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The Stovall Period of Settlement Work at Hazel Green Academy, 1928-1966

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by
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“Hazel Green Academy, Where We Find a Path or Make One.” This was the motto on the seal of the school that educated the youth and residents of Hazel Green, Kentucky, through more than a century. From 1880 to 1983, Hazel Green Academy made many new paths into the hills of Wolfe County for young learners and adults alike. Hazel Green Academy was one of over two hundred similar schools established in the Settlement style in the Kentucky mountains near the beginning of the twentieth century. These schools were planted by denominational and secular missionaries who were committed to bringing science, progress, and modernity to the mountain folk in the cultural island of Appalachia.

As Appalachia attracted new national attention in the late nineteenth century as a place of cultural isolation, narrow-mindedness, and primitive otherness, scores of do-gooders flowed into the Southern mountains.¹ Along with other forms of outreach, the Progressive urban Settlement House concept, made famous in the United States by Jane Addams at Hull House in Chicago, trickled into Appalachia. The movement arrived in the trunks and saddlebags of a blossoming generation of civic-minded young women who were fresh from graduation in the new private women’s universities of New England and were determined to uplift the people of Appalachia.² They came “as friendly visitors, seeking to do a work of helpfulness” as they reformed and adapted the Settlement model to suit the practical needs of mountaineers.³ Denominational missions also sought footholds in the mountains from which to preach to and convert the unregenerate locals. In time, many of

¹ Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind: the Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 142.

² David E. Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 33.

³ Shapiro, 144.

these religious outposts also purposefully turned toward community work in the Settlement style to build stronger relationships and to meet needs observed among residents.⁴

Hazel Green Academy, which operated in its early years as a mission school, is one example of an institution that took up Settlement work later in its development. The school expanded its community offerings enormously beginning in 1928 with the arrival of Henry A. Stovall, whose leadership transformed the Academy from mission school to model Settlement during his thirty-eight-year tenure as director. Stovall developed many noted and valuable programs for outreach beyond traditional education. Most of those programs, however, were discontinued when the school fell on difficult economic times near his retirement. The period most notable for civic engagement, broad community influence, and intense Settlement activity fell within the years shaped by Dr. Stovall. The outreach he guided during these midcentury decades redefined the work of the school, ushering in a sweeping new trajectory of unprecedented involvement with the community. His vision and commitment helped forge powerful connections within the region and ultimately expanded outreach projects around the world.

Appalachian Studies as a whole is still a new and growing field. One of the first major works to tackle Appalachian history was *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920*, written by Henry Shapiro in 1978. In a somewhat untraditional approach, Shapiro crafted a history of the Appalachian idea, the image and reputation of the area, in the national awareness. He posited that, contrary to depictions from the Local Color literature and publications connected to the War on Poverty in the 1960s, Appalachian society was not backward or inferior. Rather, it was a discrete culture that had developed to suit the unique situation and pressures of that region's

⁴ Shapiro, 148.

geography, climate, and population. Shapiro discussed Settlement institutions in the mountains as projects founded with the best of intentions by people who truly wanted to do good and beneficial work for those they saw lacking privilege. He acknowledged the Settlements and Missions as inroads for the culture and values of the urban, industrialized East coast, with mostly positive results for the Settlement workers and the communities they touched. The Settlement movement in Appalachia has been scorned by some researchers for its role in spurring change in local traditions, such as music and crafts, to address the desires and expectations of outsiders. Critics of the movement have also pointed out that many of the young, newly educated mountaineers sought exodus from the region to pursue futures elsewhere instead of returning to the farming life to share their growth and learning within their agrarian communities. To Shapiro, these unintended consequences were mitigated by measurable and significant improvements in farm yields, cash flow, education, transportation, and communication that increased overall quality of life and successfully mitigated the worst of the shocks the region experienced during a period of rapid change.⁵

Historical interest in Settlement Schools is growing, but much territory remains unexplored concerning the more than two hundred schools that existed under the Settlement model. Nearly all of these schools closed or significantly changed course to survive in the political and financial climate of the late twentieth century. A few published histories of individual schools exist, but most of the schools' stories are unpreserved or remain packed away in archives. There is even less published work discussing the Settlements as a group.

In 1983, David Whisnant suggested in *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* that the Settlements, far from benefitting the people they served,

⁵ Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind: the Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

worked to conform mountain people to the value systems and economic machine of the East. Whisnant became one of the strongest early voices studying the Settlement Schools, which he described as agents of systematic cultural intervention. According to *All That is Native and Fine*, much of the rapid change of lifestyle in the mountains in the twentieth century was due not only to increased education, communication, or industrial inroads, but to the powerful influence of teachers from the northeast who lacked empathy for mountain culture and sought to reshape it in urban, progressive forms more familiar to them. Whisnant concluded that although these teachers designed and approached their work with good intentions, their efforts profoundly, negatively, and permanently altered critical aspects of local culture. This thesis has since been refuted by other scholars and briefly revisited by Whisnant, but it was a seminal publication and remains the only work of similar breadth devoted to the mountain Settlements.⁶

Of the many Settlement Schools planted in eastern Kentucky, only two have been extensively explored. Jess Stoddard has published two works on Hindman Settlement School. Her 2002 book, *Challenge and Change in Appalachia: The Story of Hindman Settlement School*, took Whisnant's negative conclusion to task. Stoddard defended the motives and efforts of the school founders and reframed the work of that Settlement as overwhelmingly beneficial to the community it served.⁷ James Greene, who like Stoddard was descended from an alumnus of the Settlement School he studied, crafted a 1982 dissertation on the early years of Pine Mountain Settlement School, *Progressives in the Kentucky Mountains: The*

⁶ David E. Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

⁷ Jess Stoddard, *Challenge and Change in Appalachia: the Story of Hindman Settlement School* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002).

Formative Years of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, 1913-1920.⁸ Mary Rogers wrote a booklet for Pine Mountain in 1980, *The Pine Mountain Story, 1913-1980*, that described a longer history of that school, including challenges faced by the school administration in midcentury and resultant changes in the work of the Settlement.⁹ Both of these schools remain open today after restructuring to meet contemporary needs. Pine Mountain Settlement School operates as an environmental education center, while Hindman Settlement School runs an extensive adult literacy program and a school serving dyslexic learners. For the purpose of this research, the published histories of these two schools served as valuable contextual sources for comparison with Hazel Green Academy. Moreover, Stoddart and Rogers revealed the creative transformations, hard work, and good fortune necessary for a Settlement School to succeed into the twenty-first century.

Loren Kramer's 1969 catalog of extant Settlement institutions in Southern Appalachia contains lists and brief abstracts of forty-five institutions in the region. Although many similar published lists of Settlement outposts mention only Hindman and Pine Mountain Settlement Schools in the eastern portion of Kentucky, Kramer's collection included twenty-eight Kentucky Settlements, including Hazel Green Academy. Kramer's abstract of the Academy, written during the school's period of decline, speaks primarily to the educational program at the school but also itemizes some community outreach projects still in operation and notes "close rapport with the local community," a hallmark of the relationships the Academy built in the region under Stovall's leadership.¹⁰

⁸ James S. Greene, "Progressives in the Kentucky Mountains: The Formative Years of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, 1913-1930" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1982).

⁹ Mary Rogers, *The Pine Mountain Story, 1913-1980* (Pine Mountain, KY: Pine Mountain Settlement School, Inc., 1980).

¹⁰ Loren Kramer, *Settlement institutions in Southern Appalachia* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Education Board, 1969), 27.

Jim Stokely authored the only published secondary work on Hazel Green Academy, a chapter in his 1977 book *To Make a Life: Settlement Institutions of Appalachia*, funded by a federal Title II-A grant through Settlement Institutions of Appalachia, Inc.¹¹ Stokely, writing while the school was in decline but still in operation, wove a brief, rosy narrative outlining the early development of the school and emphasizing the homespun resourcefulness that characterized the dynamic role of the school in the community. Beyond this short chapter, the only published historical materials on the Academy are sketches and promotions printed by the Former Students and Friends Association, some of which are preserved in the Hazel Green Academy archival collection at Berea College, Berea, Kentucky.

This research provides a brief discussion of one period in the century-long operation of a Settlement School that has been overlooked thus far in the secondary literature. While Hazel Green Academy was not founded as a Settlement School and is not described as such in its self-published or internal documents, the period of Henry Stovall's directorship undoubtedly falls within this classification. The Settlement work period at Hazel Green Academy is also temporally unique, as most of the mountain Settlements reached the height of their efforts near the beginning of the twentieth century and were already facing decline during the decades that Hazel Green Academy was most active in its outreach efforts. Perhaps this is part of the reason that the Academy did not label or connect itself directly with the Settlement movement. As will be shown below, the programs and opportunities provided by the school under Stovall's guidance more than qualify it as a highly effective outpost of Settlement work in eastern Kentucky for over forty years.

¹¹ Jim Stokely, "Hazel Green Academy," reprinted with an introduction in Edwina Ann Doyle, Ruby Layson, and Anne Armstrong Thompson, eds., *From the Fort to the Future: Educating the Children of Kentucky* (Lexington, KY: Kentucky Department of Education, 1987), 128.

Though most of the Settlement Schools of eastern Kentucky faced closure during the Great Depression or in mid-century, during the transitional years around 1900 they grew rapidly from temporary, experimental outposts into established fixtures in the mountains. Summer tent settlements in the mountains sprang up in the late 1890s, including one at Hindman, Kentucky, that led to the 1902 founding of Hindman Settlement School. Katherine Pettit, whose work was pivotal in establishing the Settlements Schools at both Hindman and Pine Mountain, was involved in several of these summer camps aimed at bringing new domestic technology, strategies for building community, and kindergarten work to isolated communities. The camps, hugely successful, attracted people of all ages from the surrounding rural areas. Through these summer camps, the organizers built early ties to mountain communities, shared ideas, established trust, and discovered the places most in need of permanent Settlement offerings.¹²

The rush of secular Settlement institutions into Appalachia reached its peak at the change of the century. During these same years, other agencies previously established in the region, including denominational Missions, began embracing Settlement type work. Agencies of all types with rural extension programs initiated offerings in industrial training, agricultural education modeling the newest scientific advances, and courses of adult education. Many also organized business ventures for marketable domestic handicrafts. These opportunities were valuable and timely for locals, who found their region experiencing rapid and dramatic economic change as the extractive and textile industries swarmed into the mountains. These industries moved south en masse from the Northeast in search of cheap land and plentiful labor outside union control. Their arrival was a shock to the native economic and social establishments of Southern Appalachia. Missionaries who had moved

¹² Henderson Daingerfield, "Social Settlement and Educational Work in the Kentucky Mountains," *Journal of Social Science* 39 (Nov. 1901): 176-89, 179-183; Shapiro, 147-148; Whisnant, 24-28.

into the mountains to preach salvation found their constituents, caught in the struggle and drama of so much change, could also benefit from instruction in modern hygiene, new domestic arts, and industrial efficiency. Moreover, this adoption of practical outreach in addition to ecclesiastical teaching deepened and enriched the spirit of community and neighborliness with and among the local population. Settlement work sought to uplift not just the soul of an individual, but focused broadly on the structure, resilience, and cooperative unity of an entire community. This focused effort on constructing vibrant community was the defining factor distinguishing the new wave of Settlement endeavors that swept through the mountains from earlier Mission work in the region.¹³

While many of the social programs promoted by these philanthropic institutions followed the patterns established in the urban Settlement Houses, rural settlements most frequently coalesced around the building of a school. This new focus was an effort to clearly and immediately address one of the most pressing needs of rural communities. Unlike in the urban environment, access to secondary or higher education in the mountains was geographically constrained, and even basic schooling was limited. This repackaging of the Settlement project also served the work of community building by reaching, teaching, and bringing together the youth of the region. Nearly everything taught in the new school-centered Settlements was embraced under the primary goal of education, with the ultimate purpose of increasing opportunities for students and communities.¹⁴

During these first years of intense Settlement School planting in the mountains, Hazel Green Academy was in full operation as a mission school with little connection to the newer Progressive establishments. For the bulk of its first forty-eight years, the school

¹³ Shapiro, 146-150.

¹⁴ Jess Stoddart, *Challenge and Change in Appalachia: the Story of Hindman Settlement School* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 2.

taught a traditional curriculum under the auspices of the National Christian Women's Board of Missions (NCWBM), reorganized in 1919 into the United Christian Mission Society of the Disciples of Christ (UCMS).¹⁵ The 1928 arrival of director Henry A. Stovall was the critical event shifting the school radically toward the rural Settlement model. Steered by Stovall, Hazel Green Academy incorporated practical education and civic outreach as a fundamentally new and defining chapter in the good work of the school.

The origin of Hazel Green Academy breaks from the patterns frequently observed in the founding of Mission and Settlement Schools in Appalachia. Many Settlement Schools in eastern Kentucky, including Hindman Settlement School and Pine Mountain Settlement School, were planted by women answering calls for help from residents of mountain communities. Denominational Mission schools were established by Home Missions agencies based outside the region. Hazel Green Academy, however, was conceived and founded fully through local initiative. Kentucky Senator W. O. Mize presented a bill in the General Assembly in 1880 to charter a private residential school in his town of Hazel Green for the education of youth in the mountainous eastern section of Kentucky.¹⁶ At that time, only one county of the thirty-six in eastern Kentucky offered public secondary education.¹⁷ Though it was not a large town, Hazel Green was centrally located in the region, was situated along an important travel route, and was reasonably accessible for rural families.¹⁸ Once chartered, the school was initially financed by donations from Senator Mize and Hazel

¹⁵ Oscar Harmon, "A History of Hazel Green Academy," 1962, Folder 1, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, KYSX326-A, 1886-1982, Special Collections, Berea College, Berea, Ky. (hereafter referred to as "Hazel Green Academy Records"), 5.

¹⁶ Historical Sketch, *Hazel Green Academist*, January, 1894.

¹⁷ Walter Precourt, "Ethnohistorical Analysis of an Appalachian Settlement School," *Doing the Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action*, George Spindler, ed. (New York, CBS College Publishing, 1982), 444.

¹⁸ Harmon, 2.

Green residents J. T. Day and G. B. Swango. Classes began almost immediately, and a school building was rapidly constructed.¹⁹

By 1886, the Kentucky Board of the National Christian Women's Board of Missions had taken an interest in Hazel Green Academy. The group sought to establish a mission in the mountains and saw in cooperation with the school an advantageous opportunity for both parties. The first contract between the NCWBM and the school founders outlined a system of shared management. This contract was revised and renewed several times until the Board of Missions acquired full control of the school in 1893.²⁰ For the next thirty-five years, Hazel Green Academy followed the traditional pattern of Mission schools, promoting Christian education and a strict classicist curriculum.²¹

The period from 1928 to 1950 heralded novel expansion into community outreach under the guidance of the newly arrived Henry A. Stovall. Stovall and his bride, Dorothy Skinner Stovall, were recruited by the United Christian Missionary Society from Mississippi, where they had trained for foreign missions. They were installed at the Academy on a temporary basis as director and principal. This temporary appointment would last nearly forty years, defining the careers of both Stovalls and witnessing enormous changes in both the town and school of Hazel Green.²² Under Henry Stovall's direction, the Academy expanded its offerings to include a community thrift store, a hospital on campus, a kindergarten program, electrical power for the town from a generator installed on campus, regional bookmobile services, extension education opportunities for adults, and a working

¹⁹ Historical Sketch, *Hazel Green Academist*, January, 1894.

²⁰ Historical Sketch, *Hazel Green Academist*, January, 1894; Harmon, 6.

²¹ Barker, Elmer, "Some Contrasts of the Modern High School With Hazel Green Academy of the Earlier Days," *Sixty Years With Hazel Green Academy*, auth. Former Students Association of Hazel Green Academy (Hazel Green, Kentucky: Hazel Green Academy, 1940), 67-70, quoted in Harmon, 9-10.

²² Harmon, 12.

farm that grew into one of the largest and best-equipped demonstration plots in the region.²³ Stovall led Hazel Green Academy directly and broadly beyond the old mission goals and into the dynamic role of Settlement.

The first years following the Stovalls' arrival in Hazel Green served the new administration a trial by fire. In 1929, the girls' dormitory burned to the ground and was rebuilt from lumber cut and milled on school grounds and clay bricks dug, formed, and fired onsite, largely by the hands of students attending the Academy on work scholarships. Student labor also helped construct a gymnasium on the property, complete by 1934. Grades 1-6 were discontinued in 1930 as the school focused its resources and efforts on only the Preparatory and Academic upper divisions.²⁴ In only two years, and at the beginning of the Great Depression, Stovall had already measurably changed the school's role in the community from what it had been during the first forty-eight years of operation.

In 1931, Henry Stovall embraced the donation of a car-full of clothing with an entrepreneurial spark that led to the development of the Jot 'Em Down Store. This thrift store, which opened on campus, organized the collection of second-hand clothing, shoes, and books by church and charity groups and resold these items at a fraction of their value, bartered with customers in work trade, or gave goods away free of charge to families in need.²⁵ This business expanded over the years to require a dedicated building and raised profits averaging \$10,000 annually. Proceeds from the store helped fund up to thirty-five scholarships for students at the Academy and kept the larger school accounts in the black.²⁶

²³ "Lights," Hazel Green Academy report, 1960, Folder 23, Box 2, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, 5; "Report 1955, Hazel Green Academy," Folder 21, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, 2.

²⁴ Harmon, 7-8, 13.

²⁵ Former Students Association, *Hazel Green Academy, 1955: Seventy-Five in Fifty-Five* (Hazel Green, Kentucky: Hazel Green Academy, 1955), 19; "Jot 'Em Down Store," Folder 2, Box 2, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records; "Report 1955, Hazel Green Academy," Folder 21, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, 2.

²⁶ Former Students Association, *Hazel Green Academy, 1955: Seventy-Five in Fifty-Five* (Hazel Green, Kentucky: Hazel Green Academy, 1955), 19.

The store became a social gathering place, and a visitor in 1945 remarked that “Crowds gather and wait for the door to open.”²⁷ By 1948, the Jot ‘Em Down Store had expanded its target community to include the world beyond Wolfe County, sending excess coats to Europe and a collection of men’s suits to India with a missionary.²⁸

Three times during his years at Hazel Green Academy, Stovall successfully sought involvement and improvement in healthcare availability. This type of community provision was critical in the rural Settlement vision and mirrored the kinds of services other Settlement schools had brought to isolated communities.²⁹ In November 1933, Stovall renovated the second story of the boys’ dormitory to establish a hospital under Dr. Hiram I. Blood. Through a cooperative arrangement with the United Christian Missionary Society and Dr. Blood, he installed a modest, modernized medical facility on campus. Dr. Blood operated this clinic within the Academy for seventeen years. The medical facility grew to include twelve beds, an operating room, and an X-ray machine.³⁰ Blood’s Hospital, staffed by two nurses and many volunteers, was the primary source of medical care in the community and the only hospital in Wolfe County. Donations from community members and thrifty purchases gradually supplied the hospital with modern sterilization equipment, a metabolism indicator, emergency lighting, and improved instruments and medicines.³¹ Dr. Blood tended the sick, delivered babies, and performed minor and major surgeries. At all hours, he made house calls in an all-weather Jeep to reach isolated patients in the surrounding rural area.³² Dr. Blood continued this vital role in the community until a car accident in 1951 precipitated

²⁷ “Jot ‘Em Down Store;” Daisy and Allen R. Huber, “1945 Observations at Hazel Green Academy,” Folder 21, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, 1.

²⁸ “Achievements of Hazel Green Academy 1928-48 and Ambitions For The Future,” 1948, Folder 21, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records.

²⁹ Rogers, 8, 23; Stoddart, 16, 88-89.

³⁰ *Seventy-Five in Fifty-Five*, 18.

³¹ Huber, 1.

³² *Seventy-Five in Fifty-Five*, 18.

a decline in his personal health. He left Hazel Green in 1953 to recover and find gentler work in Corning, Arkansas. The properties of the hospital were liquidated, and Wolfe County was without a medical doctor for several years.³³

In 1956, however, Stovall and the Academy again pushed to provide professional healthcare to the community. Staff and students led the construction work on a small medical office in the town of Hazel Green. The new Hazel Green Community Clinic operated for three years under two nurses residing in town. This clinic was instrumental in Wolfe County's first mass polio immunization effort, organized by the County Health Department.³⁴ The clinic in town remained open until 1960, when Stovall helped to contract the construction of a permanent medical office in the county seat of Campton.³⁵ While neither Blood's Hospital nor the Hazel Green Community Clinic became a permanent medical facility, Stovall's sustained work in promoting medical care provided residents with previously unavailable professional medical assistance for two decades. In 1963, Stovall accepted an appointment to the county Board of Health, an avenue he used to continue expanding his efforts to improve rural life even beyond the immediate community of Hazel Green.³⁶

While addressing the medical needs of the school and town addressed, Stovall also broadened the Academy's role in the community with the addition of a kindergarten in the late 1940s. This affordable half-day kindergarten served families in the immediate area for nearly twenty years until the teacher, Leona Hood, retired in 1960.³⁷ Within the rural Settlement movement, kindergarten work was often considered inseparable from enterprises

³³ "Dr. H. I. Blood Announces August Closing of Hazel Green Hospital," *Wolfe County News*, August 4, 1953.

³⁴ Harmon, 34-35.

³⁵ "Rural Development Program," Hazel Green Academy report, 1960, Folder 23, Box 2, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, 6.

³⁶ Director's Monthly Report, March 1963, Folder 5, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

³⁷ Harmon, 19-20.

designed to boost community connections among adults. Settlement philosophies supported theories that kindergarten training and creative play taught independence coupled with cooperation, honesty paired with kindness, order, rightness, lawfulness, and a feeling of place within society. Settlement teachers expected that young children socialized in this manner through play and interaction would grow into invested, involved community members. These kindergarten-trained adults would further the neighborhood-building goals of the Settlements and help accomplish the ultimate result, a community which no longer required the aid of a Settlement for continued success.³⁸ The kindergarten established at Hazel Green Academy under Stovall and Hood worked toward these goals when no other similar daytime enrichment was available for young children.

Henry Stovall's great passion, the project he personally championed above all others as the key to improving rural life and helping citizens of the mountains build self-sustaining, high-quality communities, was the development of a modern demonstration farm. The Hazel Green Academy demonstration farm, which grew in size and influence through most of the years Stovall led the Academy, became one of the most significant resources the school presented to the people of Wolfe County. Other Settlement schools also provided community outreach in the form of scientific demonstration farming, but few achieved the success and prominence of the farm Stovall developed at Hazel Green.³⁹ When he arrived in 1928, the school campus totaled 32 acres atop a hill overlooking the town of Hazel Green. By 1945, he had expanded Academy property to 212 acres and built a farm that supplied much of the food for the school tables and provided training, improved stock, and modern equipment to farmers nearby.⁴⁰ By 1955, the farm netted an average profit nearing \$2000

³⁸ Daingerfield, 186; Shapiro, 143-144; Stoddart 14-15.

³⁹ Stoddart, 15, 68, 73; Rogers, 8, 23.

⁴⁰ Huber, 2.

per year and had helped increase productivity and standards of living for local farmers who embraced the modern ideas they observed in practice at the school farm.⁴¹

From the time of his arrival, Stovall was personally committed to developing a modern teaching farm in conjunction with the traditional academic program at the school. He oversaw sharecropping on established local farmland for several years until he found available land near the school at the right price. In 1937, the Academy purchased its first thirty-acre parcel of farmland, a plot known as the Mize Bottom, from Hazel Green resident Capt. James Hollon for \$3000.⁴² Like other plots Stovall would procure for the Academy farm, this was poor, soggy bottomland of little perceived value. Much of it had lain damp and fallow for most of the preceding century.⁴³ Workers on the farm, including students on work scholarship redirected the channel of the Red River and tiled, drained, and fertilized the land with phosphate to develop rich, fertile acreage in the river bottom.⁴⁴ These modern techniques were new to the farmers around Hazel Green, who began to replicate the novel methods after noting the reliable success of the Academy farm. Land in Wolfe County that had been considered useless became surprisingly productive under this methodical, scientific approach and reached property values of \$200-\$500 per acre.⁴⁵ Already, Stovall's efforts to improve farming techniques were paying off for the school and the community.

Few records have survived concerning the farm, but promotional writings and memoirs paint a fair picture of the early growth and role of the demonstration farm. In 1932, the school harvested a sorghum crop that yielded 1000 gallons of molasses and plentiful pressed stalks for use in maintenance of the school road. Like the rural farms

⁴¹ *Seventy-Five in Fifty-Five*, 18; Huber, 2.

⁴² Description of land, farm, and community services, not dated, Folder 9, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, 3; Deed, 1937, Folder 2, Box 9, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁴³ Harmon, 15.

⁴⁴ Description of land, farm, and community services, 3.

⁴⁵ Huber, 2.

Stovall hoped to aid and improve, the Academy farm was a subsistence program, and the school made efficient use of everything it produced. That year, one and a half acres were planted in apples, and a tomato crop was underway.⁴⁶ The apple orchard was expanded around 1939 to include a bumper crop of grapes, with plans in place for more fruit trees, berries, and vines on land purchased in the following years.⁴⁷

The school built and furnished a community cannery on the property in 1945 to teach food preservation techniques and facilitate the processing of farm and orchard products.⁴⁸ Canning was an enormous undertaking each summer and fall to put away stock for the winter. Sarah Swango, an Academy employee who directed the cannery, supervised the preserving of hundreds of gallons of fruits and vegetables each year. A commercial-scale canner installed in the new building could seal twenty-five gallon-size tin cans at a time, to supplement the smaller-volume glass canning of half-gallon jars. Preparation work was done by hand, with the mechanical assistance of only an apple peeler. A memoir reports the canning one summer of 165 gallons of blackberries, 100 gallons each of apples, nuts, green beans, and tomatoes, and unspecified quantities of peaches, pears, corn, and peas. One year, the author remembered, the canning operation was disassembled and transported 100 miles to a peach orchard for onsite processing of the harvest.⁴⁹ A summer Work Camp for youth held at the school in 1945 harvested and canned 6.5 tons of food to be shipped to Europe as part of a relief effort following the second World War.⁵⁰ This resource for preserving such a volume of varied, homegrown food was a tremendous boon to health in the local community, and the expertise and teamwork required to can entire harvests invigorated ties

⁴⁶ "Hazel Green Academy,' Script to Accompany Lantern Slides," 1932, Folder 17, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, 5.

⁴⁷ "Planting the Orchard at Hazel Green," 1942, Folder 21, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁴⁸ Huber, 2.

⁴⁹ Highfield, Mrs. J.T., "Canning at Hazel Green," not dated, Folder 19, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁵⁰ Harmon, 16.

between the school and the rural community. This followed a precedent set by the cannery and gardening operation established at Hindman Settlement School, though the project at Hazel Green Academy improved greatly on the earlier model.⁵¹ With one cannery, Stovall made important strides in improving the circumstances of local residents while simultaneously expanding the service work of the school to provide relief on the other side of an ocean.

In acquisition of farm equipment and building of facilities, Stovall worked to keep Hazel Green Academy's farm up to date with current technology to teach and provide for the needs of local farmers. A dairy barn completed in 1945 housed the herd of Jersey cattle living on the farm and included modern sanitation equipment, electric milkers and coolers, and the first upright grain silo built in Wolfe County, which was soon duplicated on other farms.⁵² All farm equipment owned by the school was available to local farmers for a fair rental fee. A tractor and hammermill were available, as well as the only combine in the county in 1945, which was employed on at least twenty-five farms that year.⁵³ Area farmers could borrow the school's Jersey bull for a small fee, relieving them of the high cost and difficulty of maintaining a breeding bull on each farm.⁵⁴ Every tool and resource owned and shared by the Academy farm helped increase the yield, efficiency, and prosperity of small neighboring farms. In this way, independent farmers had access to the most modern equipment but avoided the financial roadblocks they would have encountered in purchasing such advanced machinery alone. The system of networking also helped promote communication between and among the school and the farms. This pathway encouraged

⁵¹ Stoddart, 88.

⁵² Harmon, 16.

⁵³ *Seventy-Five in Fifty-Five*, 19; Huber, 2.

⁵⁴ Harmon, 17.

residents to share labor and ideas and helped to build interconnectivity and unity throughout the community, one of the most important goals of Settlement activity.

As the farm grew in success, size, and influence, management of the expanding resource grew into more than a full-time task. Stovall hired a part-time dairyman, Bruce Blankenship, in 1943, and James I. Hollon, Jr. as full-time farm manager in 1944.⁵⁵ Hollon, Jr. was the son of Capt. Hollon, who sold the school its first plot of unimproved farmland in 1937, as well as a 1934 graduate of the Academy.⁵⁶ By 1955, six other staff members employed by the school were sharing their time between campus building maintenance and farm work.⁵⁷ Under the expert watch of this farm staff and with plenty of labor from male scholarship students, the farm was able to grow even more in production and, most importantly for Stovall, to increase the educational opportunities it offered to farmers in the region. The successful, modernized, scientific farm had turned cheap swampland into rich, profitable acreage, and area farmers were increasingly adopting the practices they observed at Hazel Green Academy.

With farm management duties somewhat relieved, Stovall turned his attention to recruiting further agricultural development to eastern Kentucky. In 1946, Stovall and farm manager Hollon, Jr., collaborated with the University of Kentucky on a project to proliferate a new experimental grass, Ky. 31 Fescue. The Academy planted twenty-five pounds of the new seed on newly acquired land of uncertain potential, to bountiful results. The Meadow Fescue seed reaped that year sold at an impressive \$1.25 per pound, netting the school \$4000 and more than paying for the acreage on which it was grown. This project continued until

⁵⁵ “Biographical Information” for Bruce Blankenship, Folder 11, Box 27, Series IV, Hazel Green Academy Records; “Biographical Information” for James I. Hollon, Jr., Folder 15, Box 28, Series IV, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁵⁶ “Hazel Green Academy Graduates, 1895-1980.” Folder 14, Box 32, Series V, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁵⁷ Advisory Board Minutes and Reports, June 2-3, 1955. Folder 13, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

1949, when the low market price of the seed made further cultivation unprofitable. By that time, hundreds of pounds of certified seed had been distributed in the mountains. Hollon, Jr. recorded the remarkable success of this Kentucky Wonder Grass at Hazel Green Academy in an article published in *Kentucky Farm Journal* and *The Southern Agriculturalist*. This broadly circulated article was powerful and validating publicity of the Settlement work undertaken at Hazel Green Academy to support advancing standards of living and farming in the mountains.⁵⁸

On the coat-tails of this success, Stovall continued to expand the role Hazel Green Academy played in regional and international farming development. The Academy joined the Kentucky Seed Improvement Association, and in 1948 it hosted the region's first Farmers' Day, sponsored by the Wolfe County Farmers Bureau.⁵⁹ This event was designed to show off the school's model farm and share up-to-date techniques of soil and crop management with a broader audience.⁶⁰ Following the success of this first event, the Academy hosted an international Field Day in August, 1951. This event was well-attended by local residents from several counties and attracted regional delegates with expertise in agronomy, animal husbandry, and soil conservation as well as representatives from a long roster of agriculture organizations from across Kentucky and from Washington, D.C. Honored visitors at the Field Day were a group of nine French delegates on tour of the region to learn the newest American practices of pasture improvement. Upon return to France, the delegates intended to employ the modern methods of harvest optimization, mixed grass and legume planting, and the drying and storage of forage and silage crops that

⁵⁸ Harmon, 15; Former Students Association, *Hazel Green Academy, 1948* (Hazel Green, Kentucky: Hazel Green Academy, 1948), 15.

⁵⁹ *Hazel Green Academy, 1948*, 15.

⁶⁰ Achievements of Hazel Green Academy 1928-48 and Ambitions For The Future, 1936, Folder 21, Box 1, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records; "Hazel Green Academy News Items," September, 1948, Folder 10, Box 2, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records.

they observed in Kentucky. The visitors hoped also to study and duplicate the extension model of meetings and demonstrations they saw successfully implemented in Appalachia. Hazel Green Academy, selected as host for this event, was a model farm in all of these regards and a central figure in the University of Kentucky's extension work in the mountains. At the event, three Wolfe County farmers were awarded Master Conservationist certificates for structural improvements on their land implemented under the guidance of the Academy farm.⁶¹ The event was a noted success, and Stovall, through his careful and invested work establishing an educational farm for the benefits of Wolfe County residents, had not only helped to improve the productivity of local farms but also unexpectedly broadened the Academy farm's influence all the way to Europe for the second time.⁶²

In another similar expansion of the school's Settlement goals, Stovall helped bring to Wolfe County the interest and work of the Kentucky Rural Development Program. The RDP, also called the Rural Development Association, was founded in 1956 and was directed out of the University of Kentucky in Lexington.⁶³ This program worked to organize extension programming in farming and industrial education and infrastructure in the rural mountain region. Stovall was one of the founding leaders of the RDP in the Ashland Region including Wolfe County and served for several years as its chairman. His monthly reports as director of the Academy, preserved after 1961, indicate a schedule packed with meetings, travel, and hosting visitors in support of Rural Development Program projects.⁶⁴ With RDP assistance, Wolfe County residents enrolled in packed adult education classes in

⁶¹ *Christian World News*, Hazel Green Projects Televised, June 1960.

⁶² "Hazel Green Field Day Termed Success," unnamed newspaper out of Campton, Kentucky, August 22, 1951, preserved in Folder 9, Box 4, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁶³ "A Line Tree in God's Country," transcript of speech given at Hazel Green Academy Homecoming by Dr. Mike Duff, coordinator of Rural Development Program, August 12, 1961, Folder 12, Box 31, Series V, Hazel Green Academy Records, 6.

⁶⁴ Director's Monthly Reports, June 1961- April 1966, Folders 1-8, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

“plumbing, auto mechanics, electricity and carpentry.”⁶⁵ Committees established under the RDP initiated research on the industries best-suited for the mountain region and sought backing for a vocational school to serve a four-county area. Findings made by these committees also brought to Wolfe County the RDP financial support that led to the establishment of the permanent medical facility in Campton that replaced Dr. Blood’s Hospital formerly at Hazel Green Academy and the Hazel Green Community Clinic, which closed just before the new Campton clinic opened.⁶⁶

The Academy farm managed by Stovall and Hollon, Jr. worked with the Rural Development Program on several experimental programs in farming and forestry. The school pioneered enhanced crops including soybeans, *Lespedeza*, and new strains of corn.⁶⁷ A massive county-wide effort, championed by the Academy, successfully eliminated all brucellosis-infected cattle from Wolfe County herds.⁶⁸ The feeder pig program pioneered in 1959 sought to model a hog production system for small farms that made pigs profitable at a young age.⁶⁹ The school constructed a concrete block farrowing, or birthing, house equipped with a heater and sprinkler system that could hold up to twelve sows and their litters.⁷⁰ This installation attracted local farmers who were interested in building simple, efficient farrowing houses on their own farms.⁷¹ The program continued successfully for several years, producing herds of two different lines of Hampshire gilts and introducing local farmers to the newest practices of raising hogs.⁷² Reforestation efforts funded by the RDP

⁶⁵ “Rural Development Program,” Hazel Green Academy report, 1960, 6.

⁶⁶ “Rural Development Program,” Hazel Green Academy report, 1960, 6-7.

⁶⁷ Description of land, farm, and community service, 3. *Lespedeza* is a genus of flowering ground cover legumes that are used agriculturally to enrich soil with nitrogen, reduce erosion, and provide high quality forage.

⁶⁸ “Rural Development Program,” Hazel Green Academy report, 1960, 6.

⁶⁹ Harmon, 33.

⁷⁰ Letter from Henry Stovall to Frank Lebus, April 1, 1963, Folder 38, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁷¹ “Hazel Green Academy Newsletter,” Fall 1959, Folder 10, Box 2, Series I, Hazel Green Academy Records, 3.

⁷² Letter from Henry Stovall to Frank Lebus, April 1, 1963.

saw 40,000 pine seedlings planted on land near the Academy farm and three million pines planted in Wolfe County as part of a program to support the health of profitable wooded lands and replenish timbered acreage.⁷³ These RDP initiatives were so successful through Hazel Green Academy that the school was selected as a model extension site, and Henry Stovall was recruited for a televised interview along with a state agriculturalist in 1960.⁷⁴ Stovall worked closely and passionately within the Rural Development Program throughout his tenure at Hazel Green Academy to bring innovation, access, and progress to the community and agriculture of Wolfe County far beyond what he and the school could provide alone. Ultimately, the Rural Development Program would outlast both Hazel Green Academy and Henry Stovall in its work to advance and industrialize eastern Kentucky, though it would ultimately pursue this goal under a leadership less invested in the personal, community-minded style of rural uplift the Settlements sought to provide.

The sort of access and development that Hazel Green Academy and other Settlements sought to bring into the mountains was in many ways also their ultimate undoing. As roads improved and new electric lines rolled over the ridges, free public schools multiplied in the region and outcompeted the tuition schools for students. Enrollment numbers at the Academy began a slow but steady decline in the 1950s. Despite an increase in Rural Development Program extension services provided through the school and the Academy's own steady efforts in community involvement, the decrease in tuition income heralded economic struggles on the horizon.⁷⁵ Correspondence from as early as 1960 shows that Stovall had to begin justifying farm expenditures to the United Christian Missionary Society, and several letters concerning potential buyers reveal that partial sale of

⁷³ Harmon, 33; "Rural Development Program," Hazel Green Academy report, 1960, 7.

⁷⁴ *Christian World News*, Hazel Green Projects Televised, June 1960.

⁷⁵ Harmon, p. 22-30.

Academy farmland was under negotiation.⁷⁶ Limited funding and increasing supervision from the UCMS tightened external controls on Stovall's community outreach pursuits and further dreams for the school.

In 1961, Mary Dale, executive secretary of UCMS Home Mission Ministries, called a meeting to discuss "the future outlook for Eastern Kentucky and the place for Hazel Green Academy in such a picture."⁷⁷ This watershed meeting was held with representatives from regional and state-wide religious, educational, sociological, and rural outreach organizations.⁷⁸ The delegates, including Dale and Stovall, reviewed all aspects of the program offered at Hazel Green Academy in depth, the first such comprehensive review since 1954.⁷⁹ The committee concluded that Hazel Green Academy still held an important role in the community and should continue operation but must adapt the type and scope of its community services as well as its target audience in order to succeed. The decision encouraged new approaches to keep the Academy at the center of community coordination and to continue building its role as a demonstration farm, a valuable asset in the region.⁸⁰ Despite new angles of outreach and increased efforts to make ends meet, however, the school continued in financial decline.

Undeterred by logistical and financial concerns, Stovall continued to champion and seek agricultural improvements for the area as supported by the decision of the committee.

⁷⁶ Letter from Henry Stovall to Mary Dale, January 24, 1961, Folder 36, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records ; Letter from Henry Stovall to Mary Dale, October 12, 1960, Folder 35, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records; Letter from J. Edwin Caruthers to Sid Maloney, January 13, 1960, Folder 35, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records; Letter from Ed Caruthers to Henry Stovall and M. C. Nickell, January 19, 1960, Folder 35, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁷⁷ Letter from Henry Stovall to Dr. Mike Duff, February 17, 1961, Folder 36, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁷⁸ Letter from Henry Stovall to Rev. James Moak, February 17, 1961; Letter from Mike Duff to Henry Stovall, March 2, 1961; Letter from James S. Brown to Henry Stovall, February 25, 1961; Letter from James L. Patton to Henry Stovall, February 27, 1961; Letter from Lewis Smythe to Henry Stovall, March 9, 1961, all letters held in Folder 36, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁷⁹ Letter from Mary Dale to Henry Stovall, March 8, 1961, Folder 36, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁸⁰ "A Line Tree in God's Country," 8.

His last major effort to bring best practices to the agricultural community was the multi-year pursuit of an industrial greenhouse for Wolfe County sited on Academy property.

Representing the interests of county residents as president of the Wolfe County Development Association, a local arm of the Rural Development Program, Stovall worked tirelessly in his last years at the Academy to secure the greenhouse project as an economic boon to residents and developing industry.⁸¹ As drafted, the plan would result in the largest plastic greenhouse complex in the world at that time.⁸² His monthly reports from 1961 until retirement in 1966 reveal constant promotion of Hazel Green as the ideal place for such construction. Stovall went far beyond Eastern Kentucky in pursuing this advancement for the community, travelling, attending conferences, and speaking to interested supporters in Indianapolis and Washington, D.C.⁸³ Hazel Green Academy students themed their parade float for the 1962 Wolfe County Fair around the greenhouse project, securing second prize and increased public support for the effort.⁸⁴ In the end, it took seven years for a greenhouse to arrive. Though the large scale project Stovall had worked to secure was not realized at Hazel Green Academy, a small greenhouse and nursery was built on the school's grounds under new director George Buchanan two years after Stovall's retirement.⁸⁵

Horticulture students used the greenhouse to grow flowers and vegetable starts for local resale at a moderate profit.⁸⁶ While not on par with the enormous industrial greenhouses

⁸¹ Letter from Henry Stovall to Robert Shepherd, October 5, 1963, Folder 38, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁸² Director's Monthly Report, April 1962, Folder 4, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁸³ Director's Monthly Report, July 1962, Folder 4, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records; Director's Monthly Reports, April 1963 and May 1963, Folder 5, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁸⁴ Director's Monthly Report, October 1962, Folder 4, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁸⁵ Advisory Board report, March 18, 1964, Folder 22, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records; "Hazel Green Academy Tour Guide to Buildings," Folder 19, Box 31, Series V, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁸⁶ Advisory Board report, December 14, 1968, Folder 26, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records; Unaddressed letter from Edward McMahan (to George Buchanan), January 22, 1979; Letter from George Buchanan to Edward McMahan, January 7, 1980; Letter from Edward McMahan to George Buchanan, January 11, 1980, all letters held in Folder 10, Box 10, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

that would proliferate soon afterward, this was nevertheless yet another new tool for production and improved standards of living that Stovall's enduring efforts attracted to Wolfe County.

Despite Henry Stovall's unfailing energy and commitment to expanding opportunities within the community, the financial situation at Hazel Green Academy became dire. Mike Duff of the Rural Development Program spoke at the Homecoming observances in 1961, emphasizing the need for the Academy to reassess its role in the community and adapt to meet changing needs. Wolfe County in the 1960s was a very different place from the region Henry Stovall found in 1928, when he began his multi-decade project of community outreach and uplift. In order to continue serving the residents in the area, Duff claimed, the school must "pioneer new directions."⁸⁷ Most of the hundreds of Settlement Schools in Southern Appalachia had already closed their doors by mid-century. Although Hazel Green Academy continued to operate academic and community programs, the 1960s proved to be the first of several decades of serious decline. After serving grades seven through twelve throughout Stovall's tenure, the board voted to discontinue 7th grade at the close of the 1963-1964 school year and to terminate the 8th grade the year after.⁸⁸ Even after these efforts to tighten up budgets, the Academy struggled to maintain sufficient enrollment to stay in operation. In the fall of 1964, faculty and staff made extensive visits to students and friends of the Academy in an effort to shore up support for the school and reinforce community ties before they faltered completely.⁸⁹ This active reframing and encouragement

⁸⁷ "A Line Tree in God's Country," 8.

⁸⁸ Advisory Board report, May 1, 1963, Folder 21, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records; Accreditation, Kentucky High School Evaluation Forms, School Years 1963-64 and 1964-65, Folder 2, Box 24, Series III, Hazel Green Academy Records; Accreditation, Kentucky High School Evaluation Form, School Year 1965-66, Folder 3, Box 24, Series III, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁸⁹ Director's Monthly Report, September 1964, Folder 6, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records; Faculty visitation reports, Folder 6, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records, 6 pages.

of local support was critical that year, as the school no longer owned its most significant community asset, the demonstration farm that had contributed so much to its success.

In the summer of 1964, Hazel Green Academy sold the proverbial farm. While it is clear that the demonstration farm was an enormously successful project for community outreach, it had also certainly been the pet passion of Henry Stovall. The Advisory Board had expressed uncertainty about the farm's value for some time. In 1956, members requested that a "study should be made to find out its purpose" and discussed concern about expenditures and returns.⁹⁰ A decision by the United Christian Missionary Society to divorce itself from all tobacco holdings in the stock market or on Society property made a big dent in farm profits. After this policy shift cut income by \$3000 annually, the amount formerly raised by the sale of each year's tobacco harvest, the school struggled to bring its farm accounts reliably back into the black.⁹¹ Although Rural Development Program projects were financially supported by the state and other organizations, these funds did not always cover all of the real costs incurred in establishing and maintaining the programs. In the example of the feeder pig project, Stovall stated from the beginning that the \$2000 allotted by the RDP would not cover all costs, but he welcomed this and other opportunities because they "gave the Academy a chance to do things it had wanted to do before," and that though such chances saddled the precarious farm budget with additional expenses, they "would pay off in many ways."⁹² Despite financial concerns and wavering support from the Advisory Board, Stovall directed and sought broader support for the work of the farm for nearly thirty years. This conviction that the farm's work paid qualitative dividends was at the core of

⁹⁰ Advisory Board Minutes and Reports, April 30, 1956, Folder 14, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁹¹ Advisory Board Minutes and Reports, August 27, 1956, Folder 14, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁹² Minutes of the Advisory Board of Hazel Green Academy, April 7, 1959, Folder 17, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

Stovall's work to make the Academy farm a powerful tool for demonstration, regional improvement and Settlement-style community interaction. The Board published a statement in 1961 in support of continuing and expanding adult education through the demonstration farm, most likely connected to the findings of the comprehensive review meeting called by the UCMS the month before, but their support did not last.⁹³ In a single meeting in 1964, the Advisory Board revealed strong concerns about the burden of maintaining a working farm and made the final decision to sell it: Board members pointed out that private schools at that time did not tend to operate farms, a point that may have been influenced by the decline and closure of the well-known Hindman Settlement School demonstration farm and the smaller Pine Mountain Settlement School farm around the same time.⁹⁴ Within days, the Academy drew up deeds to sell the farm to its longest and most devoted supporter, Henry A. Stovall.⁹⁵

The closing of the Academy farm fundamentally changed the educational opportunities and community resources the school could offer to local residents. Along with the demonstration farm, the school also lost its influential role in regional agriculture and its status as a beacon of advancing technology in the mountains. The Academy refocused its efforts on other forms of community outreach as possible within budgetary constraints. The Jot 'Em Down Store operated for the life of the school, and adult education programs continued in the town of Hazel Green through the Rural Development Program. Overall, however, the trademark outreach efforts of the rural Settlement movement, specifically kindergarten training, medical aid, and agricultural improvement, had

⁹³ Advisory Board Minutes and Reports, April 6, 1961, Folder 19, Box 6, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

⁹⁴ Advisory Board report, March 18, 1964; Stoddart, 158.

⁹⁵ Advisory Board report, March 18, 1964; Letter from Mary Dale to Henry Stovall, March 31, 1964, Folder 39, Box 8, Series II, Hazel Green Academy Records.

come to a close at Hazel Green Academy. The Stovalls retired in 1966 and were replaced by George W. Buchanan, who had the unfortunate position of guiding the school through two difficult decades that culminated in closure in 1983.

The period of strongest Settlement work at Hazel Green Academy was the product of Stovall's skillful and inspired direction. His administration was preceded by the early traditionalist school and succeeded by a period of financial struggles that necessitated cutting programs in a desperate attempt to stay in operation. That period of unequalled Settlement outreach was shaped and defined by the leadership and vision of Henry Stovall, supported by the United Christian Mission Society, the University of Kentucky, the Rural Development Program, and the community of Hazel Green, Kentucky. With Stovall's arrival and retirement, the Settlement School period of Hazel Green Academy's story rose and fell. Like most of the other earlier Appalachian Settlement Schools, Hazel Green Academy worked itself out of its own niche. Designed to support a rapidly developing rural region through the midcentury shifts in technology and economics, the school was unable to change tack quickly enough to survive in the rapidly shifting environment of the later 20th century. The community outreach and service provided by the school during the decades under Stovall, however, shaped and supported the development of the region through a time of dramatic change. Stovall reformed a Mission school into a powerful Settlement with influence that stimulated growth and advancement throughout the Kentucky mountains and even around the world. The Hazel Green and Wolfe County of today exist in part as testament to the school's powerful community presence and its director's vision and commitment to Settlement ideals.

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