Red River Gorge Residents: A Cultural and Historical Perspective

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RED RIVER GORGE RESIDENTS:
A CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

RED RIVER GORGE RESIDENTS:
A CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This study investigates the relationship between the remaining residents of Appalachian Eastern Kentucky's Red River Gorge area and their environment with special emphasis on the historical and current social factors that play a role in their refusal to vacate the area. For two decades, these people have faced the possibility of losing their land and homes to area development projects while they have simultaneously become aware of what it can mean to be labeled "Appalachian". Currently, they are contending with the implications of a management plan proposed by the United States Forest Service. Cross-cultural research on areas developed as recreational arenas indicates that the residents as a whole stand only to lose in such situations. The optimum solution from the perspective of the people along the Red River is to be left alone, but this is not going to happen as the popularity of the Gorge has steadily grown over the past years and as the Forest Service has greatly increased its holdings. Appropriate planning to reduce the losses of the locals who view their land as irreplaceable is suggested as a primary consideration in this area and in others where recreational development is planned.

DESCRIPTORS: Recreation Facilities; Recreation Demand; Wild Rivers; Tourism; Management Planning

IDENTIFIERS: River Recreation Management; Private Landownership in National Forests
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CHAPTER 1: TOURISTS, RESIDENTS AND THE GOVERNMENT

Introduction: The General Problem

Rural Americans are in many ways the forgotten people of our country. Inhabiting their land in a more dispersed manner than urban Americans and rarely organizing themselves around issues of interest to outsiders, they are often overlooked in situations involving management of their environment. In the highly rural Appalachian region, resource control has historically been held by absentee owners who have not been motivated to act in the interests of the area's residents. A contemporary expression of this social phenomenon centers around the management of federally owned lands, particularly those in areas considered attractive to tourists. These lands represent a resource not generally associated with the Appalachian states, yet the issue of their management involves not only the largest single absentee landowner in the region, the federal government, but an increasing number of urban Americans who want more recreational arenas.

Social impact assessment studies are now routinely conducted on areas considered appropriate for recreational development. The primary focus of most resulting reports is on the economic and social impact of management alternatives in terms of the greatest number of individuals involved (the recreationists) as well as on preservation of the natural features. The residents, because they constitute only a small percentage of the recreational users, and because they are often not considered part of the natural environment, are frequently dismissed in a few comments. Yet these individuals are an important part of the total ecology and it is necessary to understand not only their existing lifeways, but those of the preceding
generations who have inhabited an area in order to appropriately and effectively make management decisions.

**Kentucky's Red River Gorge: The Specific Problem**

This study focuses on the remaining residents of the Red River Gorge area in Eastern Kentucky's Cumberland Plateau. It is primarily because of the need to effectively preserve the area's natural attractions as well as to satisfactorily meet the diverse needs of the various groups involved that a management plan will undoubtedly be effected for the Red River Gorge. The current target date was 1983 (U.S. Forest Service 1980), but evaluation of various alternatives is still in progress. The area under consideration for protection/development is located in Powell, Menifee and Wolfe Counties and includes "the downstream portion of the North Fork of the Red River watershed, and a small portion of the area drained by the Middle Fork of the Red River" (U.S. Forest Service 1977: 58).

The Red River area (Figure 1) can be considered unique for a number of reasons. It is a beautiful place, with more than 100 identified natural rock arches and hundreds of wildflower varieties, many of them rare. The counties containing the Gorge and associated features did not have the coal-rich deposits found throughout much of the rest of Eastern Kentucky, since erosion millennia ago carried them to other areas (Jillson 1969a). The only major industries along the Red River were oil, gas and timber extraction, and, by the late 1920s, those enterprises had virtually ended. Following resource removal, much of the land was deemed almost worthless by outsiders and a large percentage was sold to the United States government in the late 1930s. Inhabited primarily by self-sufficient farmers, the area experienced a period of relative isolation from outside regions that lasted until the 1960s.

During that decade, three things happened to focus attention on the Red
THE RED RIVER GORGE

Figure 1. Adapted from Kentucky Trails (1980)
River. First, the Kentucky Mountain Parkway Toll road was constructed through the area, making it readily accessible to nearby urban populations. Second, the Federal Accelerated Works Program built 35 miles of hiking trails in the Gorge area, providing safe access to many of the natural rock formations. Third, the United States Congress authorized funding for the Red River Lake Project which would have involved building a dam and flooding the area.

From 1967 when funds to build the dam were appropriated until 1976 when Congress withdrew funding approval for the Red River Lake Project, the residents of the Red River fought against the proposed construction. In the process, they attracted national attention and a rapidly increasing number of tourists who now come to the Red River Gorge for a variety of recreational purposes. By 1979, an estimated 4.4 million visitors annually toured the Red River area (Mead 1980) and a large increase in the number of tourists has been predicted. The area is easily reached by the Mountain Parkway and approximately 60 million people live within one day's driving distance of the Gorge (DeWalt 1981:4). The impact of this phenomenal increase in recreational activity on the residents has yet to be measured.

Of the 101,500 acres in the Red River Gorge, the Daniel Boone National Forest covers 50,000 acres, the Natural Bridge State Park owns 2,000 acres (Ruchhoft 1976: 32) and private owners hold 46,500 acres. This estimate of private ownership is probably somewhat high since the Forest Service is steadily exercising acquisition options made available to them. Complicating the situation for all parties concerned is the fact that there is little delineation among the ownership areas, making it frequently difficult to distinguish public from private land.
Red River Management Options

The lack of clear boundaries has prompted the U.S. Forest Service (1977) to propose that condemnation and acquisition procedures be employed against the privately owned land so that they can assume managerial responsibility for the area as a whole. In arguing their case, the Forest Service has pointed out that "the general public and elected officials generally support the Forest Service acquisition program and register no strong opposition to the use of condemnation", and that further the "only non-support" for their total management plan "has come from individuals who own land that would be acquired".

The Red River is also under consideration for inclusion in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers system. One nine mile section of the river, from the KY 746 bridge to the mouth of Swift Camp Creek, was designated a Kentucky Wild River in 1972. If the Red River receives the federal Wild and Scenic River designation, it will be permanently protected from the now dormant plans to build a dam in the area. Like the Forest Service plan, this proposal has implications for the local landowners since a maintenance easement along the river would be acquired by the federal government. In a draft environmental impact statement, DeWalt (1981) concluded that the Red River meets the qualifications for inclusion on the National Wild and Scenic register.

A third possibility is that for whatever reason (e.g. lack of federal funding appropriated to implement potential decisions or failure of the Red River to receive designation as a Wild and Scenic River) the area will continue to be managed as it is presently. Although this alternative might initially appear to have little impact on the local residents, tension between these people and the recreationists has not unexpectedly grown as tourism has increased and the situation as it currently stands is not viewed as optimal by either group.
Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project

Specifically, the research reported in this study provides complementary data to the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project report *Landowners, Recreationists, and Government: Cooperation and Conflict in the Red River Gorge* (Scott and DeWalt 1982). The major objective of the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project is "to provide sociocultural data on the human use of two wild rivers in Kentucky". Kentucky Revised Statutes stipulate that designated Wild River areas such as the Red River not only be developed as recreational areas, but be preserved in a natural state. By determining "present user demand, the socio-demographic characteristics of users, and their perceptions, expectations and preferences regarding wild rivers", the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project provides needed information not only to state agencies that must reconcile the legislated objectives, but to national agencies as well.

Although the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project has collected survey information on families living in the Gorge regarding demographic characteristics, a need for more qualitative data exists. The residents constitute only a small percentage of the Red River Gorge users when quantitative measures are employed, yet they are a distinctly important group that should be evaluated separately. There has been no direct study of these individuals and how they have adapted to changes in the socioeconomic environment in the past.

There is also little individual-level data available on what these people perceive as options they may have in view of the impending management plan. At the time of the proposed lake construction, there were 55 families scheduled for relocation. Today there are fewer than 40 living in the same area. Those who remain have resisted both the Corps of Engineers and the Forest Service which comments that "many residents of the Red River Gorge view each new study of the region as another governmental scheme to acquire their
The Forest Service acts as caretaker for designated public areas and adopts the viewpoint that it can most efficiently carry out this task if the units managed are contiguous. Its position on privately owned land in the Red River Gorge area is clear:

The subject lands comprise the heart of the Gorge and are cardinal for its proper management. The current use and development trends on these lands represent the actualization of the antithesis of the management objectives for the geological area and are resulting in a progressive degradation of the quality of recreation opportunities available elsewhere in the Gorge.

When the Gorge is considered as a holistic entity, as it certainly should be, it becomes obviously and indisputably apparent that it is absolutely essential that the Forest Service have total management control of the subject lands (U.S. Forest Service 1977: 13).

From the perspective of the Forest Service administrators, they have made great strides toward accomplishing this goal over the past few years only to be hampered by a small group of individuals.

It is a common management argument that displaced people are frequently helped by such relocation since their standard of living is often raised. It has in fact been so argued in the case of the Gorge residents:

In light of the varied forms of assistance available to displaced families and the commitment of the Corps to utilize all reasonable and legal means for mitigation of both financial and human hardships resulting from relocation, the Corps believes that many of the relocated families will in fact have a better living situation than they had prior to displacement (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1975: 25).

If this is an accurate assessment of the situation, why are the remaining residents so unwilling to leave? This is the key question addressed in this study and it is therefore essential to determine the relationship these individuals have with their environment. Data of this nature can only come from the residents themselves.
Historical Factors

The people in the Red River Gorge live within the politically defined boundaries of the Appalachian Regional Commission. They are additionally the heirs to a cultural and historical development process that over the past century and a half has systematically removed natural resources and means of economic support, while simultaneously giving rise to a strong negative stereotype that is held by much of the nation. The literature on Appalachia is full of references to the "culture of poverty", the lack of options available to the people, and the "felt powerlessness" that is seen as characterizing the typical individual of the region.

The intrusion of outside socioeconomic forces cannot be easily discounted for the Red River Gorge. From the early 1800s to the late 1920s, first the iron and then the oil and timber industries provided the residents an opportunity to fully participate in a cash economy. The introduction of company towns forced relocation of many families and an accompanying alteration of existing lifeways. With the departure of the timber companies, the area experienced early the economic depression that was to affect the entire nation years later. Families were further separated as members migrated north to seek employment. Today there are few jobs in the Red River Gorge and that situation has prevailed since the large companies ceased operations.

As part of the Cumberland Plateau, the Red River Gorge counties are among seventeen Eastern Kentucky counties categorized by the Commonwealth of Kentucky as inferior to the rest of the state's agricultural areas when the ability of the land to support the area's population is measured. The return on labor invested by the farmers has been considered quite low for this region in particular over the past decades (Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station 1935). Despite the prevailing "very rough topography, poor soil," and
low crop yield, in 1942, the Cumberland Plateau had the second highest proportion of self-sufficient and part-time farms in the state (Kentucky Agricultural Station 1942). Although this pattern has changed throughout much of the Plateau, within the Gorge proper, this tradition of agricultural self-sufficiency continues today.

**Research Objectives**

It was hypothesized that through an examination of individual adaptation to past periods of socioeconomic turbulence the persistence of the current Red River Gorge residents can be understood. In order to determine individual adaptation to such environmental changes over the past 50 years, two research objectives were outlined:

1. The provision of historical and humanistic dimensions to quantitative data collected on the Red River Gorge by the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project described in this chapter.

2. The provision of local-level data for future assessments and/or critical management decisions regarding not only the Red River, but analogous regions where development is planned. The emphasis of this research on the historical and humanistic aspects of an area is complementary to the social aspects normally stressed in such situations. Determination of the effect that planned policy decisions may have on the migrations patterns, economy, and general lifeways of an area's residents cannot be adequately made unless appropriate community-level information has been collected before such decisions are effected. Particularly since policy decisions are often short-term in reality, it is to the ultimate advantage of all groups concerned that the "irreversible and undesirable social effects of resource development" be discovered before they occur (Burdge and Johnson 1977: 2).
Summary

This chapter has provided an introduction to the research problem of why local people remain in the Red River Gorge as well as to how they devise adaptive strategies for handling intrusive forces such as the pending management plan. The importance of viewing such mechanisms in a socioeconomic/historic perspective is discussed. Within the Gorge proper, two primary strategies of adaptation have been followed and these can be viewed as tied to the length of time a family has held land in the area. As the oral history excerpts show, the individuals living in the Gorge have a strong sense of place in the rural tradition with a definite emphasis on independence and self-reliance. While these values are often cited as being characteristically Appalachian, it seems more likely these values, particularly those that relate to the land, are actually representative of values held in many rural American areas.

The land gives the people a sense of security far beyond that of just having a place to live. When Gorge resident Jean Hopkins says "land is something that a person needs" she is talking about much more than the satisfaction of having a place to call one's own. The ability of the land to support the people through periods of unevenness in the market economy is irreplaceable. This relationship to the land provides a large measure of freedom. While to many outsiders, the lifestyle in areas like the Gorge may seem to be limiting and confining, those who live there view it as providing a true freedom from the constraints of city life.

Even if these ideological factors were not so important, the practical replacement cost would not be met by the Forest Service's offer. For the large farmers, the money received would not permit them to replace their farms, since property values in the Gorge are relatively low. They would have to learn to get by with less land, smaller crops, and reduced income. For the
small landholders, the capacity of the new area to sustain their current subsistence methods would have to be learned. Both groups would lose important social networks that form a necessary and integral part of their day-to-day existence. Goods and services are an important medium of exchange for people in this neighborhood and the loss of this preferred style of living cannot be measured in terms of market value.
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The larger purpose of fieldwork carried out in the Red River Gorge is that of the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project discussed in Chapter One with its primary objective "to provide sociocultural data on the use of two wild rivers in Kentucky". The results of this project research are contained in two reports (Alexander 1982; Beebe 1982).

The area of the Red River Gorge under consideration for a management plan is contained in three counties (Powell, Menifee and Wolfe). The greater portion, however, is within the counties of Powell and Menifee and a decision was made to limit this investigation to those two counties. Using general demographic data collected by the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project on families in the Red River Gorge area as a starting point, this study was further focused on residents in the portion of those two counties located south of the North Fork of the Red River, extending from Gladie Creek to Halls Branch. It is in this section that the largest incidence of private land ownership occurs.

Research Techniques

Since the ongoing Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project had already collected data from landowners regarding such issues as utilization of natural resources, visitation patterns, farming practices, and future plans, the specific objectives of this study were designed to complement that research effort. The objectives were achieved in the following manner:

1. Identification of individuals 50+ years of age who fall into two broad categories: A. Those who have remained in the area throughout their lives with the exception of relatively brief interruptions such as military
service. B. Those who grew up in the area, left for some extended period and have now returned on a permanent basis.

The stated restrictions on individuals interviewed were followed for two reasons. First, younger residents might not have impressions of those periods during which difficult individual economic decisions had to be made on an area-wide basis and it is those periods that can provide insight into prior adaptive strategies. Second, by selecting two small, distinct groups, important differences between the groups, especially with regard to differential economic decision-making can be detected. Eleven individuals were interviewed and excerpts from the oral histories of eight residents are included as part of a separate chapter.

2. A review of historical literature pertaining to Powell and Menifee Counties of Eastern Kentucky was conducted. This was utilized to provide scope and depth regarding the area's social, economic, political and demographic structures. A list of economic options available to individuals in this region at varying times during the past century as indicated by the literature was prepared for comparison with data collected on the individual level.

3. A review of Appalachian literature covering major works in both the scholarly and popular literature was conducted. Since both Powell and Menifee Counties are among the 49 Eastern Kentucky counties officially designated "Appalachian" as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission, the models of socioeconomic process frequently used to explain the area's persistent poverty are included in a chapter on Appalachian history.

4. Genealogical data was collected first from each individual to provide a referential framework for the other data gathered. The focus was upon what might be called cognitive genealogies; i.e., upon what an individual carries around in his or her head regarding what she or he
considers familial connections to others, both living and dead.

5. Oral histories were also collected from each individual. Although the need for such qualitative data is often mentioned, it is rarely preferentially collected since statistical data is needed for making decisions regarding large numbers of people. In addition, these particular data have significance on the regional level since they address assumptions that underlie beliefs regarding individuals living in those portions of the thirteen states comprising the Appalachian region.

6. An open-end interview regarding individual perceived economic options and the decisions made during periods of assumed general economic hardship was used. Focal periods included the withdrawal of the timber industry, the national economic depression of the 1930s, the 1937 and 1938 floods, World War II, the threatened dam construction and the pending management plan. Information was also elicited regarding early family history and current life and work in the Red River Gorge. Identification of adaptational patterns to previous periods of difficulty as well as identification of the effect these decisions had on family structure and lifeways provide insight into the potential impact of future intrusions.

7. The use of participant observation was employed throughout the fieldwork. During visits, the same information was approached from various directions. A determination of the validity of the information obtained, as evaluated on a within-subject, between-subject and from a historical perspective was then made possible.

Summary

In summary, several lines of evidence are combined to determine individual socioeconomic adaptive strategies. The utilization of historical data provides an appropriate context for the individual data. This research
is immediately intended to serve as input to the development of a management plan for the Red River Gorge. An appropriate level of investigation for that purpose is the study of individual behavior.

Pelto and Pelto provide support for taking this approach for the stated purpose:

Frequently the information most useful to action programs is based on behaviors, qualities and situations of individuals and households - especially the differences among them - rather than the broad-gauge generalizations that seek to characterize an entire community or culture (1978: 244).

Interestingly, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (1975: 15), in a discussion of the proposed Red River Lake, indicate that impact assessments they make are frequently based on qualitative rather than quantitative data. It is likely that the qualitative data they use is impressionistic rather than broadly based. This study provides an illustration of how focused information for such decisions can be collected.
CHAPTER 3: EASTERN KENTUCKY AND APPALACHIA

Regional Context

In order to understand the social consequences for those places in Kentucky that bear the Appalachian label, it is necessary to know something about the current activities that function to define the region and its inhabitants to outsiders. It is equally important to examine the history of the Appalachian region and the unique role Eastern Kentucky has been assigned throughout these events. In 1965, federal legislation established the Appalachian Regional Commission, placing a 195,000 square mile region under its authority. Appalachia (Figure 2) officially includes all of West Virginia and parts of twelve other states: Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia (Appalachian Regional Commission 1979: 1).

The 49 Kentucky counties designated Appalachian (Figure 3) are part of Central Appalachia which "has the smallest and least urbanized population, lowest levels of income and educational attainment, the poorest housing and by most social and economic measures is far behind regional and national averages" (Appalachian Regional Commission 1979: 7). This area is also what society-at-large may consider the "real" Appalachian region. Ulack and Raitz (1981) report that on a map completion test, 2,397 college students in and near the Appalachian region perceived only the South Central region as defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission to be Appalachian. Eastern Kentucky is at the heart of this subregion.

That this particular section of the politically larger region would be so singled out is the result of a long-term complex cumulation of many variables that have combined to give rise to a negative stereotype of the South Central Appalachians. An overview of some of the important factors in
Figure 2
this process is provided in the following profile of sociocultural development in the Central and Southern Appalachians over the past 200 years. It is the extent to which these general patterns are perceived to deviate from those of the nation's industrial development that has determined the negative image of the Appalachians. This difference has been utilized at varying times over the past century by religious, political and industrial forces to often unwittingly promote and sustain this stereotype.

**Socioeconomic Profile**

The mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century mark the settling of the hill country and the development of a predominantly agricultural subsistence base. During this time span, the area experienced a period of relative isolation from the mainstream economic trends in lowland areas and, during the latter half, ceased to be commercially competitive with them as the development of faster, more efficient transportation methods bypassed the more inaccessible areas. Participation in the Civil War broke the period of isolation and by the turn of the nineteenth century, the mountaineer was provided an opportunity to fully participate in a cash economy as timber and coal extraction activities began.

Construction of railroads facilitated tourism and in many areas, recreational enterprises provided seasonal employment. Since around 1920, the largest industry in the region has been coal mining and that has been historically unstable. Additionally, the lack of available farming land for all potential heirs, an abundance of land no longer suitable for farming as well as mass media advertisements of comfortable middle class lifestyles elsewhere resulted in a major outmigration from Eastern Kentucky for the years 1940-1960 (Brown and Hillery 1967).

Through the popularization of the region by outside writers and
visitors, the general public became aware of the differences between themselves and Appalachians and, during the early twentieth century, Appalachia became a source of social concern. Fetterman (1970) contends that "No area such as Appalachia could long escape gleeful discovery by do-gooders, those fervent, tireless Americans among us who are driven, as though by demons, to do unto others. So for decades, Appalachia has been done unto."

The Role of the Appalachian Family

It is the emphasis on a kin-based social structure that provided yet another difference between the mainstream American lifestyle and that of the Appalachians. A major focus for change by those who came into the region to "help" the residents was the family, with a concentration on its religious practices that also differed from the typical mainstream protestant expression. Missionaries who believed in the positive benefits of the industrialization process tried to get the mountain people to cooperate with the coal mine operators in accordance with the values espoused by the Protestant ethic.

There is little doubt that "the missionaries were sincere, (but) they also has a profound effect upon family life" (Lewis, Kobak and Johnson 1973: 142). The same authors feel, partly from personal experience, that the traditional Appalachian cohesive familial bond functioned in an adaptive manner to preserve elements of the culture in the face of these outside religious and industrial forces. Even if resource control of the land they had inhabited for so long was lost, they still retained some personal control which was most obviously expressed in family religious and child-rearing practices.

The Appalachian Regional Commission made their stated focus for 1980 the
Appalachian family, a situation that prompted Jeanne Hoffman to later comment that:

Most every economic development program requires a feasibility study and environmental impact statement. Very rarely does it have anything to go along with the human being in charge of the family. There are 250 programs that impact directly on families, but none of them have to state any kind of family impact statements or whether they are moved into or involved in a community (Appalachia 1979).

The consequence of all this is that "each day hundreds upon hundreds of families in the mountains struggle with the policies of the Appalachian Regional Commission, the coal companies, (and) the welfare departments, the schools, the mainline churches" (Lewis, Kobak and Johnson 1973).

The Role of the Appalachian Writer

The way these agencies and institutions perceive the families they work among and employ is informed to a great extent by the growing number of popular and scholarly publications dealing with Appalachia. Most often, these works present the region as if it were culturally and geographically homogeneous as well as very different from surrounding areas of the United States. By the end of the nineteenth century, "local color" writers such as John Fox, Jr. used the highlands of southern states as a background for stories of the quaint, outmoded mountaineer (Shapiro 1977: 44). Similarly, much of what has been and continues to be written about the region is not the product of formal research, but instead an expression of contemporary mores.

Eller (1976) proposes that there is a static role assigned hill people by writers from outside the region and further that this assignation has given rise to the notion that something must be done to or for the people. They are often seen as "subjects to be acted upon, but not as people participating within the historical drama itself". This interplay of
contemporary mores and static image has served to perpetuate the negative stereotype of Appalachians.

One author in particular should be mentioned because he was instrumental in bringing Eastern Kentucky as a region of poverty to national prominence through his work beginning in the early 1960s. Harry Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* was widely read as most of his later writings have been. His work is a major reason it is difficult for agency personnel to approach the region without preconceived notions about the 'regrettable' conditions there. His descriptions are often dramatic and the two comments below have been selected to demonstrate not only how he presents Eastern Kentucky, but to illustrate what he sees as an appropriate way to handle the poverty problem:

The Cumberland Plateau of Eastern Kentucky is the hard, bleak core of Appalachia, and Appalachia is a huge region of stagnation. It is the largest and best known of the islands of poverty that endure, and grow, in the United States (1980).

A trifling amount of money would build scores of dams and lakes across the Appalachian South. This spangle of man-made lakes would provide flood control, industrial water, recreational water, and cheap electricity - all important underpinnings in the creation of a viable economy (1967).

Statements of this kind, made by a regional expert and native, serve to validate the management perspective that moving people from isolated areas of the Cumberland Plateau to more 'civilized' places is for their benefit as well as the region's. Caudill conveys the impression of a passive group of people whose way of life is stagnant and passe, and who are just waiting to be brought into the twentieth century. Inherent in these works and in much that is published on Appalachia is the assumption that many regional residents are almost cloistered, virtually unaware of the world beyond a limited social group. It is then just a short step to the argument that if
they only knew more about things elsewhere, they would want to be more involved in them.

The Nature of Appalachian Isolation

To this day, people traveling south on Interstate-71 toward Kentucky can read (and many undoubtedly believe) the legend on a popular restaurant placemat:

The charm of the Appalachian mountain folk, living deep in the mountain coves and hollows, lies in their isolation from outside influences. Their manner of speech and way of life dates back to earlier more relaxed times and brings forth a bit of nostalgia to all of us.

The notion that Appalachian residents have lived in ignorance of the ways of the outside world is questionable. To cite just one example, in an investigation of the external socioeconomic contacts of five isolated Blue Ridge Mountain hollows for the period 1930-32, Wilhelm (1977) found a high degree of contact with the outside world both in frequency and in distance. He concluded on the basis of the number and kind of external contacts that the people selectively adopted or rejected the changing outside world. The existence of a post office in almost every mountain community store, as well as the high percentage of newspaper subscribers and the number of written records created for family documentation mitigates against the myth of the illiterate Appalachian who lives with little knowledge of the outside world.

Despite what may have actually taken place, the perception of the culturally impoverished mountaineer has persisted and facilitates the use of the several social science models reviewed below. Drawing on the quasi-scientific information available on the population whose socioeconomic behavior they are intended to explain, these models contain elements of popular notions discussed in preceding pages, such as the assumption of a fairly homogeneous, measurably distinct group.
Socioeconomic Models

The models most frequently advanced to explain the phenomenon of Appalachia are the sub-culture of poverty model, the regional development model and the internal colonialism model. Walls (1976: 319) points out that "each of the three current models was first developed in the context of underdevelopment in the Third World and later applied by analogy to the Appalachian case". He proposes a fourth model, the internal periphery, that has been extended by Plaut (1978) to include other dimensions. All the models share the assumptions that Appalachia constitutes a problem region and that something should be done about it. Elements from more than one model are frequently evident in individual writings on the region, but it is the sub-culture of poverty model that has had the most pervasive impact.

The Sub-Culture of Poverty Model

The sub-culture of poverty model "describes in positive terms a subculture of Western society with its own structure and rationale, a way of life handed on from generation to generation along family lines" (Lewis 1966: 19). Although Lewis emphatically denies that the model characterizes quality of life, he comments that "the individual who grows up in this culture has a strong feeling of fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority" (1966: 23). Whatever Lewis' intent, the model is now alternatively called the genetic or deficiency model and places the locus of blame for the region's assumed problems on the inhabitants. The proposed solution is to change the presumed characteristics of the people who live there. The use of this model for the Appalachian region has been criticized on the basis of the two assumptions inherent in its title. Whether Appalachia has an identifiable sub-culture and whether its inhabitants are truly impoverished because they often fall below the poverty level in personal income has stimulated much
In a study that shows lack of support for the model of Appalachia as a sub-culture of poverty, Billings (1974) analyzed data from 11,600 North Carolinian Piedmont (non-Appalachian) and mountain (Appalachian) families and determined that the older cohort groups for both areas were the same in their degree of middle class orientation. Since modernization has occurred to a greater extent in the Piedmont than in the mountains, Billings reasons that "attitudinal characteristics cannot be used to explain the lack of economic development - and therefore poverty - in the mountains".

The issue of whether people in Appalachia are impoverished or not is an interesting one. Poverty has become pathological in nature as it is currently conceived and Billings (1974: 322) points out that "our theories of poverty may help to sustain its reality." For example, the culture of poverty model supports the notion that the characteristics of the poor are the cause of the characteristics of the poor, thus hampering a differentiation of causal from descriptive analyses as well as perpetuating a theoretically unfounded assumption (Roach 1967).

Precourt (1983) notes that the concept of poverty in the United States has little to do with meeting basic subsistence needs. Rather, poverty has to do with a level of material goods possession defined by the market system and "below which a person is not gaining a culturally defined 'subsistence'." He identifies four variables that have contributed to the recognition of Appalachia as an impoverished area: 1. contrasting economic/ideological systems of the region vs. those of the nation; 2. exploitation of natural resources for the monetary benefit of outsiders; 3. the mass media's sensitivity to the status quo and thus to a reporting of Appalachia's deviation from it; 4. the adoption of the sub-culture of poverty model by national planning agencies.
Walls (1978) further criticizes the model for lack of sufficient research methodology, for a failure to recognize the great social diversity in the region and for excluding historical perspectives. Despite these drawbacks, the underlying assumptions of the sub-culture of poverty model are used as the basis for the models to follow.

The Regional Development Model

The regional development model seeks identification of appropriate solutions that will mediate between a region and the larger society to which it is tied. It assumes the existence of a sub-culture of poverty as well as the prevalence of negative conditions against which it is necessary to take combative action. The Appalachian Regional Commission is an example of the development model in action. Walls (1978) proposes that the Appalachian Regional Commission functions to reconcile the regional and national elites, working through an academic and political support base.

Some support for this position may be found in the distribution of the Appalachian Regional Commission's funds. Eighty percent of the money received to date has been spent on highway construction which has been generally agreed upon among the social planners involved as the number one priority for opening the region to development. Of the non-highway money, the distribution is such that the wealthiest Appalachian states receive the highest per capita share, a situation that places number one need ranked Kentucky eleventh in actual money received. Within the state, the same pattern often holds, with the wealthiest counties receiving a disproportionate per capita share (Whitt 1981).

The Internal Colonialism Model

The best known proponents of the internal colonialism model are Lewis,
Kobak and Johnson (1973) who, drawing on the 1969 work of Blauner, examined the components of the colonialism model and applied them to Appalachia. The four basic components of the colonialism model are forced, involuntary entry into a region; a greater impact on the existing social/cultural structure than would be expected from uncoerced cultural contact; administration of the colonized group by representatives of the dominant group; and racism in which the controlled group is seen as biologically inferior to the administrative group. Lewis, Kobak and Johnson conclude that the model is primarily applicable to those parts of Central Appalachia where bituminous coal mining developed as a major industry but where marked poverty in comparison with the national standard is the norm (1973: 10-31).

This model places the locus of blame on society-at-large and seeks change on that level. It has been criticized because it assumes forced, involuntary entry of the industrialists as well as their administrative control of the region. Neither assumption is entirely supported despite the acknowledged flow away from the Central Appalachian region of minerals that are owned by outside interests.

This model, as does the culture of poverty model, focuses on neither the region as a whole nor on a particular situation within the region. This perspective permits important factors to be overlooked and equally important questions to not be asked. For example, the largest single landowner in Appalachia is the United States Forest Service (Kahn 1978), a fact that has considerable import for regional-appropriate models, yet is not addressed by any of the current versions.

The Internal Periphery Model

Walls (1976) proposes a synthetic/historical model that views Appalachia as an internal peripheral region in an advanced capitalist system. This
model defines the locus of blame as the general relations of production and proposes some form of socialism be adopted, thus entering "a dimension that goes far beyond the nationalization or Appalachianization of the coal industry alone" (1978: 340). He sees the model as presenting a challenge of defining the goals and strategies of appropriate socialism.

Plaut (1978) extends the internal periphery model to include the concept of two conflicting cultural traditions, a simpler regional one versus a more complex and, of historical necessity, dominant one. This addition to the model permits the definition of goals based on the quality of life and attendant strategies for achieving it. Plaut cites examples of the growing successful opposition to agency development schemes. He feels it is necessary "to see 'officialdom' as people who are judged and judge themselves in terms of the functional goals of the bureaucratic structures for which they work. Their sense of self worth, their income levels, status and life chances are in good measure tied to whether their agencies get that land, build that dam, strip that coal".

The town of North Bonneville, Washington utilized this approach in a negotiation with the Army Corps of Engineers and succeeded in establishing legislation to authorize the Corps to provide full assistance for the town to relocate as a unit (Robertson and Robertson 1978: 37). A distinct advantage of the model is its concentration on individuals in specific situations - both individuals living within the region and individuals working within the agencies with which they must deal.

Summary

What is evident from the foregoing data on Eastern Kentucky and Appalachia is that numerous and various outside forces have brought political, economic and social definitions as well as consequent actions to
bear on the region. Although it is difficult to make generalizations about an area of such diversity, it is safe to say that Appalachia is a region where individualism within a strong family unit has been and continues to be highly valued. The choice made by many of the region's residents to retain these values differentiated them from the contemporary United States mainstream where lifestyle is frequently dictated by the marketplace. This choice facilitated a national perception of mountain people as culturally behind and led the way for the acceptance of a sub-culture of poverty and the consequent socioeconomic models based on that assumption. What is frequently overlooked in this approach is the role that choice plays in the way people living in Appalachia, just as elsewhere, conduct their lives. This is an issue discussed in Chapter 6, but which should be mentioned before the following chapters are presented.
CHAPTER 4: RED RIVER AREA HISTORICAL SKETCH

Introduction

In less than a decade following Daniel Boone's 1769 exploratory trip, the Red River area was populated by eastern migrants and, from the earliest years, development was the key word. Great sections of Eastern Kentucky were sold sight unseen for comparatively high prices to prospective settlers. The sellers were often absentee land speculators who had themselves never seen the area (Allen 1950). The section that is considered the Red River Gorge proper was not as heavily settled as the lowlands primarily because it did not have as much land that was suitable for farming. Also, few early settlers in the Gorge acquired large tracts of land that contained the prime farming acreage and desirable land thus quickly became difficult to obtain.

Powell County: Early Socioeconomic Factors

Powell County was formed in 1852 from sections of Montgomery, Clark and Estill Counties (Collins 1924: 26). The Red River was the single natural feature of greatest importance in the early development of Powell County.

All of the rain and snow precipitated in Powell County, all and every type of wash and spring water in every watershed, large or small, of upland or lowland origin of course, drains into the Red River, the master stream of the county (Jillson 1969b: 34).

Although the Red River is no longer listed among Kentucky's navigable waterways, during the nineteenth century, it was considered a significant source of both power and transportation for the immediate area.

The Red River runs quite centrally, from East to West, through the county - furnishing valuable water-power throughout its length; already there are two large steam saw mills, 1 steam shingle-machine, and 4 water grist-mills upon its banks; in high water, flat boats and rafts pass down it to a market (Collins 1924, orig. 1874: 680-1).
The earliest large industry in Powell County to utilize the Red River as transportation of marketable goods was the Red River Iron Works. This forge was in operation from 1787-1830; its numerous household and industrial products were originally distributed to the lowlands Bluegrass area by shipment along the Red and Kentucky Rivers, but conditions proved unstable as a result of floods and navigational hazards. By 1793, residents in what is now Powell County were able to successfully lobby for completion of a road from Clay City to Lexington. The Red River was still utilized for shipment purposes, even after the road was built (Jillson 1964: 1-15). State legislative action in 1805 ordered the Red River to be maintained in navigable condition from its mouth to the iron works, a distance of some 17 miles (Verhoeff 1917: 22).

Despite a large demand for iron products, exhaustion of ore as well as of the timber used for charcoal to process the ore forced the closing of the Red River Furnace in 1830 (Jillson 1964: 16-30). Numerous smaller furnaces continued to operate in the area until the 1870s and, for a time during the midcentury, Kentucky ranked seventh among the iron producing states (Coleman 1957: 14). During this brief peak period, there were seven furnaces located in Powell and Estill Counties with a capital investment of $112,000 and 104 employees among them (Verhoeff 1917: 159).

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, timber extraction began and grew to become a leading industry in the area, attracting many new residents. The advent of the railroad was associated with the timber industry:

Between 1884 and 1886, Clay City in the Red River Valley of Powell County, was connected with the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and thus with Lexington, by a line fourteen miles long. An extension of this road up the valley of Red River, between 1888 and 1890, crossed the North Fork at the mouth of Middle Fork, and continued to Elkatawa, which is a few miles from Jackson in Breathitt County (Verhoeff 1917: 118-119).
This meant that people living along the Red River could float timber to Clay City where it could be processed for shipment by rail. Despite the timbering activities, farming as a way of life remained prevalent. In Powell County in 1890, there were four farms of 1,000 acres or more. Of these, three were owner-cultivated and one rented for a fixed dollar value. Altogether, there were a total of 467 farms in the county with an average of 142 acres (U.S. Department of Interior 1895: 146-7).

The last large industry of significance in Powell County was crude oil production which took place primarily between 1917-1920 (Jillson 1921: 74-77). Many independent holdings and small companies were acquired by the Swiss Oil Corporation, formed in 1918 by an Oklahoma businessman to produce crude oil in Kentucky. In 1924, the Ashland Oil and Refining Company began as a subsidiary of this corporation (Coleman 1971: 110-111), but its activities were quickly focused elsewhere and the residents who remained in the area engaged primarily in agricultural activities.

Menifee County: Early Socioeconomic Factors

Menifee County was formed in 1869 from parts of the existing Bath, Morgan, Powell, Montgomery and Wolfe Counties (Collins 1924: 26). Although larger than Powell County, as a result of generally more rugged topography and only a peripheral claim to the navigable Red River, Menifee has historically had fewer residents than Powell County. Menifee shared with Powell the timber boom, but had very little crude oil production. In March, 1904, the Menifee County Gas Field was discovered. One hundred fifteen wells were drilled in the next seven years; ninety of these were productive, some providing deliveries until 1918. A compressor station was constructed and the gas was pumped to Mt. Sterling, Winchester and Lexington (Jillson 1922b: 47-49).
IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF POWELL COUNTY, MENIFEE COUNTY AND THE RED RIVER GORGE

1787-1830 The Red River Iron Works operated at the "great bend" of the North Fork of the Red River in what was to become Powell County (3)

1804-1814 Potassium nitrate mining operations (1)

1852 Powell County formed from sections of Montgomery, Clark and Estill Counties (2)

1869 Menifee County formed from sections of Bath, Morgan, Powell, Montgomery and Wolfe Counties (2)

1886 Construction of railroad between Lexington and Clay City, Powell County begins (1)

1900 Lexington & Eastern Railroad advertises Natural Bridge as a tourist attraction and runs excursion trips from Louisville and Cincinnati (1)

1904-1914 Development and height of Menifee County Gas Field (4)

1911-1912 Nada Tunnel constructed to facilitate removal of timber by rail (1)

1914 U.S. Forest Service first investigates the Red River as a potential National Forest site (1)

1917-1921 Development and height of Powell County crude oil production (8)

1923 First Hemlock Lodge constructed at Natural Bridge by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, who had taken over the old Lexington & Eastern operations (1)

1924 Kentucky State Road 15 completed, permitting automobile travel to the area (but not to Natural Bridge) on a year round basis (1)

1925 End of major logging operations (1)

1926 Louisville and Nashville Railroad deeds Natural Bridge land holdings to the Commonwealth of Kentucky. Natural Bridge State Park is established (1)

1932 First "all-weather automobile road" constructed to Natural Bridge State Park (1)
1933 Federal Emergency Relief Administration established (5)
1934 Federal Cumberland Purchase unit established. Bulk of federal land holdings acquired during next five years (1)
1935 Works Progress Administration (later Work Projects Administration) established (5) A few short trails constructed in the gorge under this program (1)
1937 Cumberland National Forest established (1)
1942 End of railroad tourism; the War Production Board confiscates tracks to use metal in war effort. WPA abolished (1)
1960 Federal Accelerated Public Works Program begins construction of 35 trail miles in the gorge area (1)
1962 Red River Lake Project authorized (7)
1964 Mountain Parkway Toll Road constructed (6)
1966 Cumberland National Forest name changed to Daniel Boone National Forest (1)
1972 Nine miles of the Red River designated a Kentucky Wild and Scenic River (7)
1975 Kentucky Governor withdraws Commonwealth support for Red River Lake Project (7)
1976 United States Congress withdraws funding for Red River Lake Project (7)
1977 National Forest Service makes formal condemnation request to acquire remaining land in the Red River Gorge area so it can be managed as a unit (7)
1978 United States Congress reserves decision on Red River Lake Project and requests that the Red River be studied for possible designation as a federal Wild and Scenic River (7)

(1) Ruchhoft 1976
(2) Collins 1924 (1874)
(3) Jillson 1964
(4) Jillson 1922b
(5) Fielding 1979
(6) Vaughan 1971
(7) Zuckerman 1978
(8) Jillson 1921

Table 1
In terms of sheer numbers, farming played a much greater part in early Menifee than it did in Powell County. In 1890, there were 16 farms of 1,000 or more acres in the county. Of these, three were cultivated by their owners, eleven were rented for a set price and two were rented for a share of the produce. There were a total of 687 farms with an average size of 160 acres (U.S. Department of Interior 1895: 146-147). For both counties in 1890, Indian corn was the largest crop, followed by tobacco and oats (U.S. Department of Interior 1895: 368, 434).

Population Fluctuation

Several socioeconomic factors directly affected population fluctuation in Powell and Menifee Counties. Construction of the railroad, timber removal, gas and oil extraction, World War I, the 1917-18 influenza pandemic, the national depression, the WPA, World War II, and the threatened dam construction and impending management plan have all affected the number of area residents. As a result of the departure of the major industrial companies, people along the Red River experienced years early the national depression of the 1930s. The effect of these environmental changes on population can be readily seen in Figure 4.

During the period 1920-1930, Menifee County is estimated to have lost 33.6 percent of its population and Powell County 32.0 percent through outmigration alone. The residents had two basic choices at that time: to stay and live on the fringes of the national cash economy, pursuing an agricultural based subsistence or, especially if they owned no land, leave the area to seek their livelihood elsewhere. Many people along the river left, a number of them migrating to Lee County where the oil fields continued to operate for several more years.

World War II had a dramatic effect on the farm populations of Powell and
Figure 4
Menifee Counties. For the period April 1, 1940, to November 1, 1943, thirteen contiguous Eastern Kentucky counties lost the highest percentages in the Commonwealth. Menifee County's estimated civilian farm population was reduced 25.5% for that period and Powell County's 28.5%. Three factors are cited as primarily related to this reduction: selective service, enlistment, and migration to northern war plants (Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 1944: 8-9).

The Development of Red River Tourism

In 1914, the United States Forest Service first investigated the Red River area as a potential National Forest site. The geologic formation known as Natural Bridge had been made available to the public as early as 1900 by the Lexington & Eastern Railroad. Early railroad tourism was thus directed to the Natural Bridge itself and not to the area that has since become known as the Gorge. World War I halted the government's development of a National Forest in the Cumberland area.

In 1923, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad constructed a lodge at Natural Bridge. Three years later the railroad's land holdings were deeded to the Commonwealth of Kentucky which acted that year to establish the Natural Bridge State Park. Beginning in 1934, the federal government undertook the acquisition of available lands, operating under the aegis of the newly instituted federal Cumberland Purchase Unit. The Cumberland National Forest was established in 1937.

Railroad tourism to the area ceased in 1942, primarily as a result of increasing automobile use of an all-weather road that had been constructed to the Natural Bridge State Park ten years earlier (Ruchhoft 1976). Although the federal government developed 35 trail miles within the Gorge proper, the area went relatively unnoticed until the Red River Lake Project was
authorized in 1962 (Zuckerman 1978). The residents fought against the scheduled dam construction and tourists, their access facilitated by the Mountain Parkway toll road built in 1964, came in droves to view the increasingly publicized area.

Powell and Menifee Counties Today

Both counties rank well above the national and state average in several areas generally considered to be negative quality of life indicators. In November 1980, Menifee and Powell Counties had unemployment rates of 12.8 and 13.4% respectively. The national comparable rate was 7.1%, the Commonwealth's 8.0%. Powell County has a total of 645 employees in private industry, Menifee, 190 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1980: 102). When asked about satisfaction with community job opportunities, 29% of Menifee and 27% of Powell County respondents answered positively compared with 40% for the state as a whole (Christensen, Warner and Greer 1979: 4).

A survey conducted in Eastern Kentucky counties (including Wolfe) in 1961 and again in 1973 revealed that although the conditions which are close to survival needs - educational opportunities and income - loom large in the concerns of mountain people, the most serious situation currently and the one which has deteriorated most in their opinion pertains to political institutions - local government, politics and political parties, law enforcement, and obedience to laws. Further analysis -- indicates that not only were mountain people highly disturbed about these conditions, but they were also more alienated and fatalistic than they had been in the early 1960s. To some extent this trend may reflect the increased dependence that rural people in the mountains now have on institutions of government and large-scale, more remote public agencies (Coughenour 1976: 9).

Summary

The population in Powell and Menifee Counties has traditionally been sustained by agricultural activities punctuated by dramatic boom periods as the various natural resources were removed. During each of these periods,
the population grew and then declined as non-agricultural workers and their families followed the available employment in gas, oil and timber. The railroad, constructed as an industrial activity, provided access for turn of the century tourists. In the late 1970s, both counties experienced an upswing in population as migrants returned to the mountains. At that time, within the Red River Gorge, the reverse was happening. People were leaving in the face of possible dam construction and Forest Service control. The following chapter focuses on the population that remains.
CHAPTER 5: THE RED RIVER GORGE TODAY

Introduction

This chapter presents demographic data from two earlier Red River surveys, introduces the study participants, and provides individual profiles abstracted from the oral histories and genealogies of eight area residents as well as from the written work of a ninth. These data are used comparatively to determine how representative the study participants are of the socioeconomic profile of Powell and Menifee Countians as well as to identify individual adaptive strategies in light of potential changes.

Data From Other Surveys

In 1974, when construction of the dam was still an active threat to the Red River Gorge residents, a survey was conducted that included 38 of the 55 households scheduled for relocation in the Red River Lake proposal. The resulting report included several demographic items for the Red River Gorge residents: land holdings in the Gorge fell into two distinct categories - 43% owned 50 acres or less, while 40% held 101 acres or more. Only 17% of those surveyed owned between 51 and 100 acres. The sample included 69% who farmed their own land, with important crops listed as tobacco, followed by corn and hay. Four households had full time farmers and 89% of the respondents grew a garden. Of that percentage, 68% grew half or more of what they consumed. The surveyors noted that "This, truly, then is a rural agricultural community that is due to be relocated" (Johnson, Burdge and Schweri 1974: 2-6).

Further demographic data comes from interviews conducted by the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers Project with 35 landowners in the Red River Gorge area. Only two of the 35 interviewees were not born in Eastern Kentucky. Twenty
## Comparative Occupational Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>TKWR PROJECT</th>
<th>STUDY PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>MENIFEE COUNTY</th>
<th>POWELL COUNTY</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
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* Kentucky Department of Commerce (1981: 50-51)
  By place of work - not residence adjusted
four were born in Menifee, Powell, Wolfe or nearby Lee Counties. Twenty five of these respondents owned their land; of these, 52% (N=18) are absentee owners, 40% (N=13) are former residents who have returned to the area and 8% (N=2) have lived in the area all their lives. Five of these respondents inherited their land; of these, three are absentee owners and two have lived in the area all their lives. The total sample reflects an absentee owner population of 46% (N=16) and a resident owner population of 54% (N=19).

The Study Participants

All the participants in this study were born in Eastern Kentucky. Their current occupations are compared with available occupational data from the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers interviews as well as with that for Powell and Menifee Counties (Table 2). Although only one person considers his primary occupation to be that of farmer, all of these people produce most of their own food. They select what they find meaningful or useful from the industrialized market yet maintain enough self sufficiency to reject what they do not want. At the same time, partially as a result of earlier life experiences, they anticipate the possibility of market system failure to reliably and consistently provide their needs or the possibility of their own failure to always participate in the market system and they have prepared for this eventuality by stockpiling at least one year's provisions. Through planning and hard work, they retain a great deal of control over their material environment. Long days of hard work is the norm in the Gorge and no one is retired in the sense of "taking it easy."

The information collected by the Two Kentucky Wild Rivers project provides a profile of the landowners in the Red River Gorge. The total number of respondents is 35; however, comparable data for all individuals is not available. Table 3 presents data on the total group (N=35), on absentee
<table>
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</table>

Table 3
landowners (N=16), on returnees to the area (N=10), on those who have lived in the area all their lives (N=10), and on the individuals participating in this study.

Residential Variation

As the following sections show, the remaining residents along the Red River fall into two major categories when viewed from a socioeconomic perspective: those who are descendants of early settlers to the area and who have always had access to the land and those whose families lived and worked in the area but who did not actually own land until their generation. These two groups have several broad dimensions of variation including the amount of land owned, the number of heirs available to take over current holdings and the adaptive strategies followed throughout their lives.

Those individuals who are descended from the early landowners are still large landholders, while those who acquired land during their lifetime are the relatively small landholders. Those with relatively large holdings have descendants living nearby who are vitally interested in the area and the land itself while those with smaller holdings have no direct heirs. It is the land of the smaller landowners that the Forest Service will probably acquire within the next few decades as these people die and their heirs prove to be willing sellers. This will greatly reduce the number of local landowners with whom the Forest Service has to deal, but will not affect significantly the total acreage held by private owners.

The following oral history excerpts deal primarily with what nine local people who know the Gorge intimately have to say about growing up, working and living there. Their presentation is centered on what has been important to each individual in his or her relationship with the Gorge, focusing on events remembered and beliefs held regarding these events. Several themes
emerge from the oral histories, including poverty, concern about increasing
government control, and concern about the general quality of life and what
the future of the Gorge will be. The expressed awareness of places and
activities beyond the Gorge and surrounding counties refutes the hypothesis
of extreme isolation still frequently used to characterize rural Appalachian
populations. Related to this is the obvious role conscious choice plays in
the lifestyles these people lead. Even though several references are made to
an unwelcome qualitative change in lifestyle along the Red River, the common
sentiment of commitment to the area is obvious throughout.

Several of these people made their eventual return to the Gorge the
expressed goal of their years spent elsewhere. During this time, every
possible weekend was spent "at home" along the Red River. Acquiring their
land and homes over a period of many years, and then devoting subsequent
years to getting their places "in order", makes it difficult for them to
consider giving up the things they most want. For others, fortunate enough
to be able to remain in the area and still support themselves, the idea of
leaving is almost unthinkable. Their position is that if they had wanted to
leave they would have done so years ago. Their ideas on these issues is made
clear in these excerpts and it is through the words of these residents that
we can begin to understand the nature of their attachment to their homes.

Thomas Brown: "I Enjoy Every Day I Live"

Thomas Brown's paternal Grandfather was born in Lee County, Virginia in
1798 and his paternal Grandmother in 1802. They married around 1818 and a
short time after Thomas' Father was born in 1837, they migrated to Lee
County, Kentucky. In 1867, Thomas' Father bought a farm in Powell County
where Thomas was born in 1894. Thomas and his first wife married in 1911.
They had ten children, and of the eight surviving, five still reside in the
immediate area and the other three live within thirty miles.

During his lifetime, Thomas says there have been primarily three ways for people to make a living in the area and two of them were only temporary: "Farming and working in the oil fields. Working in timber". From 1914-1920, Thomas alternated between the timber and oil industries. In 1920, Thomas moved to his aging parents' farm and took care of them for fifteen years. He was there during the national depression of the 1930s and recalls it as a difficult time for some people, but not for his family. Many people who had become dependent on cash wages from the oil and timber industries left the area when the large companies did.

I didn't sell out because my Dad and Mom lived there and I stayed there on the farm to take care of them until they both died. Then I moved out from there in about 1935. I came down to a farm on the river and stayed there seven years raising corn and tobacco.

When he bought the farm in 1935, his wife was not pleased and worried about the welfare of their many children. There were in fact years that were difficult. In 1937 and 1938, when the crops were flooded two years in a row, Thomas turned to hunting and fishing as primary food sources for the family, although he usually had sufficient money to purchase supplies elsewhere. He later bought a grocery store at a time in life when most people think about retirement. This venture held his attention for twenty years and then he "just got tired of running it" and decided it would be fun to farm again.

A lot of changes have taken place in the near century that Thomas has watched activity along the Red River. The feelings he expresses in general are those of a contented individual.

I lived right here in this neighborhood all my life. Had a good life and plenty of friends, neighbors. I've always enjoyed trying to do the right thing every day. I like everybody and they all like me. I get out and work a little. Chop around in the watermelon patch. Keep the weeds down. Help my boy down in the tobacco around here. Keep the weeds out of it a lot. Keeps me able to go to work a little thataway. Get a little exercise. Yes, I enjoy every day I live.
Sarah Ann Slone: "Canning in the Summer is Like Giving Birth"

Sarah's paternal great grandparents came to the Red River area from Germany, settling near Gladie Creek. In the 1930s when Sarah was born, her grandfather still owned 3,000 acres in Menifee and Powell Counties. She remembers him as a "very scholarly, well-read man who loved poetry and taught school". She is proud of her ancestors and is more interested in communicating a sense of her heritage than in relating specific facts:

Impressions I can give you, but not dates or names. My great grandparents lived in here, my grandparents lived in here, my Mother lived in here, I live in here and my children grew up here. Mountain people are a different breed. I don't know whether they are that way because they settled here or if they settled here because they're that way. It's really hard to define. They're very proud and independent.

Sarah and her husband Albert live today in a two-story house her grandfather built over 50 years ago, isolated from all modern lines of communication, including roads. The house is in a striking setting. Placed in a small clearing with hills rising around it on three sides, it faces a spot on the river where her grandfather kept the boat he used for supply trips to town.

Although their home stands apart from the modern world, Sarah and Albert's lifestyles do not. Albert works for a governmental agency in a nearby town and Sarah frequently travels to conduct the small business she began over 15 years ago. Her strong feeling for her house is her favorite topic of conversation. She is quick to anger at the thought of losing her home which she clearly considers an irreplaceable refuge from the outside world they must enter to earn a living. When Sarah and Albert married, they lived away from the Red River and then out of the state for a number of years. They returned in 1960 to restore their home and to raise their children away from the cities in the manner they consider to be most meaningful.
We felt that what our children lost in trips to museums and concerts they more than made up for in other ways. In a way, to grow up here is not good. This does not in any way prepare you for the real world. It has an insular effect. The family reinforces each other more. That may be the best way, but it's not the way most people grow up. My children are very idealistic and you know what the world does to those kind of people. I think it has to do with the kind of place they grew up.

The degree of self sufficiency practiced by the family has decreased over the years, but this does not mean that Sarah and Albert have become completely dependent on commercial products; they still grow a large garden and can what they need for the upcoming year. As Sarah says "canning in the summer is like giving birth because it's as painful, but when you get finished and you see all those rows and rows of canned things and you've done that, it's really a good feeling. I paint and it's funny to compare the two, but it's kind of the same feeling". Protection of the garden has become an increasing problem as the tourist population grows and Sarah has posted her first NO TRESPASSING signs ever. She believes most damage is unintentional, the result of people "who don't know how to use the Gorge" no matter how enthusiastic they may be about protecting it. Despite the changes, Sarah intends to remain where she is "as long as I can put one foot in front of another".

Jean Hopkins: "Land is Something That A Person Needs"

Jean was born in Powell County in a Dana Lumber Company employee house where her front gate is now. She still owns the last remaining house in the immediate vicinity that was part of the lumber company town. Buying this piece of property was a major goal in her life. In 1937, when she was 15, she left the area to find work in order to save enough money to return to the Red River. By 1946, she had bought the first of several pieces of land, combining resources with her sister and brother-in-law to make the down payment.

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Jean is an activist. She worked against the construction of the Red River dam along with many of the other local residents, but that has not been her only battle by far. During the course of this study, she fought to get telephone service in the area, to have the holes in the road to her house patched, and to have the new regulations involving conditional state withdrawal of funding for nursing home clients revoked. She is currently concerned about a new local law that says only things put in trash bags can go to the dump. She envisions the Red River in a few years as full of old refrigerators and mattresses if the law is not revised. There are a number of other political issues she thinks still need attention. She feels strongly about a government that would "spend money" to "buy the rocks" in the area when there are elderly individuals who don't have basic necessities.

In 1966, ill health forced an early retirement and Jean returned to the Red River to live. Until a few years ago, she owned another piece of land which she sold to the Forest Service. She feels that the transaction was not fair since the deed she held stated "100 acres more or less" and the government paid for "sixty some". Her antagonism toward the Forest Service and the Corps of Engineers is evident and she articulately explains her position:

I lost that place, but I got this one and I don't want no government man on it. My family - my Mother and my Father and my people - was all raised in this country. So was Joseph's. Worked on this place and raised on these hillsides. Land is something that a person needs. They need that little place. That builds up morale, that builds up your hope. I never had nothing all my life. I was raised to nothing and done well to eat. Let's just put it that way. And when I went to work, I said if the Lord give me the strength to work, I'd work every day I could. And I did. And I have.

Here, I have made up my mind if there's any possible way, the government will never touch it. Because the government has got more land now than the people. It's just that if they'd give part of this land right back to the people and say 'Now here's a place to raise you something to eat' instead of giving it to them all the time, the government wouldn't be out so durned much either.
Jean has recently bought her first handgun in response to harrassment from recreationists, usually younger people who have gotten their vehicles stuck and, as she says, demand rather than request assistance. She used to always help out, but after some unpleasant experiences, she refuses. She doesn't like all the people coming in and she doesn't like the use of the term "Gorge".

If it's necessary, I say I'm from the Gorge. Well, it's according to what I's talking about. Most of the time, I say maybe Powell County. See, this Gorge business just started since - well, I don't know when. This is North Fork of Red River. Always has been.

Seymour Adkins: One of These Days, This'll be a Nice Little Park"

Seymour is the only person in the study who does not own land anymore. His family has been in the area for three generations and his Father was the first to own land. He and his surviving brothers and sisters inherited 355 acres, but Seymour sold his share four years ago. Of Seymour's seven surviving brothers and sisters, three live in Dayton and most of them still retain their interest in the family farm. Although many of his family members live away from the Gorge, they keep in touch.

At an Adkins family reunion during the summer of 1981, approximately one thousand people came to Natural Bridge State Park for the event. He lives now in a rented cabin without electricity and, like most other things about Seymour's life, the lack of electricity is by choice. When a tree fell on the cabin disconnecting the electrical service a few years ago, a disagreement ensued among Seymour, the cabin's owner and the utility company over determination of liability. Seymour decided that using kerosene lamps would be less troublesome and more dependable.

The possibility that something might happen to the Gorge is a source of constant concern for Seymour. He often hunts small game for dinner in a cornfield next to the river. He worries that "they" won't let him do that.
"when they take over".

I'd hate to see anything happen to this place though because it goes way back. This river used to be full of people. Back you know, logging days. But you know, there aren't that many people left. They can move 'em out, I guess. I don't know. I think one of these days this'll be a nice little park.

**Alice and Joseph Lykins: "Things Were Prosperous For a Long Time"**

Alice was born in Menifee County in 1905 and some of her earliest memories of the Gorge area are of when the family lived in a portable logging company cabin. In 1930, she married the former son-in-law of the landowner for whom she worked. Times were not easy for the newlyweds:

When we married, we had five dollars. We took that to Frenchburg - walked to Frenchburg - and bought the marriage license and a pound of butter. We spent that night at my Grandmother's and walked back the next morning. We first lived on top of the hill where 77 turns left. There was no work. There was a depression and in the spring we moved to a house that used to be in the yard of the Bank's cabin. We ate more rabbits that year than you've ever seen. Then in 1933 we went to Frenchburg and Joseph usually found something to do until we went to Cincinnati in 1941.

Joseph's family, as did Alice's, exercised a variety of subsistence strategies when he was growing up. When Joseph was 15, his Father died and he had to go to work for the company that had employed his Father in order to pay for the burial expenses they had charged to his account. By the time groceries and supplies for his Mother and the other family members were also deducted, it took three years before he received any actual cash. When he did get his first cash earnings, Joseph took the seven or eight dollars and left the area to work in West Virginia for a few months.

I was a teamster in Kentucky and West Virginia. I logged here in Kentucky, hauled lumber, everything that you could do with a team. It's about the oiliest work in the oil fields. In Kentucky was mostly oil fields. In West Virginia was logging and lumber hauling. In '38 or '39, mules and horses began to go out and trucks began to take their place. In '40, I worked for the Presbyterian school over here at Frenchburg for quite a while in the late thirties and early forties. I drove a team over there. I hauled coal. Things were prosperous for a long time. Many years.
Where Alice and Joseph live, there is little evidence of the lumber company houses that used to crowd the narrow strip of bottom land. The railroad once ran within a few feet of where their front door stands. Pictures in the Lykins collection taken in the 1930s clearly showed the denuded land along the Red River just a few years after major logging operations ended. There are only small, sparsely situated trees that give no indication of the timber wealth that once adorned the hills.

Like Jean, Alice and Joseph have experienced harassment from tourists, but primarily while using the Nada tunnel. Originally a railroad tunnel, it can accommodate only one car at a time, and there is a deep drainage ditch on either side of the lane inside. Unlike Jean, they have not acquired a gun, but have grown increasingly afraid. As the result of a few bad experiences and of their increasing age, even unintentional blunders on the part of tourists are upsetting.

Lindsey and Ellen Whitaker: "Most of Us is Still Farmers"

The Whitakers are both third generation Red River residents. Although they now live in a modern ranch style house, it is constructed on the spot where the old Whitaker homestead stood, next to the large barn that is a source of pride to Lindsey. The original house was a two story white frame with a big front porch and a chimney at each end. The weatherboarding had worn out, so they decided to rebuild. Lindsey was born where he now lives, as were two of his brothers. His paternal Grandfather came to the area from Harlan County as a small boy. The Whitakers, like Sarah Slone's Grandfather, originally settled near Gladie Creek and owned some 400-500 acres of bottom land, 2000 mountain acres and an assortment of other land parcels. The early Whitakers were engaged in the same occupation that predominates in the family today: "Most of us is still farmers. Trying to do". Lindsey's three
surviving brothers live within a few miles. One is a full time farmer while the other two farm part time.

Ellen is Thomas Brown's daughter and was born while he was taking care of his parent's farm in the High Rock area. Her Mother was a second generation South Fork resident whose parents blazed a well known trail that is named after them. Ellen's four surviving sisters and two brothers all live nearby or in surrounding communities and both she and Lindsey are proud of their Red River heritage.

The Whitakers' was the social center for the area when they were young. When the big barn was built in 1935, all the neighbors came to square dances in the big loft. The year of construction, there was a dance in the open air on the loft before the roof was put on. Lindsey thinks a high point during those times was the presence of "The Coon Girls", a country singing group who later went to the Grand Old Opry. He relates that "they was raised right over here on the river. They lived up on there where Sarah and Albert live. When they was young, I'd say they was about 17-18 years old, they'd help us here. Help us on the farm chop corn. And then at night, they'd get their instruments and play music until bedtime. Everybody had a big time".

Four of the five Whitaker children live in the general area and return at least once a week with their children to allow them the experience of spending time on the farm they enjoyed as children. Nieces, nephews, cousins and other relatives also come: Lindsey and Ellen are somehow related to everyone named Brown or Whitaker who lives around there and that is dozens and dozens of people.

The Legacy of H.B. Farmer: "We Are Blessed in Happiness"

The Red River resident best known to the outside world was the late H.B. Farmer. Armed with an eighth grade education and a new typewriter, he acted
as spokesperson for his neighbors and friends in the fight against the dam. He died in October, 1980, but his words stand as a collective expression of how the people in the Gorge feel about their home:

We are blessed in happiness, security, contentment, peace and joy, of the necessities of life of nature, in the valley of Eden, a primitive paradise in Red River Gorge, in Kentucky.

As I stand in awe and view the priceless, primitive treasure of 60 million years of super architectural designing, my soul is raptured with an endowment and inspiration to write that I have dwelled, eat, saw and beheld, fasted and drank of its many fascinations and fountains for 75 years.

I know, feel and possess a pantheistic kinship to all this nature and am a part of it, as the cliffs, flora and the soil beneath my feet.

If the ashes after cremation of my body were chemically analyzed you may be amazed to discover the 14 primary elements identical the same in this fertile valley.

We shall not allow this irreplaceable priceless heritage of creation, with inspiring beauty beyond description, to pass from the face of God's green earth, by the folly of a handful of people, blinded in insanity of economics to build a dam. This would be an unforgiveable sin against God, nature and all posterity. We will strive vehemently to see that it is preserved at least the duration of another Ice Age (quoted by Mitchell 1976).

Between 1971 when he purchased the typewriter, and his death in 1980, H.B. Farmer wrote hundreds of letters to anyone he thought could help in the fight to save the Gorge. Frequently poetic, he wrote in 1979 "I am exceedingly glad to proclaim to the U.S. Congress that I am as much a part of this Wonderful Land, as the hills, flora; fauna and the fertile silty soil beneath my feet, in this land of a EDEN we call Red River Gorge, in the little Grand Canyon of the East."

He lived long enough to see the threat of flooding the land where he was born diminish and, as he had desired, upon his death, H.B. Farmer was buried on a hill on his own land near his house in his Valley of Eden.

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CHAPTER 6: THE RED RIVER GORGE AND BEYOND

Introduction

The preceding chapters have provided historical and current data on the people who reside along the North Fork of the Red River. These individuals have resisted all attempts made to relocate them over the past two decades. They stayed when the flooding of their land seemed unavoidable and they stay now when their departure would serve the purposes of convenient recreational management. The pressure exerted on them to that end has been considerable and continuous. Recent letters from the Forest Service to some of the residents hint that they have authority to acquire more land when in fact at this time they do not.

The primary question this study explores is why these people are unwilling to leave when their tenure has been repeatedly threatened. An effort is also made to determine whether this rural Appalachian group is really so different from populations in other areas of the world where similar development has occurred. For this purpose, studies of recreational development in non-urban areas of France, Spain, and the Virgin Islands are reviewed.

Recreational Development: Cross-Cultural Examples

In France, the government has undertaken the development of a series of parks in which the residents are encouraged to stay. Those individuals who choose to stay must engage in traditional practices so that tourists can watch them as they work. The parks have been a success in terms of attracting tourists and the only negative responses have come from the park residents who fear the ultimate loss of their land use patterns. There are
also complaints that local prices are now beyond the reach of permanent residents, as a result of tourist activity (Sax 1982). Along the coastal Mediterranean, it has been obvious since 1970 that "many of the benefits of the multiplier effects of tourist expenditures are reaped by companies and individuals from outside the region" (Willis 1977).

In the Spanish Basque town of Fuenterrabia, tourist activity had continued for several decades before the government decided in 1965 to join with large investors for development purposes. The results of this outside intervention strategy have been multiple: the agricultural subsistence base has been replaced to a great extent with tourist-related activities; much of the existing architecture has been removed to make way for buildings considered attractive for the tourist population; economic growth has been great, yet uneven, resulting in increased social differentiation and decreased cooperation among families; finally, relationships between the local government and the local residents have broken down. The conclusion is drawn that "In this case Spain has profited, but the people of Fuenterrabia are excluded. The question is whether this pattern is typical, whether tourism always builds on local initiative only to drive the local people out after a certain point in economic development has been reached" (Greenwood 1972).

On St. John in the Virgin Islands, the United States National Park Service manages a development that has been established since the 1950s. Most of the residents have left because nothing is available for them other than occasional hotel jobs for minimum wage. Advancement is something for outsiders since promotion within the park service involves transfer to another park. Commercial activity in the United States national parks is frequently awarded to one independent agent and the stipulations are such that no island resident could qualify to operate a commercial enterprise.
The older residents are the most negative toward the park and much of the difficulty stems from their inability to understand what the park service is doing. One of the residents stated "I don't see what kind of nature it is the park wants to preserve. There are no redwood trees or any vegetation that is of significance in itself. As it is now, the park is just preserving bush, mongooses and jackasses!" The residents had hoped that proper management would produce the "ideal landscape - large cleared spaces with agriculture, pastures, and fruit trees, i.e., the landscape of small farmers." Olwig presented these local views to park officials who reported that they were in conflict with "basic park philosophy".

Park officials also pointed out that the local residents has benefitted from increased tourism and that alone should compensate for any reduction in former subsistence activities. Olwig contends that St. Johnians do indeed have a higher standard of living than they had prior to the park service management, but that so do all Virgin Islanders who are not under park service control. She concluded that "the most important role of the anthropologist in park planning and tourism would seem to be that of pointing out the inherent conflicts in projects which propose to preserve local resources in order to further tourism. Indigenous peoples, under present circumstances, are not likely to receive the greatest benefit of such developments" (1980: 29).

The similarities among the situation in the Red River Gorge and those in other places where fieldwork has been conducted in recreationally developed areas is remarkable. These studies indicate that the only resistance has been from the residents. People fear the loss of autonomy with respect to their use of the land and, in the case of the St. Johnians, do not understand what is supposedly being preserved. Local prices are inflated and privacy is gone. The bottom line in all cases is that the residents who are there
because they prefer the traditional lifestyle are not getting anything out of recreational development that occurs in their territory. The residents in the Gorge also fear the loss of autonomy. They have trouble understanding why the government would "spend good money to buy rocks", many of them don't like the notion of restricting part of their land if easements are acquired, and they don't think the area is quite the natural wilderness it was during their childhood when virgin timber still stood on the hills.

**Domestic Philosophy**

That tourists spend money while in recreational areas is unquestioned. What has been debated for over a century is whether these dollars benefit the average resident. Emma Bell Miles (1905) complained that tourism was a threat to the very existence of her Tennessee hill neighbors. As resorts were developed in the area, local people, attracted by the prospect of participating in a cash economy, worked seasonally for the visitors and did not take care of the work necessary to make it through the harsh winter when the resorts were empty. In one United States mountain community, the economic base of rural mountain communities "has not been altered significantly by the increase in tourism, although the tourist industry has created an inflationary economic situation in most areas of the mountains" (Beaver 1976: 145). This means that the residents have to pay inflated prices for supplies they obtain locally, while their real income has remained stationary.

With the exception of Miles' book, work such as Beaver's that report the actual effects of recreational development on an area are relatively recent and thus are in the minority. The most frequent position is taken by writers such as Morris who remarks that "it is in the areas most urgently in need of the economic development which tourism might provide that the conservative
attitudes opposed to such development are found" (1967: 145-148). He goes on to cite the unusually negative attitude of "small landholders in the Cumberland Plateau of Kentucky and Tennessee."

Describing other Appalachian areas that have been developed, he notes that "those who were permitted to remain in the mountains soon learned that their life of individualism was nearing an end." He is in favor of removing most natives and dwellings since "attractive facilities cannot overcome the impression created by a drab and dirty community setting." He sees the appropriate approach as education of the natives to the relative benefits of the recreational development process in their area. Just what these relative benefits are is not specified.

In Kentucky, all the residents of counties containing federally owned lands share in the increased, usually hidden costs that accrue as a result. Si Kahn, in a review of the relationship between the Forest Service and Appalachia points out that land acquired by the Forest Service is no longer directly taxable by the counties. The counties receive 25% of the revenue generated from timber sold by the Forest Service in a given year, but the amount received is highly variable since it depends on how much timber the Forest Service decides to sell, thereby making it difficult for counties to reasonably budget. The amounts so received normally do not approach the amount that property taxes would have yielded (1978: 88-95).

Two broad areas of concern are frequently cited by counties containing federal lands: 1. They are not compensated in any way for increased road maintenance costs due to logging and recreational use or for additional police protection that may be deemed necessary for handling increased numbers of tourists entering the community, and 2. they are not compensated for income anticipated from private landowners displaced by the federal government and who choose to leave the county nor for those displaced.
landowners who resettle in an area of the county that necessitates provision of services to a previously unserviced area (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 1978: 42-43).

In addition, Kentucky is unlike most states in two respects: 1. There is no program to provide compensation for loss of ad valorem taxes to local governments for land held by the Commonwealth (all of which is non-taxable), and 2. Kentucky's ad valorem taxation of commercial timberland is 100% of the total value (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 1978: 24-48). These federal and state policies have negative implications for counties containing large amounts of publicly held land. In 1974, the federal government owned 635,000 acres in Kentucky, most of it in Appalachian counties (Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 1978). Thus, in many ways, including possible reduction of public services related to health and education as well as personal individual problems such as rising prices, the residents of counties where the federal government is the major landowner bear a disproportionately large burden.

Gottfried argues that domestic policymakers face a philosophical crisis regarding Appalachian development and the issue of who appropriately holds a primary claim on the region's natural residents - the residents or the whole society. He suggests that

If we assume that distinct cultures and ways of life possess a value in and of themselves, we may infer the existence of a hidden cost of recreation-led growth ... A local recreation boom can either destroy a traditional way of life or alter it beyond recognition. In a country searching for its roots and valuing a diversity of lifestyles, this destruction can be considered a cost for not only the members of the culture, but for the entire society (1977: 56).

As for the semi-temporary recreationists, who either build or bring a vacation home with them, Gottfried contends that "instead of escaping into a new culture and learning from a people with a different background, they are more likely to bring along their fears, withdraw unto themselves, and expect
natives to adjust to them. In part this may be due to general misconceptions and mythologies that outsiders hold about mountain people or 'hillbillies'."

The popular literature and the components of social science models that were picked up by the politicians in the late 1960s and 1970s culminate in reports such as that of the Forest Service on the Red River. The tactic, however well meant, of dismissing the human population in a few sentences has become standard operating procedure. With the beliefs that are conveniently in place regarding Appalachians, the Forest Service needs to say no more about the residents than simply state that they intend to raise the residents' standard of living. It has constructed a policy based on a model of convenience in order to get what is easiest for them, total management, where messy boundary problems and difficult tourist-resident relations will not be such a large problem.

The Past and the Future

To return to the question raised in the first chapter, why are the remaining residents of the Red River Gorge unwilling to leave, even though their tenure has been repeatedly threatened? Certainly this position has not resulted from insufficient information on their part regarding alternative ways or places to live. They have all had in the past and continue to have in the present considerable contact outside the Red River Gorge. They all had the option of pursuing a lifestyle other than the one they chose. Where they live and how they live is a matter of conscious choice. Those people who made a different choice are now gone from the area.

The people along the Red River have a strong sense of belonging there and it is this definite sense of place that makes them feel a part of the natural environment. The identification of the residents is with a neighborhood in the sense that it is used by Pearsall. One step removed from
the neighborhood is "this country" which includes roughly the drainage area of North Fork and Middle Fork of the Red River. Present and past family ties are without question important components of this view, as are socioeconomic considerations. Wilson (1938) notes that in the Cumberland Plateau it is the people living in non-coal bearing valleys that exhibit "the most stable type of community" and that "their present distribution coincides closely with the desirable limits of agriculture in the region."

As Tables 4 and 5 show, for those people who have never left the area, the land has provided a primary sustaining economic base. What the tables do not indicate is that even when the normal agricultural flow was interrupted, it was still the land that nurtured them, providing natural plants and animals for survival. Those people who live in the Gorge still know how to pursue a hunting and gathering lifestyle if necessary. That option provides additional security and yet another tie to the land.

For the returnees, the style of retirement preferred (a little land with a garden) also represents security. Undoubtedly this preference was informed by their early socialization in which land equalled security; however, there are many places they could have selected to conduct the lifestyle they perceive as most secure. The choice of where they retired is a matter of emotional attachment. All of the individuals who returned echo their insistence that they never lost sight of the fact that they would return to the area.

Aside from the possibility of having to move from their land, a real danger to their way of life at this point is non-material and thus harder to fight than the survival battles of earlier years and past generations. What these people cannot control is the way a changing contemporary mainstream group of people characterizes them. These people did not grow up in Appalachia nor did they grow up in the Red River Gorge. These political
MAJOR 20TH CENTURY ECONOMIC OPTIONS AVAILABLE
IN RED RIVER AREA BY DECADE

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<th>Field</th>
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<td>Gas &amp; Oil Fields</td>
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<td>Working Away</td>
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</table>

Table 4

COMPOSITE OF MAJOR ECONOMIC OPTIONS EXERCISED
BY THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>80</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
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<td>Working Away</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

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designations came later in their lives. They also did not grow up when it was a disgrace to be poor. Kathy Kahn sums up the feeling people can get when they are told in print and in person they don't measure up to a standard:

The poor way of life is a tradition to hillbillies. To have been poor in the thirties is common; to have been poor and oppressed is something few people understand as well as mountain people. And to be poor, oppressed, and living in the technological seventies is an altogether new experience for the children of hillbilly coal miners, farmers, and factory workers. Technology with all its rewards to the wealthy has made it hell to be poor (1972: xxi).

The course of recommended action for the perceived problems is different in each of the models used to explain Appalachian socioeconomic process. That some sort of action is needed does not seem to be in question. As reviewed in Chapter Three, there are proponents of plans that seek to change the people, of plans that seek to change society, and of plans that seek to work with both the people and the society to some mutual end. Those who feel that changing the people is the best solution believe that those people who do not participate at a normative level in middle class America possess some inherent negative characteristics that hinder progress. Johnson (1973: 122) suggests that it is only the inconsistency of the economic bureaucracy's institutions that has kept them from forcing a more complete accommodation to middle class America. In 1905, Emma Bell Miles asked that her hill people be given "something to do within the existing social structure that will not change us." This request is made today by residents of the Gorge, as when Jean Hopkins proposes that a little piece of land from the government would serve to make people who are having difficult times feel worthwhile again.

Those who feel that changing the social structure is the appropriate solution believe that the behavior of individuals is dictated to a large extent by the dominant social structure. While this may be partially accurate for the large normative group in the United States, including many of the social planners, it does not account for smaller groups such as the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource</th>
<th>Alternative A</th>
<th>Alternative B Designation 19.4 Miles</th>
<th>Alternative C Designation 19.4 Miles</th>
<th>Alternative D Designation 19.4 Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hydrology and Water Quality</td>
<td>River remains free-flowing. Water quality remains the same, and subject to EPA regulations. Potential degradation from area outside NF boundary.</td>
<td>River remains free-flowing. Water quality remains the same, subject to EPA regulations. Some added protection from designation. Precludes potential lake.</td>
<td>19.4 miles of river remains free-flowing. Water quality remains the same, subject to EPA regulations. Some added protection from designation. Precludes potential lake.</td>
<td>18.9 miles of river remains free-flowing. Water quality remains the same subject to EPA regulations. Some added protection from designation. Precludes lake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soils</td>
<td>Insignificant</td>
<td>Insignificant</td>
<td>Insignificant</td>
<td>Possible effects from private lands, greater than A, B, C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetation</td>
<td>Insignificant</td>
<td>Guarantees preservation of basic integrity of biological communities.</td>
<td>Guarantees preservation of basic integrity of biological communities.</td>
<td>Same as B, C except 0.5 miles less, and no guarantees on private land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish and Wildlife</td>
<td>Insignificant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology &amp; History</td>
<td>No Effect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomics</td>
<td>Small positive effect related to Same as A</td>
<td>Same as A</td>
<td>Same as A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Ownership &amp; Use</td>
<td>3300 acres in Federal ownership. No protection for 778 acres outside FS boundary, FS acquiring lands available on willing-seller basis.</td>
<td>3300 acres in Federal ownership. Protection for 778 acres outside NF boundary and 762 acres within NF boundary by easement and fee acquisition of (2) 10 acre launch points. Total acquisition costs of $722,400 ($12.00 fee, 710,400 easements).</td>
<td>3300 acres in Federal ownership. Protection for 778 acres outside FS boundary by easement. Protection for 772 acres within FS boundary by fee acquisition, including fee acquisition for a 10 acre launch point at the Highway 746 Bridge. Total acquisition costs of $813,840. ($609,000 fee, $344,840 easement).</td>
<td>Fee acquisition for 10 acre put-in and 10 acre take-out points at each end of river. Protection for only public lands within FS boundary. Private lands within and outside NF boundary and protection only by appropriate state and Federal laws. Total acquisition costs of $12,000 in fee acquisition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate-Air Quality</td>
<td>Insignificant</td>
<td>Insignificant. Government Owned minerals within the &quot;wild&quot; segment would be withdrawn from leasing. Leasing within the recreational segment would be judged based on its compatibility with the values under that classification.</td>
<td>Insignificant. Same as B</td>
<td>Insignificant Same as B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerals</td>
<td>Insignificant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>Retention of existing recreation opportunities and options within NF boundary for future development to capacity limits of area.</td>
<td>Statutory protection of existing recreation opportunities for 19.4 mile segment. Possible influence on future management policies and development of planned recreational facilities.</td>
<td>Statutory protection of existing recreation opportunities for 19.4 mile segment, would guarantee potential for all planned recreation development.</td>
<td>Same as B, C except length of river 18.9 miles. Potential loss of some planned recreation development because of limitations on acquisition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red River Lake</td>
<td>Potential remains</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lake eliminated</td>
<td>Lake eliminated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1/ Fee acquisition estimated at $600.00/acre, easements estimated at 80% of appraised value.

Source: Forest Service Public Meeting, Lexington, KY, March, 1984

Table 6

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Red River Gorge residents who have contacted mainstream America throughout their entire lives and yet have chosen to remain outside the middle range in terms of many of the demographic variables most commonly measured.

When the residents of the Gorge talk about quality of life, they mean enjoyment of life in general. Many social planners who perceive people who fall below the poverty level as impoverished in general also assume they cannot enjoy life as much as they would if they had all the conveniences of middle class Americans. The Red River residents feel that any reduction in enjoyment is in large measure the result of the diminished population in the area. The single factor blamed by everyone is the virtual lack of employment opportunities in the area with resulting depopulation and accompanying high number of welfare recipients in surrounding areas. New residents would be more than welcomed; industries that could support them would not. This resistance to industry may again be a result of the age of the informants since most of them willingly participated in such employment when it was available. On the other hand, despite the occasional general negative tone toward the recreationists, there are indications that the residents see this intrusion as qualitatively better than some of the alternatives.

In weighing the various alternatives, the Forest Service has recently taken DeWalt's 1981 Environmental Impact Statement which recommended the acquisition of the least amount of privately owned land while at the same time providing protection of the maximum number of river miles (as well as finally closing the issue of dam construction; see Alternative B, Table 7) and reached an entirely different conclusion. In keeping with their management philosophy, they opted for Alternative A which would give them control of the area and provide what they call "administrative" (as opposed to legislative) control of the river. A difficulty with this form of protection is that it is really a contradictory concept, subject to the whims
of changing administrations and cannot therefore be considered a mechanism for providing long-term river protection.

Under alternative B, the river would have legislative protection as a Wild and Scenic River. If the Red River is selected for inclusion as a national Wild and Scenic River, land acquisition by the Forest Service will be restricted to easement acquisitions along the river. The limited control over privately owned lands will not satisfy their preferred objective of managing the Red River Gorge as a whole, but it will protect the landowners from forced sale and possible relocation. The primary resistance to this option comes understandably from the smaller landowners who view the amount of land required for easement purposes as excessive. Under this option, the area would also be protected from a potential brief extractive process involving the gas bearing shale. Although "in the Cumberland saddle area of South-Central Kentucky, the black shale section is greatly condensed and thin", the area is still not excluded from consideration as a site for quick, easy removal (Kentucky Geological Survey 1981: 18).

The final point to consider in the Red River Gorge problem and in countless other places where recreational development is occurring, is whether it is possible to balance an existing human population as a factor to be handled equitably, just as any other natural resource might be treated. The answer to that is probably "no". Although we have said that the people are just another component of the natural environment, that is not strictly true. The human population cannot be "handled" in the same manner a natural resource can be managed. The results of applying that approach can be seen in the French park system where residents who stay must do so under a restriction that attempts to freeze the lifestyle into something that has been defined as traditional.

The most humane, viable strategy available in the socioeconomic models
is that proposed by the expanded internal periphery model in which projects are worked out to the generally mutual satisfaction of the residents, the tourists, and the federal agency involved. Each situation must be negotiated with the full, active participation of all. This still represents not so much a solution as it does a non-solution since as we have seen, even in a group as small as is the population in this study, there are two distinct views regarding what constitutes a desirable alternative. The large landowners are willing to give up part of their land in the form of easements to protect the majority of what they have, while the small landowners, with little acreage now, are not in favor of easements. In the case of the Red River Gorge residents, they only stand to lose in this situation. The question that remains is "how much".
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

Alexander, Sara E.

Allen, Samuel Elwood

Appalachia

Appalachian Regional Commission

Barron, James C. and J. Dean Jamsona

Beaver, Patricia Duane

Beebe, Mary

Billings, Dwight

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Caudill, Harry


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Johnson, Linda

Johnson, Sue, Rabel F. Burdge and William F. Schweri II

Kahn, Kathy

Kahn, Si

Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station


Kentucky Department of Commerce
Kentucky Geological Survey

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Legislative Research Commission

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Precourt, Walter  

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Robertson, James and Carolyn Robertson  

Ruchhoft, Robert H.  

Sax, Joseph L.  

Scott, Eugenie C. and Billie R. DeWalt  

Shapiro, Henry D.  

Ulack, Richard and Karl Raitz  

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers  

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U.S. Department of the Interior  
