A STUDY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN HIGHLANDS UNDER THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A.

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A. The Purpose of the Study

Authors agree that the Southern Highlander is deeply religious, but because of his extreme isolation, his poverty and the intense and difficult struggle for advancement, and in some regions bare existence, the traditions of his ancestors have either remained unaltered or have deteriorated. It must be the purpose of the Christian educator, by the best possible adaptation of modern methods of Christian education to teach the mountain family how to live a Christ-like life each day. This can be accomplished only if the teaching is definitely related to the economic, social, and physical environment of the people.

The problem, then, is to study the present Christian education program as it is carried on in certain schools and community centers in the light of the background and needs of the people and to compare the work done with accepted standards set up by the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. An attempt will also be made to determine, if possible, the concomitant learnings which result from the training and contacts made in these schools and community centers. In endeavoring to solve this problem it is

necessary to combine the views and experiences of those who have given much of their lives in this field and who have been continually trying to improve and increase their program. Such a combination of purposes and ideals, in relation to the history of the country, will make it possible for the reader to view the total situation and may make him realize his own responsibility.

B. The Delimitation of the Field

There are two mountain regions in the southern part of the United States. The Ozarks lie almost entirely in Missouri and Arkansas while the Southern Appalachian Highlands cover a much larger area and include parts of nine states: Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. The locus of missionary enterprise under the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., is found in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Within this limit, certain schools and community centers under the Unit of Schools and Hospitals have been chosen for special study. The schools are as follows: Asheville Teachers College, Asheville Farm School, Dorland Bell School, and Mossop School. Community centers under special consideration are: Cranks Creek, Rocky Fork, Sunset Gap School, Wooton, Sulphur Springs and Smyrna.

Before beginning the specific studies, it will be necessary to view the general conditions of the entire Appalachian belt in relation to the historical, economic, social, and religious background of the people. Conditions are extremely varied throughout these Highlands, ranging from extreme isolation to a progressive community. No one story told of the life in the Southern Mountains can be said to be typical; the picture is not a composite one.

C. Previous Research

The statement which follows explains itself, and it is from this study of Dr. Hooker's that much of the data concerning historical and present-day religious conditions have been drawn.

> "A study of the religious situation of the Southern Appalachian Highlands was undertaken by the Institute of Social and Religious Research at the request of the Joint Committee on Comity and the Five-Year Program, representing the Home Missions Council, the Council of Women for Home Missions, The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and the Community Church Workers. Work on this study was begun early in the spring of 1931."[1]

There are also historical files and annual reports from all the Presbyterian stations and these files with the detailed reports since 1933 have been used for the specific study of the schools and community centers.

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1. Hooker, Elizabeth R.: Religion in the Highlands. New York: Home Missions Council, 1933. Introduction p.v

In 1933 Mr. James Stanton Bair wrote a thesis under the following title:

> "A Study of the Home Mission Schools of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in the light of their heritage, their development, and their present operations; Negro Schools Excepted."

Mr. Bair's study includes certain material, taken in 1931, from the same schools, but it is not particularly concerned with the Christian Education program. In 1931, Eugene C. Waller made a survey of the church and independent schools and colleges of the Southern Appalachians, upon which he reported for his masters degree from the University of Tennessee. This thesis is written from a general educational standpoint without special emphasis on the Christian Education program although social and religious aspects are included.

From time to time workers in the various stations have written concerning their work and the progress which they feel is being made; some of these facts will be included here. The writer is particularly indebted to certain members of the staff of the National Missions Board and those who are at present on the field or whose experience is recent and has covered several years.

D. Method of Procedure

The first step in approaching the problem is the study of the background of the people. This study is concerned with the history and geography, the economic

conditions both past and present, the social life of the people as a result of their surroundings, and the religious background, i.e., the early beliefs, the development of denominations to date, and the education of the local preachers and leaders. Although the mountain picture is varied, a sufficient number of different circumstances will be cited to enable the reader to gain a view of the whole.

The second step is a statement of the problems confronting Christian educators today, a brief summary of the cooperative agencies in the Southern Highlands, and a specific study of selected schools and community centers. In this last a short history of the station will be given, including the date of founding, the location and general set-up, the specific purpose of the school or center, and the general progress up to the present. The center of interest is in the program of Christian Education, both academic and practical, in which the writer is concerned with the results shown in the lives of the students and the out-reach into the communities.

The third step in the procedure is a general evaluation of the total program in Christian Education as it is carried on at present in these schools and community centers, in the light of the background and needs of the people and according to accepted standards set up by the

National Missions Board.

In conclusion constructive suggestions will be made for the general improvement of the Christian Education program. These suggestions will be made in the light of the accepted standards and the experiences of various workers, both present and past, including the writer.

In the appendix are maps which show locations of areas which have been studied and the mission stations of specific interest which are within these areas. In addition, a typical revival sermon and descriptions of five different Highland communities have been given.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE WHITE PEOPLE IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN HIGHLANDS

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A. The Historical and Geographical Background

1. Ancestry

Who are the southern Highlanders?[1] Who are the Mountaineers?[2] In order to fully understand these people and their development, it is necessary to know something of their antecedents. Among those who know the field, it is agreed that, for the most part, the true southern Highlander is of English, Scotch-Irish, or German descent, although there are a few traces of French and of Highland Scotch.

a. English

These people belonged to the non-conformist groups with whom they suffered much persecution and in some cases banishment, for the Lollards, a humble and quiet people, were very strict in their religious beliefs and habits. "The seeds of the English migration go back to the rise of the Lollards in the fourteenth century."[3]

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1. The term "Highlander" is the correct name for the people living in the Southern Highlands
2. "Mountaineer" and "Highlander" will be used as synonomous terms.
3. Hooker, E.R.,Op.cit., p. 14

They condemned the luxurious and notorious lives of the monks and the priests, and thought the images of saints, so much used in the Catholic Church, idolatrous; the persecutions therefore only strengthened their resolutions. They were found for the most part among the poorer classes, who were scattered throughout England and Scotland, both in towns and in the country.

When migration to America began, few people went directly to the Highlands. The greatest migration from England occurred almost a century before the settlement of the Highlands, so that these English families undoubtedly lived for several generations in other parts of America. "Some are known to have sojourned in New England, in Pennsylvania, in lowland Virginia, and eastern North Carolina."[1] Many English settlers immigrated for religious reasons, but this is not true of all. Dr. Hooker makes the following statement:

> "But not all the English settlers, it will be remembered, were strong religionists. Some came for economic reasons only. Others were political prisoners or persons convicted of minor crimes. Moreover, the fact that churches were not well established in colonial days tended to laxity of religious observances."[2]

b. Scotch-Irish

The Lollards went to southern Scotland even more

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1. Hooker, E. R., Op.cit., p.26
2. Ibid.

than to England and here reformers spread the doctrines of Calvinism, and established the Presbyterian church. Much persecution followed the Reformation in Scotland and when, in 1611, colonists were wanted for northern Ireland, those with more initiative and ambition seized this opportunity and migrated. The greatest motive for migration was economic, but nearly all were Presbyterian and with many the change came through a desire to escape persecution.[1] Under Charles I, oppression of the Irish church caused many Irish to flee to the west of Scotland.[2] The Scotch-Irish were also subjected to serious economic handicaps; prohibitive duties on their exports to England and increased rents were demanded of them.

c. Germans and others from central Europe

The oppression of the Germans and others in central Europe began with the Reformation in 1517, or earlier when John Huss was martyred in the fifteenth century. The issue at this time was the conflict between the Catholic and Protestant forces.

> "In the sixteenth century and again in the first half of the seventeenth, bitter and destructive religious wars laid waste Germany, especially that part of it called the Palatinate, which lay about the upper courses of the Rhine."[3]

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op.cit.,pp.18,19
2. Ibid., p.19
3. Ibid., p.21

The state religions in Germany at this time were Lutheran and Reformed and the centralized government of each of these was not unlike the Presbyterian. Among the common people the Anabaptists developed, and because of some of their views they were severely persecuted. From the Anabaptists arose the Mennonite sect, many of whom came to Pennsylvania and joined William Penn's Quaker colony where they secured religious freedom. Other independent movements developed, among whom were the Dunkers or Brethren, who began migrating to Pennsylvania about 1719.

> "The German Emigration, beginning with a few groups late in the seventeenth century, became rapid about 1710 and continued to the time of the American Revolution. The Germans coming to America were Protestants, some being Lutheran, some Reformed, and others belonging to independent denominations, such as the Mennonites and the Dunkers. Most of them were farmers."[1]

The Huguenots, Protestants of France, are another stock represented in the southern Highlands, though they are fewer in number than those already discussed. After the abolition of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, these people suffered terrible persecution, and a million of them migrated to other countries, some of them coming to America and settling in those colonies near the Highlands. The majority of the French did not form permanent colonies in these parts, although an occasional French name appears.[2]

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1. Hooker, E.R.,Op.cit., p.23
2. Ibid., p.24

A few Highland Scotch settled in South Carolina, after 1745, and it is probable that a few penetrated into the hill country.[1]

2. Geography of the Southern Highlands

In order to state accurately the location and general topography of the Southern Highlands, it is advisable to quote from Hooker.[2]

> "The highland region to which the groups of colonists described above unconsciously converged forms the southern part of the Appalachian Mountain system, which was so long a barrier to westward migration....the Southern Appalachian Highlands extend from the southern boundary of Pennsylvania to the lowlands along the Gulf of Mexico, and include the western part of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, the eastern part of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and a portion of the northern end of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. The region has three zones running the long way of the barrier. On the east stand the Blue Ridge Mountains, a narrow chain at the northern end, but widening at the south into a complicated maze of peaks and ranges. On the west lies the Alleghany-Cumberland Plateau, for the most part deeply furrowed by water-courses and declining slowly westward. Between these two rugged sections lies the Great Valley, which itself is some hundreds of feet higher than the general level beyond the bordering mountains. It is literally a succession of valleys, in which lies the upper courses of many rivers, which pass out of the long trench either at the ends or through gaps in the mountain walls. On the east in North Carolina and westward in West Virginia, broad and fertile river valleys extend up among the hills. These valleys, especially the Great Valley between the bordering ranges, formed the easiest avenues of approach.
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> Most of the colonists that eventually settled in the

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op.cit., p.24
2. See maps in appendix

> Highlands lived first in more accessible sections of the colonies."[1]

James Watt Raine quotes from John C. Campbell in regard to the location of the Southern Highlands and makes a statement similar to Dr. Hooker's, but in addition says:

> "Our mountain region of approximately 112,000 square miles, embraces an area nearly as large as the combined areas of New York and New England, and almost equal to that of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales."[2]

At the edge of the mountains the fertile valleys are wider, more level, and much more habitable. There are also patches which may be farmed back in the "coves" and "hollows." However, many of the families farm a small patch of corn, tobacco, and a few vegetables on hillsides so steep they must be terraced. Horace Kephart quotes John Fox when he tells of a man who fell out of his own corn-field and broke his neck.[3] He says:

> "I have seen fields in North Carolina where this might occur, as when a forty-five degree slope is tilled to the brink of a precipice. A woman told me, 'I've hoed corn many a time on my knees ---- yes I have;' and another: 'Many's the hill o' corn I've propped up with a rock to keep it from fallin' down hill.'"[4]

Travel up and down the wider and more open valleys is comparatively easy, but to cross the many trackless and steep ridges is almost impossible except on

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op.cit.,pp.25-26
2. Raine, James Watt: The Land of Saddle Bags. New York: Council of Women for Home Missions, and Missionary Education Movement of United States and Canada; 1924. p.18
3. Kephart, Horace: Our Southern Highlanders. New York: The Macmillan Company; 1926. p.35
4. Ibid.

foot or horseback. The interior valleys, though not many miles from civilization, are almost impenetrable. The people living in these mountain pockets are primitive, for they seldom travel far from home and only a few miles takes the traveler back to the seventeenth century. To show how the mountains wall the people in, one author writes:

> "Here, hidden in deep mountain pockets, dwell families of unlettered folk, of almost pure Anglo-Saxon stock, sheltered in tiny mud-plastered log cabins and supported by primitive agriculture. One of these settlements, Colvin Hollow,[1] has no community government, no organized religion, little social organization wider than that of the family and clan, and only traces of organized industry. The ragged children, until 1928, never had seen the flag or heard of the Lord's Prayer. They speak a peculiar language which retains many Elizabethan expressions. . . . Colvin Hollow is close to a center of American civilization, less than one hundred miles from the National Capital. It is less than eight miles from a hard-surfaced road."[2]

This Hollow is an example of the greatest isolation known in the mountains.[3]

3. Immigration and Settlement of the Southern Highlands

The earliest colonists did not go directly to the mountains; in fact until 1730, when population elsewhere --- particularly in Pennsylvania --- became dense,

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1. Fictitious name
2. Sherman, Mandel; and Henry, Thomas R.: Hollow Folk. New York: Thomas Y.Crowell Company, 1933. p.1
3. Ibid., p.5

these mountains had veen visited only by occasional hunters, traders, and trappers, but from 1730 until 1776, those parts which were more easily penetrated began to be occupied. Large grants of land were secured in the lower, northeastern end of the Great Valley much more cheaply than was possible in Pennsylvania. The Germans and Scotch-Irish went in in large numbers while a much smaller number of English helped to colonize this region. When population became dense in Pennsylvania, there were three definite reasons which caused the people to go south through the valleys in Virginia. To the west were rough impenetrable mountains, here also were hostile Indian tribes and the consequent proclamation of authorities forbidding settlers to go on to the other side of the mountains, and the Virginia valley offered rich soil, beautiful scenery and delightful hunting.

The upper or southwestern part of the Great Valley is much rougher and settlement was much slower. There was also greater danger from the Indians. Those who settled this region were: English, Germans, Scotch-Irish, and a number of French Huguenots and Scotch Highlanders. In 1770 and following, a few settlers went to eastern Tennessee.

"At the beginning of the Revolution then, settlement was well advanced in the lower valley of Virginia; a

> few groups had found a foothold at many widely separated points in the upper valley in southwest Virginia; and there were small colonies in the part of the Great Valley lying in eastern Tennessee, and in the valleys along the edges of the Highlands in North Carolina and in West Virginia. Some of these pioneers in the Highlands won the battle at King's Mountain in critical days of the Revolution."[1]

Settlement went on in the mountains during the Revolution to a certain extent, and increased rapidly afterward.

In 1790, less than sixty years after settlement began, the census showed more than 187,000 inhabitants in the organized colonies.

> "Nearly half of these, practically 100,000, lived in the lower or northeastern part of the Great Valley. In the valley in southwestern Virginia there were nearly 9,000; in Tennessee, more than 28,000; in North Carolina, about 31,000; and west of the Great Valley, in Virginia and West Virginia, about 14,000."[2]

To show how long the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants have lived there, Campbell says that of 1085 surnames common today in the Highland sections of North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, 663 or three-fifths were included in the census of 1790, as residing in the same region. The present population of 6,750,000 is predominately rural, native white, and of English or Scotch-Irish ancestry.[3]

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op.cit., p.29
2. Ibid., p.30
3. Data taken from Home Missions Today and Tomorrow, edited by Herman N. Morse, chairman, Joint Committee on Five-Year Program of Survey and Adjustment. New York: Home Missions Council, 1934. pp. 176-194

B. Economic Background

There is no unique "southern mountain problem."[1] The problem here is only one of the nation's rural problems; it differs from other rural problems in that the region is more exclusively rural, more isolated, retardation and poverty are more pronounced, the struggle for advancement is more intense and difficult.

1. Isolation --- Its Causes and Results

There are two causes for isolation in the Highlands: the topography, and the relations which the Mountaineer has with the outside world. If it were not for the first, the second would not exist. This is true because at the time of settlement the Highlander and his neighbors of the outlying colonies were on a similar footing. As time went on, however, the Mountaineer slowed or ceased in his development (in proportion to his isolation) and the rest of the country advanced. This has resulted in a barrier.

The southern mountains are not only cut off from the world, but are separated from each other. In many districts, the only means of transportation is with saddle-bags on horse-back, or with a "tow-sack" "afoot." Roads, if any, are bad and as a result the people cannot

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1. Morse, Herman N.: Op.cit., p.176

market what little they have. Almost impassable roads are still found in the interior of the mountains; often a rocky stream in the bottom of a valley is the only place for travel. At times this stream may be a raging torrent, cutting off all communication with the outside world. The steep mountain ridges are also a barrier to travel. Again it must be remembered that conditions in the mountains are widely varied. Many people live in fertile valleys where there is plenty of space for agriculture, and where the marketing of crops is possible. Roads are the channels for commerce, the avenues of education and socialization. Without roads, these advances are at a standstill. The people must live on what they raise, or can carry from a store. Cash is a rare article; some women in the most remote coves have never had a dollar in their hands. Many of them have never been more than a few miles from the place where they were "borned."

The irritation and antagonism of the Mountaineer to the outside world are the result of the geographical isolation, but they are also causes for more isolation. The Southern Highlands have sometimes been disparagingly called the "backyards"[1] of the southern states. The term "mountain whites" is also one which is resented. Urban

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1. Campbell, J.C., Op.cit., p.19

dwellers of the North and South have at times made the mountain people feel that they have been caricatured because of their simplicity of life. Many of those who write about the mountains are not those who live in them. It is unfair for a traveler to share their hospitality and repay them by painting an untrue picture of the homes and customs. One author says; "I have never known mountain folk to refuse to extend hospitality from any false shame at the bareness of the fare or the meagerness of the accommodations."[1]

In some cases the term "mission" is a divisive factor.

> "In earlier days, when public funds were less available for education in the mountains, both Northern and Southern church Boards established mission schools in communities not adequately supplied with public schools. Despite all the high endeavor that the word "missions" conveys to us individually, no one of us cares to be regarded even by implication, as a worthy object of better uplift, or missionary effort."[2]

Political strife also separates the Highlander from his brothers of the outside world.

The southern Mountaineers are not welded together, but are isolated from each other. They are individual and are not group minded. They do not work well in community interests, a fact which is one of the main reasons why industries have not grown up even where they

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1. Raine, J.W., Op. cit., p.13
2. Campbell, J.C., Op.cit., p.20

might. However, for their own interests they are silent on the subject of their neighbors' business. "Don't tell anything about anybody, at any time, or you'll get in Dutch with your neighbors."[1]

This extreme isolation has resulted in great poverty, retardation, a holding of traditions, and the development of illicit liquor traffic. The greater the isolation, the greater the poverty. Names of places suggest this poverty, for example: "Needmore," "Poor Fork," "Long Hungry," "No Pone," and "No Fat." Deterioration of the mountain people began as soon as population began to press down upon the limits of subsistence. At first naturally the best people among the mountaineers were attracted to the best lands. In the generous river valleys there are today citizens superior to the average mountaineer generally considered. The number and extent of these valleys are narrowly limited and as a result the people are crowded farther and back into the hills. One wonders why they did not go west. There are several reasons for this: They were so isolated that they did not know of the west except as a few days' journey where the country was already crowded; also the mountain people are attached to their homes, their kindred, their old-fashioned ways, and

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1. Kephart, H.:Op.cit., p.227

their freedom; and there was nothing in their environment to arouse ambition. Their lives were hard, hopeless, and meager, which had developed a shiftless unconcern. They had no funds for moving, no industries, no markets for the sale of their surplus crops. The mountains are cursed by a miscellaneous flotsam from all quarters which tends to degrade the better class. Thrifty farmers, those who were well-informed, have deteriorated into illiterate and idle triflers, all run down at the heels.

As a direct result of poverty there is moonshining or "blockading" as it is called. In the mountains this trade is carried on for economic purposes, or was in its early development, because it was easier to make corn liquor and sell that than to carry the corn to market, where they would probably receive less for it than for the liquor. The business is not a deliberate attempt to evade the law, but is carried on in spite of the law. Many do not even like to do it, but it pays and so they take the chance. There are a few "Big Blockaders", i.e. those who carry it on a large scale and pay others to work for them. The greater part of the moonshining is done on a small scale and by individuals.

2. The Civil War and Its Results

The Mountaineer did not practice slavery; he was independent and thought others ought to be so, hence he

had a great dislike for the negro. Very few negroes live in the southern mountains, for the people will not tolerate them. The attitude toward the negro is one which recognizes him as a human being, but his place is somewhere else --- not with the Mountaineer. This attitude kept the Mountaineer loyal to the Union and the huge army which was raised so divided the South that it became one of the decisive influences of the war. "The North has never realized, perhaps, what it owes for its victory to this non-slaveholding Southern Mountaineer."[1]

The southern mountains suffered after the Civil War more than any other part of the country. Bushwhackers and bandits had preyed on those left at home and there were personal grudges and neighborhood wrongs to be "paid up" after the war. These people had incurred the bitter hostility of their own states by standing by the Union and as a result the isolation was worse than before. They were left alone and unchecked, and there followed feuds and war among themselves.

3. "Machine Age in the Hills."

During the past twenty or twenty-five years a change has come over the mountains, a change which Ross

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1. Kephart, H.: Op.cit., p.448

calls the "Machine Age in the Hills."[1]

> "A machine age twilight has settled over the coal hills of the South. There, during the past two decades, a region of small farmers was made momentarily prosperous by a sudden invasion of industry; then the wave passed, leaving them spoilt for the old way of life and hopeless to face the new. Here in miniature, is a cycle which technology seems to be working out in America at large."[2]

Bituminous coal mining, as an industry, has been outmoded. Its once prosperous days before and during the World War, are gone. The labor problems and the degrading moral influences resultant from the whole situation have been a curse to the mountain people. "An epoch of industrial development is always fraught with grave danger to the ideals and morals of the community."[3]

In many places the people have profited by the income of new industries, but in others, it has made the Mountaineer dependent, and this in turn has resulted in deterioration. Another great degradation in many places has been the type of many of the leaders of these industries. "The curse of our invading civilization is that its vanguard is composed of men who care nothing for the welfare of the people they dispossess."[4]

The relationship between the economic and social

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1. Ross, Malcolm: Machine Age in the Hills, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933
2. Ibid., p. 3
3. Raine, J. W.: Op. cit., p. 236
4. Kephart, Horace: Op.cit., p. 457

background is so close that it is difficult to distinguish between the two for each acts on the other for either good or evil. This is true in any region, but is more true in the mountains.

> "The great need of our Mountaineers today is trained leaders of their own. The future of Appalachia lies mostly in the hands of those resolute boys and girls who win the education fitting them for such leadership. Here is where the nation at large is summoned by a solemn duty. And it should act quickly, because commercialism exploits and debauches quickly. But the schools needed are not ordinary schools; the need is for schools that will turn out good farmers, good mechanics, good housewives. Meantime let a model farm be established in every mountain county showing how to get the most out of mountain land. Such object lessons would speedily work an economic revolution. It is an economic problem fundamentally, that the mountaineer has to face."[1]

C. Social Background.

1. General Characteristics of the People.

By both his background and his surroundings the Mountaineer is independent, a fact which is true of any pioneer race.

> "If the question were submitted to an impartial jury as to what is the chief trait of the Highland people the world over, the answer would be <u>independence.</u> Should one ask the outstanding trait manifested by the pioneer, the reply would be <u>independence.</u> Inquire what is the characteristic trait of the rural fold, particularly of the farming class, and <u>independence</u> will again be the answer. Put the query as to what is the prevailing trait of the Americans, and the unanimous verdict is

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1. Kephart, H.: Op. cit., pp. 468-469

> likely to be <u>independence.</u> We have, then, in the Southern Highlander, an American, a rural dweller of the agricultural class, and a mountaineer who is still more or less of a pioneer. His dominate trait is <u>independence</u> raised to the fourth power."[1]

The Southern Highlander is also an <u>individualist.</u> His life centers about his home and his clan and <u>not</u> his community. Coming from the non-conformist, pioneer stock of Europe, to a land which shuts him off from his neighbors, his state, and his nation, he is by both heredity and environment an individualist.

Another outstanding trait of the Highlander is his <u>resourcefulness.</u> Isolation has made him so. In many places the family raises all their subsistence on their small farm. In times past he made practically all that he owned, --- his home, his furniture, guns, musical instruments, while the women did their own weaving and sewing. The scanty crops were harvested, the vegetables and herbs were dried for winter use and a hog furnished the winter supply of meat. A box in the spring provided cold storage for the summer. Women made their own soap and a great iron kettle outside the house was used for making soap, boiling clothes, scalding pigs, and many other things. The home was bare at best for there was seldom a carpet on the floor of the one to three room cabin and as there were

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1. Campbell, J.C.: Op.cit., p. 91

few windows, air came in through the door and through the cracks in the walls. There was, and is in many places little or no privacy in the homes, but the people were happy. Their needs were few and the more industrious looked ahead and prepared for the winter. On a sunshiny day all the bright home-made "kivers" (quilts) may be seen outside in the air. This is still true in the isolated parts, where roads have not penetrated. "Verily this is a land of make-it-yourself-or-do-without."[1]

Mountain people are very hospitable. They will guide a traveler on his way, or will ask him to spend the night unless they are suspicious of his intentions. Whatever they have, however poor it may be, to that the visitor is welcome; and some of the families have scarcely enough to keep life in their bodies.

2. Home Life in the Hills

The home is of a patriarchal nature, for the man is lord in his family and the woman is the household drudge as well as field-hand. The attitude of a mountain man toward the women in his family is one of disregard toward their finer nature, a denial of their proper rank. There is no economic independence for women and their place is hard and unrelieved. Their aim in life is

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1. Kephart, H.: Op. cit., p.325

marriage for an "old maid" is considered a failure. Marriages are early and families are large. Many children die in infancy from malnutrition and poor sanitation which cause: ricketts, tuberculosis, and pellagra, diseases so common in the many parts of the mountains. Many families who have had from twelve to sixteen children, have only five or six living. A woman is old by the time she is thirty-five.

Intermarriage is very common in the isolated coves and hollows. Two reasons given for this are the isolation, and the clannishness of the people. Often a small hamlet or village is given a certain name because almost all of the people living there have that name. One writer quotes from a native of the hills: "All Skeets and Bushees, and married back and forth and crossways and upside down till ev'ry man is his own grandmother if he only knew enough to figger relationships."[1]

Another evil which is present in the mountains is immorality which is a direct result of the lack of privacy. Campbell says:

> "The question of illegitimacy is not absent from the mountains, but this social evil is not marked by enticement of seduction. It is more in the nature of animalism and may be traced in part to the lack of

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1. Kephart, H.,: Op. cit., p. 297

> privacy in the home, early acquaintance with the sex relationship and promiscuous hospitality. There is not moreover, the same stigma put on the 'baseborn' child as in other sections."[1]

Sometimes a man and woman will live together as husband and wife till a circuit rider comes by who can perform the ceremony. The writer knows of a family where the sixth child was the first one born in wedlock. In a case like this the father and mother are likely to remain faithful to each other even though they are not legally married. However, this custom is rapidly dying out because of public opinion.

The Mountaineers are touchy on these subjects and it is natural that they should be, but the outside world should know so that it can apply the remedy.

The average Mountaineer is lean, inquisitive, shrewd. Mr. Kephart says that if this type is what constitutes a Yankee, as popularly supposed outside New England, then this Yankee of the South is as true to type as the conventional Uncle Sam himself.[2] "A fat mountaineer is a curiosity."[3] The Mountaineer's "acute disinclination to labor" is not so much in his physical nature, as in his economic outlook on life. He sees little use in working,

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1. Campbell, J.C.: Op. cit., p. 132
2. Kephart, J.C.: Op.cit., p.286
3. Ibid.

but will walk long distances to hunt or to visit. It is the woman who takes the eggs and the baby and perhaps a three or four-year-old, all on a mule or broken-down horse and goes to the store several miles away for "rations."

Mountain people are hardened to severe conditions which we, reared in protection, could not stand. Doors are left open winter and summer; often the people go barefoot even in the coldest weather. No attention is paid to drafts. Mr. Kephart says:

> "After my close study of mountain speech, I have failed to discern that the word draft is understood, except in parts of Virginia and Kentucky mountains, where it means a brook."[1]

In spite of such "toughness," the Mountaineer must pay the piper for such ways of living. Sooner or later he "adopts a rheumatiz'", and the adoption lasts till he dies. There are also prevalent dietary troubles. Many a homicide in the mountains can be traced directly to bad food and the raw whiskey taken to appease a sour stomach.[2] There is a high per cent. of defectives in the mountains, but this is due to the fact that they are kept in their homes, whereas in other localities they are sent to an asylum. Because they are not taken to institutions, they marry and have large families.

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1. Kephart, J. C.; Op.cit., p.294
2. Ibid., p. 235

3. Language in the Highlands.

Southern Highlanders are marked apart by their customs, character, self-conscious isolation, and by their dialect. Though in the more open parts of the mountains, the language has little dialect, yet there are still isolated hollows and coves in which the words and expressions sound peculiar to us. This is because they retain much of their old-English accent which is a part of their heritage. He is "more English in speech than Britain itself, more American by blood than any other part of America."[1] Though the Mountaineer is encompassed by a high-tensioned civilization, his language is more untouched by modern ideas, less cognizant of modern progress than any other part of the English-speaking world.

The Mountaineer when he reads, if he can read, does not enjoy seeing his dialect written out; he sees no difference in his own speech and that of others. Mr. Kephart says that the curse of dialect writing is elision.[2] The language is clipped --- "I'm comin' d'reck'ly." Sounds may be inserted --- "Gyarden," "acrost." Sounds may be substituted --- "kem" for came, "haar" for hair,"keerful" for careful, "cheer" for chair. There may be substitution of consonants --- "ballet" for ballad, "Babtis'" for Baptist.

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1. Kephart, H.: Op.cit., p.454
2. Ibid., p. 351

Dialect varies from place to place and even in the same neighborhood. Only in the backwoods or among old people and the penned-at-home is the dialect used with any integrity. There are some Scotch-Irish words though these are little used. The sound of "r" is distinct, but is not burred (trilled). The sound of "a" as in last, past, advantage,classifies them with the Pennsylvanians and Westerners. If necessary, the Mountaineer creates a word for he is never at a loss for one. Sometimes there is interchange of parts of speech. A noun may be used as a verb --- "That bear'll meat me a month," "Granny kept faultin' us all day." A verb may be coined from an adverb --- "We better git some wood, bettern we?" Double, triple, quadruple, and even quintuple negatives may be used. Of the last --- "I ain't never seen no men-folks of no kind do no washin'."

Also the veriest illiterates often startle us by the use of some word that most of us learned at school --- "Them clouds denote rain." "She's so dilitary!" "That exceeds the measure." Elizabethan or Chaucerian, or even pre-Chaucerian terms often appear. There are very few foreign words; however, "a doney-gal" meaning a sweetheart, comes from the Spanish term "dona" or "donna." "Kraut" is a word also used --- a contribution of the Germans or Pennsylvania Dutch. Shakespearean influence is seen in family names, language, customs, traditions, characteris-

tics, and ballads. There is something stubbornly English about the Mountaineer and he refuses to assimilate anything foreign. Some Cherokee Indians live in the region, but the mountain dialect does not include the Cherokee language. A few of the people speak it a little, but the languages are not mixed. There are many original words for various things, as "leather breeches" for beans boiled "hull and all." Green beans in the pod are "snaps" and those shelled are "shuck-beans." Many common English terms are used in a peculiar sense by the Mountaineers --- "ruin" for injure, "stove" for jabbed, "take off" for help yourself. It is extremely interesting to listen to the mountaineer dialect, but it is somewhat confusing and may be embarrassing if the meaning is not known to the listener.

4. The "Blood Feud" in the Highlands

The feud is one of the greatest curses of all the social evils found in the Southern Highlands. The feud and blockading, of all phases of mountain life resulting from individualism, are the best known. This is an unfair picture, because they constitute a small proportion of the people. The "blood feud" of the Highlanders is a horrible survival of Mediaevalism, yet it is far less cruel than that of his ancestors --- our ancestors.

Feuds are caused by personal or family grudges. Drinking leads to "killings" and these in turn lead to

the feuds which increased after the Civil War because of the political strife which developed at that time. The attitude is that of defending one's personal honor, property, or family and the feud may last through several generations. Though it is mainly carried on by the men, the women are as fierce and hostile and as ready to defend their rights and families even to the death while many of them can shoot as well as any man.

> "This isolated and belated people who still carry on the blood-feud are not half so much to blame for such a savage survival as the rich, powerful, educated, twentieth-century nation that abandons them as if they were hopelessly derelict or wrecked. It took but a few decades to civilize Scotland. How much swifter and surer and easier are our means of enlightenment today! Let us not forget that these Highlanders are blood of our blood and bone of our bone; for they are old-time Americans to a man, proud of their nationality, and passionately loyal to the flag that they, more than any other of us, according to their strength, have fought and suffered for."[1]

There is no romance about this suave treachery since double-teaming, laywaying and general fearless brutality are the thing in these feuds and the "killings" are not done by professional criminals: "Practically all of them are committed by representive citizens, mostly farmers."[2] Most of them escape with light penal sentences or none at all. The clan in the mountains is truly spelled with a capital "C", for these people have lived, until recently,

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1. Kephart, H.: Op. cit.,pp.426-427
2. Ibid., p. 397

in the 18th century and as the 18th century people lived. Against such, society is often powerless.

5. Today's Mountaineer

The homespun jeans and linsey which used to be the garb of the mountain people is seen no more; he now wears store-bought clothes --- a sorry change, for these are less durable and are less cared for. The men are slovenly looking, but independent and self-satisfied while the women go bare-headed and often bare-footed; wearing clothes whose styles never seem to change. There is, however, something magnificient about many of the older women and the girls are both pretty and attractive. The young people as they arrive for the first time at a boarding school have a poise and dignity, a presence, that many of our city high school boys and girls might well envy. There is also a native pride about them no matter how few may be their possessions.

The mountain home of today is the log cabin of the American pioneer. It is not well-made, but is a pen that can be erected by four "corner men" in one day and finished by the owner at his leisure. It is generally composed of a single large room, maybe a narrow porch in front, a plank door, a big stone chimney at one end and a single sash for a window at the other, and a seven or eight foot lean-to at the rear for a kitchen. The logs

are not round but hewn flat on the inside and outside with the round edges together. The house is hard to keep clean, yet it is picturesque in its setting. Closets and pantries are not known --- they would be considered a harbor for "varmints." From the rafters inside, dried herbs and vegetables are hanging; the snuff-stick --- a twig of sweet birch chewed to shreds at one end --- lies on the mantel. There are no tallow candles, because beef, if there is any, is exported. Instead, there is a kerosene lamp with a narrow wick and no chimney, or perhaps a saucer in which pine knots are burned or a "slut" may be used, i.e. a tin or saucer containing hog's grease and a bit of rag for a wick. Here again, this picture is not representative. There are some homes which are even poorer, and there are many, in the more open valleys or in the small villages, where there are good frame buildings and comparative comfort; the latter are quite comparable with rural homes in other parts of the United States.

Neighborliness has not increased in the Highlands as population and industry pressed down. Many of the old type of social gatherings are seen no more; there are fewer log-rollings, husking bees, and quilting parties than in former times, and no new or constructive forms of recreation and entertainment have come to take their place.[1]

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1. Kephart, H.: Op. cit., p. 383

The first law of pioneering is self-reliance, and when the Mountaineer began to be dependent on others, he deteriorated. The sons and daughters of the true Mountaineer are those of a lion heart.

> "Here, then, is a key to much that is puzzling in highland character. In the beginning, isolation was forced on the mountaineers; they accepted it as inevitable and bore it with stoical fortitude until in time they came to love solitude for its own sake and to find compensations in it for lack of society. . . . The nature of the Mountaineer demands that he have solitude for the unhampered growth of his personality, wingroom for his eagle heart."[1]

The feud epoch has ceased in the greater part of Appalachia and a new era has dawned. Highways are pushing in and new enterprises are being installed. With this new period, the Highlander is no longer stationary for he is at last in the current of progress. It is for those who go into these enterprises from outside the Highlands to make this period one of real progress. One of the greatest hindrances to progress in the Highlands is illiteracy and until recently the schools have not been improved. A recent survey says that one moderately isolated hollow has only had an average of four months of school a year since 1918. The most isolated hollow studied has had a total of sixteen months of school, at irregular intervals, between 1918 and 1928.[2] In this hollow there have been two

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1. Kephart, H.: Op. cit., pp.380-381
2. Sherman, M., and Henry T.R: Op.cit., p.120

generations of almost total illiteracy. In the most advanced village studied, one which is on a paved road, this survey reports twenty-two per cent. of the children retarded one grade, thirty-eight per cent. two grades, sixteen per cent. three grades, twelve per cent. four grades, and four per cent. five grades.[1] In the more interior recesses, the percentage retardation is much higher. The standard of grading is rather loose, much of it being done by the general impression the child makes on the teacher, rather than by means of objective standards of achievement. It is exceptional for a child to be placed in a grade higher than his age would indicate.

Among the older and middle-aged people who are the leaders of today, there are few who have had even the equivalent of five grades in school, a result due to lack of opportunity. Libraries, books, magazines, and newspapers are today very scarce in the Highlands. At the time Dr. Hooker made her survey, the percentage of illiteracy for the United States as a whole among native whites of ten years old and over, was 1.5 per cent., for three out of four highland counties the proportion was 5 per cent. or over, and for one fifth of the counties it was 10 per cent. or over.[2] Because of the better opportunities for educa-

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1. Sherman, M. and Henry, T.R.: Op. cit., p. 121
2. Hooker, E.R.: Op. cit., p. 58

tion which the younger generation has had, there has been a cleavage between the younger and older people in respect to many questions, both secular and religious.

With the coming of industry, labor problems, poverty, immorality, and vice of all kinds have increased. These added to the evils and the ignorance already existent have made pitiful and difficult situations in many parts of the Highlands. Yet the gradual changes which are taking place are the changes which come in any developing country. As one mountaineer puts it, "Mixin' larns both parties." "The deadly sin is the thrusting of a ferocious and devouring society system upon an unprepared and defenseless people."[1]

The teaching done in the mountains has not always been valuable, for in some instances the people have been given help rather than having been taught to make their own progress. Because of the difficulty in travel, mountain communities are not suffiently connected with agencies which give counsel and opportunity for advancement. Although in times past the mountaineer has developed slowly, from now on the change will be increasingly rapid because of the incoming industries. One author says that writers, mission boards, and educators have all too

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1. Raine, J.W.: Op. cit., p. 237

hastily assumed that conditions in the mountains are static.[1] This is no longer true and some educators also feel that there is a great temptation on the part of boarding schools to take the child out of his environment rather than to prepare him to live in those surroundings to which he will more than likely return. They suggest that schools be developed in isolated sections, a particular type of school where there can be a model garden, a coal mine, the raising of live stock, a model barn, a construction department, household arts, supervised recreation, a hospital with a nurse, a physician if possible, cottages instead of dormitories, a library, and continuation classes for community people. Teachers in such a school would have to have a knowledge, an understanding, and a sympathy with mountain people as well as training in the specific field in which they are to teach. This means that capable, refined, intelligent, Christian people must be the ones to make such education possible. "Men too crude for the city will fail here."[2]

One author thinks that a "worker-doctor" can earn his expenses without the support of a church board, for any intelligent and industrious mountain family, no matter how isolated, can raise most of its "living" if they are

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1. Raine, J.W., Op.cit., p. 242
2. Ibid., p. 254

taught how to do so. Any family can have a garden, hens, two or three cows, a sow and pigs, shotes, bees, geese, an apple orchard, a vein of coal at the kitchen door, and a cool spring in the yard, with a flock of sheep up under the cliffs. Live stock should be pure-blooded, and must have better food and shelter though one great handicap to the raising of animals, especially sheep, is the fact that the mountaineer prefers his dogs to the sheep.

The type of school suggested has in a very few instances been established, but there is much more to be done. The Mountaineer must regain his independence and must not lose that which made him a pioneer in the early days of immigration, doing for himself. He must support his own schools because he wishes to have them and feels the need of education. The type of leader who is sent into such a school practically determines the real value of the endeavor, and it is not easy to find a truly suitable person. This problem of leadership qualities will be discussed later.

D. Religious Background

1. Inheritance and Early Beliefs

From far back the Highlander has had a strong religious tendency, for he belonged to the non-conformist group. This inheritance means that he has decided views on certain religious beliefs and customs, among which are

a strong fear and distrust of the Roman Catholic Church and of all forms of symbols connected with Catholic worship. As a part of this same inheritance is a reverence for and belief in the Bible as the Word of God, and whatever queer turns Biblical interpretations may take, there is seldom any disposition to question the authority of the Bible.[1] In fact the Word is many times taken so literally that it becomes a hindrance in the progress of the people, for if a certain custom is not mentioned in the Bible, it is not included in the highland church.

In the early days of colonization, the settlers, especially the Germans and Scotch-Irish, established their churches. If a minister was not in the colony, the people appealed to older colonies or to denominational officials in Europe. Great isolation made ministerial help hard to obtain, communication was difficult, and facilities for services were poor. The churches were crude, one-room log or board structures with a platform, rough benches, and a pulpit. There were no strong local governments to control lawlessness; fugitives and other hard characters lurked in their communities; and liquor used as a medicine and as a spur in crises necessitating strenuous physical effort led to drunkenness. All these things tended to

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1. Raine, J.W.: Op. cit., p.76

break down the influence and regularity of religious services.

2. Development of Denominations

Among the early American colonists, before the settlement of the Highlands, the Baptists had already established several churches. These were called "General Baptists,"[1] because they believed that salvation was open to all people. After 1734, certain dissenters from the English Congregational churches took up Baptist principles and were called "Separate Baptists."[2] These Baptist services were often held out-of-doors and from this developed some of the peculiar customs of the mountain preachers. Baptist preachers were uneducated and emotional, and this type of service was very acceptable to the Mountaineer. In many ways the Baptists were suited to pioneer conditions for control of church affairs was in the hands of the local congregation. Preachers were laymen who were self-supporting, rugged, earnest, insistent on beliefs, and of rude eloquence. Baptism by immersion, a belief in predestination and other creedal doctrines of the Baptists were lines of thought acceptable to the Mountaineer. "Baptists soon became more numerous in the Highlands than the representatives of any other denominations; and they still

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op. cit., p. 38
2. Ibid.

hold this position of leadership today."[1]

During the settlement of the southern part of the Highlands, Methodism arose as a direct result of Wesley's preaching. The Methodist circuit riders, among the first of whom was Asbury, began their preaching all over the mountains, to all kinds of people wherever they could gain an audience. The particular beliefs of Methodism which attracted the people were: Salvation to all who would become converted; and a heart-felt personal religious experience, expressing itself in holiness of life.[2] "Methodism had a part in preparing the denominational competition of the Highlands at the present day."[3]

During the years between 1790 and 1803, there occurred what is known as "The Great Revival in the West."[4] It was a direct result of the wild background of the frontier and its effect on the consciences of a naturally religious people. The Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Reformed and other denominations sought to convert the people, and followed the custom of holding open-air meetings to which people came for long distances and at which great emotional appeals were made to bring about conversions. In 1790 there was a revival in eastern

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op.cit., p.39
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., p. 40
4. Ibid.

Tennessee where the mourner's bench was introduced and the habit of holding meetings for several days was established. In 1800 the first large-scale camp meeting was held in Kentucky by a Presbyterian minister. These meetings spread throughout Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas, and western Virginia, and were usually conducted by Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists together, continuing till late in 1803.[1]

These camp meetings were of an emotional nature and strange experiences took place --- laughing, shouting, hysteria, rolling, spasmodic jerks, visions or trances. Some of these meetings were attended by as many as 10,000 to 25,000 persons and many were converted. The results of the Great Revival are shown in several ways: public morals were improved; new members were received in the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist Churches.

The first denominational schism was that in the Presbyterian Church over the issue of education of ministers, which resulted in the formation of the Cumberland Presbytery in 1810. This presbytery made use of the uneducated ministers and held the doctrine of predestination in a modified form. By 1906, most of the Cumberland Presbyterian churches had joined the Presbyterian Church

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op.cit. p.40.

U.S.A., while the "jack-of-all-trades" standard of the frontier became even more generally applied to preaching.

Several other schisms occurred, the first being the "New Light schism," which later became the Christian Church and, instead of teaching predestination, taught "free grace." In this denomination, each local church maintained its own government, and based its beliefs on the New Testament as they interpreted it. The second denomination which came as a direct outgrowth of the Great Revival was the "Christian" or "Disciples of Christ"; this also was led by Presbyterians. The Disciples of Christ used the congregational form of government. Certain tendencies are especially important in the formation of these new denominations. The authority of the Bible was emphasized, the majority of churches had their own local government, and there was a definite division.

Early in the nineteenth century the controversy over missions arose, mainly within the Baptist Churches because some of the leading missionaries at the time were Baptists. Beginning about 1820, and continuing for nearly twenty-five years, many churches divided and new branches were formed, until by 1846 the Anti-missionary Baptists composed about one-third of the number of Missionary Baptists, and a large proportion were in the Southern Highlands. "Two-Seed-in-the Spirit Predestinarian Baptists" were the most extreme of the new denominations formed as a

result of the theological issues. In addition to this group were the Primitive Baptists or "hard shells," the old "Regular Baptists," and the "United Baptists," all of whom were anti-missionary.[1]

There were several reasons given for the stand taken by the anti-missionary believers. Missionary societies were not mentioned in the New Testament and therefore should not exist; such societies would also strengthen a central denominational body whereas the New Testament churches had local government. The people believed that the Almighty had his own plans for the salvation of the elect and that attempts toward conversion were useless, officious, and sinful; there were also basic beliefs held in regard to the education of preachers and the establishment of Sunday schools. The underlying influences for the anti-missionary attitude, were: The poverty of the people; their ignorance of conditions in heathen countries, this ignorance being due to their own isolation; and the fear of competition from the educated preachers.

Certain lasting effects which resulted from the Anti-missionary movement were: more denominational divisions with primitive characterists in the new, increased

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op.cit., p. 45

doctrinal disputes, increased conservatism among Anti-missionary believers because of the use of uneducated preachers, lack of religious training for the children, and a more tenacious hold on theological positions. These attitudes and beliefs were handed down from one generation to the next.

The question of slavery also caused denominational divisions. The Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian groups split in 1844, 1845, and 1857, respectively, for the Highlands in general were in sympathy with the North. Devastation due to the war caused much suffering and increased feuds through personal and group contentions; this, in turn, effected the churches.

The Holiness movement began among ministers in America about 1870, and the mountain people, being particularly susceptible to this emotional type of religion, formed many groups throughout the Highlands. These local groups were formed within the various existing churches, thereby seriously weakening the denomination.

3. The Present Church Situation in the Highlands

There are six main divisions in the Highlands which are to be considered in studying the condition of churches: the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, and the Alleghany Plateau in the northwestern part, and the Blue Ridge, the Central Ridges, and the Central Valleys in the eastern and

southern parts. The Piedmont and the Highland Rim are not typical of the general highland situation and the Southern Cumberland Plateau and the Southern Appalachian Valley will not be considered because of the negroes who are a part of the population. This study will proceed from the poorest and most isolated to the fertile and most prosperous of the sections.

a. The Northeastern Cumberland Plateau[1]

The Northeastern Cumberland Plateau is more isolated than any other part of the Highlands, human contacts are rare especially in winter, and social life is extremely limited.[2] More than half the churches are of primitive types, and in the Census of 1926, not all the churches were discovered so as to be recorded and some types were not even listed. Some of these last are: "Enterprise Baptists," "Pencil Baptists," "Slab Baptists," and "Forty-Gallon Baptists."[3] The reason for these many and varied types is the fact that shades of difference in theological doctrine are of vital importance to the mountain preachers. Though the proportion of church members in this section is less than one-sixth of the total population, yet the church affords some few social contacts, some safeguard against crime, and an assurance of

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1. See Map in supplement
2. Hooker, E.R., Op.cit.,p.63,64
3. Ibid., p.75

eternal welfare, hope, self-confidence, and inward consolation which is greatly needed in the barren life of these people. One author writes, "With all its limitations the mountain church has been a conserver of the best in mountain life and is yet the best organized mountain agency for the promotion of spiritual growth."[1]

b. The Northwestern Cumberland Plateau.

The Northwestern Cumberland Plateau is nearly level and has been crossed by railroads earlier than other parts of the hills. Its natural resources have been exploited, farming is not very remunerative, and the people are having a difficult time. Primitive churches are here also, though they are somewhat different from those given previously. "Free Will Baptists," "Duck River Baptists," "Separate Baptists," "Two-Seed-in-the Spirit Predestinarian Baptists," "Cumberland Presbyterians," and "Church of Christ," all with varying doctrinal beliefs are present. Sunday school services are usually held once a week and church services once a month, though even this is not always true. The church is ordinarily a one-room structure which is drab and uncared for. The standard of church living is low, the annual average expenditure being $171 to $245, according

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1. Raine, J.W.; Op. cit., p.190

to the county. More than a quarter of the churches have no expenditures at all, or total less than $25.00 while half of the ministers, if paid at all, receive less than $100.00 a year. Three-fourths of the churches have non-resident ministers and more than three-fourths have no subsidiary organizations other than Sunday School and not all have that.[1]

c. The Alleghany Plateau.

The Alleghany Plateau, though close to important trade routes, is shut away from the world by hilly country. Two railroads cross the southwestern part of the section; highways are few and more than two-thirds of the farms are on unimproved dirt roads; thus it is practically impossible to serve all the isolated farms with schools, roads, and churches. In general, economic conditions are better in this plateau than in the two others. The mining camps afford a near-by market, work in the mines supplements agriculture, and the average farm in this section is larger, hence the income is greater. However, in the mining camps themselves, where the work is now insufficient and where the people have lost their interest in agriculture, there is a pitiable condition. Many of the coal camps therefore have no churches or very weak ones

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op. cit., p. 91

and there is a very general indifference to religious things. Gambling, hard drinking, violence, and sensuality are prevalent conditions which ministers and missionaries must face. Often the work is discouraging since their efforts may be met with indifference or even openly opposed.

In this plateau there are more of the centralized denominations such as the Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Protestant, and the Methodist Episcopal, South. Extremely primitive customs are rare here, yet the church standard is low, as it is in other regions. Ministers in the section receive more salary and nearly half of them work full time. This is possible because of the centralized denominations and because of a larger circuit which is maintained.

d. The Blue Ridge.

This section is a range of mountains lying along the eastern edge of the Appalachian Highlands. The range is narrow in the northern part but broadens out into a field of mountains in North Carolina and Tennessee. A few improved roads cross these Highlands and come somewhere near the habitable districts, yet a large proportion of the area is incapable of supporting human life even at a low level. The city of Asheville lies in a large basin with level patches of land which support farms and hamlets surrounding it. In the Blue Ridge, isolation is of two kinds --- that of small hamlets and that of families

either alone or in groups of three or four. This section of hamlets and hollows is decidedly over-churched. As for instance one county, with an area of 436 square miles, much of which is uninhabitable, contains 77 churches. This is due to difficulties in travel and to the fact that denominations do not get along well together. The leading denominations here are Missionary Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, South, and Free Will Baptist. "Twenty-six creek valleys have more than one church each. Of these eight have churches of a single denomination, and eighteen have churches of two or more denominations."[1] In times past there was no cooperation among groups, but now there are a few signs of intermingling such as union prayer meeting, a common ladies'aid society, and one large Bible class for men. Sunday schools are quite regular and church services are usually held once a month, which shows that churches are held in high esteem in this section.

The mountain people distrust beauty in their churches and avoid all formality, a thing which is a direct result of the hatred of Roman Catholicism burned into the hearts of their ancestors. The only rites practiced are ordination, baptism, communion and marriage, and this last is frequently held at the court house by a county official.

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op. cit., p. 108

There are two counties with great contrasts in the Blue Ridge --- one on the Blue Ridge plateau, untouched by railroads and extremely isolated with primitive sects and rudimentary services, and the other in the eastern part lying in a wide valley where there are no primitive sects and where there is a minimum of isolation. Here the people have educational and church advantages similar to other parts of the United States.

e. The Central Ridges.

The Central Ridges and Valleys have the highest degree of prosperity and the lowest degree of isolation of any sections in the Highlands. Of these two, the Ridges are the more isolated. Travel across these ridges is difficult and the gravel roads which are there are far apart. However, surfaced roads have been built along the valleys, making communication much easier. The church situation here, though still maintaining some characteristics similar to other parts of the Highlands, is an improvement in some significant aspects. A circuit meeting, one of the periodic occasions when churches of a large circuit meet together shows these facts. The country surrounding the place of meeting has large, well-kept farmhouses, fields of grain and comfortable herds.[1] The

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op. cit., p. 122

tabernacle where the meeting is held is a wide-roofed structure with open sides and the people who attend, "prosperous-looking Americans in trim mail-order garments," visit happily in groups for they have come from the neighboring communities and are seeing each other for the first time in several months.[1] They seat themselves on benches in the tabernacle which has a piano and a wide platform for the choir. The speaker is an official from the national home mission society of the denomination.

There are many churches in this section for there are not only separate churches for the various racial stocks --- German, English, and Scotch-Irish --- but each of these groups is subdivided. For example, the German people are divided among nine different sects.[2] One county has 6.6 churches per 1000 persons.[3] Denominational organizations help raise the church standard, as shown in better buildings for the usual unattractive one-room structure have at least one or more classrooms added, and give better salaries to their pastors --- the average salary being $1,000 a year for those not receiving aid from the mission board.[4] The ministers here also have an amount of professional training unusual in the Highlands, for two-thirds

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op. cit., p.122
2. Ibid., p. 123
3. Ibid., p. 122
4. Ibid., p. 124

have at least finished high school, and all but one have either attended a theological seminary or have taken a denominational course for preachers. Some even cooperate with forces aiming at community improvement. The sermons, of course, do not equal the one heard at the circuit meeting, and though standards here are markedly improved, yet one author says,

> "The results of denominational endeavors have had marked limitations. Money for denominational missions forms a proportion of church expenditures slightly below the average for the seventeen representative counties. The quality of religious education, moreover, leaves much to be desired. Though Sunday schools are numerous and highly prized, they enroll only about half the school population; and the teaching, though done in an excellent spirit, would not meet generally accepted standards. Classes to prepare for church membership are held by the Lutheran churches only. Church groups are relatively no more numerous than in the average Highland county. Here, as elsewhere in the Highlands, traditional conceptions have stunted all standards of church work."[1]

f. The Central Valleys.

The Central Valleys, on the whole are among the most prosperous of all the highland sections, yet even here are isolated pockets in the hills, secluded valleys, and districts with poor soil. All of these economic aspects have a great influence on the church situation. The most obvious change in churches during the decade from 1921 to 1931, was the building of better churches in

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op. cit., p. 125.

some instances, or the addition of rooms, partitions or curtains so that classes might be separated. In some cases the church grounds were improved. The total resident membership increased well over one-third, and the increase in church membership was much more rapid than the increase in population.[1]

The general improvement of conditions is shown in centralization of interests, a decrease in denominational exclusiveness, and a tendency towards a more general use of methods urged by the denominational agencies; also the number of churches receiving home missions aid decreased from thirteen to six.[2] In contrast to these improvements, annual church expenditures have fallen, partly due to a lessening of giving to benevolences. Church attendance is less even though church membership has increased, due to the fact that improved roads, automobiles and outside interests tended to draw people from the church. The type of sermons still preached is another reason for the smaller attendance, and the fact that sudden and emotional conversions are desired in this region is an emphasis which is not as welcome as it once was. Young people are becoming educated away from their traditional teachings, and questions which they ask are

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op.cit., p.135
2. Ibid., p.137

more apt to be squelched rather than wisely answered because of the ignorance of many of the parents.

g. The General Church Situation.

Wherever isolation and poverty exist, there are found primitive churches with very low standards since the development of the churches and their customs varies in direct proportion to the economic conditions found. In the more extremely isolated places, churches of congregational polity exist, whereas in the more open and prosperous places, we find a dominance of centralized polity, i.e. Methodist Episcopal, and Methodist Episcopal,South, In the most isolated sections worship is held in school houses, and as economic conditions improve church buildings are commonly being cared for in proportion to the advancement of the community, until in the valleys are found good churches, painted and well-kept, with the surrounding property in good order. Average annual expenditures range from $86.00 in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau to $608.00 in a Blue Ridge county.[1]

For many years and even yet, in some isolated districts, education was not valued and many of the local preachers were proud of their ignorance. An old man once prayed, "O Lord, we thank Thee we's ignorant. O Lord,

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op. cit., p.143

make us ignoranter."[1] Some primitive Baptists defend their uneducated preachers by using the Bible phrase, "The letter killeth;"[2] and some mountain preachers speak of a trained minister as "factory-made."[3] However, there are young preachers who realize their handicap in lacking an education, but because of their families for whom they must earn a living they find it impossible to go to school. Preachers in the isolated Highlands do not receive enough remuneration from their churches to free them from the necessity of earning their living by some other means, consequently they cannot do pastoral work among their people. Ministers without other occupation must divide their time among so many churches that it is not possible to serve one community as it should be done.

The Southern Highlands have many churches and many denominations.

> "In 1926 the 170 counties wholly within the region contained 14,359 churches. This corresponds to three churches to each 1,000 inhabitants. . . These churches represent ninety-eight denominations, including eleven Baptist bodies, nine Methodist bodies and seven Presbyterian bodies. Each of twenty-three denominations is represented by 100 or more churches. Forty-six per cent. of the churches and 47.2 per cent. of the church members represent denominations of centralized polity, and 54 per cent. of the churches and 52.8 per cent. of the church members belong to churches of congregational polity, the latter type thus being somewhat stronger in the region as a whole. . . . Among families of denomina-

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op. cit., p.154
2. Ibid., p. 161
3. Ibid.

> tions the Baptist bodies are the strongest, including two-fifths both of the churches and of the church members. The Methodist family of bodies ranks second, with one-third of the churches and three-tenths of the members. The four single white denominations that are strongest in the churches and in members and that are also found in the largest numbers of counties, are the Southern Baptist; Methodist Episcopal,South; Methodist Episcopal; and Presbyterian in the U.S. . . . Denominations introduced by German settlers number fifteen, and enroll 6 per cent. of the churches. . . For eighteen primitive denominations 1,596 churches were enumerated by the Census; and at the same period fifteen perfectionist bodies had 430 churches besides many unorganized groups not taken into account by the Religious Census."[1]

Because of the large number of denominations in the Highlands, there are many small competing churches. There is often rivalry and ill-feeling among neighboring churches of different denominations.

A mountain sermon is of a distinctive type. The text is chosen from the Bible and is often a phrase used out of its context. The Bible is frequently quoted, is used as the main source of illustrations and ideas, and is the standard of belief and conduct. There are frequent transitions from one topic to an associated theme, so that the sermon is literally "from a text, that is away from it."[2] Personal experiences are much used and the entire sermon is an exhortation to repentance.

There are many unsolved problems in the Highlands which religious leaders of today recognize. The poverty of

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1. Hooker, E.R.; Op. cit., p. 159
2. Ibid., p. 171

the people has resulted in insufficient equipment and financial resources. The preachers, though faithful and sincere, are handicapped by their lack of education and this fact is being acknowledged. A third problem which is extremely important and is very difficult to deal with is that of the so-called "Holy Roller" phenomena. Other problems are the inadequate ministry to the mining camps, the increasing outside interests, and the holding of young people who have been to high school. While all of these problems are recognized but not solved, there are other problems which many leaders see but which the people as a group have failed to observe. One is concerned with certain ethical attitudes taken by the people, for example: sharp bargaining, disregard of law, political corruption, and various forms of violence. The Mountaineer being an individualist is more concerned with the salvation of the individual than of society. Those things which need the cooperation of the people as a whole are: The inadequate economic basis of life, prevalent unhygienic conditions which result in a general undermining of health and the spread of disease, lack of provision for social contact and wholesome recreation, lack of means of intellectual activity for development such as good books, magazines, plays, good moving pictures, concerts, clubs, and radios. The inferior position of women is also a great hindrance to progress. And finally, though one of the most important of the

unrecognized problems is the lack of adjustment between religion and the new knowledge of science.[1]

In spite of the many unsolved problems in the hills, the Highlanders have a genuine religion which has been handed down to them through many generations. These people are extremely sensitive to spiritual things, human destiny and personal choice loom large in their minds and their "monthly preaching services and the annual protracted meetings form influences toward the resolution of inner conflicts, toward goodness, and toward peace of mind."[2] Religion in the mountains is far more personal than public. One writer quotes from a mountain man: "We shore ort to do what the Good Book tells us," and again from an old grandmother: "Hit's a sight how the Lord helps a body if ye trusts Him, honey."[3]

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1. Hooker, E.R., Op.cit.,p.193
2. Ibid., p. 194
3. Raine, J.W.: Op. cit., p.204

CHAPTER II

A STUDY OF SPECIFIC MISSION SCHOOLS

AND

COMMUNITY CENTERS

CHAPTER II

A STUDY OF SPECIFIC MISSION SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY CENTERS

A. General Conditions Confronting Home Mission Agencies

As early as 1771, one of the most important missionary influences in the Southern Highlands came through the work of Asbury, who was sent out by Wesley. His work laid the foundations for the religious institutions of the future. The earliest schools in the southern part of the country were under denominational auspices and many of them grew into private academies; however, these were almost entirely confined to the Valley of Virginia and Tennessee. In contrast to these academies, which were for the well-to-do only, were the public schools of the Highlands, with their inadequate buildings, their meagre equipment and incompetent teachers. In the majority of states at this time the school term was only three months.

For a long time after this the Highlands were practically forgotten, until in 1859 Berea College was founded near the edge of the mountains in Kentucky. It was closed during the Civil War, but was opened immediately after. Northern interest was focused on the Highlands because of the attitude which the people took during the Civil War, and the first missionary agency to establish

a school for white people in the South was the Ladies Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church,U.S.A. During the years between 1885 and 1895 the Presbyterian women organized thirty-one schools and in the next decade ten more were added to the list.[1] These and other denominational schools met a real need in the Highlands because of the low quality and inadequate number of public schools.

Missionary elementary schools are now rare, for the public schools are much improved. The general policy adopted by the missionary societies working in the Highlands was to give over their work to the public school, to change the objective so as to avoid overlapping and competition, or to withdraw from the locality and begin work in a less developed community. Some denominations assisted the public schools in other ways, i.e. by giving the buildings to the entering school, or in providing better teachers.

Another type of missionary work carried on by many denominations is that of the community center, and when it became possible to discontinue schools in some places, the community service program was increased. Sunday school missions are important, but the work of the missionary pastor is considered the most fruitful field. In the Highlands, missionary enterprises are justified because the mountain church did not provide the essential

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op. cit. p. 199

church services and the public schools did not stress the training of the youth in either good character or morals.

B. Difficulties Encountered by Home Mission Agencies

A brief summary of the characteristics of the Highlander will show what the missionary teacher or pastor must face. First, there is a pride and dignity about the Highlander which makes him resent interference with long-established customs, and the idea that he is the object of missionary enterprise is very galling to him. Because of the great need in the mountain interiors the people will accept the help given them, and then through prejudice and humiliation they will turn against their benefactors. Another factor which is a great hindrance is the strong individualism of the Highlander which allows for a minimum of group thinking and cooperation. Then, too, the ethical concepts held are inconsistent with what is professed in belief; for example, in many cases religion does not keep a man from stealing, moonshining, or killing.

Peculiar standards of church service due to tradition and a too-literal interpretation of the Bible combines with poverty and denominational competition make an almost impossible situation. Also a community center may be serving its people well, when a sudden and rapid change of environment coming as a result of a new highway or industry or the depletion of the soil makes the type of

work done wholly unsuitable, and the entire program must be changed or the station must move to other parts.

Many difficulties which mission agencies face are due to the varied beliefs among the Highlanders. For example, in dominantly Baptist communities there is a faith in immersion to the point of fanaticism and an insistence upon a particular form of church polity. Further opposition arises from the idea that the name Baptist is of New Testament origin, whereas neither Methodists nor Presbyterians are mentioned in the Bible. Other and almost insurmountable barriers lie in the ignorance in many churches in regard to the relation between the Bible and modern science, the importance of sudden and emotional conversion, and the relative value of looking constantly toward a future heaven in contrast to the betterment of present life. The Highlander has had the attitude that a "brought on" religion is no religion at all.[1]

C. Cooperative Missionary Agencies in the Highlands

In order to give a total picture of the missionary education program in the Southern Highlands, a list of all agencies participating in this work is given. Those enterprises carried on by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., will be considered separately.

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op. cit. p. 214

1. Missionary and Philanthropic Schools.[1]
(Not Under Presbyterian,U.S.A.)

Agency	No. of schools	Agency	No. of schools
Methodist Episcopal ---	14	Reformed ----------	2
Presbyterian, U.S. ----	15	Methodist Episcopal,South	7
Evangelical ----------	3	Congregational ----------	1
Episcopal ----------	19	Seventh Day Adventists ---	3
Southern Baptist ------	17	Independent ----------	14
Ind. ----	1	Independent & Public ----	6
Disciples ----------	2	Lutheran ----------	1
Disciples & Public ----	1	Lutheran & Public -------	1
Brethren ----------	2	Northern Baptist --------	1
Presbyterian,United ---	1	Friends ----------	1
Pres. United & Public -	2	Methodist Episc.& Public-	1

2. Enterprises Other Than Schools.[2]
(Not Under Presbyterian,U.S.A.)

Agency	No. of Enterprises	Agency	No. of Enterprises
Methodist Episcopal ---	13	Reformed Church of America	2
Presbyterian, U.S. ----	18	Friends ----------	1
Evangelical ----------	1	Frontier Nursing Service -	8
Episcopal ----------	44	Independent ----------	20
Southern Baptist ------	1	Delta Zeta Sorority ------	1
Methodist Episcopal,So.	7	Pi Beta Phi Sorority -----	1
Congregational --------	1	United Lutheran ----------	2
Seventh Day Adventists-	3	Church of the Brethren ---	1
		Mennonites ----------	1

Under the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Unit of Medical Work, the Unit of Educational and Medical Work, and the Unit of Rural Work are carrying on enterprises among the

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1.Hooker, E.R.: Op.cit., Appendix III, pp.308-316
2.Ibid., Appendix II, pp. 301-307

Highlanders. Only those under the Unit of Educational and Medical Work (*) have been chosen for special study. However, all stations are listed here in order that the reader may be able to view the situations as a whole.

3. Missionary and Philanthropic Schools[1] (Presbyterian, U.S.A.)

School	P.O.	State	Area
Witherspoon College ---	Buckhorn, Ky.--	N.E.	Cumberland Plat.
Pikeville College -----	Pikeville,Ky.--	N.E.	Cumberland Plat.
*Asheville Teachers College-	Asheville,N.C.-		Blue Ridge
*Asheville Farm School--	Swanannoa,N.C.----		Blue Ridge
*Dorland Bell School ---	Hot Springs,N.C.--		Blue Ridge
Maryville College------	Maryville, Tenn.--		Central Valleys
Tusculum College-------	Greeneville,Tenn.-		Central Valleys
*Mossop School for Girls-	Harriman, Tenn.---		Central Valleys
Washington College ----	Washington College,Tenn.-		Central Valleys
Alpine Institute ------	Alpine, Tenn.-----		Highland Rim.

4. Enterprises Other Than Schools[2] (Presbyterian, U.S.A.)

Location	P.O.	State	Area[3]
*Wooton Community Center-	Wooton, Ky.,-	N.E.	Cumberland Plat.
*Cranks Creek " "	-Cranks, Ky.,-	N.E.	Cumberland Plat.
*Sulphur Springs" "	-Stay, Ky., --	N.E.	Cumberland Plat.
*Sunset Gap School ------	Newport,Tenn.		Blue Ridge
*Rocky Fork Community Center,	Flag Pond,Tenn.		Blue Ridge
*Smyrna Community Center-	Byrdstown,Tenn.		Blue Ridge
Vardy " "	-Sneedville,Tenn.		Central Valleys
Little Pine"	-Marshall, N.C.,		Blue Ridge
Higgins Community Center,	Higgins, N. C.,		Blue Ridge

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1. Hooker, E.R.: Op. cit., Appendix III, pp.308-316
2. Contemporary Pioneers, Annual Report: New York: Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. 156 Fifth Ave., 1936, pp. 172-173,175
3. Hooker, E.R.: Op.cit., Appendix II, pp.301-307

(continued)

Location	P.O.	State	Area
Carmen Community Center	Carmen,	N.C.	Blue Ridge
McDonald	Junction City,	Ky.	
Burton Ridge	Christine,	Ky.	N.W.Cumberland Plat.
Banks Creek	Banks Creek,	N.C.	Blue Ridge
Buckhorn	Perry Co.,	Ky.	N.E.Cumberland Plat.
Big Lick	Cumberland,	Tenn.	N.W.Cumberland Plat.
Blue Springs & other small centers	Sparta,	Tenn.	N.W. Cumberland Plat.
White Rock	White Rock,	N. C.,	BlueRidge

In this list of "Enterprises Other Than Schools" the records are neither adequate nor complete, and exact locations are not given in all instances.

D. Schools and Community Centers under Special Study.

The information used concerning these schools and community centers was taken almost entirely from the historical files and from the annual reports sent directly from the school or center to the National Missions headquarters. Abridged compilations of the annual reports are available. Wherever the primary source has been used it is impossible to give an exact reference. Secondary sources have been used for statistics.

1. Schools

a. Asheville Teachers College

Home School, established in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1887 was a school for both boarding and day

pupils as there was no public school in Asheville at that time. In 1889, Oakland Institute for girls was opened in what had been a hotel, but the building was unsuitable, and the Institute was closed until in 1892, when it was re-opened as the Normal and Collegiate Institute in a new building near Home School. At this time there were 100 boarding pupils and 15 day pupils. By 1897 the State Legislature had placed the school on a footing with the State Normal School at Greensboro, North Carolina.

In 1920 the Normal and Collegiate Institute became Asheville Normal and Associated Schools, for it included Home School and Farm School. In 1925 Farm School became a separate unit and by 1927 Home School had become a part of the Normal. In 1930 the high school course was discontinued, and the following year the school was re-named Asheville Normal and Teachers College. In 1936 at the request of the State Superintendent of Schools the two-year Normal course was discontinued in order to give a four-year college course which would meet the state requirement for a class A teachers' certificate. The name was then changed to Asheville Teachers College.

Asheville Teachers College is somewhat more than four times as large as at the time of the founding of the Normal and Collegiate Institute. The present enrollment of the school is 420 with an average registration of

417,[1] while it maintains a staff of 27 paid workers. The students come from within a radius of seventy-five miles[2] and often from homes where the parents cannot afford to send their children to college. All the work of the school is done by student help under supervision, thus enabling many girls to earn their way. The institution has three main purposes: first, to train the students in a standard college course; second, to give practical and useful training and thus teach the students to live better lives and build better homes; and third, to give individual and group experience in Christian living and leadership.

In the Christian education program, there is an attempt to put the classroom experience and information to the best possible use. In Bible teaching the lecture and theory methods are rarely used; the student is directed so that she knows the Bible and will put its great principles and truths into daily practice. It is through the application of the experience that the real value of teaching is seen. Fads, fallacies, and vagaries are avoided and real knowledge comes through self-expression and self-satisfying activities which are so integrated that they form a unit. In the annual report for 1934, the Christian

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1. Contemporary Pioneers, p.170
2. Brevities: Asheville Normal and Teachers College. New York; Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1936

education program was given in more detail than in other years. The content of this program is as follows: weekly Sunday school, weekly church services both morning and evening, Y.W.C.A., Student Volunteer, Religious Education Club, chapel (every day except Saturday), church choir, weekly prayer meeting, missionary society, guild, week of special prayer, Student Volunteer conference of two days, regular Bible classes for all students, and extension work both winter and summer.

The Religious Education Club was a direct outgrowth of Bible study and of the problems which the students were facing both in school and at home. Membership is voluntary, but the genuine interest is shown in the average attendance of thirty. In 1933 the Daily Vacation Bible School was given special attention, and the following year religious drama became the particular study.

One of the most important phases of the Christian education program is its outreach into the communities. Students from Asheville Teachers College work in outlying communities, Brittains Cove and Leicester, where they help in the Sunday School, the church services, and Daily Vacation Bible School. This not only builds up the community, but is excellent leadership training for the girls who, as leaders, must not go out and <u>do</u> the work, but must act as assistants and guides for the local

leaders. Graduate students who return to their home communities need to have learned to think in terms of their home problems and to have had experience working in similar situations. An interesting part of the outside program is the work with illiterates carried on in some communities by the students. Mr. McKim, pastor, says:

> "But not the least among the good results of this work . . . is the effect upon the teachers themselves. In these schools a large place is given to the Bible. Since most of the under-privileged people are already much interested in some church, our attempt from the religious point of view is to stress the high purpose and the broad reach of the Kingdom of our Lord."[1]

Much of the responsibility for the entire Christian education program of the campus falls on the students who are thus given a wide variety of experience. The girls lead chapel and morning devotions, plan and lead in all the various religious activities, choose speakers for special occasions from among the faculty, from the city, or from among out-of-town people. They organize Bible classes, nursery schools, and take charge of various types of clubs and young peoples' organizations. Throughout all these activities they are studying phases of work in order to judge the value of the methods and results and so improve their program. The purpose is to tie each enterprise with the life and needs of the student.

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1. McKim, W.R.: Annual Report, 1934

An interesting project begun in 1934 is that of the Lord's Acre garden, the profit of which goes to the church. This plan has recently been used by several communities in the mountains with good results. The specific purposes are as follows:

1. To train students to give and sacrifice for their local church, a procedure which is much better than soliciting.

2. To teach the students the values and methods of care of new kinds of vegetables.

3. To help solve the problem of lunches for children in rural and consolidated schools, for through this training school gardens may be established, canning done, and the vegetables made the basis of hot soups for noon lunches during the winter.

4. To improve home conditions.

This project which was conducted on a volunteer basis, was quite successful. The "acre" was really only one-fourth acre, but the year's work gave a profit of $9.95 for the church, leaving the original capital intact, and providing enough cash to buy seed for the coming year. Besides this there were assets in perennial plants and some garden equipment which would be of more or less permanent value. More extensive plans were made for a second year.

Leaders in the college feel that it is a great

mistake to decrease their church program during the summer, for in reality this is the best time to advance because that is the time when it is possible for the people to attend and participate in the services. They feel that the pastor should have his vacation during the winter when others are there to carry on his work. An all-year program is much more helpful to the entire locality.

Certain important and outstanding results have been shown during the past few years. Cooperation among the students in the non-required projects of the school has increased, a fact which is important because one of the greatest problems in the small rural church is the lack of community-mindedness and systematic living. Co-operation and good business principles are necessary in good church organization as well as other phases of life. This new cooperative spirit carries over into community life and is shown in the new interest in the work and appearance of the church and in the tendency to help improve conditions. In 1934, the improvement in spiritual life was of outstanding importance, particularly in communities where graduates had returned to their homes. The 1936 report states that the objective stressed in the school the previous year was the personality of the teachers. Teachers with imagination and vision who follow Jesus as their example are needed, for "By their fruits ye

shall know them!"[1]

b. Asheville Farm School

Asheville Farm School for boys was founded in 1894 by the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The inadequacy of public schools and roads necessitated a boarding school which would provide a home for the boys and give an opportunity for courses in scientific and practical agriculture and ordinary trades. For this purpose a farm of 420 acres of land was purchased twelve miles from Asheville. At the opening of the school 140 applications were received; however, only 30 boys were chosen as no more could be accommodated at the time. Within two years the school increased to 88, and the following year new buildings permitted the enrollment of 140 students. Gifts made possible the improvement of the school and the purchase of more land until in 1917 the farm land totaled 686 acres, 300 of which were under cultivation.

Until 1925 Farm School was associated with Asheville Normal and Teachers College, but at that time it became an independent unit. The year following this division the boys from "The Willows" at Dorland

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1. Annual Report: op.cit., 1936

Bell were brought to Farm School. During 1926 also, the Presbyterian Church of Farm School was organized because other churches were too far away to permit attendance and participation in the services. In this new organization 61 charter members were enrolled.

Farm School is unique among this group of schools in its total educational set-up. Although the work of the other boarding schools is done by the students, it is possible to accomplish more here because the boys not only do all the farm work, dairying, and care of the grounds, but also the cooking, care of the buildings, and the laundry. The educational method of Farm School is definitely progressive; the boys "learn to do by doing."[1] In 1926 it was estimated that student labor in building saved 50 per cent of the cost.[2] From 30 to 50 boys remain during the summer to carry on the farm work and to earn their tuition. During the past five years three new buildings have been completed, i.e. the library and the chapel made of logs taken from the school property, and the superintendent's home which is of native rock. All of these buildings

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1. Brevities: Asheville Farm School, Swanannoa, North Carolina. 1936
2. Historical Files.

are beautiful in their architecture, modern in their equipment and were produced at a minimum expense. . . Although the school has suffered several losses by fire, it has been possible by insurance, student labor, and natural resources, to increase and improve the buildings and grounds.

The present student body of Asheville Farm School represents 88 different communities and 7 states.[1] Statistics for 1935 shows an enrollment of 159 students, an average registration of 133, and a staff of 17 paid workers.[2]

The Christian education program of Farm School is varied and inclusive. A unique and important feature of this program is the fact that the Bible courses are almost entirely elective. This plan is something of an experiment and the Religious Education Director tells of the plans concerning the continuation of this policy:

> "By action of the Scholarship Committee junior high school students were required, in the fall of 1935, to enroll in the Department of religious Education. They felt that such study was desirable for the well rounded development of each student. This was more of a recommendation to the registrar, however, than a hard and fast rule. There have been exceptions from the very start. . .
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> We are planning to put required work in religious study in the form of orientation courses for all

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1. Brevities: Asheville Farm School.
2. Contemporary Pioneers; p. 170

> entering students. Other than that the student will be free to choose. Our plan is to capture his interest or perhaps to make him feel a need. Furthermore, we think it will work. Our experience has indicated that students will respond to reason and will choose (without even the subtle forms of compulsion) to study religion when he sees the value of such study. Until that time comes such study would be of questionable value."[1]

About one half of the boys elect the courses in Bible, but all of them are required to attend Sunday school classes and young people's societies. It is the judgment of the faculty that the attitude toward Bible study has improved.

c. Dorland Bell School

Dorland Bell School for girls, Hot Springs, North Carolina, on the Dixie Highway between Knoxville and Asheville just six miles from the Tennessee line is easily accessible even though it is in the heart of the Great Smoky Mountains of the Blue Ridge. In 1887, Reverend and Mrs. Luke Dorland began teaching the children of Hot Springs in their own home, for at that time there was no adequate public school in the town. This plan was so popular that the following year Mr. Dorland put up a building at his own expense so that more children might be taught. The school was supplied by gifts from interested guests at the summer hotel. It was not long before assistance from

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1. Personal communication.

other sources was necessary and in 1893 the Woman's Board of Home Missions assumed control of the institution then known as Dorland Institute. By 1895 the school was composed of 150 pupils, both girls and boys, of whom nearly 50 per cent. were day pupils. In order that more adequate provision might be made for the boys, "The Willows," a farm of 296 acres two miles from the town was purchased. Two outstanding features of Dorland Institute were the practice cottages for girls living on the campus and the new silo, the first one in the country, located at "The Willows."

In 1918 Bell Institute in Walnut, North Carolina, consolidated with Dorland Institute, forming Dorland Bell School. As the public school improved, the primary department in Dorland Bell became unnecessary and was disbanded and the boys at "The Willows" were sent to Farm School, because it did not seem wise to maintain similar schools in such close proximity. In 1931 Dorland Bell School added the eleventh grade (the senior class in North Carolina) thus making a complete high school course.

The present program of Dorland Bell School is planned to meet the individual needs of the students and to develop initiative and a sense of responsibility in community leadership through Christian experience and training. The school not only considers the needs of its students but includes the community in which it is

located as well as the homes and surroundings from which the girls come. In 1935 the enrollment reached a maximum of 101, with an average registration of 92, and the staff consisted of 12 paid workers[1] and 5 volunteers. All the work of the school is carried by the girls under supervision.

The Christian education program as given for 1934 included Bible study classes three periods a week for all girls, daily chapel, and vespers each evening following the study hour. An individual quiet hour is always encouraged. The girls participate in Sunday school, morning church service, and mission study classes held twice a month on Sunday evenings. One Sunday evening each month the girls and faculty attend service in a church other than the Presbyterian, a plan which teaches the girls cooperation and which unites the community in its church life. The fourth Sunday night each month the students take charge of their own service usually by giving a Biblical drama prepared in the week-day class period. The year's program of Christian activities for 1934 included a day of prayer, one week of evangelistic services following which 14 girls united with the church, the recognition of special days (Thanksgiving, Christmas, Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays, and Easter Sunday,) eight Biblical dramas, and a leadership training class.

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1. Contemporary Pioneers, p.170

Certain phases of the Christian education program are especially interesting and profitable. As a part of the regular classroom study the girls plan and write Biblical dramas and the entire responsibility for the production falls on the students under the guidance of the Bible teacher. The leadership training class begins in the junior year with a study of the characteristics of children at different ages, and Biblical material suitable to the age and needs. Theoretical programs are planned, including source materials, stories, handwork, recreation, and drama. During the senior year each girl is responsible for a project which she works out alone or in cooperation with other students. These projects include Sunday school classes through the intermediate age, leadership in the young peoples' societies in the Hot Springs Presbyterian Church and in the C.C.Camp, a week-day class in religious education for the juniors of the public school and a negro club which includes both adults and children.

During the summer months many seniors organize and conduct Vacation Bible schools with the younger girls assisting there. Reports concerning work done by Dorland Bell girls in their home communities are very favorable and one leader in a community center writes,

> "The girls from our county who go to Dorland Bell School usually come home to do all they can in Sunday School and Vacation Bible School work. . . Both J-- and R-- (these girls attended Dorland Bell for two years) taught classes in Vacation Bible School and did extra fine work. . . The girls from Dorland Bell can surely prepare

and conduct fine worship programs."[1]

During the summer of 1935, a Lord's Acre garden was an enterprise of particular interest. The project was carried on by volunteer service and although reports in regard to its success are inadequate, it was so well started under good leadership that it should have paid well.

Increasing emphasis is placed on the need of each girl's understanding her home community; for this reason during the second semester of the school year 1932 -'33 a special study was undertaken by the upper class girls. Many of these problems can be studied through community contacts near the school. In outreach the school has the following policy:

> "For the area which our station touches, through the influences of the girls as they go home, we strive to give ideals to put into use at home --- better home making, better mothers, better health, a better social life, Christianity that functions seven days a week and is a matter of daily living rather than an emotional outlet so frequently true of the mountain religion."[2]

Dorland Bell School has a very definite place to fill in the life of the community in which it is located, because not only does it provide opportunity for girls who might otherwise receive only the minimum education, but it is almost the only influence for Christian living and training in the community, with the exception of preaching

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1. LeFevre, John S.: Personal Letter. Burnsville;North Carolina, February 16,1937.
2. Annual Report, January, 1935

twice a month by the non-resident Presbyterian pastor.

The weekly activities in Christian participation include daily chapel services of worship and inspirational and cultural programs, weekly Sunday school using materials outlined and organized by the workers, weekly young peoples' meetings for which the student body is divided into two groups, formal church services, daily Bible and religious education study, and daily classes in leadership training. The year's program of Christian education for 1934 included the following features: the recognition of the World Day of Prayer; 8 days of 15 special evangelistic services; 25 Gospel Team services held in remote churches and communities; activities carried on by the Young People's Union of Swannanoa Valley; recognition of special days such as Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter; sacred music programs held in the community; preaching services held by staff members in communities where church services are either infrequent or are not held at all; a special class in leadership training held for one month for young people of the community; a summer conference of one week for young people of the area; special projects in Sunday school and young peoples' meetings carried out by the boys. The "Lord's Acre" project is also a part of the Farm School program; only at this time it was not an acre of land but two pigs, the profit of which went to the church.

The entire responsibility of the Presbyterian

Church of Farm School falls on the staff and students. The Superintendent and the Religious Education Director are in charge of all services. Members of the faculty are elders and church officers, and students and teachers are deacons. A student choir under a competent director provides music for the services, while the students participate in special features such as leading in prayer, receiving the offering, and ushering.

The atmosphere at Farm School is one of Christian fellowship, and by this the writer does not mean that there are no difficulties, but that Christianity is carried into all fields of study, work, and personal relationships.

Throughout the years Christian training and living have been stressed in a practical way at Farm School. Similar to the plan carried on at Dorland Bell, Farm School boys are studying their home community problems by means of questions made out prior to vacation periods. These questions are answered during the vacation while the student is at home and the solutions are made a subject of study during the remainder of the school year. This research is voluntary and was found so helpful that it was continued before two vacation periods.

To see the results of the Christian training at Farm School one has only to look at the annual reports of the past years. In 1921 the records show that eight of the graduates are in the ministry. The 1934 report states

that among the graduates the ministers are the finest and largest group except the farmers. Thirty strong leaders fill pulpits in churches of various denominations. Many of the graduates are in the teaching profession, some in institutions of higher learning, and some in the county schools. The majority of those who return to their home communities take places of leadership.

d. Mossop School for Girls.

Orginally Mossop School for Girls was the Huntsville Academy established in 1885 by the Kingston Presbytery at Huntsville, Tennessee. The scope of instruction at that time was from primary to academic grades. By 1904, Huntsville Academy graduates composed 60 per cent. of the total number of county teachers. Better education on the part of the teachers so improved the public schools that by 1907 the day school of the academy was discontinued and the school was reorganized as an industrial school for girls under the title "Mossop Memorial School." In 1921 the institution was moved to Harriman, Tennessee, where it was re-opened the following year. By 1923 the tenth grade was included in the academy besides special classes in home economics and home nursing. Three years later the primary department was discontinued, and by 1932 the school was offering a complete high school course. The present enrollment of Mossop School is 64 with an average registration of 50. All of the pupils are members of the

Sunday school, all belong to the Young People's society, and 41 are church members.[1]

The Christian education program in Mossop includes Sunday school, church, Christian Service Band meetings, Young People's meetings, and the Home Circle in its Sunday activities. During the week the morning watch, family worship, chapel, Bible classes, prayer groups, and church prayer meeting (by choice) make up the schedule. In 1934 the year's program included the following activities: recognition of the World Day of Prayer, Christmas, and Thanksgiving; two mission plays and one stewardship play for special occasions. At Mossop, as at other mission schools, leadership training is especially emphasized. For practical experience students teach in a mission Sunday school in an outlying community and in the Harriman Sunday school; some assist the regular primary teacher in Sunday school, and during the summer months take part in a Vacation Bible school. Practice teaching and dramatization are carried on in the leadership training class. Close cooperation between the church in Harriman and Mossop School is shown by the fact that the pastor speaks in the school chapel once each two weeks. Moreover, both

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1. Annual Report. January, 1936

faculty and students attend and participate in the Harriman church services, which are held twice each Sunday, and in many other ways show their spirit of cooperation by making themselves a part of the Christian life of the community.

The report for 1935 gives more detail concerning the Bible study courses. That year some of the special features for the seventh and eighth grades were the making of a relief map of Palestine on the playground, the illustrating of Bible stories with clay modeling, dramatization of Bible stories, and whittling of model implements similar to those used in Bible times. In the ninth grade dramatization was continued, the four hundredth anniversary of the printing of the English Bible was celebrated, and a Thanksgiving pageant with the eighth grade assisting was given. The White Gift Candle Light Service was a most interesting and helpful feature of the Christmas recognition. Following the Christmas story the girls, dressed in white, brought their gifts, which were wrapped in white, and presented them at the close of a most worshipful program. Gifts of self, service, or substance were acceptable.

As in the other mission schools, much responsibility is given to the students that they may

learn to assume leadership in their home communities. A deep spiritual and devotional life is encouraged.

2. Community Centers.

a. Wooton Community Center

After a careful survey of the region at Wooton, Kentucky, work was begun in 1917 with a definite view toward economic improvements. Gradually the center increased and developed until in 1924 the total program included health work, agriculture, fireside industries, library service, adult classes, and religious activities. A fine feeling of cooperation exists in the relationships between the public school, the State Demonstration Agent, and the community workers. Conditions are changing rapidly in this section because of improved highways and increased industries. Students returning from boarding schools have been of great assistance in developing leadership and community consciousness. In 1932 the spiritual tone of the community was at a low ebb, but the following year interest in the church increased and improved. A leadership training class started in 1933 proved so successful that more extensive plans were made for the following year. A decided change came to Wooton when, in 1935, the government expressed a desire to use the community farm and center as a demonstration point for their

rehabilitation program in Kentucky. The program of the station was reorganized, in response to the request, but without informing the executive the government chose another locality; however the changes strengthened rather than weakened the work. At present there are three workers, the pastor of the local church who is also the executive, his wife, and the community worker.

The entire Christian education program includes 7 Sunday schools, preaching points, and Christian Endeavor at Wooton and at one branch station. The total enrollment for the Sunday schools in 1934 was 476, and for other Sunday services such as church and Endeavor, was 332. Week-day activities include prayer meeting, Ladies' Aid, and Bible classes. Bible school was held at the main station for four weeks in March and April, 1934, including special services just before Easter. In November, 1934, there were special services for two weeks at one of the branch stations, and another Bible school was conducted for three weeks with special preaching services for fourteen nights. Statistics for 1935 show a Sunday enrollment of 315, 275 in other Sunday activities, 600 in week-day activities, and 75 in Vacation Bible school.[1] At the present time as many

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1. Contemporary Pioneers: p. 173

as 500 children in rural schools receive religious instruction from the community worker who travels on horseback to the one-room schools.

Several difficulties seriously hinder the work at Wooton. One problem for which no solution has been attempted is the traditional belief that baptism is necessary to salvation. Another handicap to Christianity is the direct relief from the the government which is harmful to the people both spiritually and economically. A third discouragement is the failure to develop leaders in spite of the influence of students returning from boarding schools. In the Christian program at Wooton, special emphasis is given to evangelism, and the workers feel that some progress has been made, but they are not satisfied.

b. Sulphur Springs Community Center.

Sulphur Springs near Stay, Kentucky, formerly known as Lower Buffalo, was founded at the urgent request of the people. A program including Sunday school, Young People's work, and various clubs, was organized in 1923 under the leadership of two workers. Records show that at that time the people took a vital interest in the center; for example, the land was secured and deeded to the Board by the families of the community. In 1926, a community house and a worker's cottage were erected,

the funds coming in part from a friend of the Board, the balance being paid by the people. The house was furnished practically throughout with mountain-made equipment. The fact that activities here center around the public school also shows close cooperation.

The Christian education at Sulphur Springs shows a decidedly spiritual tone. In the report for 1934 there are the following phases of work: Sunday school, prayer meeting, women's Bible classes, and Christian Endeavor for all children. Special evangelistic services of one week each were held at two different times in 1934, during which 12 new members joined the church and 7 babies were baptized. Five Bible schools conducted in outlying communities showed a total enrollment of 229 pupils, 40 of whom attended a special Bible school camp which followed the school and gave the pupils one week of intensive study. Visitation, evangelism, and personal work, are features of the program. The children, especially the juniors and intermediates, are given much responsibility in order to train them for leadership. These children lead their own Sunday school, one eighth grade boy acting as superintendent, another as secretary; a girl of about the same age serves as song leader, and two grade pupils are teachers. The adults and young people do not seem to be very dependable, and the work is

rather discouraging.

For a number of years two workers had been stationed at this center, but in 1935, when it was made a part of Wooton, the personnel was changed and at present there is only one individual in that field.

c. Cranks Creek Community Center

Until 1923 Cranks Creek was only an outpost of the station at Smith, Kentucky, but the coming of a trained teacher in the public school influenced the community to ask that a center be established at that point. In 1926 a cottage was built and one worker was placed there with the public school teacher as an associate.

This station has been a very interesting one because of the notorious moonshining carried on and because of the opposition against coming of Presbyterian women. An entering wedge for the work came with the first Christmas tree and other activities in the public school. Previously there was no cooperative spirit, although the people are intelligent, own their own land, have fairly good homes and are quite advanced in comparison with some mountain communities. By 1929 various clubs and a Sunday school were organized; there were also community meetings and gatherings in the homes, and the appointment of a second worker in 1931 showed continued development. By 1934, boys and girls trained in leadership at Farm School and Mossop and all professing Christians, were an outstanding influence in the

community. Special attention was given to woman's work in 1935, when a woman's club was organized and both the older girls and the young married women assisted in the county fair.

Although the work carried on at Cranks Creek is quite inclusive, the emphasis is placed on the religious and social life. Unfortunately services must be held in the school house or cottage as there is no church nearer than Cawood, eight miles away. Their Sunday activities include Sunday school, church, junior and senior Christian Endeavor with an average attendance of 71 in Sunday school and 47 in the other activities.[1] Two Vacation Bible Schools, personal visits, clubs, and monthly social gatherings complete the program.

One of the most serious problems which persists is that of drunkenness which results in "killings" and general disorder. This has increased since the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and has at times caused a decided question as to the wisdom of holding community meetings of any sort at night. However, in spite of this difficulty there is an increased earnestness in spiritual matters, community welfare, and higher education. Boys and girls who have attended the boarding schools show fine leadership training, and their accomplishments are a challenge to the

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1. Contemporary Pioneers: p. 173

community especially to the younger children.

During the past four years there has been a decided advance along educational lines, and with this has come an increased community spirit. Fortunately there are well-trained and consecrated teachers in all three neighboring schools, and teachers and workers cooperate well. Most significant recent developments are the increased interest in the establishment of a church at Cranks Creek and the growing friendly cooperation among the people of the community.

d. Sunset Gap School

Sunset Gap School, known as Glenwood School until 1928, was established in 1923 at the urgent request of the people. At this time the station was quite isolated, being twelve miles from a doctor, post office, railroad, or store. Two workers were sent; land, lumber, money, and labor were given by the people, and the enterprise became a combination school and community center. Though known particularly for its health and social work, this school has placed much emphasis on household economics and religious services. The first year of its existence a Sunday school of 84 members was organized at the station, while a second smaller one was started six miles back in the mountains. No church has been organized at Sunset Gap because there are now both Baptist and Methodist churches within five miles of the school.

The Christian education program consists of Sunday

school every Sunday morning with vespers at the cottage during the winter. Bible is taught in all grades four days each week, and a chapel service of which the pupils have entire charge is held each Thursday. During the year 1934, The World Day of Prayer, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter, Mother's Day, and Children's Day were all given special recognition. There were also several missionary addresses by outside speakers, and special services for one week which were quiet, simple, and prayerful in contrast to a near-by Holy Roller meeting where everybody "got religion," shouting and carrying on in a generally wild manner. Statistics for 1935 show an average Sunday school attendance of 83 and an attendance of 50 for week-day activities.[1]

The most important enterprise of 1935 was the nursery school for small children who had little home care because parents and older brothers and sisters had to work in the fields. Two Dorland Bell girls trained in nursery school work had charge of the school which proved very worthwhile in the group contacts, health habits, and Christian training which it gave the children.

e. Rocky Fork Community Center.

In 1904, the people in and near Flag Pond, Tennessee, requested the establishment of a Sunday school.

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The request was granted and a mission day school was also opened by Miss Jennie Moore, a native of Tennessee. Finances compelled the Board to discontinue the work, but Miss Moore remained at her post even when, for two years, maintenance was questionable. Through the efforts of the people and the gifts of interested friends, sufficient land, labor, and funds were supplied for the establishment of a teachers' home and a schoolhouse, which was also a chapel. Owing to the development of public schools it was possible by 1914 to discontinue the day school and increase the community work.

The emphasis in the work here has shifted according to the needs of the people until at present the leading feature is the health program which is in charge of a trained nurse as there is no doctor within fifteen miles. However, there is also a decided emphasis on religious life, community spirit, and the values of a higher education. The purpose of the station is to influence all areas in the lives of the people. Three workers are now stationed at Rocky Fork and in addition to an increased health program, the spirit of cooperation among the people and the improvement in youth leadership are outstanding developments.

The Christian education program of Rocky Fork as given in the report for 1934 includes a full schedule of religious activities. Sunday school and Christian Endeavor are held every Sabbath; church services, twice each month,

and prayer meetings every Wednesday night. The Sunday school superintendent is a local man and a graduate of Farm School and Tusculum College, while the mid-week prayer services are usually led by boys or girls who are college graduates and are teaching in their home communities. The Christian Endeavor, a very active group, has a local girl for its president. In 1934 three Vacation Bible Schools were conducted with a total enrollment of 129 children. One man seventy-five years old, who lived near by, never missed a meeting, but always stopped his farm work long enough to sttend; he especially enjoyed the story hour and games. The Bible schools include Bible study, music, stories, manual training, sewing, and games. Dorland Bell girls and Farm School and Tusculum College boys take the places of leadership in the community during the summer and when they return to teach or to build homes.

In 1935 the Christian Endeavor celebrated the fifty-third anniversary of the organization, including in their program a history of Christian Endeavor and a sketch of Dr. Clark's life and work. Other days were also observed by the young people. Statistics that year showed an average attendance of 51 for Sunday school, 96 for other Sunday activities, 25 for week-day activities, and 87 for Vacation Bible school.[1] The attendance and participation of the

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1. Contemporary Pioneers: p. 173

people are good considering the size of the community, and leaders feel that the results of the work here are quite satisfactory.

f. Smyrna Community Center

The old Smyrna Church, first organized in 1802, was for a long time a strong Presbyterian center, but in recent years it has been pastorless and without regular religious services. In 1935, after a careful survey of this region under the direction of experienced leaders, work was begun in Smyrna, four miles from Byrdstown and forty miles from a railroad. Within three months Sunday schools and young peoples' societies had been organized both at Smyrna and at Lovelady two miles away. The following summer six Vacation Bible schools were conducted in nearby communities. This field, one of the most challenging and promising, is called "The Baby of National Missions."[1]

Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to tell of the work which is carried on by home mission agencies in the Southern Highlands, making a special study of the schools and community centers under the Unit of Educational and Medical Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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1. Stewart, Anna Belle and Rose: "The Baby of National Missions," Women and Missions, Nov. 1936, p. 247

A list of all cooperating home mission agencies including the number of schools or other enterprises carried on by each has been given. The work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. is listed separately and the names of all Presbyterian stations, with the exception of a few very small units of work carried on in connection with a larger center, are given with their post office addresses and general localities. Four schools and six community centers under the specified Board Unit have been studied. The founding, general purpose, progress, and the present status of each has been given with special attention to the program of Christian education in its content, set-up, and results. Wherever possible the general policies of the workers and the outreach of the station into the community have also been given.

CHAPTER III

AN EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY CENTERS

CHAPTER III

AN EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY CENTERS

Having made a study of the Christian education programs of the schools and community centers under the Unit of Educational and Medical Work of the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., it is the purpose in this chapter to make a general evaluation of these programs according to criteria taken from the policies and standards of the Board.

1. Criteria For Evaluation

> "The purpose of the Board in the maintenance of schools, hospitals, and community stations, as in all other phases of its work, is the furtherance of the fundamental objective defined in the charter of the Board, namely, 'the extension of Christianity and the Gospel of Christ in all its fulness and His service in all its implications'."[1]

A. Policies

1. General

a. Schools, homes, community centers, health centers, and hospitals shall be continued or established only if they serve the communities because of the entire lack of such service, or because services are far below standard, or because they are needed to round out and strengthen the

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1. Policies and Standards for Educational and Medical Work, Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Nov.12, 1936

total program of the Board for the population or area served.

b. Educational and medical service shall be undertaken only in so far as it can be maintained according to standards in program, personnel, buildings, and equipment established by the Board.

c. The program of every station shall be regarded as an integral part of and considered in relation to the total program of the Board for the group or area served, and in line with the policies of the Board. All workers in every station, whatever their specific tasks, shall be considered responsible for advancing the total missionary program of the Board.

d. The program of every station, both in the institution proper and through well-organized extension services, shall be developed to meet the needs --- religious, social, health, economic, and recreational --- of the group or community which it touches. Such a program shall be preventive and constructive rather than remedial; flexible rather than static so that it may be readily adapted, altered completely, or abandoned as changing conditions demand; it shall also work toward the development of community leadership and responsibility, and shall be carried out in close cooperation with other recognized agencies.

e. Each station shall be staffed by workers who are professing Christians of positive Christian faith imbued with missionary spirit and professionally trained for their

specific tasks.

2. Educational Work (Schools and Community Centers)

a. The objective of the Board's educational work, in both schools and community centers, shall be the development of a well-trained Christian leadership capable of assisting in and of initiating and accepting responsibility for worthwhile activities --- spiritual, social, physical, and mental --- directed toward the raising of the whole level of living of the community or communities which each station serves.[1]

b. Each school shall be developed as a center of religious and social influence in the life of the group served and, to that end, the program shall be such that the school participates actively in the life of the group and the group in as many as possible of the activities of the school.[2]

c. A community center set up under the administration of the Unit of Educational and Medical Work to meet some primitive need shall be continued under this Unit until a well-organized community-functioning church is developed and at that time the center shall be considered for transfer to that Unit of the Board responsible for the church

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1. Policies and Standards
2. Ibid.

work in that area.[1]

3. Medical Work.

Each station shall be developed, as fully as its professional duties permit, as a center not only of health, but also of religious and social influence in the life of the community.[2]

B. Standards

1. Educational Work

a. Schools

1) All schools shall include a program of Christian education as part of the total curriculum, and shall use methods of teaching which call for the largest possible student participation and activity in order that they learn to think clearly and honestly and to develop socially useful habits, attitudes, and motives for action.

2) The program of Christian education shall utilize all departments of the school for the attainment of the following objectives:[3]

a) The guidance of students to an acceptance of Christ.

b) The nurture of Christian character

c) The development of a spirit of worship

d) Preparation for lay Christian service

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1. Policies and Standards.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

(e) The development of a program for leading the community or group served to plan for its own betterment, and shall include:

(a) A weekly service of worship

(b) Graded Sunday school classes

(c) Graded Young People's societies

(d) A preparatory class for church membership

(e) A definite program of leadership training and of missionary education to be carried through special classes or organizations or other phases of the program.

(f) At least one Daily Vacation Bible School to be provided by the school directly or in cooperation with the local church

(g) Week-day Bible classes for every grade of not less than one and one-half hours each week

(h) Daily devotions in chapel, vespers, small prayer groups, or other such organizations to be provided for in the school itself.

(3) Each school shall in cooperation with workers under other Units of the Board develop a definite program of extension work in the local community and the home communities of students. Extension projects shall be along spiritual, social, vocational, family or health lines according to local needs and shall provide as needed for adults, young people, and children. Students shall participate in

these extension projects, the projects being integrated as closely as possible with the work in the classroom and serving as practical opportunities for carrying out what is taught there.

(4) In so far as is possible in a boarding institution, a Christian home atmosphere shall be maintained.

b. Community Centers

(1)"Each community center shall have a program of service for adults, young people, and children, which shall be adapted to local needs and shall include as needed:"[1]

(a) Elementary education (if there is no adequate public school)

(b) Health education and guidance (first aid and home nursing)

(c) Education for citizenship (local,national,world)

(d) Vocational education and guidance

(e) Education for home and family life

(f) Education for leisure

(g) Physical education

(h) Christian education

(2)"Each community center shall promote the following activities and organizations as a part of their program of Christian education and in cooperation with the local

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1.Policies and Standards.

church:"[1]

(a) A weekly service of worship

(b) Graded Sunday school classes

(c) Graded Young People's societies

(d) Week-day religious instruction at the community center or the church, in the public schools, etc.

(e) A definite program of leadership training and missionary education shall be carried on through special classes or organizations or in connection with other phases of the Christian education program.

(f) A Woman's Missionary society

(g) At least one Daily Vacation Bible school

(h) Family religion and daily Bible reading in the homes

(3) Medical Work (hospitals and health centers)

(a) The Christian education program for hospitals and health centers shall include personal work and regular devotional services for hospital, clinic, and dispensary patients in cooperation with the Unit which administers the church work for the population or area served.[2]

(b) The Christian education program shall also include regular Bible classes of not less than one and one-half hours each week and daily devotional periods,

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1. Policies and Standards.
2. Ibid.

such as chapel, vespers, or small prayer groups, for all student nurses.[1]

II. Evaluation

On the basis of the preceding criteria an attempt will be made, first, to evaluate the relationship of each of these schools to the community which it serves, and second, to determine the quality and content of the Christian education program. Each community center will be considered in a similar way.

Although there are other high schools and colleges in the regions where Asheville Teacher's College, Asheville Farm School, Dorland Bell, and Mossop School are located, there are none which make it possible for mountain boys and girls to earn practically all of their education. It has been shown in the study that these schools all maintain high standards and in all cases furnish the most vital Christian influence in the locality. Each of these schools functions as an integral part of the total missionary program of the Board and all workers share in the advancement of this program as a part of their responsibility. One very important consideration in the value of these schools is the flexibility of their program, and the study of these institutions shows that they have changed their aims and objectives in

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1. Policies and Standards.

order to meet the needs of the students and communities served.

The study has also shown that in all four schools a major part of the responsibility is given to the students in order that they may be trained to live useful and independent lives. Community workers commend students from all schools for their willing and able assistance at home.

Reports indicate that there is inter-group participation to some extent between the schools and the surrounding communities. This is true especially at Dorland Bell where opportunity is given to the people of the community to take part in certain recreational, educational, and religious activities on the campus.

"Learning by doing," a policy which calls for a large amount of student participation and activity, is the basis for the teaching method in these schools. The reports stated that in Asheville Teacher's College there is an attempt to put the classroom experience and information to the best possible use and practice. In Dorland Bell, the Bible dramas and theoretical programs written in class study are used in community projects, while in Mossop the girls take places of leadership in the community as a practical outgrowth of the Biblical drama and practice teaching carried on in the leadership training class. The activities of Farm School boys, while in school and after graduation, show that the practical Christian training and influences

are exceptional. It is the purpose of all schools to have all phases of life influenced by Christianity.

The study shows that all schools have a weekly service of worship either in cooperation with the local church or in their own organization. Students in Asheville Teachers College attend church both morning and evening. Dorland Bell girls and faculty attend Sunday morning services in the Presbyterian Church and one Sunday evening each month they attend the Methodist Church. Two Sunday evenings each month are used for the study of missions, while on the fourth Sunday the girls conduct their own evening service which is usually a Bible drama. Regular church services are a part of the Mossop School program, though the reports do not state whether or not this is weekly. Asheville Farm School maintains its own church, and the entire responsibility falls upon faculty and students. Formal services are held each Sunday morning in the chapel.

These schools have graded Sunday school for all students except for seniors in the girls' schools who teach in the community Sunday schools. In Asheville Teachers College seniors teach younger students in their own institution, while in Farm School faculty members teach all Sunday school classes.

The young people's organizations in Asheville Teachers College consist of Y.W.C.A., Student Volunteer,

and a Religious Education Club, but no report is made in regard to the time or regularity of meeting. Unless Dorland Bell has organized Young People's societies during this year, there are no such activities; however, senior girls act as leaders for the community Young People's society. In addition to Young People's organizations in Mossop, a Christian Service Band and a Home Circle group meet regularly. Farm School students are divided into two groups for their Young People's meetings, each group having a faculty supervisor, but students assuming all responsibility.

None of the four schools studied gives special training for church membership unless such instruction is carried on through other classes. However, in the Farm School Presbyterian Church the boys receive practical instruction and experience as a part of the responsibility for their church.

Daily Vacation Bible schools are not carried on within these schools but are held in cooperation with the local church or in nearby communities. Seniors in all schools often organize vacation classes as well as teach in them; young students frequently assist the seniors or other community leaders.

Week-day Bible study classes are required in all schools except Farm School where a compulsory orientation course in Christian education exists, but where Bible classes are elective. The purpose of this orientation course is to

create a need and a desire and as a result an interest in Bible study.

All schools have a daily chapel program of worship. In addition, students in Dorland Bell conduct their own vespers each evening after study hour. The morning quiet time is also encouraged. The devotional program at Mossop includes a morning watch and family worship. During the past two years Farm School has added morning worship, led by either faculty members or older students, just before breakfast.

The study shows that in all these schools there is an extension Christian education program in the communities surrounding the schools and in the home communities of the students. The dominant purpose of these boarding schools is to further Christianity and this can be done only by maintaining a Christian home atmosphere within the institution and in this way make all community contacts Christian.

The six community centers studied were established after a careful survey of the regions in which they are located and are maintained according to the Policies and Standards of the Board as far as is possible and practical in the community served. It is the purpose in all community work to further the total missionary program of the Board, to work in cooperation with local churches, state authorities, and public schools, and to adapt the activities to the changing needs of the population served. The study has

shown that this constant change in emphasis in the total program is especially evident in the work at Sunset Gap, Cranks Creek, and Rocky Fork.

The development of well-trained Christian leadership in the community is necessary in order that the station may be a center for religious and social advancement in the community. The study has shown that workers in Wooton and Sulphur Springs are not satisfied with their leadership development; Smyrna, though recently established, is very promising, and the other three stations---Sunset Gap, Rocky Fork, and Cranks Creek---report satisfactory progress.

As nearly as possible all centers maintain a weekly service of worship and study. Wooton and Cranks Creek report weekly church services, while Sulphur Springs is indefinite on this point. Sunset Gap has no church because of the proximity of Baptist and Methodist churches, and services are held at Rocky Fork only twice a month. Smyrna gives no report in regard to this feature. Satisfactory Sunday schools are held in all centers, but no statement is made in regard to grading except in Sulphur Springs where the children conduct their own organization. Wooton, Cranks Creek, and Smyrna maintain both junior and senior Endeavor, while Sulphur Springs has Endeavor "for all children." The Sunset Gap report is not definite at this point, and the young people's group at Rocky Fork is not graded.

The study shows that regular week-day Bible classes are held at Wooton Center, and Bible instruction is given to over five hundred children in public schools which the worker reaches by traveling on horseback. Sulphur Springs and Sunset Gap give regular Bible teaching, but there are no classes at either Cranks Creek or Rocky Fork. Smyrna makes no report concerning this phase of work.

As rapidly as possible, responsibility is given to community leaders, thus training them through practical experience instead of in training classes. Students returning from Mossop, Dorland Bell, Farm School, and Asheville Teachers College, all assist in this work and their accomplishments are a challenge and a help to the community. The study indicates that workers at Wooton and Sulphur Springs are not satisfied with their leadership development, but all other stations except Smyrna, whose work in new, report good progress.

No station reports a Woman's Missionary Society as such; however, there is a Ladies' Aid Society at Wooton, and at Cranks Creek special attention has recently been given to women's work. A mother's club has been organized at Rocky Fork. These organizations may or may not have missionary interests as a part of their program.

All community centers conduct one or more Bible schools at some time during the year. In 1934, two Bible schools were held at Wooton, and the same year Sulphur

Springs reported seven, in outlying communities. Cranks Creek reports two Vacation Bible schools in 1934, while three were held in Rocky Fork. In Sunset Gap, Bible instruction is given throughout the year in the school; therefore, a Vacation Bible school was considered unnecessary. The first summer following the establishment of the work in Smyrna, six Vacation Bible schools were held in nearby communities.

Visitation work is an important feature of all community programs. Many opportunities for personal evangelism and the promotion of Bible reading in the homes come through these visits. Though the number of visits made during a specified time may be reported, it is impossible to really evaluate the importance and results of these contacts.

SUMMARY
AND
CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It has been the purpose in the preceding chapters to present the present Christian education program as it is carried on by the Unit of Educational and Medical Work of the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in certain schools and community centers, which is a part of its total program in the Southern Mountains. The schools and community centers were studied in the light of the background and needs of the people. The work done was compared with accepted standards set up by the Board. An attempt was made to determine the concomitant learnings which result from the training and contacts made in the schools and community centers.

The introduction presented the specific interest, the research which has previously been done, and the method of procedure. Chapter one dealt with the background of the Highlanders viewed in the historic, geographic, economic, social, and religious aspects.

In the study of these schools and community centers, a brief history and the general purpose of each was given. The program of Christian education in each station was considered in as much detail as possible from files and reports. On this basis an evaluation of the Christian education program was made according to criteria formulated from the Policies and Standards accepted by the

Board.

From this entire study, certain conclusions may be drawn and suggestions for improvement s made. A history of the Southern Highlander has shown that these people are of the same racial stock as other pioneers of America and in the past have had the strong character traits typical of those who stand for the highest and finest ideals in America. However, centuries of isolation and poverty have wrought havoc in the development of these people, so that they have not only failed to advance, but have deteriorated to a great degree. Though the Highlanders have been isolated for centuries, and many still are, the region as a whole is rapidly opening up because of better roads, automobiles, industrial activities, and other causes. This has meant the bringing in of influences which are a grave danger to the ideals and morals of a community; therefore, it is necessary to bring a vital Christianity to the Highlanders, and the best way to do this is through the work of the schools and community centers.

It has been shown that each station has been established with special reference to the need of the locality in which it is situated. The number of people reached by a school or community center determines to a great degree the value of the station.

In general, the Christian education program of

both schools and community centers, appears to be good and perhaps can be no better under present circumstances. However, there are several important needs which apparently are not met. It may be observed that there are no leadership training classes in the community centers and that all such training comes through practical experience which is good as far as it goes. However, experience without training results in slow progress and often a wrong emphasis. One may well ask concerning the number of workers, the adequacy of their training, and the reason for the lack of response in the community.

The study also leads to the conclusion that there is need for an increased emphasis on work with adults. The report from Cranks Creek shows a recent development in woman's work, and Wooton Center has a Ladies' Aid, but in no community center is there a record of a Woman's Missionary Society. All schools maintain such organizations in cooperation with the local churches. Neither was any mention made concerning work of any kind among the mountain men. The study has shown that in the mountain home the man is the dominating power,[1] hence money might well be spent in sending more Christian men to work in the mountains, well-trained men who understand the problems of the Mountaineer, not those who enter this work because they

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1. Ante, p. 26

have failed somewhere else.[1] More men are needed to work with the men.

An important factor in Christian education, which apparently is not stressed in any station except Asheville Farm School, is training for church membership. Such instruction should be closely related to leadership training for it is only through local Christian leadership that the Highland communities will be permanently benefited.

The greatest values of Christian education and yet the most difficult to be measured lie in the concomitant learnings resulting from the influences of the school or center. Christian learnings is possible only through the creation of a Christian atmosphere by a sympathetic and understanding personnel. These results cannot be stated in reports and can only be observed through years of personal contact with the community. The basic and fundamental need is for adequately-trained, Christian people who understand the Mountaineer and his problems. The solution to this problem lies in the development of a native Christian leadership, men and women dedicated to the Christian cause and devoted to the needs of their own people.

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1. Ante, p. 39

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE HIGHLANDS TODAY

"These five communities present five stages of culture, Colvin Hollow representing the lowest level and Briarsville the highest."[1]

"At the lowest level of social development in this region is Colvin Hollow. The inhabitants live in scattered mud-plastered, log huts. No one in the Hollow proper can read or write. There are no cattle or poultry in the Hollow proper. One family owns a pig and another a horse. Near each cabin is a small patch of maize and cabbage, the largest of which is about two acres. There is no general system of communication between the cabins. There is no road to the outside world. In every direction the perspective is closed by mountain sides covered with ghostly trunks of dead chestnuts. One building, closed for many years, is called a school. Otherwise there is no common meeting place. Neither is there a church nor any local government. Actually there is very little governmental influence, since the mountaineers, especially the squatters, are generally ignored by political headquarters. There is no evidence of any organized group life beyond the immediate family, itself loosely organized. Nearly all the inhabitants are blood relatives, and their social organization is in some ways below the level of the clan.

Next in the scale of social organization in this region is Needles Hollow, at the head of a rocky mountain trail which connects with the county road. Here a few men are literate. The community has a combined church-school where occasional religious meetings are conducted. The cultivated ground approaches the status of farms --- approximately five acres in area, although many of the farmers say they have twenty or thirty acres. Nearly every family has a pig and chickens. There is no local government or definite social organization, but the cabins are easier of access to each other and there is more recognition of kinship and friendship between the

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1. Sherman, M., and Henry, T.R.: Op.cit. p. 8

related families.

Oakton Hollow, at the head of a mountain road up which an automobile can be driven with difficulty by a skillful driver, presents the third step upward in the scale. Agriculture here is organized as contrasted with the haphazard tillage of the soil for immediate needs, which is the situation in Colvin Hollow. The chief crops are apples and corn. There is a beginning of industry in the paring and drying of apples, as well as the shipment of fresh apples, for markets in the lowland. The church-school is in fairly frequent use both for worship and education. There are two religious sects --- Plymouth Brethren and Primitive Baptists. Most families have pigs, chickens, cows and horses. Some of the cabins have three or four rooms, and there are slight intentional variations in their architecture. Nearly every home has a mail-order catalog, and much of the buying is done by mail. The community also has a general store which contains the post-office.

Next comes Rigby Hollow. It is a more compact, socialized community near the foot of the mountains, connected by a fair country road with a lowland village. Mail can be received daily. Driftwood of politics, crime, industry, science, literature, music and all other craft which mankind has launched on the stormy ocean of culture is thrown by the tide on this high beach.

The people of Rigby Hollow are physically cleaner and better dressed than in the three other communities, Colvin, Needles and Oakton. The cabins are more substantial and much better furnished. The farm patches are larger and better cultivated. There is more money in circulation. The men and women are more friendly to each other and to strangers, and express their thoughts in moremmeaningful language. The children have a better home life. Food is more varied and tasty. Sanitation is better, however far it may range from the ideal for a rural community.

School is in session approximately seven months each year. About seventy-five per cent of the people are literate. They can read and understand the newspapers. They can order materials from the catalogs of the mail-order houses. They can read the Bible, however uncritically, both individually and in unison. Social gradations are established. Those people whose cabins are scattered along the road to the village are striving to "pass over" from mountaineers to lowlanders. Some families are "better" than others.

The final stage in this scale is reached in a small farm and sawmill town, Briarsville, in the valley at the edge of the mountains. Through it runs a hard-surfaced road which connects with several larger towns and eventually with cities. Here is found a progressive school in a modern building. Church services are conducted regularly with very good attendance. Newspapers are received every day, and the automobile and radio are familiar to every one. Although many of the people are originally from the mountains, they do not wish to be thought of as mountaineers whom they generally dislike. Regular working hours are maintained. All the common American games are played and there is a systematic knowledge of national politics."[1]

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1. Sherman, M., and Henry, T.R.: Op. cit. pp.5,6,7,8

APPENDIX II

A REVIVAL SERMON

The following sermon is typical in the Highlands. It may be observed that it has a highly emotional tone and the strongest emphasis is upon conversion.

> "The country church at which the revival is being held is a new-looking brick building plastered inside, with two class-rooms, into which part of the large audience overflows, opening with wide doors from either side of the auditorium. The preacher is a thick-set, active man of about thirty, who speaks with great energy and speed and employs many gestures. Though he has plainly had theological training, he uses the homely, forceful turns of phrase common among Highland preachers.
>
> After a hymn, 'How beautiful heaven must be,' and the reading of the story of the journey of Abraham's servant in search of a bride for Isaac, the preacher declares that everything in the Old Testament is not only true in a literal sense, but is also a type of something in the New Testament, called an anti-type, or of some fact of Christian experience today, or of both. The rest of the sermon takes up one by one the incidents of the Old Testament story, bringing out some allegorical parallel for each. The character of the discourse is well illustrated by the concluding paragraphs, which were as follows:
>
> > 'I don't imagine it would be pleasant to ride along a dusty road through the heat on an old hump-backed camel. But the Holy Spirit was at Rebecca's side, telling her about the wonderful bridegroom that was waiting for her at the end of the journey, and the marriage supper that would be held that night.
> >
> > 'The Bible tells us that there is going to be a marriage supper of the Lamb. God will say, "Father Abraham, return thanks, please." "O God," Abraham will say, "I thank thee for all these children that have come through great tribulation." Then, the Bible says, Jesus will come round and serve us. Won't it be a happy time when Jesus comes to my side, taps me on the shoulder, and asks me what I want?

'It is nineteen years since I sat down at table with my mother. She went to glory and left me to make my own living when I was only eleven years old. I shall sit down with her at that great table in the air. But the one I want to see the most is the One that hung upon the cross to save me.

'There are many trials and temptations in life, and we often want to give up. But when we think of the glory hereafter, we are able to keep on -

"The toils of the road will seem
nothing
When we come to the end of the way."

'We never know when the end of the way will come for us. Are you ready, if the trumpet should sound and Jesus should come this morning?' . . .

Four persons respond to the appeal; a laborer, a woman, a young man and a boy of ten. After these persons have been labored with the service closes, as it began, with a hymn about heaven, which in this case has as its refrain, "I am bound for the promised land."[1]

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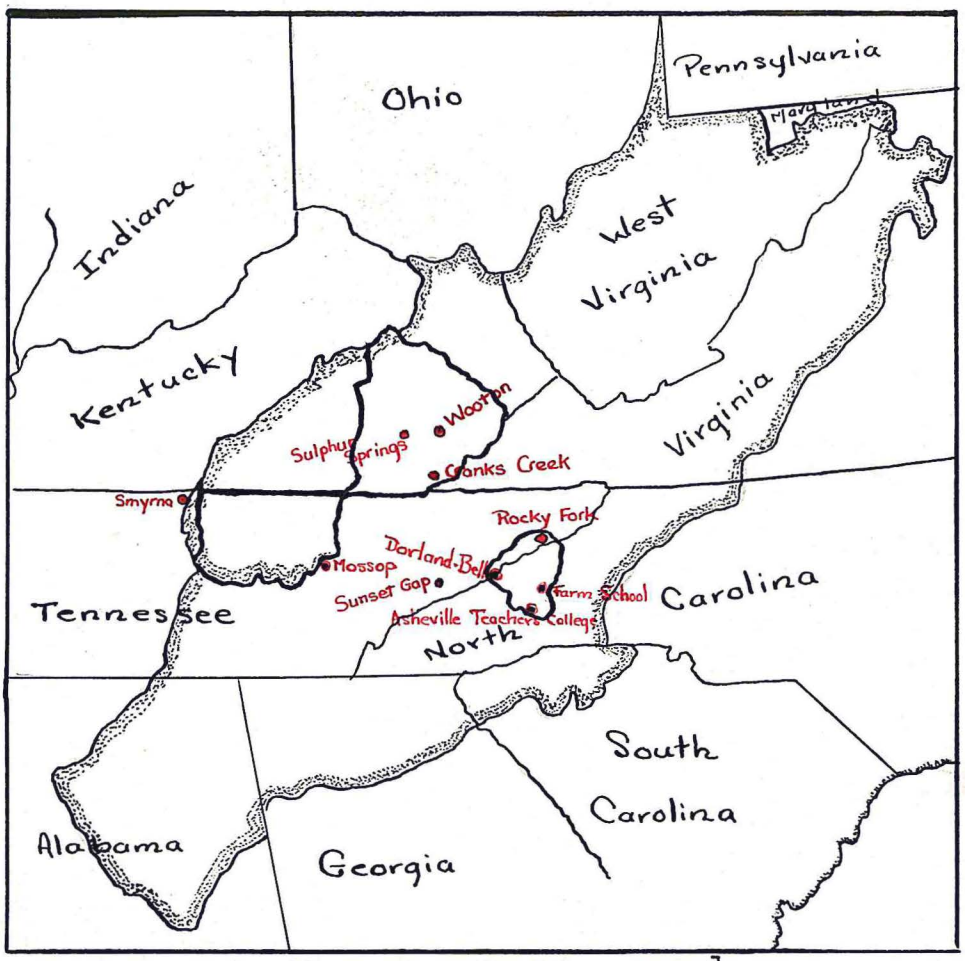
1. Hooker, E.R.: Op.cit., pp.137,138,139

APPENDIX III

MAPS

A. Locating Schools and Community Centers



Southern Appalachian Area[1]

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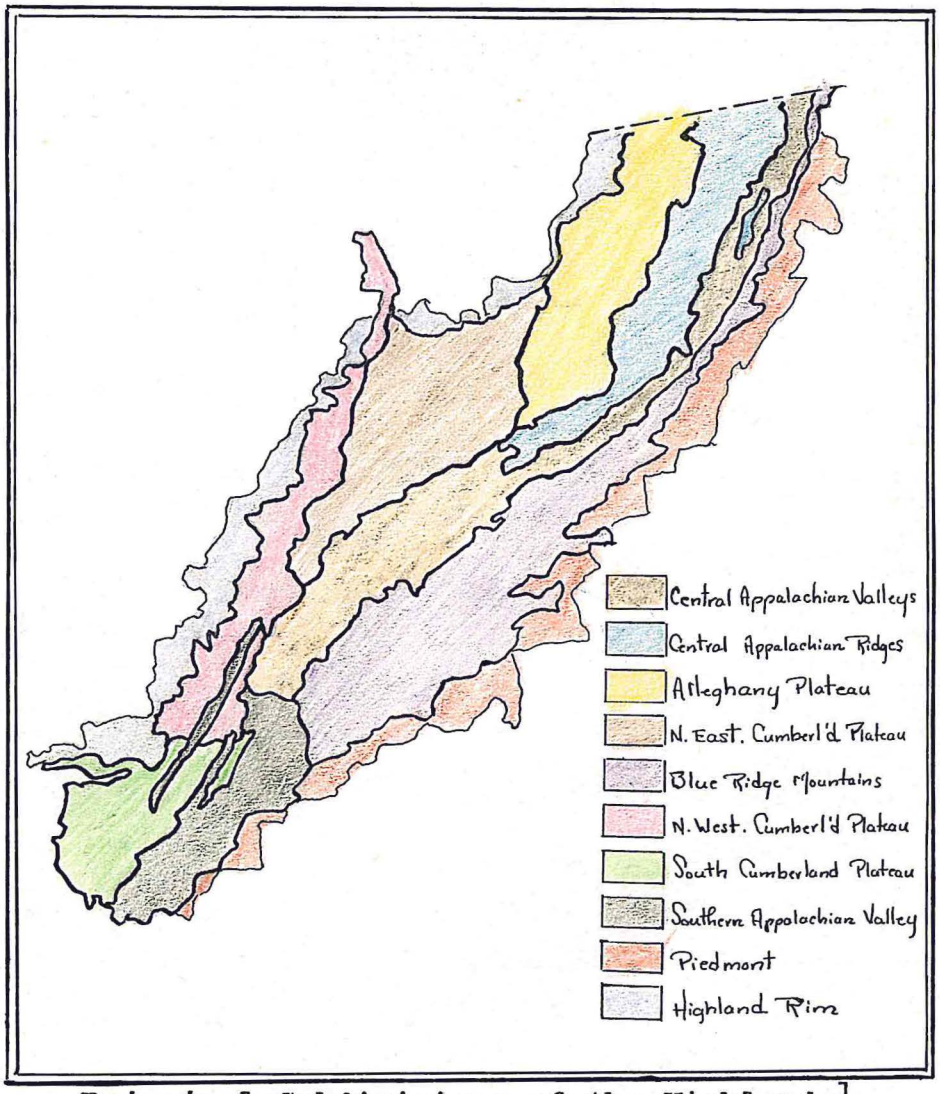
1. The Board of National Missions of The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

B. Indicating Highland Divisions



Principal Subdivisions of the Highlands[1]

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1. Hooker, E.R.: p. 62