as grown-ups do at home, not as teachers and supervisors do in an institution." 25
CHAPTER FIVE: PROVIDING MENTAL TOOLS FOR EVERYDAY NEEDS

In looking at Pine Mountain's academic and industrial departments, one quickly realizes that Pine Mountain's progressivesness lay more in the sum total effect of its program than in any major reworking of the academic curriculum or in any unique development in industrial education. While some progressive schools such as the Dewey Laboratory School or Marietta Johnson's Organic School attempted a significant reconstruction of the formal classroom program per se, Pine Mountain belonged to another wave, typified perhaps by the Interlaken School in Indiana, described by the Deweys in Schools of Tomorrow, in which the creation of an "environment" was the central thing. This is not to say that within classroom and workshop, Pine Mountain was a traditional school, for many of the techniques used were common to other progressive institutions—for example, emphasis on handwork, use of dramatization, work in nature study, and the relating of English to other subjects through reports and the like. However, Pine Mountain did not systematically attempt during the Pettit-Zande period to actually create new combinations of subject matter or even to develop a consistent set of instructional procedures; rather, classroom instruction was eclectic, drawing from a variety of sources old and new. Pine Mountain in this area was often innovative but seldom originative. It took ideas from the mainstream of progressive educational thought and
adapted them to its needs, but it did not attempt any synthesis at the 
nuts and bolts level as it would do later in the thirties under Glyn 
Morris and his colleagues, thereby winning for itself national recogni-
tion as a leader in curriculum development.

Under a division of labor worked out between Pettit and Zande, the 
latter had direct charge of the academic and industrial departments. 
(Shé also supervised the fiscal and administrative work of the school, 
while Pettit tended to the farm and other outside work apart from 
building and also managed most of the houses.) Zande's general approach 
to her academic task was to prepare what she called "the course of 
study" and then find teachers to implement it. She relied far more on 
the force of personality of the teachers than on the need for detailed 
curriculum guides. As she saw it, the challenge was "to start [the 
students'] minds working rather than to feed into those minds."¹

"School," she observed, "is less and less a place for acquiring know-
ledge, and more and more a place for learning to use one's mind."² In 
view of the large yearly turnover, she was also concerned that all stu-
dies "be infused with life and significance," so as to give maximum 
benefit to those staying for just one year.³ These things could be ac-
complished by "really inspiring teachers, not bound by any system of 
education, who impart knowledge as light, rather than as a collection 
of facts."⁴

With regard to the selection of content, her right hand assistant, 
Evelyn Wells, explained in her history that Pine Mountain tried "to 
open the way for the children, to offer them intellectual food that was
real mountain fare, to fit them for life in a locality that was rapidly changing, rather than to fit them into a school system..."\(^5\) This came about primarily through emphasis of those aspects of conventional subject matter which appeared to have the most direct link to the life of the mountain child, just as in cities, other progressives tied their programs to those things which meant something in the life of the urban child. Although there were occasionally courses based upon pressing needs of the region—hygiene and home nursing, for instance—there were no special courses on mountain life per se as there would be in the thirties. They also stressed adaptation to individual needs—"much of our work has been of an individual, emergency nature," wrote Wells—making special provisions for those whose circumstances demanded them.\(^6\) There could be twenty year olds being tutored in reading and college bound high school students receiving private instruction in algebra and Latin. Zande devoted much thought to the older students' needs based on her knowledge of them as individuals and tried each year to arrange the course of study accordingly. This is not to suggest a complete individualization or personalization of work in the sense of a Dalton or a Winnetka—Pine Mountain was not the place for the technocrats of education. It did mean however that within the confines of the classes established by the course of study, teachers accommodated the work to the students. "To provide mental tools for everyday needs and to make our young people alert, open-minded, and full of zest for enlarging their horizons, is our aim," noted Zande.\(^7\)
Classroom instruction began the first summer despite the press of construction and fundraising. Evangeline Bishop, a volunteer teacher from Cleveland, conducted a kindergarten for the younger children of the immediate neighborhood, including several of William Creech's grandchildren. One of these, a lively four year old, immediately encountered discipline Pine Mountain style—rather than spank recalcitrants, they exiled them away from the group Montessori-fashion to what was known as "the lonesome seat." The boy, having one morning decided not to work, announced forthrightly, "I reckon you'll have to set me on the seat; I can't hurry this morning."^8 This reliance on methods other than the traditional spanking for discipline was for students the most striking aspect of the new school. In addition to kindergarten, Bishop called on the country one-room schools, volunteering her assistance to the teachers. The school nurse also went visiting, making short talks about health to the pupils. That fall, another volunteer replaced Bishop, and taught twenty-three students whom she grouped by age, working with each group at different times during the day.

The Masonic Lodge meeting hall on the second floor of the building loaned them by a neighbor served as the first classroom. Heated by a potbellied stove, it was furnished with a long trestle table, benches, and split bottom chairs. On its floral-papered walls, the women hung pictures including ones of George and Martha Washington and of Christ instructing his disciples, a bulletin board, a mirror, and a large American flag. Later they added a small portable organ to the equipment. Text materials included a set of the Riverside Happy Hour Series
and a quantity of books donated by individuals and groups including works by Victor Hugo, Charles Dickens, Edith Wharton, James Barrie, and others, books available not only for the students but for the community as a whole. In addition to housing classes, the hall also served as meeting place for their Sunday School which was especially well-attended. With the coming of warm weather in 1914, the impact of this attendance on the olfactory apparatus of the workers was such that Pettit and Zande decided to build an open air pavilion for use during the pleasant seasons of the year. Dubbed "House in the Woods" and located among the trees on the hillside north of Isaac's Run, the pavilion consisted of a floor and a hip roof supported by several columns made from pine trunks. Financed by community efforts including box suppers, and furnished with trestle tables, benches, and folding chairs it was ready for service by late June when it became the setting for a second summer school, this one conducted by Catherine Rittenhouse of Minnesota and another volunteer.

Rittenhouse initially had twelve students ranging in age from five to fifteen, picking up more after corn hoeing season, and had no more than one copy of any given textbook for their use. She and her associate opened their three and a half hour long sessions with fifteen minutes of marching and singing intended to develop a sense of rhythm, following this with book work stressing reading and arithmetic and with handwork including making things with beads, making paper chains, and drawing. They also taught geography and tried to purify student language which, to their Protestant ears, relied too much on the use of the
word "God." Rittenhouse found her students eager learners who beamed with pleasure on mastering some new point. "I have seen some actually quiver with the joy of achievement," she wrote excitedly to her family. Small wonder that most were somewhat tearful at the conclusion of the last day's "finishing exercises" (a play, singing, and the exhibiting of student work).

That summer, like the summer before, the nurse made the rounds of the country schools traveling eight hours a day on horseback to do so. Back at Pine Mountain, in the afternoons, the students helped with the work of the settlement—planting, weeding, doing the laundry, cooking, and the like. The August board report bragged, "We see the beginning of a higher standard for our neighborhood." 10

In mid-August, the fall term of school began, this time a much more comprehensive affair than anything previous. Three teachers (one of whom, Marguerite Butler, would later play an important role in the development of the school's community work) divided the twenty-five or so students into groups by age, with Butler taking the older ones. Zande cautioned her that while they were older in years, they were not very far along in their studies and might differ so much as to require large amount of tutoring. "I want the work," she wrote Butler, "to be twofold in its purposes—i.e. to give them more mastery of reading, writing, & simple figuring, and to be enriching and broadening." This meant using literature, history, and geography. History was to start with the United States, cross to England, and then move into a comprehensive consideration of modern Europe. Referring to the current
world situation, Zande added, "You have a rare chance to enrich—if you simply exhaust the lines of approach made possible by the war." As Pine Mountain lacked a map suitable for this purpose, Butler arrived with one slung over the saddle of her mule.

School that year began with opening exercises similar to those of the summer—marching to music, singing patriotic songs, and repeating the Lord's Prayer. They spent the morning working with the first five grades and held two tutoring sessions in the afternoon for the older boys and girls who helped with the work of the school and were too embarrassed to go in with the younger ones.

The next summer there was again a summer school, as there would be nearly every year throughout the Pettit-Zande period. This time the emphasis fell on practical knowledge—simple sewing, the use of carpenter's tools, and the appreciation of the natural environment through daily sessions in the woods. A male theological student who also preached in the outlying community taught woodworking and as a project had the students build and outfit a forty-eight square foot playhouse. "Even the smallest girls, five and six years old, have learned to saw and can recognize a ten penny nail and take great interest in making the furnishings...They have all learned much about multiplication and fractions too, getting the arithmetical facts which will help to make real the formulas when they come to learn them in the winter." So ran Zande's report on the outcome. The same man also directed playground activities for the boys teaching sportsmanship and flag etiquette in addition to various games.
Thus, from the beginning, Pine Mountain's academic work included elements in common with those of progressive education generally—the use of physical exercise and music, the use of industrial work as a springboard, the provision for individual differences, and the promotion of nature study. As the school expanded, these would continue, and others would be added.

By 1916, the school had expanded to the point where the Masonic Lodge could no longer handle the winter sessions, and so one found students scattered about the grounds in the living rooms of Big Log and Far House and in the temporary dining room at Laurel House. As a result, they began construction on a permanent school building, holding the cornerstone laying on October 11. It was a festive ceremony, attended by one hundred fifty neighbors who heard speeches by William Creech, Chicago advertising magnate D. M. Lord, and Zande. When finished the next year, the Mary Sinclair Burkham Memorial Schoolhouse rose three stories from the hillside just west of Laurel House. With its gambrel roof, white drop siding, and square columned front portico, it looked like a transportation from the colonial edifices of the eastern seaboard. Inside were classrooms with stone fireplaces (though the structure also had a furnace), offices, a place for the nurse to treat outpatients, an assembly room, and, on the third floor, a playroom which ran the entire length of the floor. Pinoak paneling and split bottom chairs served as reminders that one was in the mountains. Unfortunately, in January 1919, possibly due to the spontaneous combustion of some oily rags, the building caught fire and was destroyed in a
matter of hours due to the school's fire hydrants having frozen. They replaced it with a second Burkham School, this time located across Limestone Branch, east of Laurel House. The second building, constructed under pressure and at a time of rapid inflation which pushed costs up significantly, was smaller and far less dramatic than the original. Initially, it had only a commonplace projecting roof over the front entry, but Zande and her husband later replaced it with a columned porch which gave it a little more elegance (too much, some thought, and when it decayed years later, it was torn down). The central feature of the second schoolhouse was the large assembly room which one entered immediately from the front porch. This room had a massive stone fireplace with a stage at the far end. Although one observer described the building as "a very schoolhousey affair," the beautiful dark paneling and lovely views from the windows lessened the institutional feeling considerably.\textsuperscript{13} Zande, in furnishing it, tried to give each of the six classrooms a character grounded in what was taught in it, creating, for instance, an English and history room whose walls were covered with pictures of Shakespeare and Crusaders. "I want the building to look just lovely so that people will feel there is an 'air of delightful studies' about it," she wrote.\textsuperscript{14} The later addition of a reading room opening on to the little balcony overlooking the front porch and the organization and classification of the books scattered about the building into a library did much to insure this.

By 1929, the school had four teachers teaching the first eight grades and supplying the older students with a little normal school
work on an informal basis. That spring, wanting to increase the supply of competent rural teachers, Zande announced plans to create a formal normal school department, but learning that the Kentucky General Assembly had approved a new law making high school work a prerequisite for teacher certification, reworked her plans and established a high school instead. This necessitated adding foreign languages plus advanced mathematics and science to their program, studies which Zande did not feel the typical mountain student needed. Fortunately, they had two qualified French instructors available, one a native speaker who was also competent to handle the science. They began their high school with five students, adding a level each year, and graduating the first two seniors in 1924.

In the fall of 1922, Marguerite Butler accompanied John C. Campbell's widow, Olive, to Europe to study Danish folk schools. Campbell, during his lifetime, had advocated such schools as a useful force in working with mountain youth in their late teens and early twenties, individuals in need of mental stimulation and yet who could not, due to their previous schooling, enter formal studies suitable to their maturity nor devote much time or money to lengthy studies. The purpose of the folk school as he saw it was to bring to youth at what the Danes considered the most idealistic, impressionable stage of life into contact with forceful, dynamic, interesting individuals who would guide them into enriching experiences grounded in folk culture. Early in 1924 following the women's return, they spent a week at Pine Mountain, a stay which became a running symposium on folk schools and Pine Mountain's
future. While Pettit and Zande were interested in the basic concept, they agreed with Mrs. Campbell that one had to proceed carefully in making any major changes in their existing program. Zande, in particular, questioned whether the older youth of the region had the basic educational foundation necessary to derive much benefit from the "inspiring personalities" a folk school might bring them.15

However, the conference did influence them to take a step for which Zande had already been pushing, the limiting of the student body to those over fourteen who had completed the fourth grade. There were several factors in this decision including the feeling that the needs of the older age group were more pressing, the need for such youth to do the necessary work of the school, the greater expense and demands of the younger children upon the school at a time when finances were a constant struggle, and the improving conditions in neighborhood rural schools, an improvement due largely to Pine Mountain's efforts in school supervision and teacher supply. While a staff report of the late thirties marveled that their predecessors could have seen any dramatic improvement in the neighborhood schools that would have justified cutting out Grades 1-4, it seems clear that at the time, due to the progressive bent of the County Superintendent of Schools, Pine Mountain's assistance to him, and an apparently increasing interest on the part of the state in improving public schools generally, that Pettit and Zande felt confident their choice was correct. They did not want to discourage nor impinge upon what ought to have been state responsibilities.
The new policy took effect with the 1924 fall term. Within a year or two, the number in the fifth and sixth grades was so low, that Zande looked forward to the moment when they could cut out those grades as well, retaining what she called "opportunity classes" for the few who would enter unprepared for seventh grade work. This, however, did not develop until after her death; in 1929, her successor, Angela Melville established a policy limiting entrance to those who had finished the sixth grade.

Although not inclined to plunge Pine Mountain into folk school waters, Zande nonetheless did want to try a few experimental steps in the shallow end. As a start, in the summer of 1924, she worked up a short camp for ten adolescent girls of the community which provided them with a few days of wholesome recreation. She also designed a program known as "Opportunity School," for trial that winter. The Opportunity School was a four week program for those sixteen and up who wanted work in the areas taught at Pine Mountain but who were not interested in or able to become regular Pine Mountain students. As Zande envisioned the potential enrollees for this program, they were local school dropouts in "need [of] the stimulus of an inspiring personality bringing something inspiring into their lives." She would house them in the Model Home, would have them do a certain amount of necessary housework there and pay a tuition of $7.50 in cash or produce. The first year the program fell through when the proposed teacher became ill; the second year only one individual enrolled, but she was given the full program. There is no record of what ensued the third year, but it was given up after
that. The experience tended to confirm Zande's initial feeling that
the folk school concept of "free courses" for older youth was one for
which the Pine Mountain community was not yet ready. (Berea, which
started a similar program at the exact same time under the direction of
Helen Dingman, whom Zande teased about all the students Pine Mountain
would draw away from her, had great success, its program continuing
until 1950.)

Still, Pine Mountain shared much in common with folk school ideals.
Replying to a friendly critic who wished to see the school move more
along folk school lines, Evelyn Wells, speaking for Zande, noted that
"many educational points brought out by Mrs. Campbell were ones we had
been stressing here for years—freedom from fixed and old-fashioned
academic notions, the importance of the teacher's personality rather
than the accumulation of facts." Additionally, Wells argued, there
couldn't be "a school where the workers are in closer contact with the
children." Not only did they live in the same houses and eat at the
same tables, but "we don't dress in silk because the children shouldn't;
we don't use rouge because we don't like the children to; we don't play
jazz because the children are learning to appreciate good music. In a
hundred ways, we are one group, not two. We live as much as possible
on a simple scale, as an example to the children." 17

In speaking of "freedom from old-fashioned academic notions," Wells
spoke more perhaps of methods than of subject matter which remained
rather conventional. While there is no full outline of the work of the
school for any given year, what information does exist indicates that
the curriculum was standard for the time. Table 1 shows the program of the elementary grades as outlined for the Kentucky Department of Education in the spring of 1923. It shows that the first three grades focused on three subject areas—reading, composition, and arithmetic—to which geography was added in the fourth grade, history in the fifth, and science in the seventh. At the high school level during the twenties, the subjects taught included English, ancient history, modern history, American history, geography, physiology, psychology, physics, civic science in the home, home nursing and baby care, nature study, algebra, geometry, biology, mechanical drawing, music theory, piano, and pedagogy. While French was taught initially, it was later replaced by Latin due to a change in instructors rather than to a preference for the classics. (Zande personally thought a modern language would be of more use.) Tables 2 and 3 show sample distributions of high school courses reconstructed from Zande’s instructions to her assistant principal, student records, and a daily schedule for 1928-29. These programs on paper varied little from those offered in the Harlan City Schools across the mountain, and in fact, used some of the same textbooks in reading and social studies. It was not the program in general which was progressive, but rather the methods used and the content stressed.

In keeping with her beliefs about the teacher’s personality being central, Zande tended to value whatever contributions each teacher could make as a unique individual, an attitude shared by Pettit, with the result that the program in any given year might vary in unexpected ways
Table 1: The Pine Mountain Academic Program, Grades 1-8, As Described for the Kentucky State Department of Education, May 1923

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Arithmetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Grade</td>
<td>Basal reader, Elson; supplementary, <em>Work-a-day Doings on the Farm</em>, <em>Sunshine Primer</em>, etc.</td>
<td>Story telling; simple written sentences.</td>
<td>Counting, reading and writing numbers to 100; addition and subtraction facts to 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Grade</td>
<td>Basal reader, Elson; supplementary, varied and plentiful.</td>
<td>Story telling; writing of little stories about everyday happenings.</td>
<td>Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, without carrying or reduction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Grade</td>
<td>Basal reader, Elson; <em>Progressive Road to Reading, Around the World</em>, Baldwin and Bender.</td>
<td>Stories, oral and written, letters, training of reproduction, imagination, telling experiences.</td>
<td>All multiplication tables, addition and multiplication with carrying, subtraction with reduction, short division.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Grade</td>
<td>Elson IV; <em>Story of Silk</em>, Baldwin and Bender IV, <em>Story of a Raindrop, Aunt Martha’s Corner Cupboard</em>.</td>
<td>Story writing, paragraph, possessives, quotations, etc.; letters, dictionary study.</td>
<td>Special attention to long division; review tables.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Grade</td>
<td>Greek Myths, <em>Story of Coal</em>, <em>Water Babies</em>, <em>Fanciful Tales</em>.</td>
<td>Same as Fourth Grade, more advanced.</td>
<td>Special attention to common fractions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 (continued)

**Sixth Grade**

**Reading:** Stories of the King, Master Skylark, etc.

**Composition:** Booklet on flowers; letter writing, stories, etc.

**Arithmetic:** Common and decimal fractions; Hamilton's intermediate arithmetic text.

**Geography:** Carpenter's North America; Essentials of Geography, Brigham and McFarlane.

**History:** Greek, Roman, and European history (Our Ancestors in Europe, Hall).

**Seventh Grade**

**Reading:** Homer's Odyssey, Story of Siegfried, Ancient Heroes, Pilgrims, etc.

**Composition:** Make booklet about birds.

**Arithmetic:** Decimals, percentage.

**Geography:** Essentials of Geography, Brigham and McFarlane; Carpenter's Geographical Reader.

**Science:** Caldwell and Eikenberg, General Science.

**Eighth Grade**

**Reading:** The Merchant of Venice, A Midsummer Night's Dream, From Alien to Citizen.

**Composition:** Parts of speech, development of paragraph from topic sentence, some use of textbook.

**Arithmetic:** Percentage, interest, bank discount, commission, etc.

**Geography:** Australia, Africa, South America (Brigham and McFarlane, II).

**History:** Hart and Gordon, U. S. History.

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**Source:** Letter of Ethel de Long Zande to James T. Ryan, May 30, 1923, Pine Mountain Settlement School, Office Files.
Table 2: List of courses offered in the Pine Mountain high school department, 1925-26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Year:</th>
<th>Second Year:</th>
<th>Third-Fourth Years:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>English&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>English&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Biology&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Physical Geography&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Science in the Home&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General History&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>English History</td>
<td>Pedagogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bible</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Civil Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Not all courses listed for Second Year may have been taught.

<sup>b</sup> Denotes a required course that all had to take.

Sources: Ethel Zande to Harriette Wood, July 21, 1925, Pine Mountain Settlement School, Office Files; Student records, 1925-26.

Table 3: List of courses taught in the Pine Mountain high school department, 1928-29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Year:</th>
<th>Second Year:</th>
<th>Third Year:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Training or Home Arts</td>
<td>Manual Training or Home Arts</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>Weaving</td>
<td>Gym &amp; Hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Theory</td>
<td>Music Theory</td>
<td>Physics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gym &amp; Hygiene</td>
<td>Gym &amp; Hygiene</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>History</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

from its predecessor, reflecting the talents, abilities, and interests of the particular workers on staff that year. As Wells pictured the process:

If a worker comes in who can do one thing better than another, she has a chance to do it, and she is allowed to work it out according to her own notions. Often...I have heard Miss Pettit or Ethel say, 'It seems Miss So-and-So knows how to catalogue library books—or classify and mount ferns—or teach something quite different from what she was engaged for—or has an interest in some brand new subject.' She gets a chance to work it out here, along her own lines.18

This practice led to great flexibility, both with regard to methods and the content of courses. This is not to suggest that there was no supervision or set standards—Zande did visit classrooms from time to time, confer with teachers individually, hold workers' meetings, and plan the course of study herself though with input from the teachers—but largely the teachers were, in the words of Louise Browning, "free to carry out our own inclinations and inspirations."19

The area on which Zande placed the most emphasis was language skills. Reading was fundamental. Unlike some progressive schools in which students picked up reading as they wanted to, Pine Mountain assumed that reading was the key to everything else. No matter what the students' futures might be, wrote Zande in 1919, "we want...them to feel a real enthusiasm for books."20 Pettit agreed, telling one correspondent, "I wouldn't ever work with young people anywhere if they had lots of idle time—unless they spent it all in reading!"21 While Zande left the choice of reading methods to the teachers, feeling that "all roads lead to Rome," she expected that students would learn to read quickly and would read things of worth that challenged the
imagination and informed the mind. To encourage interest, there was much reading aloud to students, both by teachers in the classrooms and by the housemothers at home. A popular recollection of former students is of hearing Pettit, a superb oral reader, do Uncle Remus stories. She often appointed someone to read aloud to a group of students as they did the more sedentary types of work such as breaking beans or cutting up apples to dry. All the houses had ample supplies of books for students to read on their own, and books served as prizes for students who made the honor roll, each being allowed to choose the title he wanted. On one occasion, a contributor donated a hundred dollars to be used for individual Christmas presents for each student: Pettit and Zande elected to spend it on books for each. Some of the titles given in this manner included _Heidi_, _The Boys' King Arthur_, _Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea_, _Kate Greenaway's Mother Goose_, _Little Women_, _Hans Brinker_, _Men of Iron_, the Thornton Burgess books, and a volume or two of _Tom Swift_.

Oral and written expression also ranked high in emphasis. As Table 1 shows, oral story telling and the recounting of experiences were used from the first grade on to develop skills of self-expression and served as a prelude to written composition work. The latter was so important in Zande's eyes that she made it a policy that all students in the upper grades write a composition of some sort at least twice weekly. Compositions took a variety of forms—letters, stories, essays, and in the elementary grades, the making of booklets on various topics. Occasionally, students wrote a letter to Zande about a book
they had read, thus giving more realism to their work. At two different points there was a school newspaper which included student writing from all grades. To facilitate evaluation, teachers maintained composition folders on all students. They worked grammar in functionally as needed, although from time to time, Zande would worry as to whether they were giving them enough such instruction. Part of her anxiety stemmed from the fact that many of the older students went on to Berea where old-fashioned parsing was still part of the work. However, she took refuge in the idea that de-emphasis on grammar was the trend in leading urban progressive schools, although she did institute the use of a set of grammar pamphlets written by a former Indianapolis colleague.

The school also encouraged oral expression through debates, declamation contests, speech-making, participation in weekly assembly programs, and dramatics. The assemblies encompassed a variety of activities. During the second semester of 1927-28, for instance, they included a charade by Big Log House, a geography spelling class, acting out ballads, a health skit illustrating the role of negligence in passing on disease, a set of "original chewing gum satires," talks by visitors on American Indians, Ireland, and Cecil Sharp, a music recital, an exhibition by the girls' gym classes, and the reading of essays by high school students on "The Ideal Man and Woman." There were also frequent ballad assemblies devoted to singing. Nearly all these programs involved student leadership to some extent.
As was frequently the case in progressive schools, dramatics played an important role at Pine Mountain—Zande termed its use "a matter of educational policy," and expected teachers to employ creative dramatics as a teaching tool, thus the chewing gum and health skits already mentioned. One humorous example of the use of creative dramatics in teaching English skills was the adaptation by upper grade students of the stories of King Arthur to the cause of correct speech. Clad in underwear to which tin roofing nails had been sewn, Sir Get, Sir Ask, and Sir Didn't-do-it battled for King Good English against the base villains, Sir Git, Sir Axe, and Sir Bain't-done-her. After contesting successfully with wooden swords and paper shields for Lady Pleasant Talk, they departed on a "crusade against the Pine Mountain school." Another far broader attempt at relating subject matter and the students' daily lives was "The Pageant of Pine Mountain," first created for the dedication of the schoolhouse in 1917 and later recreated over the years on other occasions. Developed by the students and teachers together, the pageant placed the school in historical perspective within the upper Greasy valley, showing the Indians, the original white settlers, then the Creeches, the building of the school, and finally closing with a speculation on the future. Staged outdoors, the pageant drew heavily on oral history collected by both students and workers in from the community.

Stories and books read also provided a source of material for dramatizations—Little Women, Peter Pan, and the Robin Hood stories were among those coming to life at House in the Woods or on the schoolhouse
stage. Additionally, regular plays were presented from time to time, and it became customary that the oldest students would do something by Shakespeare during commencement week. (This was deemed especially fitting because of the Elizabethan survivals in local speech.) At Christmas, there were a series of informal skits during the days leading up to the holiday, and also a formal nativity play presented on the day itself or just a day or so in advance.

Turning to other areas of the academic program, one finds that social studies focused on geography and history. In addition to the traditional topics normally covered by textbooks, Zande stressed current events, having students use current events papers and one year even teaching a current events class herself, discussing such things as "the humanizing of the industrial division of labor" and the life of Gandhi. As a rule, they had several texts available for any one course, though whether by design or through lack of funds is not clear, though most likely the former as they appear to have been able to purchase texts whenever they needed them. In 1927-28, they began using some of Harold Rugg's social studies pamphlets. The two things they most wanted students to gain from social studies were a sense of identity within the framework of their heritage and of the modern world and also to have what Pettit called "international minds" that took a global view rather than an "America First" attitude.

Although formal classes in science did not enter the program until the early twenties and then mainly for the older students, nature study in varying degrees formed part of the curriculum from the beginning.
Living close to the land as they did, the students could not escape much informal instruction in nature's ways. The work on the farm which in the early days involved the smaller children as well as the bigger ones did much to instill scientific principles in their heads in applied form. The woods around the school were a living scientific workshop—Louise Browning recalled that if students brought in one or two different varieties of violets, the class might take off to the woods to see how many others they could discover. On returning to the room after such forays, they would write up their experiences, often making a booklet about wildflowers or birds or ferns. Objectives underlying such work included developing a respect for plants and animals and gaining a familiarity with the natural elements of the world in which one lived. With the advent of the high school, physics joined the curriculum, though the scope of the course was somewhat limited due to insufficient equipment. Biology, which could draw upon the school grounds for specimens, enjoyed greater success.

Visits to the school by outside experts pursuing their specialties also heightened interest in science. Among others there came a professor from Lincoln Memorial University looking for rare ferns, the curator of a natural history museum in Philadelphia studying birds, and a herpetologist from New York hunting rare salamanders. Such visitors typically spent the day in the field collecting specimens with the assistance of several students, and in the evening, spoke to the school as a whole about their area of expertise.
The most exciting visit of this sort came in the spring of 1923. In March, a fourteen year old student named Frances Johnson who had heard when younger tales handed down from the pioneer settlers about Indians in the valley, decided she would excavate an Indian skeleton. Choosing as her site the cliff just above Old Log House, a place where students had often found arrowheads, she spent two days digging before she found a skeleton. Her discovery brought Zande to the site the following day. Assisted by one of the boys and her own son, she uncovered a second set of remains. At that point, they decided professional help was called for, and Pettit asked W. D. Funkhouser of the University of Kentucky, a leading expert of the state's prehistory, to come investigate, which he did in late April, bringing with him two other experts from Lexington. Aided by Johnson and some of the boys, the men located several additional skeletons, one of which was wearing a bear's claw necklace, the first such discovered in the state. They also found time to pursue other scientific interests including ornithology, geology, and herpetology—Funkhouser found the first specimen recorded in the mountains of a species of snake known as Carphosis amoena. They also lectured to the students on these topics as well as on astronomy. While the visit fired student imaginations, the archeological end of it did not especially excite the neighbors, "who got no thrill out of this discovery, but wanted the dead left in peace, and were truly horrified at their first acquaintance with the Howard Carters of this world."27

The evaluation of student work proceeded rather conventionally, relying primarily on paper and pencil measures of achievement. Until the
mid-twenties, reporting of progress took the form of number grades translated into letters for the permanent records and for the report cards issued at six week intervals. In addition to academic grades, the cards also carried marks for "Neatness," "effort and Interest," "Conduct," and "Tardiness," as well as one for "Diligence and Ability" in industrial work.28

In 1925-26, Zande instituted a new report card which omitted grades substituting instead comments by the teachers. To this she coupled ratings by all workers with whom the child had contact (expressed on the cards as an average) evaluating his development in certain character traits: diligence, ability, neatness, promptness, courtesy, self-control, responsibility, and community spirit. Her system employed five ratings to describe the child's development in each area: excellent, good, fair, poor, and unsatisfactory. The two top ratings indicated a high degree of self-initiative and self-sacrifice or self-effacement for the welfare of others. The next two down indicated a certain amount of weakness—those rated poor generally possessed the trait but frequently acted without thinking on it. Those rated unsatisfactory were either entirely devoid of the trait or actively worked against it. The instructions for marking students with regard to "responsibility" (defined as "Trustworthiness; dependability") can illustrate:

Mark those **Excellent** who are entirely trustworthy and can be depended on in any circumstances.

**Good** who can be depended on ordinarily but who go to pieces in unusual circumstances.
Fair who cannot be uniformly depended on if left to themselves. Though they do not intend to shirk, they can be easily distracted.
Poor who need constant supervision.
Unsatisfactory who deliberately shirk responsibility.  

Part of the reasoning behind the character ratings was to promote increased attention to the ethical development of the children. Zande, influenced in part by her reading of Felix Adler, saw the exploration of ethics in the school as crucial. "After all," she wrote one friend, "the individual cannot work out an ethical system alone...we are so anxious to make things explicit for [the children], and have them understand the ideals they want to develop here."  

She evidently found the method successful, for they continued to use it along with the gradeless report cards until after her death. However, under her successor, Angela Melville, grades were reinstated and the character rating system revised, substituting letters rather than ratings, and focusing on a slightly different set of traits: obedience, dependability, courtesy, cleanliness, and thrift.

Zande died in March 1928 after several years of battling cancer. At the spring board meeting that year, the Trustees chose Angela Melville, a Jamaican immigrant, who had been a worker for several years near the beginning, to serve as Associate Director with full authority over the areas in which Zande had been active. Melville came on a two year basis, and Pettit indicated that she would retire at the end of that time. Melville quickly realized that due to changing conditions, the school was at a transitional point. Zande, shortly before her death, had authorized one of the workers to prepare a proposal for adding a
vocational training program to the school's curriculum. Melville re-
viewed this plan and developed one of her own, her thinking being that
it would help meet the needs of older out-of-school youth for whom the
Pine Mountain high school program seemed inappropriate and would also
help Pine Mountain move into a new field of service as the public
schools improved their secondary programs to the point where Pine
Mountain's current services would no longer be needed. She wanted to
create a combination work-study program similar to that of Antioch
College though on a much simpler scale. Pine Mountain students would
alternate between study at the school and work at an industrial site
such as Wisconsin Steels mining operation at Benham. The products of
this program would not be "finished tradesmen" but rather persons with
a foundation on which they could build after leaving school. The mini-
mum age for entrance would be eighteen. Melville believed this program
would attract those who might otherwise "drift out into industry, wholly
unprepared to be anything but an untrained laborer" or who would remain
in the country taking up the life of their forebears. Of course, she
would want to guard against Pine Mountain's being merely a trade school
--any new program for Pine Mountain would have to be built on "its her-
itage of cultural opportunity and the joy of life, and...deep and true
religion."31 Unfortunately, the Board was not ready to consider such a
move, and nothing came of it at the time.

Melville did effect another change towards which Zande had been
moving, that of eliminating the fifth and sixth grades. Effective in
August 1929, only those who had completed the sixth grade were
admitted. With the assistance of a worker newly graduated from Antioch College, the school tested all students using the Stanford Achievement Tests and the Otis Intelligence Test. This followed a limited testing the previous spring of the seventh grade alone which had revealed a wide range of achievement and intelligence within the group. Using the fall test results, they placed students into one of six groups, the three lower groups being equivalent to the former Grades 7-9. This meant, of course, that some students were in essence demoted, although the school was careful to avoid grade names in connection with the new groups, and thanks to a careful explanation of the motives for the change (to improve student chances of success) lost only seven students. The lowest group consisted of fifteen students whose rankings placed them in the fourth through sixth grades, a state of affairs the Pine Mountain Notes attributed "to poor teaching and diverse standards in the district schools, the greatest handicap being a lack of good English, written and spoken, which holds the student back in all his subjects as he cannot understand the text." Some, however, were not too well-endowed mentally, and Melville in an article in the Notes underscored her feeling that a trade school program would be the best arrangement for them. Indeed, the general feeling of that period was, as Evelyn Welis expressed it, that "the Pine Mountain child, while far from lacking in mentality, is not intellectual, making a better craftsman than a student; and that our best service must be available for the child whose mind is the adjunct of his hands, and not development per se." It would remain for the second of Melville's successors, Glyn
Morris, to deal with the implications of this idea.

**Summary.** Pine Mountain's academic program began functioning the first year with a kindergarten and a limited amount of grade school work, expanding by 1917 to the first eight grades, by 1920 to high school work, and then in 1924 and 1929 cutting out the lower levels of instruction, becoming entirely a secondary school. Although the academic curriculum itself was rather standard for the times, Pine Mountain drew upon and used many of the instructional techniques common to progressive education elsewhere including emphasis on dramatics, on self-expression in speaking and writing, and on the use of materials at hand in the study of science and the social studies. Like many other progressive institutions, it de-emphasized grades and put much stress on character development. By the end of the Pettit-Zande era, it was becoming apparent that some adjustments of program would need to be made to meet changing conditions, but they were left to a new generation of leadership to handle.
CHAPTER SIX: TO LARN 'EM TO DO THINGS WITH THEIR HANDS

In its emphasis on industrial work, Pine Mountain was in the main current of progressive educational thought of the time. While they might differ on other points, most progressive schools made some provision for industrial training, often in ways very similar to those used at Pine Mountain and with a similar rationale. Although the desire to develop persons skilled in trades helped introduce manual training into American schools, this was not the prime consideration with a number of progressive educators, the Pine Mountain contingent included. Rather, they felt as did John and Evelyn Dewey, that such training was "to give practical value to the theoretical knowledge that every pupil should have," helping him to make sense out of his surroundings and properly equipping him to later choose his life's work.\(^1\) It would help relate the concrete and the abstract, and most importantly would be a builder of character. As William Creech put it, "'Tis better for folks' character to larn 'em to do things with their hands."\(^2\) Through industrial training, pupils would grow in initiative, self-reliance, and problem-solving abilities. Pine Mountain's program by providing training in "the foundation arts of their environment" aimed at giving them control over it, thus leading to a higher standard of living.\(^3\) Sewing, for example, was not just a matter of clothing oneself, of using buttons
instead of pins to hold clothes together, but of acquiring taste, of being able to choose "against the shorter and shorter skirts, the flimsy and inappropriate materials, the garish colors and ill-matched garments of the mining town and mail-order house." Instruction in cooking provided an alternative to "living off canned goods bought in the company commissary." Without such instruction, mountaineers would become "victims of circumstance rather than open-eyed choosers of their way of life." A previous chapter focused on student work as part of the home life of the school; this one will look at the details of the formal instructional program in industrial subjects in the classroom and shop and on the farm.

Instruction in domestic science began the first year, included sewing, housekeeping, and cooking, and was undoubtedly taught directly in connection with the work at the rented frame house. Formal group instruction appears to have begun in 1914 for cooking and in 1916 for sewing, while weaving became part of the regular program in 1921. Such instruction was normally limited to girls, although occasionally there were classes for boys in sewing and a few boys learned to weave.

Facilities for instruction were limited at first. Prior to 1925, the canning kitchen of Laurel House served as the setting for cooking and sewing classes, although the latter sometimes found a home on the porches and in the living rooms of the various houses. In 1925, the Girls' Industrial Building opened. Designed by the Zandes (a fact evident in the chalet-like appearance of the structure, reminiscent of Luigi's Alpine background), it had rooms equipped for teaching cooking
sewing, laundry, and weaving.

In the early twenties, the domestic science program followed a pattern similar to this one used in 1923. Girls in the first three grades had two half-hour sewing lessons a week, learning to make aprons, handkerchiefs, pin cushions, and woven rugs. The fourth and fifth graders had two hours a week during which they produced aprons, khaki bloomers, and baby dolls. Sixth and seventh graders spent two hours a week learning to cook, preparing macaroni, rice, salads, muffins, cakes, candies, cookies, puddings, and soups. Eighth grade girls used their two hours learning to do laundry and perfecting their sewing by making feather-stitched slips and their commencement dresses. The high school girls had four hours a week in cooking and laundry.

Following the elimination of Grades 5 and 6 in 1924, the program reshaped itself so that girls in Grades 5-7 had cooking and sewing each for half a year; those in Grade 8, sewing all year; those in Grade 9, weaving sometimes rotated with cooking; those in the second year of high school, sewing; and those in the last two years, home economics. The latter included planning for a home, making budgets, and the principles of nutrition. The older girls also participated in the Model Home program described later below.

Around 1926, the domestic science also began to draw in some of the smaller girls of the neighborhood for a cooking class, meeting sometimes on campus and sometimes in homes, teaching them to fix mashed potatoes, cole slaw, chocolate cake, and biscuits. Each girl brought her own material, and the lessons focused on using the foods they had
at hand in order to make it meaningful and to lead to a reform of local cooking habits. For both the regular program and this extension class aimed at weaning mountain women away from a dependence on frying everything in inordinate amounts of grease and at helping them develop variety in their menus as well as pick up pointers on kitchen sanitation, dishwashing, and table etiquette.

For the older girls of the school, the Model Home (later known successively as the Country Cottage and Practice House) provided an opportunity to pull all the things they had been learning together and apply them to the management of a small rural mountain home. This was one of the first dreams of the school, supplied by an early worker, Clara Wilson, who, after observing the children’s rapid growth in domestic skills, longed for a small home where, "with just such conveniences as they can command here in the wilderness," they could learn to run it themselves. The idea, however, was not original with Pine Mountain, as Berea was already doing it. Zande’s first steps toward implementing such a scheme at Pine Mountain came in 1917-18 when she taught a "model home course" for a group of older girls focusing on practical questions relating to establishing and maintaining the sort of home the girls would have on leaving school and marrying. At that time, she and Pettit planned to build a house for practice purposes the next spring; however, due to a variety of delays, it was not until 1921 that they were able to work out the arrangements including funding by an auxiliary of the Southern Industrial Education Association. The building went up the following fall, and around the first of February 1923, the first
occupants moved in.

Located in a sunny spot on a slope across the county road from the Infirmary, the Model Home was a nondescript house of board and batten construction with four rooms—living room, kitchen, and two bedrooms for the worker and three girls who lived there. Later, they modified the commodious loft to create two additional bedrooms, one for housing a district school teacher and the other for guests and other temporary swellings of the school population. Under the front porch, which stood high off the ground due to the house’s position on the slope, was a cellar. There was to have been running water using a siphon system connected to a well placed above the house on the mountain, but unfortunately they could not strike water at that point and had to settle for the traditional method of carrying water in.

In decorating and furnishing the house, Zande emphasized practicality and availability of the items used in the mountains. She had the interior walls papered with magazine covers just as was done in many rural homes. Although other workers opposed this idea, she insisted: "I am very strong for making its beauty grow out of the most practical customs of the country...If our neighbors find newspapers the cleanest, warmest, cheapest method of treating their walls, why shouldn't we?" It was a matter of principle. "If our girls are really going to learn how to do things well in the little inexpensive homes they are going to have for themselves, why not accept some of the things that experience has taught their parents?" This same view extended to the privy—she wanted a design that the neighbors could copy and rejected the
government plan used at Pine Mountain as impractical for this purpose. The kitchen sink originally was a wooden one covered with several layers of paint, but this proved impractical, and they substituted an inexpensive enameled one. While they used iron bedsteads in the bedrooms they made mattresses out of cornshucks and topped them with feather-beds, reflecting the tastes of an old neighbor who disapproved of beds "that you can't boil every March." Pine and oak furniture from the school workshop filled the rooms which were lighted with simple kerosene lamps. At first, the screened windows were trimmed with plain muslin curtains, but they later replaced them with checked gingham, and painted the floors of two rooms yellow. Ferns, red peppers, gourds, and homespun coverlets added spice to the decor. The simplicity and charm of the building were not lost upon the neighbors, at least two of whom ordered lumber from the school sawmill cut to the same plan.

In order to learn the management of such a home, three girls at a time lived there for six weeks along with a resident worker. Their food came from the terraced garden outside (another idea copied by the neighbors) and from the chickens they raised themselves, while their milk came from a cow they tended appropriately named "Model." Other things they needed they purchased from Montgomery Ward so they could learn how to shop from a mail order catalog. They learned to budget the limited funds they were allotted for their stay in the home and to plan menus and arrange the housework so as to have things run smoothly. Although they did all the work inside, they had a male assistant who came to chop wood, fill the woodbox and bring in the coal, keep the
paths, porches, and cowshed clean, and water the cow. This concession reflected the women's ideal for the division of labor between the sexes in a mountain home and also their assumption that the typical such home would have at least one male available to do the outside work. From time to time, in order to practice the social graces, they would entertain guests, dressing up, setting an attractive table, and serving a simple but delicious supper.

Related to but separate from the domestic science program and coming under Pettit's supervision rather than Zande's was the weaving program. In the past, weaving had been an important endeavor in the mountains, one necessary both for clothing the family and for covering the beds. However, as cheap, machine-made cloth had become readily available, women had found it easier to buy it than to go through the lengthy processes of making cloth themselves at home. By the time Pettit and Zande arrived on the head of Greasy, weaving as a household art in that vicinity was virtually extinct. As the two women had both learned at Hindman to love the handwoven blankets and coverlets produced by local weavers there, and as Pettit and Stone had encouraged a revival of the art in that community, it was only natural that they would seek to do the same at Pine Mountain.

There were several reasons for their promotion of weaving. First, weaving was an art form, one which, when applied to the making of coverlets and blankets, had traditionally given talented mountain women such as Sal Creech much pleasure, and one whose products were at the same time both esthetically satisfying and imminently practical. "Why let
an indigenous art die out?" asked the Pine Mountain Notes. "Too many arts the world mourns already and cannot recover." Coupled to weaving's artistic value was the fact that it was part of the mountain heritage. Proudly, the Notes describe the setting up of Sal Creech's old loom for her granddaughter Oma—it was an event tying generations together, keeping continuities going. Proudly, Evelyn Wells noted in her history that American colonists had developed figured weaving in wool as practiced in the mountains—that it was unknown in England. Pine Mountain must keep this heritage alive. And yet already the patterns for coverlets and the recipes of vegetable dyes were nearly gone, the remaining ones scarcer than the ballads. Thus a key principle of the weaving program at Pine Mountain became that all materials used be local in origin and processed in the traditional mountain way—no commercial yarn or dyes would be acceptable. (This did not apply however to cotton weaving which was done for instructional purposes and not for sale. For it, commercially prepared thread was satisfactory.) "From the back of the sheep to the bedstead is our motto," proclaimed Katherine Pettit. A corollary principle was that products be consonant with mountain traditions with none of what Pettit termed "cheap church bazaar stuff" such as handbags and table runners among them.

Another angle to weaving was the potential economic reward for the weavers, and in the twenties, a few Pine Mountain students and neighbors did make money weaving. However, this was not where Pettit's heart lay, though she recognized the importance of profit as an incentive if she were to keep the neighborhood end of things functioning. What
Pettit particularly saw of value in weaving was its role in the forma-
tion of character, a feeling shared by William Creech who lamented the
passing of the art as a tremendous loss for the young girls coming up.
Weaving required much patience and self-discipline; it also taught
esthetic principles. "We believe," said the Pine Mountain Notes, "that
the most enduring result of this work comes in the children's charac-
ters. They are having what is a rare experience in our life today, the
joy of conducting all the processes in the creation of a lovely
thing." 12

Pettit's revival of weaving on Greasy began even before the school
opened—in 1912, she sent the William Creeches some flaxseed at their
request. They in turn grew flax in 1913 for the school with workers
and students learning to harvest and process it under the direction of
William Creech. (Pettit carefully noted all the steps and filed them
away for future use.) The next year a loom arrived from Hindman and
was placed in Big Log, but whether any weaving was actually done is not
known. The first documented weaving at the school occurred in September
1916. That summer Pettit had gathered in the old women of the area and
had held a working at which they had hackled, combed, spun, and reeled
the flax grown previously and had also carded, spun, and reeled wool
saved from a sheep killed for a barbecue some months before. That fall
she got Inez Sloan of Hindman to come for a few weeks and give lessons
to workers and students. Some linsey curtains for Big Log House were
woven during this period, probably while Sloan was there.
Throughout the early years when energies had to be concentrated on building rather than art, Pettit encouraged neighbors to spin their wool into yarn and sell it to the school. During World War I, local women knitted some of this yarn into sweaters and mittens for the Red Cross. Wilmer Stone, one of the housemothers, became interested in obtaining sweaters for her charges and arranged an exchange with the neighbors of old clothes from the barrels that came to the school for raw wool which she had spun into yarn and which she mailed to acquaintances elsewhere who made it into sweaters, mittens, and caps. Since these items were all white, they soiled easily. Being told that one could make interesting colors from various plants and barks, she began to collect information about and to experiment with making vegetable dyes. By 1919, she had learned to make a deep brown from walnut hulls, a pink fawn from hemlock, a mustard yellow from hickory, a taupe from daisies, and tan from alders. That same year, Pettit, having lost her loom in the schoolhouse fire, got a new one from Berea, and they set it up and wove some rag rugs. The next spring, Alice Butler, another worker, set up a loom at Far House and worked on a blanket.

At the same time, Pettit was busy trying to find someone who could set up an on-going program and to secure the necessary funding which was the biggest obstacle. The Southern Industrial Education Association which included among its interests the preservation of mountain crafts, and which sold such items, had a worker going around the hills promoting basketmaking and weaving and inquired early in 1921 whether Pine Mountain would like to have her come there for awhile. The reply was
yes, but that they had no funding for such a program. One thing led
to another, and shortly thereafter the SIEA offered to contribute the
salary for a fulltime weaving teacher with the result that in August
weaving became part of the regular program of the school.

Pettit first housed the weaving program in Old Log which had just
been freed from its duties as infirmary. She furnished one of the
rooms with five looms, spinning wheels, and other necessary equipment,
plus a variety of antiques she had collected throughout the mountains,
so that the weaving room was both workplace and museum. However, the
lighting proved unsatisfactory, and the following year they moved oper-
ations to the schoolhouse where they remained until the Girls' Indus-
trial Building opened. The weaving room was the first of its class-
rooms to go into service and contained eight well-lighted looms plus a
large storage area for materials.

The first year of the program there were six students enrolled,
five girls and one boy. One member of that group, Becky May Sexton,
recalled being chosen because that was what Pettit felt she was "most
suited for." They made blankets, cotton counterpanes, rag rugs, lin-
sey-woolsey fabric, and curtains. The following year there were four
girls and two boys in the program, and they continued to weave products
similar to those of the first year, but in March came the event Pettit
had been awaiting eagerly—the setting up of the first coverlet which
was woven in madder and blue by Sexton using the Pine Bloom pattern. (A
blanket was woven in stripes; coverlets had a wool pattern worked on
linen or cotton thread and were thus more complicated to make.)
One of the problems that soon developed in the program was that of securing true colors in the vegetable dyeing. Dye recipes were hard to come by—"none of the young or middle-aged people have ever been taught them, and it is like finding a ballad," wrote Pettit to SIESA corresponding secretary Augusta Stone. Working one out was a time-consuming process and often took several tries before finding the right formula. The most challenging of all was the blue indigo dye—"blue pot" the mountain women called it. The school's first successful blue pot was made in 1923-24 under the direction of Lucy Nicholson. Making it required the use of yeast and the heating of an indigo-lye-madder-yeast mixture at the proper temperature for several days; it was not until the second try that Nicholson got it right. The next step in Pettit's mind was to replace the commercially-prepared indigo then used in the mountains with home-cured, something done in colonial days. She had already put things in motion by interesting a visitor to the school, Edna Fawcett, in working on it. Fawcett, an employee of the United States Department of Agriculture, obtained seeds from France, sent part of them to Pine Mountain and grew the rest herself in Virginia. From the latter plants, she made some powder which she turned into dye using sulphuric acid. In the meantime, Pine Mountain's first attempt at growing the plants failed. In 1925, Fawcett came to the school in September, harvested the thirty square feet of indigo which they had grown on their second try, and went through a very complicated process for extracting the powder, obtaining just under an ounce, a reasonable quantity in terms of the amount of plants started
with. However, the method was so laborious and the results so limited in view of the relative cheapness of commercial indigo that Pettit abandoned any hope of reviving that phase of the process. Commented Wells in her history, the experiment "revealed why indigo raising belonged to the days of slave labor." 15

About that same time, Pettit turned her attention to getting someone from the school taught to do the double or "summer and winter" weave, a complicated process using a double warp which produced a pattern on both sides of the coverlet, with colored threads predominating on one side and white on the other. She had longed for years to find someone who knew the method and in 1924 located a woman in Berea who appeared to be the only person in eastern Kentucky who could do it. She tried to get the SIEA to finance sending Nicholson and a student to Berea for the summer, but the group thought such coverlets would not sell, though undoubtedly it would be "nice" for the teacher to learn how to do them. Retorted an exasperated Pettit, "It was not because I thought it would be very nice for Miss Nicholson to know how to make the double coverlet, but because as far as I have been able to find out after more than twenty years looking into the question, Mrs. Anderson of Berea is the only person who knows how to do the 'double weave.' It just seemed to me...it was too bad to let that knowledge die with her, if by any chance this school could revive it." 16 Perhaps it would not have any commercial value, but it would certainly be a superb artistic feat.
That fall the new teacher, Eleanor Stockin, who had taught weaving in New England, "worked out the old-fashioned method," and they began doing double weaving, which continued the next year under Florence Daniels who served as weaving teacher for most of the remainder of the Pettit-Zande period. 17 Under these two women, beginnings made in getting people in the community to weave began to blossom and flourish. During Daniels's first year, weaving also became a regular part of the program for high school girls, a position it would retain until the late thirties when changing conceptions of mountain needs would force it out of the curriculum.

The domestic science and weaving programs were mainly for girls; boys in the early days derived much of their industrial education from direct experience on the farm, at the dairy, and on construction projects. During the first five or six years of the school's existence, they built paths and roads, rock walls, outhouses, and in 1917 did finishing work on the interior of the schoolhouse and built a corncrib and smokehouse. Ethel Zande closely supervised and worked with them on these last named projects, referring to the group as her carpentry class. Indeed, she taught them furniture making for a while, being instructed before each lesson by her future husband. At the same time, she gave Smith College graduate, Virginia Whitmore, a text on mechanical drawing and told her to teach it to them. In keeping with the Pine Mountain spirit of learning by doing, Whitmore, despite her lack of training, did so, and "the boys were eventually able to conquer the mortise and tenon joints and construct a table." 18 While the girls
were not normally involved in these activities, one of the older girls became interested in carpentry and showed enough skill that Pettit arranged with a Louisville hardware firm to donate a tool set for her use. Later, she studied in New York and returned to the school as a staff member in the twenties, assisting Ruth Gaines with Laurel House.

By 1920, the school had begun to require four hours of manual training a week under Luigi Zande who had a reputation as a master craftsman. As the school had saved the best of the black walnut and cherry from its various timber deals, the students had magnificent material with which to work. With the exception of the split bottom chairs which came from the hands of a neighborhood craftsman and the metal hospital beds, virtually all the furniture—tables, desks, bookshelves, and chiffoniers—came from the boys' shop. Each boy also had to make at least one thing for his personal use—some made the inevitable tie racks and bookshelves, but there were others who were more original. One made a checkerboard inlaid with polar and black walnut squares with a tiny drawer for storing the pieces and another built a four poster doll bed for his sister.

Shopwork was first housed in Slab House, a rough storage shed with an attached work area. After Slab House was torn down to make way for Boys' House, the school erected the Boys' Industrial Building across Isaac's Run from Laurel House. Constructed in 1922, the building appeared at first glance to float in air, the upper floor, clad in a rough vertical siding, overhanging its stone base by several feet on front and sides. It contained a variety of hand tools and work bench
equipment, a lathe and emery grinder, a forge for working with iron, and by the late twenties, the tools for simple auto repairs.

Furniture making peaked in the mid-twenties; after that point, the boys were again largely involved in construction and repair projects such as adding a portico and balcony to Burkham School, enlarging the Infirmary, and building a small log house for the worker in charge of the dairy. They also straightened the creek in order to expand the playground.

Another department which utilized boys rather than girls was the farm, one of the more essential components of school life. From a practical standpoint, it provided much of their daily bread; from an educational one, it attempted to serve as a model for students and community as to what an ideal mountain farm could be, thereby raising the people from farming by superstition and old men's tales to farming scientifically and efficiently. This was not only an economic consideration but a moral one as well; William Creech, for example, believed that prosperous farming would help restore virtue to the community.

The farm, like other outdoor work, fell under the supervision of Katherine Pettit, who had had similar duties at Hindman, but the day to day management of it was the job of the farmer, a position held in the early days by a series of Berea graduates, then by Luigi Zande, and from 1923 on, by William Browning, a Pine Mountain product. At one point the school also had a forester, Leon Deschamps, a native of Belgium. Apart from providing eagle-eyed oversight, Pettit's role included getting the expert information they needed on a thousand and
one points. The files contain copies of many letters from her to various agricultural agencies and universities. She wanted plans for a corncrib or a hog house; she needed a process for tanning leather or a culture for inoculating cowpeas and soybeans before planting or the name of a good breed of sheep for the mountains. Could someone tell her whether the mountain practice of removing the leaves from cornstalks and leaving the ears to ripen was sound? Or whether dried weeds that had gone to seed could be used as fertilizer without scattering the seed?

The farm work itself fell almost entirely to the boys and differed from normal mountain work patterns in two significant ways. First, as Pettit had insisted from tent settlement days, boys did the milking. While one alumna remembered another girl and herself milking along with the boys, this was normally a male's chore at Pine Mountain, although the dairy herd itself during much of the period was supervised by a female worker who also oversaw the poultry yard, one place where girls sometimes did help. In addition to not milking, girls also did not work in the "garden" (that is, with the table vegetables) though this was normally woman's responsibility on small mountain farms. In both cases, the idea was to liberate women by example from burdens which Pettit and Zande felt ought to belong to men and to free them to spend more time on the home itself and in the care of the children.

The physical creation of the farm was in itself no small task. The school's original 234 acres of land were mainly wooded, and those parts most suitable by topography for farming, swampy or otherwise of "sorry
reputation" locally. Isaac's Run dissected the bottom in such a way as to complicate working it and to subject it to chronic flooding. Like much of the terrain of Harlan County, the fields were full of stones, so much so that Zande once joked to one of the board members that "memorial cairns in cornfields would be of very great service, for then the superfluous rocks in the cornfields would be disposed of." The first task, then, was to wrest a sufficient number of useable acres from the "wilderness." To accomplish this demanded careful planning of land use. Prior to her arrival on the scene in April 1913, Pettit had gotten a member of the University of Kentucky Agriculture Department to make a site survey, had conferred with individuals at Berea and had secured a farmer there. In May 1913, she had other experts including a professor from the university and the head of the rural section of the United States Department of Agriculture come to the school for a consultation. Others followed later that summer including an expert on fruit production. Pettit later recalled their recommendations:

They strongly advised us not to plough the hillsides; not to raise corn; to fertilize the valley and concentrate on human food (fruit, berries and vegetables); not to have hogs where we would have to buy feed for them (cheaper to buy the little meat we should use); to have a good dairy and poultry department, buy the feed for them even if it was expensive, to try to help the people see that the hillsides should be saved for forest and to think of the far distant future.

With the exception of raising corn and hogs, they followed this advice rather closely.
Important activities of the first years included "ditching and fencing." Over four thousand feet of box ditching went in the first year alone with additional footage in succeeding years. (That this worked was testified to in March 1914, when Pettit walked over the entire bottom without sinking once, something William Creech said had not been done in recent memory.) They altered the creek's course several times over the years to yield more workable tracts and cleaned its banks and bed to prevent flooding. (Despite this, they would have several memorable bouts with "tides.") As the first crops appeared, the need for fencing became acute. Letters from workers written in 1913 indicate that the local hogs, by custom allowed to run loose and live off the land, decided that Pine Mountain was a sort of hog heaven especially blessed in having no one to guard the gate. Fencing thus became imperative, not the "rickety stake and rider rail fence" of the neighbors but woven wire fences five feet high fastened to locust posts, fencing which went up as soon as funds could be obtained.

Since the soil lacked key nutrients, they began a policy of planting cover crops including cowpeas, rye, and soybeans which they turned into the soil at the appropriate time. They also added fertilizer which came in part from their own lime kiln built under the instruction of one of the early visiting experts; they also spread manure on the fields. Later they found it easier to purchase commercial fertilizer than to burn their own. Gradually they built up what Wells termed "a sour, heavy soil." To free it from "superfluous rocks," the smaller children spent much time in "rock flinging," an exaggerated term for
most of the stones gathered from the field served other purposes such as forming the walls of the toolhouse and outhouses or the surface of roads about the grounds. Nothing went to waste at Pine Mountain.

The farm was not mechanized. In the very early days, they had two teams of mules and some oxen which helped in clearing and preparing the land as well as hauling for construction work. By the mid-twenties, they were down to one team of mules which did everything from pulling wagonloads of coal from the school’s small mine to carrying manure to the fields to plowing. Around 1926, the farmer acquired a one cylinder gasoline-powered walking tractor, a forerunner of the modern cultivator, which provided a little help but not much. They also had some hand plows with adaptors for cultivators.

They sprayed and dusted crops to protect them from insects. After the advent of the Mexican bean beetle in the mountains around 1922, this became an earnest business; they used lead arsenic or calcium arsenic. Many of the neighbors used soot. Howard Burdine, then a student and later farmer himself during the thirties, recalled that some of them placed great stock in the efficacy of this treatment, but "it just made it harder for the beetles, that’s all." Some of the neighbors did change after observing what Pine Mountain had done and how it had worked. They had also had object lessons in the spraying of fruit trees, a practice the school began during its second year.

The figures given by different accounts of the amount of land they cultivated vary, probably due to the interpretation of the term "cultivate." The first year, a statistical report of the time indicates,
they cultivated eight acres. Pettit in a letter to a prospective dairyman in 1919 said they then cultivated about fifty acres. Wells in her history indicated that by 1923 they were cultivating some seventy-five acres. Burdine in an interview said they cultivated ten acres of vegetables, a figure roughly the same as the amount worked in the mid-thirties when he was farmer. Counting the land in pasture, he felt that farmland in use in the Pettit-Zande period would not have exceeded forty-five acres. Counting land cleared for buildings and possibly land rented from neighbors, they would have had a somewhat higher figure.

Given the necessity of preparing the soil, it was several years before the farm became capable of providing the majority of the school’s food supply, and for a while, it was customary to send out one or more workers during summer and fall to buy surplus from the neighbors to supplement the school’s own production of sweet potatoes, beans, corn, cabbage, and other vegetables. Even so, much of the food had to be hauled in at great expense. Gradually though, as the farm developed, the amount purchased outside decreased. By 1927, they were producing 9,000 cabbages and 7,000 heads of celery among other crops, were canning 350 gallons of beans alone, and had a surplus of some items to sell to their neighbors. They also were producing an adequate supply of fruit, primarily apples, though originally they had set out a variety of trees, berry bushes, and grape vines.

Their experience in growing corn was mixed. They were evidently able to grow enough for human consumption, but when they tried growing
larger amounts for stock on a farm they acquired in 1916 known as the Wilder place, located a mile and a half from the school proper, they ran into great expenses. They had to fence and maintain the property; they did not have enough students to work it and had to hire local people at $2.00 per man which was difficult to do because of the lure of the mines which paid much more than that. Local hogs found a way of getting in no matter what, and birds and ground squirrels did their part to appropriate seed corn for purposes other than those intended by the school. Mainly due to these problems, the school abandoned an attempt started at the same time to raise hogs. They could not grow enough food for them, and in terms of the return in meat, it was too expensive to haul feed in. Their experts had been right. However, they did assist local farmers in obtaining through the County Agent's office an improved breed of hogs known as Poland-Chinas.

The creation of a dependable dairy herd was a far more successful effort. Since milk appeared vital for growing youngsters, many of whom came to the school underweight, Pettit and Zande concentrated their efforts in raising stock on securing reliable milk cows. By November 1914, they had obtained two cows, both of the local mountain variety and incapable of furnishing an adequate milk supply for the school's rapidly expanding family. A successful campaign was launched for funds to build a dairy barn and thus be able to handle a larger herd. The barn, designed by Zande, went up in stages, the first part being built in 1915 with additions in later years permitting them by the late twenties to house a herd of fifteen cows, assorted calves and heifers, and
a bull. The original flooring and stanchions were wood; in 1924, the school replaced the old flooring with concrete, installed metal stanchions, and piped in running water, thus allowing one boy to clean the barn with more ease than three had before. While a silo would have allowed them to save on the cost of hauling in feed, they did not build one, because they estimated that they would have to have an acre of ensilage per cow, and they simply did not have enough land to do that and feed the human population as well. Although they made a hay crop or two in the early years, once the herd began to grow in numbers, all hay came in over the mountain by wagon or logging railroad.

In building up the herd, they set as a production goal, a level of one quart of milk per person per day. They tried a variety of breeds in order to find one right for their rough country with its somewhat less than lush pasturage. They first experimented with Jerseys, but within a year had sent most of them packing, finding them lacking in stamina for mountain life. Next they brought in Holsteins and a Guernsey or two, and for several years the herd consisted of a mix of Holstein, mountain, and Jersey stock. The Harlan County Agent of that period, Robert Harrison, sought for several years to persuade the school to try Ayrshires, a trial also recommended by a University of Kentucky professor. However, it was not until the mid-twenties, after Harrison had returned from a trip to Scotland to study the breed in its native land, that the school acquired any. With his help, in 1925, they secured an Ayrshire bull, adding a cow and a heifer during the next two years. This change came into favor after they discovered that the
Holsteins were too big to maneuver comfortably on Pine Mountain hillsides and that they had an appetite to match their bulk. The school also wanted milk with more butterfat content, something the Ayrshires could supply. Perhaps the most telling reason was the fact that the breed had originated in hilly country and would probably adapt more readily to the mountains than had their predecessors. This was important, for the basic policy of the school in the twenties ran against expanding the herd by bringing in cows, a process which was both expensive, since good stock did not come cheap, and risky, as the animals often failed to adapt to the environment or brought in some new disease which the old herd contracted. They preferred raising the calves of cows they already had and by gradually weeding out the poor milkers among the adults, sending them off to cow heaven via the Laurel House kitchen, to establish a productive herd well-adjusted to Pine Mountain conditions. That they were successful can be seen in the fact that by the mid-twenties they were getting a hundred quarts of milk a day, and in these statistics from Wells for the monthly production in October: in 1915, they got 540 quarts for the whole month; in 1928, 7,000.

Although Luigi Zande urged the women to hire a "good" man to look after the dairy, they started with a woman and had a woman in charge throughout nearly all their tenure. The position also involved looking after the poultry yard which had its own special problems in finding a suitable breed. In 1914, they received some white leghorns as a gift and raised that breed for a while, later switching to Plymouth Rocks
and finally to Rhode Island Reds. At various intervals, they had bouts with disease which necessitated the temporary closing of the yard to prevent reinfection of new stock. By the late twenties though, they had established what Wells termed "a very healthy, successful, if somewhat expensive, flock of hens." which kept the school well supplied with eggs.  

Although the farm did not fully realize the ideals Pettit had for it with regard to being a model farm, nonetheless, it provided many valuable lessons for the neighbors. The first year, for example, the farmer surprised the neighbors when he cut the hay in early summer; they had always thought one had to wait until it died, a practice that robbed it of its nutrients. The second year they noted that the school apple trees, survivors from a farm that had been there years ago, produced a much larger quantity of fruit than did theirs—the school had pruned and sprayed its orchard. Wells in her history cited terracing and crop rotation as practices picked up from the school by neighbors. Brit Wilder in an interview mentioned its use of cover crops and its gift to him of potatoes and fertilizer on the condition that he plant their way, which he did and never had to dig a potato hill again. Howard Burdine spoke of the great variety of vegetables grown including many new to the community such as celery, broccoli, and cauliflower; Wilder mentioned Swiss chard. Burdine also noted that Pine Mountain always tried to plant the best variety of a particular vegetable based on the suggestions of the University of Kentucky Experimental Station, while the neighbors had always planted "relatively unimproved" strains
traditional in the hills. He also pointed out the school's use of commercial fertilizer as an innovation useful to the neighbors. Given mountain methods of raising stock, one could also add to the list the techniques used by the dairy in caring for the cattle and the attempt to find a better breed for the area as well as the emphasis on cleanliness in handling milk. The use of incubators in raising chicks was another important innovation. Of course, not all the neighbors were impressed; some were traditionalists come what might. Brit Wilder recalled that his father had his way of planting potatoes and wouldn't change for anybody, but Wilder, a lifelong resident of the community, felt that on the whole Pine Mountain accomplished quite a bit towards improving agricultural practices locally. One could also speculate on the effects of these practices on those students who returned to the farm following their years at the school.

Closely related to the agricultural work, though never as extensively carried out, was work in forestry. Both Pettit and Zande had a deep love for the forests that covered much of the area when they came (Pettit even wanted parts of it to be bought by the Federal Government and made into a national park rather than be logged by private companies) and like William Creech, lamented the wasting of valuable timber through ignorance and improper logging methods. In 1916, they secured, almost by accident, the services of Leon Deschamps, a recent immigrant with training in forestry. Deschamps, sent to the school through the good offices of a Lexington friend, began his work by spending afternoons in the woods with some of the boys helping them learn to
recognize diseased trees, to cord wood, and to clean up the forest. In an article submitted to the Lexington Herald, Deschamps identified the two most pressing forestry problems in the Pine Mountain region as being forest fires and the practice of allowing stock to run at large in the woods, both of which interfered with the regrowth of timber in an area where it was being steadily depleted due to the expansion of logging activities. As part of his work at the school, Deschamps created a model woodland tract nicknamed "the Perfect Acre" which he and the boys maintained according to modern forestry procedures. After serving in World War I, he returned to the school and for three more years did much through both formal instruction and work experience to inculcate in the boys an understanding of sound forestry practices. They built a fire line at the top of Pine Mountain to protect the school against forest fires, and over the years, through careful maintenance of this line and the judicious use of backfires, the school was able to defend itself against any significant damage from fire. They also expanded the number of acres included in the forestry program and prepared an estimate of the quantity of standing timber belonging to the school. In the fall of 1922, Deschamps became Zande's assistant principal, a position which eliminated most of his forestry work. After he left the school in the mid-twenties, forestry work was confined exclusively to fire prevention. However, Pettit did arrange to have representatives of the state forestry department speak to the students from time to time. She and Zande also mounted an unsuccessful effort to save the virgin forest at the head of Isaac's Run from the logger's saw, even
approaching Henry Ford through his representatives in an attempt to persuade him to buy the land and make it into a forest preserve. (Their motives were not entirely altruistic; they hoped to head off construction of a logging railroad across school land.) Ford, however, was not interested, and the Intermountain Lumber Company which owned the tract did log it. Afterwards, Pettit tried to find someone to buy the land and reforest it, but again was unsuccessful.

Summary. Industrial education at Pine Mountain apart from training received in the student labor program included for girls, instruction in sewing, cooking, laundry, and weaving. For boys there was furniture making, carpentry, agriculture, and forestry. This training focused primarily on helping students develop an understanding of work, on equipping them with skills deemed necessary for a successful life in the country, and on building up their character. With regard to farming and forestry, the school also hoped to provide models which might, through osmosis, bring about needed changes in practices among the neighbors and in the students' home communities.
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE ENLIVENMENTS OF LEISURE

Like the urban progressives who built playgrounds, organized youth clubs, campaigned against saloons, and worried over the effects of motion pictures on the young, Pettit and Zande also had a deep concern for children’s use of leisure time. The Camp Industrial diary had mentioned the paucity of recreational outlets for mountain children and the fact that few of them knew how to play or even had time to play, having to work in the fields as soon as they were old enough to be of use. For such free time as they had, they had almost no toys. In one neighborhood, where missionary workers had given out dolls, the girls did not play with them. Instead, they hung high on cabin walls, “objects of beauty only.”¹ Of the Pine Mountain area itself, Zande wrote, “Children here are starved for all sorts of social pleasures, so that when they do get together, they are absolutely uninformed and often get into serious mischief.”² In a land where shooting matches and drinking were often predominant forms of recreation, "dull lives have driven many undeveloped children to the only amusement they see within their reach, sweethearting," leading in turn to early marriage and a continuation of the cycle.³ What mountain youth needed in the women’s estimation were experiences to fire the imagination and "build a treasury of resources for the new homes that will by and by be started."⁴ In doing this, Pine Mountain
would draw on the best avocational elements of traditional mountain life as well as bring in games, organizations, and other activities from the outside world and emphasize holidays and other important occasions, providing, as the Notes exuberantly proclaimed, "as many thrills as possible!".

One of the more important native "enlivenments of leisure" was ballad singing. Katherine Pettit's interest in ballads dated from the tent settlement days, especially from the summer in Hindman. On the way there in 1900, she and her party had traded songs with a group of young men they encountered, exchanging patriotic songs for ballads. At Hindman, they tried to learn ballads from local singers, although not without difficulty, for local prejudice held singing them improper. The informant who gave them "Barb'ry Ellen" did so hesitantly, not wanting anyone to find out that she still remembered "those wicked words." After the starting of the settlement school, Pettit took down the lyrics of a number of ballads from a local boy named Josiah Combs and submitted them to Harvard's George Kittredge who, in 1907, had them published in The Journal of American Folklore. She also introduced Olive Dame Campbell to mountain songs during a visit the latter and her husband made to Hindman in 1908. When Pettit proposed listening to one of the old songs, Campbell agreed out of politeness, but on hearing the girl whom Pettit asked to sing, was transfixed and had to learn more about them. Thus began a search for songs, especially for tunes. Others had focused on words, but it was the music that caught Campbell. Her collecting led ultimately to the publication in 1917 of a joint collection with Cecil Sharp entitled English
Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians.

The ballads also greatly influenced Ethel Zande's interest in the mountains. The lure of the language and the realization that the ballads formed a living tradition which went back to the seedtime of English literature (Zande's specialty) helped draw her on visit after visit to Hindman, until, in combination with other factors already mentioned, she succumbed and became a part of the staff. While there, she acquired a dulcimer, learned to play it, and used it on speaking trips for Hindman and later for Pine Mountain. Her first year at the latter place was one of blissful discovery, not the least part of which was discovering new ballads, including one which became a Pine Mountain standard, "The Merry Golden Tree."

Both women viewed the ballads as the children's literary heritage, and thus found it only natural to incorporate ballad singing into life at Pine Mountain. In the early days, according to Margaret Head, it was, as an activity, more or less "spontaneous." One would be sitting around the fire and someone would start a ballad. The children also sang while working, a habit which, as Maud Karpeles has pointed out in her biography of Cecil Sharp, was typical of traditional singers both in the United States and England. (Many of Sharp's informants could sing certain songs only while engaging in a certain piece of work.) Ballads, then, at Pine Mountain, became natural and normal, like other elements of the curriculum a part of the fabric of life.

Set running also formed a key part of that fabric, and in this respect, Pine Mountain differed from Hindman. Although Knott Countians also ran sets, Elizabeth Watts recalled that religious opposition to
doing so from townspeople kept Hindman from doing much with folk
dancing until the nineteen thirties. At Pine Mountain, however, the
community as a whole accepted dancing, though there was just enough
opposition scattered around the area to require the use of other
nomenclature for it—"games" instead of "dances." Although Zande
had had some experiences with set running at Hindman, and had taken
part in Shooting the Owl, Caging the Bird, and the Wild Goose Chase,
it was at Pine Mountain in the fall of 1913 that she recognized the
full potential of set running as wholesome recreation. Fall was the
time for working related to harvesting and processing the crops—
corn toppings, bean stringings, molasses stirrups, and the like—and
neighbors gathered from near and far at the homes of those giving them.

As Zande described it,

There couldn't be a gayer going to a party, a melee of nags
and walkers...the boys riding with their sweethearts behind
and some even managing to pick a banjo, everyone laughing
now and then, and the whole crowd breaking into Sourwood
Mountain or John Fraser or some other song ballad...Of
course, supper is always ready for you, chicken and dump-
lings and sweet 'taters and then everyone sits around the
big, big piles of beans, spread out on the floor and strings
and strings and strings.

After that came the set running.

Think of the small room with its two or three beds, dimly
lighted by one flaring, chimneyless lamp, and crowded with
men and boys...Somebody is always picking on the banjo
with a beater beside him beating on the strings and perhaps a couple more are patting for the dances....And then
when the girls come in and you think there isn't time to
turn around somehow or other a little space is cleared
away for four boys and four girls and a set begins. Surely
there is no faster, madder folk dancing of the genuine,
old-fashioned sort anywhere in this country....It's
wild, it has not stately, Spanish leisureliness, it's the
abandon of fun.
It was natural, normal recreation for mountain youth, and in the early
days, she went further and accepted a frankness of behavior in court-
ship that differed greatly from her middle class New England upbring-
ing.

Nobody feels any consciousness when a kissing game is
proposed, the social life is so simple and unsophisti-
cated and the girls sit with their sweethearts' arms
around them, unembarrassed and unconscious in plain
view of everybody. I have never made up my mind that
it's not quite as good as our way.6

Of course set runnings often had less desirable elements including
frequent helpings from the moonshine jar, and the school sometimes
had to keep its dancing plans quiet in order to prevent the rowdier
inhabitants of the neighborhood from putting in an appearance. None-
theless, set running became a vital part of the social life of the
school, a feature of the weekly student parties, and an element of
virtually all secular festivities minor or major--at the 1917 dedica-
tion of the schoolhouse, for instance, the children "ran sets in
memory of Miss Mary Sinclair Burkham," as one of them put it.7

In the early days, instruction in ballad singing and set running
was casual. Ballads were easily shared, and one learned to dance by
dancing. Then, in 1917, something happened that galvanized this
feature of the school's program and transformed it into something
more than just mere recreation. It was the arrival, on a hot August
afternoon, of two English songcatchers, Cecil J. Sharp and his assist-
ant, Maud Karpeles. Sharp, at the same moment that Pettit and May
Stone had been creating Hindman, had discovered, after a somewhat
aimless attempt to become a professional musician of note, that the
English countryside was replete with a great treasure of folksong. Beginning with "Seeds of Love" captured in a vicarage garden from the gardener, Sharp quickly amassed a huge corpus of songs which came from everywhere—from gypsies at the roadside, from people in pubs, from women washing clothes in a courtyard. Sharp, however, was not an antiquarian satisfied with collecting songs for their own sake; rather, he wanted the folk songs of England to form the foundation for a renaissance of English music; he wanted the folk songs once again to be a meaningful part of the living traditions of the English people. This led him to help launch a campaign to promote folksong in the schools, an effort which in turn forced him to define folksong. The key elements of his definition were "communal and racial"—folk songs were the product of a given people, because they had been passed down through the years with every new singer editing and reworking the song to his own taste. The parts of the original song that survived were those which had appeal for the people as a whole. Thus folksong was a reflection of the spirit of a nation.

Sharp also branched out into Morris dancing and into the collecting of English country dances, becoming a leader in the development of the English Folk Dance Society. In 1914, he made a trip to the United States to assist in a production of A Midsummer Night's Dream. On a return trip in 1915, while staying at the home of Mrs. James J. Storrow (who would later assist Pine Mountain with scouting) in Massachusetts, he received a visit from Olive Dame Campbell who nervously handed him a sheaf of papers, the ballads she had collected. Sharp's perusal of this material convinced him that the Southern
Appalachians offered a huge potential for the collection of songs, so in 1916, he set out with Karpeles to explore the field, beginning in North Carolina and Tennessee. It was not easy for Sharp, then in his late fifties and asthmatic, to travel over the rough mountain roads, and he was frequently ill. But the fruits of his work kept him going, and eventually, he came to Pine Mountain.

Sharp was not the first collector to visit the school. In June 1916, singer Loraine Wyman and pianist Howard Brockway made the school their headquarters for a time as Wyman sought out material she could perform professionally after arranger Brockway had toned the songs down to a level acceptable to Eastern audiences. Wyman was a charismatic sort of person who held Zande (who had met her earlier in New York) enthralled. When The Lonesome Tunes, as Wyman called her collection, premiered in New York in November, Zande made a special trip just to be there. She found great pleasure in having "their" songs shared with the outside world, and by a team as talented as Wyman and Brockway. The fact that noted violinist Fritz Kreisler had one of the tunes especially arranged for himself only added to her joy. However, after meeting Sharp, Zande realized there was a great difference in the two collectors. Wyman, she wrote, was "personal and dramatic," while Sharp was "impersonal and lyric."

Wyman approached folksong from the perspective of the performing artist; Sharp, from that of a scholar seeking to be faithful to a tradition. It was the scholar in Sharp and his more grandiose purpose that appealed the more strongly to Zande and Pettit and that
bore the most fruit.

That Sharp made an impressive impact on Pine Mountain is not surprising when one considers the parallels between his thinking and that of Pettit and Zande. His emphasis on the songs as a heritage to be kept alive was analogous to their own desires to keep alive the best in old-fashioned mountain life. Sharp believed that folk music was the expression of ordinary "unlettered" but not "illiterate" people, and that if assimilated by English youth, would become the foundation of future British music just as the appearance of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* influenced the writings of Scott and Wordsworth. Pettit and Zande held similar hopes for mountain culture, also a product of "unlettered people." By using the best of it in the education of the mountain child, they would help him achieve a nobler civilization in the future. Thus Sharp's ideas sounded sweet to their ears.

There was also a parallel in their approach to human relationships. Sharp in his dealings with his informants, never looked down on them or spoke condescendingly to them; instead, he accepted them as equals, joking with them, exchanging presents, loving them just as Pettit and Zande did with the mountain people and were accepted by them. Perhaps most importantly, all three were firm believers in a certain standard of gentility in human character and behavior. Sharp spoke of Pine Mountain as a school for "gentle folk" in the best sense; Zande pictured him as "a gentle, joyful, courteous person." Theirs was a common vision of quiet enjoyment of the wonder of life—not quiet in the sense of inactivity, but of peace within. Although
Sharp's principal impact on the school came in the area of preserving and extending folk traditions, his appraisal of it as a total experience served as a much needed reinforcement for ideas that Pettit and Zande considered fundamental but which others often challenged—among them, the need for Pine Mountain to be beautiful, the need for a small student-teacher ratio, and their manner of handling religious life.

In a letter to Olive Campbell, Sharp praised them for making Pine Mountain "a model establishment without any taint of the institution" demonstrating "that there are some people who appreciate the qualities the mountain children and know how to handle them...The point is, they are all ladies, and that seems to me to be the solution of the problem." 12

Sharp and Karpeles were at the school five days, spending most of their waking hours visiting neighbors and noting songs. Nonetheless, Sharp found time to teach the school, students and workers alike, several English folk dances and games including Rufty-Tufty, The Black Nag, and Gathering Peascods. Pine Mountain also gave him the most memorable moment of his American travels. One evening, on the porch at Far House, Zande surprised him with the running set. In his introduction to The Country Dance Book Part V, he said that he had been told of the dance by others but had assumed it to be something crude, noteworthy mainly for its demonstration of physical prowess. Thus it was quite exciting for him to see it unfold by the light of the moon and one small lantern, accompanied only by the sound of the dancers and spectators punctuated by the instructions of the caller. Though he did not note the dance at Pine Mountain,
being caught unawares, when he did take it down and publish it, Pine Mountain received full credit for introducing him to a dance which, though English in origin, had long since been forgotten there.

Given their ambition that the mountains make a significant contribution to America as the carrier of traditional Anglo-Saxon values, Pettit and Zande found the idea of Pine Mountain's being the repository of a folk dance older than those found in England, more English, as it were, than the English, wondrous, to say the least. But if they were enthusiastic, Evelyn Wells, the school secretary, must have been lost in ecstasy. Although the year before she had begun noting songs, taking down "Aunt Sal's Song," "The Brown Girl," "The Nightingale," and a few others from children and neighbors, the Sharp visit was a major turning point in her development--she would become folk dancer and folklorist par excellence, the mistress of the folk dance tradition at Pine Mountain and the guardian of the school's musical purity, and later, after going to Wellesley to teach, would write a standard work on ballads, The Ballad Tree.

Despite the absence of a full record of the discussions and correspondence between Sharp and the women, it is clear that he encouraged them to take up English folk dancing and thus restore the running set to its place within a broader tradition that was rightfully the children's by ancestry. (Just as they found it fitting that these children of Elizabethan accent should recite Shakespeare, so too was it fitting that they dance the Kirby Sword Dance or the Derbyshire Reel or Sellenger's Round.) Henceforth, they would carefully lace the two
key celebrations of the school year, Christmas and May Day, with old English elements, May Day in particular becoming a celebration of the English heritage of the mountain people.

To women brought up in the closing years of the nineteenth century, May Day evoked visions of baskets left on doors by neighbor children, tall poles with streamers, and dancing. Beginning in 1914, Pine Mountain had a proper New England May Day complete with all the trimmings and with children dressed all in white. The spring after Sharp brought a May Day quite different from what had come before. Instead of being hung with colored streamers, the May Pole had a garb of greenery and dogwood. Instead of coming straight to the playground where the festivities were held, the school marched to it from the hill behind Laurel House in a procession mimicking those of the medieval guilds, each person bringing an item related to his work--schoolbooks, dishpans, a doll's bed, a basket of eggs, a hen, brooms, jars of canned vegetables, and even a calf named Stacy Ellen, all of these items decked out in green. Bringing up the rear were Robin Hood and his merry men who later enacted his story. The group played contest games including "Nuts in May" and "London Bridge" and danced Rufty-Tufty, The Black Nag, and Gathering Peascods. So began a new tradition at Pine Mountain, one that would grow and develop as years went by.

Following Sharp's visit, instruction in English folk dancing became an integral part of the Pine Mountain curriculum with Evelyn Wells functioning as resident expert, her services supplemented and
extended by guest instructors from time to time. The program received a major boost in 1922 when a resident of Massachusetts, Dorothy Bolles, offered to spend several weeks teaching dancing at the school. Bolles had attended Sharp’s summer school of folk dancing in England that summer, and he had suggested the idea to her. Zande already having heard of Bolles from Sharp, responded enthusiastically, giving her the month of April and carte blanche to prepare the May Day celebration. Bolles came, bringing with her a friend, Mary (Polly) Cunningham, to accompany the dances on the piano or in its absence, the concertina, which she had mastered especially for Pine Mountain. The "dancing ladies", as they became affectionately known around the school, became a tradition in themselves, spending April and often another month in the fall at the school. At those times, other things slid, and dancing took the forefront.

Under the tutelage of the dancing ladies, May Day became increasingly elaborate, developing a distinctive pattern including dancing from house to house by workers clad in green early in the morning, and a procession later to bear the laurel-covered May Pole to the playground, a procession which counted among its members a May King and Queen attired in traditional garb, he with a crown of wire laced with green and she with floppy hat and many flowers. While the dances varied from year to year, the program generally included most of these: Rufty Tufty, Black Nag, Earsdon Sword Dance, Oaken Leaves, Bonnets So Blue, Kirby Sword Dance, Christ Church Bells, Green Broom, The Milking Maid, Winifred's Knot, Grimstock, Nuts in May, and Roman Soldiers.
In addition to Cunningham's concertina, a fiddle and a victrola also provided accompaniment. Following the country dancing, there would be a general set running in which all, including neighbors, were free to participate. Although students with scruples against it did not have to dance, nearly all took part, and though their form sometimes caused dismay to trained visitors, by the mid-twenties, they achieved a level of expertise such that one could pick any of them at a moment's notice to demonstrate the principal dances.

By that time, the school had also begun to share the dances with others. In 1925, Wells (who by then had herself attended the Sharp summer school) went to the Wooten Community Center and spent a few days teaching a group of older students ballads and folk dancing. (On her return, Zande bragged humorously to a board member of "how our gospel of a happy life is leavening even the Presbyterians!" 13) Zande tried to persuade the President of Smith College to add English folk dancing to that school's curriculum, and groups of Pine Mountain students, led by Wells, gave demonstrations throughout the southeastern Kentucky region including a performance at the state convention of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs at Middlesboro in 1926.

As for the musical side of things, Pine Mountain in the post-Sharp era continued to collect ballads from new students and encouraged students to learn songs from neighbors at home and bring them to the school. The publication of some of Sharp's material gave them additional items for their repertoire. In 1923, Zande and Wells assembled the words of the songs they sang most frequently into a printed collection, Song Ballads and Other Songs of the Pine Mountain
Settlement School. In addition to Appalachian, English, and Scottish folk songs, they included standard Christmas carols and hymns, the Brahms Lullaby, and a French song taught them by Leon Deschamps ("Le cycle du vin"). Later, they tried to produce an expanded version with tunes but ran into obstacles in getting copyright permissions for some of the very songs collected through their own hospitality and had to abandon the project. They also wanted to preserve their singing style by recording the children, but recording companies contacted felt that the school was too inconveniently located for them to send out teams to do so.

Both the ballad book and the attempt at recording reflected the fact that by the mid-twenties the rapid pace of the outside world was catching up with the mountains to the point that the number of students entering with a familiarity with ballads was decreasing dramatically each year, and it thus became more of a challenge to preserve them in the life of the school. Instruction turned more formal, and devices such as ballad contests and pantomimes helped teach what had formerly been part of the baggage students brought with them.

To protect the ballad tradition as well as to cultivate taste, Pine Mountain adopted shortly after the Sharp visit, a strict musical policy. A music committee, of which Zande and Wells were the chief, if not the only, members, reviewed the phonograph record collections of the houses from time to time to be sure no undesirable records had found refuge among them. Phonographs themselves were to be used "very carefully and sparingly, so that victrola music may not be a cheap thing like that in the mining towns, where people run their machines
regardless of whether anyone is listening to it." They were "to be a means of real pleasure, if not education." Teachers had to review songs they proposed to teach with Zande or Wells before teaching them. As Zande explained to one new worker: "Up here we try to have all the music...really superior in beauty, knowing that everything else will come their way inevitably through the stores and the railroad, and thinking that we had better take the one chance we have to fill up their minds with things that may help them to make better choices for themselves." Classical music and standard songs were acceptable; jazz and blues were beyond the pale, as were "hillbilly" songs, which, recalled Louise Browning, music teacher in the late twenties, "we hoped they would forget if they would learn the ballads." It was not the moral content of these songs, for some of the ballads also were quite adult in their topics--adultery, murder, executions, and other gore abounding--but their cultural origins and their association with cheap values. The mayhem of the ballads, it would seem, was historic mayhem dating from the Chaucerian and Shakespearean eras, and to Zande, the Pine Mountain region was Chaucerian and Shakespearean in many respects, not the least of which was the frankness about sex found among rural mountain people. Singing the ballads did not mean one sanctioned the conduct described therein, which in Wells' words, was simply the vestiges of "a very frank period of history." Ballad singing rather was a means of building taste, a sense of style, a set of esthetic principles (though un-emunciated in formal fashion) which would give mountain children a suitable way to judge the world, to relate to it, and to deal with
questions of worth.

Apart from ballad singing, there was not much of a formal music program at the school during the Pettit-Zande era. From time to time, various workers instructed a handful of students in playing instruments, notably the piano, and in the late twenties, Louise Browning had regularly scheduled lessons with students and also taught music theory. Not too long before her death, Zande attempted unsuccessfully to assemble the instruments needed for starting a band; she did however succeed in creating a rhythm band for some of the younger children. During the Melville years at least there was a church choir which sang at Sunday services.

Set running and ballad singing were not the only use made by the school of elements of mountain life in creating recreational outlets and in cultivating esthetic awareness. Weaving, mentioned previously, played a significant role as a means of artistic expression, and there were the opportunities afforded by the land itself. One of the cheapest and most enjoyable forms of recreation at hand was simply to take off for an hour, an afternoon, a whole day, and go into the hills. On Saturday and Sunday afternoons especially, groups often went off down the creek or up along the ridges overlooking the school, exploring, hunting wildflowers, and picknicking. Pettit like to take her "Sunday afternoon gang," as she called them, for outings during which she instructed them in nature lore. At least once or twice a year, the whole school, divided up by houses, would spend an entire day in the woods, some groups going to Jack's Gap, a scenic overlook on top of the mountain, while others went down Greasy to the Gabes Branch
falls. One of Zande's letters home captured the excitement of such excursions when she described an afternoon spent exploring the south side of Pine Mountain:

I've never seen such cliffs for play. You scuttle up narrow passages—and of course yesterday the dead leaves added to the fun—to find yourself on a high ledge where fascinating crevices or higher crows' nests kept tempting you on. We tunnelled under rocks once to find ourselves at the bottom of a rock well...with one bear's den back under the rocks—one narrow passage out through a ledge high up that we couldn't get off—and one crack that led to another we could climb down to a slightly lower ledge. The smallest went through first—very fearful that I would get 'hung.' But when one of the 15 yr. old girls got through I plunged in feet forward and was dragged through by the feet! And you should have seen us sliding down like a series of waterfalls, from one tiny footing place to another, a boy at every dangerous spot, holding on to an ivy root or sommat (sic), and handing up on! It was such fun, this latter, that then we 'clomb' up and started all over again.17

And of course, the picnics that accompanied such doings where one toasted cheese on sticks and sang ballads round the fire made them all the more memorable.

In addition to the recreational side of hiking, there was an educational angle—they wanted to encourage the students' awareness of their environment and to develop a respect for the land. One thing which the women especially deplored was the reckless misuse and abuse of the land by logging and coal companies which operated without any thought for the effects of their methods on the environment. The school sought to build on the innate sense of beauty which many of the children brought with them, a sensitivity commented on by several workers, so that they would not be inclined to repeat this behavior. They wanted them to know the names of the living things which made up
their environment and to be kind to animals and birds. As Pine Mountain had a large variety of ferns on the grounds, students often spent much time looking for different species and sometimes making scrapbooks of them. However, the school discouraged them from picking wildflowers, though promoting the planting of seeds or setting out of whole plants near their homes. Pettit allowed the Big Log children to have a wildflower garden near that house, each having his own little plot to care for. The school's own use of native plants also provided an example in using nature's bounty to beautify one's home.

The mountain elements were but part of a larger program of recreation which also included organized social activities, clubs, sports and games. Social activities normally took the form of weekly parties, held in different years on Friday or Saturday evenings. Charades and other games and set running were frequent parts of these affairs which were held at different houses with students grouped by age rather than place of residence. Children did not have to go to parties, but if staying at home, had to send their written regrets to the housemother hosting the one they were slated to attend. (This was deemed part of their education "in the customary usages of such occasions."18) From 1918 on, the school had a motion picture projector most of the time and on some weekends showed movies in lieu of parties. There was also a radio, but it did not work well and never played a great part in recreation.

As for clubs, there were a limited number in the twenties including a good Citizens's Club, the Mountain Girls' Association, and a girls' 4-H Club. There was also scouting for both sexes. Leon Deschamps
organized a Boy Scout troop in June 1919. Starting with six members, the organization grew quickly and soon had patrols for all classes of scouts plus Indian Scouts for those under twelve. Though Zande had inquired about Girl Scouting in 1918, it was not until the fall of 1919, when the school secured the services of Lucretia Garfield, active in the movement back east, that a girls' troop came into being. The following February, they formed a Pine Mountain Girl Scout Council which included the north side district schools plus the Dillon community on the south side as well as the settlement itself. The records are not clear as to how many troops they actually organized, but there were troops at the school and at Big Laurel in the early twenties. These appear to have been the first Girl Scout troops in Harlan County. The Council minutes show an adaptation of the national program to local needs—in the absence of a proper swimming facility, they amended one of the qualifications for being a first class scout from the ability to swim fifty yards fully clad to that of saving an unconscious individual from a structure on fire and applying proper first aid. They also amended the qualifications for a music merit badge to read "to be able to play the dulcimer and to know twenty-five song ballads." The girls raised funds through food sales, operating a concession at the Pine Mountain Fair, and through rummage sales. At first, girls who could afford them bought their uniforms; those who couldn't wore some purchased by the troop. Later all made their own in sewing class. Mrs. James J. Storrow, first national vice-president of the Girl Scouts of America, visited the school at one point and donated hats and badges to the troops. Later
she arranged for several girls to attend national training camps.

Scouts of both sexes met on Saturday afternoons for three hours. They played games, had nature study, went hiking, and staged occasional dramatic productions. They performed civic functions around the school during the week including raising and lowering the flag on Pole House Hill and keeping order in the cloakrooms of Laurel House. The boys helped fight forest fires and patrolled the woods in fire season. On one occasion, they carried a sick person over the mountain on a stretcher to a hospital. They frequently cut kindling for the schools' older neighbors.

Although scouting at first caught on enthusiastically, by the mid-twenties the program waned and eventually died out. Part of this was due to the absence of good leadership. The boys' program collapsed after Deschamps left the school, and the girls program got crowded out by other things after Garfield stopped making annual visits. There was a more fundamental problem however. As Wells explained to a later Pine Mountain Director, "The presence of a special effort and a special group with scout aims and ideals rather threw out of proportion our efforts with the entire school community, which were less explicitly along the same lines."20 Too, some of the requirements of the national organization seemed irrelevant or unnecessary at Pine Mountain, so the administration was content to let the program lapse.

Sports came to Pine Mountain early. Zande, while in the east on a speaking trip in 1913, purchased basketball equipment which received its inaugural one Saturday in October at a squirrel and sweet potato roast sponsored by the school for neighborhood young people.
Since the older folks came too, they also joined in the first game which was played without benefit of rules since Zande was too busy supervising dinner to take time to explain them. "Fathers of families played in the same game with their twenty year old sons, and enemies who won't speak to each other enthusiastically chased the ball side by side," she recorded later. The older men took such an active part that the younger ones told Zande they hoped they wouldn't show up the next time so the younger people could have an opportunity to play. The game soon became a staple in Pine Mountain's repertoire. Baseball which was more generally known in the area also found a place; there was really no choice in the matter for one eager donor sent seventeen thousand baseballs! Croquet, field hockey, riding on homemade sleds, and shooting homemade bows and arrows were also among amusements of the early years, and they even had a tennis court for a time on one of the knolls.

By the mid-twenties, regular physical training had become part of the weekday program of the school with special emphasis on improved posture and general physical development. The addition of a swimming pool made possible instruction in that sport. In the early years students swam in the creek, but when it became apparent that hookworm and other ailments could be acquired by so doing, the practice ended. Students then began a drive to raise money for a pool by holding rice and cocoa dinners at which they ate just those two items with the remainder of the money normally spend on food going into the pool fund. The pool opened in 1923 and quickly became a central feature of warm weather recreation.
In 1925, the students formed an athletic association to raise money for sports equipment. About the same time, both sexes began to play other schools in basketball, going up against Evarts, Putney, Benham, Red Bird, and Wooten among others. Travel being a significant barrier to interscholastic events (they had to walk to Red Bird and Wooten), there were not many such games in a given year. At one point, Pine Mountain, Red Bird, and Wooten held tri-school meets with contests in basketball, track, and declamations, awarding pennants to the best in each class. However, again, travel problems caused the arrangement to break down after two years.

A program for awarding a Pine Mountain monogram began in 1926, with a large letter awarded for earning fifty points and a small one for twenty-five. These letters, available to both sexes, emphasized personal achievement rather than group competition. One earned points through various feats of swimming such as swimming the length of the pool underwater or being able to do a number of different strokes, through hiking, through having correct posture, and in the case of males, through participation on the basketball team and in track and field. The system was so structured that one could not earn all the points in any one area and thus had to develop several different skills.

In her speech to the National Conference on Charities and Correction in 1916, Zade spoke of the importance of holidays in providing food for the imagination, a rejection of Pine Mountain's own practice, derived from that of Hindman, of making state occasions out of the major holidays of the year. By the twenties, this practice had resulted in a pattern of celebrations which provided both good times
and the pleasure of their anticipation. The first big event of the school year was the Pine Mountain Community Fair, generally held at the end of September, followed by Hallowe'en and Thanksgiving. Christmas was the grandest of the celebrations stretching out over a week or more. In the spring came Easter, then May Day and Commencement Week, and in the summer, the Fourth of July.

The Fourth of July and the Fair were the two celebrations which most directly brought school and community together on school grounds. (May Day and Commencement did also, but to a lesser extent, the community role then being essentially that of spectators.) They were also the two times during the year when the school imported ice cream from over the mountain as a special treat. Celebrating the Fourth meant having a speaker to stir up patriotic feelings; they usually got some distinguished outsider such as the President of Berea College, or a minister, or a lawyer, or a member of the Pine Mountain Board, though one year they had William Creech's son, Henry. They had various games and athletic contests, set runnings, flag exercises, the singing of patriotic songs, and of course, lemonade and ice cream.

The Fair originated in their desire to improve agricultural practices in the community. In the fall of 1913, the school farmer, Horace McSwain, arranged to have a Farmers' Institute conducted by staff members from the University of Kentucky held at the school, an arrangement which continued the next two years. These institutes had mixed results. Some of the advice given was excellent, but much of it was totally out of tune with mountain conditions. For example, one expert waxed eloquent on the methods Ohio farmers used to solve
their problems, while a home economist, fresh from college, tried to give written recipes to illiterate women. Another home economist, rather petite in size, while speaking down the creek on the merits of light bread as compared to cornbread, found herself undone by a rather large local farmer who remarked, "You've been raised on light bread, hain't ye? Well I've been raised on cornbread, and I reckon I'll stick to it." Nonetheless, some concrete benefits came from these meetings including teaching the men to use litmus paper to perform simple soil tests. At the 1915 Institute, the neighbors organized an agricultural committee with Columbus Creech as president and Marguerite Butler, secretary-treasurer. Their job was to organize a country fair for the following year. For some unknown reason, this was not possible in 1916, and it was not until September 29, 1917, that Pine Mountain held its first fair, the first ever held in Harlan County.

The 1917 fair set a pattern for those to come. House in the Woods provided a setting for the exhibits which included vegetables, baked goods, canned goods, and handwork. There was also an exhibit of livestock. Two professors from the University of Kentucky served as judges and also spoke on livestock and poultry raising. Zande had prepared lamb stew in iron kettles on the playground which the school sold for ten cents a serving. In the afternoon, there were athletic contests for both boys and girls followed by the awarding of prizes. Although some three hundred people attended, there were only eighty entries, and not all of the prize money was awarded due to no entries in some categories. Nonetheless, the school was
satisfied with its first effort, and the fair became an on-going program following a similar format throughout the remainder of the Pettit-Zande period.

The celebration of Thanksgiving varied from year to year. In the early days, they cooked dinner outside, sometimes on the playground or at the foot of the Jack's Gap trail. They didn't serve turkey then but had roasted squirrel or beef stew and dumplings. In later years after the school population grew, they had dinner at Laurel House. In the morning, there was a religious service combined with patriotic elements usually including some dramatization of early American history and the singing of appropriate hymns. In the afternoon, there might be basketball games and set runnings or hiking (though frequently this came on the following day, when they would dismiss classes and spend all their time in the woods). With the exception of 1917 when they dedicated the schoolhouse, they did not normally invite the neighbors apart from those who lived in the immediate vicinity and, in the early days, those who worked on building construction.

Christmas was the highpoint of the year, "nothing short of heaven," according to one alumna. 23 Zande herself reflecting on their celebration wrote, "It seemed to me that all the riches of all the years that men have celebrated Christ's birthday were heaped in our laps here—all save solemn organ music. There was gaiety and solemnity, the effervescent joy of childhood, and the beauty of fragrant greens and sweet singing." 24 For children and workers alike, the days
leading up to Christmas not to mention the day itself were a sort of fairy tale come to life. Wrote one former worker wistfully in 1920, "Oh! To be at Pine Mountain at Christmas time. It is dreadful to be out here where Christmas means only presents." 25 This was all in marked contrast to the absence of celebration in the hollows where true Christmas was January 6 ("Old Christmas" when the cattle knelt in their stalls and the alders blossomed in hommage to their Lord.). "New Christmas" men hailed with "salvos of rifles, pistols, dynamite caps" and toasted it with a goodly number of "drums" of whiskey. 26 Rare was the mountain Christmas when someone was not injured or killed. But that was a tradition Pettit and Zande wanted to change.

Much of the excitement of Pine Mountain Christmases came from anticipation. Immediately after Thanksgiving, students began learning carols, accompanied in the early days by dulcimer, later by piano. They also started making decorations--wreaths, ropes of greenery, and centerpieces. Shortly before Christmas, every house went out to the woods to find a tree for its living room. The amount of incoming mail at the office increased visibly adding to the air of hustle-bustle and secrets. With the completion of the Laurel House dining room, it became customary for each house to prepare a "surprise" to give at supper one night during the week before Christmas, and the rehearsals for these heightened the sense of mystery. Santa Claus managed somehow to leave unobserved letters spelling out what one had better do or not do if he wanted his stocking filled. Sometimes the sound of sleigh bells at unexpected moments served as a needed
reminder. "Look out for your noses, fellers, Santy-Claus is a-coming!" "Oh, Santa, please excuse Cam this time for leavin' his nightgown around. He won't do that no more!" 27

The special festivities at supper made the week before Christmas particularly thrilling. Although the order and exact presentations varied across the period, by the mid-twenties the activities fell essentially into the following pattern. One afternoon five to six days before Christmas, Laurel House between dinner and supper would somehow acquire a bevy of Christmas trees—a big one, sometimes nearly twenty feet tall, placed in the center of the dining room, and pairs of small ones flanking each door. (To prevent environmental damage, Pettit and the farmer supervised all cutting of greenery carefully; the trees cut for Christmas purposes were normally selected from areas needing thinning out.) That evening before supper began, the Big Log children, dressed from head to toe in white, would appear singing the English translation of "Stille nacht" which starts "Holy Night," after which they would light a single candle on each table. Either that evening or the next, depending on how many days the school was stretching out festivities that year, the Old Log children would decorate the small trees around the room while singing "God Rest Ye Merry Gentlemen." The following night belonged to Far House; at first they performed some skit such as "The Night Before Christmas," but in later years, acted out "The Twelve Days of Christmas," placing cardboard cutouts of the presents mentioned in the song on the balcony railing. Laurel House came next.
The girls had spent much time making a rope of holly and laurel ("Ivy") to hand from the railing; clad in white dresses and red ribbons, they gathered on the balcony where they sang "The Holly and the Ivy" and carefully arranged the rope in place. That same evening Farm House girls hung wreaths on the windows while singing "I Saw Three Ships Come Sailing In" or "Ye Shepherds, Leave the Care of Flocks So Fleecy." Boys' House came last. Dressed as medieval peasants and sometimes heralded by trumpeteers, the older boys brought in the yule log, usually with a smaller boy riding on it, all singing "Here We Come A-wassailing" or "Deck the Halls with Boughs of Holly." Santa Claus was the guest of honor on this occasion, and the air was thick with balloons, streamers, and the sound of noisemakers.

The religious side of Christmas came to the forefront with the presentation of the annual Nativity Play. The first, in 1915, was basically a pageant of carols presented Christmas afternoon at House in the Woods. "Just a manger scene—with no attempt at anything but symbolic costuming—and the only color in the children's faces, in the kings' plain gold crowns, and in Mary's dull purple scarf." It was somewhat more elaborate the second year—the Virgin sang "The Coventry Carol," shepherds filed by with gifts—"a ball round as earth, cherries red as blood, a pair of mittens"—and wise men carrying holly staffs sang "We Three Kings of Orient Are." Each year it grew a little, with more scenes, dialogue, and fictional elements to illustrate points—a naughty little boy who had to mind the sheep as a punishment and was transformed after visiting the manger, for example. Zande prepared the basic framework, selecting scripture and music
("traditional airs...sung on cold winter mornings in Merrie England for hundreds of years, or wonderful old Latin tunes...suggestive of the splendor and pomp of old cathedrals"), but allowing the children some leeway in developing lines for the characters. The play remained fluid throughout the period but came to include scenes depicting the prophets, the shepherds, the wise men, and the adoration of the Holy Child (they had a real baby nearly every year with both of Zande's children taking their turns at filling the part). The year following Zande's death, Angela Melville instituted the practice of allowing the audience to file by the manger placing presents in front of it. These presents were things students had made such as butter bowls, dolls' beds, baby blankets, all gaily wrapped and later distributed out in the countryside by Pine Mountain workers. The play itself at that time became fixed in form, and as of December 1980, was still being presented by the school staff and members of the community each Christmas season.

Christmas Day began with caroling by a small group of students and workers who started their trip around the grounds and out into the neighborhood between three-thirty and four in the morning. After the rising bell, the rest of the school family poured out on to their respective porches, and one house started a carol which was picked up or answered with another by the next house down and so on around the valley. Then one had to rush to find out whether Santa Claus had been there, and if so, what he had brought. Until the late twenties when the school started excusing all students except those with debts to go home on Christmas Eve, there were presents for
everyone, both toys and practical things such as pencil cases, pocket combs, ties, pin cushions, and handkerchiefs. And, of course, Santa also left candy and fruit.

The first few years there was midday celebration with the community at House in the Woods with a community Christmas tree, the presentation of the Nativity Play, and a visit from Santa Claus with treats for the neighbors, many of whom also took home some decoration from the tree as a souvenir. After the school grew to full size, they discontinued this practice, moving the Nativity Play to Christmas Eve or an earlier evening, and staging it indoors, first in the school-house and later in the chapel which heightened its similarity to the old English mystery plays, a quality given it by Zande's genius whether consciously or unconsciously. In lieu of the community tree, Ruth Gaines began inviting the neighbors to a party at Laurel House the week after Christmas while the students were on vacation.

In order to share Christmas and promote a proper celebration, the school from the first year took trees to older neighbors and also held community tree celebrations in some of the district schools. They reached the zenith of this effort in 1922 when an exhausted Ethel Zande reported to a former worker: "We have trimmed twenty-five Christmas trees, had seven country school celebrations with presents for everybody, sent innumerable packages out into the country, and well remembered our own family." Then, mischievously referring to another mountain worker several counties away who like to boast of her own efforts, she added, "And if --- has done any more, she must be a dead woman by this time."
Easter was the occasion of another joyful celebration, though not as protracted or involved as Christmas. Just before dawn on Easter morning, Evelyn Wells would take a group of children from Far House and go carolling around the grounds and over to the Creeches, singing "Jesus Christ Is Risen Today," "Welcome, Happy Morning," and other Easter hymns. Arriving in the dining room for breakfast, students would find some special treat at each place such as candy rabbits or chicks. After breakfast, they would hunt Easter eggs in some grassy spot such as the field opposite Old Log. There would be an Easter service in the morning with a guest speaker if at all possible, and in the afternoon there was often a hike and picnic ending with Vespers and the singing of more Easter hymns. On three occasions they gave plays including one by Florence Converse which had appeared in The Atlantic.

The culminating celebrations of the school year were May Day and Commencement, which usually came together or very shortly apart. Commencement included the presentation of a play, normally some work of Shakespeare, and a simple graduation ceremony to which the graduating girls wore handmade dresses (a term which in later years applied not only to their sewing but to the cloth as well). Zande usually secured a guest speaker to talk to those graduating from the Eighth Grade and high school and presented the diplomas herself.

Summary. A cluster of ideas shaped Pine Mountain's approach to recreation. First was their awareness of the limited recreational opportunities available in country homes and mining camps and of the need to give students "resources" to use in making their own homes
or in teaching in country schools. Second was the effort to develop recreation out of what was possible in the mountains--ballad singing, country dancing, parties with simple refreshments and games such as charades, hiking and picnicking--all things that could be done with little money or equipment, making it likely that they would in fact be used. Further, Pine Mountain sought to use the children's instincts of play much as did the urban progressive schools to lead to stimulation of minds dulled by life in some lonesome hollow or raw coal camp. At the same time, it used group endeavors such as basketball and baseball to develop the ability to cooperate together on common tasks, a sense of teamwork being lacking among most mountaineers. Recreation along with other features of life at Pine Mountain would also serve as a vehicle to the development of good taste--the music program coupling ballads and classical music they saw as a barrier against the damaging influences of jazz and "cheap, sentimental music." And finally through the celebration of holidays, the women sought not only to provide food for thought, but to promote civic awareness, reaffirm the mountain heritage, and underscore the religious nature of Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter.
CHAPTER EIGHT: WHERE HEARTS AND SOULS ARE TRAINED

Like many other educators and reformers of the progressive period, Pettit and Zande had an abiding interest in character development; as has been mentioned, one of the central reasons for the creation of the school was "to preserve the splendid, worthwhile traits of mountain character, the really precious qualities in the old type civilization, so rich in many of the best ideals of American life." 1 Explained, Zande, "we do want Pine Mountain to give our children tools that will make them fit for the modern life that is coming in, but also we want it to be a place where hearts and souls are trained. Spirit is the most important thing in the whole world." 2 William Creech was blunter: "If we could get a good school here...it would help Moralize the country." 3 However, the morality they had in mind was not a philosophical abstraction, but one rooted in the tenets of Protestant Christianity. Both Pettit and Zande were devout Christians though not pietistic or evangelical ones. They believed that one shared one's faith through living the Christian life day by day and that being a Christian was to serve quietly, patiently, with that long enduring love of which Paul spoke in First Corinthians. This chapter focuses on their efforts to build a religious life for the students at Pine Mountain which would provide an alternate view of Christianity to the one traditional in rural mountain communities and
also examines their efforts to build up the character of each child.

Fatalism colored the traditional mountain view of Christianity. Emma Miles attributed this to the people's living so close to nature and in such isolation. They tended to accept whatever happened as the will of the Lord and didn't think there was anything they could do to change things. They were also extremely fundamentalistic, taking the Bible quite literally. What it said was what it meant. Since many were illiterate, a condition from which preachers as a class were not exempt, their knowledge of what the Bible said was often second or even thirdhand, yet they loved to argue theological minutiae. A visitor to Line Fork, seven miles from the school, reported hearing a preacher and a deacon debating between themselves on the issue of "whether 'God is a nigger or a white man!'" Generally, mountain theology tended to the morbid. "We are continually impressed by the narrow ideas of God, and the tremendous emphasis on the fear of Hell," wrote Zunde to a fellow mountain worker. The Old Testament God of judgment and wrath figured prominently in their thinking. Since death was ever present in their world, the hymns they sang placed much stress on the transitory nature of human beings who were traveling through the world as pilgrims through a wilderness.

The church as an organization in mountain life was rather weak outside the towns. Country churches usually had as pastors, preachers who earned their living by farming or by other means (Pine Mountain workers knew of one or two who moonshined) and who often served a circuit of churches, holding services perhaps once a month at most in any given community. There were few church buildings in rural
areas—usually schoolhouses functioned as a meeting place. The "meetings," as they were called, would run on for hours; it was not uncommon to have more than one preacher and more than one sermon. Outside the building, there was always a cluster of men and boys engaging in activities which the preacher inside might well be railing against in his ecstatic style of delivery accentuated by occasional gasps of breath. Mountain religion, like that of the frontier, was emotional, and the preacher's role was "not that of the priest but of the prophet." The two grand occasions of the mountain church were baptizings and funeralizings. The former took place in the creek—mountain people generally all believed in immersion, feeling that otherwise one was not saved. Funeralizings normally took place in the fall and were social occasions of the first order, offering not only evangelical opportunities for the preachers, but also a chance for neighbors to enjoy each other's company and a big meal together. The person being memorialized might have been dead for some time—Pettit attended funeral meetings at which the grieving husband had already remarried and had a child or two by his new wife before holding his first wife's funeralizing. It was a matter of doing things right, of getting the best preachers and of assembling all the kinfolks from near and far.

To the workers at Pine Mountain, the most serious weakness of traditional mountain religion was its failure to make religious belief a significant part of everyday life. One could go to meeting and be saved, and then turn right around and live a life whose ethics
were far from those of the Bible. While mountain theology might focus on concrete details, it was nonetheless an abstraction for it had no grounding in practical experience. The challenge for the school was to help the young who, in the words of the Pine Mountain Notes, sought "a religion that relates doctrine to life, and emotion to thought."  

In its efforts to do this, Pine Mountain differed markedly from the mission schools and even from Hindman. To Pettit, one of the greatest causes of dissension in mountain communities was denominationalism. Mountain churches might not have been vital institutions in the same sense as urban ones, but given the mountaineer's love of theological debate, the question of church membership could become a very warm one. The points over which denominations differed were often trivial, but each tended to feel that it was the one true church and the others necessarily somewhat apostate. Even the towns were not immune from this kind of wrangling. In Harlan in the opening decade of the century the fear that the Presbyterians were subverting the children caused the Baptists to withdraw theirs from the Harlan Academy which at that time was operating the public schools in an arrangement similar to Hindman's with Knott County. Church boards also competed with each other, whether deliberately or inadvertently, in the building of schools in county seat towns—Harlan at one point had two industrial schools for girls, one Presbyterian, one Methodist. To Pettit, to become embroiled in such issues was the one thing more than any other which could wreck Pine Mountain's dream. Therefore, the school had to be nondenominational and avoid
sponsorship by any church-related group. As a matter of policy, workers did not reveal their own religious affiliations—Brit Wilder recalled that such inquiries would be met with a laugh and a quick diversion to some other topic. Hindman, though also nondenominational, had cooperated actively with the town's two churches, Baptist and Methodist, providing teachers for Sunday School and effecting for a time a certain ecumenical spirit. However, this arrangement had been tenuous, depending on the inclinations of the ministers stationed there, and the theological level was often more fundamentalist than the workers' own leanings. (An exasperated Zande once wrote home that she would prefer to preach herself than to have to endure one of the local preachers.) Pine Mountain, however, having no church at its door, was free to make its own arrangements and concentrated primarily on work with its own children in its own way.

The mission schools, whether intentionally or not, ended by pushing their own denomination. Soul winning was crucial, and the fact that the principal of the school was frequently the pastor of the denomination's local church, as was the case for some years at the Harlan Academy, and that the workers operated under a missionary agency of the denomination, led both to evangelical emphasis and at the least a benign proselytizing. The girls who boarded at the Harlan Academy in 1907 received fifteen minutes of Bible drill each evening, had to attend Sunday School and worship at the Harlan Presbyterian Church which then met in the academy chapel and had to help with Sunday School at country chapels near the town.
Pine Mountain, on the other hand, was low key to the point of occasionally being accused by visitors of lacking in religious instruction. The workers for the most part were moderates or liberals theologically. Pettit's views were typical. To a mountain friend wanting to bob her hair but afraid to because of Paul's comments in the New Testament about long hair, she wrote, "I don't think you ought to worry about what the Bible says about this, for Paul wasn't talking about us today, and you know he also said 'the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life.' If we stick to the letter we are going to lose all the good of Christianity."8 To a Bluegrass friend, following a trip around the world in 1926, she wrote, "When I saw the place where Christ preached the Sermon on the Mount I just wished that all our religious work could be done in that way and could be without all the superstition and ignorance that seem to be just as bad in the churches and synagogues of Jerusalem as in the shrines and temples of the Orient."9 To her, Pine Mountain's job was neither to evangelize nor to induce an artificial piety but "to develop each child's powers of independent thought under the right stimulus."10

One way to do this was to make religion a natural part of life. Thus they sang grace at meals, and each house had its own devotional time, as brief or as extensive as it wished, based on the desires of children and housemothers. On Sundays, there was Sunday School, sometimes accompanied by a song service or other worship, and in the evening, Vespers, a simple devotional service.

Sunday School and Vespers both began the first summer and in the early days were open to the community. Later, when this was not
practical due to the size of the school, workers went out on Sunday afternoons to hold Sunday schools at two neighboring schoolhouses. Sunday School classes at Pine Mountain stressed Bible stories, often used the Westminster quarterlies (a Presbyterian publication) as texts, and did some memory work. Sunday evenings there was a special class for older students, the Round Table, which emphasized discussion of Bible passages and their application to everyday living. Those seasons of the year when Zande's mother, Arabella de Long, was on campus, the class came under her tutelage, a tutelage which, from comments by former students, appears to have had a strong positive influence on their religious development. In the summer, they combined Sunday activities into a group nicknamed "The Children's Church." Vespers, frequently held outside in nice weather, consisted of hymns, scripture and responsive readings, prayer, and often a short talk by Zande. These services, while simple, had a dignity reflecting Zande's own high church inclinations—although a Methodist, she leaned strongly toward Episcopalian practices, delighting in their ritual and formality.

The music used in their religious programs included both standard hymns (one collection used was an Episcopalian publication entitled In Excelsis) and mountain hymns. Pettit ordered a quantity of two collections of the latter, The Sweet Songster and the Thomas Hymns, and used them in the Sunday afternoon singings at Big Log as well as for presents to graduates and newlyweds.

While their Sunday services were effective, nonetheless, they were lay-led, and the women began to long for something more. As Pettit put it, there were certain things an ordained minister could
say that they could not. Too, the workers needed spiritual stimulation of their own. This led them to seek a preacher for the school. They wanted someone broad-minded like themselves who would not disapprove of folk dancing and ballad singing, someone who would present God's love as a force in human life, and someone who would avoid emotional appeals—they felt students got enough of that at home. Their first regular arrangement with an outside minister to come preach to them developed in 1919 when they persuaded the pastor of the Harlan Methodist Church, F. W. Harrop, to come over occasionally and speak to the students. They also formed an organization of the older students called The King's Sons and Daughters, with whom Harrop met for discussions. The members of this group were those over fifteen who had committed themselves to a Christian life. As Pettit and Zande wanted them to have the opportunity to make a visible commitment in symbolic fashion, they worked out an arrangement with Harrop whereby he would baptize those in the group who wanted it into the Church Universal. Later, when they returned home, Pine Mountain would issue a letter attesting to their baptism. There were at least two baptizings that year including one at which Zande's first child was christened. In accordance with mountain custom, the baptizings took place in the Limestone Branch, despite the women's own preference for sprinkling.

Harrop's successor at the Harlan church, Thomas B. Roberts, came from a Lexington pulpit and already knew Pettit. He had deliberately chosen Harlan over an opening in Atlanta because of his desire to work in the mountains. He came closer to being, both in ideal and in fact,
a Pine Mountain minister than any of the others who came on a regular basis. The school arranged with his church board and district superintendent to permit him to come on a monthly basis, staying overnight and conducting four meetings including a preaching service for the student body and another at Line Fork plus two sessions with student study groups. He also did visitation in the neighborhood, something new to the community and something which the neighbors came to eagerly anticipate. The funding for this arrangement was furnished by an Ohio Presbyterian congregation whose pastor was a member of the Pine Mountain Board. Under Roberts, the baptizings continued, with the Round Table class and his monthly visits providing the preparation necessary for student decisions. At the end of the 1921-22 came the largest baptizing of them all, twenty-two students, with one hundred and fifty guests from the area as well as the entire student body in attendance. Following this baptism, Roberts held Pine Mountain's first communion service.

In the fall of 1921, the same year that Roberts began coming, Zande received an offer from Jessie D. Munger of Plainfield, New Jersey to turn over to the school a sum of money from the estate of an aunt, Charlotte F. Hedges, for the construction of some small building—Munger suggested a chapel. As they had held the religious services of the school wherever they could—in the Masonic Lodge, then at the House in the Woods, and at that time, in the schoolhouse, but always in some spot that had heavy secular use—Zande seized upon this proposal enthusiastically. By the following spring, she, her
husband, Pettit, and architect Mary Rockwell Hook had come to agreement on location and plans. The chapel would be of stone construction with clear glass windows to let in the "wonderful green country" outside and would have a bell under the roof of a porch off the transept. After considering placing the building on the site of the first schoolhouse, they decided to set it on the hill above where towering pine trees and "a glorious old wild cherry" would add color. In keeping with their general desire for Pine Mountain buildings, the chapel would blend into the landscape, being both "simplicity itself" and "harmonious and restful" in appearance. There was symbolism too, in the choice of the site—high on a hill, it was in a central location and would be the first thing one saw on entering the school grounds. It took about two years to build. Though one of the neighborhood skeptics scoffed that they would "never be able to get that church-house finished without bringing in some 'tallies' from 'cross the mountain," Luigi Zande directed a crew of local workmen whom he trained in stone work himself, and foreigners did not prove necessary. The furnishings apart from a grand piano also came from the school—Luigi and a crew of students building the pews and the weaving department making curtains.

The school began using the chapel in the spring of 1924 although the interior was not completely finished. On November 12, they held a service of dedication with one of the Board members, the Reverend A. L. Wilson, giving the sermon. One of the highlights of the chapel's first year was its use in the first two church weddings held in the valley, that of two Pine Mountain workers and the double wedding of
two sisters, both former students, to local boys. The staff delighted in the object lesson these simple religious ceremonies offered.

Roberts having left Harlan in 1923, they began to cast about for a resident minister who could serve both school and community. Despite a number of contacts, they failed to locate anyone willing to come on a permanent basis. In the summer of 1925, however, they did bring in a young man from Minnesota who preached at the school and at Line Fork on alternate Sundays and worked in the community during the week.

Their next Harlan contact was a Baptist minister, but was not too successful owing first to his own difficulties with nondenominationalism—he could not, as he saw it, baptize students into the Church Universal since Baptists would not accept the validity of such an action. Second, he had great difficulty in not including an invitation in his message, something Pettit and Zande disliked as they wanted any commitment by students to come from study and reflection, not from emotional impulse alone. After a few services by him, they looked elsewhere, bringing from Berea, Earl F. Zeigler, pastor of the Berea Union Church, a nondenominational organization. Zeigler understood their situation well and for several years made semi-annual visits, each lasting several days. In 1929-30, a new Baptist minister in Harlan came for a few monthly visits; they also had sermons by various visitors throughout the period, some ecclesiastics, some lay persons. There is no evidence, however, of any baptisms after Roberts left, and Wells in her history stated, "The children have never been encouraged to think that the verbal profession of Christ
was important at this stage of their lives; rather, we have been con-
fident that the seeds should be laid and left to germinate; that
permanent good developed slowly."  

13 This undoubtedly reflects the policy of the later years.

In addition to activities of a religious nature, Pettit and Zande
constructed the life of the school in such a way as to provide a gen-
eral environment conducive to growth in right behavior and in the
formation of positive character traits. Among the latter, former
students have noted such traits as "honesty," "integrity," and "in-
dustriousness."  

14 Brit Wilder felt they emphasized "love between people," while Oma Fiske cited the concept of useful citizenship.

Harriet Bright, Becky May Sexton, and others quoted as a summary of
the school's hopes for them, Paul's advice to the Philippians: "What-
soever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever
things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are
lovely, whatsoever things are of good report...think on these things."

(This was a passage they closely associated with Zande who apparently
used it frequently in her work with the students; it was later in-
scribed on her memorial tablet in the chapel.) Another trait stressed
according to various school documents was "responsibility," a term
which, when taken in a broad sense, can serve as a unifying construct
for the study of their efforts at character development generally.

Taken in this manner, responsibility has two aspects--responsibility
for oneself and responsibility for one's fellows and one's community.

Responsibility for oneself was the underlying theme of many of
the rules previously discussed in connection with home life--those
dealing with cleanliness, neatness, order, proper etiquette, and so on; in Zande's words, it involved "cultivation of care for one's belongings, person and manners." It also involved the creation of a set of personal standards to live by. The school promoted this in several ways. First and foremost was the example of workers who had high and exacting standards for their own lives and who through close and constant association shared their values with the students. The home life of the houses, Zande's talks in the chapel, the holding of the child to high standards of conduct and work, all aimed at instilling in him a fine sense of values. Development of one's own standards also meant understanding why standards were necessary. The staff thus explained rules carefully and students had the opportunity when possible to assist in their formulation (for instance, students contributed to the writing of rules for table conduct, sometimes with delightful unsophistication: "do not speak unkind words about the food.").

While mountain children were taught from childhood to obey, Pine Mountain did not want a blind obedience, inspired by fear or by a desire to please the teacher, but rather an obedience grounded in the desire to be loyal to a standard. The child had to learn to face up to the consequences of his actions. When one boy left school early at the end of the year without permission, Zande wrote him asking,

Did you think, when you went off, that you weren't shirking work that other children were required to do and that your leaving as you did would give everybody the notion that you were willing to obey the school as long as you could get something out of it, but when you got your diploma and it has nothing more to give you, you didn't have respect enough for it
to obey it? 17

To another who had misappropriated school property to build some
project of his own, she said,

The good and the bad in us are dreadfully mixed up, and
the thing you need to do is to think things through be-
fore you begin them, and decide to attempt enterprises
that will not make you sneaky and destructive. It is
one of your real gifts that God gave you, this curiosity
of yours to see if you can't put things together and
make them work, and I want you to develop it and to have
every chance that is right. 18

One area in which developing the right personal standards seemed
especially important for the older students was that of the relation-
ship between the sexes. In a broad sense, Pettit and Zande, being in
many ways liberated women of their time, though not radical feminists,
wanted to free mountain women from the subservience which had conven-
tionally been their lot. As this was a matter of changing engrained
attitudes, they tackled it in part through their policies on chores
around the school, defining through practice what they considered to
be the proper role of each sex in mountain society. While from their
own experience, they knew that they were capable of doing many things
men of their time normally did and perhaps better, in working with
the students, they were not motivated by equality in the modern sense
of either sex being able to do anything it pleased, but rather by a
conception of equality as partnership—each sex had its special con-
tribution to make to the general welfare, balanced by the necessary
contribution of the other, and each should respect and not take ad-
vantage of the other. Of course, as they looked at mountain life,
it seemed to them that men had taken advantage—they wanted to even
things out.
In a school populated largely by adolescents, there was also the question of dealing with unfolding sexual development. Mountain children, living in close confines, knew the facts of life from an early age, and mountain people were direct in speaking of sexual relations. There was not, however, in Zande's opinion, a great deal of promiscuity in the preindustrial communities of the hills, though there were "the sort of illegal relationships that one finds in an undeveloped country, not vicious, for the most part, or immoral, but immoral."¹⁹ There was in mountain courtship both openness and a certain modesty, even bashfulness, which she found refreshing in comparison to middle class behavior in the cities. She felt that Pine Mountain had an essentially "pure-minded" lot of children "and less nastiness to deal with than in city schools."²⁰ There were, of course, occasional outcroppings of "weaknesses of the flesh," children with "pernicious habits," and they dealt with them quietly. The activities of school life aimed at keeping students "so busy and so occupied" that they would not have time to think about "unwholesome interests."²¹ Romance between the older teenagers was discouraged; boys were limited in their opportunities to escort girls to walking them home from parties and were not, until the late twenties, permitted to call at Laurel House. When that privilege was extended, it was limited to one day a month and was to be a general call, not one aimed at "an effort to get off in the corner" with a particular girl.²² In the dining room, boys ate with their housemates, which in the case of the older boys meant sex-segregated tables. This changed after Angela Melville became Associate Director--she divided
the boys up three to a table among the girls. On the whole, though, there was no rigid separation of the sexes such as existed at certain other mountain schools, Caney Creek, for example, where Alice Lloyd kept the sexes apart at all times. At Pine Mountain, the ideal was that of brothers and sisters, all members of one large family, and so boys and girls had classes together, hiked together, and attended parties together. They did not, however, swim together.

One fundamental concern in sex education at the school, an effort diffused throughout various activities such as hygiene and home nursing classes and religious discussions, was to give students a positive view of sex as part of a loving relationship within marriage. Pine Mountain children, Zande told a Boston doctor, knew "about sex in a perfectly unilluminated and unspiritual way" and needed "a fine, clear light on the subject." Her own attitudes are illustrated in a letter to a boy she was trying to salvage for another year at the school:

You had the reputation last year of being dirty-mouthed and not nice with girls. I would like to have a good long talk with you sometime about that...for I wish you could understand that there is nothing natural which the Lord has made that is in itself dirty, and that if you want to be a fine father for your own sons some day you want to be sure you have not degraded yourself or any girl by bad talk or bad acts,...you must keep your own experience clean for your sake, for the sake of the girl you will marry some day, and for the sake of the little boys I hope you will have."

In this regard, in the twenties, a group of girls, acting on their own initiative, formed the Mountain Girls Association, which functioned for some four or five years. Members promised among other things to try to finish four years of high school, not to date
boys who drank, not to get married until reaching eighteen, and to use their education "to advance mountain interest."\textsuperscript{25} They were to live by the standards of the group all year long, not just when at school, and in the summer were to recruit girls from their local communities to follow their principles. At their meetings they had speeches on topics such as "The Mountaineer's Wife" and "The District School of the Mountains." On a few occasions, they called up a girl before them to explain conduct contrary to their standards.

Responsibility to oneself also had a converse—one was not narrow-minded or judgmental of others. When a Pine Mountain student who had gone on to Lincoln Memorial University wrote Zande complaining about boys smoking and chewing tobacco and of LMU's failure to legislate against it, Zande replied that first, since his new school was not in a position to enforce such rules easily, it was wise not to have them, because having rules which would be easily circumvented was destructive of character. More importantly,

\begin{quote}
as a boy grows older, it is good for him to go to a place where he has to fall back on his own judgment and on his own sense of what is best... The use of tobacco is for some people a very bad habit, because they abuse it; for others it probably does no harm. Now, don't think I am urging you to use tobacco; I only don't want you to be like some preachers I know, who think a man can get into Heaven if he doesn't use tobacco, though he may beat his wife and cheat his neighbor.\textsuperscript{26}\end{quote}

Responsibility to the community and to one's fellows encompassed several concerns. First, there was loyalty to one's school, found in part in the pride in one's work that came from its not being merely a job well done, but from the feeling that it contributed to the whole. Despite a broken arm, one young boy was determined to carry out his
slopbuckets; a sick girl with permission to stay in bed wanted to get up because it was her responsibility to change the beds. The cardinal sin of the boy who left early was in letting down the group.

In connection with this aspect of responsibility, one might note a few limited attempts at student government. After the schoolhouse fire of 1919, the younger boys formed a group known as the Dixie Guards whose purpose was "to keep the houses safe" which they attempted to do through inspections for fire hazards and related activities. At one point, the Boy and Girl Scouts accepted the job of policing the cloakrooms at Laurel House, spots where the potential for disorder was great. In 1924, the older students formed a "Fair Play Committee" which governed behavior on the playground, in the houses, and in the classroom, making rules and holding jury trials for those accused of violating them. Pettit reported that one week's culprit might be foreman of the next week's jury. None of these efforts was very long lasting, however.

In a larger sense, there was also the question of responsibility to the broader community beyond the school. At the cornerstone laying for the first schoolhouse, Zande spelled it out. People from all over the nation had given so that Pine Mountain might be, a gift made out of their own sense of civic responsibility. The students in turn had a duty: "We have to train for our country and work for it. And all the dreams aren't worked out. As long as there is bribery in school affairs in Harlan County, as long as little boys and girls twelve years old work in coal banks, as long as there is injustice in politics, so long is there work to make our country what we dream
it to be."²⁷ For at least two years beginning in 1918, the older students had a Good Citizens' Club, which, in the words of one of its presidents, existed "to teach us how to be better citizens, how to work together and speak in public."²⁸ The members wrote their own constitution, conducted elections for officers in a manner similar to that used in public elections, and made knowing "America," "The Star-Spangled Banner," and the Pledge of Allegiance prerequisites for membership. Programs focused on patriotic themes and involved learning poems such as "The Independence Bell" and "The Landing of the Pilgrims," reading papers on various topics and having debates on such items as "a useful citizen is more useful to a nation than a famous one." They created their own political cartoons and editorials, and prepared accounts of such doings as the Versailles Peace Conference.

The Good Citizens' Club was not the only effort to develop a sense of civic awareness. In the early days they erected a flagpole on Pole House Hill and taught the children flag etiquette and care. They held mock presidential elections and made Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July memorable celebrations. During World War I, each house had its own flag, and in Laurel House, the flags of all the Allies hung from the balcony.

Another facet of responsibility to the broader community entailed the willingness to sacrifice one's own comfort to help others in need. Beginning during World War I, the school followed the practice of having occasional "sacrificial dinners" whose purpose, in the words of one alumnus, was "to get love taught between human beings,"²⁹ These dinners were meals at which the children voluntarily gave up
their normal menu in order that the money which would have gone to pay for it might instead go to some worthy cause. The first of the dinners grew out of a discussion they had of the starving children of Europe, particularly of those in Belgium. One seven year old announced he wanted to save his dessert and send it in a matchbox to "some little starving Belgian," a statement which got them going. An adult suggestion that by doing without butter and dessert they could save money to send to relief led to a vote in which the children agreed to forgo those items twice a week for that purpose. They entered upon the venture with great enthusiasm—boys worked overtime to earn extra money to send and girls sold handmade crepe collars to workers. Soon they had amassed $108, an average of over a dollar a child. They also became involved in Junior Red Cross work and helped collect funds for the YMCA and the American Red Cross.

In the early twenties, inspired by letters from former Pine Mountain workers who had gone abroad to assist in reconstruction, the children began holding each spring a series of weekly rice and cocoa dinners for such causes as the Armenian, Middle East and Chinese Famine relief funds. As time went by, they held similar dinners for Polish relief, for an American Indian school, for the Cecil Sharp Memorial in London, for a former student afflicted with tuberculosis who could not afford medical care, and for a swimming pool for their own school. Former housemother Rachel Davis remembered these as spartan meals—just rice and cocoa made with water. They involved real sacrifice, coming as they did at noon after a hard morning's work. Nonetheless, "ardent little boys said, 'I weren't nary grain
hungry at supper time,' and even those who confessed to very empty feelings about four o’clock, scorned to eat more supper than usual." Many of the children "were almost choked by our plenty as they thought that the seventeen cents they were saving would provide nearly six meals for a (foreign) child." 31

Though former students refer to these meals with pride, not everyone at the time approved of such efforts. One donor wrote Zande a heated letter cancelling his pledge. Pine Mountain, he thought, had no right to take money donated for the care of poor mountain children and send it off to some other group. Pine Mountain contributors were not concerned with Armenians or Mongolians. The students were not old enough to be instructed in giving; that could develop later. In the meantime, they were "object of charity." 32 While there was a certain logic in his arguments, his view that the children were "objects of charity," suggesting the very pauperization that she and Pettit were trying to avoid, caused Zande to respond more bluntly than she normally did. She thought it was marvelous "that the children by their self sacrifice could help suffering children." 33 Furthermore, she doubted that young people not taught how to give during the formative years would suddenly acquire this trait as adults. In her experiences in raising funds, the communities which gave most liberally were those where the tradition of giving was well-engrained. Mountain people had been too long cut off from participation in the larger life beyond the hills; it would be wrong if Pine Mountain did nothing to promote this participation when it had the chance. After all, the school began with forty-five cents
from a Hindman Sunday School class which had in turn learned giving from a study of mission fields. As for being "objects of charity," this was true to the same extent that it was that any college student was an object of charity—the typical college tuition covered at best only half the cost of the education received. And Pine Mountain students, unlike many college students, worked three and a half to six hours daily to help pay their expenses. She could also have underscored the role of the children in deciding to have these dinners, for the initiative normally came from them. Sallie Burger, a former worker, recalled how a talk by a visitor on the needs of Indian reservations inspired a student to rise and call for a vote on a sacrificial dinner to provide assistance, a vote which quickly passed. The dinners were also perhaps one of the more effective demonstrations of Christian living—they were poor, but still they could help others even less fortunate than they; they could "realize in their own persons, the suffering of others."\(^3^4\)

In all of these concerns, Pettit and Zande were aiming for responsibility that led to leadership. Their ideal in that area was a constructive, broad-minded, intelligent leadership which led not by charisma, but by rightness of action. In their rating system for evaluating character development (described in Chapter 5), they defined leadership in terms of "initiative." At the highest level were "those who are generally able to start and carry on an undertaking without suggestion...those who think to bring clothes from the line when it is going to rain; those who think to close gates when they are open, to prevent animals from getting into gardens,"
At the next two levels were those who could contribute to "an undertaking or piece of work outlined by someone else." Rated as "poor" were "those who follow well when someone leads." Those who could not do that much were marked "unsatisfactory" in that category. Thus one sees that their concept of leadership revolved around contributing to the welfare of society rather than to individual aggrandizement and power.

They never totally resolved on any special methods for teaching leadership other than the general effects of life at the school. Zande was dubious that one could actually consciously teach it. Of a mountain school which boasted long and loud of how it was training all its students to be leaders for reform, she wrote

the effect... has been to make (the students) conceited and superior, but the actual results in leadership are not any more to be determined than they are here where we don't want to give the children the idea that they are better than other people. Wouldn't the matter of leadership be something you would have to discuss after the event rather than before?

Pine Mountain students, of course, like others, were not always perfect, and so there had to be Pine Mountain discipline. In this regard, the school had going for it the fact that mountain children had normally learned from early childhood to obey, a necessity in homes in which each member had to do his part if the family were to survive. As the work the school gave them to do was no heavier a burden than they would have had at home, if as heavy, and as they were normally keenly interested in coming to the school and well aware that to be sent home would be a great disgrace, there was fairly good overall motivation, and major misconduct was not common,
Former student Mabel Mullins marveled in looking back that there were no more offenses than there were, given a school family of a hundred lively children. Former workers interviewed emphasized that those misdeeds which did occur were generally trivial and readily correctible.

Pine Mountain followed two guiding principles in regulating behavior. First, they avoided disobedience through having students participate in rulemaking, and second, they developed a spirit of cooperation through family living, through working and playing together. Explained Zande, "I think the spirit of our school might be described as joy in work, and we keep this from being a mere theory because the workers actually share the work with the children, as a mother in the family does." They rarely employed corporal punishment, though Pettit sometimes gave a child a good shaking, and Zande, when living at Old Log and Far House, spanked some of the smaller children for certain offenses. One of the farmers occasionally "took a limb" to boys who loafed or talked back to him while working in the fields. Normally, however, disciplining took other forms with punishments tailored to the misdeed and its doer as much as possible. Those not in bed after lights out lost playground privileges, and those who dared to talk then went to bed early the next evening or two. Loafing resulted in extra work.

Generally, the job of discipline fell to the housemother, just as it would to a parent in the home, and she worked out what she considered suitable measures. At Big Log, the house had a set of "Good Citizens' Rules" with prescribed punishments, worked out
cooperatively by workers and students. The most common punishment was writing ditties, ranging from ten to one hundred fifty sentences for such things as door slamming, storing dirty or torn clothes on one's shelf, forgetting to put on a raincoat when it was raining, or being a "poor sport" about following house rules. Talking back led to extra work during playtime; using profanity or telling lies resulted in a mouth washing with quinine. Stealing or engaging in "sneakiness" called for a trial by a family court. The rules prescribed humiliation for certain offenses--someone coming to the table with a nose in need of attention had to wear a bib, while anyone cutting up at the table had to have his meal standing up behind the housemother. Meddlers had to "go to table with hands tied and be fed." 38

Believing in a neighbor's philosophy that "a young'un you can't counsel with, hit hain't no use to whip," workers tended to do a lot of counseling in the sense of talking to an offender and trying to get him to come up with his ideas for handling his problem. 39 So, if someone lost his temper and threw a rock at a worker, or pulled a knife on the playground, or ran away after being dressed down for sloppy work, the housemother and any other workers involved sat down with the miscreant and talked it out, inviting Pettit or Zande to sit in if it were a serious offense. Since disciplinary cases did not normally involve either woman, being sent to them was not an experience eagerly anticipated. Both had a reputation, as one former student put it, for being women "that what they said had to go." There were differences, however, in their approach. If it were
Pettit, "you could lay a case before her, for she might hear you and change her mind," With Zande, one "never dared ask...why," 40 frequently, after such a conference, a simple apology would suffice. On the other hand, some punishment might be assigned, particularly if no remorse were shown, or if the offense was a flagrant or repeated violation of the rules. One former student remembered the Sunday when she and several other Laurel House girls bobbed their hair without permission. Pettit, Zande, and Gaines each assigned a penalty—they could not wear hair ribbons, they could not go on a forthcoming all-day hike, and the older girls who instigated the incident had to leave the house. The younger ones had to take over their work and lost their prelunch free time on Sundays (when the incident occurred) until they could promise Gaines she could trust them.

Students who could not conform to school rules on a regular basis or who had committed very serious infractions were sent home. On one occasion, several girls about to be graduated from the eighth grade rebelled against being accompanied to an evening assembly by their housemother, a punishment for having misbehaved during her absence at a previous program. That weekend they sneaked off and went visiting the neighbors, even organizing a set running at one home. When they returned Monday, they found themselves suspended for the remaining few days of the term, had their graduation play cancelled, and two of the group who failed to repent received suspensions for the following year as well. On the other hand, a boy who sneaked out of Boys’ House down the fire rope at night and
climbed up the iron fire escape to the roof outside one of the girls' sleeping porches at Laurel House, got off largely with a good talking to. The key in what happened was whether the student was willing to submit himself and make the proper show of contrition coupled to their evaluation of whether his potential outweighed his misdeeds. Whenever possible, they bent over backwards to keep a promising child in school, and those sent home were often allowed to return later if they promised to do better and accept specific conditions designed to prevent a recurrence of their past mistakes. To a student who had lied, Pettit wrote, "I want a letter of assurance from you that you are going to make every possible effort to make yourself trustworthy and to develop your character, so that we can really depend upon you to do what we ask you without having to go and see if you did it." If she were willing to do this, she could return. There were limits to their patience. Of another student who had been dismissed, Zande wrote,

I feel that if children cannot be depended upon to keep their word when they have been with us as long as she, and do not realize their obligation to the school... then there is no point in keeping them here. (She) had really been very shiftless and unsatisfactory, and full of pity for herself when things did not go to suit her, making a regular joy ride experience out of her six weeks in the Model Home, begging money from everybody instead of coming to me honorably when she had needs."

The underlying factor here was the breach of the very fundamental effort by Pine Mountain to develop the mountain child with his inherent courtesy and sense of self-effacement into a self-confident but not self-important adult. They were striving for gentility of
manner and spirit, students 'neither forward and bold, nor shy' as a visitor described them, and to this end, those who talked back, who could not master their tempers, who could not achieve self-control or a sense of responsibility to the group were sent away. 43

Summary. The development of character was at the heart of all of Pine Mountain's educational efforts. This development, grounded in Christian ethics, proceeded both formally and informally through the religious program of the school, through various student organizations, through the sacrificial dinners, and also through the general tenor of home life, classroom, and industrial work. Zande once quoted the following composition by a sixteen year old in the third grade to illustrate what they were seeking: "When I grow up, I want to have a farm and marry, if I can. I want to be a good farmer and a good man, and I am going to try to be a Christian." 44 To this end, discipline at Pine Mountain sought to restore the student to useful membership in the school community and therefore relied more on moral force than on physical demonstrations of authority. Most disciplinary actions involved minor offenses; even in the case of major one, every effort was made to rehabilitate the student if possible. However, those who could not conform or maintain a right attitude were dismissed.
CHAPTER NINE: PEOPLE WHO WILL HELP THEIR CHARACTERS DEVELOP

Crucial in the implementation of Pine Mountain's program was a good staff. A frequently repeated theme in Pettit and Zande's writings was the idea that mountain people could best be helped through "contact with the right people," which, while at one level signified persons knowledgeable in areas that were problems in mountain life such as agriculture, sanitation, and housekeeping, was used by them in a broader fashion.\(^1\) Pine Mountain students needed exposure to "people of high type morally and spiritually, people who will help their characters to develop."\(^2\) The key to the crisis in the hills was to give mountain youth a set of values to help them stand on their own feet in the face of new conditions. What Pettit and Zande saw too much of and did not want for their children was the abject paternalism the coal camps foisted upon the people. Ultimately, all work at Pine Mountain boiled down to questions of character development and values, and to achieve anything in that area demanded people who would be examples in daily life. "We consider that every worker is a teacher and every department a branch of the school life of the child."\(^3\) As for the community, it was through living and working in the mountains just as one would elsewhere, being a good neighbor, accepting the people as equals, in short, applying the whole settlement idea, that they would achieve lasting results. And these results
would depend, not on buildings or equipment, but on people.

The school recruited workers in a variety of ways. Sometimes, people who heard Zande or some other representative of the school speak would express an interest in working, or a friend of a present or former worker would inquire about coming. Sometimes a chance visitor to the school would decide she would like to become a worker. The school also relied on organizations such as the National Social Workers Exchange, the Southern Teachers' Agency, and college placement services as well as the women's multitude of contacts in the world of education and social work. Whenever possible, especially when dealing with an applicant whom neither Pettit nor Zande knew personally, they would arrange for an interview, either by one of them or by some Pine Mountain worker or friend of the school whom they could trust. Applicants also had to complete a questionnaire which, in addition to the usual questions about age, health and educational background, homed in on matters vital to success at the school. "Have you ever lived in the country?" "Do you enjoy the country?" "Do you know anything about housework? Do you enjoy it?" "Are you dependent upon (a) Regular hours of work, (b) The kind of food to which you have been used, (c) A room to yourself, (d) Telegraph connection with family or friends, (e) Companionship in your free hours?"⁴ Too many yesses and noes in the wrong spots eliminated one immediately from further consideration.

The applicant also had to furnish three references whom the school asked to rate her on such points as "Breadth of interests
and culture, personal habits of neatness, self-control, open-mindedness, ability to cooperate, judgment, initiative, integrity, ability with children, Christian character, sense of humor, desirable characteristics for young people, organizing ability, and resourcefulness, and sense of 'institutional loyalty.' Again, low ratings in several of these, particularly in neatness, initiative, and Christian character, eliminated the undesirable from the potentially useful. Resourcefulness, too, ranked high. "This is certainly a place where one learns by doing," wrote one of the workers. Staff members had to adjust quickly to situations and do things, not only for which not originally employed, but also for which they might have had no past experience or training and would have to master a step ahead of the students. Virginia Jack's experience with mechanical drawing was typical.

Another inquiry of great importance on the application concerned salary—"What is the smallest sum you could accept?" How one dealt with that question was a major step towards success or failure in working at Pine Mountain where there was a strong expectation of self-giving and sacrifice underlying the work. There was also, from the school's standpoint, the practical consideration that large salaries were not feasible when one barely coasted from month to month in meeting running expenses; in fact, most of the first workers were volunteers. Not that the school wanted to be niggardly; it simply did not have the resources to compete with salaries the same work could command outside the mountains. Pettit herself was a volunteer; Zande received a remuneration comparable to a principal's salary in
area public schools. Teachers in the twenties received sixty dollars a month, although in the case of a good worker whom they wanted to keep, they often sound some extra duty for her to add a little more to the check. Housemothers got between forty and fifty dollars as a rule. Of course, workers did get free room and board apart from laundry, so that if one allowed for those costs, their salaries were similar to those paid public school teachers in the mountains. And since there was nowhere to spend one's money at Pine Mountain, one might well have come out ahead of her public school counterparts. Nonetheless, salaries did prove a stumbling block in recruitment and at times cost the school workers of genuine usefulness.

Another important consideration in hiring workers was age. With regard to teachers, Zande had a decided preference for those youthful in appearance, as they seemed to get a better reception from the children. At the same time, however, she was not eager to take as teachers those just out of school, although she did not always have a choice, since getting experienced teachers to come on the small salaries the school offered was difficult. Nonetheless, Pine Mountain's official position was that while placement offices might think of the school as a valuable training ground for new teachers, such a practice worked a hardship on children who were already behind others elsewhere. It was not fair for them to have to suffer through the learning experiences of their teachers as well. Too, since many Pine Mountain students were somewhat overage in terms of their grade level and came from a tradition in which harrassment of young teachers was common, it was not wise to have individuals who might be younger than
some of their pupils. There was also a question of breadth. Pine
Mountain workers needed to be people of wide knowledge and personal
experience. "Everything I have learned I have used here," Zande
told a prospect, "and I only wish I knew more." Thus the school
preferred as teachers, persons who had taught several years but not
so long as to have become set in their ways. They had to be open to
suggestion. One or two of the school's more brilliant catches failed
in the end exactly for want of adaptability.

In looking at the backgrounds of those who actually became
workers, one notices that generally workers fell into one of two
age groups--those in their twenties and those over forty. The former
tended to be teachers; the latter, housemothers, although there were
housemothers in their early twenties and teachers in their sixties.
Summer workers were usually the youngest--nineteen or twenty--and
were often college students looking for something challenging to do
during vacation.

With regard to the regular term workers, motives for coming
varied with the individual. There was frequent mention in letters
requesting applications of a desire to do Christian service, to serve
missionary-fashion in America, or of the influence of some close
friend or family member who was a missionary. The impulse to service
was strong. Rachel Davis recalled having read Twenty Years at Hull
House in college, which made her feel she would like "to do something
useful." Marian Kingman and Blanche Denton were not fully satisf-
field with their public school teaching jobs, wanting something more.
Margaret Head came from a family in which social service was an
accepted thing—she had an uncle working with Italian immigrants in Boston and an aunt involved with the Associated Charities. Sally Loomis came out of a desire "to make up for my privileges." Some had worked at urban settlements such as Henry Street and Harlem House in New York or Hull House and the Commons in Chicago and wanted experience working in a rural setting. Others had worked for social service organizations such as the Red Cross and the YWCA. Occasionally, there would be an applicant who had worked at another mountain school.

The potential worker was also often influenced by reading or hearing about the mountains. Alice Cobb, who first applied just before Pettit's retirement though not coming until later, had read Lucy Furman's novels, and had, in fact, first written to Furman at Hindman. Sallie Burger at age sixteen heard a lecture by John Burns of Oneida Institute in Clay County and decided then and there that she wanted to do mountain work, a goal she kept in mind throughout her undergraduate and graduate studies, even doing her master's thesis on the ideal curriculum for a mountain school, so that she would be adequately prepared. Ethel Zande's speeches also influenced some. Marian Kingman's mother heard her speak and thus was able to suggest Pine Mountain when her daughter was casting about for someplace meaningful to work. Ruth Langtry was swayed by a speech Zande gave in Chicago. At the face to face level, Pettit persuaded Grace Fortney to come while Fortney was visiting the school with her college dean, and board member Darwin D. Martin recruited several workers including Virginia Jack.
Adventure was also a motivating factor for a number of workers, but one which Zande and Pettit downplayed. They did not want individuals "who put the adventure of the thing first, and what they [could] give to the school third or fourth."\(^{10}\) They wanted workers willing to commit themselves to a continuing work in the mountains rather than individuals seeking a brief, exciting interlude in their own lives. Mention of the word adventure in connection with an application was almost certain to disqualify an applicant on the spot. Not that they denied that life at the school was an adventure—but the work had to come first; the adventure, as a possible by-product.

The relationship between the location of the homes of applicants and those of active Pine Mountain workers is striking—a large proportion of the workers from New England in the early years were from Springfield, Massachusetts, a place where Zande had taught and had many friends. Those from New Jersey came from Montclair (Zande's girihood home), Summit (Evelyn Wells's home), or Plainfield (where there was a strong Pine Mountain Association). Cincinnati (Marguerite Butler's home) and Cleveland (home of one of Zande's best friends) also provided a number of workers, while Kentuckians came mainly from around Lexington and Louisville (Pettit's stamping grounds).

Reference to these connections leads to the broader question of where the workers came from generally. A study of 218 regular term workers for whom geographical data was available out of approximately 270 such workers during the Pettit-Zande era indicates that 34.9% came from New England and the Northeast, 28% from the Middle West 27.5% from the South, 5.3% from abroad, and 4.1% from the Plains and
the Far West.* A look at their homes by states shows that Kentucky and Massachusetts furnished 31 each, Ohio 23, and New York and Illinois 17 each. Other states furnished less than ten each. The twelve immigrants in the group came from Canada, Jamaica, England, Austria, Italy, Japan, and the Scandinavian countries. The bulk of the immigrants were nurses.

Of the Kentuckians on the staff, virtually all were from the central part of the state. Only a tiny handful were from the mountains, the two most notable being former Pine Mountain students, Emily Hill, who became Ruth Gaines's assistant at Laurel House, and William Browning, who became farmer in the twenties. Only two residents of Harlan were on the staff during the period—Grace Fortney and Ellen Davies—both were relative newcomers to the area and both served as summer workers.

Although applications did not inquire into social status, it is apparent from other information that most workers were from middle class backgrounds. They were also persons of some education. Of the 172 regular term workers for whom data could be obtained, 34% had finished at least a four year college course, and a small number had their master's. If those with a year or more of college but no

* These and the statistics that follow must be approached with the caution that no complete list of workers exists and that available data varies greatly from year to year; very little is available on workers before 1919 due to the loss of many files in the schoolhouse fire. "Regular term" means workers who came for all or part of the August-May school year and includes both those working on campus and at the extension centers.
degree are included, one finds that 54% had had some higher education. 12.2% had taken at least a year of normal work; 4% had attended business school; and 10.4% had taken some other specialized short course. The remaining 6.9% had had only private or public high school work.

Of those attending college, a sizeable number had attended one of the eastern women's colleges such as Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, or Mount Holyoke, but there were also a sizeable number who had done their work in the South or Middle West at such schools as Oberlin, Miami, Kentucky, Missouri, Denison, Louisville, Converse, and Berea.

Little is known about the religious affiliation of the majority of the workers other than that they were Protestants. While in the early days the school had had an occasional Catholic on the staff, after the Ku Klux agitation that swept the state in the early twenties, Zande avoided hiring them to prevent possible harm to the school due to community prejudices, prejudices which she deplored but which she could not shake.

A striking fact about the composition of the staff is the fact that out of some 270 regular term workers, only twenty-five were men. Of these, nine initially held positions related to agriculture or other outdoor work. Three lived off-campus at extension centers and taught in the district schools. Another along with his wife had charge of an extension center. Two came primarily to teach woodwork-ing, while another served as bookkeeper. The remainder came as academic teachers under the Antioch Coop program.

At no point did Pettit and Zande ever hire a man who was likely to become a threat to their power. While this was probably not a
conscious decision, it is nonetheless interesting to note that the men hired because of social or professional status (the Coops, for example), nationality, or the job for which hired, were not in a position to challenge their control of school affairs. The men whom they accorded the largest voice in school affairs and who stayed at the school the longest were Luigi Zande, Leon Deschamps, and William Browning, the first two, immigrants, and the latter, a mountaineer and former student. All three initially filled jobs relating to outdoor work, but with the passage of time all became involved in teaching—Browning and Zande with industrial subjects and Deschamps with academic courses, eventually becoming Ethel Zande's assistant principal. Browning and Luigi Zande married workers; Deschamps, a former student.

While protection of their own authority may have played some part in the absence of men on the staff, there were other far more significant factors. First, few men, especially those who were heads of families, would have settled for the salary the school could pay them without a strong interest in mountain work. Second, as their good friend, John C. Campbell, who was eager to see them hire more men, pointed out, there was a question of attitude. Men of that era were not usually willing to accept a position subordinate to women on the job. Observed Pettit to Zande after Luigi had urged them to employ a good man to run the barn, "Where are we going to get this first class man? He is not going to be found here at Pine Mountain, working for women." At one point, Zande made up her mind to get a strong male educator to take full charge of the academic department
but backed off when her most promising prospect told her he was soon to be married. She feared that a wife would promote dissension by pushing her husband over the interests of the school. On the other hand, if a man came and later married one of the workers, "both of them having previously formed a loyal attachment to [the] school," that would be fine.\textsuperscript{12} The closest she came to realizing this plan was to make Deschamps her assistant; when he left, the job fell to a female. (Pettit approved of this--she wrote to a former student that "the educational world has found out that women are more successful teachers than men.").\textsuperscript{13}

The two did want to have at least one young man on the staff who could serve as a role model for the boys. Several different years they brought in a college student to supervise recreation for the summer but with mixed results, sometimes getting "a cheap, Y. M. C. A'y awfully cordial uplifty kind" or one not mature enough for the responsibility.\textsuperscript{14} Beginning in 1925, they participated in the Antioch College cooperative program whereby two Antioch students alternated in filling a regular term teaching position at the school. (Pine Mountain's participation came about through an invitation from the college's personnel director) While the first two coops were women, Zande soon took advantage of the program to bring in young men who could not only teach, but also help with athletic training for the boys. While there were problems arising from the fact that each coop stayed for only a few weeks out of each semester, that each was in essence a student teacher, and that some had trouble adjusting to Pine Mountain rules (particularly the no smoking one), the school
found the program on the whole satisfactory, and it continued into the early thirties. Zande thought enough of one coop to invite him to prepare a plan for developing a vocational program at Pine Mountain, and Angela Melville got another to help her initiate a testing program in 1929.

Both recruitment and retention of workers could cause headaches for the administration. Just because an applicant agreed to come did not mean she would, and in many cases there were last minute cancellations. There were also those who upon arriving immediately proved unsatisfactory. Normally, the school would baby them along until Christmas if at all possible, but sometimes the problem was such as to demand immediate action, especially if it involved a teacher who could not maintain discipline or someone who was extremely high-strung. On one occasion, a new worker arrived with a complete set of beauty parlor equipment in tow; she was sent packing on the next train. In general, the reasons for dismissing a worker included inexperience to the point of incompetence, and the inability to cooperate with the school including defiance of rules or the unwillingness to accommodate oneself to emergency adjustments in work assignments. Moral issues were seldom a factor, although they once summarily fired a worker for running around the community with local boys after dark. Most young women workers respected the caution extended them when they first arrived about exercising care in their attitude and behavior towards the young men in the community whose ideas of courtship and romance were somewhat different from theirs.
Working at Pine Mountain could be quite exciting, but it could also have its darker side. There was a certain tension built into the situation due to isolation and to the effects of living with a limited group of adults for long periods of time without a break. Not every worker enjoyed the constant association with the children either. Workers did normally have a day off each week and could go visiting in the neighborhood, but trips over the mountain were extremely rare. When one applicant asked Pettit if she would "fit" in, Pettit replied, "Whether one fits into the school activities and demands depends a great deal on whether one enjoys reading, going on walks along mountain trails, and one's own society." The inability to learn to do so led each year to the decision of several workers not to return.

There was also the danger of what Zande discreetly termed "crushes," workers becoming intensely involved with each other. "I often wonder," she wrote, "if women realized the sex nature of these absorbing friendships they couldn't resist them better. But one feature is the obsession of the victims. Strange how hard it is to keep life sweet and big and breezy and wholesome." However, this was not a commonplace problem, for Zande, recognizing that friends were apt to come for adventure, "simply to be together in a different and rather romantic sort of country," was careful to avoid hiring close acquaintances as regular term workers. This policy also made it easier to handle crises in which disagreeable demands had to be placed on the workers by lessening the danger of cliques. "So often two people don't take the attitude they should to the school, where
one could be swung into line easily," she noted.¹⁸

Another problem, and one more difficult to head off in advance, was worker sentimentality towards the mountain people. As has been noted, an important motive in bringing workers to the school was their conception of the work as a form of Christian service, which, in a liberal sense, Pettit and Zande felt that it was. However, the typical applicant had gained her notion of the mountains from reading novels such as those of John Fox, Jr., Lucy Furman, Charles Neville Buck, and others, all of which, even Furman's despite her Hindman experiences, had a strong romantic cast which spurred both the sense of adventure and the sense of individual self-importance in achieving reform. Undoubtedly, some of the would-be workers pictured themselves as angels of mercy dispensing blessings to the poor and pathetically grateful mountaineer, which was the last thing Pine Mountain wanted or needed. Wrote Pettit to one applicant, "I think that one must have a feeling that the mountain people are not curiosities or a species different from the rest of one's friends, but that they are simply people with a different background. A sentimental attitude towards them is foolish."¹⁹ To prevent sentimentality from undermining what they were trying to accomplish, they had several very strict rules which applied to both workers and visitors. No one was to give any child a personal present with the possible exception of a beek, and never to give anything so that it would appear a reward for some service or for behavior that was a matter of etiquette.

"Just because a child appeals to you doesn't mean it is good for him
to get presents," stated the rules. (One could however make a present such as fruit or candy to a particular group with which one had worked or lived while at the school.) Along with this, one was not to allow a child to "hang around," the idea being that no child should get too wrapped up in a particular adult or vice versa. This would interfere with the equality of treatment which the school sought for each child and also could lead to "self-consciousness" (in the sense of self-importance) on the part of the child. Just as a parent would not encourage his children to be too dependent upon him for amusement, so workers should discourage children from looking too much to them. Also, from an administrative standpoint, this rule lessened the chance that a worker would be tempted to do something special for a child in violation of the rules. Despite these injunctions, it was a constant struggle to keep sentimentality down. Moaned Zande, "One of the sad things you discover when you get to a place like Pine Mountain, where you see things very closely, is that many people, lovely in themselves, have stranger streaks whereby they seem to be alright to work in an institution and work against it in regard to its most settled policies." 21 Several times workers, on or after leaving, sent presents to specific children, usually behind Pettit and Zande's back, and in at least in one instance, a worker actually encouraged a child to rebel against their decision that he had to stay to work off a debt in the summer. On another occasion, a worker secretly arranged to get a student in Berea, going against their considered judgment that the child was not Berea material and causing the child to become defiant of school
authority and be sent home.

In addition to the rules against presents and overattention to individual children, workers had to follow a dress code similar to that for the students and to forgo certain activities which they might have enjoyed elsewhere. Pine Mountain girls could not wear silk, velvet, or rayon dresses; neither could the women workers. Jewelry, high heels, and make-up with the exception of powder discreetly applied were also out of place. Men were not to smoke (they automatically assumed that women would not). Card playing, which in other localities was usually deemed an inoffensive pastime, they felt ill-advised at Pine Mountain due to its association in the community mind with gambling. Pine Mountain workers were role models—they must not appear to sanction anything bad or to behave in a way that would undermine their influence. Thus, Zande explained to a young worker who attended a party at which there was a shooting match, "young people coming to a settlement in the mountains must make certain sacrifices...often very hard for them to see the wisdom of." In the case of the shooting match, while the particular event attended was innocent, its symbolism was not—shooting matches in the mountains went hand in hand with drinking and gambling, and the good citizens of the region looked on them with askance. What would they think if Pine Mountain workers participated in them? Again, although the nearby country store was open on Sunday, Pine Mountain workers were not to patronize it on that day out of respect for the neighbors' views on sabbath breaking.
Though the rules for workers were directly related to curricular concerns and to the effectiveness of the work, newer workers often fretted under them, their inexperience keeping them from taking a broader perspective. Too, due to their unfamiliarity with mountain conditions and the complexities of the situation, until they had lived at Pine Mountain and gotten to know things first hand, they were apt to misjudge what needed to be done. For these reasons, Pettit and Zande, though holding regular meetings of all workers to discuss policies together, preferred to work directly with those involved in a particular situation rather than take up the matter with the whole group. Speaking of one individual who became an especially valuable worker, Zande pointed out that her ideas after several years at the school were quite different from the ones she held when she first came. For instance, "it was natural that a girl brought up in a home where there were servants, simply couldn't see into the reasons why the children shouldn't be excused from a job for a rehearsal at the time it was convenient to have the rehearsal." Therefore, while Pettit and Zande might consult with and seriously consider the ideas of the staff, they made the ultimate decisions themselves.

The day to day management of the school, in fact, for all intents and purpose, entire control over the school, rested in the hands of these two women, who along with the school treasurer, Charles N. Manning, constituted the Executive Committee. While both women had full power to act, they divided the work between them on the basis of their interests, each with her own area of authority in which the other would act only in her absence or in an emergency. (This was
similar to the arrangement between Pettit and May Stone at Hindman.)
Pettit, who at heart was not an executive, had oversight of agriculture, grounds maintenance, the infirmary, the Fireside Industries, four of the houses, and the Line Fork extension center. Zande, whose duties more nearly approximated those of later Pine Mountain Directors, had charge of two houses, the formal academic and industrial programs, the Big Laurel extension center, and construction work. She also supervised the general administrative work of the school, did most of the publicity, and handled finances at the Pine Mountain end (Manning looking after them in Lexington). The two women consulted together closely on major decisions, and while workers in a given department were directly responsible to a particular one of the two, they nonetheless collaborated on their rehiring or dismissal.

While the two women shared similar views as to the underlying principles of their work, in terms of operating style and personality, they were quite different. Virginia Whitmore Jack, borrowing from the New Testament, has described them as Martha and Mary, with Pettit being Martha. If taken with the caution that Pettit had a visionary side and Zande a down to earth one, it conveys rather well the general role each played in the life of the school.

Katherine Pettit was a true descendant of those Southern women who ran large plantations, both in a literal sense—she used to say, with a twinkle in her eye, that the reason she could get so much work out of little boys was due to her slaveowning ancestry—and in a spiritual one. Like them, she combined the lady and the farmwife in one person. She had the cultivation that came from association
with the old families of Lexington and a personality, described by Olive Campbell as "quick and sparkling," which made her a favorite at Bluegrass parties. Yet she did not shun manual labor; she gloried in it, taking great pride in working harder than anyone else. She once bragged to a good friend of how she came across Pine Mountain one morning in a driving snow, guiding a mule and several other travelers, and then worked all afternoon without any let up, finishing her account by asking, "What about that as a record for a 'fat old woman'?" In fact, few at Pine Mountain could match her pace, even though she was sometimes hampered by migraine headaches and poison ivy. She was a firm believer in keeping busy. Grace Forney said her motto seemed to be "The devil finds work for idle hands." Another former worker quoted from Isaac Watts—"How doth the little busy bee improve each shining hour?"—to described her attitude. In her world, idleness was the prime sin, and she did not like anyone to just sit around. Hands could be shelling nuts, stringing beans, mending clothes. Once when a carload of soap got drenched in a shower on its way over the mountain to the school, students and workers passed odd moments for days picking the wrappers off the bars. Linda Neville quoted her as telling a group of little boys to go play elsewhere—if they stayed around her, she would surely put them to work, and she wanted them to play. Her mind was constantly full of things that needed doing (Zande once called her "a fountain of exuberant ideas") and her letters full of suggestions to the recipients as to how they might accomplish them. Such letters terminated in the words "Please tell me just what you think of all this," a statement which very much
reflects her approach—"Please (her native courtesy), "just what you think" (she genuinely wanted to know and without any dodging or feinting), and the whole wrapped up in a command, "tell me." \(^{27}\) She wanted action or reaction at least.

Frankness and candor characterized her dealings with others. Elizabeth Watts recalled that that was one of the things she liked best about Pettit—she was "one of those people who said just what she thought [and] didn't pull any punches." \(^{28}\) Grace Fortney remembered her as being "very positive. If you did anything she didn't like, she didn't hesitate to tell you." \(^{29}\) On the other hand, she expected that those with whom she dealt would be equally frank and open with her. She was "fair," noted Watts, "just as fair as she could be." Her approach was to say to an offender, "You've been doing so and so. Do you think it's right? I think it's wrong," If one looked her in the eye and said, "Well, no, we think it's all right because..." supplying a good reason, she would think it over and frequently say, "Well, maybe you're right." \(^{30}\) Brit Wilder, from the student's perspective, recalled that one could sway her with a good argument. She was always open to reason.

She did have a temper, "a short fuse," as one worker put it, which exploded from time to time, usually being prompted by the discovery of "malingering" on the part of some student or worker. \(^{31}\) In those cases, it was best to duck for cover until after the dust settled. However, she did not hold grudges, and once released, her anger was gone.
In her direction of work around the school, she could be very much the grande dame, commanding, according to Grace Fortney, in an outstretched arm sort of tone, "You, Grace... You, Bish...", with a constant stream of orders flowing wherever she went, and she didn't stay in any one spot too long. Asked where Miss Pettit was, a Hindman student once answered, "There she comes, yonder she goes." When sick headaches confined her to bed, a stream of notes replaced her verbal commands, "Go to the toolshed and get tow sacks and take the children and gather bark," "Get the pitchers and bug potatoes," "Go get leaves to mulch the tomatoes." Visitors did not escape being drafted—Linda Neville had hardly been at the school ten minutes when Pettit assigned her the job of cutting one of the little boys' hair. (Neville said that was Pettit's way of making her feel at home.)

When it came to the quality of work done, she was, as Howard Burdine phrased it, "a very thorough lady." He knew—he once had to go over the grounds around Big Log three times before she pronounced them clean. As another student put it, "Miss Pettit was very strict. You done exactly what she said. She kept after you till you did it." Becky May Sexton recalled that her philosophy was "a job worth doing was worth doing right." (There could be a comical side to her thoroughness—Pettit was a great believer in the benefit of sunshine and one pretty day ordered all the Big Log phonograph records spread out to air; the results can be imagined.) Unfortunately, her exacting ways led her into bossiness—one visitor described her as "rather old hennish" in tone, and her letters show a tendency to harp on small details. She recognized this characteristic in herself,
however, warning new workers that she was hard to get along with. Interestingly enough, none of those interviewed admitted to any real problems with her; it was simply a matter of accepting her as she was. Nonetheless, one former worker summed up her experiences by saying, 'She was hell to work for.'

Pettit's somewhat tyrannical ways on the job were offset in the minds of most by her pleasant side. She had a real interest in other people and a talent for remembering all sorts of details about them which she wove into their conversations or correspondence. She knew how to make each person feel at home and could talk just as easily with the elderly women of the neighborhood as with the Governor of Kentucky or a Presidential adviser, all three of which fell her lot at Pine Mountain. Brit Wilder recalled that at parties she always made sure that every student had a good time. "She was brusque in manner," wrote former worker Barbara Faulkner, "but underneath so sympathetic and understanding." Former students while mentioning her strictness and her temper, also emphasized her love. Speaking of her work with the small children of Big Log, Mabel Mullins said, "She loved children--she had to, to take in children and care for them the way she did." She was "real sweet yet she was real stern," said another. "Lovable and loving, completely honest, brutally frank," wrote one of William Creech's granddaughters, who has perhaps summed her up best, "She was always Miss Pettit and kindnesses were as frequent as tongue lashings."

Although Katherine Pettit was clearly a dominant figure--she could not be ignored, and in situations in which she had
responsibility, she would not be ignored—she was at the same time extremely modest. She did not want her picture taken, not so much because of dissatisfaction with her appearance, though that may have played a part, but because she did not want it publicized. When asked whether she would write her autobiography, she answered that there really wasn’t much to tell anyone. More importantly, she disliked greatly any direct publicity about her role in the work, any attention called to her sacrifices (and she made a great many), or to the fact that she worked without salary (she even crossed out a reference to this in Evelyn Wells’s in-house history). She would have undoubtedly been quite annoyed at the idea of being written up in this dissertation. What is crucial about her is that she believed in a cause—the betterment of the mountain people—and she felt that whatever she did to advance it she did, not out of the possibility of reward or recognition, but because it was her duty as a Christian, as a Kentuckian and an American, as a good neighbor. Duty was the strong point with her. If she took someone to task, it was almost invariably out of a failure to meet an obligation, to fulfill a duty. She was really a straightforward person, not a charismatic leader in the sense that Zande was, but a person of great dedication whose impatience arose out of her eagerness to accomplish things. As Rachel Davis put it, "Miss Pettit was a perfectionist of the first order. She believed that 'life is real, life is earnest,' and thought that everyone should improve himself every minute he lived." She set high standards for herself, and she really could not understand why others, particularly those gifted or privileged in many ways, could not meet
similarly high ones. But in the end, she asked no glory for her part in meeting mountain needs; she was only doing what, as she saw it, the situation demanded. She once wrote a former student, "You know... if one sees a need, and does not make an effort to meet it, there is a loss, a spiritual loss." And when one did make the effort, there was no need for praise; one was not rewarded for doing his duty. This was a thread from her personality which ran strong through the Pine Mountain program—the child was not to become "self-conscious," self-centered, self-important, nor was he ever to be reinforced materially for doing good, because doing good was only what was expected and was his duty.

So there goes Katherine Pettit, constantly on the move, throwing out orders to cover every detail. Here is Ethel Zande.

Zande seems to have been a leader more through moral force than anything else. Edna Baker said that she was the type of person one wanted to be like and that one obeyed her in order to please her; Brit Wilder said that when she wanted something done, people would do it simply out of their regard for her. Louise Browning recalled that at her funeral, the workers who had known her best said that she was a person "who was always a little ahead of them, inspiring them to follow her, but they did not ever succeed in equalling her energy and inspiration." This admiration and respect grew out of her own friendliness to others. Like Pettit, she had a genuine interest in people; Evelyn Wells told Alice Cobb that she believed each person she met could teach her something for each would surpass her in some area.

She was warm, gracious, a good listener, and had the talent for making
each person with whom she came in contact feel that he was the most important person in her world at that moment.

She also had elegance, a fact commented on by many. It was not so much a physical elegance—she was rather plain-looking, though she did know how to dress—as it was an elegance of the soul which shone forth in her encounters with others. She was essentially an optimist; Antoinette Bigelow, a close friend, wrote after her death that she "symbolized...that most precious quality of all human life,—natural, vivid, contagious joy. She was...in love with life, with its poetry, its beauty, its poignancy, its sweet evanescence, its eternal youth."46 She did have her pessimistic moments. In the postwar spring of 1919, with the schoolhouse fire only four months behind her and her first baby at her side, she wrote her mother:

I think I have very little courage left...When I think, I don't like the world I live in at all—Such agonies of pain as have been borne, not just in the last few years, but in all the centuries. I certainly need a larger spiritual experience, so I will realize the things that are bigger than pain. The thought of children who have cruelly suffered, brutally been hurt, all over Europe and Asia is more intolerable than ever since I have Berto. And how mothers can face the pain of having their sons at war is almost incomprehensible.47

But from such moments she bounced back, finding in her deep Christian faith, in her awareness of being part of a broader scheme of things, the strength to move ahead. She was a person of even temperament, and though occasionally in her letters home one finds a sense of exasperation or frustration, it is hard to imagine her ever losing her temper as did Katherine Pettit.

Her philosophy of life was very close to the idea which her favorite philosopher, Josiah Royce, called "the philosophy of loyalty,"
defining loyalty as "the willing and practical and thoroughgoing devotion of a person to a cause." Royce believed that a moral society came about through adherence to loyalty as an ethical principle—that it was through each individual giving himself wholeheartedly to some cause and working for it in such a way as to promote growth of a general "loyalty to loyalty" that each found fulfillment and that society advanced. The choice of cause was important—it needed to be one of value to society, "a practically significant, a living cause," with "elemental fascination" for the individual. Zande's work in the mountains and the spirit in which she carried it out met these conditions perfectly. Of course, she had already been developing along such lines before ever reading Royce and before his philosophy had been circulated; what he did was to provide her a valuable reinforcement and inspiration. But years before, as a high school student, she had stood apart for her "seriousness of interests and her ambition to make her life and her education a coherent whole, serve life, and serve all life so far as she touched it in her life." It was this desire that led her into teaching, a profession which she regarded as one of the highest forms of service, superior to social work which she looked upon with askance, and more nearly kin to the ministry.

She lived very much the life of the mind. She had a questing intelligence that regarded no field as closed to her search for truth. She read constantly with some preference for literature, history, and philosophy, and always relished receiving books as presents on birthdays and at Christmas. She enjoyed sharing her enthusiasms with others,
and so Pine Mountain students learned of Osler, Gandhi, and international peace movements. She delighted in the give and take of lively discussion, and a classmate said of her, "I never had a friend that gave me such an intellectual impetus." She took seriously her responsibility as a graduate of Smith to be "an intelligent gentlewoman," joking with a fellow alumna that if she had "faltered," it was due only to her "extreme isolation." However, when another friend made a reference to the hardships she endured in the mountains, she chided, "But, honey, you musn't tell people about any 'glorious sacrifice' I make in working at Pine Mountain! Don't you know I perfectly love the place, and feel that I could nowhere else live such a rich and happy life?"

One of her strongest gifts was the ability to use language to impart a vision to others. This was fortunate, since almost all of the written publicity work of the school and, in the early years, the speaking trips, fell to her. She and Pettit early agreed on a policy of having quality literature with which to promote the school, and much of what gave it that characteristic was the effectiveness of her style. There was normally one general letter of appeal per year, written and signed by Zande alone, a letter vibrant with the excitement and the needs of the school, for she could take some commonplace detail of mountain life and weave it into an eloquent appeal for help:

In Kentucky's 13,000 square miles of mountains we watch every rain, knowing that we may be cut off from our neighbors, the country school, the mail, within an incredibly few hours. A mother sees the branch, in dry weather a mere trickle and tinkle, rising before her eyes, and knows that unless the teacher turns school loose early, her little brood will not get home by scrambling from rock to bank and from bank to
rock on the branch's edge, but will have to make a long, hard detour up the side of the hill. Can you wonder that she keeps them at home when it's aiming to rain...? Remember that hundreds of miles of footpath must run close to the creeks, that one pair of shoes, and never rubbers or rubber boots—is all that most young'uns can hope for in a winter, and you will understand why an intelligent people have so little conventional education.54

Every donation received a personal letter of thanks. While Pettit acknowledged gifts from her personal acquaintances and contacts, Zande handled the bulk, and even though forms had to be used in their preparation, they were always personalized, adapted to fit what she knew of the contributor and his interest. As a result, the office files show a real exchange between school and supporters that was lacking in the thirties and forties after Pettit and Zande were gone. Beginning in 1919, at the suggestion of writer W. A. Bradley, the school started publishing the Notes from the Pine Mountain Settlement School, an irregular four page publication printed in New York by a leading printer on a good grade of paper. The contents came largely from the pen of Ethel Zande and did much to further the contributors' understanding of the mountains. Her speeches often embellished by a few ballads accompanied on the dulcimer and some of the humorous stories she had picked up in the hills, also helped to create an awareness of mountain needs and realities.

While Zande may not have been the type to raise her voice, she ruled with a firm hand. There was no arguing with her; in fact, most of the students stood somewhat in awe of her. She was a more remote figure than Pettit. In the early days, she was frequently gone on speaking trips; in later ones, she lived apart with her family at
Zande House on the hill above Far House. She spent most of her time on campus in the office, though she took dinner with the students at Laurel House, attended parties, and circulated about from time to time. There was a sort of mystique to her—she seemed perfection itself to the girls—and so students were shyer in her presence than in Pettit's. In her transaction of school affairs, she managed to maneuver others in a tactful, smooth manner that left little room for expressing disagreement. One student still recalls how deftly she persuaded him that he needed to drop back a grade level in his school work. She was quite sensitive to the potential in an individual and did all she could to encourage it and to prevent its being wasted. When one girl of great ability married instead of going to college, Zande wrote a friend in Hatlan, asking her to call on the girl and try to involve her in community activities such as church work and the Civic League. "She is too intelligent a girl just to settle down and not amount to anything...let her get interested in outside things—that in the course of ten or twenty years she might really amount to something." When a Pine Mountain boy was about to drop out of college to support his father, she offered to raise a scholarship so that he could use his summer earnings for his father and continue his studies. Her letters to wayward students (some of which were quoted from earlier) show both her love for them and her desire to provoke, to awaken the moral spark that she knew was there, to help them want to be better people. She was slow to give up on anyone, student or worker.
These then were the two women who ran Pine Mountain. To a large extent in the minds of students, and perhaps to Pine Mountain's public as well, Katherine Pettit came to symbolize the tangibles of their existence. Working beside them, scolding and praising them into a desire for order and for physical beauty in their environment, she was one of those persons whom, having endured, the individual looks back upon with pride and affection, proud of her love and proud that he could measure up to her exacting standards. Ethel Zande, remote, elegant, lovely in spirit, represented the intangibles. Seemingly perfect, correct in dress and manner, she symbolized the quest for the unattainable vision which made life worth living. She was that special somebody you could hardly believe you had the good fortune to know even from a distance, and, endowed in your mind with the ephemeral sweetness of a dream, she made you stand tall in the same way.

This image of course is not totally coincident with reality. Zande had as much interest in the tangibles as did Pettit—in her way she was just as much a stickler on order and cleanliness. And Pettit had dreams as well. In fact, it was largely her inspiration, her vision that was responsible for Pine Mountain's coming into existence. William Creech and Ethel de Long played their parts, but the driving force in creating the school was Katherine Pettit's dream of a better life for the people on the head of Greasy, and her promise given years before to do what she could to bring it to pass.

Although Pettit and Zande ran the school in the practical sense, they were legally ultimately responsible to the Pine Mountain
corporation's Board of Trustees. In laying plans for the school, Pettit had, as has been indicated, determined to keep the school independent of control by any church, club, charitable fund, or governmental agency. Her reasoning behind this was that that was the only way to ensure the flexibility necessary to carry out her vision of mountain work. John C. Campbell had advised that creating a suitable independent governing board would not be easy. Trustees chosen from the immediate vicinity might be short-sighted; those from farther away might make policy out of misconceptions and misreadings of the situation. They might also be reluctant to do much more than lend their name to the enterprise and be of little use in actual money-raising. Should, on the other hand, they be wealthy enough to fund the school personally, they might subject it to their own whims which would not be likely to suit mountain conditions. At the same time, the school needed a board to help provide continuity in direction. If power were too centered in the founders, the work ran the risk of collapsing should they leave the scene. Despite these problems, Pettit persevered, and in January 1913, the Pine Mountain Board met for the first time.

Pettit and Zande handpicked the original members of the board, choosing from both recent and longstanding acquaintances, individuals whom they felt had sufficient standing and creativity to be valuable backers of the school. The first trustees included Charles N. Manning, a Lexington banker originally from Clay County, a near neighbor to Harlan; Mary G. Morton, a prominent Lexington civic leader and a key figure in the organizing of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs;
Elizabeth C. Hench, a witty and acerbic English teacher from Zande's old school in Indianapolis, who became secretary of the board; Viola Sullivan, a socially prominent young New Englander whom Zande had met during her campaigning for Hindman's endowment; Elizabeth Moore, of St. Louis, daughter of one of the national leaders in the Women's Club movement; Samuel M. Wilson, one of the better-known legal minds of Kentucky; and Calvin N. Kendall, Zande's former superintendent in Indianapolis, then Superintendent of Public Instruction in New Jersey. Pettit and Zande were also members of the board. As has been mentioned earlier, Pettit, Hench and Manning were elected to the offices of president, secretary, and treasurer respectively at the first meeting, and Pettit and Zande named Executive Committee in charge of the work.

By the 1914 meeting, Pettit and Zande had recruited three more individuals for the board including school architect Mary Rockwell. They also had created a local advisory board (which had no standing with the official board) composed of Henry Creech, Lloyd Turner, and Kenneth Nolan, all residents of the Pine Mountain neighborhood. At the 1914 meeting, they created a General Advisory Board to consist of not more than one hundred members which would in turn elect from their body the Board of Trustees of seven members who would constitute the governing board required by the corporation laws of Kentucky but which would be responsible to the General Advisory Board for its actions. Pettit, Zande, Morton, Wilson, Manning, Hench, and Sullivan became Trustees; the others were simply part of the General Advisory Board. Morton became president, and Manning was added to the
Executive Committee which was given the power to name members to the General Advisory Board. In 1917, the Trustees amended this privilege to require new members of the General Advisory Board to have their approval. That same year, the two men to whom Zande turned most frequently for advice in financial matters were added to the General Advisory Board—Daniel M. Lord, a Chicago executive who had been a pioneer in the advertising industry, and Darwin D. Martin, a Buffalo philanthropist and chairman of the mail order firm, The Larkin Company. At the 1919 board meeting, Martin became a Trustee and president of the board. In 1927, he replaced Manning as the third member of the Executive Committee.

The Board met erratically during the period. Between 1913 and 1921, it met six times, then did not meet again until 1927 when it adopted simplified by-laws that provided for meetings in alternate years and left the on-going direction of the school in the hands of the Executive Committee. One reason for its poor record of meetings was the fact that it was hard to assemble the members (at least one of the meetings held lacked a true quorum—they agreed to proceed on the assumption that one was present). Another had to do with the dichotomy of thought about the board in the minds of the women. On the one hand, they wanted Trustees and Advisory Board members who would, as the 1917 minutes put it, "stand for the integrity of the school," "build it up in every possible way," (including assisting in fund raising), and "see that the School continues 'as long as the constitution lasts' in case the present Executive Committee cannot." On the other, they did not really want too much interference with
their own freedom to run things as they pleased. In 1927, though, as Zande entered the fourth year of a fight with cancer, they undoubtedly became more aware of the need to provide for continuity should worse come to worse. The next year it did. Zande died in March 1928, and the Board had to take responsibility for deciding how the school would operate in the future. Should the dual headship continue? Zande apparently expressed herself just before her death as feeling that a single director would be preferable. (She had told May Stone several years earlier when Stone had been wrestling with the question of leadership at Hinsdale that the dual headship had "inherent" weaknesses.) Since, for reasons not indicated, she also felt that Pettit should not be the director, and since Pettit, though not wanting full responsibility for the school, was not willing to completely step aside, the board found itself with a delicate decision on its hands, particularly since one of the members, who was not overly fond of Pettit, tried hard to bait her into retiring. Their solution was to invite Angela Melville, who had worked in the office from 1916-18 and had later done fund raising for the school, to take the position of Associate Director under Pettit as Director. However, under the terms of the invitation, terms approved by Pettit, Melville took over all of Zande's former duties with the exception of supervising the two houses, and for the next two years carried the bulk of responsibility for administering the school. Unlike Zande, Melville was not a member of the board, and in the future, no Director would be. With Pettit's retirement in 1930, and Melville's simultaneous departure (she had agreed to come only for
two years), the Board assumed an increasing control over school affairs.

Summary. In the recruitment of staff, Pettit and Zande sought individuals of sufficient breadth and maturity to be useful to children "handicapped" by isolation, wanting individuals with an interest in the work rather than in adventure. The majority of the staff for whom data was available were well-educated, middle class, Protestant women, generally from the East, Middle West, or South. Though they held occasional workers' meetings, Pettit and Zande made most of the decisions themselves. In the operation of the school, Pettit's concerns fell mainly in the area of agricultural and outdoor work, supervision of the houses and the operation of the Fireside Industries. Zande took charge of the general administrative work of the school plus supervision of the academic and industrial departments. The Board of Trustees played a minimal role during the period, assuming real authority only following the death of Zande in 1928.
SECTION THREE: PINE MOUNTAIN AS SETTLEMENT
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"Our conviction increases steadily that we must do work in the neighborhood which is constructive in the long run, rather than immediately helpful."

Ethel de Long Zande, 1925

"We must teach the children who come to us, standards of worthy living, and then as far as possible we must help to make the conditions they will live under, worthy also."

Ethel de Long Zande, 1918.

"You'uns has larnt us to like woman doctors better'n men."

Pine Mountain neighbor, 1919.

"As we see our work in the future, we think of the Pine Mountain Settlement School as the center of a group of smaller settlements where there will be one or two workers living and doing religious, industrial and educational work."

Katherine Pettit, 1919.

"No live school in this part of our country can be blind to the economic difficulties of life in an almost roadless country."

Ethel de Long, 1916.

"If we can get a road across this wall of a mountain, thousands would be benefitted and helped mightily, and made a more intelligent and enlightened people--better Americans for America."

CHAPTER TEN: A LEAVENING INFLUENCE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The tone for relationships with the community at Pine Mountain came from the top. Katherine Pettit and Ethel Zande both loved the mountain people as people. Zande, recalled Virginia Jack, "always considered the mountain people something special and that rubbed off on her staff," while Pettit "was thoroughly respected, especially by the men of the community, because of her down-to-earth manner and her ability to tackle anything even though they sometimes made rather crude jokes about her." Both women knew there was much they could learn from the neighbors, and neither succumbed to a missionary spirit to convert the people and in the process obliterate the past. They were non-judgmental; Pine Mountain would not make its neighbors squirm in an awareness of apparent shortcomings by outside standards.

From the beginning of her work in the mountains, Katherine Pettit had absorbed and delighted in a variety of information current in the hills—the ballads, the language itself, the manner of weaving (carefully taken down from Mary Stacy in the Sassafras diary), vegetable dye recipes, methods of growing and processing flax (taken down from William Creech and filed in the Pine Mountain safe), and tales of the old days. A member of the Kentucky Historical Society, she had a deep appreciation of the past and loved to collect old things. During the course of her mountain work, she acquired such items as flintlock
rifles, shoelaces, stovepipe hats, and spinning wheels, collecting not just the objects themselves but the stories behind them. Once, after reading an article in the local paper on the history of Harlan County written by Mrs. A. B. Cornett, a local civic leader, she wrote her begging her to preserve more of the county's history. She also corresponded with Charles G. Mutzenburgh, a court reporter interested in recording the county's past.

At the same time, she loved to get out into the community. She was a "mixer," in the words of Brit Wilder, and though there was a certain distance between the women of the school and the people of the community—in Wilder's view, a situation similar to that of an ordinary person playing host to the President—Pettit got around it, calling at all the homes, having dinner with the people, getting to know them. Wilder recalled often seeing her with "the old ladies and the red handkerchiefs," the group laughing and having a big time together. In breaking the ice, she received aid from Wilder's grandmother, Sal Creech, who impressed Pine Mountain workers time and again with her good sense and great wit. Pettit enjoyed bringing the older women together at the school—on one occasion, they had an "old-fashioned dinner," meeting at Old Log and cooking their meal of chicken and dumplings, baked parsnips, stewed cushaw, shucky beans, cornbread, and peach shortcake over the fire pioneer-style using iron skillets and pots belonging to the school. Afterwards, they sat around the fire spinning tales of the women's ancestors who pioneered in the valley. On other occasions, she invited them in to card wool, to spin, and to sew rags into rugs. Once
she obtained a quantity of embroidery hoops and material which they made into bags for transporting things on the backs of their "nags" when they went visiting. Pettit also enjoyed going on walking trips up and down distant creeks, thus expanding her circle of acquaintances and renewing old friendships.

Zande, too, enjoyed visiting, though after her marriage and motherhood, she had less time for it, confining visits primarily to school business. She was "loved everywhere she went," recalled Jack, and was "very apt at 'friendly persuasion' with those who weren't so sure about the value of the school."² Like Pettit, her special loves were the elderly and the young, and she too cherished the old things—at Hindman, she began a collection of coverlets and with the passage of time acquired a variety of other treasures including a Confederate soldier's sword. From Pine Mountain neighbors, she learned to make soap, beeswax candles, and mutton stew. In the words of Margaret Head, "she had that same spirit" that the people had. "She lived perhaps the real life of a mountain person more than Katherine Pettit...she threw herself into it...I'd say Ethel de Long very much tried to be, tried not to have anything other people wouldn't have."³

Evelyn Wells who served as school secretary and administrative assistant to Zande during much of the period was another who cherished the people intensely. Of a visit to Henry Creech's she wrote: "The hospitality of a mountain home is really delightful—the way they take you right in and never make any pretenses."⁴ Sal Creech taught her to make tied lace, to spin, and to sing an old mountain song about a
shy young man who couldn't court. Other neighbors taught her additional ballads, and one of the more memorable moments for her at Pine Mountain (as well as for Zanée) was a visit they paid to a local ballad singer’s home in the mid-twenties, staying for several uninterrupted hours and exchanging songs with him. "You should have seen the group," wrote Zande to Mary Cunningham,

his wife with the baby, on one side of the fire, himself with a little four-year old boy who dropped off to sleep as he sang, and me with the prettiest little red-headed girl of six in my lap, so shy that she never said a word the whole time. A lovely cat curled up in the wood ashes. He sang with his eyes half closed, tapping his foot and waving his hand gently, and his voice is pleasant and not strident at all, and oh, the songs!...the best was a perfectly beautiful version of Earl Brand...how we thrilled when he sang about placing the lady on a milk-white steed, himself on an iron grey, slinging a bugle about his neck, and so he rode away!... Don't you envy the children that grow up in such an atmosphere? Not another family on the branch they live on, and ballads all the time! ^5

Of course, most of the other workers throughout the years also grew to love the people and to make lasting friendships here and there. "Miss Pettit encouraged our visiting the homes of the children," recalled Rachel Davis, and Sally Loomis remembered how she would always have magazines for her to take to some "fascinating old person" on her day off. ^6 Mountain hospitality greatly impressed Blanche Denton--on a weekend visit to a student's home, her hosts cleared all the children into one bed so that she could have a bed to herself. Virginia Jack remembered how Wilmer Stone and some of the neighbors cooperated in working out vegetable dyes and recalled efforts to draw in young people who were not students for occasional set runnings. Pine Mountain workers went to stir-offs and bean stringings, to corn toppings and
funeralizings. As the school grew, there was less opportunity for some of this, but nevertheless, the Executive Committee encouraged workers whenever possible to go out and meet the neighbors. It was crucial, both as a matter of friendliness and in understanding the children.

There were, of course, occasional workers who did not fit in. Margaret Head, working in the office, once accidentally discovered that two summer workers had written disparaging remarks about the local people on postcards, a matter of concern since William Creech was then the postmaster and might well see them and be hurt. At Pettit's request, she asked the writers to withdraw them, which they did in a huff, fuming about "tampering" with the mail. They soon after left the school, their going un lamented. There was also the danger of a "touch of condescension," as a friend of Zande's expressed it, "as though I wore too ostentatiously a plain dress--quite proud--knowing at Pole House I had a crepe de chine! (I didn't have though.)" Condescension and sentimentality were not easily avoided—if one had a bachelor's degree and were dealing with someone illiterate, the opportunity was always there. In fact, the risk of condescension formed one of the more serious problems of the whole settlement approach, based as it was on the notion of reform coming from within the community and through the reformers living as part of it. For the movement to have meaning, one really had to cast one's lot with the community, cut one's home ties in crucial ways, in essence, reject the possibility of that crepe de chine, and, in Pine Mountain's case, consider the mountains home. Pettit did, and with
ease. Kentucky was her home, the mountains were in Kentucky, she loved them, the people, and the pace of life, and that was that. Zande, once she came to Pine Mountain, also made the mountains her home, cementing the relationship after her marriage in 1918. On the other hand, for many workers, Pine Mountain was simply a special time out from normal life. The word "worker" itself could suggest a subconscious awareness of this difference between the Pine Mountain situation and that of urban settlements with their "residents." There was indeed a real challenge for Pettit and Zande in finding and shaping up workers who would respect and work towards the hybrid culture they wanted to achieve—a task requiring a very delicate balance between old and new, and one which depended much on the trust and goodwill of the community at large. Workers who could not command it did not last very long at the school.

As a matter of policy, Pine Mountain tried to avoid passing judgment on local behavior or doing anything which would embarrass the people or make them feel poor. Indeed, poverty was not a major problem in the eyes of the workers. As Margaret Head explained, it was a matter of context. The local people were essentially "self-sufficient" economically. "They were happy people, I think." Elizabeth Watts speaking of Hindman agreed, as did Oma Fiske who grew up on Isaac's Run. The people did not think of themselves as poor, and Pine Mountain did not want to introduce a striving for materialism. For this reason, the school was careful to provide as examples for imitation, models which could be easily duplicated under mountain conditions.
There was also an acceptance of many mountain folkways, and
tolerance of others. Of the frankness of language employed by many,
Zande wrote, "They...say things that, from our point of view, are
decidedly coarse, but I don't feel in any vital way they are coarse,
just as I don't think it is coarse for them to have to kill hogs and
butcher animals if they are going to have anything to eat." She
found their ready forgiveness of persons who had made mistakes in the
area of personal morality preferable to the condemnation often served
up by the outside world and approvingly noted that it was what one
was at present rather than what one had been in the past that counted.
Of course, there were moments, such as when one had dinner at a table
covered with flies in a house where pigs roamed under the floor, that
one flinched, but nonetheless, one ate, for the sake of neighborliness.

Moonshine was, in particular, an area which called for a delicate
touch. While Pettit and Zande both disapproved of drinking, they
recognized that on certain creeks in the area, moonshine was part and
parcel of the economy and that to take an open stand against its manu-
facture would be to invite reprisals against the school. While they
let it be known in a quiet way that there would be no drinking at
Pine Mountain, they also cautioned workers against discussing the
topic of stills with local people. When a government raiding party
stopped by the school one evening asking for something to eat, they
fed them in keeping with mountain hospitality, but then pushed them
on their way, making sure they did not spend the night on school
property. They marveled when Helen Dingman and her workers at the
Smith Community Life School in the southern part of the county led
raids against moonshiner but noted that local leaders supported them in a way that would not have been possible at Pine Mountain.

An illustration of the nonjudgmental approach in action can be found in Zande's 1927 appeal letter:

You stop at a tiny home set close by the creek with one or two rooms... Here the nurse happened to drop in just after the mother had scrubbed the floor and walls to an enviable cleanliness, and admiring the spick and spanness, dragged in her own hobby. 'How nice it would be if you could screen the door and window.' With warm interest, the mother answered, 'I've been a-studying about that. Pears like I'm bound to have somethin' to keep the chickens out of the house.'

Of course, Katherine Pettit, frank as she was, sometimes resorted to less subtle tactics, often stirring up a temporary storm in the process. However, the neighbors generally accepted her as she was, perceiving that despite her nagging, she had their best interest at heart.

Another fundamental in community relationships was a sense of trust. While the school had to do publicity work in order to raise funds, Pettit and Zande believed that one did not have to exploit the people to do so. From various painful incidents at Hindman, they had learned to carefully screen all literature and articles referring to the school. Words such as "ignorance" and "civilization" which suggested inferiority on the part of the people were unacceptable. So too was any hint that the lack of book learning meant ignorance. As the people especially resented criticism of their food, Zande counselled one writer to avoid phrases such as "unvaried diet of greasy foods"; she also advised against referring to mountain homes as "cabins."
Newspaper articles were a particular anathema to them. Part of the trouble lay in the headlines given stories which often put the wrong slant on them. There was also distortion due to misunderstanding or misinterpretation on the part of reporters unfamiliar with mountain life. The printing of one of Lewis Lytle's letters outlining the need for the school and of William Creech's "Reasons" in the context of an unfavorable story upset the community. Speaking of reports of Celia Cathcart's speechmaking during the campaign for funds to build a road across the mountain, one neighbor wondered whether "she had to talk about us mountain folks so much to get the road." A Chicago paper once picked up a remark of Zande's about moonshining and blew it totally out of proportion. And no matter where the stories were printed, the offending phrases seemed to always manage to find their way back to the hills, frequently through some relative gone north or sometimes on the pages of reading material used to paper the walls of one of the houses.

Of course, William Creech and others of the immediate community accepted the fact that there had to be some publicity. Creech had no objection to publishing pictures of the children "provided they were not in 'sorry garb,'" although Sal, somewhat shy, would not permit her own picture to be used, and they all occasionally enjoyed seeing their names in print—one of Creech's sons carried clippings around in his billfold. Nonetheless, Pettit and Zande preferred that fund-rais ing meetings in the cities be closed to the press and would not give interviews to journalists unless they knew the reporter well enough to trust his discretion.
They were sticklers for accuracy with regard to what did appear in print. Once Zande failed to send captions for photographs for a magazine article she had written and was furious with herself when a picture of Creech standing in front of a storage shed appeared labelled "Uncle William at the door of his cabin." They did not want to give fuel to local critics in Marian who were quite sensitive to the image their county projected to the world by publishing statements known to be false. Too, there were other mountain agencies competing for funds which were careless with the facts. Zande narrowly missed being slapped with a libel suit when she challenged the heads of one of these institutions. The woman had used her name in an appeal letter in a context that suggested Zande's endorsement; when Zande threatened to expose the offender's misrepresentations of her work including a claim that hers was the only school for miles and miles when there was in fact an excellent private school less than ten miles away, the culprit promised legal action, and Zande, not wanting to become embroiled in a court battle, let the matter drop. But, when Celia Cathcart campaigning for the road, printed up a supply of coin collection boxes saying "No wagon road in 150 miles," Zande immediately ordered them corrected or withdrawn to avoid Pine Mountain's coming in for similar criticism.

The also applied rigid standards to the creative artists who visited the school in search of material, and writers such as John Fox, Jr., William A. Bradley, and Charles Neville Buck, found that in exchange for their hospitality, the women expected the right to
review their manuscripts before publication. Apart from factual inaccuracies, they also lamented the overdrawn portrait. Margaret Head mentioned that the people at Pine Mountain did not talk quaintly, and Zande had to defend William Creech's "Letter" to Elizabeth Hench: "It is true that it's not so true to mt. type as it might be—but it is Uncle William. He has a large vocabulary & uses all the words you mention (whose flavor is not so picturesque) in daily talk."¹⁴ She later criticized a poet-dramatist who stayed at the school one summer for having every line in a play ooze with colorful idioms—in her opinion, such speech was not typical. The mountain people were interesting enough without exaggeration.

Trust sustained the school through some difficult moments over the years. Following the schoolhouse fire in 1919, one bereaved father, hearing a rumor that one of the workers had a premonition of the disaster in which his son died, wrote Pettit, accusing the women of deliberately starting the fire to draw sympathy and money to the school. He finally backed away from the idea but continued to insist that it was set as opposed to its having resulted from spontaneous combustion which was apparently the case. However, other parents and relatives who came to the school were sympathetic and supportive, and as a result, few children were withdrawn.

Another year near the end of the term, some drunken teenagers, nonstudents, engaged in a rock-throwing incident on campus, hurling stones at Old Log, the office, and the toolhouse, just missing hitting some people. Luigi Zande and William Browning went to check on the matter and hearing the Infirmary windows being broken out,
fired warning shots into the air to frighten the attackers off. Unfortunately, one shot accidentally hit one of the boys. The school rushed him over the mountain to the hospital in Harlan. While his family was initially upset, after seeing the damage done at the school, they decided that what had happened to him came through his own wrong-doing. When he died a few weeks later due to infection, authorities termed the death accidental; the family accepted their decision, an acceptance which eased fears at the school that there would be some attempt at the eye-for-an-eye type of revenge prevalent in some localities.

Turning to the specifics of the community program, one finds that the guiding concept was the idea expressed in Zande's 1916 speech to the National Conference of Charities and Correction that the rural school should provide the positive things missing in its community's life and serve as an intermediary between the rural culture and the industrial, urban one outside. This must be accomplished without "pauperizing." "We must help the people to help themselves, and this is never furthered by giving them material help," wrote Zande in 1926, expressing an idea operative in the school's life from the beginning, though the term "material help" came in for much re-definition with the passage of time. "The work that the teachers do in training young people goes infinitely further than relieving mountain needs...The tendency of mountain work for many years has been to give the people too much." Pine Mountain, rather than stressing charitable assistance, would emphasize the building of community, both as concept and reality,
In speaking of the Pine Mountain community, it is important to realize that "communities" might be more appropriate. The school's service area included most of the territory on the north side of the mountain in Harlan County as well as parts of Leslie, Perry and Letcher Counties. In 1919, this took in approximately 266 families or roughly 1533 people living on these creeks: Laurel Fork, Greasy Creek, Little Laurel, Big Laurel, Gabes Branch, Abner's Branch, Beech Fork, Straight Creek, Line Fork, Cutshin, and Leatherwood. They also included the Dillon community of twenty-five additional families on the south side of the mountain at the point where the road they were building began as part of their territory, though their contribution to it remained negligible. Since most of the people on the north side lived scattered out at intervals of a fourth of a mile or more apart, there was no discrete community in an urban sense, and for immediate neighbors, just a handful of families, largely Creeches, Nolans and Shells. Given this scattering out, it became necessary for Pine Mountain to go out into the community in a much larger way than in an urban settlement where the community could easily come to the settlement house.

Nonetheless, during the first five years or so, while the school's buildings were under construction, there was a great deal of contact between school and community on school grounds. Initially, Pettit and Zande stressed the working, a mountain remnant of the pioneer tradition of combining chores and recreation, seeing it as a means for the neighbors to contribute to the development of the school. Thus, the men came on several occasions to clear land or
prepare it for cultivation. These workings were also a time for basketball games, set runnings, and the big dinners. Ultimately, they proved uneconomical both in terms of efficiency and quality of workmanship, so the school began emphasizing the use of hired labor whose efforts could be more readily controlled. This brought a number of local men to the grounds daily and provided a certain cash flow in the neighborhood, both of which had a positive impact on school-community relations. The neighbors thus felt that Pine Mountain was "their" school, a feeling they had lost somewhat by the thirties when the school seemed isolated from them by size and by a lessening of activities involving them.

The first five years of the school's life (1913-1918) also constituted a distinct phase in the development of its community work. It was, as just indicated, a time of much community involvement on campus and, since the school had not yet attained a full complement of pupils, a time when it was easier for workers to get out into the community on neighborly visits. The most important community project begun during this period was the effort to get a good road constructed across the mountain from the south side, an effort discussed in Chapter 12. Other areas of importance included health, recreation, and the promotion of civic identity.

The community had a variety of health problems indigenous to the mountains as well as to much of the rural South, two leading afflictions being hookworm (42% of Harlan Countians examined in 1913 by a doctor from the Rockefeller Commission had it) and trachoma (a United States Public Health Service surgeon estimated in 1914 that 20% of
those on the north side of Pine Mountain had it and that it touched almost every home). Other concerns included typhoid, smallpox, goiter, the lack of proper care for expectant mothers and the newborn, and a host of other problems arising from a lack of modern health knowledge. Sanitary practices were poor, making possible the rapid spread of disease, sometimes with fatal effect. (In 1916, almost one-third of all deaths in Harlan County were due to preventable diseases.) The community was rife with all sorts of superstitions that interfered with proper health care—soot and flour were good for cuts, a child with thrash should inhale the breath of a posthumous child, and raspberry juice and gunpowder were the proper treatment for prolonged labor. At the time Pine Mountain opened, the nearest doctors were eighteen miles away in Harlan—sending for one meant a twenty-five dollar fee at minimum, and going to him if in hard straits meant a stretcher ride over the mountain, something "picturesque" for an observer but quite painful for a patient. Six men normally carried the stretcher with a relay of six more riding muleback to spell the carriers at frequent intervals. Sometimes they used a sled pulled by mules instead. Since many mountain people doubted that one would return from the hospital, they frequently waited until the condition was so serious that the odds became supportive of their belief.

To attack these problems head on required health professionals and education of the people, so "the first person engaged" to work for Pine Mountain was Clara Davis, a trained nurse. The nurse became a key figure in Pine Mountain community work and at its height the
school regularly employed three nurses—one at the school and one at each of two extension centers. Davis served both school and community; after the opening of the extension centers in 1919 and 1920, her successors on campus limited their community work to the immediate vicinity.

Davis's work during the first two years of the school's life was typical of what her successors would also do. She made many calls to the sick, sometimes on mule or horse, but generally on foot. These trips contained all sorts of surprises—her first night call, she ran into a downed telephone line which caused her to lose her lantern, and she had to complete the rest of the trip in the dark. Many of those treated were infants who had "summer complaint" and other problems frequently associated with diet, especially with the ingestion of too much grease. There was an occasional shooting victim among the adults or the victim of a work-related accident.

In addition to treating the ill and injured, Davis also worked on the preventive end of things. She went to the district schools to give health talks; in her words, "putting great stress on the necessity of cleanliness—fresh air, clean food, pure water, clean bodies, good sleep, proper exercise and good habits." She also worked in lessons on physiology finding that the state required textbook was "so full of technical terms that it would phase a high school class, definitions and descriptions of such nervous diseases as chorea, neurasthenia, paralysis, etc."¹⁶ What they needed and what she supplied was practical information. She and her successors
cathechized against flies, tobacco, and strong drink and in favor of sanitary outhouses, iodized salt, screened windows and doors, and proper child care.

During the summers of 1914 and 1915 and throughout most of 1916-17, the school also had a doctor on the grounds, first Blanche Epler of Kalamazoo, Michigan, and later Abby N. Little of Massachusetts. The neighbors were so enthusiastic over the idea of having a year round doctor that soon after Little came in 1916, they voluntarily developed a plan of each paying twenty-five cents a month into a health fund to help finance her work. After she left to do Red Cross work in World War I, the school did not again have a doctor until the opening of the Medical Settlement extension center in 1919. However, community cases demanding serious treatment were sent downstate just as with those involving students. Linda Neville recorded that the first Pine Mountain eye patients arrived in Lexington in December 1913. They were followed over the years by several hundred seeking help for eyes, tonsils, teeth and relief from tuberculosis and other afflictions. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad aided in this process by furnishing free passes for those needing care.

In order to do something more substantial for those with hookworm and trachoma, the school, like Hindman before it, became involved in the holding of clinics. The first fall they cooperated with a doctor from the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication of Hookworm Disease who held a clinic at Incline a few miles west of the school. In August 1918, they held their first
clinic on school grounds. Organized with the assistance of Linda Neville, the 1918 clinic treated problems of eyes, ears, nose and throat. The staff and funding for it came through the U. S. Public Health Service with Neville's Mountain Fund covering items not included in the government program. In a four day period, a team consisting of one doctor, two nurses, and two assistants, examined and treated some two hundred people of whom over one hundred were from the neighborhood including the entire student bodies of three district schools. The doctor performed an average of ten operations a day (his normal rate was five) and there was a moment of high drama when one of the girls whose tonsils and adenoids had been removed began to hemorrhage. At first the bleeding could not be stopped. Pettit was particularly nervous since she given permission for the operation herself without having fully cleared it with the family. Fortunately, the doctor succeeded, and the girl pulled through satisfactorily.

A second major eye and throat clinic took place in November 1922, this time directed by Dr. J. A. Stucky, their old friend from Hindman days who had done much to interest the Federal Government in the problem of trachoma. Stucky brought with him four other doctors including Dr. E. W. Day, a professor of otolaryngology at the University of Pittsburgh, and three nurses, who worked in conjunction with Pine Mountain's own medical personnel including two doctors (one a visiting missionary who was drafted) and four nurses. In three days, they examined 321 individuals including many neighbors, some of whom lived ten miles or more away. They performed 126 operations, the majority
of which were tonsillectomies, and some thirty eye refractions. Three Pine Mountain students assisted, one becoming skilled enough to assist with the anesthesia. Although one twelve year old girl with trachoma refused general anesthesia and stoically lay completely conscious while a doctor took out all of her eyelashes and treated the remaining holes, the real drama of this clinic did not begin until after the outsiders left. Shortly after their departure, the school had a rash of bledders including one student who bled for ten hours before Dr. Llewella Merrow, the visiting missionary, though of using diptheria antitoxin to stop it. A child at Line Fork also began to bleed seriously, and as the nurse tried to treat him, the neighbors all crowded into the house, telling his parents, "Served ye right; ought never to have allowed him to be put to sleep and be operated on." When the nurse started with him on horseback for the school, he collapsed; fortunately, Merrow arrived and was able to save him as well. Though Zande, after this experience, vowed never again to have a clinic on school grounds, tonsil and trachoma clinics on a smaller scale were held several more times during the decade, usually under the direction of doctors from the State Board of Health. Eye specialists, who donated their services, also came from time to time to do refractions.

The school also sponsored dental clinics. The first of these came in 1919 when two Louisville dentists spend a week at the school examining 135 people, mainly Pine Mountain students and children from two district schools, and performing fillings and extractions
without the benefit of novocaine. The school arranged additional clinics in later years, on two occasions being handled by students from the Dental School of the University of Pittsburgh.

The school regarded its nurse as a community worker, and when the Kentucky legislature passed a law in 1918 authorizing twenty-five dollars a month in state aid to nonprofit organizations hiring a visiting nurse (a law for which Pettit's friends, Madeline McDowell Breckinridge and Linda Neville, had lobbied hard), the school made an effort to get its share. After waiting out a statewide controversy over the Governor's authority to appoint the State Board of Health, an affair which delayed decision on applications such as that of the school, Pettit and Zande learned that the attached strings were more than they were willing to accept, and turned it down. Although later they accepted aid for the Line Fork nursing position, they wanted no state regulation of the school itself.

In addition to health, the school in its first five years also worked on religious development in the community largely through holding Sunday School for the neighborhood children and sponsoring occasional "preachings," the first of which came in the summer of 1913. That December, through Pettit's efforts, a noted Berea evangelist, Charles Knight, held a set of revival-style meetings at the school. In 1915, they hired a theological student for the summer who worked with the neighbors in addition to teaching at the school. By the end of the decade, it had become an established custom for workers from the school to conduct two Sunday School classes each week—one at Little Laurel and the other at Divide. The school also
assisted neighbors in holding burial services. Typically, the people had interred the dead without any service, holding a funeral meeting at a later date. However, Pettit and Zande could not abide to see a child, for example, laid to rest without some immediate memorial service, and Zande or some other worker occasionally led a simple graveside service for some baby or old person who had died. They would read scripture, offer prayer, and have children from the school sing old mountain hymns and bring flowers or wreaths of rhododendron to place on the grave. They got a mountain preacher, Crit Lewis, to lead a burial service for William Creech when he died in 1918, and when Aunt Sal died in 1925, Zande herself conducted the service, giving a talk stressing her great love for the mountains and their beauty and her concern for other people.

Recreation for the community also occupied an important place in the work of the early period, including the holding of weekly parties for young people from the neighborhood and the use of holidays to stimulate thought and provide good times. Of these, the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving helped accomplish an underlying concern of the school to help neighbors and children achieve a better sense of their civic identity. Zande also gave talks from time to time at lunch when the construction workers were present in which she explained current events of the day, and the school distributed reading matter freely in the neighborhood, both activities designed to break down the sense of isolation from the broader life of the nation.

World War I provided a valuable opportunity to do extensive work along those lines. The school sponsored Red Cross knittings,
one a week, usually held at the school but sometimes in community homes, at which local women gathered to make items to send overseas. They organized similar groups at Big Laurel and Line Fork. Each house at the school had its own American flag, and they had a service flag with five stars hanging at the schoolhouse. During the Fourth Liberty Loan Drive, the school and the community raised more than $850. They participated in a nationwide day of prayer in May 1918, and when a war trophies train came through the county that fall, the school took a group over the mountain to see things captured by the Allies including a German airplane. Zande personally cooperated with the Committee on Public Information's Department of Scenarios, regularly submitting reports on the state of public opinion on the north side of the mountain.

The state of public opinion was a matter of great concern in her view, and in order to promote sentiment favorable to the war throughout Eastern Kentucky, she became involved in 1917 in a plan to send a Hartford Theological Seminary graduate named Park Fisher on a speaking tour. Fisher, whom she had known at Hindman where he had taught manual arts, at that time had a church in Leburn. He came over for the dedication of the Mary Sinclair Burkham Schoolhouse in November at which time they explored the possibility of his going around the area lecturing on the war. Whose idea this was is not known, though probably it was Fisher's. Zande was in a receptive frame of mind, for when she had been out that summer raising money for the Pine Mountain road, she had noted the need for prowar publicity and had
longed to conduct a drive for the French Orphan Fund or the Red Cross in order to generate it. Fisher left the school with the assurance that Pine Mountain, or perhaps more specifically Zande, would help him get the needed funds for his tour. He estimated that it would take at least a hundred dollars a month which included support for his family. Zande agreed to raise this, leaving him to secure money for his equipment himself. His plan was to make speeches illustrated with slides at rural schoolhouses throughout Eastern Kentucky, and then, if possible, move into the mountains of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia. To accomplish this, he outfitted himself with a wagon, tent, stereopticon equipment, a phonograph for playing patriotic music, and a collection of over two hundred slides including a set portraying German war atrocities.

Zande wrote letters to several substantial business and professional men in Chicago, Washington, and Buffalo in her quest for funds for the trip. She explained that while it might seem out of line for Pine Mountain to be involved in such a project, "I can't help caring for all of Eastern Kentucky, and you would too, if you went every now and then for half a day, or a day, out among these lonely hills, and realized the poverty of people's thinking." She pointed out that although the mountain people had always been loyal in time of war and that although in the present one the draft was not needed in many mountain counties due to the large number of volunteers, a sizeable part of the population did not understand what it was all about. They were not, in her view, receiving any help in doing so from their congressman, Caleb Powers, who was going around "ostensibly speaking to
explain why he voted against the draft (but) in reality throwing cold water on even the need of our having entered the war." As an illustration of the situation, she recounted the following anecdote:

When I was over on Wolf Creek some time ago, a man asked me for news, and when I told him that things seemed to be turning a little against the Germans, he said, 'Well, I allowed things would take a turn. A fellar over here's got a boy in the army over in France, and he said he saw eight sun balls in the sky to once, and three moon balls. And one of the moon balls had a red and blue flag in hit, and another of 'em had the stars and stripes. And there was eight more fellars seed hit. And he allowed things was goin' to take a turn.'

One of those written, Arthur W. Underwood, responded by helping put her in contact with several key figures in Kentucky's war information campaign. Through an unfortunate misreading of an initial letter from the Kentucky Council of Defense, Zande assumed that that body would finance the trip entirely. What the letter actually said however was that the Council liked the idea, wanted to make a major campaign of its own in the mountains, and would include Fisher if he would donate his services. Zande persisted however, and at the end of June 1918, the Council voted to allow Fisher $250 for five months' work. Underwood agreed to add an additional fifty dollars per month for three months. The Council designated Zande Fisher's supervisor, conditioning his being paid upon her favorable evaluation of his work. Fisher, had, in the meantime, already begun his efforts by giving talks around Knott County where one young deserter had been shot though not fatally when officials tried to arrest him. Fisher felt his desertion and his family's support in trying to hide him were due to ignorance and formed a cogent argument in favor of his tour.
On July 15, after many delays, he finally hit the road. He reached Pine Mountain in late September, arriving in time for the Fair and making presentations not only at the school but at Incline, Abner's Branch, Bledsoe, and Straight Creek. When he first started out, people occasionally gave him money for the war effort without solicitation, but by the time he reached the school, he had begun formally collecting for the YMCA drive. Zande liked this, feeling that "the people need the opportunity of giving as much as anything else in the mountains." It helped them feel a part of things.

Shortly after leaving Pine Mountain, Fisher had to abandon the tour due to the outbreak of influenza and the imposition of strict quarantines around the state. Before the epidemic ended, the war was over. Pettit, in a letter to Angela Melville, summed it all up: "He had a great time, did a great deal of good and had many adventures, from being suspected of spying for Germany to being accused of squirting out influenza germs from the little acetylene lamp he used for his stereopticon pictures."

With regard to the political side of civic identity, Pine Mountain had strong feelings, the women disapproving strongly of the manner in which local elections were conducted. Pettit in one of the 1913 letters to the Board quoted their farmer's description of that year's primary election: "As I went down Greasy I saw a group of drunken men in the laurel thicket and four women electioneering, one of them had a bunch of $1 bills in her hand." As he neared the polling place, he encountered additional groups in similar condition. Some were dancing while others were picking the banjo, four were
quarreling... Out of the 83 votes cast I can say with a clear conscience that 65-70 were drinking or simply dog drunk." The next year when William Creech perceived that the office of school trustee was about to fall into the hands of a candidate backed by an individual "who had the name of selling schools," he entered Pettit's name in the polls (though lacking full suffrage, Kentucky women could vote in school elections and serve as trustees) and through his own moral influence carried the day, thus insuring that the teacher of the local district school would be chosen for competence rather than for political leanings. In 1917, when all the county offices were up for election, the school allowed candidates in the Republican primary (the winning of which was tantamount to election in that then heavily Republican region) to hold a political rally at House in the Woods. Commented Zande on the performance of the twenty-five speakers: "Political talks are often amusing, but it's nauseating to hear that so & so should hold office because he was born poor and always worked hard-- or he had never held office before--or you could examine his record while holding such and such an office--he was ready to stand on it! The number of men who have nothing to be ashamed of in four years' service is surprising." The workers took a keen interest in the race for County Superintendent of Schools (that being the only office for which they could vote). One of the candidates was a woman, and after some investigation, they decided to back her; however, she lost. Fortunately, as will be seen, the winner held no grudges.

Once full woman suffrage came to Kentucky through the Nineteenth Amendment, the workers took a more active interest in elections and in
1921 helped put in a reform candidate for Justice of the Peace in their district, getting rid of an incumbent of sixteen years standing who was backed by the liquor interests. Zande also circulated literature for the successful candidate for Commonwealth's Attorney. There was a certain amount of color to this election. The sheriff of the polls at Pine Mountain collected so many pistols from voters that his pockets were strained to the bursting point, and he had to carry some under his arm. (The Pine Mountain children were studying the international disarmament talks then in progress; drawing an analogy from the election, they assumed the delegates were the ones to be disarmed!)

In the 1924 Presidential election, Zande served as election officer. A Democrat in a hotbed of Republicans, in that election she rejected her party's candidate and voted for the Progressive Party's LaFollette. However, recognizing that he was too extreme for her neighbors, she did her best to persuade them to vote for Democrat John W. Davis, even asking those needing assistance pointblank if they wanted to vote for him. The election judge however quickly corrected her, asking them if they wanted to vote for the Rooster or the Log Cabin, guaranteeing that they would remain in the Republican fold. (Zande however was proud that in this election fifteen voters followed the Democratic standard; when she first came, she and one neighbor were the only ones of that persuasion.)

Although the school did not officially endorse candidates, Pettit, Zande and the other resident workers expressed themselves informally much as they would have in their home communities. They wanted clean
elections, good officials, and consideration of the issues. In the school they tried to promote these things through debates, through discussion of current event, through mock elections, and through student organizations such as the Good Citizens' Club and the Scouts. In the community, all they could do was offer their own example and their opinion about candidates if asked. Whether much of it rubbed off is not known, though on at least one occasion the men of the community requested to be allowed to hold the election at the school explaining that they wanted a "nice" (i.e. sober) election.

Summary. Pine Mountain's relations with the community attempted to be nonjudgmental, tolerant, and exemplary of all the qualities of genuine neighborliness. In this effort, the tone came from Pettie and Zande, both of whom were fond of the mountain people, accepting them as equals and enjoying visiting in their homes. The first phase of Pine Mountain's community work (1913-1918) was characterized by close contact with the neighbors on school grounds and by an interest in improving health, recreation, religious life, and in creating a stronger sense of civic identity.
CHAPTER ELEVEN: GO WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE

1918 marked the beginning of a second phase in the school's community work, one which brought a more formal working out of Zande's concept of the rural school as an intermediary and a supplier of "lacks." Having by this time formed a fairly comprehensive view of the needs of the area, the school became involved first in a program of supervision of rural public elementary schools and second in the creation of extension centers at Big Laurel and Line Fork to facilitate providing health and settlement activities in those communities. Additionally, the school helped bring about a survey of conditions in Harlan County coal camps and participated in a variety of neighborly activities relating to the county as a whole.

From the start, Pettit and Zande envisioned Pine Mountain as a "center of influence" through which the quality of education in the surrounding district schools could be improved. The first summer they sent out their teacher and their nurse to assist the public school teachers in a variety of ways. Zande also contacted the County Superintendent of Schools and offered to provide supervisory services for the schools on the north side, her plan being to place a worker at a given school for a week at a time to train the teacher in methods of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, and also to introduce handwork and music. However, for reasons unrecorded, the superintendent
was not interested in formal cooperation with Pine Mountain, although the visits by Pine Mountain workers continued. The next year, Pettit became trustee of the Creasy Creek School (though not through having deliberately campaigned for the post), and Pine Mountain was for a time in a position to exercise direct influence in the choice of a teacher and in the execution of the compulsory attendance law in that subdistrict. (Pettit apparently held the position until 1917; her successor was one of the men listed as members of the Pine Mountain Local Advisory Board.) Later one of the workers organized a moonlight school for adult illiterates at Big Laurel.

In 1917, the incumbent county superintendent did not run for reelection, and so the voters chose a new one. This was the race mentioned in the preceding chapter in which Jennie P. Creech, probably the first woman to run for countywide office in Harlan's history, battled the principal of Harlan High School, A. C. Jones, for the Republican nomination and, as a result, for the post itself. Their fight attracted more interest than any of the other races, drawing in addition to the men, 950 women to the polls, no small feat considering that theirs was the only county race in which the women could vote. Jones won 2486 to 1429. Though he carried most precincts, he lost Pine Mountain precinct to Creech 85 to 58, a result due partly to Pine Mountain workers' support of Creech, a support given after a discussion with each candidate about the school's desire to help upgrade district schools. Since both appear to have agreed in principle with Pine Mountain's ideas, the workers' preference for Creech was probably related to sex more than to other considerations. Jones,
however, harbored no hard feelings and soon proceeded to invite Pine Mountain to participate in the working out of his educational plans for the county.

Jones, the first college-trained professional to be superintendent, instituted a broad program to modernize county schools, operating on the belief that at the heart of a good school system were good teachers. Unfortunately, Harlan County at that time was having a struggle to hold on to them due to competition from the rapidly expanding coal industry which offered financial rewards far in excess of the forty-five to sixty-five dollars a month one could earn teaching. Jones tried to overcome this problem in at least three ways. He reduced the number of subdistrict schools through consolidating the smaller ones under one teacher, thereby increasing the money available for salaries, and he also got the County Board to impose the highest permissible tax rate. In addition, he persuaded coal operators and miners to contribute funds on a matching basis to employ teachers for nine months instead of the traditional six. He also began a drive to get coal companies to finance school facilities in the camps. To improve the quality of instruction and motivate teachers to do a better job, he decided to create a countrywide supervisory program. Dividing the county into six divisions, he approached the principal of the school he considered most outstanding in each division and persuaded that individual to supervise the local district schools without pay. Himself a product of the Harlan Presbyterian Academy, he knew the value of private mountain schools and therefore invited Helen Dingman of the Smith Community Life School
and Zaade of Pine Mountain to participate. Both accepted.

Jones and his supervisory committee had their work cut out for them. The state of the sixty-five district schools of Harlan County at that time was far from satisfactory. Many were housed in dilapidated frame buildings with inadequate seating (in one school in the Pine Mountain division, there were only twelve desks for forty-two pupils) and inadequate heating (the potbellied stoves often had one or more pieces missing). A painted space on one of the walls frequently served as a blackboard, and few had a proper supply of basic texts, paper, or pencils, let alone any supplementary aids such as maps, charts, or materials for handwork. All too many had no toilet facilities. The school term ran for six months from July to January with time off for foddering, and less than half of the pupils enrolled countywide actually attended classes which were held daily from eight to four. Those who did often did so erratically—the need for their services at home, heavy rains and other bad weather, insufficient clothing, and numerous other factors combined to discourage their coming. The teachers, usually barely through the eighth grade themselves, were certified for their jobs by passing a state-prescribed examination which tested rote memory more than anything else and got a school through political or family influence with a trustee. The trustees who still retained much power over their schools under Kentucky law were themselves often illiterate or poorly educated and more interested in the financial or political considerations of their posts than in education. Helen Dingman quoted one as telling her, "I hain't interested in their schoolin'; hit's their souls I want to work
with. I've been to the top-notch of education myself, and I might
be a leetle grain rusty now, but I know how to value hit, an' I
hain't interested."¹ Dingman's description for one of the supervisory
meetings of a geography lesson in a school somewhere on Martin's Fork
is illustrative of the methods of instruction:

Teacher. 'Our lesson is the British Isles today. Where is
Birmingham?' No response from the class, while the teacher
searches for Birmingham. Teacher. 'Why, Birmingham is in
the central part of the British Isles. Isn't it?' Uncertainly.
The class agrees. T. 'Where is Manchester?' No response from
the class. T. repeats the process of looking for Manchester,
finds it and says, 'Manchester is in the southern part of
England.---Isn't it? What are the leading cities of Ireland?'
This question has no answer, and never is answered, and the
teacher passes on to the next. 'Do any of the people from
these countries ever come to America?' Silence on the part
of the class. 'Why yes they do, you know they do; several
of them have come.' Class is dismissed with the instruction
that tomorrow's lesson will be on Germany and the Nether-
lands.²

Since teachers were responsible for all eight grades, there were many
stretches during the day, particularly for the younger students, when
pupils had nothing to do. "The waste of time, the few moments in the
day when a child has the attention of his teacher on the lesson, are
tragic facts," Zande noted in a letter to John C. Campbell.³

Zande found the group Jones had assembled a congenial one with
which to work. "They have exactly the view of the country school
problem that we have, the same recognition of the miserable inadequacy
of the country school teacher, combined with the very intelligent
wish to take things as they are and step by step do what we can to
make things better."⁴ The group decided to emphasize improved
attendance, the importance of lesson planning on a day to day basis,
techniques for teaching language arts, and the introduction of
handwork. They also wanted to encourage proper maintenance of buildings and grounds and promote personal cleanliness and good health habits on the part of students. They wanted to persuade teachers and patrons to construct sanitary toilets, the supervisors teaching how to maintain them if necessary.

Pine Mountain's division consisted initially of eleven schools, later reduced by consolidation to eight, all but one located on the north side of the mountain. While Zande at the beginning devoted much time to fieldwork, she gradually assigned more and more of the responsibility of that part of things to Marguerite Butler who spent an average of three days a week in the field the first year and more later. They set up demonstrations of good teaching for the benefit of both teachers and trustees with Zande leading a discussion afterwards to reinforce what was observed. They encouraged the holding of box suppers to raise money for needed supplies and assisted teachers in starting classroom libraries, over the years supplying many surplus books from Pine Mountain's collections and also promoting local efforts to secure funds to buy volumes. Zande introduced the concept of peer teaching with the more advanced pupils helping the younger ones so that all would be occupied throughout the day. The teachers' enthusiasm for Pine Mountain assistance led to a plan for normal work but the passage of a state law requiring high school training instead redirected their efforts. As the work developed, Butler branched out, giving sewing classes in the schools and creating Mothers' Clubs in at least one community through which local women met in each other's home to sew, to discuss home improvements, and
to have a good time. At Christmas, Butler organized celebrations at all the schools.

At the same time, Pine Mountain became involved in securing teachers for some of the schools, again at Jones's request. They relished this responsibility as it gave them a chance to directly affect the quality of classroom work. Zande held candidates to standards as strict, if not more so, than those for regular Pine Mountain staff. The district teachers had to have "poise," "mature judgment," "vigor and enthusiasm," and "old-fashioned moral standards." As she explained to one applicant, the rural teacher must be a model for his pupils. He could not smoke, and as for whiskey, "boys must be helped to live without it absolutely." He would live in a mountain home which would be far less comfortable than anything to which he was accustomed, and he would have to "grin and bear it" for mountain people disliked criticism of their dwellings and food—a castiron stomach would definitely help. Despite such strictures and the low pay, she was normally able to secure competent people with college training to come for a year or two. After a while, their success inspired an invitation from the Letcher County Superintendent to help him out, and they took on the job of getting teachers for two schools on Line Fork. In filling the district teaching positions, there was from time to time consideration of whether to use local people who had been away to school. Pine Mountain's position and one which Jones normally sustained, was that unless they had had specific training for teaching, they should not be hired, since competence should be the determining factor rather than residence. On one
occasion in the late twenties, Jones did overrule them in favor of
giving a promising local teacher a chance, a decision spurred by
community pressures on him. Angela Melville, then Associate Director,
philosophized that should the woman fail, it would demonstrate force-
fully the need for good training; anyway, one could not expect to go
faster than the community was ready to follow.

After Marguerite Butler left the school in 1922, the fieldwork
side of Pine Mountain's supervision lapsed, although in the mid-twenties
they did send out a worker to teach recreation and health in neighbor-
ing schools and occasionally provided workers to give talks on various
subjects. Since the quality of instruction had significantly improved,
Zande felt a traveling supervisor was no longer necessary; instead,
she began to concentrate on getting the teachers to come to the school
once a month for a two day weekend meeting aimed at helping them with
educational problems and at giving them much needed recreation and
intellectual stimulus. Whenever possible she tried to have an in-
teresting speaker, for instance, the Dean of Berea College or an
expert from the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The group explored
such topics as "The rainy day in school," and "How to make history
interesting;" they also engaged in swimming, folk dancing, singing,
and watching movies. Zande also used the meetings to gradually
wean teachers from overdependence on Pine Mountain's supplying things
they ought to get themselves. For example, she began to reduce the
amount of material furnished for Christmas celebrations and encouraged
teachers to have students bring things to take to needy families in
order to shift their thinking from Christmas as a time of receiving to Christmas as a time of giving.

Pine Mountain also became intimately involved in the operation of one of the district schools. In 1919, a parent of children living at the head of Little Laurel Creek, three miles from Pine Mountain, asked Lilliath Robbins, the Pine Mountain primary teacher who had been conducting a Sunday School there for two years, if she would consider teaching school there that summer. Due to insufficient enrollment, the county had closed down the school formerly taught there, merging it with Big Laurel. As the parents felt the Big Laurel school was too far away, the children had not been attending classes. Pettit and Zande agreed that Robbins should go, and after getting permission from Jones for the use of the building, Pettit loaded up a wagon with furniture and supplies and sent Robbins, a Wellesley graduate, to live for two months in a log house recently rescued from being "a floorless pen for pigs." In addition to teaching books, Robbins through example also taught good housekeeping practices, both at the school in the way she had students care for the building and at home where visiting neighbors soaked in every detail of her living arrangements. As textbooks ordered by the county had not arrived when her work began, Robbins had to improvise with materials brought from Pine Mountain, and despite having only a limited term, succeeded well enough that Pine Mountain Notes could boast, "Many...have learned to read in the short two months, and all of them have gotten a sense of something outside the confines of their own valley and a year that is calendared by the corn crop—planting time, 'layin' by,' and
fodder pulling."^8

Later, in the midtwenties, after logging operations had increased the population somewhat, Pine Mountain assisted the neighbors in getting the county to reopen the school and pay for a teacher in exchange for the parents' supplying a suitable building. They secured the use of a former store, which, due to poor flooring and inadequate heating, was far from desirable. The school suffered also from a lack of equipment—preliminary, students had to sit on packing crates. In 1927, a new teacher employed through Pine Mountain's efforts launched a successful campaign for a new building. The parents raised $155 themselves, a sum which they persuaded the county to supplement, got a neighbor to provide the land and a logging company to donate lumber, and relocated the school at the mouth of the creek. Due to strong parental interest in a longer school term, Zande with Jones's approval, established a two month extension course there following the end of the county term for which parents paid regular Pine Mountain tuition and their children received instruction identical to that provided at the school. In 1928, Pine Mountain through one of its extension centers also held a special school for a couple of months for children of loggers living at the head of Big Laurel.

After 1924, when it raised age and grade level requirements for admission, Pine Mountain also maintained on campus a program known as the "Little School." This was a special elementary class for the handful of children living in the immediate vicinity on Isaac's Run who were too young for Pine Mountain and whose parents were reluctant to have them walk to the nearest district school. This class was
taught intermittently as a favor to the neighbors for the rest of the period and was separate both from the regular Pine Mountain program and from the public schools as the school received no public support for it, unlike Little Laurel which was a public school except for the two months' extended term.

At the same moment that Pine Mountain began school supervision, it was also developing plans for a much broader community work in the form of opening extension centers in outlying neighborhoods. The first was Medical Settlement, established in 1919 at the mouth of Big Laurel, four miles from Pine Mountain proper.

Medical Settlement evolved in typical Pine Mountain fashion through a gradual and fortuitous coalescing of needs, dreams, and the availability of the right people. Pettit and Zande early on wanted a hospital equipped with a doctor and visiting nurses in order to better meet the tremendous health needs of the region and had even allowed a worker during the 1915–16 school year to raise a few pledges towards its construction. At approximately the same time, they learned that an old friend from Hindman, Harriet Butler, who had been the nurse when they were there and had since gone to Texas, was eager to return to the mountains. Butler, who had accompanied Pettit on her first trip to Pine Mountain in 1911, still remembered the situation at Big Laurel and apparently expressed an interest in going down there to live and work if the school wanted her to do so, a suggestion which they had no trouble accepting. In the summer of 1917, Butler came to look things over, bringing with her a young colleague, Dr. Grace Huse, whom she hoped to persuade to serve as the center's doctor. Huse
hailed from St. Louis, had trained in Philadelphia, and had originally planned to go to India as a medical missionary but had been kept in the United States by family circumstances. She made a favorable impression on Pettit and Zande, and by January 1918, they were all making plans in earnest.

The time seemed right to start such work. They had the school itself well in hand with all the major buildings erected, and the program beginning at last to run smoothly. (They could not of course foresee how the schooishouse fire would slow things down.) There were, of course, many details still needing attention such as securing funds to pay teachers salaries instead of depending on volunteers and placing the farm on firmer footing, but the needs of the community seemed so pressing that Pettit did not see how they could wait any longer to get out into it in a substantial way. "We should not feel justified in turning all our energies inward when our opportunities for community work are so great," she explained to one contributor. Although one worker cautioned that Pine Mountain was risking overextending itself ("The Big Laurel proposition to me...is simply a plan of robbing Peter to pay Paul!") and that the middle of a war did not seem a good time to raise funds, Pettit disagreed. Commenting on what she termed "baby-saving campaigns" in other parts of the country, she argued that such appeals had put the public in a suitable frame of mind for financing health efforts such as Huse and Butler would undertake at Big Laurel.

She and Zande also had the encouragement of John C. Campbell who had visited the school in November 1917 and had participated in the
dedication of the schoolhouse. Two months later, in response to a query from Pettit, he outlined his own ideas about how they should proceed. Noting approvingly that they were off to a successful start, he warned that they must avoid the trap of becoming "an organization, inelastic and stereotyped rather than continue as an educational organism," continually transforming itself to meet new situations and new problems. Instead of putting up more buildings on campus thus limiting channels of action, he advocated creating outposts of the type they were planning for Big Laurel in several communities, housing workers there who would promote community sentiment for reform. These workers would pull in others from Pine Mountain and from governmental and private agencies as needed. Their homes would be similar in construction to those of the neighbors but equipped with up-to-date features. For meeting places, they would use available community structures such as schools, churches, or even barns. The important thing was, as they later summarized his advice, was to "spread yourselves thin. Go where the people are, and don't depend only on your parent school. Hundreds of people can be reached if you send out to them, who will never get to you if you sit at home." As they were already thinking along these lines, Campbell's advice had a clinching effect for them and provided a powerful impetus to move ahead.

Entering the spring of 1918, they had little of the $2500 that Zande estimate it would take to start the center (she later revised the figure to $3000), but that didn't bother them. As Pettit told a member of the General Advisory Board, "You know we never have any
money for a thing when we start it. We see the need, then we talk about it and start it, and some way it gets supported.\textsuperscript{13} That summer through a gift from a Central Kentucky friend, they purchased a tract of land, largely hillside, overlooking the creek. The next summer, after Huse and Butler had arrived, they held a meeting at which the neighbors agreed to donate logs and labor to put up the first building, a combination of home and office. This contribution, significant as it was, did not fully cover the cost of construction, and there was also the expense of equipping the office, so Zande turned ultimately to a woman who had previously donated the funds for the school reservoir, persuading her to furnish the necessary money. Funds to erect a recreation building known as the Playhouse came later through the efforts of the center’s first community worker, Emily Storer. (This building later burned and when reconstructed in an expanded form was renamed the Community House.) Zande by 1920 managed to get a number of individuals and groups to pledge an annual amount sufficient to operate the settlement on an on-going basis. While they could have received state aid for the nurse’s salary, they preferred at that point to remain free of the intendant strings and complications, a desire that also caused them to run down the offer of another friend who wished to give a hospital building as a memorial to his mother. Although they wanted the settlement to have such a structure, they felt that it should develop out of the community’s own realization of the need for it, and that when it did, they should be free to run it in their own way.
The original plan for the settlement then anticipated a hospital with a doctor, a nurse to supervise the facility itself, and two other nurses to work out in the field. The hospital would provide training in home nursing for local girls who could then assist the center in its work. There would also be a community worker to develop industrial classes and recreation programs. As things worked out, the hospital was never built--Wells indicates in her history that improved transportation making it easier to get to a hospital in Harlan or Lynch plus the lack of cohesive community leadership due in part to population changes related to logging at the head of the creek made it impractical to do so. Undoubtedly, the question of funds also played a major role, as Pine Mountain found itself hard-pressed to fund the buildings it had to erect on the main campus during the twenties. However, the lack of a hospital was not a significant obstacle to the carrying on of successful community work, a work begun with the arrival of Huse and Butler on May 3, 1919.

That event had its own proper dramatic embellishment at the hands of Zande who at the very moment they were coming down the mountain sent to meet them a man who had just arrived seeking help for a sick child. Thus no time was lost in putting them to work. Within a few days they had run a whole gamut of problems typical of those which would characterize their work for the next four years--poison ivy, tonsilitis, "sore eyes," goiter, neuritis, mental retardation, boils, chrash, and medical superstitions. They even had a call from a patent medicine man with a cut finger who evidently came
to size up the competition.

One of their major concerns was to improve conditions of childbirth and postnatal care. The area abounded in folktales about both. On one occasion, Huse learned that giving a woman in labor a drink would interfere with birth, that lifting her arms over her head would pull the baby back, that the mother must stay on her right side afterwards and not have any sweet milk for nine days. Self-educated midwives, one a man, attended most births, leaving immediately after the baby was born, leaving the mother to fend for herself in cleaning up and cooking. "If the baby is washed twice a week, it is lucky," Zande reported to a contributor, "and I have known a baby to go ten days after birth without a bath. The sheer misery that mountain workers endure is unbelievable unless you see it." Many families had inadequate clothing for new babies, often relying on worn out hand-me-downs. They sometimes starched diapers or changed them only once a day, and frequently dressed babies in heavy flannel on the hottest days of summer. Huse got outside friends to supply inexpensive layettes which, in keeping with Pine Mountain policies, she sold to the mothers. She organized a Mother's Club which met regularly for talks and lessons in child care and gave prizes to mothers for following her instructions. In 1921, for instance, she distributed mosquito netting to all those who made beds for their babies out of grocery boxes using a pattern she gave them. That fall she awarded sacques, dresses, and sweaters to those who had kept their children well all summer. Both Pettit and Zande remarked on the noticeable improvement in infant health—mothers no longer fed them green apples
cake, and blackberries, or let flies crawl over them or let them go unwashed. A striking testimony to the change was the increasing willingness of people to pay over twice the price of a midwife's visit for the services of doctor and nurse.

While Pine Mountain paid her basic salary, Huse did charge for her services, again to keep the relationship honest and not pauperizing. The rate for a home visit was fifty cents a mile up to five dollars; an obstetrical case was five dollars, but office visits were only five to twenty-five cents. They wanted to encourage the latter, both as a means of making more efficient use of personnel and also as a way of getting cases treated before they became too serious. This policy proved fairly effective, but nonetheless, there were still many hours spent in the saddle attending to emergencies in a ten to fifteen mile radius of Big Laurel.

As the work grew, so did the staff. Butler, who had some health problems of her own, confined herself to running the settlement, and they secured another individual to do the active nursing. The settlement also provided a home for the Big Laurel district schoolteacher and a community worker. In 1924, Butler had to retire, and Huse, feeling the effects of her rigorous life, also decided to give up her mountain practice. Her successor was Dr. Alfreda Withington, an older woman from Massachusetts, who had served in France during World War I with the Red Cross and the Rockefeller Commission. Her strongest recommendation in the eyes of Zande who had charge of the settlement was the fact that having been placed in a French community on a temporary basis over the objections of local people to women doctors,
she so exalted herself with them through her work that when the
time came to reassign her, the community would not hear of it.
Withington was a very active and vigorous worker, covering the
district with great gusto. (On one occasion, while out in the
country, she fell from her horse breaking her nose which she set
temporarily herself on the spot.) She worked generally along the
same lines as Huse, stressing preventive measures wherever possible,
and serving until her retirement in 1931.

As the center was a social settlement as well as a medical out-
post, the community worker also played an important part in its life,
arranging recreational and educational activities for the neighbor-
hood. These included over the years such things as regular weekend
parties, baseball and basketball games, clubs such as a Christian
youth organization and a literary society, and Sunday School on
Sundays. This worker also taught sewing and cooking in the Big
Laurel school and held classes from time to time for interested adults
as well. During the Withington years, there was for a while a moon-
light school in the evening, and the community worker also taught a
special term of grade school at the head of the creek in 1928. Both
the community and the "head resident" who looked after the house did
d their share of visiting the neighbors and receiving callers. Zande
regarded this as of the utmost importance. When one worker expressed
a desire to confine visiting and social activities to the Community
House, keeping their dwelling quarters private, Zande wrote, "We
have had with all our buildings the settlement idea; that the homes
we made for ourselves were to be, not simply retreats and comfortable
places, but places that would be an inspiration to our neighbors (for) we have thought the neighbors were going to get a great deal from seeing how we did things, as they dropped in now and then and as they were occasionally invited to a real party as we would invite our friends anywhere." While recognizing the workers deserved some privacy, she cautioned against "such a distinction between the neighbors and the workers as would result in all entertaining being done in the Community House. It would seem to me a little like Berea's custom of having the workers eat at one table in the dining room and the children at others."  

Medical Settlement, as originally envisioned, was to be but one of a series of centers started by and related to Pine Mountain but each adapted to meeting the needs of a specific neighborhood in its own special way. In 1918, while still laying the groundwork for Medical Settlement, they were already talking of three centers, and in order to prepare a foundation for the other two, tried to secure funds for the position of community extension worker, a job which would place special emphasis on social, religious and recreational programs in the Line Fork community in Letcher County, some seven miles east of the school. They were unable to do this, but in the meantime, Marguerite Butler began including some general community work in her school supervision schedule and by the fall of 1919 was doing much of the sort of thing they had intended for the community extension position. At the close of the school term that winter, she concentrated her efforts on Line Fork, going there twice a week to teach sewing and to organize recreational activities including
ballgames, folk dancing, and singing. She provided the women with sewing materials in exchange for produce and taught them to make baby clothes.

By this time, Pettit and Zande had decided to launch a campaign to raise both an endowment for the school and funding for further extension work, sending Angela Melville out as fundraiser during the first half of 1920. With regard to the extension work, they set as a goal five centers in ten years, each with a staff of three—a public health nurse, a religious and industrial worker, and a district school teacher. According to a map printed in the Lexington Herald during the campaign, the sites they had in mind for these centers included the mouth of Oldhouse Branch in Perry County, a site on Cutshin Creek below Causey in Leslie County, a site on Line Fork in Letcher, and Dillon in Harlan. (In a letter to her sister, Pettit expressed her personal hope of ultimately having ten centers scattered throughout the region.)

By April, Melville had gotten enough money to permit beginning one center which they decided to place on Line Fork at the mouth of Bear Branch. They also named Marguerite Butler as head of community work, giving her the immediately responsibility of getting the new center underway. She and Pettit met with the people who volunteered to provide lumber and labor for a house. (Pettit later wrote Evelyn Wells that she would not consider starting a center anywhere unless the neighbors were willing to do that much.) She also persuaded a local coal and logging company to donate the necessary land. By midsummer, they were ready to start building.
In the meantime, one of the local women, a Mrs. Fields, had won the office of trustee of the Bear Branch School, the first woman to ever hold that post. She had campaigned on a platform of better instruction, and tiring of men's advice to hire a teacher who whipped every day ("Gentlemen, I'm not looking for war at the head of the creek"), she marched off to Pine Mountain to see if Katherine Pettit could assist her in getting a progressive teacher. Unfortunately, Pettit was unable to find anyone. July came, and the men began to ridicule Fields, saying that the lack of a teacher was the result of letting women run the school. Fields's misfortunes came to the ears of Pettit's niece, Martha Van Meter, and her friend, Isabelle McLennan, both of whom were working at Pine Mountain that summer as volunteers. They begged Pettit to let them go, and after some deliberation, she assented. One July 17, 1920, with the help of Butler and the neighbors, they moved into a rented one room cabin and lean-to. Before considering the cabin liveable, they had to strip the walls of old newspapers and magazines which had served as wallpaper, scrub everything with hot water and soap, and have a window cut in one of the walls and screened with mosquito netting. In true "quare wimmin" fashion, they converted boxes into cabinets and chests and rags into rugs. The chimney did not draw properly, and they had to improvise an outdoor stone oven. Fortunately, neighbors frequently invited them out to lunch, and they greatly enjoyed the beans, cucumbers, cornbread, sour milk, and "pleasant hospitality" offered by their new friends.
They were the first women to teach the Bear Branch School, but despite that and the fact that they shunned "the birch" beloved of their male predecessors, their work went smoothly. Discovering that the students varied greatly in intellectual achievements, they divided them into two groups--those who could read with comprehension and those who could not. In addition to the three R's, they stressed geography, discovering great student ignorance of their own state. Geography did present certain perils--one day Van Meter, explaining that the world was round, was immediately met with the question, "Well, don't the Bible itself say 'the four corners of the earth?'"\(^{17}\) She immediately changed the topic to a discussion of why water flows downhill.

The last of July brought the first of several "workings" to construct the center's six room log house which would be named "The Cabin." A few of these affairs convinced Butler, as it had Pettit and Zande earlier at Pine Mountain, that it would be simpler to hire a few individuals to finish things up. Unfortunately, the ones selected turned out to be rather slow (she suspected them of deciding to make it their life's work), and she began to despair of ever getting it finished. Nonetheless, by November, it reached a point where it could be occupied and was.

Van Meter and McLennan left in late summer and were followed by another temporary teacher. In the fall, Ruth Dennis who had been working at the Chicago Commons under Lea Taylor, arrived to be head resident and take charge of the religious and industrial work. A nurse from Chicago, Frances Palmer, who had been working for the Red
Cross in rural Minnesota, soon joined her, as did another midwesterner, Anne Pavey, who took over as teacher at Bear Branch.

Compared to the highly organized Commons, Dennis found Line Fork casual with greater emphasis on visiting, both on the giving and receiving ends. For the three midwesterners, talking to the people was "almost like learning a new language," and they had to walk everywhere for they distrusted their horse. They had a few rough moments at first—a box supper that nearly finished as a shooting spree, battles with rats, and the need for friendly persuasion with regard to holding Sunday School. Some of the neighbors objected on doctrinal grounds, and others feared it would cause trouble in the community. When they presented it as a Sunday "meeting" and after things went smoothly for several weeks, the objectors largely fell in line. In fact, it was not long before the settlement was humming with a full program—in addition to Sunday Schools at Bear Branch and Coyle Branch they held sewing classes, cooking classes, singing classes, and health education programs in district schools.

While the Pine Mountain and Big Laurel nurses were paid by the school alone, Pettit arranged through the State Department of Health to have the Line Fork position designated a public nursing post for Letcher County, with funding provided by the state and by the Letcher County Red Cross and supplemented by Pine Mountain. Palmer's opening weeks on the job resembled those of Butler and Huse at Medical Settlement, and she concentrated on gaining the people's trust and doing preventive work in the schools. At Bear Branch, Coyle Branch, and Hurricane Gap schools, she gave physical examinations to all those
willing to have them, and after they closed for the winter, instituted weekly meetings at each place including as part of the program, baby clinics, toothbrushing drills, and talks on such things as the importance of correctly constructed toilets, the use of soap and water, and defenses against the housefly. Like her Medical Settlement colleagues, she too sold baby clothes, and there was a great demand for "hippens" as the local people called diapers. Frustration might have gotten a lesser person, for her patients ignored her advice unless of a mind to follow it. For instance, she had a patient with a "risin" on her arm. The girl had already unsuccessfully tried a number of poultices including red sumac root, "lim" root and sweet milk, buckeye bark and cornmeal, apple and vinegar, and hot oatmeal. Palmer started her on hot salt packs, but on returning the next day, discovered that she had substituted Vicks salve. The day after that she had gone back to hot oatmeal but was suffering so much pain that she allowed Palmer to open the sore and apply glycerine. This time she followed orders and was soon back to normal. On another occasion, a doctor from Poor Fork had given a child with tonsillitis a strict regimen which his family disliked, substituting the preferred Line Fork cures of herb teas, Japanese oil, and poultices. By the time Palmer arrived, he had developed pneumonia, but once she persuaded them to return to the doctor's program, all went well.

Perhaps her rudest shock came when after helping a woman with prenatal care, she found that the doctor she was to assist in the delivery was a local male midwife who attended the patient clad in overalls, flannel shirt, coat, and rubber boots. Though Palmer had
carefully laid out the supplies she felt the occasion called for, he "didn't 'low hit wuz necessary for all that workings," catching the baby in an old wool shirt, cutting the cord with a pair of shears taken from the wall rather than Palmer's sterilized tweezers, and tying it with string rather than her sterilized tape. 19 Palmer's successor, Anne Ruth Medcalf, made a little more headway with him on the occasion when she assisted, getting him to wash his hands in antiseptic, wear a Red Cross gown, and allow the patient to deliver in bed rather than seated in another's lap. She also convinced the family that it was better for the baby to sleep in its own bed (one of the box variety advocated by Huse) than to share the parents'. "How they survive is past comprehension," she marveled to Pettit. "But... even tho they do survive, they feel it sometime. However, it makes argument against their methods hard." 20

While Medcalf was nurse, the neighbors helped build a Health House at the center which was used both in medical and recreational work, and which became the site of occasional clinics sponsored by the State Department of Health. In an effort to improve the children's diet, Medcalf started a hot lunch program in one school, helping students set up a kitchen in one corner and teaching them to prepare soups and cocoa which they ate after first washing their hands and drying them on towels made in sewing class. She also established a working relationship with the Lynch hospital, hoping that as people went there, it would broaden their view of medicine so they would recognize that there was more to it than "pills and salves."
In addition to supplying the teacher for Bear Branch, Pine Mountain also took on securing one for Coyle Branch as well, both teachers living at the Cabin. With Pine Mountain's assistance, the two schools installed blackboards, constructed outhouses, closed in the foundation of each house to keep animals from living under them, and created school libraries which served the general public as well. According to a publicity brochure put out in 1923, the children "learned what it is like to be in a large group, working together, rather than the smaller family group, and powers of self-expression, as well as solid academic attainments, have grown accordingly."21 Zande, after one particular visit to Bear Branch, expressed amazement at the changes in the children after two years under a Pine Mountain teacher: "It would have been easy to weep as we listened to those children so shy and suspicious and untaught two years ago—singing, acting, dancing. The whole thing was like a delightful family party, in which every child had some part and every parent could beam with pride."22 Unfortunately, in 1925, what Pettit termed "some very old-fashioned trustees" came into power. Looking with askance at Pine Mountain's progressive ideas, they chose to find their own teachers, thus ending that part of the work at Line Fork for a time.

As for community work, one of Dennis's successors, Elizabeth Smith, noted that one could accomplish much "by just being friends to the neighbors who come to visit."23 And there were many. Some came for the pure joy of socializing, but there were others who needed help in writing a letter or completing a mail order blank or who sought
information such as "what part of the cow should I send away...to
find out how and what pizened her" or who wanted an opinion on some
problem connected with sewing or home management. Workers in turn
went out to the neighbors to get to know them, to purchase foodstuffs
for the center, to order fatty pine bundles to ship to the outside
world, or to encourage the making of craft items. The religious
work also expanded to include the presentation of a Line Fork Nativity
Play at Christmas which featured live animals as part of the manger
scene.

In 1926, a doctor became part of the staff with the arrival of
Dr. Llewella Merrow, who spent a few frustrating months there en-
countering great prejudice against her sex despite their past acquaint-
ance with Grace Huse and also meeting with resentment over being
charged for her services. That fall the settlement passed into the
hands of a middle-aged couple, Robert Stapleton and his wife, Ida,
who also was a medical doctor. The Stapletons had served as mission-
aires in Armenia, and their approach was more along those lines than
those of a pure settlement. Nonetheless, the couple, who served until
1937, provided a stability and continuity to the work which was valu-
able. They too stressed neighborliness and good times with Labor
Day picnics and community Thanksgiving dinners at Bear Branch school
becoming highlights of the year. Being missionaries for both body
and soul, they put great emphasis on taking cod liver oil and on
learning Bible verses, but all in a friendly way. Though they some-
times found the people somewhat contradictory by their standards (the
biggest reader was also the biggest moonshiner, and the same woman
might send for both the midwife and Dr. Ida), they approached them with the respect typical of the best Pine Mountain workers.

After the establishment of Line Fork, there were no more new centers. In 1921, people from Sugar Grove near Hurricane Gap made a tentative offer of land and buildings for a center, but nothing came of it. In 1924, Pettit and Zande made a serious attempt to raise funds for a settlement on Leatherwood at the mouth of Oldhouse Branch, but failed to secure the needed financing. After that, no further attempts were made.

While the two centers actually established did much to ameliorate local conditions, there were two fundamental community problems that somewhat eluded them, and in fact, were probably too great for settlement efforts alone to have overcome, despite Pettit and Zande's confidence that lasting social change occurred most effectively through osmosis and the passage of time, the impact of "invisible molecular forces" wearing away the stone (an image they borrowed from William James). One of these problems was liquor. Moonshining was a common economic activity on certain branches in both the Big Laurel and Line Fork neighborhoods, and the coming of Prohibition and the coal industry over the mountain had greatly increased its profitability. Where once no one had hesitated to walk alone through the hills at any time of day or night, in the twenties, Pine Mountain took the position that it was no longer safe for women to do so, especially at night, for there was a constant stream of bootleggers coming in and out, buying whiskey and transporting it to the camps across the mountain. "They hoppers hit up in boodgets, so hit looks like beans or
somethin'," reported one neighbor. At the same time, Harlan County began to see strong law enforcement drives against moonshining and bootlegging, making those trafficking in whiskey not a little edgy. The Enterprise, for example, reported in 1922 that things were so tight that moonshiners were discarding their stills along the roads rather than risk being raided. Many whiskeymaking residents of the north side found themselves being carted off to Federal prison. Although some women enjoyed "more peace and satisfaction" with their husbands away (one neighbor had actually reported hers on that account), the men's absence frequently worked a hardship on the family, leaving them without "a penny, a potato, or ear of corn."26

Pine Mountain, as mentioned earlier, had to be circumspect in its behavior with regard to a frontal attack on moonshining, but Zande was so concerned in 1921 with the general state of affairs that upon learning of a projected Billy Sunday tour of Eastern Kentucky, she wrote him, asking to speak at Big Laurel and put the fear of the Lord into the populace. Her reasoning was that since mountain people took seriously the necessity of abandoning one's bad habits following conversion, if he could bring them to the altar, it might put a real crimp in the whiskey industry. However, his schedule was so full that the best he could do was to encourage them to all come to Lynch where he spent a few hours in July. (Whether she got anyone to go is not known.) Pettit, writing later to a former worker at London, Kentucky, asking her to get someone to visit local men in jail there, said "I am old-fashioned enough to think old-fashioned religion in the thing that counts more than anything else."27 In this regard, in the late
twenties, they employed a temperance worker funded by the Beta Sigma Omicron sorority who went to all the district schools to teach the harmful effects of drinking and smoking. She also visited in the homes, helping in little ways such as babysitting so the mother might vote, ironing clothes, washing dishes, or breaking beans. Imitating Pettit, she distributed flower seeds to the older children to plant at their homes. After several regular visits to the schools, she passed out pledge cards reading "Desiring to obey the Law of Health, the Laws of my country and the Laws of God, I promise, God helping me, Not to buy, sell, drink or give, Alcoholic liquors while I live; From all tobacco I'll abstain, And never take God's name in vain." How successful she was in getting these signed is not known.

The temperance worker and the recruitment of Billy Sunday were not typical of either Pine Mountain or the settlements. The normal approach was to create substitutes for drinking—to provide good wholesome recreation, to supply activities that gave a satisfaction superior to that of drinking. At Line Fork, they became involved in an economic substitute as well, helping to establish a profitable crafts industry.

A second fundamental problem that proved difficult for the settlements was the need for a sense of community spirit. While the people at Big Laurel or Line Fork could unite on occasion, for instance in the giving of time to build the settlement houses, there was a lack of continuity to their efforts. In the midtwenties, Big Laurel got excited about the idea of building a community church, even appointing a committee to oversee the project; a few months
later the topic had totally disappeared from conversation. Line Forkers could enjoy the improved conditions of their schools and then turn around and elect trustees of conservative ilk opposed to them. Throughout the period, Pettit and Zande both insisted that any major undertakings by the centers must come through community desire and support and twice were ready to abandon projects had the community not come through at the last moment. At the heart of the problem was a lack of local leadership; it would take time for such to be cultivated and developed. Too, especially at Big Laurel, the population was in flux due to the vagaries of the logging industry leading to an instability in community cohesiveness. Distances between neighbors played its part as well; people who apparently lived close at hand often did not participate in some activity on the grounds that it was "too far" to go on a regular basis. As a result of such factors, the labors of the extension centers achieved mixed results.

Pettit and Zande did not confine their community concerns to the north side of the mountain alone; they were also interested in things affecting Harlan County and the mountain region as a whole. The expansion of the county's coal industry had greatly accelerated with growing American involvement in World War I, and to those who remembered the landscape of 1913, that of 1918 both physically and mentally seemed shocking. Harlan had emerged from being a backwater frontier county to a mining rush territory in its way just as wild as those of the Far West in the nineteenth century. After a trip to Wallins during her campaign for road funds, Zande lamented the
erosion of privacy and the decline of family life that had occurred as large numbers of people, for lack of other housing, were forced to live together under the same roof: "There is no individual ownership, no chance to cultivate land, there is no spirit of cooperation, I think life is bound to be degenerating, if not degrading, as these young married couples try to bring up their children under mining camp conditions." To a friend in Montclair, she wrote, "It is perfectly appalling to think that thousands of people are living, without any incentive to the things that we really consider worthwhile; privacy, thrift, wholesome interest in home and work." By August 1918, she had formulated a plan of action which she sketched out in a letter to John C. Campbell. "The thing I want to have happen is that some agency of experience and wisdom and heart sends a person...to make these conditions tolerable." The best thing would be the creation of a series of settlements, one for each camp but under one central authority, which would convey, at least through example, "standards of housekeeping, ideals of dress and behavior" and provide outlets for the women through Mothers' Clubs and crafts. She hoped Campbell might have suggestions as to persons and agencies to take up this work; for her own part, she longed to find funding so that her old friend, Antoinette Bigelow, now Dean of Woman at the University of Colorado, could use an upcoming leave of absence to make an investigation of the situation. To another friend, she proposed action by one or more churches and tried to interest a top official of the Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church (PCUSA) in the matter. Pine Mountain itself could not
launch this kind of settlement work—-it had its hands full—-but it had to be a catalyst, she felt, in order to get things started. What would it profit the school or the students to train them and have them go off to live in such dismal places? "We must teach the children who come to us standards of worthy living, and then as far as possible, we must help to make the conditions they will live under, worthy also." 32

In February 1919, after going to Louisville to await the coming of her first child, Zande became active on the Kentucky Child Labor Committee, being named to its board and doing some work for it relating to a survey of the conditions of childhood throughout the state. Through these contacts, she engineered a special survey by the National Child Labor Committee of conditions in Harlan County specifically. An eight person team visited the county that spring, with one or two of the members stopping at Pine Mountain to confer with her. She made several suggestions as to points to consider such as the influence of churches on the situation and the extent to which the problem related to immigrants as opposed to native mountain-ers. She also supplied reference material and photographs for the group's report which was published in *The American Child* and had the privilege of reading it in manuscript form and offering criticisms though apparently it arrived too late for her ideas to be incorporated in the final version. She pledged Pine Mountain to pay five hundred dollars towards the cost of the survey, an amount she evidently later recouped through appeals to a select list of donors. After the published report appeared, she worked to get it into the hands of key
coal operators. However, action on the contents was not forthcoming, either from them or from outside agencies.

This did not deter the women from hoping that something might be done. Zande in December 1920 tried to persuade the YMCA to set up a center in Harlan. "It is a boom town, the extensive coal interests of the county making it the center of a floating population. (The young men) have nothing to do and no place to go....The needs of recreation are enormous. I know the women of the town are extremely anxious for regenerative work, for they are fully aware of the moral problems of the place." However, the Y did not respond. The next year, she tried, also unsuccessfully, to persuade the U. S. Steel Corporation's mining operation at Lynch to add a day nursery to their facilities. Pettit got into the act later, writing a friend with connections in the Methodist Church in Kentucky to try to get that body to start a Wesley House settlement at Poor Fork. Abortive as these attempts were, they underscored the progressive nature of the school's leadership and its continuing concern for protecting the values of the mountain people.

Pine Mountain tried to be a good citizen of the county in other ways such as backing funding by the Fiscal Court for a county agent or participating in Red Cross and tuberculosis drives. On two occasions, offered books by outsiders which, for various reasons, they could not use, they recommended that the prospective donor send them to agencies in Harlan. In the first instance, the files show that the donor did so, sending approximately one thousand volumes to the
Harlan City Schools, a gift which in essence created a school library, for the principal, thanking Zande for her part in the gift, indicated that they had had no supplementary books before for the elementary grades. In the second case, the agency was the Harlan Woman's Club which was then trying to organize a public library, but the records do not show whether any books were actually sent. Nonetheless, the driving force behind the campaign, civic leader Helen McNew, thanked Pine Mountain for its interest. Zande also at the request of local businessmen went with them to a meeting at Middlesboro in 1921 to persuade L & N officials to make changes in the train schedule between Middlesboro, Pineville and Harlan. The only woman in a group of nearly two hundred, she made a strong speech in support of the desired revisions, winning an accolade from the Pineville newspaper and also obtained promise of a new stop at Laden which would facilitate crossing the mountain to the school.

**Summary.** In 1918, Pine Mountain's community work entered a second phase which involved three broad directions of endeavor—school supervision, the creation of extension centers, and concern for the county as a whole. School supervision gave the school the chance to share progressive ideas and techniques of education with the public district schools on the north side of the mountain, while the two extension centers provided springboards for health, recreational, religious, and general social programs in the Big Laurel and Line Fork communities. Concern for Harlan County led to the school to help fund a survey of conditions in coal camps in 1919 and to engage in a number of other varied civic activities of lesser note.
CHAPTER TWELVE: AWAKE TO THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF LIFE

Urban settlements frequently involved themselves in the economic advancement of their neighbors. They permitted labor unions to meet on their premises, they lobbied for laws pertaining to working conditions and child labor, and they set up manual training classes to prepare unskilled workers for better paying jobs. Pine Mountain with its rural location faced different conditions, but it too concerned itself with the economic aspects of community life. Its efforts in agriculture and forestry already described aimed ultimately at raising the standard of living. So did three other efforts including the promotion of fireside industries, the starting of a local credit union, and the construction of a good road across the mountain from the Harlan side. All three of these promised much, but the full potential of none was realized during the period.

Although Pine Mountain's primary emphasis in the development of its Fireside Industries Department was cultural, stressing the preservation of declining art forms and the importance of weaving as a thread in the overall mountain heritage, nonetheless, Zande and Pettit were not unaware of the economic side of crafts. In fact, they fully recognized that the economic incentive was crucial in keeping crafts alive in the community. For this reason, the school began early to
help local craftsmen market their products. By 1918, they were handling cornshuck mats and rugs and hickory split baskets. With the advent of the weaving program in 1921, they began buying wool yarn in large quantities, thus providing several local spinners with money to buy items they would have otherwise gone without such as stoves and false teeth. The weaving teacher, as part of her job, went into the neighborhood to teach weaving to those interested and to promote crafts generally. This was a slow but steady process, and by the end of the period, there were at least thirteen outside weavers regularly bringing items to the school for sale. This was not a large number, and their output was limited, but for a few families it meant the difference between mere subsistence and having a few luxuries. It was also a means of promoting family cohesiveness—the February 1923 Pine Mountain Notes describe how three generations of one family all contributed to the weaving process. The wool came from the grandmother's sheep; the grandfather carded it; one granddaughter spun it, and another did the actual weaving using quills and shuttles supplied by younger brothers and her father.

On Line Fork, several families, notably the Halls, became involved in making brooms, stools, chairs, chests, coathooks, candlesticks, and trays for sale as a result of interest expressed by the school. In the case of the Halls, who were already making such items for their own use, the stimulus came from the response of the Line Fork nurse to a handcarved walking stick one of them gave her as a present. She and the community worker suggested that they make brooms with similarly
carved handles for sale. Later, Pettit, eager to encourage alternatives to moonshining, offered to buy all the brooms and tools they could make, an offer they accepted. They were talented craftsmen who used black walnut and hickory from their own property and who grew their own broom corn. The school had little trouble selling their products to tearooms and craftshops around the country. It did, however, encounter a problem in initially financing the project due to having to pay the family in full for each consignment at the time of delivery and not normally having enough extra cash on hand to do that. To provide the necessary capital, Zande arranged a loan from one contributor which was later repaid after the business got on a firm footing. The success of the Halls evidently encouraged a few imitators, but apparently none became a serious competitor.

The financing of the Hall craft sales illustrates another problem which the school tackled in the mid-twenties—the shortage of capital. During the first half of 1924, Angela Melville, now working for the Credit Union National Extension Bureau of Boston, was in Kentucky giving talks and organizing credit unions in the eastern part of the state. She came to Pine Mountain in May. Despite Luigi Zande's enthusiasm for the idea based on his experiences with them in Italy, his wife and Evelyn Wells were skeptical about their potential in Harlan County. Before Melville's visit, they advised her against trying the county seat which had become "a place...absorbed with taking on things that are accepted and conventional," though they thought possibly she might find fertile fields in Evarts, Wallins, and Poor Fork. As for
the north side of the mountain, they felt a visit would be interesting for "educational purposes" but doubted that anything would come of it due to a lack of community organization. However, after Melville spoke her audience decided that they would like to have a credit union, and with several Pine Mountain workers and neighbors as incorporators and an initial capitalization of $150, one opened for business at the school office in June. However, the community as a whole was not yet prepared for banking in any form other than as a means of saving, and there was no great rush to borrow money. "The need of actual cash in this country is still so new that they do not always recognize it, in spite of the many pitiful lacks of their tiny homes and farms," Zande explained to a friend, and some of those wanting to borrow were individuals they felt could not be trusted to repay their loans. The little success the group had came from working with local youth by encouraging them to save. The next year Zande suggested to her fellow stockholders that they "withdraw some of the capital and work on a smaller basis," and the group soon afterward disbanded.

The most elaborate project initiated by the school relating to economic development was the building of the Pine Mountain road. This was an effort which involved not only a tremendous fund raising campaign on the part of the school but which also plunged it into state and local politics, the criminal justice system, and the intricacies of highway engineering.

The school's interest in having a good road across the mountain was not purely altruistic; it was as much an economic necessity for it
as it was for the neighbors. In 1913, the most direct route to the school from the Poor Fork valley on the south side was by trail across the mountain from the Dillon station on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, a trail six to seven miles long, described by Zande as "one mule wide and twenty percent grade," requiring at least three hours to negotiate. There was a shorter trail starting further up the railroad at Nolansburg, but it was much steeper and more treacherous. To bring over goods, one could use the "incline," a gasoline-powered cable railroad which crossed the mountain from Rosspoint to a point on the north side known appropriately as Incline. From there, one could use mules or oxen to transport freight down eight miles of very rough hauling road to the school. The incline itself, property of a lumber company in Somerset and built for bringing out logs, was somewhat decrepit with many rotten cross ties and loose rails. Wrecks and breakdowns were frequent. The cost of transporting goods from Rosspoint to the school was seventy cents per hundred pounds per mile. In 1916 alone, Zande estimated that if they had had a good road which would have lowered shipping costs to twenty-five cents per hundred pounds, they would have saved one thousand dollars, enough to have kept eight students in the school for a year.

A good road would even more greatly benefit the community. As a rule, farmers on the north side had a surplus of apples, corn, and potatoes, but the cost of shipping produce over the incline exceeded the price it would bring when sold. Zande found this ironic, because Kentucky imported some three million dollars' worth of fruit alone
from other states each year, while on the north side of Pine Mountain, hogs annually gobbled up several thousand dollars' worth of this commodity for want of cheap transportation. Opening a better way to market would lead to more money in the community and the ability to have certain amenities of life such as windows in cabins and sanitary outhouses. At one of the early meetings of the community to discuss the road, seventeen men testified to having hauled stoves over the mountain on their backs and a few more to having brought in sewing machines the same way. If a good road were available, it would be easy to have such items, both from the standpoint of transporting them and of the ability to pay for them. The road would thus promote new markets for downstate businessmen, a point they would develop at length during the campaign for funds.

The health needs of the community also demanded more efficient transportation. The distance to the nearest hospital and the cost of having a doctor come worked against local residents receiving medical care until the situation was quite serious. In the publicity for funds, the school used the story of one neighbor who had long suffered pains due to cancer; finally, when she could endure no more, she agreed to be taken to Harlan, crossing the mountain on a stretcher. When she got to the hospital, she learned it was too late, that her condition was inoperable. With a good road, they argued, she would undoubtedly have sought help sooner and perhaps survived. Zande also believed that the increased exposure to the outside world that the road would bring would lead to an increased awareness of good sanitation and its
practice.

William Creech in his concern for the spiritual well-being of the community believed the road would lead to an uplifting of morals. There would be, he thought, a decline in moonshining, an increase in Christian knowledge, and a new sense of civic awareness. "It would make the people more interested in the world and what's going on.... thousands would be benefitted and helped mightily, and made a more intelligent and enlightened people, better Americans for America."5

The campaign for the road grew out of a meeting of the Local Advisory Board in the fall of 1913, at which they agreed to go before the Harlan Fiscal Court and seek funds to construct a wagon road over the mountain following the same general route as the Dillon trail. It was a logical step for the school at that point—the difficulties recently experienced in bringing in the sawmill (they had to dig out the road in places to get it through) were fresh in people's minds and it provided a good opening for developing community leadership. The school and neighbors would work together to get government to respond to a community need just as urban settlements had gotten playgrounds and kindergartens for the public schools.

In October, Zande and nine local residents made the first of several appearances before the seven magistrates of Harlan County who comprised the Fiscal Court. They were not alone—Zande had invited Will Ward Duffield, agent for a large land company and a prominent civic leader, to speak for them, too. Although the squires took no action at that time, they seemed in her opinion to be favorably
disposed toward the project, and the neighbors agreed—"Ethel, the court's awful for us!"6

The next step was to get the County Judge to issue an order appointing a surveyor and two assistants to view out the route, which was done in December. With report in hand, they appeared before the court again in April, but by that time whatever ardor, if any, the magistrates had had for the road had cooled, and they rejected the proposal. However, County Judge John Creech, siding with the school, called a special session of the court in June, and Zande assembled a battery of speakers including several from Harlan—Duffield, A. B., Cornett of the Kentweva Corporation, and another man who had formerly been County Attorney. They went in with two justices on their side and came out with a unanimous vote appropriating five thousand dollars for the project. Crowed Zande in a letter to the Board later that month, "This is the first large sum ever appropriated by Harlan County to benefit any one section, and is remarkable not only for its generosity but also as a great step forward in the county's history."7 The estimated cost of the road being $10,000, this left an additional five thousand dollars to be garnered from the state and from concerned private citizens. Since "no more important event for this community" had occurred in years, Pine Mountain was prepared to do the necessary fund-raising and immediately sent out five thousand postcards asking each recipient for a dollar, an action which produced five hundred dollars. However, between the procrastination of county officials in applying for state aid, and Zande's preoccupation with Pine Mountain's own
construction program, no significant progress occurred during the next eighteen months, although the state did send W. A. Obenchain to make a preliminary survey of the route.

Obenchain's report noted that the difference in elevation on the south side of the mountain between the railroad and the summit was 1300 feet with an average slope of one foot in 4.8 feet. On the north, the difference between valley floor and summit was less, only 750 feet, but it rose much faster, one foot out of every 1.3. Despite this steepness, the southern face presented the more difficult construction problem due to its being crisscrossed by streams and by cliffs, some of which were over a hundred feet high. He recommended a grade of five per cent which would make the road eight miles long, but felt that a grade of six or seven per cent could be acceptable. Unfortunately, his estimate of the cost showed construction would be far more expensive than Zande and company had thought—he figured a cost of nearly ten thousand dollars a mile.

By the fall of 1915, Harlan Countians, awaking to the fact that they had not a single mile of macadamized highway in their county, had begun to demand action on good roads generally. At its December meeting, in response to a petition of some 350 voters, Fiscal Court passed a motion calling for the construction of forty-five miles of such roads up the principal branches of the Cumberland River and ordered a special election held in February 1916 to vote on a $250,000 bond issue to finance them. The voters approved the latter by a whopping majority (2592 to 567), and following the sale of the bonds in March,
the county hired L. E. Yoder, a former mining engineer, to supervise
collection work. While the Pine Mountain road was not included in
this measure, the action was not without significance for the school,
since it meant that Harlan County was availing itself of the provisions
of the 1914 state road law by which counties could annually receive
matching funds from the state based on the amount of money they had
appropriated for roads on their own. As a result of the bond issue,
Harlan County began receiving $5000 a year from the state to be con-
tinued over a twenty-five year period.

By late spring, Zande had come to several conclusions. First, the
road, if Obenchain's estimate was accurate, was going to cost at
least $60,000. Second, the school could expect no more financial aid
from the county which viewed its $5000 appropriation as a handsome
figure, which, given the frame of mind of Fiscal Court, she had to
concede it was. "Harlan County is full of old men who have always
ploughed through the mud with a lantern, and who live up little
branches and claim they will get no benefit from the road expenditure
anyway, and who have to be taught the value of roads by the slow logic
of facts." Third, despite some naive attempts at lobbying, she had
failed to get any sort of appropriation from the state as she had
originally hoped to do. After consultation with the State Commissioner
of Public Roads and others, she decided that if the school wanted the
road built immediately, it must raise $50,000. Half of this would be
a gift to the county from the school, "rather...the gift interested
America is making to the country 'back of beyond.'" Coupled to the
$5000 appropriation the county had already made, when matched to state funds it would produce an additional $1000 a year in revenue for the county. That alone would not be enough to bring about quick completion of the road. Therefore, the school would use the remaining $25,000 to advance the state's share of the cost of construction with the understanding that the county would each year repay the school a proportion of its income from the state road fund until the full amount of the state's share had been reimbursed.* To help raise the money, she obtained the services of a young woman from Illinois, Celia Cathcart, who had taught at the school that year. Cathcart, working as an unpaid volunteer, would go after the school’s gift to the county while Zande would work on the "loan" to the state. At the December 1916 Fiscal Court meeting, with Cathcart already in the field, Zande presented her proposal which met with ready acceptance from the magistrates. Now all the school had to do, she thought, was get the money.

Cathcart was to solicit funds for her share of the $50,000 in the Middle West and Kentucky. Zande thought at first that she would raise her own part through having the school issue bonds or through securing loans at little or no interest through friends of the school. However, when one of her chief financial advisers, Darwin D. Martin, counseled against both approaches, she decided to campaign for pledges in the

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East, with the money contributed ultimately going via the annual repayments from the state road fund into the school's endowment.

The correspondence between Cathcart and Zande as each worked on her own campaign sheds much light on Pettit and Zande's views of proper methods of publicity and fundraising. When Cathcart passed on to Zande the suggestion of a Chicago contact that they use a chain letter, Zande replied that such letters were to her a disreputable type of appeal and unlikely to produce much revenue. "It has always been our policy in trying to raise money to make it so easy for a person to say 'No' that they would be glad to say 'Yes.'" However, a plan Cathcart tried in Pineville of getting a certain number of individuals to each donate a quarter met with great approval, as did another plan to use girls' clubs in Louisville to help solicit small amounts in that city. "There may be a few people who would give largely," wrote Zande, "but they will probably not be many. I think people in the South rather like that plan of giving anyway;--a good many contributing smaller sums." Later Cathcart had a number of dime banks printed up which she used in Cincinnati and in Chicago with some effect. However, when Zande finally saw one several months after they first went into use, she announced that they would have to be recalled for corrections as one phrase wrongly indicated there was no wagon road over Pine Mountain anywhere in the area which was not true. She did not want the school laid open to charges of misrepresentation.

Personal direct contact with groups and individuals formed the principal method of campaigning for Cathcart and to a lesser extent
for Zande, who, due to her responsibilities at the school, had to rely more on her pen. In the case of larger cities, Cathcart divided her work into two phases. First, she made initial contacts with persons and organizations whom she hoped to persuade to assist her and then with their aid she conducted the second phase—a whirlwind campaign of the city for direct solicitation of funds. Pettit and Zande used their string of acquaintances to set up "parlor meetings" for her, meetings hosted by socially prominent women in their homes to give Cathcart a chance to talk informally to their friends about the need for the road. At these meetings there was no solicitation, but simply a presentation of the situation, leaving it to the guests to decide for themselves what an appropriate response would be. Cathcart also met with men's groups such as Rotary Clubs and Boards of Trade.

In order for these contacts to pay off and for the direct solicitation campaigns to succeed, they had to use newspaper and magazine publicity, despite their normal aversion to it. As Cathcart put it, "When a man hasn't even heard of the school, he thinks it can't amount to much or it would have come to his notice!" Though exercising caution in the material released, they developed excellent relations with the press in several cities, gaining cooperation both in news coverage and supporting editorials when Cathcart staged her appeals. Zande wrote articles for The Outlook and The Survey which helped create awareness in the circles to whom she appealed by letter. They also circulated pamphlets explaining the project; each had her own which focused solely on the $25,000 she was to raise, and the average
contributor could easily have been unaware of the fact that the school was raising $50,000 instead of $25,000. This was done apparently to lessen the immensity of the sum in the public mind and to keep from confusing donors with the complicated arrangements with county and state.

In addition to the motives already outlined for building the road, such as saving money for the school on its hauling bill and helping the neighbors economically and culturally, their publicity also stressed humanitarian and patriotic aspects. The story of the cancer victim, for instance, appeared written up in heart-rending fashion in the Louisville Herald, and a picture of her being carried across the mountain on a stretcher was widely disseminated. (Zande could never resist the impact of good, honest sentimentality in breaking down the hardhearted.) As for patriotism, they again underscored the potential contribution the mountain people could make to the nation. "America needs the mountains," asserted Zande in a form letter. "Will you seize this opportunity to show your patriotism in a material way—by helping America's greatest resource, her mountain sons and daughters?" asked Cathcart's pamphlet. For those more concerned with dollars and cents, they pointed out that one-third of those applying for relief in Cincinnati the previous winter were from Appalachia, and that Harlan County had long been on the list of Kentucky's "pauper counties." Opening the area up to economic development would change that.

Cathcart began her campaign in Illinois in the summer of 1916, moving into Kentucky that fall. After testing the waters in Harlan
and finding that due to a coal car shortage local businessmen were not favorably inclined towards contributing at that moment, she went down-state to work out campaigns for Lexington and Louisville and to visit a number of smaller towns and cities.

Of all the places where she campaigned, Cathcart lavished the most attention on Louisville whose response she viewed as critical in influencing donors in major cities outside the state who might feel that if Kentuckians did not care enough to contribute to a cause in their own state, why should they? She wanted Louisville to give a mile of the road, and early in 1917 began to lay a careful groundwork for achieving that end. After getting commitments of press coverage, she secured endorsements from the Woman’s Club, the Rotary Club, and the Board of Trade. The latter group went out of its way to assist her, evidently wishing to build up a fund of goodwill in the mountains for commercial ventures, and after conflicts with campaign dates for other groups had caused several postponements for Pine Mountain’s, helped her stage an effective whirlwind drive in May. To kick off their work the Board sponsored a luncheon on May 7 with writer John Fox Jr. as principal speaker and William Creech, guest of honor. That evening a packed house at the Woman’s Club auditorium heard Fox read some of his stories and Cathcart and several prominent Louisvillians speak in support of the road. Creech told the group he had come to Louisville “to let you see what a regular mountaineer is like” and also made a few remarks stressing the great improvement the school was making in the moral development of the young. 15 Two days of intensive effort by
members of the Board followed, resulting in $6000. Cathcart also
campaigned in Cincinnati, Chicago, and Detroit; by the first week of
August, she had all but $400 of her share.

Zande, who had done a little speaking in the East early in the
year, had had to put most of her efforts into correspondence, In
addition to her Pine Mountain duties, her mother and aunt had been
sick for a couple of months in the spring, and she had had to go to
Massachusetts to nurse them. By August, she had only about $16,000.
Cathcart wanted to cap off her own drive with an intensive canvass of
Harlan County, and they agreed that anything above her $400 would go
into Zande's share. Securing the endorsement of the Harlan Commercial
Club and the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, they prepared
to go out and do battle.

They decided that Harlan should give $2500, or a quarter mile of
road. The Commercial Club put out posters reading "Harlan's Quarter
Mile.... Lexington has given $1,000, Louisville has given $6,000, Will
Harlan give $2,500?" The Harlan Enterprise explained that all it would
take would be twenty gifts of a hundred dollars each plus twenty more
of twenty-five dollars a piece. "Perhaps," wrote the editor,

you are thinking that taxes are so high that you cannot give much.
Do not fail to remember that over $30,000 has been given...by
people who have not a cent of money invested in the whole State of
Kentucky.... What they have started, we must finish.

Noting that many other Kentucky towns had contributed as well, he
continued,

These cities recognize Harlan as a progressive, live town. There
is no better way for us to prove our progressiveness than by build-
ing a quarter of a mile of the Pine Mountain Road.
On August 15, Zande and Cathcart, accompanied by Marguerite Butler and Evelyn Wells, set off for four days of hectic activity, finding that since times were good, with money "being made hand over fist," getting the makers to part with a little of it was not too hard. Their biggest problem proved to be physical rather than financial--they had blistered feet from walking around the county calling on various coal operators at their mines. However, the $3300 they brought home with them more than made up for any such minor sufferings.

The Harlan campaign was the last major drive for the fund; while some money remained to be raised, it came largely through responses to letters Zande had sent out. Feeling good about their accomplishments, she hoped to sit back and watch others build the road, but it was not to be. Inertia, misunderstandings, politics, and her own sense of honor soon transformed her into the watchdog of the road.

As Pine Mountain had understood the timetable for construction, the working survey and plans were to be made in the spring of 1917. However, the County Road Engineer for various reasons kept putting them off, and finally Zande complained to County Judge John A. Ward who sent a private engineer, Horace Fox, to do the work. Fox, assuming that it was a county project and that his firm would oversee construction, did not run in the curves in making the survey, planning on doing that as construction proceeded. Just after completing the survey, he received a copy of the Kentucky state guidelines for surveys which indicated that there would have to be a more extensive survey than he had done. Zande had also requested him to get an exemption
from the state with regard to the width of the road, something which he had failed to do. In the spring of 1918, he ran a second survey but again omitted running in the curves as the guidelines specified that the final center line would be located following completion of the plans. However, this proved unacceptable to the State Highway Commissioner which meant a third trip to the area during which the curves were at last run in the ground.

By this time, Zande, who had been initially quite taken with Fox, was annoyed with him for being "slow" thereby costing them precious weeks of construction time and also with Commissioner Rodman Wiley for insisting that the road be built twenty feet wide. Zande wanted it fourteen feet to save on costs and thought that Obenchain had figured his original estimate on that basis, a fact Wiley disputed. He said that twenty feet was the standard width for a two lane road, that less would undoubtedly prove unsatisfactory, and that due to the terrain, one could not widen it later if such were the case. Zande reported that in the northeast, she had seen "excellent roads" of narrow width in the mountains which accommodated two way traffic by having passing areas from time to time. "This is so entirely a rural district that I do not imagine the travel over the road will ever be congested." Wiley then invited her to Frankfort to confer, though he doubted she could change his mind; however, at a meeting in August, she did. He agreed to permit an overall width of fifteen feet, though he cautioned against publicizing the fact, as he did not want to be swamped with similar requests from all over the state. They also
agreed that rather than follow the normal procedure whereby the county would build the road subject to state approval, the state itself would construct it using convict labor. The state would pay half the cost and Pine Mountain the other through the funds then in the hands of Fiscal Court. (What Zande did not realize was that once Fiscal Court passed the necessary enabling resolution to permit the state to take over the road, the funds would be transferred to state custody. For the next two years she operated on the assumption that the school's share of the bills would come back to it to be paid at its approval by the County Treasurer. This helps explain some of her behavior in the months subsequent to August 1918.) Another outcome of the agreement was that due to a sharp rise in construction costs, all the money raised by Pine Mountain became in essence the county's share to be matched by the state and that no money would return to the school for the endowment fund. Zande accepted this, because she felt it was the only way to get the road completed.

With the width and mode of construction of the road settled, it seemed that at last construction could begin. But no, there was the question of the plans. Fox had done a considerable amount of work, had not yet been paid anything, and despite Zande's understanding that he was to be paid on completion of the work, thought he should be paid something "on account." There was also the question of who should pay him--county, school, or state. Wiley felt he should not receive anything for the first survey which had been made contrary to state guidelines. Until this matter was settled, Fox was in no hurry to
draw the plans. Too, he had finally finished an acceptable survey for a twenty foot wide road in July, only to learn in August that the width was to be less, which necessitated redoing everything. It was not until the spring of 1919 that the state effected a settlement with him, taking over at that point the responsibility of finishing the plans itself. In order to facilitate matters, Wiley decided to have the engineer do plans for the first half mile and turn them over to the construction crew so they could get started before he finished the remainder. Zande, in the meantime, had gotten Fiscal Court to apply for convicts to use on the project.

Nonetheless, over a year had been lost, time during which, due to World War I and the coal boom, the price of labor and materials had soared (Pettit estimated fifty per cent). Wiley in June 1918 had warned that they probably would not have enough money to finish the road. The crunch on the school’s running expenses had also increased. The incline had closed in mid-1917 and they had had to ship their goods in from Chad which was further north on the railroad and haul them over a very primitive wagon road which ran up Line Fork via Hurricane Gap. Before they could use this road, Zande and Pettit had had to lobby the Letcher Fiscal Court under whose jurisdiction most of the road lay to get it repaired. Failing to get prompt action, they did it themselves, billing the county for $150. Since at some points one side of the road was five feet higher than the other and mud was axle deep when it rained, they had trouble finding teamsters willing to haul over it. When they did, they had to pay $1.25 per hundred
pounds per mile. During the winter of 1917-18, the bulk of their freight ended up in storage at Chad, and they were frequently without feed for their dairy herd.

June 1919 brought renewed hope that the road would soon become a reality. Under the overall direction of division engineer, J. R. Johnson, ground was broken and actual work begun, a moment attended only by construction crew and supervisors, Johnson not having thought in advance of asking Zande to come, though he did save her the first pick used.

As construction proceeded, Zande and Cathcart, now Mrs. Caryl Holton, turned their attention to the need for a railroad siding and passenger stop at the point where the new road intersected the L & N track on the south side of the mountain. The siding appeared a vital necessity as the L & N at first displayed reluctance to permit building machinery and other supplies to be unloaded off the main track at the work site, preferring to do so at Dillon, a mile away, so as not to interfere with its other operations. Chad Lewis, who owned a store at the site, wanted a siding badly enough to canvass the neighbors for the necessary money, but the cost was too great. Zande decided that if the railroad would not pay for it, and at first it declined to do so on the grounds that it did not see any appreciable revenue coming from the siding in the foreseeable future, then Pine Mountain would do so, and sent the company a deposit to cover construction costs. In the meantime, O. B. Hollingsworth, division superintendent for the railroad for the area, persuaded higher ups to allow the company to
allow the company to assume the expense itself and Pine Mountain received a refund. As a friendly gesture, Hollingsworth named the new stop, "Zande," but after thinking it over, Ethel and Luigi, though flattered, felt that it would be inappropriate for them to permit this and requested a name in keeping with the region. Pettit reported later than fail to a correspondent that the railroad for reasons unknown had renamed it "Laden," and ultimately the road, taking the name of its terminus, became known as the Laden Trail.

By fall one half-mile of road had been graded. Zande, on the understanding that the convicts would remain during the winter if the weather held, had worked hard to get their camp fixed up so that it would be comfortable in colder weather. To her great astonishment, they were recalled to the state penitentiary in November, an action which the new State Commissioner of Public Roads, Joe Boggs, explained was related to the change in administration of state government taking place that December. (Boggs, who succeeded Wiley in September, became a good ally for the school, doing as much as he could under the circumstances to further the road.) With the closing of work for the year, Zande and Pettit took stock, and what they saw and heard dismayed them. The head guard of the convicts and one of the neighbors complained that the man immediately supervising the project was inefficient and was wasting money. Should they try to persuade the state to find someone else? A load of coal had been delivered just prior to the departure of the convicts. Could it be sold or would it be left to be stolen? Their friend Johnson had resigned—could they depend on the new division engineer, J. S. Watkins? And
what about getting enough convicts to speed things up next year? Couldn't they have teams working on both sides of the mountain? And when would the state finish the plans and work up definite estimates? If things continued at their present rate, the road would cost $20,000 a mile to complete. The responsibility of all the money they had raised weighed heavily on their shoulders—"if it is being frittered away, it is a more than uncommon pity," Zande informed Boggs. Correspondence with Johnson and a conference with Watkins eased their minds somewhat, but they remained determined to do themselves whatever was necessary to facilitate matters.

In order to make the work more cost efficient, Watkins thought they should have more convicts on the job in 1920 than in 1919, so in February Zande asked Boggs to get forty, later amending the figure to seventy-five when she learned the camp could accommodate that many. Boggs promised to present the request to the State Board of Control which supervised the prison system but doubted they would grant that many for a single project. Meanwhile, Pettit, in Lexington for her vacation, had been conferring with her friend, Mrs. Lafon Riker, who along with all the other members, had just been appointed to the Board. At Pettit's suggestion, Zande wrote Riker outlining their needs and indicating that money had been lost in 1919 due to an insufficient work force. She also wrote Board chairman, Edward Hines, asking him to allow Angela Melville and Johnson to argue the school's case at their March meeting. Hines said they were bound to honor the highway department's request with regard to numbers but would be willing to hear any suggestions about better means of handling convict labor.
The Board members, new to their job and concerned about the cost to
the state of maintaining convict labor forces in the field, got it in
their heads that Pine Mountain wanted to file some complaint of mis-
management of funds, a misunderstanding that nearly cost the project
any help, but fortunately Melville straightened matters out, and on
March 9, the Board voted to allow the road the full complement of
seventy-five men.

Boggs, in the meantime, clamped down on the project, ordering
Watkins to hire a resident engineer to stay on the job full time and
survey ahead of construction and to hire an "efficient" superintendent
rather than the man used the year before. He told Zande not to hesi-
tate to bother him with her questions, that he was eager to help. By
May, things were again underway, and Zande announced a plan to visit
the site every two weeks. By the end of the month, she was again
watchdogging in earnest—where was the engineer, the new superintendent
needed a center line, Watkins ought to visit the site more, and so on.
She was also busy holding down costs. Corresponding with an official
whom she knew in the Chicago office of Wisconsin Steel, she made what
she called an "audacious" request for a free carload of coal for the
project. After pointing out that Wisconsin Steel was not currently
receiving an adequate supply of coal itself, her acquaintance nonethe-
less granted her plea. Later she successfully got a second carload
free from U. S. Steel, and the following year wrangled an additional
one from her first benefactor.

On September 7, 1920, crime made an ugly appearance on the moun-
tain, shattering Pine Mountain's sense of security and temporarily
distracting Zande from concern with the road itself. That morning, Lura Parsons, a forty-two year old domestic science teacher who had only recently begun working at the school, got off the train at Dillon to return to the school after a short vacation. Partway up the south side, she was raped and brutally beaten to death with a stake pulled from the construction lines of the road. When her body was discovered two days later, two lines of investigation developed in the pursuit of the murderer. The school, which employed its own detective from Cincinnati to work on the case, felt that a state veterinarian, Dr. H. C. Winnes, who had come to the school to test its dairy herd the same day that Parsons had started over the mountain, was the culprit. He had acted strangely the entire time he had been at the school and was the one who first made them aware that Parsons had been on the mountain that day as she was not expected at that time. The evidence against him was largely circumstantial. It had taken him an hour and a half to reach a point on the mountain that was normally a fifteen minute trip; mule tracks found near the body matched those of the mule he had been riding, a mule hired out by a neighbor to travelers; and he had shown an interest in Parsons on the train and offered to rent a mule for her to ride. She however had turned him down and had started over the mountain on foot several minutes before he did. Harlan County officials, who at first also appeared to suspect Winnes, soon announced that one or more of the black convicts had to be responsible. In their view, prison authorities running the camp had been negligent, thus affording several the opportunity to do it; anyway, everyone knew that rape was "not a white man's crime."
However, no hard evidence against any convict was ever produced.

The case had a definite relationship to the road apart from the location of the crime. After sustained pressure on the Commonwealth's Attorney by the school using its friends and press connections down-state, he asked for and got from the Grand Jury an indictment of Winnes, but in the actual trial, played only a minimal role, leaving the brunt of the prosecution to the school's lawyer, A. F. Byrd, a veteran of the Breathitt County feud trials, even saying outside the courtroom that he personally believed a black did it. Other county officials were even less circumspect, charging that the school and prison authorities were covering up the latter's inefficiency in order to prevent withdrawal of the work crews and the end of construction on the road. This was far from the truth. Both Zande and Pettit in private letters repeatedly expressed their desire that the murderer prove to be a convict, for then they could again feel secure on the mountain, but in their hearts, neither believed one was. The school's concerns as seen in Zande's letters (she assumed responsibility for the school's part in investigating and prosecuting the case) included first, the desire that the guilty party be brought to justice. If the perpetrator were not caught, it would be difficult for the school to attract teachers and for parents to feel safe about their children. (The school superintendent in Lynch reported later that year that six women had turned down teaching jobs there because of the murder.) Second, the school had to push the investigation since local officials did not seem to be doing it on their own. Their initial flip-flop over whether Winnes was a suspect caused Zande to speculate that he must
have powerful political connections which were pulling strings in the case. He was a recent appointee of the new Republican administration; the Harlan officials were also Republican, and their change in attitude occurred following Winne's return to the city in the custody of a special deputy who also worked in the state auditor's office. However, no proof of her suspicions ever came to light. Third, while they did not want to protect the convicts if they were guilty, neither did they want to see them mistreated and railroaded simply because they were black. And fourth, as women, it became for them a matter of honor to see that such a crime against their sex did not go unchallenged.

The Winnes trial itself resulted in a hung jury with a vote of eleven to one in favor of acquittal. When the case came up for re-trial in April 1921, the Commonwealth's Attorney moved for dismissal which was granted. Later one of the convicts was tried but acquitted by a jury downstate. The crime was never solved.

The tension between town and school resulting from the case came close to seriously damaging the school's relationship to the broader community, particularly as the officials and the leading defense attorney were prominently connected in the county and the townspeople tended to follow their lead over that of the outsiders at the school. However, the school, though disappointed that the prosecution of Winnes was dropped, had the good sense to accept the situation rather than to pursue the matter further. As Zande's two close advisers, Darwin D. Martin and Daniel M. Lord who read transcripts of the case pointed out, the evidence did not directly link Winnes to the crime
and the fact that they had made the effort and gotten the case before a jury acquitted them of any charge that they were not concerned about the safety of their workers. To go further risked making Pine Mountain appear a persecutor rather than a defender of the right.

Returning to the road, by the close of 1920, the road was only halfway up the south side. However, this time, despite the Parsons murder, the convicts were left on the job throughout the winter. In January, friction arose over who should be in charge of the construction. Watkins annoyed with the slow progress, gave the superintendent, a man named Foster, orders which the latter felt were inappropriate, according to Zande. Writing Boggs, she charged that Watkins did not visit the project enough and that he contradicted himself from one visit to the next, criticizing Foster one time for devoting too much time to roadwork and the next visit for spending too much on paperwork. Watkins would not hire a powder man but then expressed dissatisfaction with the rate of advance of the steamshovel. Zande felt Foster and the steamshovel operator were competent men who had the interest of the road more at heart than did Watkins whom she suspected intended to replace Foster with a friend. How could Foster accomplish anything with the two engineers he had, one of whom stayed drunk and the other a man of poor caliber? Watkins told Foster to get rid of the mule teams he'd been using and remove the dirt with a wheelbarrow instead of a scraper, a suggestion her husband thought ill-advised. Finally, she got to the heart of the matter—regardless of what happened to Foster, she thought Watkins ought to go. Boggs, undoubtedly annoyed, responded somewhat impersonally and curtly that if there
were conflict between the two men, it would be better to shift Foster
to another job. Zande, somewhat more humble but not repressed, shot
back with a defense of Foster but respected Boggs's decision to stand
by his division engineer. "I do not want you to think I am a busy-
body and a wilful, spiteful woman." Perhaps part of the problem
was related to tension from the Parsons case. She emphasized that she
had not informed Watkins of her displeasure with him and would prefer
to keep it that way, for she would try to work with him harmoniously
despite her reservations.

In February, Watkins called on her to present his side of the
matter. After their conference, Zande accepted Watkins's interpreta-
tion of the situation, particularly as it pertained to discipline at
the prison camp, and wrote Boggs that she would abide by his decision
to replace Foster. To the Fosters, she wrote that if she had been
more competent to argue points of road construction, she would have
gone to see Boggs, but given the situation, she had to yield. "So
much of life we just have to accept and make the best of." In her letter to Boggs, she had also expressed concern over
drinking at the camp. "If we have drinking going on over there,
some terrible tragedy may happen, which would certainly make many
people believe that Miss Parsons' death really lay at the doors of
the camp and that we had tried to cover it up." Boggs, writing
to tell her that the new superintendent would be F. S. Brown, also
promised that the liquor problem would be dealt with. Watkins, on
his instructions, issued a stern order that none of the camp
personnel were to drink anywhere in the vicinity of the camp and were
to do nothing to give the press and contractors of convict labor a
chance to criticize the use of convicts on road work.

As a result of a general shake-up of affairs following the
Parsons murder, Henry Creech became head of the prison camp, which
pleased Zande immensely. Unfortunately, by late spring, Creech frus-
trated by a lack of support from prison officials, resigned. Zande,
after an inspection tour the first week of June fired off heated
letters to both prison officials and the highway department, express-
her view that the convicts needed to be shaped up or shipped out.
"I have never had a group of children at Pine Mountain lazing on
their work as much as those men did."24 She felt that prison officials
had given convicts the impression that they were siding with them
over the guards. "They feel that they can get to you over any
guards, and that you will be ready to believe that they are being
abused." In a separate complaint, Watkins concurred, saying that
while the highway department was paying $1.50 a day per man for a
ten hour day, they were actually only getting about five hours of
work. The guards were not strict enough; the prison department did
not cooperate. If the situation could not be corrected, he, like
Zande, favored getting rid of the prisoners.

As a result of these complaints and others from around the
state along with Brown's threat to resign if things did not improve,
Boggs set up a joint meeting of the State Board of Charities and
Corrections and the State Highway Commission on June 20 at which time
they thrashed out the matter agreeing to make any changes necessary to make convict labor successful. Both parties invited Zande's further comments, which she did not hesitate to give, pointing out that the convicts needed larger portions of food if they were to work at full steam.

Just as the convict problem was being resolved, a more serious one arose. Boggs, acting in accordance with a request from the Harlan County Judge, notified Zande in June that they were about to run out of funds, then having approximately seven thousand dollars left. Zande was stunned, thinking all along that there was much more left than there was. At first, she suspected chicanery on the part of the county which had never turned over its $5,000, but when it did so in the form of a bond, and when she had checked out the figures, she had to agree. She wondered whether the state could not finance the rest of the road on its own; certainly Pine Mountain could not raise any more money as most of its contributors had thought $50,000 was quite enough. Boggs and the chairman of the State Highway Commission, H. G. Garrett, agreed, after consulting the Attorney General, that since the road was not part of the state primary system, there was no legal way for it to do so.

By September, they were at the crisis point. Zande had managed to scrape together a little more money in the form of hitherto unpaid pledges, and Watkins showed his true mettle by determining to finish grading to the top of the mountain if he and only three or four others had to do the last bench themselves. He prevailed on the department
to leave the convicts in the field until mid-October, although according to his own figures which showed that the state had already overspent the Pine Mountain contribution by some four thousand dollars, they should have been removed from the job at the end of September. He had made sure his request would be looked upon favorably by clearing and blasting ahead to the top. So the end of October 1921 found Pine Mountain with a graded road up the south side but only the old trail down the north, a situation which remained for several years.

Boggs advised Zande the best course for the school would be to get the road included in the state primary system, and after she decided to lobby the 1922 General Assembly for this purpose, he agreed to help her. In the meantime, she explored possibilities for using the road—a neighbor wondered if he could put up an incline, but Watkins opposed it, and Boggs refused permission. He did allow the school to haul hay up the road; they transported it down the other side by sled. Determined not to leave them any excuse to fail to come back, she suggested they leave the boxed-up steamshovel and some pipes at Laden to economize on freight. Boggs said taking the steamshovel which he needed for maintenance work elsewhere would in no way hurt their future chances. She also wanted them to go ahead with the survey and prepare estimates for the north side, but Boggs declined as he operated on a tight budget and made it a policy to do survey work only on projects for which funds were available. He did indicate that the north side would be constructed by contract rather than convict labor as the department had junked the idea of using prisoners at all in the future.
With the opening of the 1922 session of the Kentucky General Assembly in January, Zande began to marshal forces to push through a bill incorporating the road into the state primary system. She had already contacted the local members of the Assembly, Representative Wright Kelly who lived on Clover Fork and Senator H. W. Brock of Harlan who was one of the leading lights of the legislature. With both men full behind her, it became a question of proper strategy. Boggs, while sympathetic to the cause wanted to get some needed revenue bills including a fifty million dollar bond issue secured before opening what he considered a Pandora's box of potential amendments to the system from all over the state. Otherwise, he feared, they would have a network of roads and no money with which to construct them, a position with which Brock agreed. Therefore, they decided to hold off on introducing the bill until late in the session. When the proper moment came, Zande went to Frankfort to lobby in person. She had paved her way by contacting a few friends of the school who put her in touch with key legislators. (The most valuable of these contacts was a Cincinnati lawyer, Philip Roettinger, who had helped her with advice during the Parsons case, and who through a distant relation of his wife got the Speaker of the House to promise his support.) Before she returned to Pine Mountain, the bill had received its first reading in both houses and had gone to the Rules Committee in each. Upon her return to the school, she immediately sent out some fifty letters, part of them to committee members in support of the bill but most to acquaintances around the
state urging them to lobby their legislators and to use whatever influence they had to get the bill passed. In these letters, she employed three basic arguments. First, unless the state completed the road itself, the $110,000 already spent would be wasted. Second, while the bill, in order to fit the road into the system, designated it the Harlan-Hyden Highway, they were not talking about immediate construction of the entire length, but only a small leg of it—two miles of road to be graded and six to be surfaced. (She doubted seriously that the remainder would be constructed for at least forty years.) Third, the school needed the road desperately if it were to function efficiently—it was now paying hauling charges of $1.50 per hundred pounds per mile. With these letters in the mail, all she could do was wait, though not patiently. To Brock, she reported, "As the Bible says, having done all, I stand—but I confess, I stand first on one foot and then the other, and am just longing for a line from you, saying that the bill is getting along well."

On March 4, a letter arrived from Kelly announcing passage of the bill by the House. As this body had presented more of an obstacle than the Senate, she felt somewhat optimistic, and the school had a big celebration at dinner two days later, singing an original jingle in praise of Kelly. When asked who Kelly was, one little girl said he was "the man who was going to be president," which was a fair representation of Pine Mountain's jubilation. Then began a second wait for Senate action. The session ended; a couple of days passed without any word from Brock. Assuming the worst, Zande on March 20, wrote him asking what had caused them to lose and what they could do
next. However, as this letter moved towards its destination, another from Brock was on its way to her. They had won; the bill had passed and was now on the Governor's desk. Jubilant, Zande wrote her sister, "Our Road Bill has passed both houses. I do not doubt but what the governor will sign it. A mountain has rolled off my back, I assure you. Think of having the whole thing now out of my hands!" But again, such was not to be the case. Although the Governor signed the bill, and the Pine Mountain road became part of the primary system, the legislature had not appropriated any money with which to build it as they had killed the proposed bond issue, a fact Zande learned when she wrote Watkins and Boggs to get them moving on construction. Though Boggs was sympathetic and had Watkins prepare a set of estimates for finishing the road which placed the cost at around $19,000 per mile, he told Zande quite frankly that he saw no hope of resuming work until after the next General Assembly.

As the realization sank in that it would be at least two years before they could expect anything from the state, the neighbors began to agitate for building a temporary hauling road down the north side. Joining together and agreeing to donate the labor, they lobbied Fiscal Court for some financing, ultimately receiving $5,000, which, after cleverly outsmarting a holdout on the right of way, they used in 1923 to put in a rough but passable road. As Zande had nearly reached the end of her rope as far as the project was concerned, Pine Mountain's contribution was largely one of moral support.
She did not make any significant effort in the 1924 legislature, evidently having decided it was a matter for the state to handle. The General Assembly did pass a major bond issue, but the voters defeated it in November, so there was still no funding for the road's completion. However, the financial pressure on the school had eased both with the completion of the neighbors' road and more importantly with the opening of a logging railroad over the mountain operated by the Intermountain Lumber Company. This cut transportation costs from the L & N to the school to forty cents per hundred pounds. Resigned to the situation, Zande confined herself to occasionally stirring the waters to try to get maintenance work done, usually with very limited success. Neither state nor county wanted to assume responsibility for it.

In the fall of 1925, Darwin D. Martin wrote her with what he considered a brilliant proposal for getting the road finished. "Suppose you were retained by three million Appalachian mountaineers to prepare a brief to show cause why Henry Ford should penetrate all the mountains with good roads?" he asked, going on to express his confidence in her ability to sway the tycoon. If she failed to touch his heart, she could always point out that better roads would lead to the local acquisition of more Fords.

At first she did not reply to this suggestion, but after Martin persisted, she told him she felt the time was not right as the legislature was then considering a hundred million dollar bond issue. Anyway, she doubted that Ford would find mountain road construction appealing from a business standpoint. In later letters, she noted
that Ford owned much property in neighboring Leslie County, a county which had built only one and seven-tenths miles of improved road, and that possibly Ford might consider building the intercounty seat road between Harlan and Hyden, but she doubted it. Ford, eager to have a road connecting Manchester with Hyden, had told Leslie and Clay Counties that if they approved a bond issue for that purpose, he would purchase the bonds and provide free steamshovel work. Leslie accepted, but Clay refused, and the proposition fell through. She also felt uncertain about appealing to him for another reason—she wasn't sure of Ford's sincerity as a philanthropist, and she found his methods suocratic. "I suppose the thing I am most in doubt about is whether a peaceful penetration that is brought about by an alien capitalist is the kind we ought to have, and whether we ought not to go slower and have roads that are built with the people's money."28 Martin immediately rose to the defense of a fellow entrepreneur. Ford might be "dictatorial," but that was typical of the "pathfinder," and Ford more than others had created "this new day in industry" which had proved so beneficial. As for "the people's money," Zande had already admitted through Pine Mountain that the hill country lacked adequate funds for good education and her recent experiences ought to have taught her they didn't have them for roads either. "Did you not put $25,000 of alien money into your own road?"29 In a later letter, he still clung fervently to the belief that she would ultimately see the light and "be the shell of communication that will move mountains."30 However, she did not, and nothing came of the idea.
The next significant development in the history of the road came in May 1929 when a group of north side residents along with Zande's successor, Angela Melville, and Pine Mountain Advisory Board member, R. E. Samuels of Pineville, went before Fiscal Court seeking action. They persuaded the squire to appropriate $50,000 to complete the road, the appropriation taking the form of an offer from Fiscal Court to the State Highway Commission to reduce by that figure the amount of money for which the state was obligated to the county under the road laws on the condition that the state apply it to taking the road down the north side of the mountain and on towards Hyden. In order to pressure the state, some of the neighbors also tried to persuade Leslie County to appropriate money to start the road from the Hyden end. Pettit, acting on Samuels's advice, contacted Harlan banker, C. D. Cole, who was then serving on the State Board of Charities and Corrections, asking him to push the project in Frankfort. Cole reported in June that the matter was up in the air due to a reorganization of the highway department, but that they didn't need to worry for Governor Flem D. Sampson was a mountain man himself, being from Laurel County. Cole also indicated that the Harlan Kiwanis Club which had had a picnic at the school the preceding fall was interested in meeting there again that year. Pettit and Melville quickly latched on to that idea, for they had learned that the Governor planned to visit the county in September, and a Kiwanis picnic at Pine Mountain seemed an ideal vehicle for getting him to come see the road. Once he saw it, they felt sure he would be moved to finish it. Samuels, in Frankfort on a trip of his own, reported that the Governor was in
fact considering visiting the school and had indicated he would try
to do something for them. Spurred by this news, they issued a formal
invitation to him and got Cole to issue one on behalf of Kiwanis.
Since the Kiwanians were planning to come on the logging railroad,
Melville wrote the Governor suggesting that he might wish to leave
the school by muleback so he could see the situation for himself.
Whether he did or not is not clear from the records—a letter from
Pettit apologizing for the roughness of the train ride suggests that
he did not. However, he did come to the school and seems to have
enjoyed his visit, sending them a flowery bread and butter letter by
way of thanks. "The school is a revelation and an inspiration... I
wish all Kentuckians could intimately know about it."
Unfortunately, bread and butter letters don't get roads built; not even lunches
from Laurel House or folk dance exhibitions could do the trick, and
nothing came of either the Fiscal Court proposal or the Governor's
trip except an invitation to visit when in Frankfort.

The next spring, Celia Holton and Samuels wrote one of the
latter's friends in the Attorney General's office, James M. Gilbert,
asking him to plead for them with Highway Commissioner Zack Justice.
Gilbert, using the best Kentucky political style, wrote a grandilo-
quent letter comparing their plea to that of "a child begging its
mother for Bread" and calling it "the same Pitiful story of disap-
pointment, Broken Promises, and wicked betrayal," that the previous
highway administration had perpetrated for so long around the state.
"Let's give these people bread instead of a stone and in the years
to come they will not forget the Road commission that helped them."
But political rhetoric did no good, neither did a midsummer visit by a Pine Mountain contingent to the Highway Commission. Exasperated, Samuels himself wrote Justice:

I can't get it through my head that the great State of Kentucky and especially the democratic party, both of which I am so proud, mean to go back on a promise made ten or twelve years ago to two consecrated women, one of whom gave her life to the work and is buried on the side of old Pine Mountain, the other has worn herself out in the service of our people. In the name of these two women...and for the sake of the little children on Big Laurel, BUILD THAT ROAD."33

But silence prevailed in Frankfort. It would not be until the coming of the New Deal and the Civilian Conservation Corps that the road would be completed, and then at Federal instead of state expense.

Summary. Pine Mountain approached the economic needs of the community in a variety of ways--through its efforts to have a model farm and woodland, through the educational aspects of the Fair, through the promotion of weaving and other crafts among the neighbors, through the establishment of a credit union, and through the building of a good road over the mountain. In none of these was it totally successful. Except for the truly talented, crafts were not a visible alternative, and the people were not ready for a credit union. The road campaign failed to produce the road dreamed of in the beginning due to inertia, inflation, and the realities of road politics--there were just not that many voters at its end.
RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

To put Pine Mountain into perspective, there are at least two important respects in which it exemplified progressive values both in education and in general. First and foremost was its commitment as an institution to social settlement ideals. Pettit and Zande approached their work in the Pine Mountain community on the basis of neighbors helping neighbors, of friends teaching friends to help themselves. Pine Mountain thus became in their eyes a catalyst, an "interpreter," a "bridge" between the mountain people and the outside world whose intrusion threatened to overwhelm them with new values shallower than those inherent in traditional mountain life. Although there were those who approached mountain work sentimentally, inspired by a sense of romanticism and the awesome feeling of doing good, Pettit and Zande were not among them. Their loyalty to the settlement ideal of a work grounded in mutual respect kept them honest. They were not, as a later Pine Mountain worker would somewhat sarcastically describe some of their subordinates, "zealous and devoted lady bountifuls," but realists who clearly perceived the dangers of doing too much for the people, who abhorred the effects of pauperization and patronization, and who sought no self-gratification from their efforts. They saw equally well that the work they had chosen was not one which yield
immediate results. "You don't expect results in less than twenty-five years," Pettit once observed, and Zande, after several years in the hills, wrote, "The only thing that really counts is having some vision ....Everything has to be done in faith." They accepted the fact that they might not personally be able to measure the impact of the school; the challenge for them lay in the attempt, in the effort to help mountain people make the sudden change to modern life without losing their souls, to help them survive the "tide" of industrialism without being muddied and torn in its passage.

The second aspect of Pine Mountain's progressiveness derives from the first. Jane Addams once described settlements as "a protest against a restricted view of education," a notion which fits Pettit and Zande's conception perfectly. Pettit consciously chose the settlement as a form, because it offered the breadth necessary to cope with the multi-faceted problems of mountain life--one could deal simultaneously with the wounds of adult life and more importantly with teaching the young to avoid the wounds. They, like Addams and John Dewey, saw education as a force for social reform--they wanted the child to become an instrument in the creation of a new mountain society drawing upon the best of the old and the new. Viewed in this light, education was more than books (indeed, inveterate reader though she was, Zande lamented the inclination in modern life to make "a fetish out of reading and writing" as symbols of "real culture"). For them, education was a process of growth, of individual development through living a meaningful life at any given point in one's existence. Traditional schools asked the wrong questions, missing the crucial one "that
life itself puts...'What can you do?' The duty of the school (a conception shared by many of those institutions described by the Deweys in *Schools of Tomorrow*) was to provide the student with an idealized environment in which meaningful growth could occur, a growth formative of character which would in turn sustain him throughout life. Thus, Pine Mountain was a boarding school equipped, not with drab dormitories, but with cottages which were for nine months real homes; thus the Pine Mountain student participated in a work program in which his job was crucial to the well-being of the school community; thus the women fostered spiritual values in a variety of ways, not as separate from life, but as inextricably entwined in it.

Recently a negative interpretation of progressive education has developed at the hands of scholars such as Clarence Karier and Michael Katz who have portrayed the movement as an essentially managerial one aimed at social control by the middle class over the lower class. Katz holds as hypothesis "that most progressive innovations, so-called, operated as social sorting mechanisms supportive of existing social patterns and social inequalities." Further, he charges that the movement "did not fail to work a fundamental transformation in American schools; it did not even try." Granted that his focus is public education, nonetheless, this nuts and bolts examination of Pine Mountain presents a challenge to such a position. Progressivism may have failed the public schools as he suggests, or rather the latter may have blocked progressive reforms (for the writer is not so certain that Katz has the shoe on the right foot given the resistance of organizations to change), but Pine Mountain demonstrates clearly
that in one case at least, progressive values resulted in the creation of a school in which other values were central. Pettit and Zande though seeking an orderly society (one from which "drinkins, killins, whorins, and abomination in the sight of God" were absent) were not interested in keeping the lower class down—they wanted to raise it into the middle class—nor in creating new members of the mainstream consumer culture. 8 Basically antimaterialistic in orientation, they longed for a society in which spiritual values would be foremost and in which one could be happy without the necessity of "things." Though emphasizing working together cooperatively in groups, they did not seek, as Katz suggests of urban schools, the suppression of the individuality of group members, but rather commitment to what John C. Campbell termed "the altruistic cooperative spirit," which they, like him, saw as the antidote to the "self-centered spirit" of traditional education which offered "the relatively few so-called 'advantages'" while keeping the rest "poor in condition and re-

sources." 9

These considerations raise several prospects for further study. What, for instance, were the actual outcomes of the Pine Mountain program? While the answer to this lies outside the scope of the present study, nevertheless, the research for it suggests starting points for exploration. There is Zande's own brief summary of accomplishments prepared for Dr. Stucky in 1925:

I think the school may consider itself responsible for the improvement in many homes—built-in cellars and good stone steps, occasionally water piped into a house, better carpentering, a terraced garden on a hillside here and there,
and more interest in building privies....Mothers and babies are certainly better looked after, and people in general do not accept their ailments...but want to do something about it....Of course, we have a growing body of graduates who are doing worthwhile things;--some of them in college, some teaching good schools, some of the girls running their homes beautifully.10

There is the belief of observers at the time in the existence of a distinctive Pine Mountain spirit that set its children apart. Poet Percy MacKaye told Zande that he had no trouble spotting an alumnus of the school—"It is as if there were a sort of light upon him, not as something artificial put upon him, but as a light awakening in himself."11 The editor of the Pineville Sun, returning from a trip the school in 1921, made a similar observation contrasting "the comradesship and cheer and contentment" found among Pine Mountain students and in the outlying neighborhood with the "stolid look" and blank reception accorded him on the south side of the mountain along the railroad.12 Cecil Sharp and others remarked on the combination of self-confidence and modesty present in Pine Mountain children, a notion also present in a statement by Pettit's ex-feudist on the value of the school to him. Pine Mountain, he wrote shortly after leaving in 1923, "has hope (helped) to be kind to others and to think of others as well as myself. I am more able to meet people in the right manner anywhere that I may meet them."13 Several of the alumni interviewed for this study associated the school with the development of spiritual values in their own lives; perhaps Rebecca Collett summed up their feelings best when she said, "We were taught so much love."14 The writer's acquaintance with the later achievements of a number of former students indicates much upward mobility as many moved into the
professions or became successful in business. A handful, building on the heritage preserved for them by the school, became professional weavers, and one woman, noted for her efforts at civic beautification, was the first of her sex to serve as mayor of Harlan. Of course, there were one or two who ended up in jail. Nevertheless, a study contrasting the backgrounds of students before entering the school with the course of their later lives would undoubtedly indicate much in the way of positive results for the school. It might also provide insight into the relationship between the progressive approach to education and the end product.

Another question posed by reflection on the contents of this study is the extent to which Pine Mountain was distinctive among private mountain schools of its time. This, at present, is almost unanswerable objectively due to the lack of a significant body of studies of such schools. One could also speculate on the possible similarities between rural settlement schools such as Pine Mountain and Hindman and those in cities such as Lexington's Lincoln School, founded by Pettit's friend, Madeline McDowell Breckinridge, and Indianapolis's Public School No. 26, singled out by the Deweys in Schools of Tomorrow.

Finally, there is the question of what happened next at Pine Mountain, of the relationship between the Pettit-Zande years and the Morris period whose efforts at educational reconstruction brought the school national acclaim. As originally conceived, this study embraced both periods, and a draft of the history of the second
period was done but temporarily laid aside out of the necessity to
limit the present endeavor to manageable size. The writer anticipates its appearance as a companion to this work which will provide
an equally specific analysis of the second generations's efforts at
curriculum-building and show that despite differences in conditions
and rhetoric, there was a common thread running between the work of
the two generations and a basic similarity in their aspirations for
education in the reform of the mountains.
SECTION SOURCES AND CHAPTER NOTES

INTRODUCTION


SECTION ONE


The tent settlements: Pine Mountain Office Files including copies of diaries kept for each settlement, articles by Ellen Semple, Henderson Daingerfield, and Madeline McDowell Breckinridge, sketch of the KFWC by Mrs. W. T. Lafferty, stories about the KFWC in the Courier-Journal and Lexington Leader, 1899-1902. Pine Mountain has a photograph album of the Sassafras settlement.

Windman Settlement School: Windman and Pine Mountain Office Files; folders in the Berea College Library on Windman; Watts interviews; articles by Lucy Furman and Grace M. Hatch; Linda Neville Papers; Zande Papers.

Backgrounds of the principals: For Pettit, much of the above plus Wertenbaker correspondence; for de Long, Zande Papers, September 1928
Notes from the Pine Mountain Settlement School, and photocopies of alumnae news items from Smith College Archives; for Creech, his own autobiographical sketch and other materials in the Pine Mountain Office Files, One Man's Cravin', and information from Brit Wilder and Oma Fiske.

Preliminaries to the founding of Pine Mountain: Evelyn Wells's history and other materials in Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; Pine Mountain folders at Berea; Samuel M. Wilson Papers; books by Olive D. Campbell and Mary Hook; article by Lewis Lyttle.

Harlan County and Appalachian backgrounds: Articles by William G. Frost and Richard Drake; books by John C. Campbell and Emma Miles; various issues of the Pine Mountain Notes; Mabel Condon's history; article by Mabel Brown in The American Child; reports of the Kentucky Bureau of Agriculture.

Pettit and Zande's principles and plans: Articles by de Long and Pettit in various publications; Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; various issues of the Pine Mountain Notes.

CHAPTER I: NOTES


3. Camp Cedar Grove at Hazard, Ky. August 1899, Typescript, PM-0.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.
7. Katherine Pettit to Mary Rockwell Hook, January 17, 1929, PM-0.

8. Daily Record of the Social Settlement at Sassafras, Kentucky, Typescript, PM-0.

9. Mary Anderson Hill to Alice Cobb, October 24, 1942, PM-0.

10. Katherine Pettit to Florence Daniels, July 18, 1927, PM-0.


12. Katherine Pettit to Glyn Morris, April 3, 1932, PM-0.

13. Lexington Herald, April 8, 1900.


15. Ibid.


17. Ethel de Long to Arabella de Long, [June?] 1913, Zande Papers.


19. Letter of appeal by Katherine Pettit, May 27, 1911, PM-0.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ethel de Long to Arabella and Helen de Long, 1911, Zande Papers.

24. Ethel Zande to Arabella and Helen de Long, January 6 [1924], Zande Papers.

25. Notes from the Pine Mountain Settlement School (hereinafter cited as Pine Mountain Notes), I: 8 (February 1923).


27. Letter of appeal, Ethel Zande, Memorial Day 1918, PM-0.

29. "Uncle William's Reasons."


31. Ibid.


34. Ethel McCullough, "The First Five Thousand Dollars for the Pine Mountain School," typed statement, PM-0.

35. William Creech Sr. to Katherine Pettit, May 27, 1912, PM-0.

36. Evelyn K. Wells, A Record of the Pine Mountain Settlement School 1913-1928, Typescript, PM-0 (hereinafter cited as Wells, History) Section 2.


38. Katherine Pettit to Miss Wilson, March 20, 1913, PM-0.

39. Articles of Incorporation of Pine Mountain Settlement School, PM-0.

40. Katherine Pettit to Miss Wilson, March 20, 1913, PM-0.

CHAPTER II: NOTES


2. Katherine Pettit to Miss Wilson, March 20, 1913, PM-0.


8. Ethel Zande to Mrs. F. S. Bennett, August 27, 1918, PM-0.

9. Katherine Pettit to Isabelle McLennan, November 17, 1920, PM-0.


11. Letter of appeal by Ethel de Long [1911], PM-0.

12. Ethel Zande to Joseph Skinner, December 21, 1919, PM-0.


17. May Stone and Katherine Pettit, letter of appeal, 1913, PM-R.

18. Evelyn K. Wells to E. V. Tadlock, February 17, 1926, PM-0.


20. Ibid., 609.

21. Ibid., 613.


24. Ethel Zande to Olive V. Marsh, March 29, 1921, PM-0.

25. Ethel de Long to Board of Trustees, November 24, 1917, PM-0.


27. Ibid.
28. Evelyn K. Wells to E. V. Tatlock, February 17, 1926, PM-O.

SECTION TWO


Type of student for Pine Mountain; Pine Mountain Office Files; Wells history; Marguerite Butler letters in the Pine Mountain Room; Pine Mountain Notes; book by John C. Campbell; Hevener dissertation for Harlan County statistics.

Home life of the school: Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; Wells history, Section 11; Marguerite Butler letters, Catherine Rittenhouse letters, and Evelyn Wells letters in the Pine Mountain Room; Purbrick article; Linda Neville Papers; Interviews and correspondence with Rachel Davis, Harriet Bright, Margaret Head, Brit Wilder, Mabel Mullins, Allafair Meeks, Grace Fortney, Louise Browning, Sally Loomis, and Rebecca Collett; Photograph albums, Pine Mountain Room.

Academic program: Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; books by H. Wood and J. C. Campbell; articles in Lexington Herald and Harlan Enterprise; Wells history, Sections 10, 16, 20; C. H. Pope article; Marguerite Butler letters, Pine Mountain Room.

Industrial program and work: Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; Wells history, Sections 7-9, 13; books by Eaton and Dupuy; articles by Kingman and Deschamps; interviews and correspondence particularly with Mary Rogers, Edna Patterson, Becky May Sexton, Oma Fiske, Golden Hogg, Brit Wilder, and Howard Burdine.
Cultural and recreational programs: Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; Wells history, Sections 14 and 16; books by Wells, Morris, Karpeles, Olive Campbell, and Sharp; interviews particularly with Margaret Head, Kitty Singleton, Edna Baker, Elizabeth Watts, and Louise Browning, and Mabel Mullins.

Religious and character development: For religious background of area, see J. C. Campbell, Bell, Woestemeyer, McCoy thesis, Cassady thesis, Woestemeyer, and Miles. For Pine Mountain's efforts: Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; Pine Mountain Notes; Wells history, Section 18; Interviews and correspondence particularly with Margaret Head, Harriet Bright, Brit Wilder, Becky May Sexton, Sallie Burger, Boone Callahan.

Staff: Pine Mountain Office Files; list of staff in Wells history; Zande Papers; interviews with various former workers; for Zande, in addition to material cited earlier: Jordan article, statement by Gertrude Tubby in Zande Papers, Roth book; for Pettit: materials cited for Chapter I.

CHAPTER III: NOTES

1. John C. Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Home. (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1969; reprint of 1921 edition), 80-82. The first term is his; the other two, mine, as he did not give them specific names.

2. Ethel Zande to Mrs. Merle F. Eshbaugh, August 16, 1918, PM-0.

3. Wells history, Section 10.

4. Pine Mountain Notes, II: 3 (November 1924).

5. [?] to Mrs. Allen, February 9, 1925, PM-0.
6. Katherine Pettit to Mrs. D. A. Rupe, December 8, 1926, PM-0.
7. Ethel Zande to Mr. and Mrs. Howard Perry, February 18, 1921, PM-0.
8. Ethel Zande to Harry Munger, April 22, 1927, PM-0.
9. Suggested by Ethel Zande to Grace Huse, January 24, 1922, PM-0.
10. Ethel Zande to Elizabeth C. Hench, September 28, 1925, PM-0.
11. Marguerite Butler to Jeannette, [February 1916?], PM-R.
12. Angela Melville to Dr. J. A. Stucky, December 27, 1928, PM-0.

CHAPTER IV: NOTES

2. Ethel Zande to A. C. Jones, September 18, 1918, PM-0.
3. Ethel de Long, letter of appeal, November 14, 1914, PM-R.
4. Ethel Zande to Ruth Barber, March 16, 1922, PM-0.
5. Statement by Mary Rockwell Hook, April 4, 1920, PM-R.
7. Ethel de Long to Arabella and Helen de Long, [1914], Zande Papers.
8. Ethel Zande to Katherine Pettit, January 27, 1920, PM-0.
9. Minutes of workers' meeting, Monday, November 21 [1921], PM-0.
13. Harriet E. Roe letter to her family, June 17, 1922, PM-0.
15. Harriet E. Roe letter to her family, June 17, 1922.
16. Mabel Mullins interview.
19. Ethel Zande to Jessie D. Munger, August 8, 1925, PM-O.
20. Ethel Zande to Elizabeth H. Harris, November 29, 1926, PM-O.
23. Ibid.
24. Ethel de Long to Elizabeth Moore, June 25, 1914, PM-O.
25. Minutes of workers' meeting, September 30 [1919], PM-O.

CHAPTER V: NOTES
1. Ethel Zande to Eleana Renz, August 20, 1924, PM-O.
2. Ethel Zande to Mary Grace Coates, February 19, 1925, PM-O.
3. Ethel Zande to Miriam Titcomb, February 3, 1927, PM-O.
4. Ethel Zande to Bertha Scripture, June 27, 1924, PM-O.
5. Wells history. Section 10.
6. Ibid.
8. Ethel de Long, letter of appeal, October 1, 1913, PM-O.
9. Catherine Rittenhouse, letter to her family, June 28, 1914, PM-R.
10. August 1913 report to the Board of Trustees, PM-R.
11. Ethel de Long to Marguerite Butler, August 8, 1914, PM-R.
12. Ethel de Long to Board of Trustees, August 1915, PM-R.
13. Harriet E. Roe, letter to her family, June 17, 1922, PM-O.
14. Ethel Zande to Elizabeth C. Hench [1920], PM-O.
15. Ethel Zande to Marguerite Butler, May 21, 1923, PM-0.
16. Ethel Zande to Miss Walter, May 23, 1925, PM-0.
17. Evelyn K. Wells to Florence Reeves, February 5, 1925, PM-0.
18. Ibid.
19. Louise Browning tape.
20. Ethel Zande to Mary W. Daley, April 24, 1919, PM-0.
22. Ethel Zande to Mary Work, July 10, 1924, PM-0.
23. Ethel Zande to Ruth Barber, July 24, 1919, PM-0.
24. Ethel Zande to Jeanne W. Dennen, March 12, 1923, PM-0.
25. Ethel Zande to Erica Thorp, February 6, 1925, PM-0.
26. Katherine Pettit to Miss L. S. W. Perkins, August 31, 1926, PM-0.
27. Pine Mountain Notes, II: 6 (November 1926).
29. Untitled sheet explaining character development ratings, PM-0.
30. Ethel Zande to Erica Thorp, February 4, 1926, PM-0.
31. Angela Melville to Darwin D. Martin, March 15, 1929, PM-0.
33. Wells history, Section 10.

CHAPTER VI: NOTES

2. Ethel de Long, letter of appeal, June 11, 1915, PM-0.
4. Wells history, Section 7.

5. Evelyn K. Wells to Marian Kingman, July 6, 1928, PM-O.


7. Quoted in Norma Stoughton, Letter to Board of Trustees, September 4, 1913, PM-R.

8. Ethel Zande to Marion Pugh Read, August 30, 1922, PM-O.


11. Katherine Pettit to Mrs. L. D. Risser, September 19, 1927, PM-O.


14. Katherine Pettit to Augusta S. Stone, April 3, 1922, PM-O.

15. Wells history, Section 13.

16. Augusta S. Stone to Katherine Pettit, April 21, 1924; Katherine Pettit to Augusta S. Stone, April 28, 1924, PM-O.

17. Wells history, Section 13.


19. Ethel Zande to Darwin D. Martin, August 12, 1921, PM-O.

20. Katherine Pettit to Glyn Morris, May 7, 1932, PM-O.

21. Wells history, Section 8.

22. Howard Burdine Interview, 1981.

23. Wells history, Section 8.

CHAPTER VII: NOTES

1. Camp Industrial at Hindman, Ky. Typescript, PM-O.

2. Ethel Zande to W. E. Caldwell, February 1, 1926, PM-O.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Unaddressed letter by Ethel de Long, October 13, 1913, PM-O.
7. Evelyn K. Wells, letter to her family, October 15 [1916], PM-R.
9. Ethel Zande to Elizabeth Dike, January 25, 1922, PM-O.
10. Karpeles, 64.
   Ethel de Long to Helen de Long, [1917], Zande Papers.
12. O. D. Campbell, 550.
13. Ethel Zande to Mary Rockwell Hook, November 27, 1925, PM-O.
14. Workers' meeting, September 19 [1922], PM-O.
15. Ethel Zande to Sallie Belle Whitis, December 13, 1926, PM-O.
16. Louise Browning tape.
17. Ethel de Long to Arabella de Long, December 1, 1917, Zande Papers.
21. Ethel de Long to Board of Trustees, October 6, 1913, PM-O.
22. Ethel Zande to Miriam Birdseye, April 14, 1924, PM-O.
23. Mabel Mullins interview.
24. Ethel de Long to Arabella de Long, [December 1916], Zande Papers
25. Draft of an article "sent to 'Transcript' Boston, Dec. 28, 1920"
26. Ethel Zande to Mrs. H. A. Pratt, January 1, 1920, PM-0.

27. Ethel de Long to Arabella and Helen de Long, two letters both 1916, Zande Papers.


29. Evelyn K. Wells, letter to her family, December 19, 1916, PM-R.


31. Ethel Zande to Harriet Roe, December 29, 1922, PM-0.

CHAPTER VIII: NOTES

1. Katherine Pettit to Miss Wilson, March 20, 1913, PM-0.

2. Ethel Zande to Louise H. Botsford, May 24, 1921, PM-0.


5. Ethel Zande to Olive D. Campbell, January 11, 1928, PM-0.


7. Pine Mountain Notes, II: 3 (November 1924).

8. Katherine Pettit to Mrs. Rufus Cornett, November 29, 1926, PM-0.

9. Katherine Pettit to Routh Clarke, September 3, 1926, PM-0.

10. Katherine Pettit to Caroline H. Adam, March 26, 1923, PM-0.

11. Ethel Zande to Jessie D. Munger, June 5, 1923; to same, July 12, 1922; to same, September 20, 1922; all PM-0.


13. Wells history, Section 18.


15. Folder on rules, PM-0.
16. [?] to A. L. Wilson, February 4, 1925, PM-0.

17. Ethel Zande to [a Pine Mountain student], May 3, 1920, PM-0.

18. Ethel Zande to [a second Pine Mountain student], August 5, 1926, PM-0.

19. Ethel Zande to Mrs. Frank Harkness, October 15, 1918, PM-0.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ethel Zande to Jeanette Peabody, March 2, 1926, PM-0.

23. Ethel Zande to Richard Cabot, November 27, 1923, PM-0.

24. Ethel Zande to [a second Pine Mountain student], August 5, 1926, PM-0.

25. Evelyn K. Wells, letter to her family, March 7, 1924, PM-R.

26. Ethel Zande to Chester Blanton, December 4, 1919, PM-0.


29. Brit Wilder interview.

30. Wells history, Section 21.

31. Ethel Zande, letter of appeal, March 28, 1921, PM-R.

32. William Proctor to Ethel Zande, May 5, 1921, PM-0.

33. Ethel Zande to William Proctor, May 9, 1921, PM-0.

34. Ethel Zande to Mrs. Kenneth Colville, April 14, 1922, PM-0.

35. Untitled sheets explaining character ratings, PM-0.

36. Ethel Zande to Elizabeth C. Hench, November 21, 1924, PM-0.

37. Ethel Zande to P. H. Holt, June 29, 1918, PM-0.

39. Ethel Zande to P. H. Holt, June 29, 1918, PM-0.
40. Brit Wilder interview.
41. Katherine Pettit to [a Pine Mountain student], July 9, 1920, PM-0.
42. Ethel Zande to Geneva Hutchins, January 16, 1924, PM-0.
43. Ethel Zande to E. O. Heyl, October 18, 1925, PM-0.
44. Ethel Zande to Mrs. Bewley, May 15, 1922, PM-0.

CHAPTER IX: NOTES

1. Katherine Pettit to Geddes Smith, April 23, 1923, PM-0.
2. Evelyn K. Wells to E. V. Tadlock, February 17, 1926, PM-0.
3. Pine Mountain Office Files.
4. Pine Mountain Application Blank, circa 1920. PM-0.
5. Pine Mountain Reference Sheet, circa 1920. PM-0.
6. Edith Storer, letter to her family, November 4, 1916, PM-0.
10. Ethel Zande to Ruth Talbor, June 26, 1922, PM-0.
12. Ethel Zande to Katherine Pettit, February 6, 1922, PM-0.
13. Katherine Pettit to Grant Creech, August 15, 1925, PM-0.
14. Ethel Zande to Arabella and Helen de Long, [December 1922], Zande Papers.
15. Katherine Pettit to Alice Cobb, September 5, 1929, PM-0.
17. Ethel Zande to Bertha Piel and Ruth Talbot, June 12, 1922, PM-0.
18. Ethel Zande to Katherine Pettit, February 6, 1922, PM-0.

19. Katherine Pettit to Alice Cobb, September 5, 1929, PM-0.


21. Ethel Zande to Florence Reeves, September 19, 1923, PM-0.

22. Ethel Zande to Miriam Dickason, August 2, 1922, PM-0.

23. Ethel Zande to Florence Reeves, June 25, 1923, PM-0.

24. O. D. Campbell, 140.

25. Katherine Pettit to Mrs. Morton, March 25, 1914, PM-0.


27. For a printed sample, see O. D. Campbell, 93.


30. Elizabeth Watts interview, 1976. The Pettit "quotes" are based on Watts description of her style.


33. Grace Fortney interview.

34. Howard Burdine interview.

35. Brit Wilder interview; Allafair Miniard Meeks interview.

36. Becky May Sexton correspondence.


38. Sally Loomis tape.

39. Barbara Faulkner correspondence. Faulkner worked with Pettit briefly after her retirement setting up a revised Fireside Industries program.

40. Mabel Mullins interview.
41. Allafair Meeks interview.
42. Oma Fiske correspondence.
43. Rachel Davis correspondence.
44. Katherine Pettit to Fair Anna Bennett, July 14, 1936, PM-0.
45. Louise Browning tape.
46. Pine Mountain Notes II: 9 (September 1928).
47. Ethel Zande to Arabella de Long, May 21, 1919, Zande Papers.
49. Ibid, 293.
51. Ibid.
52. Ethel Zande to Antoinette Putnam Cramer, December 12, 1923, PM-0.
53. Ethel Zande to Mrs. William Moore, June 27, 1924, PM-0.
54. Ethel Zande, letter of appeal, February 1923, PM-R.
55. Ethel Zande to Susan Carter, June 22, 1925, PM-0.
56. Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, February 3, 1917, PM-0.

SECTION THREE

Community and extension work: Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; Marguerite Butler letters, Pine Mountain Room; articles by Jones, de Long, Withington, Purbrick, Butler, and others; Wells history, Sections 12 and 21; Linda Neville Papers; various interviews with former workers and students.
The Road: The Harlan Fiscal Court Orders before 1929 are missing; otherwise records of both Harlan County and Harlan Fiscal Courts used; Wells history, Section 20; Pine Mountain Office Files; Zande Papers; Samuel M. Wilson Papers; various stories in the Harlan Enterprise, the Pineville Sun, the Courier-Journal, the Louisville Herald, and the Lexington Herald for the period 1916-1922.

CHAPTER X: NOTES

1. Virginie Whitmore Jack correspondence.
2. Ibid.
3. Margaret L. Head interview.
4. Evelyn K. Wells, letter home, March 26 [1916], PM-O.
5. Ethel Zande to Mary Cunningham, October 29, 1925, PM-O.
6. Rachel Davis interview, Sally Loomis tape.
7. Florence Reeves to Evelyn K. Wells, January 9, 1925, PM-O.
8. Margaret Head interview.
9. Ethel Zande to Mrs. Frank Harkness, October 15, 1918, PM-O.
10. Ethel Zande, letter of appeal, April 1927, PM-R.
11. [?] to Celia Cathcart, January 23, 1917; Ethel de Long to same, October 27, 1916; both PM-O.
12. Evelyn K. Wells to Celia Cathcart, April 17, 1917, PM-O.
13. Ethel de Long to Katherine Pettit, February 15, 1917, PM-O.
14. Ethel de Long to Elizabeth C. Hench, November 16, 1915, PM-O.
15. Ethel Zande to Mrs. T. Whitney Izzard, October 25, 1926, PM-O.
16. Clara Davis to Ethel de Long [August 1913], PM-O.
17. Katherine Pettit to Dr. J. A. Stucky, November 21, 1922, PM-O.
18. Ethel de Long to Arthur W. Underwood, February 16, 1918, PM-0.
19. Ibid.
20. Ethel Zande to W. A. Bradley [September 1918], PM-0.
21. Katherine Pettit to Angela Melville, December 4, 1918, PM-0.
22. Katherine Pettit to Board of Trustees, August 4, 1913, PM-0.
23. William Creech to Board, June 1914, PM-0.
24. Ethel Zande to Arabella and Helen de Long [1917], Zande Papers.

CHAPTER XI: NOTES

1. "Notes on County Supervisors' Meeting, Harlan, August 30th," probably taken by E. K. Wells, PM-0.
2. Ibid.
3. Ethel Zande to John C. Campbell, August 27, 1918, PM-0.
4. Ethel Zande to Angela Melville, August 20, 1918, PM-C.
5. Ethel Zande to Valley Carpenter, May 30, 1927, PM-0.
6. Ethel Zande to Allen L. Ely, July 5, 1922, PM-0.
7. Pine Mountain Notes, I: 3 (October 1919).
8. Ibid.
9. Katherine Pettit to Celia C. Holton, April 9, 1918, PM-0.
10. Celia C. Holton to Ethel de Long, March 19, 1918, PM-0.
11. John C. Campbell to Katherine Pettit, February 1, 1918, PM-0.
13. Katherine Pettit to A. L. Wilson, November 27, 1918, PM-0.
14. Ethel Zande to Mrs. H. J. Davenport, September 27, 1918, PM-0.
15. Ethel Zande to Alfreda Withington, September 23, 1927, PM-0.
16. Katherine Pettit to Mr. and Mrs. N. P. Van Meter, PM-0.


19. Frances Palmer Cronquist, "My Six Months' at Line Fork Settlement" in Line Fork Notes binder, PM-0.

20. Anne Ruth Medcalf to Katherine Pettit, February 11, 1922, PM-0.


22. Ethel Zande, letter home, March 5, 1922, Zande Papers.

23. "Extracts from Report on Year's Work, Miss Smith," PM-0.

24. Ethel Zande, letter of appeal, April 1924, PM-R.

25. [?] to Mrs. Behre, April 5, 1924, PM-0.

26. Katherine Pettit to Dr. Abby N. Little, December 10, 1924, PM-0.

27. Katherine Pettit to Eva Rhodus, December 8, 1924, PM-0.


29. Ethel Zande to John C. Campbell, August 27, 1918, PM-O.

30. Ethel Zande to Mary Carter, October 30, 1918, PM-O.

31. Ethel Zande to John C. Campbell, August 27, 1918, PM-O.

32. Ibid.

33. Ethel Zande to Charles R. Towson, December 7, 1920, PM-O.

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1. Evelyn K. Wells to Angela Melville, March 17, 1924, PM-O.

2. Ethel Zande to Elizabeth Bolinger, June 9, 1924, PM-O.

3. Pine Mountain Credit Union minutes, June 19, 1925, PM-O.


5. William Creech to Celia Cathcart, November 1916, PM-O.
7. Ethel de Long to Board of Trustees, June 23, 1914, PM-R.
10. Ethel de Long to Celia Cathcart, August 28, 1916, PM-O.
11. Ethel de Long to Celia Cathcart, November 20, 1916, PM-O.
12. Celia Cathcart to Ethel de Long, November 26, 1916, PM-O.
    Samuel M. Wilson Papers.
17. Evelyn K. Wells, letter home, 1917, PM-R.
18. Ethel Zande to Rodman Wiley, June 25, 1918, PM-O.
19. Ethel Zande to Joe S. Boggs, November 21, 1919, PM-O.
20. Ethel Zande to Darwin D. Martin, September 24, 1920, PM-O.
21. Ethel Zande to Joe S. Boggs, January 30, 1921, PM-O.
22. Ethel Zande to Mrs. S. M. Foster, February 25, 1921, PM-O.
23. Ethel Zande to Joe S. Boggs, February 12, 1921, PM-O.
24. Ethel Zande to C. N. Green, June 4, 1921, PM-O.
25. Ethel Zande to Hiram M. Brock, February 24, 1922, PM-O.
27. Darwin D. Martin to Ethel Zande, October 24, 1925, PM-O.
28. Ethel Zande to Darwin D. Martin, September 28, 1926, PM-O.
29. Darwin D. Martin to Ethel de Long Zande, October 5, 1926, PM-O.
30. Darwin D. Martin to Ethel de Long Zande, November 6, 1926, PM-O.
31. Flem D. Sampson to Katherine Pettit, September 27, 1929, PM-0.
32. James M. Gilbert to Zack Justice, May 31, 1930, PM-0.
33. R. E. Samuels to Zack Justice, July 24, 1930, PM-0.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

1. Memorandum from Alice Cobb to Edith Cold [1937], PM-0.
2. Ethel Zande to Anne M. Fauntleroy, November 6, 1918, PM-0.
4. Ethel Zande to Louise H. Betsford, May 24, 1921, PM-0.
5. Katherine Pettit to Richard Chaffey, May 30, 1912, PM-0.
8. William Creech Sr., letter of appeal, November 20, 1915, PM-0.
10. Ethel Zande to Dr. J. A. Stucky, November 24, 1925, PM-0.
11. Ethel Zande to Mrs. James G. Biddle, August 13, 1921, PM-0.
12. Pineville Sun, October 21, 1921.
13. Andrew De Hart to Ethel Zande, August 18, 1923, PM-0,
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C. LIST OF INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED OR CORRESPONDED WITH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Method</th>
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<td>Bassett, Kendall</td>
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<td>Burdine, Howard W.</td>
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<td>Callahan, Boone</td>
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<td>Collett, Rebecca Harris</td>
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<td>Davis, Rachel</td>
<td>Worker</td>
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<td>Fiske, Oma Creech</td>
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<td>Fortney, Grace Douglass</td>
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<td>Hall, Martha Shoop</td>
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<td>Head, Margaret Lincoln</td>
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Langtry, Ruth Dennis  Worker  Correspondence, 1976.
Lincoln, Jean Wise  Worker  Correspondence, 1979.
Loomis, Sally  Worker  Tape, 1977.
Meeks, Allafair Miniard  Student  Interview, 1979.
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