

“For I Was Dying”: The Triumph and Tragedy of Ms. Eula Hall

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Group Documentary

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Our research began with President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1964 War on Poverty as we considered topics with a strong connection to the theme. We recognized the potential for an interesting project that would allow focus on our home region of Appalachia. While researching, we stumbled upon a New York Times article from 1991 describing the work of Ms. Eula Hall, a health activist in eastern Kentucky. Her story exemplifies triumph and tragedy on a personal and professional level. Her work was nothing short of inspirational, so we felt compelled to tell the story of a real life "Wonder Woman."

We established historical context of Appalachia, the War on Poverty, and coal mining. The Berea College Archives provided primary sources that created a more complete vision of Ms. Hall and her work. Few secondary sources gave a holistic view of her impact in the region making much of our research original. The next step was searching through local archives including the Floyd County Archives, the University of Kentucky special collections, and Big Sandy Healthcare's collections. We discovered a more regional and personal perspective of her work, through local newspapers detailing important events in her lifetime and documents relating to her activism. Eventually, we were able to contact and interview Ms. Hall, age 91, despite the fact that she does not use email. The interview showed us her immense passion for the work she embraced, the people she helped, and gave us a colorful voice through which to hear her story and the tragedies of her community. We had to ask ourselves why someone so influential had been hidden from national recognition?

After our interview with Ms. Hall, we knew the best way to present her passion and dedication to the region was through a documentary using Final Cut Pro X editing software. The project was complemented by primary source images and newspaper articles about The War on

Poverty and the tragedies associated with coal mining in Appalachia. The project began as a comprehensive biography of Ms. Hall, but we soon realized the necessity of telling her most important triumph. Amid a lifetime of tragedies, both witnessed and endured, she started a medical clinic where she continues to work to this day.

Coal mining in the region was at one point an economic triumph but became an economic, environmental, and medical tragedy for the people of Appalachia. The War on Poverty was a triumph for many Appalachians, but due to interference by state officials, misplaced spending, or later reductions in aid, people were assailed again by tragedy. Ms. Hall rose out of an impoverished childhood and abusive early life marked by tragedy. She consistently overcame these tragedies to provide greater triumphs for her struggling community. Even today only 9% of the nation's physicians practice in rural areas where 20% of the population (over 50 million) live. Given those statistics, Ms. Eula Hall, whose life, community, and region are the epitome of triumph and tragedy, accomplished more than anyone would imagine she could.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Artifacts

Hall, Eula. *Personal Artifacts*. Mud Creek, 14 December 2018.

We used photographs taken during our interview of a number of Ms. Hall's awards and certificates. She repeatedly stated she did not set out to be praised or win awards. Over time she amassed quite a collection. This collection is physical evidence of triumph in her community. Images included in our documentary are her: Wonder Woman Award, Honorary Kentucky Colonel Certificate, and an Honorary Doctorate given by Berea College.

Books

Barth, Peter S. *The Tragedy of Black Lung*. The UpJohn Institute, 1987.

This research book was written shortly after miners began to receive black lung benefits. Barth (born in 1937) made several important observations about the nature of coal mining at the time. People remembered the large scale accidents that killed dozens of miners, but coal mining was described as equally damaging to the individual. Miners were disabled or killed by black lung in a cumulative tragedy as great as the collapse of a mine shaft. This was an essential tool in understanding coal mining in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. We recognized this as only one piece of Ms. Hall's tireless work.

Still, James. *River of Earth*. University of Kentucky Press, 1940.

James Still, a native Kentuckian who lived in the county adjacent to Ms. Hall, wrote this historical novel about the triumphs and tragedies of mining in eastern Kentucky during the 1920s and 1930s. This was the world Ms. Hall grew up in, and the experiences of Ms. Hall and James Still have continued to be shared through the history of the region. This book gave us a detailed personal, cultural, and historical understanding of the advent of mining in Kentucky.

Documentaries

Barret, Elizabeth. *Stranger With a Camera*. Appalshop Film, 11 July 2000.

Elizabeth Barrett's Appalshop documentary, *Stranger With a Camera*, was less of a story about Appalachia and more of a conversation that many Appalachians have had within themselves. This tragic story of the death and murder of a Canadian filmmaker provided us powerful historical analysis of the region. Although we did not include footage from this in our documentary it kept the mysterious nature of the region at the forefront of our minds. We didn't have time to explore the topic in our documentary, but we are very much aware that Ms. Hall was able to accomplish so much as she was/is local. The region as documented in this film is often wary of outsiders.

Broad Form Deed. Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition, 1988.

https://berea.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/digitalFile_8c0d6dc8-b259-45e7-ac97-4a4438b16244/.

Through this primary source documentary, we came to see how it was perfectly legal for coal companies to kick people off and strip the minerals from their land. We used a clip of Sydney Cornett highlighting the gruesome fact that the companies were only interested in coal, not the people. We knew this to be true from other sources. Mr. Cornett allowed us to see and hear it through his personal voice. The documentary also gave us an understanding of activism in eastern Kentucky as it followed the Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition and its fight to end strip mining.

Davis, Dee. *A Tribute to Carl D. Perkins*. Anne Johnson, Appalshop, 1984.

<https://www.appalshop.org/media/tribute-to-carl-d-perkins/>.

This biographical documentary remembers Congressman Carl D. Perkins. We watched, listened, and learned from the people in this documentary who worked with him on a personal level. He appears near the beginning of our documentary in an interview at the opening of the new Mud Creek Clinic. It helped us better understand Congressman Perkins and his work with Ms. Hall throughout his long career representing the eastern Kentucky in the House of Representatives.

Gray, Joe Terrance. *Ourselves and that Promise*. "Appalshop Archive", Jean DuBey, Scott Faulkner, 1976,

<https://www.appalshop.org/media/ourselves-and-that-promise/>.

This documentary enabled us to see and come to know the story through the region's artists and storytellers. As unique as the various personalities showcased here are the artistic interpretations. Here we came to an aesthetic appreciation for the region in Ms. Hall's day. We used poetry, music, and imagery throughout the documentary to convey this to our audience.

Kopple, Barbra. *Harlan County, USA*. National Film Registry, Cabin Creek Films, Kevin Keating and Nancy Baker, 15 October 1976.

Harlan County USA is considered among the best documentaries in American Film. Focusing on the activism of miners in Harlan county located only a few miles from Floyd County. This primary source provided us with a strong understanding of the struggles of Appalachians to fight against the tragedies in their communities. Ms. Hall herself was present as striking miners were fired at with machine guns. We used a color still in our documentary of striking miners.

Lewis, Anne. *Mud Creek Clinic*. Appalshop Film Archives, 1986, Whitesburg Ky.

This primary source documentary highlighted the reopening of Ms. Hall's clinic after it burned to the ground. We included a clip of Congressman Carl D. Perkins as he was touring Ms. Hall's clinic to add to our documentary. We especially appreciate the actual color from the 1980s that this added to our project. This film left us with a happier feeling as the community celebrated the triumphant rebuild of one of its most important institutions. It was impossible not to feel the joy Ms. Hall felt as she saw herself and her people triumphing over the tragedies that have always tried to stop her.

Sharpe, Robert K. *Before the Mountain was Moved*. West Virginia Public Broadcasting, 1970
<http://www.wvpublic.org/post/look-back-early-vista-workers-appalachia#stream/0>.

This Oscar nominated documentary followed several VISTA workers in their journey to help a community plagued by strip mining. We used a clip of resident Ellis Bailey testifying before the West Virginia State Legislature. This source cemented further the horrors of strip mining while helping us understand the involvement of VISTA workers in the region.

Smith, Herb E. *In Ya Blood*. Appalshop Film Archive, 1971,
<https://www.appalshop.org/media/in-ya-blood/>.

Produced through Appalshop, this film is a primary source testifying to the importance of activism with the hopes of lessening painful parts of Appalachian life. Although a fictional film, this caused us to wrestle with the reality of coal mining being one's only future option. This created empathy in us for young people of the region and caused us to consider how fortunate we are to have so many options that we don't know what we want to do.

Footage

Edward Kennedy Hearing. Appalshop Archives, 1983, Floyd County, Kentucky.

This primary source footage features Senator Edward M. Kennedy listening to Ms. Hall and other suffering citizens. We used parts of the footage to bring actual voices, faces, and emotions to the documentary and show how they interacted with those in government. This added movement, sound, and imagery to our project, and allowed us to catch a glimpse of what life looked like at that moment in time for the citizens of Floyd County, Kentucky. Hearing Kennedy's praise for Ms. Hall's work solidified our opinion that her story is a valuable one and worth being told for future Americans.

Greene, Tate. *Eastern Kentucky*. Personal Footage, 14 December 2018, Floyd County, Kentucky.

Being able to visit eastern Kentucky played a large developmental role in our project. This personal footage from a trip to Floyd County was included in the documentary with footage of homes passed on mountain roads and the looming Elkhorn Coal Company. Visiting and documenting eastern Kentucky ourselves gave us insight into how history directly affects our lives in the present.

Johnson, Lyndon B. *1964 State of the Union*. LBJ Presidential Library, 2014, <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/press/civil-rights-tax-cuts-and-the-war-on-poverty>.

This primary source footage of President Johnson's State of the Union Address features his famous declaration of War on Poverty in America. We used this clip for his voice and movement within the documentary. This footage provided us a historical perspective and understanding of the federal government's role in eastern Kentucky and the desire to improve conditions for citizens living in poverty.

The Poverty Tours. LBJ Presidential Library, U.S. Naval Photographic Center, 1964. <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/press/civil-rights-tax-cuts-and-the-war-on-poverty>.

This source differs from many of the others sources we consulted. This promotional film created by the Naval Photographic Center under a directive from the White House, outlined President Johnson's trip to Appalachia, the places he spoke, and the people he met. This primary source film gave both faces and voices to the people for whom The War on Poverty was being waged. We came to a realization of how television ushered in new understandings of the problems of Appalachia not only by showing poverty on film, but also by enshrining negative stereotypes and parachute journalism.

Images

Coal Mining. Library of Congress,
[www.loc.gov/search/?in=&q=coal%2Bmining&new=true&st=.](http://www.loc.gov/search/?in=&q=coal%2Bmining&new=true&st=)

The Library of Congress provided many poignant images of coal mining across the Appalachian region. These images illustrated the harsh working conditions for miners during the time and represented what little national attention they received. These images were particularly useful in establishing historical context on a visual front.

Coal Mining. VTechWorks, vtechworks.lib.vt.edu/discover.

The Virginia Tech Archives included modern primary source images of coal mining in Appalachia. We used these images to show challenges of living with Black Lung Disease, and highlight the harsh reality of life as a coal miner.

Cosgrove, Ben. The War on Poverty in the Pages of LIFE: Appalachia Portraits, 1964. Time,
[time.com/3878609/war-on-poverty-appalachia-portraits-1964/.](http://time.com/3878609/war-on-poverty-appalachia-portraits-1964/)

These images taken by John Dominis represented and illustrated a wide variety of obstacles faced by the residents of eastern Kentucky in the 1960s. The collection includes images of struggling families, coal miners, and the harsh landscapes of the Appalachian region. These types of images were at the core of the story as the people in them were the ones who needed assistance most.

Dotter, Earl. Ms. Hall on Porch. Mud Creek Medicine.

We used this primary source image of Ms. Hall on the porch (of her former house), consulting a miner about black lung treatment options. We used it more than once as it embodies so much of her story. The clarity and power in this image resonates with the viewer.

Eastern Illinois University. Coal Mining. Coal Mining,
[www.eiu.edu/eiutps/newsletter_coal_miner.php.](http://www.eiu.edu/eiutps/newsletter_coal_miner.php)

The eastern Illinois University Archives houses a wide range of primary source coal mining photos. Many of the images are from the late 1800s, which helped to establish the history of mining in the United States. Although these images were taken before Eula Hall's birth we felt it was important to show how firmly established coal mining was before and during her lifetime and that the companies had already affected the way of life in the region, paving the way for tragedy.

Floyd County History Collection. history.fclib.org/.

This community historical collection for the county in which the Mud Creek Clinic is located provided a great deal of primary sources. We used articles and images directly in the documentary from this collection. Additionally, we enjoyed reading marriage records, obituaries and short articles that gave us a glimpse into the life of a Floyd County residents.

“Faces and Places - Northern Kentucky Photographic Archives.” *Kenton County Public Library*, www.kentonlibrary.org/genphotos/index.php?q=.

From the Kenton County Public Library Photographic Archives, we found some of the few images of Ms. Eula Hall and Congressman Carl D. Perkins. These images were helpful in showing Ms. Hall in action, kneeling with patients, testifying before lawmakers, or standing on a picket line. They showed proof of her active dedication to the mountain people.

Hicks, Jack. *They Care for Their People All year Round in Mud Creek*. Cincinnati Enquirer, 22 November 1984.

This primary source image contains a rough map of the physical location of Mud Creek. The article and images show food pantry visitors. The miner gives the appearance of a regular dad trying to provide for his family. These image shows the everyday value of Ms. Hall’s labors against the everyday tragedies of her community.

Mass, Bryan. *Strip Mining Protests*. Louisville Courier-Journal, 5 January 1972.

We used this primary source image to highlight the political and personal involvement of Kentucky citizens attempting to bring an end to the tragedy of strip mining and fighting for the healing of their land.

Mendenhall, Kirsten. *Ms. Hall and Family*. Appalshop, date unknown.

These primary source images of Ms. Hall, her husband McKinley Hall, and children are the only images from her youth we were able to locate. These images add a great deal to the visual component of our documentary.

Shuman, Paul. *A Mother's Job*. Louisville Courier-Journal, 5 January 1972.

This primary source image depicts a mother on her commute through the rough winter weather after leaving her child at school. We used this image to illustrate the harsh geography. The caption also directs the viewer to consider her meager clothing. We felt it was a powerful addition to the visual component of our documentary.

Warren Brunner Photographic Collection. Berea College Archives and Special Collections.

The Berea Archives provided dozens of primary source images including prints from Mr. Brunner's personal collection and original negatives from his trips to visit Ms. Hall to observe her work. These images added another dimension to the project because we could see the faces of the people Ms. Hall helped in the place in which she helped them. In this collection she is often seen with smiling with sparkling eyes. This tells us that she found joy in her work and felt pride for lifting up those around her.

Interviews

Carroll, Betsie. Personal interview. 18 May 2019.

Betsie Carroll, Coordinator of Alternative Volunteering at Christian Appalachian Project based in Lexington, Kentucky, personally knew Ms. Hall. The Christian Appalachian Project was founded more than 50 years ago and works to improve the lives of Appalachian people who are trapped in poverty. A personal email interview with Betsie Carroll provided a new perspective on the work of Ms. Hall on a small and larger scale. We used a quote from Ms. Carroll to emphasize Ms. Hall's far reaching impact.

Hall, Eula. Personal interview. 14 December 2018.

Our personal interview with Ms. Eula Hall was one of our most useful and inspiring sources. At age 91, Ms. Hall was still working at the clinic at the time of this project. She spoke to her experiences as a child facing cruel poverty, her later participation in the War on Poverty as a VISTA Worker, and in founding her clinic. This interview inspired us to focus on her triumphs and tragedies. At the end of the interview, she noted, "I wish I could go back and do it all again, I could do so much better knowing what I know now." She clearly dedicated her life to helping her own people and she was always willing to help those in need. She told us her story and compelled us to not only tell her story, but also to make right when we come upon a wrong.

Jones, Loyal. Personal interview. 11 March 2019.

Loyal Jones, age 91, was born in rural North Carolina and attended Berea College in Kentucky. Dr. Jones, a professor of Appalachian studies, worked with Ms. Hall and many other programs like hers in Eastern Kentucky during the 1960s and 1970s. His insight into how the region worked and how people inside it influenced change was invaluable in understanding the role of Ms. Hall and others in their communities. Dr. Jones alluded to the fact that Ms. Hall's work is also a triumph for women in the region.

Legislation

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Government Publishing Office, 1964.

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-78/pdf/STATUTE-78-Pg508.pdf>.

The *Economic Opportunity Act* was perhaps one of the most monumental pieces of legislation to affect the Appalachian people. The Act formed the basis of the War on Poverty and created new programs to assist the work of Ms. Hall. Reading this law helped us understand how Ms. Hall interacted with federal resources to accomplish her goals. We also learned of the legal complexities that proved to be obstacles for others.

The Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969. United States Department of Labor.

<https://arlweb.msha.gov/solicitor/coalact/69act.htm>.

This 1969 law was the basis of the Black Lung Benefits program, an important piece of legislation to the former coal miners of Appalachia. Ms. Hall helped members of her community qualify for the benefits provided in this program. Seeing the technicalities the law required, this seemed no easy task.

Surface Mining Control Act of 1977. Government Publishing Office, 1977.

<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-91/pdf/STATUTE-91-Pg445.pdf>.

“Surface mining” refers to mountaintop removal or strip mining. This act was a crowning achievement for many VISTA workers and other community organizers in the region. However, the act did not completely end the practice of strip mining. This served as an example of how federal law was conflicted. The government saw the tragic environmental conditions that abounded in Kentucky but at the same time saw the need for more jobs, provided by coal. Sadly for many locals, the voices of coal company owners were often heard louder than the miners, their families, and the communities around them. We used this for background knowledge to tell the continuing story of tragedy in the region.

Letters

Bush, George H.W. Personal Letter. 10 July 1991.

Ms. Hall received this letter from the White House in 1991, praising her for her dedication to making a difference. President Bush stated, “I commend you for making a difference in the life of your community.” As she told us in our visit, she did not work for the letters or plaques; her reward has been people getting the care they need. We did come to understand that she will use her recognition and awards to further the cause if needed. This letter was a testament to her strong character and dedication to her people despite the most monumental personal tragedies.

Newspaper Articles

13 Poverty-Program Heads Protest Appalachian Volunteers' Fund Loss. Louisville Courier-Journal, 24 August 1967.

Ms. Hall's work was not the only such work done in the region; this article painted a detailed picture of the triumphs and tragedies outside groups faced. In this case, the article covered the major loss of funding to the Appalachian Volunteers. Stories like this helped us not only create a stronger historical narrative but assisted in a nuanced understanding of aid to the region.

Appalachian Volunteers Called Ground-breakers. St. Petersburg Times, 4 December 1968.

This source was useful in establishing a better narrative of what work the Appalachian Volunteers were doing and how that work was being received. Without valuable newspapers like this we would have very little insight into the practical effects of programs like the Appalachian Volunteers.

Appalachian Volunteers Discussion at Rhodell. Post-Herald and Register, Beckley West Virginia, 29 May 1968.

This paper from West Virginia helped us understand what poverty programs looked like across Appalachia. Eastern Kentucky faced a certain set of problems while West Virginia faced similar, but problems unique to itself. The region was hurting and programs like the Appalachian Volunteers provided necessary help to the people.

ARC approves \$320,000 for clinic in Floyd County. Associated Press 29 September 1982.

This article was important for understanding how Ms. Hall overcame the tragic fire of her clinic. It detailed the funding received from the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC).

'Awaits Court Ruling on Tipple'. Floyd County Times, 23 November 1983, Floyd County Archives, <http://history.fclib.org/files/original/42/3340/11-23-1983.pdf>.

This news article demonstrated that the coal industry often had little regard for laws and the lives they affected. Additionally, the ruling was postponed, illustrating further disregard for the impact on human life. Ms. Hall was adamant about fighting against such injustices.

Eula Hall: Tribulations Don't Deter Mountain Activist. Louisville Courier-Journal, 12 December 1982.

During the time of her work, Ms. Hall often went unpraised. Board members and operating officers were interviewed in newspapers about the clinic, but in this case the people and the press interviewed Ms. Hall herself. After the tragic fire, her courage, dedication, and unceasing care for her people that ensured the survival of the Mud Creek Clinic. This article told that story and was critical to understanding how she was viewed by her community.

Guidry, Vernon A. *Controversial Health Program in Floyd County.* Paducah Sun, 6 December 1971.

A 1971 newspaper article about a federal War on Poverty program gave us a complex view of federal involvement in the region. Ms. Hall criticized the federal program heavily and sought funding for her own clinic and programs, it showed us just how effective and knowledgeable Ms. Hall was at organizing to help people.

Kennedy Visits Mud Cr. Clinic. Floyd County Times, 23 November 1983, Floyd County Archives, <http://history.fcilib.org/files/original/42/3340/11-23-1983.pdf>.

Senator Kennedy's visit to the Mud Creek Clinic was noted in the *Floyd County Times*, recognizing the importance of his visit. This article again offered a local perspective of the hearings, tours and reporters who flooded Floyd County for the trip. This information gave critical context as to the significance of his trip.

Kilborn, Peter. *In Coal Country, a Home-Grown Clinic.* "The New York Times Archive", NYT, 15 March 1991, <https://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/15/us/in-coal-country-a-home-grown-clinic.html>.

Published in 1991 this New York Times special report offers a primary source from an outsider's perspective. The author gives a national perspective to a story, often discussed in only local terms. It not only presents an encouraging, positive view of Ms. Hall's work, but it also presented a negative stereotype seeming to shine a light on how "primitive" or "homespun" life in Appalachia was. Another interesting perspective shown is that of her employees and volunteers who assisted her in her work. This is the article that sparked our vision for pursuing Ms. Hall as the subject for our documentary.

Mud Cr. Clinic Leveled by Fire. Floyd County Times, 23 June 1982, Floyd County Archives, <http://history.fclib.org/files/original/45/3701/06-23-1982.pdf>.

After the fire that leveled the clinic, this article appeared in the local paper. This newspaper gave us an understanding of what information was most relevant at the time. The first paragraph consisted of a statement of hope, acknowledging that doctors would see patients on a park bench only a few hundred feet away from the ruins of the clinic. We came to fully comprehend Ms. Hall's fierceness from this article.

Larkin, Kathy. *Wonder Women*. New York Daily News, 23 November 1982.

This newspaper article details Ms. Hall's winning of the Wonder Woman Award. We used the article image to highlight the award she appeared to be the most fond of as she spoke of it during the interview.

Osinski, Bill. *Women Joining Forces to Give Stronger Voice to Miner's Views*. Louisville Courier-Journal, 6 May 1982.

Ms. Hall gave little thought to her limitations. In this newspaper article it describes the work of strong Appalachian women to fight against the tragedies of coal. We used this to develop our understanding of the cultural significance of her work at the time

Peterson, Bill. *Appalachian Volunteers: A Look at Them First Hand*. The Louisville Courier-Journal, 12 December 1968.

The Appalachian Volunteers were a complex story unto themselves. This article was useful in understanding the different perspectives people had about them. Many upper class Appalachians and government officials disliked them greatly, seeing them as outside agitators, while many active and concerned poorer citizens welcomed the help from these bright young organizers.

Wonder Women. Indiana Gazette, 30 December 1982.

This newspaper article explained the origin of The Wonder Woman award and told of the cash prize amount that we know Ms. Hall put right back into her community. Of her many awards and certificates this title is one of her favorites.

Oral History

Cohen, Naomi Weintarub. *Oral History of Appalachian Volunteers*. Berea College Special Collections.
<https://bera.access.preservica.com/file/sdb%3AdigitalFile%7Cf9e7293f-48e5-46eb-b0d-d-30192aecf587/>.

Ms. Cohen's outside view illustrates stereotypical views of the region. We used her voice to tell the story about outsiders coming into the region under the federal programs. This perspective creates a more complete historical understanding of the time and place of Ms. Hall's work.

Poetry

Clifton, Jane Agnes. *An Angel of Mercy 'For I was Dying'*. Eula Hall Personal Collections.

This primary source poem, written by a former patient and friend of Ms. Hall, shed a clear light upon the role she has played in the lives of so many people. It was so moving we felt it should be a part of the title and conclusion. This beautifully human poem showed only part of the impact, of the so called "Mother Teresa of Mud Creek." This work provided a human view of the love she had for all those in need.

Still, James. *Child of the Hills*. n.d. University of Kentucky Archives.

Still never published this poem, but it described the life of a young child in Appalachia. His youth, spent deep in the mountains far from strip mining was represented here. Still explained how valuable the connection to the land truly is. This source was useful in establishing an ethnohistoric understanding of life in rural Appalachia and what was truly lost.

Still, James. *Death on Troublesome*. n.d. University of Kentucky Archives.

James Still bemoaned the tragedy of strip mining and its effects upon his people in this primary source poem. Still described in an artistic format the ruin brought upon the land. The troublesome Creek itself was only a few miles away from Mud Creek. The events observed and described by Still were unquestionably seen by Ms. Hall and her community as well.

Still, James. *Heritage*. 1935, University of Kentucky Press.

James Still, a Kentucky poet, wrote this poem as one of his first works and it has been often noted as one of his greatest. He described the plight of the mountaineer, giving insight into life under strip mining. He describes the “hills brought to level earth” and the “Valleys uprooted out of the sky.” Poetry from within the region gave us a more complex understanding of the feelings some people felt within the mountains. We gained an understanding of both the realities like pollution and disease and the more human aspects of outrage, pain, and depression.

Secondary Sources

Books

Best, Bill. *100 Years of Appalachian Visions*. Appalachian Imprints, 2000.

This book provided one of the most nuanced secondary historical texts about the Appalachian region and its people. As a compiled work of writings from prominent Appalachian writers, artists, poets, historians, and government officials it created a complex vision of who the people of Appalachia were and what they have valued.

Bhatraju, Kiran. *Mud Creek Medicine*. Butler Books, 2013.

Mr. Bhatraju’s book provided one of the only comprehensive secondary sources we found. It outlined the story from a local perspective following Ms. Hall’s early childhood all the way to the time of this project. However, the source gave little national context when discussing the issues of her community. Mr. Bhatraju’s father was one of the first doctors to volunteer to help Ms. Hall, giving him a unique perspective on the triumphs of the clinic over the years.

Catte, Elizabeth PhD. *What You are Getting Wrong About Appalachia*. Belt Publishing, 2018.

Dr. Catte, a public historian and native Appalachian provided a historical understanding of how the Appalachian people were treated by industry, the federal government, and the rest of the U.S. in situations as far back as the 1800s and as recent as 2016. This book provided historical context and a greater understanding of how industry subjected the rural people as well as what positive changes it ushered in.

Germany, Kent B., and Robert David Johnson, editors. *The Presidential Recordings*, Lyndon B. Johnson. Vol. 3, W.W. Norton, 2005.

This book contains transcripts of the recordings of President Lyndon B. Johnson. He installed, at the beginning of his presidency, a secret taping system in the White House. This system recorded telephone conversations and allows us to see what happened before he declared the War on Poverty. These transcripts show, word for word, what was said and discussed. On January 20, 1964 President Johnson said, those living in poverty live in a “world where a minor illness is a major tragedy.”

Humphrey, Hubert Horatio. *War on Poverty*. 1st ed., McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964.

Senator Hubert Humphrey provides a comprehensive discussion of the War on Poverty. In this book, he states that “1 out of 5 Americans live in poverty, shame, misery, and degradation.” Written in the midst of the war’s beginning Senator Humphrey details life in poverty and the importance of the battle against it. Also, he specifically explains the poverty problems in Eula Hall’s home region of Appalachia.

Jones, Loyal. *Appalachian Values*. Warren Brunner, Jesse Stuart Foundation, 1994.

This book combined the story of Appalachians with photography of the people themselves. Written by Loyal Jones, a pioneer of Appalachian Studies at Berea College, he created context around what the term “Appalachian” means. He noted grand historical themes in the region like independence from larger society and the aggressive invasion of industry. Mr. Jones’ book provided a better understanding of what the culture was like up through the time it was written.

Documentaries

York, Ashley. *Hillbilly*. Sally Rubin, 21 February 2019.

This documentary played well into the theme of triumph and tragedy. It provided both a cultural and historical perspective of how the Appalachian region interacted with the rest of America from the early 1900s to 2016. It materialized and historicized many of the ideas and cultural tendencies that constantly affected the life of Ms. Hall and her community.

Journals

Life in Rural America Part II. Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, May 2019.
https://media.npr.org/documents/2019/may/NPR-RWJF-HARVARD_Rural_Poll_Part_2.pdf.

This Harvard Journal report studied many of the problems facing rural Americans today. This source was important in developing an understanding of how Ms. Hall's work relates to the tragedies facing other rural Americans. The most important section was about lack of access to healthcare, but it included information about housing, quality of life, and financial security; all aspects of life that Ms. Hall was involved in improving for her community.

Pullen, Erin. *Barriers to Substance Abuse Treatment in Rural and Urban Communities: A Counselor Perspective*. Journal of Substance Use and Misuse, June 2014.
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3995852/>

An important question we had to ask is what new challenges face the Mud Creek Clinic today. This peer-reviewed journal article gave us a better understanding of the difficulties facing rural clinics in their attempts to treat substance abuse. With the rise in addiction rates to opioids, in rural communities it has redefined many of the services implied with the term "Rural Healthcare." We needed this source to understand the goals, limitations, and successes of clinics trying to fight the new diseases of poverty.

Rosenblatt, Roger A. *Physicians in Rural America*. Western Journal of Medicine, Gary Hart, November 2000.
https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1071163/#__sec1title.

Roger Rosenblatt and Gary Hart provide many important statistics in this journal article. One of Ms. Hall's major difficulties was finding doctors to staff her clinic. As of 2000, only 9% of physicians served America's 50 million rural residents with the number of specialized physicians being even lower. We understood from this source why people like Ms. Hall must actively bring doctors in and work tirelessly to sustain a necessary number of physicians.

Rural Relevance: A Hospital Strength Index. Vantage Health Analytics, 2016.
https://www.chartis.com/resources/files/INDEX_2016_Rural_Relevance_Study_FINAL_Formatted_02_08_16.pdf.

This survey analysed rural hospitals, like Ms. Hall's clinic on a broad national scale. We found it valuable to understanding the problems Ms. Hall's clinic faces now. With over 100 rural hospitals and clinics closing since 2010 and hundreds more at risk, the work of Ms. Hall's lifetime is at risk. We began to sense how important her work is to her community and region. Senator Kennedy's concern about those regions without "a Eula Hall" is true now more than ever.

Music

Comeau, Jessica. *Wild Mountain Thyme*. 3 Jan. 2017.

This version of *Wild Mountain Thyme* was arranged and performed by Jessica Comeau. This well-known folk song was used in our documentary as background music. The song fit the theme of our documentary conveying triumph in some parts and tragedy in others.

Gilston, Mark. *Beauty in Tears and The Ash Grove*. 23 Apr. 2015.

The arrangement of *Beauty in Tears* and *The Ash Grove* was originally written by Turlough O'Carolan (1670 – 1738). Mark Gilston plays this old song on a mountain dulcimer, an instrument native to his area. The song set the tone perfectly for the story we wanted to tell in our documentary.

Sharpe, Robert K. *Before the Mountain Was Moved*. 1971.

The documentary produced by Robert K. Sharpe had a powerful story that strongly relates to our topic. The music from this film, by Jess Soraci, was used in our documentary during the introduction of our title for its evocative feeling of nature.

News Articles

Frakt, Austin. *A Sense of Alarm as Rural Hospitals Keep Closing*. The New York Times, 29 October 2018.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/29/upshot/a-sense-of-alarm-as-rural-hospitals-keep-closing.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share>.

This newspaper article from the New York Times provides modern statistics relating to the presence of hospitals and clinics in rural America. We quickly realized how common the struggle of communities like Floyd County, Kentucky is to the rest of America and why the work of people like Eula Hall is so important. This source was important in building the context of her in a national sense. Without her work Floyd County would fall victim to the innumerable tragedies of a majority of rural America.

Siegler, Kirk. *The Struggle to Hire and Keep Doctors in Rural Areas Means Patients go Without Care*. NPR, 21 May 2019.

https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2019/05/21/725118232/the-struggle-to-hire-and-keep-doctors-in-rural-areas-means-patients-go-without-c?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=npr&utm_term=nprnews&utm_content=20190521

This NPR report studied the issues of hiring physicians in rural areas on a personal level. This fell in a similar area of research with other related articles and journals. This report particularly detailed what life is like in rural hospitals for directors like Ms. Hall and physicians employed by them. Though focused on a rural county in Nebraska, the issues described are the same as those in Appalachia. Without sources like this one it would be hard to understand the real relevance of Eula Hall's work.

Lectures

Catte, Elizabeth PhD. *Discussing Appalachia*. East Tennessee History Center, 30 August 2018.

Dr. Catte's lecture covered a number of topics surrounding industry in Appalachia, how the rest of the country has interacted with the region, and what perceptions or stereotypes have often been attributed to many people of Appalachia. After hearing the lecture, asking questions of the presented, and meeting Dr. Catte, we had a greater background knowledge of the Appalachian region and the many events similar to the story we told.

Websites

Courage in Appalachia: The Story of Eula Hall. "Kentucky for Kentucky", 1 April 2014, <http://www.kyforky.com/courage-in-appalachia-the-story-of-eula-hall/>.

This book and historical review of the Mud Creek Clinic story and the book *Mud Creek Medicine* described many of the difficulties Ms. Hall faced and how she overcame them. It also placed her story in a historical context, explaining specifically how the culture of the people who settled in that area of Kentucky affected social issues such as poverty and Black Lung Disease. Much of Ms. Hall's work was outlined here as well as her legacy of advocacy surrounding domestic abuse, poverty, violence, strip mining, water issues and others. The issues she advocated for were all growing problems that affected far too many Americans in the 20th century.

Lilly, Jessica. *A Look Back at Early VISTA Workers in Appalachia*. West Virginia Public Broadcasting, Roxy Todd, 12 August 2016.

<http://www.wvpublic.org/post/look-back-early-vista-workers-appalachia#stream/0>.

This radio piece explored the work of early VISTA workers in Appalachia. The people and times highlighted in the story happened around the same time as Ms. Hall was involved with the VISTA program, giving us a better idea of how Ms. Hall's activism could have been shaped by her earliest experiences.

Lowry, Annie. *What's the Matter With Eastern Kentucky*. New York Times Magazine, 26 June 2014.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/29/magazine/whats-the-matter-with-eastern-kentucky>.

This summary of poverty statistics showed that this region of eastern Kentucky was still struggling as of 2014 as politicians disagreed on how to help. We used this source to understand where the tragedies of Floyd County aligned with the problems of the region and what historical, political, social, and economic factors influenced it. This highlighted the need for Eula Hall's work and for others to continue her efforts across eastern Kentucky.