



Urban/Rural Border-Crossing: What Would Mary Ellicott Arnold Say?¹

By Dorothy Lander
St. Francis Xavier University

Photo Courtesy of Cooperative Hall of Fame:
<http://heroes.coop/post/inductees/1976/mary-e-arnold/>

The first stop, when anyone wants to do research on rural development and co-operative housing, is *The Story of Tompkinsville* written by Mary Ellicott Arnold in 1940, and always referred to as a “pamphlet.”² Yet the names of Father Jimmy Tompkins and Father Moses Coady that are most often associated with this initiative of the Antigonish Movement. Historian Rusty Neal, who has written extensively on the women of the Antigonish Movement notes that Mary Ellicott Arnold “disappeared, at least for awhile, from co-operative history in the Maritimes.”³

In a 1976 tribute to Moses Coady, the National Film Board highlighted Tompkinsville without a mention of Mary Arnold. Mary Ellicott Arnold and Mabel Reed came from New York City to Antigonish, Nova Scotia in 1937 as part of an American Co-operative League study tour, and in no time, Father Moses Coady, then the Director of the Extension Department, invited them to offer their expertise and organizational skills to a fledgling co-operative housing initiative in Reserve Mines, Cape Breton, where his cousin Father Jimmy Tompkins was the parish priest. The cooperative movement was well underway in Reserve Mines, Cape Breton under the guidance of Father Jimmy, who came in 1934 as pastor at St. Joseph’s Church. Miner Joe Laben and his wife Mary Laben took a leadership role

in organizing a Credit Union study club in 1932. The first credit union in Nova Scotia was established in Reserve Mines in 1933, its membership composed of the local coal miners and their neighbours. By the fall of 1936, a small group began work on establishing a co-operative store as an alternative to the company stores which had dominated the mining communities. The first co-operative store in Reserve Mines opened on 8 November 1937.⁴

Then their attention moved to cooperative housing, beginning with a land study in the fall of 1936, meeting every Sunday at Joe and Mary Laben’s company house in a neighbourhood called Belgium Town, where many immigrant families resided, leading to the Toad Lane Study Circle for co-operative housing in the spring of 1937. They were floundering and praying for a miracle. They were all miners; none of them ever had a hammer in their hand in their life.⁵ When Mary Arnold and Mabel Reed arrived fresh from a cooperative housing initiative in New York City, Moses Coady, Director of the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University, pronounced this a miracle, saying this is no coincidence. In the foreword to Mary Arnold’s *The Story of Tompkinsville*, Moses Coady calls her a dyed-in-the-wool cooperator. Mary acted as contractor for the Toad Lane Study Club, which the group renamed in her honour as The Arnold Cooperative Housing



Figure 1: Tompkinsville Land Purchase, Reserve Mines, March 1938 (Courtesy of St. Francis Xavier Archives)

Corporation.

What was the expertise that they could offer? Mary and Mabel had helped to found the Consumer Co-operative Services in New York City in the early 1930s. As urban organizers in NYC, employed by City and Suburban Homes Company, a philanthropic organization building affordable, decent housing for the working poor, they supervised the building of a twelve-storey, sixty-seven-unit apartment building and ten cafeterias for the working poor of NYC. Mary Arnold was also the director of the National Cooperative Business Association from 1927 to 1938.

Let me describe what urban organizers Mary and Mabel would have encountered in Reserve Mines in 1937. People lived in houses built by the mining companies. These houses had no basements. They were two-family dwellings, few of which had lawns or trees around them. They were heated by fireplaces and coal stoves. The ashes from the stoves and fireplaces often covered the area around the houses. Tin cans and household garbage were piled in the yards during the winter then hauled away in the spring. Rent was two dollars a month. Smoke from the mines (No. 5 and No. 10) polluted the area around the houses. There was no sewer system and most people had outdoor toilets. Each of these toilets had a large wooden box to receive the human excrement. Every few weeks the “honey man” (paid by the coal company) would come at night with the

horse and wagon to collect the honey box and replace it with an empty one. Since the company houses were limited, people began to build their own tar-paper shacks to house their families. One street in Reserve Mines (now Emery Street) was called Shacks Road. Here is what Mary herself wrote in a draft version of *The Story of Tompkinsville*:

It is hard to keep damp and dirt from seeping up through the cracks. As in all old houses, the wind finds an easy way inside around doors and windows. Planning fifty or sixty years ago took little account of the work which must be done by a miner's wife and the sink is often in a dark corner behind a door. The yards are small and only the braver spirits find a way to grass and flowers.⁶

Between the fall of 1937 and the spring of 1939, eleven single dwelling houses were built in on twenty-two acres of land in Reserve Mines and called Tompkinsville after Father Jimmy



DUNCAN CURRIE AND MISS ARNOLD IN CONSULTATION

Figure 2: Mary Arnold on site in consultation with Duncan Currie (Courtesy of St. Francis Xavier Archives #90-757-3275)

Tompkins. Mary and Mabel were the operational and educational force behind this cooperative housing project. Truly a miracle of the urban-rural dynamic! Arnold was the only woman of her time who was involved in a cooperative program that on the surface appeared to draw on men's labour. Rusty Neal compares the impact of Arnold and Reed in Tompkinsville to the Quebec women who belonged to the *cercles des fermières*, whose leaders sought to strengthen rural values as a bulwark against urbanization and the rural exodus.⁷ Mary Arnold and Mabel Reed spent two years in Cape Breton, the first year in planning and researching. Their cost-built house, the prototype for the other houses went up in 1937 and became the educational and planning centre for the project.

Feminist theorist Robin Teske draws on the work of philosopher Hannah Arendt to illustrate the power that women take up when they occupy border spaces and cross borders.⁸ The in between space of borders and margins is often referred to in feminist theory as liminal

space. "Liminality, the condition of being in between places and times, is a state in which the boundaries between the "real" and the imagined are in flux: the future is open to new possibilities ... a state in which magical events frequently occur."⁹ Mary and Mabel were in between on so many levels. They were in a Boston Marriage as it was known at the time, coming from New York City to rural Cape Breton. They were Quakers in a community where the dominant version of Catholic womanhood was in the words of historian Anne Alexander¹⁰ in "supporting roles" in conformity with the "larger ideological boundaries of the Antigonish movement's gender construction — Catholic wife, sister, mother, and helpmate."¹¹ Rusty Neal suggests that the nineteenth-century acceptance of exceptional women in same-sex partnerships may have lasted longer in Canadian reform circles than in the United States.¹² Back in NYC working for Consumers Cooperative Services in 1940, Mary wrote: "Dear Dr. Tompkins: After Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, New York is



Figure 3: Tompkinsville under construction 1937-1938 (Courtesy of St. Francis Xavier Archives)



Figure 4: Gravestone of Mabel Reed and Mary Ellicott Arnold. 2008 Photo and Violet tribute (D. Lander)

like another world. Mabel hasn't yet stood up on Fifth Avenue and said rude things to it but she may be coaling up to it."¹³

My research methodologies combine arts-

based inquiry with genealogy or a history of the present.¹⁴ My research interests take up two related areas, first, art as a social determinant of health, often incorporating art in anti-poverty initiatives, and second the ways that popular educators have used art across the three waves of the women's movement in Canada. Mary Arnold interests me because she exemplifies a popular educator deploying art as a social determinant of health,¹⁵ and she is a prototype feminist of first wave feminism, though that generation used the language of women's rights and the "woman question" rather than feminism. (And I've noticed a return to the language of women's rights rather than feminism). A history of the present asks a question in the present, as a way of charting continuities and discontinuities, but also to identify how we might be and do otherwise in addressing similar social issues today. In the spirit of both genealogy and arts-based inquiry, I frame my presentation as questions to Mary Arnold asked in the present and imagine what



Figure 5: Quaker Cemetery, Providence-Media, Pennsylvania, where Mary and Mabel are buried. 2008 Photo (D. Lander)

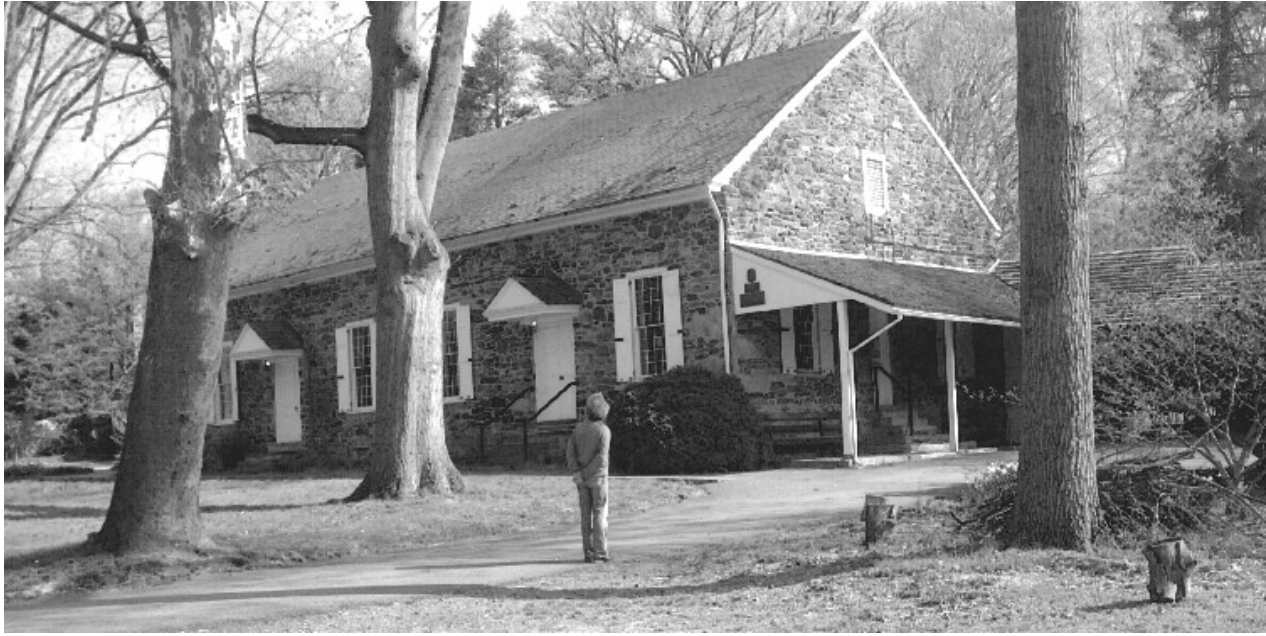


Figure 6: Providence-Media Quaker Meeting House, adjacent to the cemetery. Mary and Mabel lived in nearby Moylan.

she would say about current social issues about rural and urban renewal and affordable housing and homelessness. The arts-based methodologies that I favour are narrative inquiry and performance inquiry, which entail using stories and performance in the collecting and compiling stage of research as well as in the representation of the research. So be prepared. In my imagined dialogue with Mary Ellicott Arnold, I ask her questions and imagine her responses, based on what I know from her writings, including her letters, and what others have said about her.¹⁶ In order to keep it straight when I am asking Mary a question and when Mary is responding, I will don a 1930s-style cloche when I imagine Mary answering.

Dorothy: First, Mary, how was it that you and Mabel, fresh from organizing a twelve-storey housing cooperative in New York City, were welcomed so warmly to oversee a rural housing cooperative?

Mary: Our password was Cooperation, Cooperation, Cooperation, which sees the value and beauty in “difference.” Working cooperatively requires that people appreciate

different talents and different life experiences and different ways of being to accomplish their goals. So different experiences in rural and urban settings, different faith communities, and different national origins could all be brought to bear on the task.

Dorothy: So, we might say cooperation operates in that magical in between? That reminds me, James Kuhn, a management scholar in the graduate school of business at Columbia University claims that leadership is an art form in which cooperation, not leadership, constitutes the creative process.¹⁷ Leadership is the culmination of the aesthetic forces of cooperation. Tompkinsville is just such a cooperative structure that came about through an aesthetic vision and pattern of cooperation. Father Jimmy (so often described as cranky and curmudgeonly) wrote so warmly to “Dear Miss Arnold & Miss Reid” shortly after your departure from Reserve Mines, “You cannot realize how much we all miss you. ... I wish you both God’s blessing & all good things. You were a light shining in dark places while you were with us and the days and months were electric and stimulating.”¹⁸

Mary, how would you suggest that we present *The Story of Tompkinsville* to people today who are grappling with similar issues related to rural and urban renewal, affordable housing, and homelessness? What can we learn from your successes in Tompkinsville to tackle homelessness in Toronto, which another Quaker, Professor Ursula Franklin, declared “a national disaster. “We have the legal and technical means to end it.”¹⁹ What can we learn from your successes to tackle urban poverty in the Ultra-Orthodox neighbourhoods of Jerusalem or Saint John, New Brunswick or the vulnerable households in Regina’s North Core Neighbourhood? And only yesterday, I heard that people are still living in the very same company houses and tar paper shacks that the miracle of Tompkinsville was meant to address.

Mary: Well, the study circles and immersing ourselves in a study of the cooperative movement and the meaning of cooperation before we started building houses is something that worked well. But just as important, the Housing Cooperative in Reserve Mines crafted a musical play called *The Miner’s Wife*, which in 1938 and 1939 played to full houses up the east and west coast of Cape Breton. Not only did it name the oppression that mining communities were exposed to, it introduced the cooperative movement in a fun-filled way that everyone could understand. And best of all the miners and the wives were the actors. I wrote at the time about traditional ways of bringing the message of cooperation to the miners, “You couldn’t do anything with some fellows. They never read anything or seem to care. They don’t even know what Father Tompkins or Father Coady are talking about.”²⁰ When I wrote to “Dear Dr. Tompkins” from New York in March, 1943, I compared *The Miner’s Wife* to the cooperative film that we were producing of the Maine lobster fishermen called *Turn the Tide*. “I can’t see why true stories should be any less interesting than made up ones or why, when people are searching in every direction for a



Figure 7: Mary Arnold and the Tompkinsville Housing Study Club (Courtesy of the St. Francis Xavier University Archives)

new world, they wouldn’t be willing to risk a quarter to see a bit of building in that direction.”²¹

Dorothy: Ah, social media as a social determinant of health. It just so happens that last week the improvised drama *Family Motel* opened in Toronto, in which the lead actors are the Ottawa social worker Nargis Ahmed and her teen daughters Asha and Sagal Jibril, who had no acting experience. The film touches on the same issues that Nargis faces in her work for the city of Ottawa: The film touches on homelessness, resettlement, family reunification and systemic racism.

And it just so happens that Lindsay Kyte, who is the grand niece of Mary and Joe Laben — they built and occupied the first house, after Mary and Mabel’s demonstration house in Tompkinsville, and lived in it until Mary’s death in 2002 — is writing a play *Tompkinsville*, which will be presented through Festival Antigonish’s Stage 2 this summer.²² Joe was the President of the Mary Arnold Housing Cooperative and along with Father Jimmy Tompkins, who came to Reserve Mines in 1934, began study circles with miners on co-op housing before Mary Arnold arrived on the scene. [Lindsay is here today, and you will be the first to hear a piece



Figure 8: Demonstration House occupied 1937-1939 by Mary and Mabel. 2007 Photo (Lander)

from her new play. Before you read from your play, can you say a little bit about your own urban-rural border crossing as a playwright.]

Mary, when you and Mabel together wrote about your experience as frontier activists in northern California with the Karok Indians in *The Land of the Grasshopper Song*, you include your own experience, dialogue, and photographs of you and Mabel as well as your friends and neighbor but your voice does not come through strongly in *The Story of Tompkinsville* whereas the dialogue among the miners in the housing cooperative is a strong feature. Mabel is not even mentioned in this book. What was the difference?

Mary: Well, *The Land of the Grasshopper Song* was not the story of a cooperative movement but our autobiography. I wanted *The Story of Tompkinsville* to be the story of that community and the cooperative process that led to the building of Tompkinsville. I took a leaf from Father Tompkins' book, who famously said: "There is no limit to what a person can accomplish as long as he doesn't care who gets the credit."

Dorothy: Your letters to your sister, Tety, like the one of 28 December 1938, tell a story of how you nudged the cooperative movement. "I have spent the afternoon at Raymond's house. Raymond's House has hung fire. Raymond himself works on it but fitfully and

nobody else works on it although Raymond says gloomily that everyone promised to give him a hand. So this afternoon I came into the picture. I went the rounds and collected an unwilling Joe and Duncan. I took Dingo away from Allie who was moodily moving in on his own. I laid a no uncertain hand on Hilary. Then I sat over them and saw that there was no slacking on the job. The results were so successful that Raymond gave me a feeble smile and said he wished he knew how I did it."²³

Mary, your legacy in the Antigonish movement is of the only woman of that time who directed a programme that largely concerned men.²⁴ Rusty Neal writes that you did not work closely with other female staff, including Ida Delaney, a field worker also in Cape Breton.²⁵ Did you have alliances with women and if so, what did they look like?

Mary: Well, the visible program of Tompkinsville largely concerned men and I was the one that got photographed with the men. But Mary Laben will tell you that more shingles went on those houses with women than with men, and they helped put up the gyprock and everything.²⁶ And, it's true, I left Bel out of the book, and she perhaps more than I connected with the women. We held women's meetings at our house and unlike me, Bel was skilled with a needle, and could talk the language of curtains and planning for the layout of the kitchen. The men are photographed with me and the little cardboard homes but it was the women who built them. For example, Mrs. McNabb with



Figure 9: Tety's grave in the Providence-Media, Pennsylvania Quaker cemetery.

NORA BATESON
DIRECTOR OF LIBRARIES



Halifax, May 2nd, 1939.

My dear Miss Arnold:

I am returning the manuscript to you. On reading it carefully a second time I am only confirmed in my first opinion, that it is a real "knock-out". I have made a few comments and little changes but apart from the few things I mentioned to you before I really do not think it can be improved. I read part of it to some people here who are interested in housing and they were greatly taken with it.

I spoke to A. B. in Antigonish about it but did not show it to him, and Dr. Coady was in the hospital and was not seeable. I mentioned to Dr. Tompkins that I wondered if Macmillan's would consider it for their new series "The People's Library". It may be of too specialized a nature but the style and approach are almost ideal from the point of view of the series. I suggested to Dr. Tompkins that he might like to take it up with Dr. Lyman Bryson at the Niagara meeting, if Dr. Bryson is there, as I think he will be. I think it is a tribute to it to say that I retreated to a quiet corner while I was waiting for the truckmen to remove my stuff yesterday and I was forgetting completely about moving. That proves, I think, that it is a piece of literature as well as a booklet on housing! I still think the foreword should not be there. It is weak in comparison with the rest of this very vigorous work.

I have asked the Cooperative Book Club in New York to send a copy of Powell's "The Attractive Home" to you. I spoke of it at the meeting when I was in Reserve and Mrs. John Allan Smith, who, you know, was very anxious to see it. I told her I would buy a copy and send it up to you and

Miss Mary Arnold,
Tompkinsville,
Cape Breton.

Figure 10: 1939 Letter from Librarian Nora Bateson to Mary Arnold (Courtesy of Friends Historical Society, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania)

her family of eight did her whole kitchen with a window in the middle on both sides and then room for her table and her stove.²⁷ And it was Bel who along with Mary Laben who created the pottery barn — really a crafts cooperative — on Mary's yard. And the women are a strong presence in *The Miner's Wife*.

My allies among women tended to be staff rather than women of the community, and often we kept up with each other through letters. My relationship with Nora Bateson, the Director of Libraries was very congenial and she worked with me to improve my manuscript

of *The Story of Tompkinsville*. When she wrote to me from Halifax on 2 May 1939, her highest praise was that she was reading it in a "quiet corner while ... waiting for the truckmen to remove [her] stuff ... and was forgetting completely about moving." With an exclamation mark, she wrote, "That proves, I think, that it is a piece of literature as well as a booklet on housing!"²⁸

There were tensions between me and A. B. MacDonald, the central administrative person at the Extension Department — he wanted to remove cooperative housing as a Departmental activity — but I was friendly with the women office staff of the Extension Department, including Zita O'Hearn and Ellen Arsenault. I had a little running joke with Zita O'Hearn about our struggles in getting *The Story of Tompkinsville* published. On 9 June 1939, I wrote "Dear Miss O'Hearn: If they don't publish the pamphlet and I have any more inquiries I am going to retire to a mountain top and roll stones down on the next person who asks for literature on housing."²⁹ Zita O'Hearn replied 12 June 1939: "Dear Miss Arnold: If your pamphlet is not published, I'll have to leave the country. I've been

promising it right and left with reckless abandon."³⁰

Dorothy: Remember too that the musical *The Miner's Wife*, presented at Reserve Mines, Dominion, New Waterford and Inverness during the winter of 1938, included miners' wives as actors, playing themselves. This was long before Paulo Freire's concept of naming your world and your oppression in order to transform it, and of Augusto Boal and popular theatre. I will close our conversation with just a small excerpt from this play, in which the

miners' wives name their oppression, and how they can overcome it.

The Miner's Wife
A Cooperative Play or Musical Comedy,
if you prefer

Enter Miner's Wife

Makes half-hearted attempt to set table.

Enter Miner

Drops can and towel on floor, takes off shoes and leaves them on floor, takes paper, begins reading.

Wife: Do you think if work is pretty good for a while we'll be able to pay our bills and get some of the things we need?

Miner (no answer)

Wife What's the use of talking to you? You won't even listen to me.

Miner Can't you keep quiet and leave me alone? I stay all day in that hole and don't make a cent.

...

Miner That section I'm working in never cleans up. Machine broke one day. The engine the next. Today the dammed tope broke. I always get a bad place. That's the trouble. It's just no dammed use working. ... You're not listening! What do you care if I break my back working in a three foot seam — having to crawl around on my hands and knees. What do you care?

Wife (crying) I haven't got any money and we're always in debt and Johnny's sick.

Miner Some kid's always sick. Why don't you take care of them?

Wife It's not my fault he's got no shoes. He had to do to school didn't he? And he came in with his feet just soaking wet. You talk about breaking your back. (begins to sob) If he dies, it will break my heart.

...

Miner For God's sake stop your yelling and get me some supper. (sits down at table) Haven't you got anything but beans? Beans every day

this week. Why don't you cook some meat?

Wife You know as well as I do the store won't give us meat. You know as well as I do the only sell meat for cash. I can get get beans on credit. (cries again)

...

Enter chorus of men singing

The Housing Club of Reserve are we,

We build homes for all to see,

The plans and estimates designed by we

Co oper a tive lee

The Housing Club of Reserve are we, are we,

Come form your groups, transform your coops

And join with we,

Awake the world and let them see, what they could be

Co oper a tive lee.

Wife What do you suppose he meant by Cooperative housing?

Oh, I wish I had a decent house to live in.

2nd Miner You know I joined right away. We make our own plans and study costs of construction. And, Gee, it's going to be a swell looking place. They say folks are going to come from the United States to see it.

...

Enter Miner and Farmer

Farmer And did you hear of the grand meeting they've been having at Ben Eaoin? And it's everyone that's for cooperation up our way. Me aunt's husband was to the meeting. That will be Dan Archie McGinnis. And then there was Duncan John Angus MacEachern from French Road. You'll be knowing him. And if was the fine speech he made. I couldn't have done better myself. Dhoine, Dhoine! This Cooperation is a grand thing and maybe the way out for all of us.

Notes

¹ This Performance Inquiry was supported by Tompkinsville Playwright Lindsay Kyte and presented at the Centre for Regional Studies, St. Francis Xavier University during the conference Regional Studies and the Rural-urban Dynamic: An Interdisciplinary Perspective held 26 – 28 June 2008.

² Mary Arnold, *The story of Tompkinsville* (New York: The Cooperative League, 1940). See also Mary E. Arnold and Mabel Reed, *In the land of the grasshopper song* (New York: Vantage Press, 1957).

³ Rusty Neal, “‘A rough road to the stars’: Mary Ellicott Arnold, Reserve Mines, 1937-1939.” In *Brotherhood economics: Women and co-operatives in Nova Scotia* (Sydney, NS: UCCB Press, 1998), 125.

⁴ Richard MacKinnon, “Tompkinsville, Cape Breton Island: Co-operativism and Vernacular architecture,” *Material History Review*, 44 (1996): 50.

⁵ MacKinnon, “Tompkinsville,” 50 - 51.

⁶ Quoted in MacKinnon, “Tompkinsville,” 48.

⁷ Rusty Neal, “Mary Arnold (and Mabel Reed): Co-operative women in Nova Scotia, 1937-1939,” *Acadiensis*, 38, no. 1(1999): 58-70.

⁸ Robin L. Teske, “Political space: The importance of the inbetween,” in eds. Robin L. Teske & Mary Ann Tétreault, *Feminist approaches to social movements, community, and power: Conscious acts and the politics of social change*, Vol. 1 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 72-90.

⁹ Teske, “Political space,” 84.

¹⁰ Anne Alexander, *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and adult education today* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1997).

¹¹ See Neal, “Mary Arnold (and Mabel Reed)”: 59 and Neal, “‘A rough road to the stars,’” 13).

¹² Neal, “Mary Arnold (and Mabel Reed)”: 69

¹³ Mary Ellicott Arnold Papers, 1888-1970, RG 5/003, 30-09-1940, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Philadelphia, hereafter Arnold Papers.

¹⁴ Maria Tamboukou, *Women, education, and the self: A Foucauldian perspective* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).

¹⁵ See Dorothy A. Lander & John Graham-Pole, *Art as a determinant of health* (Antigonish, NS: National Collaborating Centre for Determinants of Health, 2008). Available from NCCDH (see www.nccdh.ca) and the resources page of the Arts & Humanities in Health and Medicine Program, University of Alberta: www.ahhm.med.ualberta.ca/Home/Resources).

¹⁶ See Dorothy A. Lander, “Mothers as popular educators,” in eds. Tara Fenwick, Tom Nesbit, & Bruce Spencer, *Contexts of adult education: Canadian perspectives* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 2006), 270 – 280; Dorothy A. Lander (2010), “The itinerant pulpit of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union: Teachers or preachers?” in ed. R. Ellison, *A new history of the sermon: The nineteenth century*, (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010), 367-412.

¹⁷ James W. Kuhn, “The misfit between organization theory and processional art: A comment on White and Strati,” *Organization: Essays on Aesthetics and Organization*, 3, no.2 (1996): 219-224.

¹⁸ Arnold Papers, 10-10-1939.

¹⁹ Cathy Crowe, *Dying for a home: Homeless activists speak out* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2007).

²⁰ As cited in MacKinnon, “Tompkinsville,” 49.

²¹ Arnold Papers, 3-14-1943.

²² See <http://www.tompkinsvilleplay.com/Lindsay-Kyte.html>.

²³ Arnold Papers, 28-12-1938.

²⁴ Neal, “Mary Arnold (and Mabel Reed)”: 58.

²⁵ Neal, “‘A rough road to the stars’”. See also Ida Delaney, *By their own hands: A fieldworker's account of the Antigonish Movement*. (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1985).

²⁶ MacKinnon, “Tompkinsville,” 52.

²⁷ Mary Laben in interview with Richard MacKinnon, “Tompkinsville,” 52.

²⁸ Arnold Papers.

²⁹ St. Francis Xavier University Archives, RG 30-2/1/121.

³⁰ St. Francis Xavier University Archives, RG 30-2/1/122.