

Pascal Costanzo and the Renovation of United States Route 25-E¹

Middlesboro lies in the extreme Southeastern corner of the state of Kentucky. It is nestled up against the Cumberland Gap, which provides a natural border between the states of Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. It is squarely situated in the heart of the Appalachian region of the United States. Its remote location in a heavily mountainous area makes it difficult to reach, and because of that, the area has suffered greatly. Floods from mountain runoff, chronic unemployment, and chaotic swings in the coal mining industry made the area “susceptible to more severe economic and population shifts than the rest of the nation.”²

When the Interstate Highway system began development after the signing of the 1956 Federal Highway Aid Act by Dwight Eisenhower, no plans were in place to bring the highway through Middlesboro, Kentucky. This left roads through and over the mountains near Middlesboro treacherous and underdeveloped, keeping the town as a remote Appalachian location. In the early 1960s, towns vied for access to the new Interstate Highway system and its promise of economic development to the areas which it passed. A local resident of Middlesboro by the name of Pascal Costanzo led a grass roots campaign for road development. He was a local businessman in the area who had the foresight to acknowledge that the town could not develop economically without a four lane road granting easier access.³

¹ I would like to thank all of those who helped me in this project, as I traveled on site to Middlesboro, Kentucky. My father, Joseph Longo, took the long drive from New Jersey, initiating conversation with several local people who I may have never spoken with. Miss Kimberley Wright, manager of the Holiday Inn Express (a Sammie Mars holding) got me in touch with the Mr. Sammie Mars, and provided fantastic historical photographs of the area. Mr. Tim Cornett, the lead historian at the Bell County Historical Society. Mr. James Madison, in the interest of historical preservation, raises money and continues the economic advancement of history in the Appalachian region. Mr. Bob Vaughn, a life long engineer in the state of Kentucky, gave amazing insight into Kentucky road systems. Thank you to Judge Robert V. Costanzo, son of Pascal Costanzo. Without his time and input none of the work here is possible. Mr. Sammie Mars, gave a candid interview of the economics of Middlesboro in the second half of the twentieth century. Finally thank you to all of those who stopped to talk with outside Yankees in the Appalachian country throughout the days in Middlesboro.

² United States Senate. *Summary and Analysis of the Legislative History of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and Subsequent Amendments. A report Prepared by the American Law Division of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress for the Committee on Environment and Public Works.* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office), 1.

³ Oral History of Robert Costanzo taken January 30, 2014. Robert Costanzo is the current Circuit Judge for Bell County, Kentucky. He is the son of Pascal Costanzo.

Middlesboro, Kentucky was founded in 1886 during the peak of the American Industrial Revolution. It was founded by Alexander Arthur, a distant relative of former President of the United States, Chester A. Arthur. Arthur envisioned Middlesboro becoming the “Pittsburgh of Appalachia,” and becoming a city of about a quarter million people because of the potential for industry. He planned for an unending supply of natural resources, particularly coal and iron, to come from the nearby mountains to support the industrial plants that he believed would grow in the area. He felt that railroads would come to the area to transport raw and finished materials to markets outside of the city, making area industrialists wealthy.⁴

While riding in a train filled with all of the area’s natural resources, the relentless campaigning by Alexander Arthur throughout the United States brought roughly five thousand people into the boom town by 1889, only three years after its founding.⁵ Believed to be located in an ancient meteor crater, the town was seemingly doomed from its inception by its topography, despite the quick increase in population. Prosperity was not seen through mining, manufacturing, oil, and gas but instead illicit activities. During the Great Depression and the World War II years, Middlesboro made its money by being a “wide open” town. The town was essentially the Wild West of Appalachia. Bars filled with whiskey, beer, home-made moonshine and prostitutes lined the streets. Fights and knife brawls occurred almost nightly and everyone was strapped with a pistol.⁶

Lifelong Middlesboro area resident, and local entrepreneur, Sammie Mars was one of the few that made money from the coal and gas industry and stayed in the area. His grandson, Sammie Mars III, stated that his family was in the oil business after the Second World War and employed many of the area’s residents with four plants located between Knoxville, Tennessee

⁴ Robert, L. Kincaid. *The Wilderness Road*. (New York, NY: Bobbs-Merrill Company), 322.

⁵ Robert, L. Kincaid. *The Wilderness Road*. (New York, NY: Bobbs-Merrill Company), 326-7, 329.

⁶ Lou DeRosett, *Middlesborough; The First Century*. (Jacksboro, Tennessee: Action Printing, LTD.), 134.

and Charleston, West Virginia. Shipping coal from Kentucky became more expensive and increasing environmental standards made it impossible to obtain permits to open new mines in the area. The bottom line was shrinking and mines throughout the area were closing. For the Mars family they were able to take their coal fortunes and pour it into other ventures over time, such as real estate, but for the majority of people in the Middlesboro area, moving or working in the coal mines were the only options. Veterans of the Second World War who were taught skills in the armed forces were able to move to Detroit, Cleveland, or other manufacturing cities to take part in the expanding American economy. For the unskilled or illiterate worker there were no alternatives.⁷

On top of the poor economic conditions, the roads through the Cumberland Gap and southeastern Kentucky were extremely dangerous. Bob Vaughn a consulting engineer, who worked for the state transportation cabinet in Kentucky for 47 years, believed that the extreme geography of the region helped aid the continued economic problems of Middlesboro. Those who traveled through the area were subject to deadly accidents passing through the Cumberland Gap. The old Route 25 wound through steep, mountain climbs to get from Tennessee to Kentucky with a complete lack of clear angles for sight that cost many lives in deadly collisions. In some cases cars and trucks fell off the mountain cliffs.⁸

At the beginning of the 1960s, Middlesboro, Kentucky was economically devastated and miners had nowhere to turn. Homer Bigart of the *New York Times* wrote that miners are “forced to live on Government handouts. Escape to the cities is not easy, for the average miner has no skill for other jobs. He is deficient in education. His native clannishness makes adjustment to

⁷ Oral History of Sammie Mars taken January 8, 2014. Sammie Mars is the owner of Mars Properties in Middlesboro, Kentucky, but lives in Harrogate, Tennessee. His holdings include two hotels and a self-storage site. He is a member of the Tennessee Turkey Hunter’s Hall of Fame.

⁸ Oral History of Mr. Bob Vaughn taken July 7, 2014. Vaughn worked for the Kentucky Transportation Cabinet for 47 years as a consulting engineer. Prior to the 1996 Cumberland Gap Tunnel project, the only option was to go around the Gap or blow up the Gap. The destruction of the Gap would have halted tourism for people who came to the area to see the Cumberland Gap National Park. A road that would destroy the gap would destroy what little economy Middlesboro had in the 1960s.

urban life painfully difficult.” Bigart goes on to report that the welfare system put in place in the area has left a once proud mountaineering people degraded and dispirited. Abled bodied men routinely left their wives and disappeared so it would be easier for the single mothers to obtain welfare checks.⁹

Getting involved in local and state politics in Kentucky in an attempt to change Appalachian life appeared to be futile. Local politics in Middlesboro, Kentucky during the 50s and 60s was competitive, but for the wrong reasons. Friends supported friends and ran against enemies and party lines were blurred in the interest of gaining political power just for the sake of the other contender not having it. It was locally labeled the “Fer and Agin” concept of politics. The candidate with the most local friends would win. Often, “the most important issues of the day were decided in the back rooms and many of the important office holders were mere figureheads.” Families of those who made their fortunes before the coal industry collapsed remained in power through local politics. With popularity and dynasty politics entrenched in Middlesboro, and impoverished conditions throughout Appalachia, it is no wonder that *New York Times* writer Homer Bigart concluded that local residents seemed “too listless, too beaten to be capable of political activism.”¹⁰

Pascal Costanzo stood out in an area where political activism was not the norm. He first began an attempt to gain a four lane highway from Middlesboro north to Ashland and the Ohio border, connecting with Interstate 64 at points, and also a highway to connect Middlesboro with Interstate 75. He was named the executive secretary for the Middlesboro Chamber of Commerce that wished to bring people to the area to give people “more direct access from the highly

⁹ Homer Bigart. “Kentucky Miners: A Grim Winter; Poverty, Squalor, and Idleness Prevail in Mountain Area.” *The New York Times*. October 20, 1963, 1, 79.

¹⁰ Lou DeRosett, *Middlesborough; The First Century*. Jacksboro, Tennessee: Action Printing, LTD., 144.

populated North and East to Knoxville, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and Cumberland Gap National Historical Park”¹¹ in the south.

In an area where politics were entrusted to families who have been in power for generations, Costanzo went out of Middlesboro and Bell County, and out of Kentucky altogether, straight to the White House for support for the roadway. Costanzo wrote a letter directly to the White House, not to President John F. Kennedy, but to his daughter Caroline. In the letters he urges a five year old Caroline to talk to her father to speak with him about the highway project. He tells Caroline that when she grows up, she “will be so happy that you had an active part in supporting a project such as this proposal so the people of Eastern Kentucky can then help themselves.”¹²

The letter received attention from Akron, Ohio to El Paso, Texas, putting the small town of Middlesboro on the map. Costanzo never received a reply from the five year old Caroline, but received a letter from Luther Hodges, U.S. Commerce Secretary asking that more information be sent to the Bureau of Public Roads on the matter. Letters were received in the form of an acknowledgement from the White House of the letter and a letter from John Sherman Cooper, United States Senator from Kentucky urging Costanzo to take the road issue to the state.¹³

The President was well aware of the issues of Appalachia and made a statement regarding them a month after Caroline received the letters from Pascal and Middlesboro residents. In a meeting in early April 1963, President Kennedy made remarks regarding Appalachia economic issues stating that the region was hit hardest by underdevelopment and “the economy of the

¹¹ “Eastern Kentucky Highway Proposed,” *Knoxville News Sentinel*, March 3, 1963.

¹² “Kentucky Tests Caroline’s Pull with Dad,” *Akron Beacon Journal*, March 11, 1963, 4.

¹³ “Caroline and Her Road Letter Begin Pulling Strings,” *Middlesboro Daily News*, March 16, 1963, 1.

Appalachian region has relied too long and too heavily on extractive industries supporting small, isolated communities,” referencing coal.¹⁴

Locally in Middlesboro the project began to gain steam. Letters from the Middlesboro high school as well as civic clubs in the area urged the President to take action to build the four lane highway from Middlesboro to Ashland. Hope of a new, modern road through town brought hopes of tourism to local business owners. People traveling through the area previously would stick “to the highway, hurrying through a region that offers few attractions and even fewer good restaurants” witnessing “only the usual disorder of coal country” and a destroyed landscape because of the coal industry.¹⁵

Also working in favor of Pascal’s plan was the recognition of the problem of isolation by the governors of Appalachian states. By the start of the decade, “Appalachia had become the largest, most densely populated lagging region in the United States.” The formation of the Conference of Appalachian Governors in 1961 attempted to take on the worst economic and social issues that posed a problem for all of Appalachia. The focus of the seven governor coalition was the transportation issues that plagued the region due to its relative isolation. The unique problem of being located in between two areas of commerce, the eastern seaboard and the Mississippi Basin, led the governors to believe that industry had bypassed the region because of its geography and its limited highway system. The timing was right for Costanzo’s local project to gain favor at the federal level.¹⁶

In November 1963, Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt announced a federal plan to reduce Appalachian poverty, although the announcement was made from the

¹⁴ Kennedy, John. F. “Remarks at a Meeting to Consider the Economic Problems of the Appalachian Region, April 9 1963.” *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, John F. Kennedy, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to November 22 1963*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 317-18.

¹⁵ Homer Bigart. “Kentucky Miners: A Grim Winter; Poverty, Squalor, and Idleness Prevail in Mountain Area.” *The New York Times*. October 20, 1963, 1.

¹⁶ Ralph R. Widner. “Transport Investment and Appalachian Development.” *Public Administration Review*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (May-June, 1973), 225-6.

famed Bluegrass Region of Kentucky. Roosevelt stated that the plan would focus mostly on highway construction along with an expansion of timber manufacturing and the cattle industry to ease the sting of the closing of coal mines.¹⁷ The President's Appalachian Regional Commission, also known as PARC, was appointed by President Kennedy a mere ten days before his assassination. They were scheduled to begin working with the Conference of Appalachian Governors to develop a highway program.¹⁸ Pascal Costanzo wanted his highway to be part of the PARC initiative.

Unfortunately, shortly after the announcement of the plan to fight poverty in early November 1963, the plan to build a new north-south four lane toll road from Middlesboro to Ashland in the state of Kentucky appeared to stall. In a letter written to Costanzo from President's Appalachian Regional Commission, Franklin D. Roosevelt, it appeared that any project for a toll-road would be put on hold. Roosevelt writes to Costanzo that the toll road through the state would be the responsibility of the state, and not the federal government. The only role the federal government would have in the process was to ensure that the new toll-road did not interfere with any free interstate highways in the area. Roosevelt did offer a glimmer of hope stating that the Appalachian Regional Commission would consider the route in conjunction with "the transportation needs of the Appalachian area."¹⁹ The Governor of Tennessee, Frank G. Clement gave Pascal the most hope in a letter dated November 29, 1963 that stated that a special program for the Appalachian region would take place to develop new roads and fix old roads.²⁰

¹⁷ Homer Bigart. "U.S. Reveals Plan to Fight Appalachian Poverty," *The New York Times*. November 13, 1963, 26.

¹⁸ Ralph R. Widner. "Transport Investment and Appalachian Development." *Public Administration Review*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (May-June, 1973), 226.

¹⁹ Letter written to Pascal Costanzo from Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. dated July 13, 1963.

²⁰ Letter written to Pascal Costanzo from Tennessee Governor Frank G. Clement dated November 29, 1963. The governor of Tennessee was one of seven state governors in Appalachia that formed the Conference of Appalachian Governors. Their focus was to fight the economic and developmental problems of the region which transcended state lines. See Widner, Ralph R. "Transport Investment and Appalachian Development." *Public Administration Review*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (May-June, 1973), 225.

Perhaps feeling as though he had a better chance to secure funding to fix old roads instead of building a new road, Pascal Costanzo shifted his approach late in 1963 to fixing U.S. Route 25-E, a north south route through Middlesboro connecting it with Knoxville, Tennessee. It was not a new concept. In July 1960 the *Middlesboro Daily News* ran a story suggesting a modernization of 25-E to connect the Cumberland Gap area with Interstate 75, 45 miles to the northwest of town. The fear was that travelers would completely avoid the area if Interstate 75 took travelers to points north such as Cincinnati and Lexington and points south such as Knoxville and Atlanta. The modernization of, 25-E, on the other hand, would provide tourists an easy way to the Cumberland Gap and further south into the Smoky Mountains. Without the connection, the writer mused, small towns away from the highway were “in danger of becoming perhaps ghost towns or close to it.”²¹

Pascal Costanzo, working with Corbin, Kentucky, a city off of Interstate 75, began to send telegrams in droves to the Kentucky State House. Costanzo, making the pledge saying “we’re going all the way,” began calling on Kentucky governor Edward T. Breathitt to fulfill the campaign promise to develop route 25-E into a modern, four-lane highway so Middlesboro would be attached to Corbin and Interstate 75.²² Regardless of the signed statements to the Middlesboro Chamber of Commerce from Breathitt making the promise for a redeveloped 25-E, the Kentucky governor flat out denied his campaign pledge that reconstructing the route was of top priority. He told the Chamber that the money to fix the highway was unavailable. There was no arguing the denial. The letter was reprinted verbatim with Breathitt’s denial on the front page.

²¹ “Interstate Feeder to U.S. 25-E.” *The Middlesboro Daily News* July 22, 1960, 5.

²² “Wires Go to Governor on 25-E.” *Middlesboro Daily News*, December 27, 1963, 1

The governor simply stated “I did not say that I would favor placing modernization of US 25-E.”²³

Despite the bad news from Breathitt in January 1964, the United States Congress kept working towards a plan to make “Costanzo’s Dream” into reality. Bank official and former Congressman from Virginia Thomas B. Fugate took up the charge. He wished to add to 25-E by extending a roadway up to Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia with a southern terminus at a welcome center for the Cumberland Gap National Park. Fugate titled it the Allegheny Parkway.²⁴

Tennessee senators Herbert Walters and Albert Gore jumped on the bandwagon to fix 25-E by renovating the dilapidated roadway from Middlesboro to Morristown, Tennessee. They received backing from their constituents as sixty residents of nearby Tazewell backed the campaign by creating stickers to put on cars.²⁵

With support from Congress for a new highway system in Appalachia from several current and former senators and representatives, Governor Edward Breathitt changed course and publically supported the highway after denying his pledge to fix the road just months earlier. He believed that new roadways throughout the region would “strike at the very heart of poverty.” Breathitt was hopeful, believing that “transformation of an area that is rich in natural and human resources, but lacking in opportunity, into a prosperous region that is self-sustaining and capable of providing a happy place to live for its citizens and a region that can contribute its share to the well being on the our nation,”²⁶ was possible. 25-E was central to that transformation.

This made Pascal fight even harder on the local level for the improvements to make the area more accessible. He did not take for granted the support of government officials, as he was

²³ “Breathitt Denies Pledge of Priority on U.S. 25-E” *Middlesboro Daily News*. February 25, 1964, 1.

²⁴ “Fugate Says highways are needed to Develop Tri-State Potential,” *Middlesboro Daily News*. March 4, 1964, 1.

²⁵ “25E Push in Tennessee is Cited,” *Middlesboro Daily News*. July 7, 1964.

²⁶ Edward T. Breathitt. *The Public Papers of the Governors of Kentucky – Edward .T Breathitt 1963-1967*. ed. Robert F Sexton. Lexington, Kentucky: the University Press of Kentucky, 207.

burned once before by Governor Breathitt. In classic Costanzo style he knew how to get attention with the written word. During a football game in September 1964, he released a pamphlet on a crowd of Corbin, Kentucky high school football fans as a declaration of war. He also sent this declaration of war to the War Department in Washington D.C., The Bureau of Public Roads, the Kentucky Statehouse, and to over one hundred other elected officials and executives. Pascal declared himself the “Minister of Highway Wars” and reignited the campaign to see the highway fixed. The revamped war on highways by the new Minister of Highway Wars got the attention of the Kentucky state legislature. They passed a unanimous resolution to ensure that highway 25-E would receive attention in southeastern Kentucky.²⁷

Shortly after war was declared by Pascal, the Middlesboro Chamber of Commerce received notification from the White House in November of 1964 that the Appalachian Bill to fix roadways was not dead and talks would resume in the first congressional session of 1965. The Appalachian Bill presented during the session included “Costanzo’s Dream” highway improvements for U.S. 25-E because of Pascal’s involvement.²⁸ Anticipation for the highway continued to build as plans for the route were being developed in late November. Tennessee Programming Engineer Leon T. Cantrell wrote to Pascal and the Middlesboro Chamber of Commerce that the update of the roadway was in the budget for the fiscal year of 1965-66.²⁹

Not one to sit idly by Pascal Costanzo was behind a number of gimmicks to ensure that support for U.S. 25-E by Middlesboro residents didn’t wane while Congress was attempting to pass the bill. He knew how to keep the pressure on. In January of 1965 residents of Middlesboro, Kentucky began wearing masks, signaling that they were ready for when “construction of an improved U.S. 25-E gets under way and the dust starts flying.” Costanzo elected to have

²⁷ “War Declared on U.S. 25-E by City Chamber of Commerce.” *Middlesboro Daily News*. September 19, 1964, 1.

²⁸ “Humphry Tells chamber Roads On High Priority.” *Middlesboro Daily News*. November 7, 1964.

²⁹ “Hopes Revived for Updating of U.S. 25-E.” *Middlesboro Daily News*. November 28, 1964.

Clarence “Bo” Green create a sign in the shape of a clock with the slogan “It’s 25-E Time.” The slogan showed up on a symbol for the movement, a US highway route shield with the words in bold on the front.³⁰ In the spring of 1965 television and movie actor Lee Majors, a Middlesboro resident, became the National Publicity Director for the Middlesboro Chamber of Commerce.”³¹

Congress passed the Appalachian Regional Development Act in March of 1965, bringing forth a federally sponsored program to improve roadways and the overall economy of the Appalachian region. Although not in the original planning of the Development Highway system, U.S. 25-E was added to the bill because of “the care and work of great many people in the Cumberland Valley,” including Pascal Costanzo and the Middlesboro Chamber of Commerce.³² Middlesboro would be included on Corridor 5 of the new Appalachian Development Highway System with the hopes of bringing economic development to the Cumberland Valley of Kentucky and Tennessee. The renovations of 25-E connected Middlesboro southbound with Interstate 81 near Knoxville, Tennessee, not Interstate 75 as Pascal had hoped, but this was a minor setback in the overall accomplishment of Costanzo. To the north the new Appalachian highway would connect with Charleston, West Virginia.³³

The immediate economic impact of the renovation of U.S. 25-E saw travel time from Middlesboro to Charleston, West Virginia reduced by 46% and travel time from Middlesboro to Knoxville, Tennessee reduced by nearly 27%. In the first four years after the passing of the act, Appalachia employment grew faster than the national average. Manufacturing grew in the area as companies were able to ship goods without the hassle of dangerous Appalachian roads. A metric

³⁰ “New Clock Established Saying ‘It’s 25E Time,’” *Middlesboro Daily News*. January 2, 1965.

³¹ Letter from Lee Majors to Pascal Costanzo and the Middlesboro Chamber of Commerce, April 19, 1965.

³² Breathitt, Edward T. *The Public Papers of the Governors of Kentucky – Edward .T Breathitt 1963-1967*. ed. Robert F Sexton. Lexington, Kentucky: the University Press of Kentucky, 181.

³³ Breathitt, Edward T. *The Public Papers of the Governors of Kentucky – Edward .T Breathitt 1963-1967*. ed. Robert F Sexton. Lexington, Kentucky: the University Press of Kentucky, 217-9. As of 2014 this section of roadway is now designated as two separate corridors, Corridor F and Corridor S.

known as the Economic Interaction Index, measuring wholesale trade against highway travel time, saw a 12% increase in cash and goods exchange in the area.³⁴

Pascal Costanzo passed away suddenly of a heart attack on May 21, 1966 at the young age of 44. In an economically depressed area suffering from isolation since the founding of the nation, Pascal took it upon himself to begin a grass roots political campaign in an area where political dynasties and favoritism ran rampant.³⁵ His dedication to improving the roadway of southeastern Kentucky made many to believe that he had “tackled a rather hopeless project” when he began to work towards the modernization of U.S. 25-E, or what *The Lexington Herald* called “Costanzo’s Dream.”³⁶ He was a local political activist in the early and middle 1960s during an era that saw several political rallies on the national level, particularly dealing with Civil Rights issues. His unorthodox style of emailing the daughter of the president and declaring war on highways brought attention to Middlesboro, Kentucky from the federal government, resulting in the modernizing of roads and the hope that an economically successful Cumberland Gap region would develop.³⁷ Governor Edward T. Breathitt spoke of Pascal Costanzo as a person that “typified the confident leadership we have in our state.”³⁸ For his effort, Bert T. Combs, former governor of Kentucky and Justice in Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals at the time of the passing of the Appalachian Act, presented Pascal Costanzo with a pen used to sign the bill.³⁹

³⁴ Ralph R. Widner. “Transport Investment and Appalachian Development.” *Public Administration Review*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (May-June, 1973), 230-1.

³⁵ “Rites Held Today for Pascal Costanzo, Jr.,” *Middlesboro Daily News*. May 23, 1966, 1.

³⁶ “Cities Begin Fight For I-Traffic,” *The Lexington Herald*. January 2, 1964, 1.

³⁷ “Rites Held Today for Pascal Costanzo, Jr.,” *Middlesboro Daily News*. May 23, 1966, 1.

³⁸ “Breathitt Praises Costanzo,” *Middlesboro Daily News*. May 28, 1966, 1.

³⁹ Letter from Bert. T. Combs to Pascal Costanzo, May 26, 1965.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bigart, Homer. "Kentucky Miners: A Grim Winter; Poverty, Squalor, and Idleness Prevail in Mountain Area." *The New York Times*. October 20, 1963

Bigart, Homer. "U.S. Reveals Plan to Fight Appalachian Poverty," *The New York Times*. November 13, 1963, 26.

Breathitt, Edward T. *The Public Papers of the Governors of Kentucky – Edward .T Breathitt 1963-1967*. ed. Robert F Sexton. (Lexington, Kentucky: the University Press of Kentucky, 1984).

Kennedy, John. F. "Remarks at a Meeting to Consider the Economic Problems of the Appalachian Region, April 9 1963." *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, John F Kennedy, Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President, January 1 to November 22 1963*. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1964).

United States Senate. *Summary and Analysis of the Legislative History of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and Subsequent Amendments. A report Prepared by the American Law Division of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress for the Committee on Environment and Public Works*. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, February 1985.)

Secondary Sources

DeRosett, Lou. *Middlesborough; The First Century*. (Jacksboro, Tennessee: Action Printing, LTD., 1988).

Kincaid, Robert L. *The Wilderness Road*. (New York, NY: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1947)

Widner, Ralph R. "Transport Investment and Appalachian Development." *Public Administration Review*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (May-June, 1973), 225-235.

Periodicals

Akron Beacon Journal

The El Paso Times

Knoxville News Sentinel

The Lexington Herald

Louisville Courier-Journal

Middlesboro Daily News

The New York Times

Interviews

Mr. James Madison, Bell County Historical Society, Middlesboro, Kentucky
Mr. Sammie Mars, owner of Sammie Mars Holdings in Middlesboro, Kentucky
Mr. Robert Costanzo, Circuit Judge, Bell County, Kentucky, 44th Judicial Circuit
Mr. Bob Vaughn, Consulting Engineer of the State Transportation Department of Kentucky