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PROBLEMS CONFRONTING PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY WORK
AMONG SOUTHERN HIGHLANDERS

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INTRODUCTION

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY WORK
AMONG SOUTHERN HIGHLANDERS

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

The Southern Highlanders are a people who know well the story of God's salvation as manifested in Jesus Christ. Their ancestors were the Protestants who left Europe to seed a new land in which they could worship God as they pleased. From the beginning they established their own churches in the Highlands and their religion has continued to this present day.

The problem which stimulated this study is suggested by the words of John C. Campbell in his book, The Southern Highlander And His Homeland.

In no part of our country will one find a more deep and sincere interest in matters of religion than in the Southern Highlands. The "infidel" is so rare that the term is almost anathema. Even he who is confessedly "wicked" believes in the Deity, and has a rather definite theory of life and of the course necessary for salvation--a state to which he intends in a general way to attain some day.¹

For a year during 1949 and 1950 the writer was located in the mountains of Kentucky and had opportunity to gain some knowledge of the people. At that time three questions were brought to mind. First. How was it that nearly all of these people were of the conservative Christian faith untouched by the liberal theology which had become prevalent in many

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1. John C. Campbell: The Southern Highlander and His Homeland, p. 176.

parts of the United States? Second. In view of this belief, which was apparently widely accepted among the people, why were there such glaring inconsistencies as tolerance of law-breaking, murder, illicit distilling of whiskey, drunkenness, illegitimacy, and a general low standard of living? Not that the lack of these things is necessarily an indication that a community is Christian, but certainly the presence of them to any great degree brings doubt concerning the genuineness of their Christianity. Third. Since these contradictions did exist, what were the implications for the Christian worker who desired to bring to these people the message of the Gospel of Christ with its inferences for this life as well as for the life to come?

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to discover the exact nature of problems involved in Christian work with the Southern Highlander and to examine some of the methods which have been used successfully in dealing with them.

B. Significance of the Study

About twenty-five years ago Horace Kephart, in his book, Our Southern Highlanders, wrote the following:

Here, then, is Appalachia: one of the great landlocked areas of the globe, more English in speech than Britain itself, more American by blood than any other part of America, encompassed by a high-tensioned civilization, yet less affected to-day by modern ideas, less cognizant of modern progress, than any other part of the English-speaking world.¹

This condition of isolation from the rest of the world produced problems which were unique. Today their isolation is rapidly changing. Commercialism has found its way into many parts of the mountains so

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1. Horace Kephart: Our Southern Highlanders, p. 454.

that the people are facing new problems of adjustment. But in some places the old difficulties are still in existence and therefore need to be understood before the missionary can present a vital Christian message which the people will find relevant to every part of life.

This study should be profitable for the writer or anyone who intends to enter into Christian service with people whose established ways must be understood in the light of their cause before there can be successful Christian work.

C. Delimitation of the Subject

In making a study such as this it is necessary to clarify the ground to be covered. Campbell defines the area known as the Southern Highlands in the following way:

...a part of the great Appalachian province which extends from New York to central Alabama. Within the boundaries of this territory are included the four western counties of Maryland; the Blue Ridge Valley, and Allegheny Ridge counties of Virginia; all of Carolina; the four northwestern counties of South Carolina; northern Georgia; and northeastern Alabama.¹

The eastern belt is the Blue Ridge Mountain Range. To the west is the belt known as the Allegheny-Cumberland or Appalachian Plateau. Between the two lies the Greater Appalachian Valley. The latter is more truly
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a valley-ridge than a valley as such.

Since printed material is limited, questionnaires have been sent to the twelve missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., and the
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Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. However, since this division of the church

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1. Campbell, op. cit., p. 10.
2. Cf. Ibid. p. 12.
3. A sample of the questionnaire sent to the workers of the twelve missions and a list of the missions included in the questionnaire will be found in the appendix.

is not a significant one in this particular study, the missions included in the third chapter will all be grouped under Presbyterian Church.

Four of the missions have been selected. They are Big Stone Gap, Virginia of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.; Big Lick, Tennessee; Buckhorn, Kentucky; and Morris Fork, Kentucky of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. The reasons for the limitation of the study to these four are:

First. The writer's concern is to find those missions which to the greatest degree have had to confront the problems which stimulated this study. Those communities which have had the privilege of acquaintance with civilization due to good roads, cars, electricity, and other modern conveniences to the greatest extent and over the longest period of time are not so likely to have the problems which are a result of extreme isolation and its attending problems. It should be clearly understood that the mountaineer is no longer a "hill-billy" in the sense of not knowing what is taking place in the outside world. However, civilization has not entered to such an extent or for sufficient length of time that the old individualistic attitudes, ethics, and religion are completely obliterated. As long as these exist there will be problems for the Christian worker which are different than those problems of just any rural community. Second. The four areas were chosen with the idea of having as many states as possible represented. However, there was not adequate material on some of them to deal with them in the desired manner. Third. Because of the similarity of problems encountered and methods used by many of the missions, it will be unnecessary to repeat what has already been found merely for the sake of

including another mission.

D. Method of Procedure

No problem can be dealt with until there is knowledge of and insight into the basic reasons for such difficulties. Therefore, the first chapter purposes to study the factors involved in understanding the Southern Highlander. The second chapter will contain a brief account of the beginnings of the Presbyterian Missions in the Southern Highlands with the idea of gaining a picture of the general problems met when the work was started. The third chapter will be the study of actual situations on the field to learn their method of approach to the problems which confront them in bringing the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Highlander.

E. Sources of Data

The sources for this study will include books¹, pamphlets, bulletins, periodicals, and printed letters received from the National Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. and the Division of Home Missions, Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. and from the missionaries of these two groups. The questionnaires received from the missionaries as well as the writer's own experience are also sources of information.

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1. The books used for the first chapter of this study were all written before 1933. No book or information of any kind considered authoritative on the subject of the Social and Economic condition of the Southern Highlander written since this time could be located.

CHAPTER I

THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN UNDERSTANDING THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER

CHAPTER I
THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN UNDERSTANDING THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER

A. Introduction

The people of the Southern Highlands can be understood only by studying something of their ancestral background, for the customs and attitudes which were brought with them from Europe have been retained. Their environment also must be understood, for it is the extreme case of isolation from the rest of America for many years that has preserved their ancestral characteristics. In many parts of the mountains the telephone, roads, buses, and cars have entered to combat the isolated conditions, yet there are still areas not affected by such modern changes.¹ It is only in studying the unique situation of these people that a true insight may be gained of the problems which are theirs.

This first chapter, then, proports to examine the factors involved in understanding the Southern Highlander.

B. Inherent Factors Which Influenced Character
and Culture of the Highlander

1. The Ancestors of the Southern Highlander.

a. Ancestors Identified.

To a great extent the ancestors of the Southern Highlander can be only a conjecture, for the people do not know themselves.

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1. Elizabeth R. Hooker: Religion in the Highlands, p. 60.

Campbell says:

Inquiries of the Highlanders themselves as to family history and racial stock rarely bring a more definite answer than that grandparents or great-grandparents came from North Carolina or Virginia, occasionally from Pennsylvania, and that they "reckon" their folks were 'English,' 'Scotch,' or 'Irish'-- any of which designations may mean Scotch-Irish -- or 'Dutch,' which may and usually does mean German.¹

In some areas of the Highlands there is a predominance of Scotch-Irish, in others is found mostly English, and in still different regions the strongest element is German. There are also Irish, and French Huguenots, but of all these the Scotch-Irish, English and
2
Germans seem to be the foremost in number.

The important thing is that most of the Southern Highlanders are descendants of native born settlers who all endured like hardships
3
and trials and have become a homogenous group.

b. Reasons For Leaving.

Of the three most important racial stocks represented in the Highlands, each had revolted against the medieval Roman Catholic Church and had as a result been persecuted. The seed for migration of the English people started with the Lollard movement and the strong persecution which ensued. They finally left England when, in 1660, Parliament commenced to make it difficult for the non-conformists.
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The migration continued until 1688.

The German people were first persecuted for their protests

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1. Campbell, Op. cit., p. 51.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 65.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 71.
4. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 16.

against the Roman Catholic Church in the time of John Hus. After the Reformation, the stronger Protestant bodies made it difficult for the smaller sects which had grown up so that they began to leave different parts of Germany late in the seventeenth century. This migration reached its climax around 1710 and did not cease until the American¹ Revolution.

The Scotch-Irish were so called because they were of Scotch blood and had settled in the northern part of Ireland. The time arrived when they came into conflict with James I of England who had originally allowed them to go to Ireland. They suffered both from the attempts of the English Throne to enforce religious uniformity and from serious economic difficulties. They began to migrate from northern Ireland around 1714, and continued until the American² Revolution.

Although there was a difference in race, language, denomination, Church government, and doctrine, all of these people who migrated to America having passed through much the same experience developed similar characteristics. Hooker states that

...They had developed to an unusual degree certain sturdy traits of character -- courage, hardihood, integrity and persistence... Most important of all, perhaps, they were all folk that tended to see the unpopular side, to differ with the average man, in short to be individualists. Finally, the fact that in spite of obstacles they had taken the tremendous leap into the dark that emigration must have seemed in those days, bespeaks in them unusual ambition and initiative.³

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1. Cf. Ibid., pp. 20-23.
2. Cf. Ibid., pp. 18-20.
3. Ibid., p. 25.

c. Place of Settlement.

The English came nearly a century before the Highlands were settled and were for a time in New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia in the lowlands, and in North Carolina. Few Germans arrived before 1709, but by 1720 many were coming and settling in south-eastern Pennsylvania. Shortly after the Germans came, the Scotch-Irish migration reached the land of America and many of them also settled in Pennsylvania only farther west.

Grants of land opened and Germans, Scotch-Irish, and a few English went into the north-eastern end of the great Appalachian Valley, and the larger river valleys of this area.

The valley farther south and west was not settled so quickly because of the danger from Indians and the unfavorable rough country. Many turned and followed the Roanoke River through the Blue Ridge and into the Carolina Piedmont where they mixed with the French Huguenots and Scotch who had entered from Wilmington, North Carolina, and Charleston, South Carolina.

Gradually, however, the south-west was settled. People came from Pennsylvania into the narrow valleys to the east of the Great Valley, and settlers from the Carolina Piedmont commenced to move¹ west into the mountains.

The fame of the land in eastern Tennessee spread to the eastern mountain settlements in North Carolina by Daniel Boone and

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1. Cf., Horace Kephart: Our Southern Highlanders., pp. 437-440.

other hunters who had gone there for game. The first permanent settlement in Tennessee was between 1768 and 1769, by the people¹ from the North Carolina mountains and the valleys of Virginia.

Kentucky began to be settled in 1775. However, the people did not tarry in the Highlands but went on into the Blue Grass section.

Between 1790 and 1850 large numbers from Pennsylvania stopped coming. One reason was that there were fewer of them to come. The second reason was that other routes west had opened up. A variety of people started to come into the Highlands from this time on. Some² of these late comers were of inferior stock. For the most part there was little homesteading of the mountain ridges until after 1800. Slowly, however, people did start moving in and many discovered fair and rich coves for tillage.

By 1830 about a million settlers had come to Southern³ Appalachia, still chiefly from the same three dominant stocks, Scotch-Irish, German, and English. Campbell records the results, not claimed to be conclusive, of a name study which was made early in the twentieth century of 1200 names. The Scotch, Scotch-Irish, and Irish names were all put under the heading, Scotch-Irish. Where a name was familiar in both England and Ireland, it was headed as English.

Of the 497 names on our list from North Carolina, the English and Scotch-Irish appear to have formed each about one-third;

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1. Cf. Ibid., p. 440.
2. Cf. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 47-48.
3. Cf. Kephart, op. cit., pp. 442-443.

of the 228 from Tennessee the same proportion held; of the 360 from Kentucky, the English constituted four-tenths, and the Scotch-Irish three-tenths. The Germans showed their greatest strength in North Carolina, where they formed one-fifth of the entire number. In Tennessee they constituted one-seventh, in Kentucky but one-twelfth. There were a small number of Welsh in each state, chiefly in Kentucky, a few French, and a few strays from other countries. In Georgia, of 182 names, English and Scotch-Irish formed each about 40 per cent, German 19 per cent, and the remainder were Welsh or unidentified.¹

2. The Religion of the Southern Highlander.

a. The Religion of Their Ancestors.

Protestantism was from the start the prevailing religion in the mountains. Seldom are Roman Catholics found among the Highlanders.

The Scotch-Irish who came were the majority of them Presbyterian. The Germans were mostly Luthern, Moravian, and Reformed. However, in the mountains many of these latter had no ministers of their own so they joined other denominations, especially the Presbyterian denomination.² At the beginning the English migrants were Puritans or Independents.

The people who settled in the mountains tried to establish churches. The German Lutherns, and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, often settled in colonies. Sometimes there would be a minister in their midst but often there was not. They sent appeals to Europe or to older colonies in the East for ministers and soon "Circuit-Riders" were ministers who made their rounds of each colony or settlement in the mountains at intervals and ministered to the people. But even

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1. Campbell, op. cit., p. 65.
2. Cf. Ibid., pp. 552-553.

with this help, the scattered population, long distances between churches and scarcity of trained ministers made it difficult for the Christian people to maintain their denominational standards.¹

b. Colonial Day Attitudes.

Some of the migrants from Europe who reached the land of America found upon their arrival that the first group of immigrants who had come were already trying to establish a state church and impose taxes. When these people finally reached the mountains, they were forever shut off from any such trouble, but their pioneer life was to raise new problems.² A summary of the points stated by Hooker are as follows:

First. The Jack-of-all-trades idea for everything else in life soon penetrated into the ministry so that a lay minister, untrained and uneducated, was accepted easily. Second. The scattered churches and inability of one to commune with the other gradually caused a deposing of the central church government policy to the congregational and independent church government. Third. The opportunity for a rare social gathering became a real treat for these people so that great emphasis was put on group gathering and especially on the preaching part of the service.³ Fourth. Due to the various denominations of different races and the denominations which sprang

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1. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 36.
2. Cf. Roderick Peattie (ed.), The Great Smokies and the Blue Ridge, p. 134.
3. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

up through the "Circuit Riders," there came to be a wide diversity¹ of beliefs and controversy became widespread.

c. Belief Divorced From Life.

The true story is told of an old-timer of the mountains who admitted in court that both he and a minister had marked a false corner-tree which was involved in an important land-suit. He was asked, "Do you consider it consistent with his profession as a minister of the Gospel to forge corner-trees?" The reply was, 'Aw,... religion ain't got nothin' to do with corner-trees!'"² Often the Bible which the Highlander loved to quote out of its context became a mental sword against his neighbor instead of a light to his own life. In fact, religion was the favorite topic of discussion, and the individualism of the mountaineer often came out in his interpretation of the Scriptures.³

Perhaps some of their lack of enthusiasm for a Christianity that would change their lives, and their passive acceptance of circumstances can be understood. The natural forces with which the pioneer of the Highlands had to contend continually, and their strong belief in predestination, which bordered on fatalism, should be considered important influences in the development of this attitude.⁴

d. Emotionalism.

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1. Cf. Ibid., p. 48.
2. Kephart, op. cit., pp. 346-347.
3. Cf. Peattie, op. cit., pp. 136-137.
4. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 48.

The isolation of the mountains and the long struggle for existence with no break of any kind produced a craving for excitement which made for great emotionalism. This emotionalism became a strong factor in their religion. They put the utmost stress on an expected¹ emotional feeling accompanying personal salvation.

In their meetings they are subject to noisy and exultant forms as shouting, bodily contortions, and hypnotic suggestions. Visions, dreams, and omens played an important part in their religion.

Campbell gives the following illustration:

An elderly woman, known to the writer, was deeply affronted because the preacher who had officiated at her son's funeral had taken the occasion to emphasize his own convictions on baptism. The soul of the boy, he said, was lost, because although he had been a mighty good boy and had prayed on his death-bed, he had never been baptized. The mother thereupon had a vision, in which her son appeared and declared that he was not going to have any preacher standing over his grave saying he was lost, when his soul was shining bright as any star. The offices of a new and young preacher must be secured, who should preach another sermon and tell the assembled people of the mother's experience. These directions were followed.²

C. Character and Culture Influenced by Environment

1. Isolation.

Probably isolation is more responsible for the prevailing ancient religious attitudes and practices in the Highlands than any other one factor. Complete isolation is no longer the case, but there is still the difficulty of communication or accessibility from the outside world in some areas. Often, too, they are separated

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1. Cf. Ibid., p. 180.

2. Campbell, op. cit., p. 180.

from one another by steep hills, river beds, and rough or no roads!¹

a. Developed Independence.

At the beginning of these settlements in the Highlands, isolation was forced on the Highlander so that he was compelled to rely on himself. Gradually he came to like this isolation and independence. The reason many of the people never moved westward was that the independence which was theirs through isolation appealed to them then just as it did when they made their initial move from Europe.²

This high-spirited and independent attitude of the people makes it difficult sometimes for any one from the outside who tries to help him change his manner of living.

b. Developed His Natural Ability.

The isolation of the mountain regions cut off family from family so that each group had only themselves to look to for protection and sustenance. Every man of the family had to be able to do all things well enough to maintain his own household. In many ways this condition produced a rather low standard of excellence.³

c. Developed Individualism in Ethical Code.

(1) Clannishness.

In the open country where little social relationship was known apart from house to house visiting with one's relatives, co-operation with one's neighbors was almost unheard of.⁴ To

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1. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
2. Cf. Kephart, op. cit., p. 445.
3. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 35.
4. Cf. Ibid., p. 58.

compensate for this lack of unity, a strong feeling for family and kindred was developed.

During their early years in the mountains the law was very weak so that kindred looked to kindred for help. In some places the clan spirit still exists as a stronger force than the law. Such a spirit definitely interferes with a real execution of justice. In his book, Churches of Distinction in Town and Country, Edmund Des Brunner states:

When the whole mountain population is so closely interrelated that the accused must of necessity be tried by a jury consisting of his own or his victim's relations, there is little prospect of obtaining justice from a court.¹

(2) Feud-Spirit.

A feud in the narrow sense of the word is an armed war between families with each one trying to either drive out or completely obliterate the other. The Civil War had much to do with this trouble. While the men were away, bushwackers and bandits preyed on homes and left with the people the remembrance of private grudges and wrongs done by neighbors. After the war was over, the states to which these mountainous areas belonged withdrew from them. The Federal government did wrong by imposing excise taxes on the Highlanders who felt they were unfair. Kephart says:

Left, then, to their own devices, unchecked by any stronger arm, inflamed by a multitude of personal wrongs, habituated to the shedding of human blood, contemptuous of State laws that did not reach them, enraged by Federal acts that impugned, as they thought, an inalienable right of man, it was

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1. Edmund DeS Brunner: Churches of Distinction in Town and Country, p. 115.

inevitable that this fiery and vindictive race should fall speedily into warring among themselves. Old scores were now to be wiped out in a reign of terror. The open combat of bannered war was turned into the secret ferocity of family feuds.¹

Another major cause of feuds is drunkenness. With the influence of whiskey the men may start fights over such little things as a card game, a woman, or political disagreements.

(3) A Law Unto Themselves.

To quote again from Churches of Distinction in Town and Country, it says of the mountain people:

In their isolation they have for so long waged warfare in order to survive against the laws of a relentless prodigal nature that, having triumphed and successfully controlled them, they are not readily amenable to the laws of man. They have for so long been a law to themselves in the course of their long isolation in these mountain fastnesses that the slow and distant machinery of law and justice irks their sensitive and passionate temperament.²

The Highlander has developed a distrust for the courts. There are few of them who have not been in a court at some time in some capacity so he knows what goes on and expects to fight cunningly, for he figures it is one clan against another.³

There is good as well as bad in the ethical code of the Highlander. Feuds are limited to their own people so that the only danger in traveling in the mountains is to meet up with a man wild with liquor. Their hospitality is unprecedented and they do not like to take money for food and lodging from any who stay in their homes. Stealing and robbery are almost unheard of. Campbell states that:

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1. Kephart, op. cit., p. 450.
2. Brunner, op. cit., p. 115.
3. Cf. Kephart, op. cit., pp. 393-394.

The types of crime predominant among native rural Highlanders may in general be designated as those arising from a high degree of individualism. They are the crimes of a people hot-blooded and high-tempered, jealous of their rights, and lacking all training in self-restraint-- a people, in other words, intensely independent but not debased nor decadent.¹

(4) Morals.

There are few social gatherings in the neighborhoods of the Highlands and many times even these are preached against as sinful. Dancing is so often connected with drinking and shooting that it is usually looked down on by the good church-going crowd. The illegitimacy present in the mountains is a result of the closeness of living conditions in the home, the early knowledge of the ways of sex, and loose ideas as to the restriction of sex play. All of these conditions are now being changed throughout the mountains by boys and girls who have gone away to school and demand its remedy² when they return.

2. Resources.

Campbell speaks of the attitude of the people in the mountains toward the resources of the land in this way:

... the mountaineer has followed all too literally ... (the) Bible injunction-- to take no thought for the morrow. In the past the rifle, hoe, axe, and loom, supplying his simple needs, have kept him from anxious thought for food, shelter, and raiment. The traits of the pioneer, still largely his,³ have fostered hospitality, generosity, and wastefulness ...

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1. Campbell, op. cit., p. 118.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 133.
3. Cf. Ibid., pp. 226-227.

But the Highlander is not the only one who has wasted the natural resources of the land. The forests have been exploited by careless logging companies who get the best they can and leave behind logs, branches, and shattered trees.

There is an abundance of coal in the Appalachian mountains. The Highlanders do earn money working in the mines which have grown up in these areas but most of the benefit has been indirect, for such mining camps mean new places for the sale of their produce. With the benefits have come industrial problems and not without effect on the mountain life. With the better roads many of the industrious youth have left for the cities, and the vices of the city have come¹ into the mining communities and spread to the surrounding parts.

3. Poverty.

a. Reasons for poverty.

(1) Overpopulation.

Unlike other rural districts, the population of the Southern Highlands gained continually from 1790, so that it became too dense to provide a comfortable support for the people from such a rugged² land.

There are reasons why the people did not move West when they realized the land was too thickly populated. The following is a summary of the reasons given by Kephart,

First. They did not know there was a West except for Kentucky and

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1. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 238-245.
2. Cf. Hooker, pp. 54-55.

Tennessee lowlands which they hated because of society to which they would be tenants.

Second. They were attached to their old ways and hated to leave.

Third. The hard, hopeless life which had been theirs for so long had taken away their ambition.

Fourth. Most of them could not gather the necessary funds to emigrate.¹

(2) Poor Soil.

In Appalachia the mountain slopes equal ninety per cent of the total area and eighty-five per cent of the land contains steeper slopes than one foot in five feet. Because of these slopes there is less sunlight that falls on the soil, and the rainfall is responsible for hillsides with little gullies and covered with stones. This makes for difficult tillage. One of the mountain men said once, "'Many's the Hill o'conn I've propped up with a rock to keep it from fallin' down-hill.'"²

In the regions where the forest has just been cleared away there is a rich soil on the top, but the richness does not last long because on the slopes it soon washes away.

(3) Lack of Agricultural Knowledge and Equipment.

A census of 116 counties in the Highlands taken in 1930 showed that the average size farm was around a hundred acres. The farm machinery averaged about one hundred and forty-six dollars per

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1. Cf. Kephart, p. 444.
2. Ibid., p. 35.

farm with each farm bringing in about four hundred and forty-four¹ dollars per year.

Much of the Highlander's poor farming is due to lack of contact with the advanced knowledge from the outside world. Apathy is also partly responsible, for even though they have some knowledge of wise farming, many of them disregard it and give little care to² the soil, for they can always move on to another place.

(4) Inaccessibility of Markets.

Poverty in the Highlands has been caused to a great extent by lack of available markets which made it difficult to develop agriculture, industry, or natural resources to any extent. Any surplus the farmer might have had from his farm he could not sell because there were no nearby markets. This made a difference in what he could plant. It had to be what his family could eat or the foods which could stand trips to market. However, improved and new roads have done much to help render this particular difficulty less of a³ problem.

b. Results of poverty.

(1) Poor living conditions.

Living conditions in the Southern Highlands are improving but there is still much to be desired. The windowless home is disappearing, but many of the windows which have been put in are now

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1. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 53.
2. Cf. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 251-252.
3. Cf. Ibid., p. 254.

are not made to open, so unless the door is left open all the homes have poor ventilation. Large families still occupy two rooms. Even in homes that are clean and of good standard of health, all sleep together whether sick or well and all use the same toilet articles. In many districts there is practically no sanitation equipment. The streams often bring the refuse from a family farther up the stream¹ and sweep it into the well of the people below.

The hardship of the mountain life should be understood before judging the mountaineer too severely for the prevailing conditions. To quote Campbell again:

It is an easy matter to sit in a steam-heated city office and hold forth upon the deficiencies in mountain households and to suggest or plan remedies for them. If, however, one has.... helped to cut wood for the many fireplaces and "toted" it in, he can more easily understand why there is congestion in sleeping quarters; and if he has helped to blast a well through resisting strata of rock, be it only to a depth of twenty-five feet, he is strongly inclined to be a believer in the predestinarian theory of disease, whether it be called typhoid or mountain fever. He may even view with a lenient eye certain shortcomings in cleanliness, and, if he helps the housewife to carry in and out the water used, he reverts fondly in thought to the days of his childhood, when he was comfortable in mind and body with a Saturday night bath by the kitchen stove.²

(2) Poor Health.

Even though the mountaineer is a hearty person he is bound sooner or later to succumb to poor health. Men and children may walk many miles, unfitly clad for bad weather. It is not unheard of for them to go barefooted in the snow or to come in from the outside

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1. Cf. Ibid., pp. 196-197.

2. Ibid., p. 198.

wet and sit in a cold draft to dry off.¹

Poor diet can be blamed for much of the ill health among them. Corn and pork are the main staples throughout most of the rural portions of the mountains, although there is some variety in food depending on the part of the year. Greasy food, doughy bread, half-fried cabbage, and whiskey to relieve an aching stomach, are frequent causes of dyspepsia.²

Some diseases found in the Highlands are: typhoid, hook worm, dysentery, tuberculoses, pellagra, trachoma, measles, and diptheria. The people have certain remedies which they think work for various diseases to which they may be subject. Therefore, they wait until the last minute to call the doctor and then the doctor may have to travel a long distance to get there. Much of the so-called doctoring is done by "quacks" and old women known as "granny women." Campbell says of these characteristics which are often such an inherent part of the Highlander's life,

Much as one may rejoice in all that is picturesque in the manner of life and in the independence which is so outstanding a trait of mountain character, he comes to feel that where the health, at least, of the people is affected, these must give place to or be transformed into more salutary, albeit less interesting virtues.³

(3) Poor Education.

New systems of education are slowly beginning to come into the mountains, but in many areas the conditions are still pitiful.⁴

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1. Cf. Kephart, pp. 290-292.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 296.
3. Campbell, op. cit., p. 195.
4. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 60.

The school buildings are often only one room and the light, heat,¹ sanitation, and equipment are all poor. The parents themselves are often lacking in a formal education so they do not realize the importance of it for their children. Often the children are not able to attend school because of bad weather or because they must stay at home and help with the crops. The teachers may be too young to handle the variety of ages and may have had no more than an elementary education. The few well-trained teachers there are soon leave. It is difficult for a mountain young person who has gone out of the area² and received a good education to come back to his home and teach.

(4) Illicit Distilling of Liquor.

In the beginning of their history in the Highlands the people were forced to distill their products to get them to market in the most concentrated form. They could not take their grain or meal to market for it was too far. After the Civil War, when the excise tax on whiskey jumped to two dollars a gallon, they rebelled for their corn brought them only twenty-five to forty cents a bushel and³ apples and peaches not more than ten cents a bushel.

There are still those today who see nothing wrong with breaking the law by making illicit liquor because they think it is wrong for the government to charge them so much. For them it is no luxury. In the mountains there is no such thing as luxury. Much of the liquor they make is pure but some is adulterated and always with

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1. Cf. Hooker, Ibid., p. 264.
2. Cf. Campbell, op. cit., pp. 264-285.
3. Cf. Kephart, op. cit., pp. 146-166.

a substance that has enough sting to make a sane man who is usually good at heart a maniac who will shoot or stab with little reason¹ for it.

In many counties of the mountains the people are getting tired of the bad effects of this evil on community life and want to see it cleaned up.

D. Summary

This chapter has studied the racial background and the present environment of the Southern Highlander and pointed up how certain attitudes toward religion and various individualistic traits have been developing for hundreds of years.

The prevailing religion of the Highlands is the Protestantism which was their ancestors, but their pioneer life and isolated environment has influenced their religious life to such an extent that it varies widely now from the few major denominations which were represented by the people who first settled in the Highlands.

Not only has isolation affected their religion but also their ethical code, so that many of their accepted ways seem very strange and wrong to an outsider. However, when these ethics are studied in relation to the environment they are more easily understood. Isolation has preserved attitudes and developed new attitudes which were necessary for adaption to their isolated living conditions.

It has also been shown that much of the reason for the poor living conditions and the extreme poverty of the Highlander is

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1. Cf. Ibid., p. 138.

due to isolation and the consequent attitudes and difficulties which have developed from it.

From this study it may be seen that there is much which gives rise to problems, and these problems must be dealt with by any one who comes in to remedy the present situation.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

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A. Introduction

It has been shown that the people of the Southern Highlands have developed a unique culture, a product of their heredity and environment. Since a large number of them were of Scotch-Irish ancestry, many were originally Presbyterians. However, a difficult pioneer life and extreme isolation made it impossible to maintain the high standards of this denomination without help from ministers from the older settlements in the United States.

This chapter proposes to make a brief study of the beginnings of the Presbyterian work in the Southern mountains. It also will deal in a general manner with the various problems encountered by the missionaries of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These problems were in consequence of the culture of the people, the isolated conditions, environmental changes, and denominational policies.

B. Brief History of Presbyterian Missions in the Highlands.

1. The Presbyterians to 1866.

The American Presbyterians realized early the importance of sending educated ministers to the frontier settlements, and they set out to provide for this need. In 1758 the New York and Philadelphia Synod permitted two ministers to go with the Pennsylvania

forces and in 1763 they recommended that all Presbyteries allow at least one of their candidates for the ministry to commence his work as a Christian minister in these pioneer areas. The Pennsylvania frontier just east of the mountains was the first place of consideration and by 1779 four men had taken up their ministry and had¹ established congregations there.

By the close of the Revolutionary War, many families from Virginia and the Carolinas had moved into Kentucky and Tennessee, some of them of good Presbyterian stock. These people formed their own congregations and, headed by a few leaders in their midst, sent calls back to the states from which they had moved for ministers. Many of the ministers accepted and in 1786 the Presbytery of Transylvania was formed. This included all of Kentucky, the settlements on the Cumberland in Tennessee, and the settlements on the Miamis in² the state which is now Ohio. Hooker says that the early missions in the Highlands

... are conditioned in part by their own history. The history of missions in the Highlands began in the very earliest days of settlement... The earliest form of missionary activity in behalf of the Highlands consisted of the sending of ministers on preaching tours among the frontier settlements.³

The accepted method of the Presbyterian Church was to find the areas where there was already a nucleus of Presbyterian believers and organize this group into a Presbyterian congregation. In 1814 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church commissioned

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1. Cf. William Warren Sweet: Religion On The American Frontier, Vol. II, pp. 23-27.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 32.
3. Hooker, op. cit., p. 195.

fifty-one men to work on the western frontier either full-time or a limited time as itinerant workers. These workers received their full support from the Assembly. In 1830 this policy was changed so that the missionaries stayed for at least a year in one place and they received a partial support from the congregations to which¹ they were ministering.

a. Effect of the Revival of 1800.

The latter part of the 18th century in the United States was a period of moral and religious deadness. William Warren Sweet in his book, Religion on the American Frontier, quotes Timothy Dwight who said of the Revolutionary War that it "'unhinged the principles, the morality, and the religion of this country more² than could have been done by a peace of forty years.'" Then, great revival broke out. It began in the church of James McGready, a Presbyterian pastor from North Carolina, soon after he had accepted a pastorate in Logan County, Kentucky. This was the forerunner of the Great Revival which reached its peak in 1800. The meetings reached such magnitude that they began to be held out of doors. This was the beginning of Camp Meetings in the Southern Highlands. News spread fast as far as Nashville and Knoxville in Tennessee and great crowds came from these places. These revivals which extended from Kentucky through Tennessee and the Carolinas, introduced two new aspects in a church service. One was the

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1. Cf. Sweet, op. cit., pp. 57-58.
2. Ibid., p. 55.

exhortation which followed the sermon and the other the use of the mourner's bench. There was not a lack of emotion in any of these meetings, and much of it appeared to be a real response to the Spirit of God. "For, with all the emotion, all writers, and even critics, agree that multitudes experienced real conversion, and lived regenerated lives." ¹ At first the Camp Meetings were very orderly, but as their popularity increased and they were carried on by less noble men, excesses in emotion became greater and there was even immorality taking place.

Among some of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church there arose a strong feeling against these revivals. They were known as the Anti-Revival men and were in opposition to the Revival men among the Presbyterians. Eventually this division and other results of the Great Revival culminated in three Schisms in which the Presbyterians were involved to a greater or lesser extent. They were the Cumberland Presbyterian Schism, the New Light Schism, and the Shaker Schism. ² However, in spite of these divisions the years between 1800 and 1840 produced an amazing growth in the Presbyterian Church. In 1815 there were forty-one presbyteries and in 1834, one hundred and eighteen. The membership had been 34,685 and in 1834 ³ it was 247,964.

b. Effect of the Slavery Issue.

Prior to the Civil War there had been some action taken by

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1. One Hundred Fifty Years of Kentucky Presbyterianism, p. 13.
2. Cf. Sweet, op. cit. p. 90.
3. Cf. One Hundred Fifty Years of Kentucky Presbyteriansim, p. 23.

the General Assembly regarding the attitude of the Church toward slavery. However, it was not until after the Civil War and Lincoln's death that the problem became a matter of hot debate. Between the years of 1861 and 1866, several meetings of the General Assembly were held in which the slavery issue was the main topic of discussion and a subject of great contention. At the meeting of 1865, a statement was presented whereby ministers from the southern states must be examined as to whether they had in any way supported the rebellion against the Federal Union, and if so they had to confess and repent before they could be members of their own presbyteries. Many in the northern churches objected to this statement but it went through anyway. The result of this long debate was division between the Northern and Southern presbyterians. The former became known as the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. and the latter as the Presbyterian Church, U.S.¹ From 1866 the year of the division, groups worked independently in the area of the Southern Highlands, although during the twentieth century there has been some real progress in cooperation through various united efforts.

2. The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. from 1866.

The urgent need for adequate education continued to be one of the most essential areas of work for the missionaries attention. Between 1885 and 1895 the Ladies Board of Missions organized thirty-one schools and in the next ten years, thirty-four more.² The years

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1. Cf. One Hundred Fifty Years of Kentucky Presbyterianism, pp. 25-26.
2. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 199.

from 1900 to 1918 saw a much greater interest on the part of the governments of the individual states in education. Therefore, when Kentucky passed a law that there must be a high school in every county seat, the Board dropped many of their schools and relinquished the task of education to the Government to whom it rightly belonged. This same procedure was followed in the other mountain states where the missionaries had established schools.¹ The Board began to establish Community Centers in 1896, and they increased the number of these centers, to a great extent after they gave up their schools. By the year of 1931-1932 they also maintained eleven Sunday School missionaries who organized Sunday schools, taught Vacation Bible Schools, supervised weekday religious education, held workers' conferences, Sunday school institutes and teacher-training classes, and gave much of their time to home visitation.² The Home Missions Board also has several institutions of higher education throughout the Highlands.

3. The Presbyterian Church, U.S. from 1866.

One of the greatest and most important figures in the history of Home Missions of the Southern Presbyterians is Dr. Edward O. Guerrant. He commenced his work in a full time capacity as "mountain evangelist" in 1882. His activity included conducting evangelistic meetings, starting churches, and holding clinics. In 1897 he founded the Society of Soul Winners for the purpose of

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1. Cf. Ibid., pp. 204-205.
2. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 229.

raising money to carry on a more adequate missionary work in the
Highlands.¹ In One Hundred Fifty Years of Kentucky Presbyterianism,

Dr. McAllister is quoted as saying of Dr. Guerrant:

"Beginning with one evangelist, whose field lay on the eastern slope of the Cumberland Mountains, it (the work) increased in four years to 67 evangelists, ministering to the most destitute portions of the Cumberlands in the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia. In ten years 362 evangelists had labored in these rugged mountains, holding more than 22,000 public services, in more than 10,000 places, reporting 6,304 conversions, teaching 879 Bible Schools, with nearly 40,000 pupils, building 56 churches, schools and mission houses, besides three orphanages and educational institutions, with others to come in the future."²

In 1911, Dr. Guerrant relinquished his work to the Southern Presbyterian Church as his age prevented him from continuing such a strenuous labor. When the governments started to take more of the responsibility of education in the states, the reaction was different on the part of many of the Southern denominations, the Presbyterians included, in that they were much slower to withdraw from their schools. However, during the depression years it became increasingly difficult for them to maintain all the schools started by Dr. Guerrant so that gradually they turned many of them over to the various states.³ Today, the Presbyterian Church U.S. also has institutions of higher learning in the Highlands.

C. Difficulties Encountered by the Early Missionaries

The factors included in this section point up some of the

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1. Cf. Ibid., pp. 200-201.
2. One Hundred Fifty Years of Kentucky Presbyterianism, p. 30.
3. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., pp. 205-206.

problems which confronted the missionaries to the people in the Southern Mountains in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This list is not exhaustive, nor did all of these factors exist in every locality.

1. Culture of the People.

The pride and independence of the Southern Highlander has been previously mentioned in this study as one of the characteristics of these people.¹ This failing expressed in their objection to outsiders deeming it necessary to send "missionaries" to them as though they were heathen made it difficult for those who attempted to help them. Many of the people simply did not want their long established ways changed. Individualism which often times resulted in lack of understanding and cooperation among themselves led to factions and splits in the groups. The deficiencies in the education of the people made it difficult to train a competent lay leadership. The lack of understanding of the Christian workers toward the distinct ethical concepts² held by many of the mountain people and the failure of both parties to really think these problems through clearly often resulted in ineffective ethical instruction. Definite ideas as to what a church program should consist of, and resistance to anything different from this routine sometimes jeopardized any social program³ which the missionary desired to initiate in the church.

2. Environment.

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1. Ante, p. 12.
2. Ante, pp. 14-17.
3. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., pp. 209-211.

In the earlier days of missionary activity, bad roads, or no roads at all, made the traveling extremely difficult and slowed down considerably the progress of Christian work.¹ The beginning of the twentieth century saw a new interest on the part of the government for roads and highways in the mountains.² In the regions nearby the old isolation was banished and a whole new set of problems was introduced. Also, the opening of a coal mine or lumber camp, depletion of soil so that the people moved on to other land, or the coming of some public welfare work often necessitated change in the mission program.³

3. Denominational Policies.

After the Revolutionary War the Presbyterians were in a good position to become one of the most influential of the American churches, for already their churches were to be found far west and their leaders had a true pioneer spirit.⁴ But in the Highlands they are far outnumbered by the Baptist and Methodist. Two of the reasons for this failure to take full advantage of their frontier opportunity will be suggested below.

a. Educated Ministry.

In Kentucky an educated ministry was once made a case against the Presbyterians by another denomination which appealed to the people's love of liberty and dislike for any kind of "rank" to prejudice the public sentiment.⁵ This was typical of the prevailing attitude in

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1. Cf. Campbell, op. cit., p. 167.
2. Cf. Ibid., p. 242.
3. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., pp. 211-212.
4. Cf. Sweet, op. cit., p. 23.
5. Cf. Campbell, op. cit., p. 165.

the Highlands. This difficulty was often accompanied by another. This was the absence of a strong emotional appeal which so many used¹ as a criteria for judging the spirituality of a message.

b. Church Polity.

The first American Presbyterians believed that a central church government was the Scriptural one and any deviation from this was wrong. This meant the lack of elasticity for situations where this type of polity was difficult to maintain. Campbell makes the following remark.

The conditions of the frontier,... giving emphasis as they did to individualism, perhaps led to a sentiment for direct management in church affairs, and in consequence the church connection of the mountaineer passed from the representative form of polity to the more direct democratic form of government.²

It may be seen, then, that the denominations which had the congregational church government had a decided advantage in the Southern Highlands, and therein the Presbyterians lost ground.

D. Summary

It has been seen that the American Presbyterians were awake to their responsibilities to those who had settled in the Southern Highlands, and they took advantage of their opportunities to establish churches especially where there were already those of Presbyterian background. The latter part of the 18th century saw a lapse in morality and true religion which was changed by the Revival of 1800 through a multitude of regenerated lives. This time of great

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1. Cf. Hooker, op. cit., p. 213.

2. Campbell, op. cit., p. 164.

spiritual awakening also had its bad effect which was excess emotionalism with the ultimate result of three Schisms within the ranks of the Presbyterians.

The slavery issue eventuated in the division of the church into the Northern and Southern Presbyterians. After that time, 1866, the two worked independently in the mountains, and both did a good work especially in the much needed fields of education and establishing Sunday schools and churches.

The missionaries of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries faced problems which grew out of the independence and individualism of the people. Misunderstanding on the part of both the people and the missionaries often impeded Christian progress. Traveling conditions were a difficulty in Christian work, and after roads began to be improved it was a challenge to keep abreast the ever-changing environment with an up-to-date missionary program. The particular policies of the Presbyterian denomination of a central government and an educated ministry also made it less easy for them to be accepted among the mountain people.

CHAPTER III

METHODS USED BY SELECTED PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS

IN MEETING THE PROBLEMS OF THE HIGHLANDER

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METHODS USED BY SELECTED PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS
IN MEETING THE PROBLEMS OF THE HIGHLANDER

A. Introduction

So far this has been a study of the ancestry and present environment of the Southern Highlander with the purpose of discovering wherein lies the uniqueness of his culture. It has been shown that his individualistic ways in attitudes, ethics, and religion can be understood only in the light of his heredity and isolated environment. The Presbyterian Church has endeavored to minister to the Highlander from the beginning of his settlement in the mountains and has confronted problems which were outgrowths of the individualism of the people.

In this chapter four missions of the Presbyterian Church have been selected for study with the intention of finding their specific problems and the methods which they have used in dealing with the difficulties. This study does not purport to deal with many factors which may be found to be characteristic troubles of any rural community. More attention has been given to those problems which have been an outgrowth of the environment and different culture of the people as they are related to the effectual working of the Gospel.

B. Big Stone Gap, Virginia

1. Brief History.

The first organized work by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.

at Big Stone Gap, Virginia, was in 1890 by Rev. J. E. Wool. Six years later when he left to labor somewhere else and no other man came to fill his place, the church situation became pitiful. The revival of the little Presbyterian group began in 1912 when Rev. James M. Smith arrived. The work grew by leaps and bounds. By 1914 a good brick church had been built and dedicated. In 1920 a lovely manse was completed and in 1925 the Big Stone Gap Church was self-supporting.¹ He has devoted his life to Christian work in the mountains for almost forty years and has been richly rewarded by the realization that he has rendered help to his fellowmen and service to God.²

2. Problems.

a. Environmental.

Mr. Smith's first mode of traveling in the mountains was by foot. After he had been there about a year, he acquired a bicycle and two years later he became the proud possessor of a horse named "Champ Clark." Several years later he began to travel by car, then a cousin³ sent him enough money to purchase a Ford car. During all his years of journeying he found that there was more than one kind of prison for people. There were folks who were imprisoned in an isolated mountain cabin and whose hearts were lonely. Others, he found were friendless even though there were families who lived near by. He

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1. James M. Smith: Twenty Years of Progress in Mountain Missions. From the Presbyterian Survey, Official Magazine of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, February, 1933, p. 94.
2. Goodridge A. Wilson: "Forty Years Less One." From By Faith Pioneering in Home Missions, p. 112. Booklet published by Church Extension of Presbyterian Church, U.S.
3. Cf. Goodridge A. Wilson, op. cit., p. 133.

found members of families suffering from poor health and unable to reach a doctor without traveling great distances. Today some communities are still as far as forty miles to the nearest doctor.¹

b. Social and Economic.

Poor living conditions, health, and education were all common problems when Mr. Smith came to Big Stone Gap. The valleys and hills offered rich soil for grazing and farming but due to ignorance of modern agricultural methods the economic level of the community was low. He came in contact with many who lacked even the bare necessities of life: food, clothing, and shelter.²

c. Ethical.

Smith says that the philosophies of the mountain people help to understand some of their ways. He refers especially to this one: "' Grand pap used to say -- 'You do the other fellow and he will do you, and you will come out even.'³" In the earlier days when it was difficult to make a living the men learned to be shrewd and drive a hard bargain. Conscience did not enter in to it at all; in fact, they respected the man who could outwit them in a business transaction.

Smith encountered only two feuds in his time in the Virginia mountains. Some of the families moved from the community and gradually the feuds died out.

d. Religious.

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1. From questionnaire to James Smith.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

In the little town of Big Stone Gap there were only thirteen Presbyterians listed and some of them were not acquainted. The biggest problem was inertia of the people, but under Smith's able leadership this was remedied. Between the years of 1912 and 1913 after he arrived the church roll showed twenty-four communicants, sixty-four on the Sunday School enrollment, benevolent giving was nothing, and the pastor's salary was two hundred and seventy-five dollars with current expenses at sixty-two dollars.¹ This was a vast improvement over the conditions when he came of having an unorganized church body.

3. Methods.

a. Social and Economic.

(1) Education.

In the beginning of his ministry Smith established two elementary day schools in backward communities with Christian teachers and maintained them under the Presbyterian Church, U.S. until the Public School Boards could take them over. It has been through his influence and efforts that many a boy and girl has become interested in going on in school to receive a college education. Sometimes all they needed was the impetus to strive on and in other instances the need was monetary. Through his personal talks with them and his knowledge of sources to which he could go for financial help, they were able to obtain the education which they desired.²

(2) Other.

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1. Cf. James M. Smith: "Twenty Years of Progress in Mountain Missions," p. 96.
2. Cf. Goodrich A. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

Goodridge A. Wilson in his article, Forty Years Less One, in the Presbyterian, U.S., booklet, By Faith said:

In the social service and welfare work Mr. Smith was something of a pioneer, getting things done that anticipated the expanded program that has come out of the New Deal. He was also instrumental in improving public school conditions.¹

Changes have taken place in the economic and social life of the people in Big Stone Gap and other communities through James Smith's personal efforts and co-operation with government agencies. He worked with the nearby College of Agriculture and its representatives in their efforts to assist the people. He also brought in pure-bred dairy bulls and loaned them without cost in order to improve milk and butter supplies. He followed the same procedure of loaning with the pure-bred hogs and Percheron draft horses which he was able to² procure.

Where people have felt lonely and friendless in their isolated areas, he has entered their homes and made them feel that he was really their friend. For those who were destitute of food and clothes, he obtained clothing and if they had no home he somehow managed to find one for them. Much of this he was able to do through organized welfare agencies of the state or church. When he found sick in the home, he made every effort to arrange for the needed medical care and if it was an illness which could be cared for at home, he often gave them his own personal attention, doing whatever needed to

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1. Goodrich A. Wilson, op. cit., p. 125.
2. From questionnaire to James Smith.

be done for their welfare even if it meant cooking, washing, and scrubbing. Many improvements have come in during the thirty-nine years of Smith's ministry in Wise County. Better homes are there because of County Home Demonstration agents, electric power, automobiles and trucks, better live stock, consolidated public schools,¹ school buses, and telephones.

b. Christian Education.

(1) The Serving Church.

In the article, Forty Years Less One, Wilson says Smith's basic idea was,

The church that best serves the people can most reasonably expect the support of the people, and the church that best serves the young people and children today can most reasonably expect the support of men and women tomorrow.²

Because of this basic conviction he made many efforts to help the people. In addition he organized Sunday Schools, and Christian Endeavor Societies for the children and young people. He established these organizations, not only in Big Stone Gap, but all over Wise County. He believed that women were efficient workers, especially with children and young people, so he persuaded certain groups to support women mission workers whom he used in the mission schools and in churches which needed to be revived. One of the endeavors he deemed the most important was for the church influence to reach out and help in surrounding districts. Consequently he established many outpost chapels where there were no churches.³

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1. From questionnaire to James Smith.
2. Goodrich A. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 122.
3. Ibid. pp. 122-123.

Today besides the organized and self-supporting church of Big Stone Gap there are at least five other churches which now have separate pastors and are doing a good work. The Sunday Schools and mission day Schools previously mentioned and the Lewiscott Orphan's Home for mountain orphans have all been a tremendous contribution to Christian work in the Virginia mountains.

(2) Interdenominational Co-operation.

Goodrich Wilson says,

Mr. Smith's conception of his ministry has never been narrow or exclusive. It is broad enough to include personal needs of people, without regard to social standing, financial rating, age, creed, race, or color; community movements; Christian churches of all denominations; and worthy interdenominational undertakings.¹

Among such enterprises have been the Wise County Christian Endeavor Union which included twenty Christian Endeavor Societies, and the Annual Convention Picnic which was held for several years. Perhaps the greatest of any of his interdenominational undertakings took place in June and July, 1921, at which time Billy Sunday came to hold evangelistic services. Arrangements had been made with certain railroads to bring people from as far as Middlesboro, Kentucky; Dante in Russell County, Virginia; and Bluefield, West Virginia. Of course, many people helped in this great effort but the credit goes to Smith as the executive.

He never tried to proselyte or build a Presbyterian church in a community where there was already a thriving church of some other group. Instead he visited the people and encouraged them to go to

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1. Goodrich A. Wilson, p. 124.

their own church and participate. Often, too, he would serve as supply pastor in another denomination if they needed and asked him to. Needless to say, this made many friends for both Smith and his denomination.¹

(3) Lay Leadership.

Not long after he came to the mountains Smith saw that if he wanted to have a large church group he must get out into rural communities, little villages, and mining and lumber camps and do his teaching and preaching. Slowly and surely he gathered around him a group of interested people whom he had trained for leadership in the Christian work. In three counties he organized a group of laymen known as the Lewiscot Presbyterian League to help undergird the mission work in the mountains. That was in 1921. They are still going and are a mighty force for good.² Smith explains his principles as follows:

In our religious work, I have learned the wisdom of placing responsibility upon the native leaders, instead of permitting trained imported leaders to shoulder all responsibilities. Where the outside leaders assume all responsibilities the natives hold back and take very little interest in the work. For this reason church programs have never gone forward very much when they were harnessed up with a mission day school program where outsiders had full charge. When these programs were entirely divorced and the native leaders were put in charge of the church work, the churches went forward in their work.³

The Mayor of Big Stone Gap who is serving his eighth consecutive two-year term said, in the presence of Smith, to Goodrich Wilson:

"I do not want to embarrass anyone, but I am going to say to you that here is the man who has done more for the people in Wise County, and for the good of the county as a whole, than anybody

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1. Cf. Ibid. p. 116.
2. Cf. Ibid. p. 123.
3. Questionnaire from James Smith.

else who has ever lived in it."¹

C. Big Lick, Tennessee.

1. Brief History.

Big Lick is a community in Cumberland County on the North-western Cumberland Plateau. The Presbyterian work was begun under the Board of National Missions by Mrs. Carrie Murphy as a community worker. Upon her retirement at the end of fifteen years of pioneering effort, Rev. Eugene Smathers eagerly took charge, having been in Cumberland County since 1932. So far he felt that his effort had been spread over such a vast territory that he had been able to do nothing in a specific way to help the people. He and his wife came in the midst of the depression years, January, 1934.² The little town, composed of about fifty families with a population of around three hundred, was fourteen miles from any railroad, busline or town and had no church, minister, doctor, or telephone. One of the old men of the community said of the town, "The folks here just live, work, worship, sicken, and perish."³ They did have a good school house which had been built under the supervision of Mrs. Murphy. Even though the average cash income at this time did not exceed seventy-five dollars a year, the people had built a new home for the minister and his wife from native material with their own labor.⁴ To this poverty stricken community the Smathers commenced their Christian work. Hitch quotes Dr. Henry S. Randolph, secretary

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1. Goodrich A. Wilson, op. cit., p. 134.
2. Cf. Eugene Smathers: "I Work In The Cumberlands." A publication of The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, p. 5.
3. Carol Hughes: "The Little Shepherd of Big Lick." A printed copy of article appearing in Coronet, November, 1947.
4. Cf. Ibid.

of the Presbyterian Board, as saying, "' Big Lick needed a leader and Smathers proved to be the man.'"¹

2. Problems.

a. Environment.

The isolated conditions changed to a great extent in less than ten years after Smathers came to Big Lick. A new highway was built only two miles from the community and the county road leading to it was good. There were, however, still some poor back roads. With the better roads, cars began to appear and some people managed to afford radios in their homes.

b. Social.

(1) Migration of Youth.

Without the minds of youth to help lift a community, it is severely handicapped. At Big Lick the fathers' farms were never profitable enough for their sons to marry and live on the land too, so as soon as the young boys were old enough they began to talk of moving away. Also, when the young men came back from the second World War they left for the bigger cities where they could earn a living. There² was plenty of land but none of them could afford to purchase it.

Recreation was another much needed help for all the people of the community, especially for the young people.

(2) Attitudes.

Some of the problems which faced Eugene Smathers when he

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1. Earle Hitch: Rebuilding Rural America, p. 93.
2. Hughes, op. cit.

came to the town were in the realm of attitude. In one of his articles, I Work In the Cumberlands, he lists some of these which he felt to be the most detrimental to progress:

... a sense of defeat, indifference, self-satisfaction and satisfaction with present conditions, individualism that prevents or hinders cooperation, tenacity of tradition and custom, resistance to new ideas, a "know-it-all-ness" that discredits the aid of experts,...

Smathers feels that the basic problem then, and the one which always will be, is man himself, his own selfishness and inconsistencies.

c. Economic.

The difficulties at Big Lick were largely of economic derivation. Low income makes for many problems in that the people cannot provide for themselves the necessities for decent community living. In 1930 before the Smathers arrived in Big Lick, the average rural dwelling was valued between two-hundred fifty and five hundred dollars. Education was sadly inadequate. At that time none of the young people graduating from high school had the money to get a college education even though they might have wanted it.

The people had much sickness. Families spent about one-tenth of their income on medical care and that only provided for one or two visits to the doctor in a year as the nearest doctor was fourteen miles away and sometimes charged as much as ten to fifteen dollars a call. With this in mind it is no wonder that the people often waited

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1. Smathers: "I Work in the Cumberlands," p. 5.
2. Eugene Smathers: "The Characteristics of a Christian Rural Community." The Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin, No. 61, April, 1941 p. 5.
3. Cf. Smathers: "I Work In the Cumberlands," p. 4.
4. Cf. Hughes, op. cit.
5. Cf. Smathers: "I Work In The Cumberlands," p. 4.

a long time and took big chances before they would seek medical care,¹
as it often meant selling a cow or mortgaging the farm to pay the bills.
Smathers believes that much of what was termed "Laziness" in the
people was really "sickness," and that two other contributing factors²
toward this ill health were poor housing and poor quality of food.

d. Religious.

Too much of their religion, though very sincere, was divorced
from everyday living. They failed to see any connection between their
religion and play, health, or economic improvement. They looked at
their situation as the will of God and failed to do anything about it.
"The cross becomes wholly something done for us and not also a way of
life. The ease of this religion makes distasteful a religion of
demands."³

3. Methods.

a. Social.

(1) Co-operation.

No sooner had Smathers arrived than he began to plan for a
new church building. James Wilson Brown, a man who had hunted in that
area for several years and had learned to know and love the people,
said he would put up the money for a church if they would furnish
material and labor. Thirty-five of the fifty families agreed to this.
They toiled and sweated hauling the native stone over the hills in

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1. Cf. Hughes, op. cit.

2. Cf. Smather: "I Work In The Cumberland," p. 4.

3. Smathers: "The Characteristics of a Christian World Community," p. 6.

wheel-barrows, working into the night many times. It was completed finally, and in May, 1935, the people came to the dedication service and viewed with great pride their beautiful piece of work. They had not been satisfied with just a church but had gone on and built a Sunday School Parish House too. "'Now, dad-gum-it,' said an old grandfather, 'our young folks got somewhere to go!'"¹ Many of the people voiced the opinion that they were sorry it was all over with for they had enjoyed working together. Smathers said:

Here on a hill overlooking the community, with a marvelous view of the mountains in the distance, stood a beautiful church, which we had built ourselves and which was dedicated to the worship of God and the service of men. Its silent testimony has meant much. The experience of working together to realize a common goal was valuable. And the success which was ours gave encouragement to other community ventures.²

(2) Recreation.

Smathers believed that play filled a basic need of youth so the development of a good recreational program was the second objective he set out to attain. There was considerable opposition at first but he moved slowly and gradually made some progress. The socials were held in a large community room in a wing of the church. The games consisted mostly of folk games and dances, but there was also a children's playground and an athletic program.³ The recreational program became famous far and wide and was either greatly praised or severely criticized, depending on the group making the comments.⁴ After a little over five years of great effort and some success, Smathers wrote:

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1. Hughes, op. cit.
2. Smathers: "I Work in the Cumberland," p. 7.
3. Cf. Edwin E. White: "House of Health," Classmate, July 9, 1944, p. 10.
4. Ibid.

One who has not tried to promote some sort of recreational program in a similar situation in the mountains cannot fully appreciate the sense of achievement which is ours. And we have also discovered that the most joyful and creative fun can be of one's own making--that even folk with low incomes can find some joy and that without paying profits to commercial amusements. Seeking to bring joy and gaiety into drab and dull surroundings will always be an important element in our program.¹

b. In Economic Areas.

(1) Health.

Health and medical care were next for the attention of Smathers and the community. He began to talk up the idea of a clinic and received an amazingly favorable response. Once again Mr. Brown agreed to give money for the undertaking and so did the National Missions Board. The building which became known as the House of Health was to contain a living room, bedrooms, small isolation wards and bathrooms. The construction began in October, 1937. The community contributed over \$1400 in labor and materials. In June, 1938, the clinic, which was to be the center for their health program, was completed.² There was much difficulty in securing a good trained nurse who would be willing to work in their clinic for a small salary, but at last one was found. The next problem was finding doctors. Finally doctors at Uplands Sanatorium came to their rescue. They volunteered to help so that Big Lick could have two clinics each month. At General clinic there is a small fee and anyone who wants the advice of a doctor can have it at his price. There is a Mother and Baby Clinic which is free to all expectant mothers and those with pre-school age children. There is a regular time for examin-

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1. Ibid.

2. Smathers, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

ing teeth, tonsils and eyes. The biggest emphasis is on the preventive. Hundreds have been inoculated. Home hygiene and first aid classes are held and much assistance is given in the homes.¹

The people are extremely proud of their House of Health and its health program. One of the old timers of the community was heard to say, "'This here is a kind of religion folks understand.'"²

(2) Study Groups.

Smathers was now ready to get at the basis of the economic problem of the community. So far, most of the population had not been very interested in what the agriculture experts had to tell them. At last he hit upon a plan which brought amazing changes to Big Lick. He decided that the trouble had been that the experts had been trying to tell the people how to solve their problems instead of helping them to discover their difficulties and do something about them. Smathers called a small group together and suggested "study clubs" which would meet together regularly to discuss and take action on their problems. The idea took fire quickly. In his article, "The Church at the Center;" Ralph A. Felton said of these groups:

These study clubs are simple in their set-up, yet their principles of organization are important. A leader is chosen from among their own number. He does not know any more about the subject than the others. His job is to keep the group talking on the same topic and to prevent them from discussing the subject in little cliques instead of for the benefit of the whole group. As leader, he also finds material usually from farm journals and government bulletins. Sometimes he brings in other people such as the county agent to answer questions but not to make a speech. The group chooses a topic to study for the year and to work toward some action. The first year, one of the Big Lick clubs selected "cattle." The other

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1. Cf. *ibid.*
2. Hughes, *op. cit.*

chose, "the cooperative buying of farm supplies." The clubs met jointly once a month to report on their progress.¹

The immediate results of these groups were three. Men found that they did have the ability to do something about their own economic condition. Secondly, they learned to mix their own fertilizer. Finally, they learned to cooperate and formed The Farmers' Association to purchase farm machinery.² White quotes Smathers as saying,

The results from study-for-action...are cumulative. As we discover ways to meet some of our many problems, we are encouraged to tackle others.³

Some of the outgrowths of their cooperative action will be mentioned below.

(3) Results of Study Groups.

Before long the community of Big Lick began to be noticed. The farmers applied to the Tennessee Valley Authority for their area to be used as one for demonstration of soil conservation.⁴ It is no wonder that the TVA agreed. Each farmer who promised to work on the land-use plan was given free fertilizer. The changes were tremendous. "Farm land improved, houses were repaired, the people took heart."⁵

The members of the community were aware that they must do something to keep their youth from migrating elsewhere. Smathers and the members of the church struck upon an idea which became known as "The Calvary Church Homestead Project." A board of trustees of the local men were organized to buy up some of the land which was not being worked

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1. Ralph A. Felton: "The Church at the Center." Reprinted from The Progressive Farmer, December, 1943.
2. Cf. *ibid.*
3. White, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
4. Cf. *ibid.*
5. Hughes, *op. cit.*

and resell it to the young men of Big Lick on a thirty year payment plan. The men would move on as homesteaders and pay one-thirtieth of the principal plus three per cent taxes and interest each year. They were also able to rent tools at a low price from the Farmers' Association. When Hughes wrote of this project in 1947 he said,

At present, the Homestead Project has the amazing sum of \$23,000 in the fund, which revolves in the community. Since 1940, 26 families have bought homes and farms; 12 have already completed payments. And Big Lick has its boys back.¹

Another development to assist in raising the economic level of the community has been the sawmill. Not only does it make possible the employment of a few men with their teams of horses, but also enables the farmers to market the little bit of timber they have on their land and so brings in a little extra cash.²

A Woodwork Shop is about the latest of the schemes. By it the people can produce handcraft items which can be sold outside the mountains and bring in cash. This project will be particularly valuable in the years when crops are bad.³

c. In Christian Education.

The church is continually at work to build Christian homes and to help the members of the family realize this objective through their own efforts. There is education for the young people and their parents in Christian family life. A paper is published monthly to help tie the members of the parish together in a creative effort. "Out of Christian homes come the persons who carry the community enterprises

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1. Hughes, *ibid.*
2. Cf. Smathers: "I Work in the Cumberland," pp. 11-12.
3. Cf. Hughes, *op. cit.*

and give the community its Christian quality."¹ It has always been the conviction of the pastor that those problems of the community which are not being adequately met by other institutions or agencies should be dealt with by the church. The Christian philosophy behind all of Smathers' efforts may be best stated by using his own words:

...I do believe that men, in this earthly existence, are bodies and souls, knit in indissoluble unity, and that the "rule of God's love" is applicable to the whole man. "Man cannot live by bread alone," but before the average can have that which is "beyond bread" he must have bread, and helping him to secure this is a religious vocation. But this vocation must not stop with helping meet material need, but proceed to the more difficult task of seeking to provide some help in the solution of man's interior problems, to fulfill the prophetic task of calling men to repentance and to the acceptance of the loving rule of God. In a situation among disadvantaged people, the proclamation of God's love must take practical form in seeking a solution for pressing economic need. But even among the disadvantaged it is necessary to remember the truth of these words of Jesus: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you."²

D. Buckhorn, Kentucky.

1. Brief History.

The man responsible for the beginning and the success of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. missionary work at Buckhorn, Kentucky was Harvey S. Murdoch. After graduating from Princeton Theological Seminary he immediately accepted the invitation to become one of the assistant pastors at Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, New York. His work of three years and ten months was successful and the people learned to love him very much. However, when he saw a much greater need in the Southern Mountains, he resigned to become the Field Secretary

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1. Smathers: "The Characteristics of a Christian Rural Community," p. 4.
2. Smathers: "I Work in the Cumberlands," p. 14.

of the Society of Soul Winners.. While traveling in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, to investigate and report on the progress of the Christian work, he soon decided that he too wanted to be one of the pioneer builders of a Christian community. In 1902 he made the choice of a Parish Center at Buckhorn in Perry County, Kentucky.¹

2. Problems..

a. Environmental..

Before the highway into Buckhorn was built, the nearest Railroad Station at Altro, Kentucky could be reached only by six hours of hard riding over mountain trails and precipitous valleys by horse or mule back.² This extreme isolation was responsible for many of the social and economical difficulties of the people. The bad traveling conditions, which were an inevitable problem in this kind of an environment, were responsible for both slower and more arduous itineraries. Harvey Murdoch believed that the influence of Christ should be felt in all the out-lying districts that could possibly be reached, so he spent long hours in the saddle. Gordon Mahy, Jr. in his book, Murdoch of Buckhorn, says,

There were.... trips he took when the splashing water from the creek froze his boots to the stirrups, when freezing winds along some mountain-top trail chilled him to the marrow, when coming home from a distant preaching engagement the hoot of a lonely owl at "the edge of dark" reminded him how far away were the welcome lights and the warm hearths of Buckhorn.³

b. Social and Economic..

Every gathering of people which Murdoch witnessed reminded him of the many mountain children, bright and capable, who were not receiv-

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1. Cf. Brunner, op. cit., p. 113.

2. Cf. G. Gordon Mahy, Jr.: Murdoch of Buckhorn, p. 85.

3. Ibid., p. 83.

ing a decent education because of inadequate schools and poorly trained teachers.¹ Many were not able to take advantage of that which was available because of the lack of roads and the swollen creeks which they had to cross to reach the school building.

Wherever he went he saw young mothers dying in child birth and sick children without an opportunity to improve because they were unable to reach hospitals. Children were left homeless because their mothers had died in child-birth and their fathers were killed by violence or died of some disease.² There were "...destitute families in rickety cabins, burials without ministers, whole districts without schools..."³ Steep mountain slopes left a small amount of land available for grazing of animals and cultivation of crops which resulted in great poverty for all.⁴

c. Ethical.

When Harvey Murdoch came to Buckhorn he found all the attending evils present which would be expected among those who had for so long been isolated in an environment which developed intense individualism in ethical code. Liquor and drinking, gambling, feuds and lawlessness were all common.⁵

d. Religious Life.

The people guarded carefully the religion which they had brought with them into the mountains or the religion which had been somewhat altered by those itinerant preachers who found their way into the area.

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 86.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 118-119.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.
4. Cf. Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
5. Cf. Mahy, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-108.

It was an important part of their life and they were sincerely devoted to what they knew, but their only ministers were the old toiler-preachers who had become so much a part of them that they could offer them nothing to lift them out of their dire conditions.¹

3. Methods.

a. In Social and Economic Areas.

(1) Education.

There was no question in Murdoch's mind but that the educational task should go hand in hand with the Christian Gospel. His first effort went toward planning and supervising the building of a school which became known as Witherspoon College.² The finances came from the loyal people in the church in Brooklyn and the carpenter skill and labor from the mountain people. Three teachers from outside the mountains had come to love their friend Murdoch dearly, and seeing the worthwhileness of the work, offered to instruct in the school.

Three major principles were essential to the educational program which Murdoch desired to see carried out at Witherspoon College. In the first place, every student must receive a Christian education. Bible was taught every day and each member of the faculty was responsible for the instruction. In the second place, no one was to be turned away because he could not pay. Even when times were the hardest financially, it was possible for the student to work for half or even all the amount

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1. Cf. Brunner, op. cit., p. 116.

2. See Mahy: Murdoch of Buckhorn, p. 73: "the fact that his school never became officially a college did not trouble him. He knew that it would be a college whenever people were ready for it, and that in the meantime, it was fitting that students who came in their twenties and thirties should have the dignity of attending a 'college.'"

of room, board, and tuition. Finally, school and equipment had to be kept very simple as the mountain children were used to this and he did not want them to go home with the idea that they were too good for their own homes.¹

The school made excellent use of the natural ability of these students by giving expert training in manual arts and home economics.² Although many students came to the school at Buckhorn, there were still many more attending the little one room school houses "at the heads of the creeks." This meant poor education because of the ill-trained teachers. Murdoch saw the solution of this problem in preparing the teachers through private instruction, so together he and his friend, Luther Johnson, an educated mountain man, made every effort to help these eager but ill-prepared teachers. Their efforts did much for all the teaching in that area.³

After twenty-five years of Buckhorn's history, the faculty and student body printed a paper which told of the progress made. Mahy quotes the words in the school paper:

"Mr. Murdoch built a very modest log college consisting of four rooms and an assembly hall. Today the plant has more than twenty buildings. Then the enrollment was forty, all of whom were in the grades. Since then four thousand have been enrolled, four hundred of them this year. Three teachers began the work; now there are twenty."⁴

(2) Ethical Instruction.

There was a clear cut distinction between right and wrong in Harvey Murdoch's code and he could never compromise with his con-

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1. Cf. Mahy, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
2. Ibid., p. 90.
3. Cf. ibid., p. 119.
4. Cf. ibid., p. 87.

science for expediency's sake. He made the utmost effort to keep saloons and places which sold whiskey away from the area of Buckhorn for the sake of the young people who went to the school. In one instance a man had bought a lot just over the top of the mountain from the school and was about to set up business. Scarcely before the man had an opportunity to get started in business, Murdoch bought him out so that the man went back to the place from which he had come and the building which was to be used for the saloon was taken back to Buckhorn and set up for a henhouse.¹

Gambling was another prevalent evil in the community and he began a campaign against it immediately. Once, twenty-five men who were to be tried for gambling came to him and promised that they would do no more gambling if he would persuade the judge to dispense with the trial. They also vowed that they would pay the cost already incurred and report anyone whom they saw gambling after this. On the day of the trial, Murdoch proposed this plan to the Judge who seemed to feel that it was a good one. In one of his letters which he wrote back to the Lafayette Avenue Church in Brooklyn, Murdoch said,

"...So far as I know, the promise has not been broken in any particular, and good citizens say that in many cases it will never be broken. One of the men said, 'I'm glad I was caught, for it was my first offense.' The men were glad to escape jail, their friends were grateful for their escape, the whole moral atmosphere of the county was purified, and everybody was in good spirits."²

He never took sides in the many feuds and clan fights, but it was through his efforts that the worst feud in Buckhorn was finally settled. In his early years as missionary in the community, he stood

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 106.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

behind the law, even risking his own popularity with the people to bring justice. As the years passed he put much more of his efforts into methods of persuasion to encourage good morals.¹

(3) Others.

Harvey Murdoch saw the one great task of missions as Christian Education and he did not desire to become side-tracked with too much social work. However, he was responsible for some great changes taking place in the life of the community. It was through his encouragement of the people to keep at the government until they got a road into Buckhorn that the twenty mile of highway costing the government over half a million dollars was finally put in. He also planted apple and peach orchards for the people's use which he figured would bloom and produce for the first time about the same year as the new highway was completed. He stimulated interest in a community bank so the people could save their money and made it possible for both a doctor and nurse to live at Buckhorn for the welfare of the students and the people.²

In evaluation, Mahy says:

All these things were much on his heart, but his dearest wish for Buckhorn was not that it should become prosperous or outwardly successful, but that it should be a spiritual citadel, with the material blessings of a better living added as a consequence of seeking first the Kingdom of God.³

b. In Christian Education.

(1) Preaching.

The sermons which Murdoch preached to his people were always of the utmost simplicity and practicality. The mountain people could

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1. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 109.
2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 127.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

not long sit under his ministry without realizing that Christianity is a religion not only of believing but doing. Mahy says:

He spoke of "saving souls", but not with the careless accent of many ministers who separate souls from people. It was the ragged boys, the wayward girls, the sotted drunkards, even the "sons of Belial" who so opposed him, whom he would like to have brought into the Kingdom of Heaven.¹

Examples of some of his sermon titles were, "Why the Gospel Is Not More Effective," "Why The Christian Should Be Happy," "Is Christianity the Kind of Religion I Need?". He introduced one of his sermons on a Sunday morning with the dramatic words, "'And Noah was drunk,'". For him the biggest and best argument for being a Christian and living a good life was that God wanted it. Murdoch believed that no amount of intellectual preparation was adequate without much spiritual preparation for the delivery of sermons. When the spring of the year arrived and he commenced his series of evangelistic meetings, his preaching always became more restrained lest people accept Christ as their Saviour out of emotion rather than a sincere love for Christ and his appeal to them. The hundreds of young people who responded and accepted Christ at his invitation never felt they had been tricked into making a decision which they afterward regretted. One of the students who had attended Buckhorn wrote back years later of Mr. Murdoch.

He laid the claim of Christ upon every boy and girl who came to Buckhorn. I well remember how he came to me . . . and asked me to consider doing the most important thing in life, accepting Christ as my Saviour. . . . His life and his emphasis on making life count for something was the direct cause of my entering the ministry.²

(2) Church at the Center.

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1. Ibid., p. 121-122.

2. Ibid., p. 122.

Warren H. Wilson in his book, *The Church At The Center*, has written the following:

. . . at Buckhorn the whole of life is brought under the influence of religion. People are taught to farm. The very corn and the hogs are taught to improve. The young people are encouraged to play. Public games entice the young men away from evil influences. A college with an enrollment in hundreds stands side by side with the church. All the needs of the countryside are met, and so far as possible satisfied, in a wholesome community life. Because the needs are acute and even tragic in Buckhorn the church has wrought a great success . .¹

Those who went to Buckhorn never seemed to miss the point that the church was the very center of the life of the people. The first little church which the people erected when Murdoch came to Buckhorn soon had to be replaced by a bigger one. The membership grew by leaps and bounds until it now is the large number of 900 people.² After it had been organized for twenty years there were nearly a dozen preaching points in the regions around Buckhorn. Other activities of the church were Sunday School with a membership of one thousand and thirty (the adults went to Sunday School too), Christian Endeavor Society with two hundred members, and Wednesday evening service with an average of around two hundred and fifty.³ While Murdoch refused to allow men, although spiritual, without proper education to become ministers of the church, he did organize an indigenous leadership for them so that their influence was felt in the community along with the ministers.

It has been a custom for years at Buckhorn to ring the angelus to call the parish to prayer each day. There is no fixed time for it to

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1. Warren H. Wilson: *The Church At The Center*, p. 58.
2. Cf. Mahy, op. cit., p. 124.
3. Cf. Brunner, op. cit., p. 120.

ring, but when it is heard men, women and children bow their heads for a few minutes in reverence.

The success of Buckhorn could never be understood apart from Murdoch's faith in God which was the strong rock foundation for the work. In one of his sermons to the people at the church in Brooklyn he remarked that they had given their money and he had given his life to build Buckhorn and maintain it. He continued,

"...But this does not fully explain Buckhorn in the beginning nor in its life through the years. No! No! No! These things have proved mighty instruments; but, 'Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' The Lord was back of Buckhorn at the beginning and has been with it through the years, so that we can truly testify today, 'Hitherto hath the Lord led us.'"

E. Morris Fork, Kentucky.

1. Brief History.

Morris Fork is a little community in Breathitt County which up to 1923 was better known to all as "Bloody Breathitt." This dreadful name became fixed rightfully because of the many killings which took place there. A ten month period between 1901-1902 surpassed all other years with the terrible number of thirty-seven killings committed in the county. The rows which brought about these murders were usually the result of whiskey and arguments over women and politics. The majority of the people in the community had come to expect these feuds and take them for granted for it was the only escape valve that they had.

In 1923 Sam Vander Meer came to Kentucky to serve God. He had completed a missionary training course at National Bible Institute in New York City and accepted an offer to take a temporary position of

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1. Mahy, op. cit., p. 97.

teaching at the local public school at Buckhorn, Kentucky. He was preparing to leave in the fall and return to his home in New Jersey when he received a call from the people at Morris Fork to come and teach school in their community. They had been without a teacher of any sort for several years and from the description of the place it is little wonder. Most people would not have considered such a call for "In native parlance, there was too much danger of contracting a sudden case of lead poisoning."¹ However, Vander Meer prayed about it and decided it was the place God wanted him, so he accepted.

2. Problems.

a. Environmental.

In the April, 1943 issue of The Progressive Farmer, an article written by Ralph A. Felton on Morris Fork said:

The place we want to get to is called Morris Fork. We get off the night train at Chavies. Then comes a ten-mile ride over a grapevine road to Buckhorn. Here we have our choice between riding a mule or walking. The path to Morris Fork is steep and muddy along swift flowing creeks. These steep mountains and creek roads determine the life of the people, their income, their customs and their theology.²

In this little community, just as the many others in the Southern Highlands, such isolation has eventuated in many problems for the people and the Christian worker.

b. Social and Economic.

The killings of Breathitt County were not the only deplorable conditions which Sam Vander Meer found when he arrived at Morris Fork. Garrison says,

There was no industry, little business, and a very poor type of farm-

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1. Webb B. Garrison: "Kentucky's Mountain Preacher." Reprint. Presbyterian Life, August 5, 1950.
2. Ralph A. Felton: "Tired Country." Typewritten copy. The Progressive Farmer, April, 1943.

ing. People were accustomed to living on a diet of pork and corn bread, seldom saw a dollar in cash. Houses were old and dilapidated, often without windows. Sanitary facilities consisted of open-pit privies. Whole communities were infected with trachoma and hookworm, the latter of which the old folks described as "misery in the stumick." Few in the entire section had ever seen a screened window, running water, or an electric light.¹

Undernourishment was prevalent and rickets was not uncommon. About the most the people could say of their conditions when asked was that they "felt tol'able."²

The customary manner of farming in this part of the mountains was to plant on a small piece of pasture a small garden plot and fill all the rest with corn. This practice was continued until the soil was all worn out, and each year the yield of crops was less. Besides poor soil, their live-stock was inferior. In fact, it seemed to Vander Meer that everything about the place showed that this was a "tired country."³

The educational facilities were tragic. An old shanty which had been condemned for thirteen years served as a school house. There were cracks in the walls, it was poorly lighted, and boards had been taken off the outside to use for kindling to keep the building warm.⁴ The first day he opened the school for classes, Vander Meer had an attendance of thirty pupils which "...included sullen youngsters of ten and twelve who had never been to school a day."⁵

c.. Ethical.

Vander Meer says of the ethical code of his people that the

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1. Garrison, op. cit.
2. Hitch, op. cit., p. 98.
3. Felton, loc. cit.
4. Cf. Garrison, op. cit.
5. Ibid.

old established patterns are difficult to rearrange. Familiarity with certain views that have been part of every day living makes it difficult to get the folks to see that some of their practices are wrong.¹

The young people responded from the very beginning of his ministry much better than the adults. Some of them just could not seem to believe that he was there to help them. Garrison relates this story:

One old chap from a neighboring ridge was frankly incredulous when, in 1926, work was started on a community house. He stalked down out of the mountains, his rifle in the crook of his arm, and demanded to be told who was building the big new "still box."²

Illegitimacy is still a problem in the community, for an adequate solution has not yet been found, but the lawlessness, drunkenness, moonshine stills, and bloody feuds are much a thing of the past.

d. Religious.

The people of Morris Fork who claimed to be Christians did believe their lives should be different, but it was mostly a negative morality. Felton stated:

When Sam first came to Buckhorn he went every week up the left fork of Long's Creek to conduct a Sunday School. Itinerant preachers came once a month. The people heard a lot about their sins. No one seemed to see that his sins were the result of monotonous living in isolated mountain coves. Their standard of living was poor because their schools were poor. Their schools were poor because their incomes were low. The powerful sermons of consecrated preachers called many to repentance. After the preachers left, the people went back again into the same old work harness. They faced the same limiting factors.³

It was this religion, bound by the environment in which they lived, that Vander Meer had to confront.

3. Methods.

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1. Garrison, op. cit.
2. From a questionnaire sent to Sam Vander Meer.
3. Felton, loc cit.

a. In Social Areas.

(1) Education.

After four months of teaching school at Morris Fork the financial problems made it impossible for him to stay any longer. He had been teaching with no salary, his only remuneration being free board and room in different homes of his pupils. He informed the people he was going to leave, but they had already learned to deem him a valuable part of their life, so they told him that they were going to pray him back. That is exactly what they did; within a few months from the time he left he was back again and this time when he opened the school house he had so many pupils he could not accomodate them. Soon another community across the way asked him to come over and teach in their school for two days of the week. It was not long before the adults wanted to learn to read and write and he found himself with so many to teach that he was meeting every night with a different group. Such were the beginnings of Sam Vander Meer's educational efforts.¹

Although he had stuffed the cracks in the building and given the out-side a good white-wash, he could see that a new school was essential if the children were to receive a respectable education. So he started to encourage parent's interest in their children's education.

He gathered around him ten interested families who agreed to help build a Community House. One of them gave an acre of land and all of them agreed to gather the material and help build. It was completed in 1927, a building of boxing and logs, stained brown. It became the church, school, and the center for community activities.² Even the

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1. Garrison, op. cit.

2. Cf. Garrison, op. cit.

skeptics were impressed by this new building and when the news of it reached New Jersey, Vander Meer's home, the Forest Hill Presbyterian Church of Newark, New Jersey, offered to provide financial support for him. Encouraged by his new status, Sam Vander Meer married Nola Pease, a public health nurse in the nearby Leslie County, who from that time on became an invaluable co-worker in the endeavor for Christ at Morris Fork.¹

It was not long before a simple Parent-Teacher organization was formed which took a new interest in a school. A new building was planned which was to have a library, two class rooms, a basement for recreation, manual training, and domestic science. It was even to have sanitary toilets. The building was completed and dedicated in 1933 with great pride and joy on the part of all the people because of their good work. Within a year's time it caught fire and burned to the ground. As the people stood watching the flames they determined that they were going to have another school and so they did. The W.P.A. made it possible for them to have a lovely \$10,000 building where the children could have the opportunity of the regular curriculum plus music, dramatics, Bible, home economics, and agricultural training.²

(2) Recreation.

The new Community House was a real boost to Vander Meer's theory that the people need to learn how to play as well as work. This was not easy for the people to understand at first, but they were learning to trust their leader's good sense so they followed him, though slowly at first. Certain festival days are made much of. It used to be

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1. Cf. *ibid.*

2. Cf. Felton, *loc. cit.*

when Christmas came around the women and children cowered in the house to escape flying bullets and drunken men. Now there are Christmas parties, with little children's eyes sparkling as they receive their presents from a dressed-up Santa Claus. There are young people riding up and down the creeks distributing presents to all the families. There is a beautiful big Christmas tree with lights and trimming, and Christmas caroling from house to house. Easter, Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving are also much enjoyed times of the year.¹

In recent years, Vander Meer asked the people of the church if they wanted to take advantage of a recreational program the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers was offering. One of the elders of the church said to him,

"...we've had all kinds of programs since you came to Morris Fork, but this is the first time I ever heard of a program just for play. You're doing a heap of queer things we don't understand, but we know you're working for the good interests of us and our children. So go ahead and lead us, and we'll try to follow!"²

b. In Economic Areas.

(1) Health.

"Those who know Sam and Nola Vander Meer intimately often say that the best thing he ever did for Morris Fork was when he selected his wife."³ No sooner had she entered this little community and seen the critical health conditions than she began to plan for a clinic. Her previous public health work in Leslie County had made her wise in ways to get things accomplished. She made the best possible use of

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1. Cf. Hitch, op. cit., p. 99.
2. Garrison, op. cit.
3. Felton, loc. cit.

every means available to her to bring good health to these mountain people so that they could enter into the life of the community as normal citizens. Garrison says of her work,

She secured funds from the state board of health. She persuaded the railroad to give free rides to patients going to city hospitals. Baby clinics, vaccinations, inoculations, and sanitary toilets became a part of the established program of Morris Fork Church.¹

Hot school lunches, health classes and home makers' meetings are also assisting to solve the problems of poor health.²

(2) Agricultural.

Of agricultural work, Garrison states that

Recognizing the connection between economic and spiritual ill health, Vander Meer sponsored projects in scientific farming. Under the auspices of the minister, state and federal agencies began to penetrate the region.³

It took quite a while, months in fact, to gather a number of men who would be willing to try crop rotation, but after they had finally agreed, agricultural progress began to speed up. Farm and home agents were brought into the community and now they come once a month and hold a meeting for the fathers, one for the mothers, and one for 4-H clubs. It has made a difference. Now instead of planting just corn there are several different crops. The people have learned about cover crops to hold the soil on the hillside. Now enough canning of vegetables can be done in the summer to tide them through the winter. Garrison sums up the tremendous change which took place in the community over the years as follows:

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1. Garrison, op. cit.
2. From questionnaire sent to Sam Vander Meer.
3. Garrison, op. cit.

As the years passed, the whole life of Morris Fork was transformed by the program that centered in the church. Women began to talk about balanced diet, cold-pack canning, and wilt-resistant tomatoes. Men began bringing in pure-blooded poultry and stock, planting soy beans and legumes. Paint appeared on a few houses, many windows were screened, and sanitary toilets were introduced. A modern school building was erected, and departments of domestic science and manual training were established.¹

(3) Others.

One of the most recent changes and perhaps the most joyfully received by the Vander Meers has been the new state highway which starts just one mile from Morris Fork community. Now their motor vehicles can climb out of the creek bed and onto a road which connects them with the rest of the world. Also, with the road comes the promise of electricity which can introduce many more modern conveniences into the life of Morris Fork.²

c. In Christian Education.

The wonderful work accomplished by a Christ-centered and Church-centered program touching all parts of life is beautifully pointed up by Sam and Nola Vander Meer's own Christmas letter sent to their friends in 1948:

Our first Christmas at Morris Fork—1928. Christmas—Peace on earth, Good will, Joy, Happiness and Cheer. All night long wild carousing, drunken shots had rung up and down our creeks...Christmas at Morris Fork! No story of the manger Babe—no Christmas carols—no happy groups or family gatherings—no little children, with eager anticipation waiting for Santa—no church bells—just terrified women and children, drunken, stupified men—who knew not the Christmas story. Oh, God—how long! And with this prayer, we went, sadly, to the home of death and sorrow where once again Satan had proved his power and that "the wages of sin is death."..."Gloria in Excelsis-Deo-Gloria in Excelsis, Deo"—Majestically, the young people's choir in their

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1. Ibid.
2. "Morris Fork Christmas," 1948. A printed letter sent by the Vander Meers to friends.

beautiful new maroon robes, a gift of the Christmas season, marched thru the little church in a dignified processional. All around was the beauty and glory of the Christmas time....What has happened in these twenty years since our first Christmas of sorrow and terror?"And this shall be a sign unto you—ye shall find the Babe"—Morris Fork listened—heard—sought—and have found the Babe. And because He came, and we at Morris Fork have found Him, the Christmas story is no longer unknown, but we share the true joy, happiness and beauty of the Christmas time, singing our anthem with the rest of the world "Joy to the World the Lord is Come."¹

Not long after the Community House had been completed the people began to talk eagerly about a new church. This time almost all in Morris Fork helped. Ideas as well as labor was contributed by members of the community. A church of native stone, logs, and shingles was completed in 1929. One of the mountain women telling another of her first visit inside the church said, "It minded me so much of the place my Savior was borned in, I might' nigh cried."² The people love the church because through all of its organizations they have found the more abundant life. Every Sunday over a hundred people make their way to the church. Some walk many miles from their little cabins along the creek beds. All who come are people whose lives have been transformed.²

One day a man who had been newly elected a deacon of the church came to Vander Meer to ask about his duties. He was told that a deacon's job was to visit the sick and help the poor. Then the minister commended him for the fact that he did not drink or gamble but told him that he did have one fault; he was lazy and all his neighbors knew it. The preacher ended with these remarks:

"...As soon as you are ordained a deacon, the first thing I want

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1. "Morris Fork Christmas," 1948.
2. Cf. Felton; "Tired Country."

you to do is to go home and put a new hinge in your gate. One hinge has broken and the gate is down. A Christian should be a better farmer and a better husband and father."¹

It is no wonder that the whole life of Morris Fork in Breathitt County has been so transformed when the minister has such a completely Christian philosophy.

F. Summary.

The purpose of this chapter has been to study selected missions of the Presbyterian church in the Southern Highlands to discover the most important problems which faced the Christian workers in their work. After the problems had been viewed, methods used in meeting them were recounted. The locations selected were: Big Stone Gap, Virginia; Big Lick, Tennessee; Buckhorn, Kentucky; and Morris Fork, Kentucky.

It has been shown that each of these four communities have had many of the same problems. The two missions in Kentucky appeared to have the greatest problem of isolation, although the ones in Virginia and Tennessee were not entirely lacking in this difficulty, especially in the earlier years of the work. In all of these areas the extreme isolation has been relieved. In some cases it has been due to the use by the missionary of government agencies and in many instances the government has taken the initiative.

The social and economic difficulties have been and still are great. Both are very dependent on the degree and years of isolation which the people of the community have known. In every situation studied it was found that the Christian worker had to do something to help the

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1. Ibid.

people in these areas of their lives simultaneously with the preaching of the Christian gospel.

Individualism in ethics and attitudes have slowed down the work in the four areas. The main method of approach seemed to be the slow but sure process of re-education of every realm of life. One of the most influential methods of claiming the people's interest in their problems was to help them see their own troubles and assist them with the solution of the problems.

The religious life of the people in every case was one of sincere belief but little action. Much of this was due to the fact that they faced the above difficulties and did not know what to do about them. Sometimes they did not realize that something should be done. In every case when the people were shown that they could be lifted from their dire condition, they responded.

Mere social reform was not considered to be an end in itself. Neither was it merely a means to an end. Rather it was a part of the Gospel which could not be ignored if the people were expected to respond to the claims of Christ in all parts of their lives. Sunday schools, young people's meetings, worship services, and all the other activities of the church were made a part of the religious life of the people. When the members of the community saw the abundant Christian life lived before them by the missionaries and realized the workers were there to help them do the same, then their lives showed the real fruit of a sincere belief in Christ.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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A. Restatement of the Problem

The purpose of this study has been to find the essential reasons for the limited influence of the religion of the Southern Highlander in various aspects of his life, and to learn what successful methods were used in dealing with the problems.

In order to understand the problem the people were studied in relation to their heredity and environment. After this the Presbyterian mission work with the mountain people was viewed first in general and then with regard to specific missions to learn what their problems were and how they had dealt with them.

B. General Summary

The racial background of the Southern Highlander was found to be pre-dominantly English, German, and Scotch Irish. The people of the mountains have retained the Protestant religion of their ancestors but due to isolation and the influence of many denominations the strong hold of original denominations was lost.

It was discovered that isolation was an important influencing factor in developing the individualistic ethical code and attitudes of the mountain people and in the low economic condition with its resulting poor conditions of living, health, and education. The conclusion of this study was that the environment of the Highlander has been responsible for various factors which would inevitably be barriers to Christian work with the people unless the problems were recognized and dealt with successfully.

In the second chapter the beginnings of the Presbyterian mission work in the Southern Highlands were presented and a general survey was made of some of the problems which the missionaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries encountered.

From the beginning of the pioneer settlements in the mountains the Presbyterian Church has been awake to the needs for Christian work there and has sent many workers to this needy field. During the eighteenth century a general spiritual apathy took place which was changed only when the Revival of 1800 swept the country. The Revival also brought the bad effect of excess emotionalism and an eventual split in the Presbyterian ranks. An even more serious division took place as a result of the slavery issue. The opposing groups of Northern and Southern Presbyterian Churches finally split in 1866. Each has worked in the Southern mountains independently since that time and each with considerable success.

The problems which the early missionaries faced were due to the lack of understanding of the individualism of the people. There were also the difficulties of traveling because of poor or no roads. The Presbyterian policies of a well educated ministry and central church government were also barriers at times because the people were not accustomed to either.

Four missions of the Presbyterian Church were selected for the purpose of viewing the problems which they had confronted in their work and the methods used in meeting them. These missions were: Big Stone Gap, Virginia of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.; Big Lick, Tennessee; Buckhorn, Kentucky; and Morris Fork, Kentucky; of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

In all four areas studied it was found that the problems

were very similar, although the severity of different ones varied with each mission. The difficulties were due to the isolation which resulted in bad social and economic conditions and individualism in ethics, attitudes, and religion. In studying the methods it was seen that in each of the missions the Christian worker had helped the people solve the problems in the above mentioned areas of their lives at the same time they preached the Christian message of salvation. The best method discovered to combat these conditions was to obtain the people's interest and help them do something about their own problems. When the people were shown the possibilities of living changed lives through the example and help of the missionary and the many organizations of the church, they responded and showed the fruit of their belief in Christ Jesus.

C. Conclusions

In light of the findings of this study, certain conclusions are clear. First. The people of the Southern Highlands are not by nature a strange people but have developed certain characteristics due to a long isolated environment and the difficult and hopeless conditions that have attended such isolation.

Second. Due to their ancestral background of an evangelical Christian faith and with no influence for such a long period of time to change their religion, the conservative doctrines of Christianity are acknowledged by the large majority of the people. However, this does not mean that they have all experienced salvation. There are also many sincere believers in Christ who do try to live a life different from the average person, but their code is mainly one of "don'ts". They may have the desire to change some of the unfavorable conditions

in which they live but have been unable to do this by themselves.

Third. The more civilization and modern conveniences invade the isolation of the mountains the less unique their problems will be. This change is already true in many areas of the mountains. However, it does take a while for an independent people like the Highlanders to completely change. Therefore, as long as a remnant of their uniqueness remains there will be different problems for the Christian worker to confront than would be found in other rural communities.

Fourth. The first and most important of the tasks of the Christian church and minister is to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ so that people may be saved and their lives changed to the glory of God. But, the Christian worker can not ignore the social and economic condition of people, especially when the remedy for them has a direct relation to some of the ethical and moral ills he desires to see changed. The missionary can expect the people to see the relevance of Christianity to every day life when he makes his own witness practical in helping them with their problems.

Fifth. A missionary is not primarily a social worker, but in regions where the government is not tackling the jobs that need to be done the Christian worker will have to do something about them himself or use his influence to encourage the government to do it. The missionary is justified in doing social work as long as there is no other agency that can do it better.

Sixth. The most successful method of building up a community economically, socially or spiritually, is to obtain the people's interest and encourage and teach them to do it themselves.

Finally. Faith and patience are two of the most necessary qualifications for any missionary. Change and progress are slow. It may require years of work for the Christian worker to see fruit of his labor.

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APPENDIX

Those Responding to Questionnaire

1. Effie B. Bley
Pineville, Kentucky.
2. Philip Bembow, Director,
The Upper Big Sandy Presbyterian Larger Parish
Canada, Kentucky.
3. Mabel C. Hall
Das Cabin
Delvinta, Kentucky.
4. Robert G. McClure, Director,
Ows-Lee Larger Parish
Booneville, Kentucky.
5. Charles W. Pindar
Unit of City and Industrial Work, Synod of Ohio,
714 Washington Street
Marietta, Ohio.
(formerly of West Virginia Mountain Project)
6. Raymond Shondelmeyer
Wooten, Kentucky.
7. Eugene Smathers
Calvary Church
Big Lick, Tennessee.
8. James M. Smith
P.O. Box 12
Big Stone Gap, Virginia.
9. Bernard Taylor
Christ Church, Presbyterian,
Alpine, Tennessee.
10. Jean Tolk
Dry Hill, Kentucky.
11. Samuel Vander Meer
Forest Hills Community Center
Morris Fork, Kentucky
12. Carl J.C. Wolf
West Virginia Mountain Project
Whitesville, West Virginia.
13. Louis Zimmerman
Route 3
Marshall, North Carolina

Questionnaire

- I. Have any of the following attitudes or traditions of the established Christian Religion of the mountain people been a problem to you in your work?
 - A. Satisfaction with a belief which will take them to heaven and which gives no consideration to a Christian life on earth.
 - B. Emotionalism which expects a highly excitable religious **service** and conversion.
 - C. Prejudice of the people against paid preachers.
 - D. Prejudice against any other mode of baptism than immersion.
 - E. Suspicion of outsiders.
 - F. Denominational disputes.
- II. Have any of the following factors in their individualistic ethical code been a problem?
 - A. Clannishness and feud-spirit.
 - B. Lack of respect for the law.
 - C. Illicit distilling of liquor.

D. Tolerance of murder.

E. Tolerance of illegitimacy.

F. The low place of women in society.

III. Have any of the following been factors which have hindered the people to whom you minister from living an abundant Christian life?

A. Poor soil and lack of modern agricultural knowledge.

B. Poor living conditions.

C. Poor health.

D. Poor education.

IV. Have the people developed a fatalistic attitude toward the problem just stated in the previous question?

A. If the answer to the above question is yes, how have you helped them to see that these conditions should be corrected?

B. How have you helped them deal with the problems?

V. Please use this space to add any remarks:

- A. Which you feel would point up more clearly the basic problems which hinder the mountain people in your area in living a Christian life consistent with their belief.
- B. To enlarge upon what you have already said regarding methods you have used in dealing with the problems.