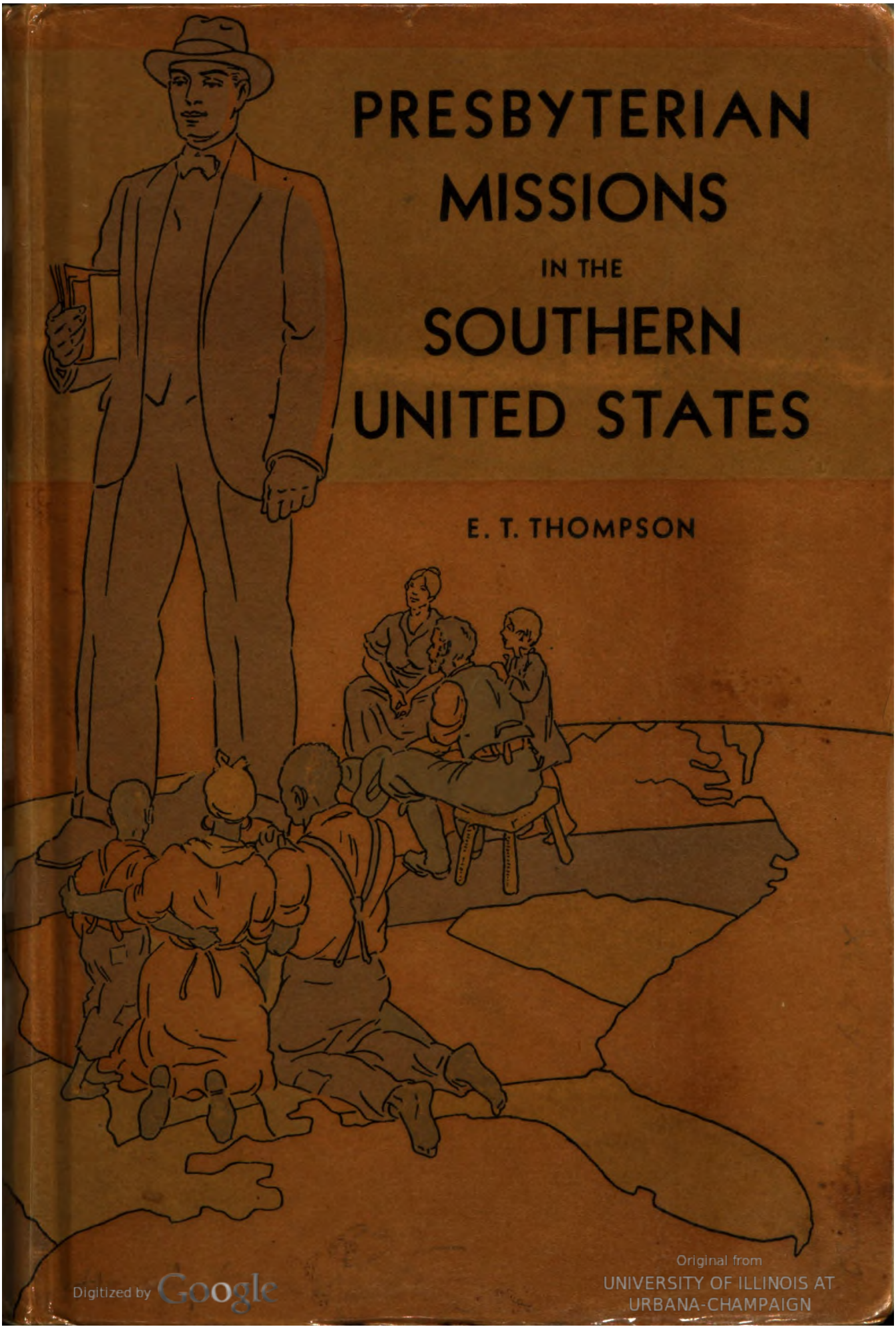

PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES

E. T. THOMPSON

Presbyterian Missions
in the Southern United States

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by

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TO

THE HOME MISSIONARY

WHO HAS TOILED SACRIFICIALLY AND SUFFERED HARDSHIP FOR THE LOVE OF CHRIST AND HIS FELLOWMEN AND WHO IS MAINLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF GOD'S KINGDOM THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH

FOREWORD

THE author is well aware of the limitations of this study of Presbyterian Home Missions in the Southern United States. He sends it forth, however, hoping that some at least of its readers may be thrilled as he has been at the silent heroism, the consecrated labors of the Home Missionaries who have advanced the Kingdom of God through the Presbyterian Church in the United States; hoping too that it may lead to a more intelligent interest, on the part of many, in this essential branch of the Church's work.

He is deeply indebted to many men and women who have furnished him information and advice; but especially to Rev. P. D. Miller, D.D., who gave him the opportunity to write the book, and who has helped him greatly in every stage of its preparation; to Dr. S. M. Tenney, who generously read the entire manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions; to Miss Catherine Younts and to Miss Minnie Thomas, who have prepared the manuscript for the press; and to his wife, without whose sympathy and help the study could not have been completed.

He is indebted also to the following publishers, who have kindly allowed him to quote from the works indicated: The Associated Publishers, Inc., publishers of *The History of the Negro Church,* by Carter G. Woodson; F. S. Crofts and Company, publishers of *The United States Since 1865,* by Hacker and Kendrick; Harper & Brothers, publishers of *The March of Faith,* by Winfred E. Garrison; the Home Missions Council, publishers of *Religion in the Highlands,* by Elizabeth R. Hooker, and *Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow,* edited by Herman N. Morse; the Institute of Social and Religious Research, publishers of *Protestant Home Missions to Catholic Immigrants,* by Professor Abel; the Macmillan Company, publishers of *The Rise of American Civilization,* by Charles and Mary Beard, and *The History of Religion in the United States,* by Henry K. Rowe;

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E. T. T.

Union Theological Seminary
Richmond, Virginia
February, 1934

CONTENTS

MAPS

Chapter One

THE COLONIAL SOUTH

1607-1776

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THE COLONIAL SOUTH

On May 13, 1607, one hundred and five emigrants from England planted at Jamestown the first permanent colony along the Atlantic Seaboard.

Ninety-nine years later seven ministers, four from North Ireland, two from Scotland, and one from New England, came together and formed the first American Presbytery.

In the ninety-nine years that had elapsed between the founding of the colony at Jamestown and the formation of the Presbytery at Philadelphia twelve colonies had been established along the Atlantic Seaboard. The great majority of the colonists had come from England, but there were also representatives from Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Sweden, Holland and France. Many of these immigrants had come to America because of religious persecutions in the Old Countries; some were drawn by economic necessity; others were lured by the spirit of adventure.

The first boatload of Negro slaves had been brought to Virginia in 1619, and slavery had grown rapidly from that time, especially in the South. In 1700 there were 32,000 Negroes in the colonies, about one-tenth of the total population. These Negroes came to America as savages. After a hundred years not much had been done to improve their condition, either morally or religiously.

The original inhabitants of the land, the Indians, had been pushed back toward the West, but were still in contact with the settlers on the Eastern Seaboard. Some effort had been made to win these aborigines to a faith in Christ, but it had met with little success. The Indians made frequent raids on the frontiers and were treated with savage ferocity by the white men.

The dominant church in the colonies when Presbyterianism began its organized history was the Church of England. It was the established church in Virginia, the strongest and most populous of the

colonies, and was intensely intolerant of other faiths. It was also the established church, though more tolerant of other groups, in New York, Maryland and the Carolinas.

The second most important church was the Congregational, centered in New England, where Puritans from old England sought to build a commonwealth on the pattern of God's revealed law. In Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire this Church was the established one, and other religious groups existed with difficulty, facing many grievous disabilities.

The Quaker colonies, Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey, had enjoyed religious toleration from the first. Because of the liberal policy of William Penn various German groups,—Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites, Dunkards and Moravians,—were beginning to pour especially into Pennsylvania.

Baptists were scattered up and down through the colonies, but they drew at this time almost altogether from the poorer part of the population, were regarded as dangerous radicals, and were widely persecuted.

I. BEGINNING OF PRESBYTERIANISM

Presbyterians had also begun to drift in during this period,—from England, Scotland, the North of Ireland, and some, the Huguenots, from France. These Presbyterians, representing a recent immigration, were poor. They were found mostly in the Middle colonies and were widely scattered, though settled here and there in little knots or groups.

Beginning about 1640 pioneer missionaries, foreign missionaries they might almost be called, began to visit these scattered groups and form Presbyterian congregations, though they were not able to secure for them settled pastors, or supply them with stated worship.

1. The First Missionaries

The most important of these missionaries was Francis Makemie, the real founder of the Presbyterian Church in America. In 1682 he was ordained to the Gospel ministry by the Presbytery of Laggan (Northern Ireland), and sent out as a missionary to America.

The next year he arrived in Maryland, a blue-eyed, brown-haired, fair-complexioned youth, with an intellectual forehead, and the "mien of a true Irish gentleman." For some years he preached here and there, especially in Maryland and Virginia, as an itinerant, but settled down in 1698 on the eastern shore of Virginia.

Six years later he returned to England and persuaded the Presbyterian and Independent ministers of London to send two Presbyterian ministers to America and to assume their support for two years. These two young men became pastors of four of the five churches which Makemie had developed on the eastern shore of Maryland. In 1706 this indefatigable missionary brought together seven Presbyterian ministers (including himself) from Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, four of whom were still laboring as Home Missionaries, three of whom had now become settled pastors, to form the first American Presbytery. The new Church was thus definitely a product of Home Missions.

Presbyterians at this time were very poor and, struggling for bare subsistence, could contribute but little to the support of their pastors. Under the circumstances little could be given for the propagation of the Gospel in other communities.

2. The First Presbytery

The founders of the Presbyterian Church realized, however, that the Church could not grow without continual Home Mission efforts. Just one year after its organization the Presbytery directed two of its members to "prepare some overture to be considered by the Presbytery for propagating religion in their respective congregations." As a consequence it was agreed that every member of the Presbytery should "supply neighboring desolate places where a minister is wanting and opportunity of doing good is offered." And for fifteen years, till an itinerant system was introduced in 1722, pastors cared for their own charges and extended their labors into adjacent regions as far as they were able, without extra compensation.

Meanwhile Presbytery appealed again and again to friends in New England and to churches in the old lands for money and for men. Thus in May, 1709, a letter was dispatched to the eminent dissenter,

Sir Edmund Harrison, of London: "Honourable Sir, The distressed condition of these Provinces with respect to religion, in which the providence of God has cast our lot, has moved us to apply to the Reverend Ministers of Boston, in New England, to join with us in addressing yourself, and other charitable gentlemen in London, to consider the state of these countries, and to implore your help and assistance for promoting the interest of our glorious Lord. . . . We doubt not, but if the sum of about two hundred pounds per annum were raised for the encouragement of ministers in these parts, it would enable ministers and people to erect eight congregations, and ourselves put in better circumstances than hitherto we have been. We are at present seven ministers, most of whose outward affairs are so straitened as to crave relief. . . . It is well known what advantages the Missionaries from England have of us, from the settled fund of their Church, which not only liberally supports them here, but encourages so many insolences both against our persons and interests, which, sorrowfully looking on, we cannot but lament and crave your remedy. That our evangelical affairs may be the better managed we have formed ourselves into a Presbytery, annually to be convened at this city; at which time it is a sore distress and trouble unto us, that we are not able to comply with the desires of sundry places, crying unto us for ministers to deal forth the word of life unto them; therefore, we most earnestly beseech you, in the bowels of our Lord, to intercede with the ministers of London, and other well affected gentlemen, to extend their charity and pity to us, to carry on so necessary and glorious a work; otherwise many people will remain in a perishing condition as to spiritual things."

Similar letters were sent to the Synod of Glasgow, to the Presbytery of Dublin, and to the Independent and Presbyterian ministers of London.

Fortunately these appeals for help were not in vain. In 1712 Thomas Reynolds wrote from London promising to contribute thirty pounds for the coming year "to support one or more ministers to spread the Gospel in those parts about you," and to contribute what he could in the years to follow. The Presbytery wrote back a warm

letter thanking him that he should be so thoughtful of "Christ's Church in this American wilderness," and assuring him that his bounty would relieve "some weak congregations unable of themselves to subsist at present in maintaining their own ministers." Help also came from the other sources, to which appeals had been made.

Largely as a result of its Home Missionary activities the Church grew, covering such a wide extent of territory that in 1717 a Synod was organized, composed of four Presbyteries, Long Island, Philadelphia, New Castle (Maryland and Delaware), and Snow Hill (Eastern Shore of Maryland). The seven ministers by this time had increased to seventeen.

3. The First Synod

At the first meeting of the Synod a proposal was adopted that "each minister contribute something to the raising of a fund for pious uses, and that they do use their interest with their friends on proper occasions to contribute something to the same purpose." This Pious Fund, for which annual contributions were soon ordered, was to be used for Home Missionary activities, and also on occasion for purposes of ministerial relief. It was the beginning of all the benevolent work of the Presbyterian Church. The Synod was not content to urge its members to contribute to the fund. Earnest appeals were also sent over to Scotland, and in 1717 the Mother Church appointed the third Sabbath of August for making collections on behalf of this fund for mission work in America. It is interesting to note that the first recorded grant from this fund went to the First Presbyterian Church of New York,—a most profitable Home Missionary investment.

With a small fund at its disposal the Synod was able to extend its missionary activities to more distant regions. Needs of the destitute sections came up regularly at each of its annual meetings, and provision was made to supply the most pressing wants, not only in Pennsylvania and Maryland, but also in Virginia and the Carolinas. These latter states indeed were regarded as missionary territory from the organization of the Synod down to the Revolutionary War, and

measures for sending the Gospel into their needy sections were adopted at almost every meeting.

Thus in 1719 the Synod received a letter from the people of Potomoke in Virginia requesting the Synod's care and diligence to provide them an able Gospel minister to settle among them. The next year Daniel McGill reported that, according to last year's appointment, he went to Potomoke, and after some months' continuance there put the people into church order. This church, located probably in the lower Shenandoah Valley, was the second Presbyterian congregation organized in Virginia and the first to come into relations with the Synod. The congregation was so pleased with Mr. McGill's labors that they requested that he be sent to them as their regular pastor.

To make the best use of its forces an itinerating system was introduced in 1722, which continued to be the home missionary system of the Presbyterian Church for more than a hundred years. According to this plan pastors were directed by Synod or Presbytery to leave their charges for a few weeks or months and itinerate among the destitute places and frontier settlements.

The first year the Minute Book records: "A representation being made by some of our members of the earnest desire of some Protestant dissenting families in Virginia, together with a comfortable prospect of the increase of our interest there, the Synod have appointed that Mr. Hugh Conn, Mr. John Orme, and Mr. William Stewart do each of them severally visit said people and preach four Sabbaths to them, between this and the next Synod." The same charge was laid upon them the following year. These ministers and their successors went expressly to organize congregations, ordain elders, administer the sacraments, instruct the people in discipline, and inform them how they should proceed to obtain the stated ministry.

It cannot be said that this method was the ideal one. Undoubtedly Presbyterian growth would have been more rapid if evangelists, Home Missionaries in the full sense of the term, had been employed, but the paucity of ministers, the scarcity of funds prevented the adoption of such a system.

II. GROWTH OF PRESBYTERIANISM—IN THE SOUTH

It was fortunate that some method of Home Missionary activity was in operation, for only a few years after the organization of the first Presbytery the Scotch-Irish began their great migration to America.

1. The Coming of the Scotch-Irish

The Scotch-Irish were Scotchmen who began to settle in the northern part of Ireland in the reign of James I. Great numbers emigrated from Scotland into Ireland after the revolution of 1688, attracted by the cheapness of the farms and new openings for trade. But in 1699 the British, generally muddling in their attitude toward Ireland, began to put heavy restrictions on the exportation of Irish linens, and in 1702 various acts were passed penalizing the practise of the Presbyterian faith. As a result of these discriminatory laws against their business and against their religion, Scotchmen in Ireland began early in the 18th century to seek their fortunes in the new world. About 1725 the number of emigrants increased from 3,000 to 6,000 a year. After the famine of 1740 and for a number of years afterwards, 12,000 a year left Ulster for the American plantations. Hanna estimates that about 200,000 Protestants, most of them Presbyterians, one-third of the entire Protestant population of Ireland, left the Emerald Isle during the disastrous period, 1725-1768. These represented the young, the enterprising, the most energetic and desirable classes of its population. Thirty thousand came during the years 1771-73. When the Revolution broke out, there were approximately 500,000 Scotch-Irish in America, one-sixth of the total population of the country.

These Scotch-Irish entered America by three routes. Some landed in New England. They found it difficult to practise their religion in a country dominated by Puritans, and ultimately most of them found their way into New York, adding strength to the Presbyterian churches of that state. Another stream entered America by way of Charleston, in South Carolina. Finding the tidewater section already preempted they sought the fertile forest lands of the upper country and gradually extended their settlements southward and

northward. As they went they subdued the Indians, cleared the forests, tilled the soil. Some made their way into Georgia and Alabama; others pushed on into the Mississippi Valley, and built their homes near the waters of the Gulf.

The great mass of the Scotch-Irish, however, entered America by way of the Delaware River, debarking at Newcastle, or Philadelphia. Most of them made their way westward, realizing that the best opportunity for their families and themselves was on the frontier. Western Pennsylvania, the section about Pittsburgh, is today the stronghold of Presbyterianism in America. The descendants of the original settlers still occupy the land and control much of the wealth and a good bit of the politics of the state.

It was inevitable that sooner or later some of these adventurous Scotch would discover the fertile Valley of Western Virginia. This Valley, rather a series of valleys, lies between the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Alleghany-Cumberland Plateau on the west, and continues as a great trough through the entire Southern Highlands from Northern Virginia into Northern Alabama and Georgia. From the central Valley, in some regions, broad and fertile river valleys extend on one side or the other up into the hills. The earliest Presbyterian settlement in the Valley of Virginia was probably that of Pocomoke, near Shepherdstown, which applied to the Synod of Virginia for aid in 1719. The real Scotch-Irish immigration, stimulated by grants of land on much easier terms than in Pennsylvania, began in 1732. In that year Joist Hite, a Hollander, migrated from Philadelphia with fifteen families in addition to his own, the most of them Scotch-Irish, and from that time the stream flowed full and strong. The only competitors of the Scotch-Irish for the occupation of the Valley were German folk, mostly Dunkards, who came in similar fashion by way of Pennsylvania.

But the Scotch-Irish were more venturesome than the Dunkards, more venturesome indeed than any other people who had come hitherto to America. By 1740 they had begun to pour into North Carolina, forming settlements along the headwaters of the Yadkin, Haw, Neuse, Tar, Catawba and Deep rivers, till the whole coun-

try from what is now Raleigh to Morganton was filled with them. Some of these settlers were English, some were German, some were Welsh, but the great majority were Scotch-Irish. By 1760 it is estimated that there were 40,000 of them settled in the uplands of North Carolina.

About 1750 the stream began to enter into the South Carolina Piedmont and into upland Georgia. In 1768 a missionary from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia discovered thirty-eight Presbyterian settlements in South Carolina and five Presbyterian settlements in Georgia, possessing from 500 to 20 families each.

By the time of the Revolution there were Scotch-Irish communities of considerable strength all along the southern frontier from Virginia to Florida. There were 100 communities, it is estimated, in Virginia and Maryland, 50 in North Carolina, 70 in South Carolina and Georgia, "a shield of sinewy men thrust in between the peoples of the seaboard and the red warriors of the wilderness."

At this time settlers in Virginia and Maryland moving westward from the Atlantic were still fifty miles from the Blue Ridge; the back country of the Carolinas, settled by the Scotch-Irish, was separated from the settlements of the tidewater by pine barrens fifty to a hundred and fifty miles across.

We are interested in these Scotch-Irish pioneers because the Presbyterian Church is largely made up of their descendants. Puritans from England, Presbyterians from the Scottish Highlands, and Huguenots from France added their flavor, and, in later days particularly, there have been additions from other groups by marriage and otherwise, but the Presbyterian Church is still largely a Scotch-Irish church. It is strong in those parts of the country where the Scotch-Irish settled, and in other sections comparatively weak.

But the Scotch-Irish would have been lost to the Presbyterian Church, and to the other churches as well, if it had not been for a vigorous prosecution of Home Missions on the part of the Presbyteries of the North and East. To follow these hardy pioneers into the back country of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, the system of Home Mission itineration was greatly extended. Pastors were

ordered by the Presbyteries and by the Synod to leave their congregations and to take long Home Missionary tours among the Scotch-Irish settlements. Young men who wished to enter the ministry were not ordained till they had made a visit to the frontier. Today Presbyterian churches are strong in the Valley of Virginia and in parts of western North Carolina. Most of the key churches in these regions were founded or organized by Home Missionaries sent out by the Presbyteries to the North.

As a general thing the initial move was taken by the settlers themselves. They moved into the wilderness without ministers, but they had their Bibles, their Catechisms and their Confessions of Faith. No sooner were settlements effected than appeals were sent up to Presbyteries, sometimes a thousand miles away for the ministry of the Gospel. A good part of Presbytery's time was given to the consideration of these appeals.

Synod was handicapped in meeting the needs of its people in Virginia by the well-known hostility of the Virginia Government to dissenters, but in 1738 a letter was addressed to William Gooch, the Lieutenant-Governor, on behalf of the Presbyterians settling on the western frontier. The Governor replied: "I have been always inclined to favor the people who have lately removed from other provinces to settle on the western side of our great mountains (they protected the eastern settlements from the Indians). . . . No interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession who shall come among them so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration in England." From this time on more earnest efforts were made to supply the frontier settlements. In 1737 Samuel Gelson was sent into the Valley by the Presbytery of Donegal; he was followed the next year by James Anderson from the Synod of Philadelphia, and the following year by John Thomson and John Craig, also from the Presbytery of Donegal.

2. *Missions in Western Virginia*

In 1740 John Craig returned to Augusta County and became the pastor of Tinkling Spring and Augusta (Old Stone) churches, the first settled pastor in Western Virginia. He spent the rest of his

days serving the Presbyterians of the Valley. Samuel Black settled shortly afterwards in Albemarle County, and Alexander Miller came to share the work in Augusta County. In 1744 John Thomson, who had itinerated earlier through the frontier settlements, made his home in the Upper Valley and carried on an extensive missionary work throughout the whole region.

For some time these four, Craig, Black, Miller and Thomson were the only pastors in the Valley; the majority of the settlers continued to depend on the occasional visits of Home Missionaries for their religious ministrations.

In 1741 the Presbyterian Church suffered its first division, due to differences over the Great Revival which was then spreading through the colonies. Presbyterians were almost equally divided between the Old Side Synod of Philadelphia (which opposed the methods of the revivalists) and the New Side Synod of New York, which included the chief representatives of the great revival in the Middle Colonies and who were also the first to bring it into the South.

The schism which lasted for seventeen years was seriously felt by the churches in the Valley. The great majority of them were firmly attached to the Old Side. Lack of ministers did not allow the Presbyteries on which they had previously depended to care adequately for their needs. And before the schism was healed the visits of their missionaries had almost ceased.

The New Side, more aggressive and growing more rapidly, did not wait for invitations to send men anywhere in the colonies. Virginia in particular engaged a large share of their attention, and many of their ablest ministers, John and Samuel Blair, John Roan, Samuel Finley, Gilbert and William Tennent, visited the congregations on both sides of the Blue Ridge. John Blair, for example, in 1746 organized churches at North Mountain, New Providence, Timber Ridge, the Fork of the James, all in Augusta County. From these original congregations grew the large and flourishing bodies which in a few years were gathered into the Presbytery of Lexington, which became in turn one of the great Home Missionary bodies of the Church.

The churches in the northern end of the Valley remained wholly dependent upon the ministrations of Home Missionaries till 1754, when John Hoge was called as pastor of the church at Opecquon. Other Presbyterian colonies, those with organized churches, and those without, were not able for financial reasons to secure pastors before 1770 and continued to depend on missionaries and evangelists and supplies sent out by the Presbyteries to the North. They were dependent on these missionaries not only for preaching, but also for other ministerial services, such as marriages, baptisms and funerals. The date of a marriage in those days was fixed ordinarily not by the wishes or convenience of the parties engaged, but by the unexpected coming of a Home Missionary.

So Presbyterianism grew in the Valley of Virginia and the back country of the Piedmont. No other church sent its missionaries to compete with them, till shortly before the Revolution Baptists and Methodists appeared on the scene, representing the second and the third wave of the first great American revival.

3. Missions in Eastern Virginia

Meanwhile there were interesting developments in Eastern Virginia. The Established Church, which tolerated no rivals in this part of the state, had failed to satisfy the religious needs of the masses of the people. About 1740 there grew up a spontaneous revival in the country around Hanover. Several individuals, the chief of whom was a certain Samuel Morris, became interested in reading religious books (such as Luther's Commentary on Galatians and Whitefield's Sermons), and began to hold meetings in one anothers' homes. Gradually attendance increased; private homes could no longer hold the crowds. A building was erected and called Morris' Reading House. The movement spread to other communities. Attendance on the parish churches began to decline, and the authorities became alarmed. Morris and other leaders of the movement were arrested and fined for not attending their parish church as often as was required by statute. At last their attention was called to the English Act of Toleration (1689) which allowed liberty of worship under certain condition to Nonconformists. Called before

the Governor's Council at Williamsburg "to declare their creed and name" they declared after some hesitation that they were Lutherans, remembering that Luther was a great reformer and being grateful for the help they had received from his books. Thereafter they were allowed to carry on their simple religious services unmolested.

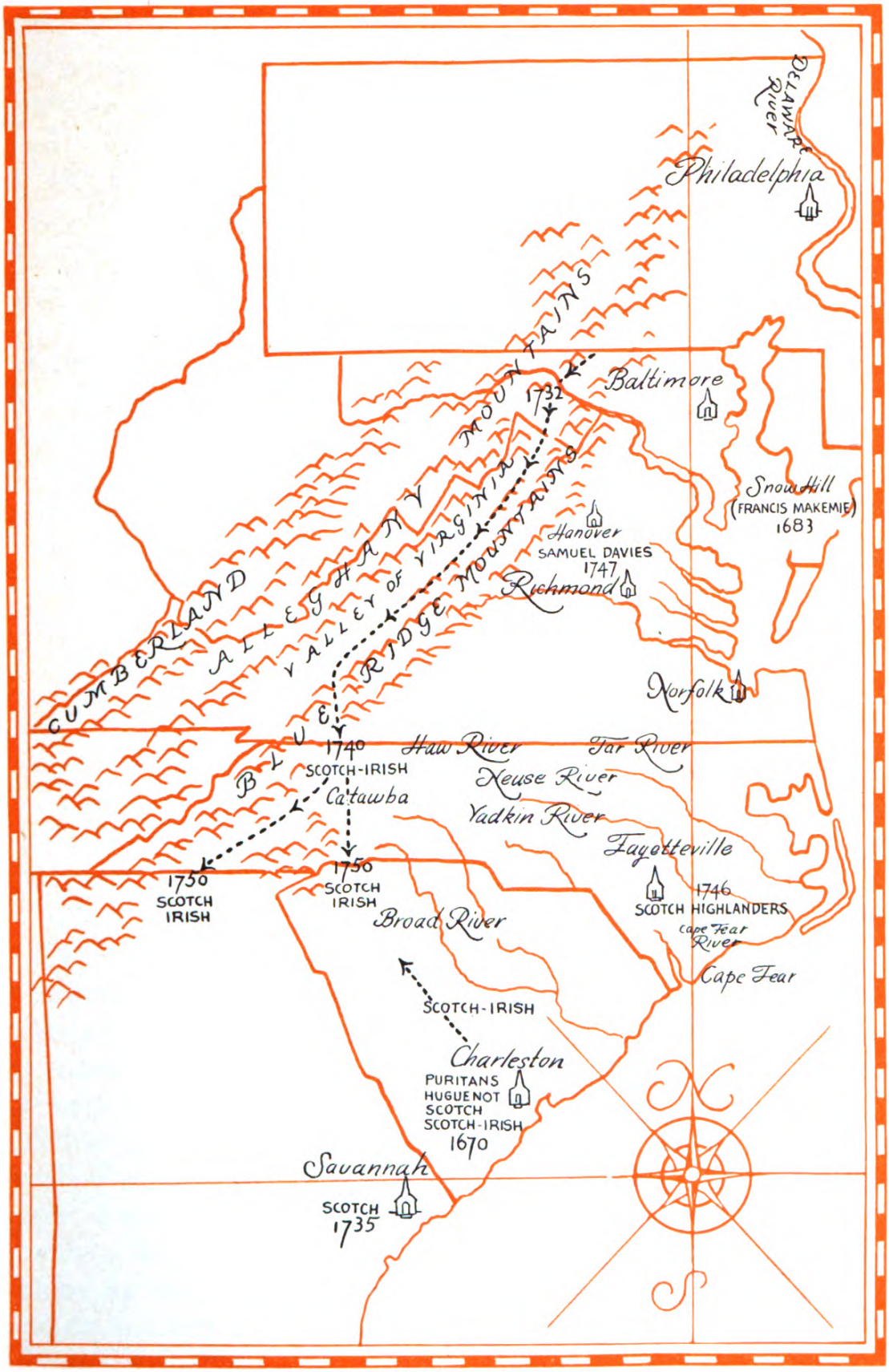
A much later account states that on the road to Williamsburg they chanced upon a copy of the Westminster Confession of Faith. Finding it a splendid statement of their tenets they presented it to the Council as their own confession. The Governor, who was a Scotchman, informed them that they were Presbyterians, and therefore able to come under the English Act of Toleration. This later version of the story, however, is almost certainly apocryphal. The probability is that they had never even heard the name Presbyterian till the visit of William Robinson in 1743.

Rev. William Robinson, "one-eyed Robinson" he was called, was the son of a rich Quaker, who became a zealous Presbyterian and an ardent apostle of the Great Awakening. Smallpox had robbed him of an eye and left his skin badly scarred, but "a rather rough exterior clothed a warm heart and a passion to serve men." Ordained by New Brunswick Presbytery in 1741 he was sent the next year to visit the Presbyterian settlements in Western Virginia and North Carolina. He was arrested near Winchester for preaching without a license but so impressed the sheriff that he was soon released and allowed to continue unmolested. News of his successful preaching in the Valley and on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge, in what was then Lunenberg and Amelia counties, came to Hanover, where Morris' awakening was in full progress. Robinson was requested to pay them a visit. He turned his horse eastward and arrived in Hanover in July, 1743. It was a momentous visit. Hithereto, missionary activities of the Presbyterian Church had been confined almost altogether to Presbyterian communities. But in Hanover Presbyterianism entered upon a larger work; it was the first church to bring the revival and to break the hold of the Establishment in Eastern Virginia.

Robinson remained in the neighborhood only four days. But Morris refers to those four days "as the glorious days of the Son of Man." "Such of us as had been hungering for the word before," he says, "were lost in agreeable surprise and astonishment and some could not refrain from publicly declaring their transports. . . . Many that came through curiosity were pricked to the heart, and but few in the numerous assemblies on those four days appeared unaffected. They returned alarmed with apprehensions of their dangerous condition, convinced of their former ignorance of religion, and anxiously inquiring what they should do to be saved." So many were attracted by Robinson's powerful evangelistic preaching that the Reading House could not contain them, and the services were conducted out in the open.

Robinson's visit marked the beginning of Presbyterianism in Eastern Virginia. Finding themselves in perfect accord with their evangelist's views, the Hanover dissenters adopted the name Presbyterian and attached themselves to the Presbytery of New Castle at the first opportunity. Other evangelists, John Blair, John Roan, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Samuel Blair and Samuel Finley, fanned the flames of the revival and the movement continued to spread. Irresponsible utterances of some of the revivalists led to new opposition on the part of the Colonial Government. Morris was fined again and again for non-attendance at the parish church and for "keeping up unlawful meetings." The Governor issued a proclamation "strictly requiring all magistrates to suppress and prohibit, as far as they lawfully could, all itinerant preachers."

This was the situation when SAMUEL DAVIES came to Virginia. Davies was born in Pennsylvania in 1723 and ordained by the Presbytery of New Castle in 1746. His health was very delicate and he was thought to be in the early stages of consumption. Davies himself was sure he would not live long, but he entered upon his work with all the vigor that his feeble body would allow, preaching as a missionary evangelist in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland. In the spring of 1747 he was sent on his first visit to Hanover, directed to supply the congregations in that region for six weeks.



He at once secured from the Colonial Court license to preach at four meeting houses in and about Hanover, something which to this time had not been attempted. The following year, at the urgent request of the people, he returned to Hanover as a settled pastor. That fall he secured permission to preach at three additional points, one each in Louisa, Goochland and Caroline counties. For eleven years this great man, the most eloquent preacher of his day, preached throughout this territory, making long journeys meanwhile to other parts of the colony. Other helpers were secured to carry on the work which he had developed. As a result of Davies' efforts the rights of dissenters were recognized for the first time in Virginia. Finally in 1755, largely through his labors, the PRESBYTERY OF HANOVER was organized, the first Presbytery in the South. There were only six ministers in the Presbytery, which represented the New Side, or evangelistic wing of the Church (three Old Side ministers were laboring at the time in the Valley), but nonetheless Presbyterianism in the South had begun its organized existence, and from this one Presbytery the Southern Presbyterian Church was in large part to take its rise. The new Presbytery was active in its missionary endeavors. It included not only the whole of Virginia, but the Carolinas as well. North Carolina was its particular missionary territory, and regular supplies were sent to the Presbyterian congregations in that colony.

In 1759 Davies left Virginia to assume the Presidency of Princeton College. Evangelistic zeal declined in Hanover after his departure. Missionary interest centered once more in the Scotch-Irish. The Presbyterian Church, which was the first Church in Eastern Virginia to appeal to the people neglected by the Establishment, and which, by means of its favored position, should have become the leading Church in the colony was passed rapidly by the Baptists and the Methodists, who represented later but more vigorous waves of the Great Awakening. Baptist missionaries in particular came in great numbers, and by the beginning of the Revolution had claimed the colony for their own, a position from which they have never been and are not now likely to be displaced.

Home Missions played as great a part in the development of Presbyterianism in North Carolina as it did in Virginia.

4. Missions in North Carolina

The first Presbyterians to come to the colony were Scotch Highlanders, who settled along the Cape Fear River. The dates of the first settlements are not known, but Highlanders were there certainly as early as 1729, the year the province was divided into North and South Carolina. They came like their brethren from the North of Ireland, because of disabilities in their native land and because of unfavorable economic conditions.

The majority of the Highlanders came, however, after the Battle of Culloden in 1746. Some of the smaller clans in the Scottish Highlands raised their standards for the Prentender, Charles Edward Stuart, and fought against the House of Hanover. Young men from the larger clans also fought for the Stuarts. Defeated at the decisive Battle of Culloden, the Highlanders were hunted down like wild beasts and treated with great ferocity by their enemies. Ultimately, however, large numbers of them were pardoned on condition that they take the solemn oath of allegiance and emigrate to the American plantations. In 1746-7, with their families and friends, they arrived in North Carolina and settled a large expanse of country along the Cape Fear River, of which Campbelltown (now Fayetteville) was the center. The emigration, once fairly begun by royal authority, was carried on by those who wished to improve their economic condition. Not till the Revolution did this migration from the Highlands cease.

Unfortunately no ministers accompanied the first Scotch immigrants, nor was any minister found to labor among them till James Campbell came from Pennsylvania in 1757. For fifteen years this zealous missionary pursued his laborious course alone among the outspreading neighborhoods of what is now Cumberland and Robeson counties. Six years before the Revolution, Rev. John McLeod came from Scotland, accompanied by a large number of families from the Highlands, but three years later he returned to England and Campbell was again left alone. Not till after the Revolution did the Scotch Presbyterians have adequate ministerial care.

But it was the Scotch-Irish, rather than the Highlanders, who built up Presbyterianism in North Carolina. They came from Pennsylvania, through the Valley of Virginia, into Western North Carolina about 1740. For awhile only solitary cabins were found upon the borders of the prairies and in the vicinity of the canebrakes. But as the glowing reports of the pioneers about the fertility and the beauty of Carolina traveled back to Virginia and Pennsylvania they came in larger numbers. By 1760 it is estimated that 40,000 Scotch-Irish were settled along the Cape Fear River and in the Carolina uplands.

The first known Presbyterian minister to visit these solitudes was William (One-Eyed) Robinson, sent out as an itinerant in 1742 to visit the Presbyterian settlements in Virginia and North Carolina. Other missionaries followed him, some sent by the New Side Synod of New York, some by the Old Side Synod of Philadelphia. The first of these missionaries to leave us an account of his journey was HUGH MCADEN, a graduate of Nassau Hall (later Princeton College), licensed by New Castle Presbytery in 1755, and sent out immediately on a missionary tour to the Carolinas. He went further south than any previous missionary and was probably the first minister to be heard in some of the regions traversed. According to his account, there were some houses of worship constructed in North Carolina and many worshipping assemblies, but few organized churches, if any, and no settled minister. He preached generally at private houses or in the open air. It grieved the young preacher to find that some who had been brought up under the influence of the Gospel in other parts had become dissolute and were indulging infidel notions, "since their abode in this region where the Gospel was not regularly preached, and in fact scarcely heard." In one community he found that "many adhere to the Baptists that were before wavering, and several that professed themselves to be Presbyterian; so that very few at present join heartily for our ministers." All in all, McAden preached in about fifty settlements in North Carolina. Many of the places he visited have flourishing Presbyterian churches at the present time; some have passed into other hands.

JOHN THOMSON, who had pioneered as a missionary in the Valley of Virginia, visited the Presbyterian settlements in Iredell County in 1751, the first minister of any denomination to preach in that region. He settled near Statesville and ministered till his death, two years later, to new settlements within a radius of twenty miles.

In 1758 ALEXANDER CRAIGHEAD found his way into North Carolina from the western frontiers of Virginia. After Braddock's defeat, large numbers of the Valley inhabitants fled southward because of their fear of the Indians, and Craighead followed his flock. The same year he became pastor of the Rocky River Church, the only settled pastor in the whole district between the Yadkin and the Catawba till his death in 1766.

McAden returned to Carolina in 1759 and became the settled pastor of the congregations in Duplin and New Hanover.

In 1764 McWhorter and Spencer, missionaries sent out by the reunited Synod of New York and Philadelphia, organized a number of congregations in the western part of the state near Sugar Creek, and the next few years pastors were called to Steel Creek, Providence, Hopewell, Centre, Rocky River and Poplar Tent, all except Centre being in Mecklenburg County—now the greatest center of Presbyterianism in the bounds of the Southern Church.

Many of the pioneer pastors of the state, who rendered great service to both the Church and the state, men like David Caldwell (a member of the convention that formed the Constitution of the state of North Carolina in 1776), and Hezekiah James Balch (one of he leaders of the famous Mecklenburg Convention), came to North Carolina as missionaries and remained as pastors. Some of the best men of the Synod labored here as missionaries for longer or shorter periods. The colony remained missionary territory till after the Revolution.

In 1770 seven ministers laboring in North Carolina were set off into the PRESBYTERY OF ORANGE, the second Presbytery to be organized in the South, its territory co-extensive with the Carolinas. It was strengthened from time to time by the accession of new members, many of them originally from the North, but coming to North Caro-

lina at an early age as Home Missionaries. By the time of the Revolution there were about thirty organized churches in the upper part of the state and a number of preaching places in addition.

5. *Missions in South Carolina*

Charleston was the port through which Presbyterians began to come into South Carolina. Here on the Ashley and Cooper rivers a notable planter society began to develop about 1670, based on the culture of indigo and rice. Presbyterians were drawn hither from many sources—England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland and France. Many of the Scotchmen came because of the severe religious persecutions in their native land under the Stuarts during the "Killing Times" (1685-88). A Huguenot church, composed of French Calvinists, driven from France by religious intolerance in that land, was organized about 1687, just two years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Other Huguenot churches, formed in the interior, were absorbed ultimately into the Established (Episcopal) Church of the colony. An independent church was organized about the same time in Charleston, composed of Congregationalists from New England, and Presbyterians from England, Scotland and Ireland. Later the Presbyterians withdrew and formed their own organization. Rev. Archibald Stobo, a Scotchman, organized a number of other Presbyterian churches in the vicinity in the early part of the 18th century. It was difficult for these Presbyterian churches to maintain their ground against the superior resources of the Established Church. Thus the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent twelve Episcopal missionaries to the colony, and their support came chiefly from the public treasury. Presbyterians and other dissenters received no missionary aid and were taxed heavily to build Episcopal churches. Continued state patronage insured the ascendancy of the Established Church both in numbers and in strength. Presbyterianism was kept alive, however, by Stobo, aided by a little handful of ministers sent out from Scotland, and by a steady accession of immigrants from Scotland and Ireland. An Independent Presbytery was formed of the Presbyterian churches in and around

Charleston some time before 1734, but it was not connected with the main body of Presbyterianism farther north till 1811.

Real Presbyterian growth in South Carolina, as in Virginia and North Carolina, came from the immigration of the Scotch-Irish. Many passed through Charleston seeking the fertile forest lands in the upper country, approaching North Carolina on the one hand and Georgia on the other. The larger number came from Pennsylvania, through the Valley of Virginia, across North Carolina into the Piedmont of South Carolina and upper Georgia, where they settled in scattered groups, beginning about 1750. These settlements were supplied by occasional itinerants from the North as were the settlements in North Carolina and Virginia.

The first settled pastor among these Scotch-Irish settlements of South Carolina was WILLIAM RICHARDSON, who set out to be a missionary to the Cherokees, but finding little opportunity to be of service there accepted the call to the church in the Waxhaws about 1763. Richardson was pre-eminently a Home Missionary. Far and wide, through those regions near the headwaters of the Catawba and Broad rivers in the upper part of South Carolina, he made his journeys, and many of the churches in this region owe their origin to his wide vision and indefatigable labors. The long rides through the forests, the fording of deep streams, the constant exposure to the elements, at length broke down his strength. He literally wore out his life for Christ and died a martyr to the cause of Home Missions.

Presbyterian churches in South Carolina continued to depend upon the services of itinerants down to the time of the Revolution.

6. *Missions in Georgia*

General Oglethorpe brought the first colony to Georgia in 1733. In the end his philanthropic venture was a failure. In 1752, at which time the white population was only a little more than two thousand, the trustees surrendered their charter to the crown. The change in management led to a new policy, more attractive to prospective settlers. Immigrants began to pour in, especially the Scotch-Irish. They came, the most of them, from Pennsylvania, through the Valley of Virginia, Western North Carolina, and the upper part of South Carolina. In

1790 there were over 50,000 white people in the colony, nine-tenths of them in the upper country, one-tenth in the lower counties which had been occupied by the original colony of Oglethorpe.

The first Presbyterian churches in Georgia were formed in the Lowlands. Thus a colony of Scotch Presbyterians settled at a place called New Inverness in the district of Darien about 1735.

A Congregational colony from New England, which had settled for a while in South Carolina, moved to Liberty County, Georgia, about 1754 and formed the famous old Midway Church, which was served generally by Presbyterian ministers and which has poured its sons into the Presbyterian Church.

A Presbyterian church was organized in the town of Savannah in 1755 as a branch of the Church of Scotland (known now as the Independent Presbyterian Church).

The first petition from the Scotch-Irish, now pouring down from the North, was presented to the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in May, 1766, just ten years before the Revolution. Missionaries were sent out by the Synod from this time down to the outbreak of the Revolution. Three churches were organized, Briar Creek, Queensborough and St. Paul's Parish.

The Revolutionary War checked Georgia's development, broke up the Presbyterian settlements, and ended the supply of Presbyterian missionaries till 1784, when the Presbytery of South Carolina was formed, and missionary labors in Georgia were resumed. During the war there was no Presbyterian minister in Georgia so far as known, save the pastor the Independent Church at Savannah. The real growth of the state and the re-establishment of the Church came after the end of the Revolutionary conflict.

END OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

As a result of the Scotch-Irish immigration and the strenuous Home Missionary endeavor, especially of the Northern Presbyteries, the Presbyterian Church, which began its organized existence in 1706 had become by the opening of the Revolution the second larg-

est Church in America. The Congregationalists, who were then Calvinists and who worked harmoniously with the Presbyterians, had 658 religious organizations, most of them in New England. The Presbyterians had 543 congregations, most of them in the Middle Colonies—Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. The Baptists, who began their organized history about the same time as the Presbyterians, had 498 congregations and were growing rapidly in the South, particularly among the masses of the people. The Anglicans (Episcopalians) had 480 congregations. Their Church was the Established Church in all the Southern colonies and enjoyed in every case the patronage of the Colonial Government. Presbyterians and Baptists, who supported their own missions by voluntary gifts, were taxed at the same time for the support of the Establishment. Other denominations came far behind. The Methodist Church had barely gotten a start, its first congregation in America being organized just ten years before the Revolution. Its evangelistic zeal and intense missionary activity were leading, however, to an extensive sowing and were destined for a mighty harvest.

In spite of its great gains the Presbyterian Church, particularly in the South, had not lived up to its opportunities, or met the needs even of its own people. The cries of the Presbyterian communities in the South had come up to Presbytery and Synod and they had sent all the supplies they could spare, but the number of missionaries was altogether inadequate for the need. Congregations could not be built up or even held together by occasional visits from itinerants. Ordinarily the traveling missionaries visited only congregations which had sent in a request for their services. Little or no effort was made to gather new congregations. And so ultimately the great majority of the Scotch-Irish were lost to Presbyterianism, if not to the Church of Christ. Thus it is estimated that by 1760 there were in North Carolina forty thousand Scotch-Irish, Presbyterian born and Presbyterian bred. In that same year there were not more than fifteen or twenty Presbyterian congregations among the Scotch-Irish in the whole colony, and sixteen years later, when the Revolution broke out,

Scotch-Irish Presbyterians did not number more than three or four thousand.

The Presbyterian missionaries were not able to serve their own Presbyterian people. They made little or no effort to reach the non-Presbyterian folk, in spite of the fact that the Established Church in the Southern colonies failed to meet the needs of the great mass of the people. The one real exception to this rule happened in Virginia, the strongest of the Southern colonies, and the most populous of all the American colonies. The spontaneous revival that grew up in Hanover came, we saw, under the control of the Presbyterians, and Presbyterianism thrived for awhile under the vigorous leadership, the Home Missionary activities of Samuel Davies. But when Davies departed the revival languished and the missionary zeal disappeared.

The Baptists, who brought the second wave of the Great Awakening to Virginia, swept everything before them, even in Davies' own country. The Congregationalists were the dominant religious group in New England. The Presbyterians, because of the Sotch-Irish immigration, became the dominant religious group in the Middle colonies. The Baptists had taken the numerical lead in Virginia and the South before the end of the Colonial Period, a lead which they have never since surrendered. Their growth was not due to immigration, but to evangelism, to a vigorous policy of Home Missions. Presbyterians were handicapped so far as numbers were concerned by the high educational standards which they required of their ministers. The schools in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the educational institutions established in Virginia shortly before the Revolution could not produce enough ministers to serve established congregations, to say nothing of reaching out for the unchurched. Baptists had no such restrictions. Their missionaries outnumbered the Presbyterians ten or twenty to one. The church which had the largest number of missionaries, which pursued the most vigorous Home Missionary policy was destined in time to dominate the religious life of the South.

Chapter Two

THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH
1776-1861

Chapter Two

THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH

WHEN the Revolutionary War broke out, three areas were fairly well settled in the South. First, the Chesapeake Lowlands, occupied by a few promising towns, namely, Baltimore, Annapolis, Norfolk and Richmond, and by widespread rural communities given over to the cultivation of tobacco. Second, the backcountry of Virginia and the Carolinas, thinly settled by frontier farmer folk, most of whom were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Third, the plantation country of the Carolina and Georgia Lowlands, centering about Charleston and Savannah. Outside of these districts there were a few feeble garrisons and small trading posts at St. Augustine, Pensacola, Mobile, Biloxi, New Orleans and Natchez, and before the end of the Revolution three small areas of settlements across the Appalachians, one established in 1769 on the Watauga River, in what is now Tennessee; a second settled around 1775 by Judge Richard Henderson with the aid of Daniel Boone in the heart of the Kentucky Bluegrass; a third on the Cumberland River, at the site of the present Nashville.

I. THE HOME MISSION TASK

1. The Settlement of the West

No sooner was the Revolution ended than a great multitude of pioneers began to turn their hearts and faces toward the cheap unoccupied lands of the West. They came by families, small companies, great colonies—in ever-increasing streams—to settle around the old forts, and to form new settlements of their own.

There were three great paths to the West. One, the Northern trail, passed through Albany. The second led from Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania to Pitt's Landing (now Pittsburgh), and thence by boat down the Ohio on into the forests of Ohio and Indiana and Illinois. The Southern trail wound from the Carolinas and Virginia into Eastern Tennessee, thence by the Warriors' trail

into Kentucky, or southwest by the Rutherford trail into the great Southwest.

By way of these great trails an increasing host advanced upon the West. "The rapidity with which these immigrants from all quarters subdued the wilderness," says Beard in *The Rise of American Civilization,* "almost passes belief. In 1775 there were not more than five thousand whites in the Mississippi Valley, outside New Orleans, and they were mainly French families clinging to their old posts. In 1790 there were about 110,000 white people in that region; within another decade the number rose to 377,000. The national census of 1830 gave 937,000 to Ohio, 348,000 to Indiana, 157,000 to Illinois, 687,000 to Kentucky, and 681,000 to Tennessee. In short, within the forty years after the heavy migration began, the Western territory acquired more inhabitants than the original thirteen colonies in a century of development under the stimulus and patronage of governments, companies and proprietors; more than Canada in the hundred years following the conquest of that great dominion. Nothing like it had yet occurred in the stirring annals of American settlement."[1]

The pioneers of this westward movement across the Alleghanies were the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. As Theodore Roosevelt wrote in *The Winning of the West,* they were "the first and the last set of immigrants to plunge into the wilderness—all others having merely followed in the wake of their predecessors. As a result they put the stamp of their moral and religious convictions on a wider range of colonial possessions than any other element in the population. They were the pioneers of our people in the march westward, the vanguard of the army of fighting settlers who with expert axe and rifle won their way from the Alleghanies to the Rio Grande and the Pacific."

These pioneers lived a simple life and an arduous one. The men wore hunting shirts, leather breeches and moccasins. The women wore linsey petticoats and bed-gowns like a dressing sack, and often

[1]C. A. and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization,* by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

went without shoes in the summer. Their homes were built of logs, formed into a square and plastered with clay, and possessed one door, perhaps a window, and a dirt floor. In dread of Indians the first cabins were arranged in clusters and surrounded by stockades.

But as Henry Adams wrote: "The chance of being shot or scalped by the Indians was hardly worth considering when compared with the certainty of malarial fever or the strange disease called milk sickness, or the still more distressing home sickness, or the misery of nervous prostration which wore out generation after generation of women and children on the frontier and left a tragedy in every log cabin. Not for love of ease did men plunge into the wilderness. Few laborers endured a harder lot, coarser fare, or anxieties and responsibilities greater than those of the Western emigrant."[2]

As indicated above the first Southern states to be filled by this gigantic mass movement westward were Kentucky and Tennessee, the former being admitted into the sisterhood of states in 1792, the latter in 1796.

2. The Growth of the South

The spread of cotton culture through the South, beginning in the early 1800's, and the removal of Indian tribes after 1820 attracted growing numbers into the lower Mississippi Valley. The earliest travelers to this region came down the Ohio or Tennessee rivers into the Mississippi. Overland trails from Charleston and Savannah to Mobile and New Orleans were primitive paths whose "forests, thickets, swamps and innumerable watercourses were sufficient to deter all but the most adventurous." But three thoroughfares were finally developed from Washington to New Orleans: an Eastern route skirting the Appalachians, through South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama; a Middle route, through the Piedmont into Georgia, where it united with the Eastern route; and a Western route through the Shenandoah Valley into Tennessee, thence through Alabama to Natchez, and on to New Orleans.

Along these various routes an increasing number of settlers poured into the Southland. Phillips speaks of a pell-mell regime in which

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[2]Henry Adams, *History of the United States,* Vol. I, pp. 57-59, by permission of Chas Scribner's Sons, publishers.

a scrambling, scattered mass of planters, slaves, farmers, poor whites, and frontiersmen nearly all were concerned with getting cotton land.

Gradually Georgia filled out its territory. Louisiana was admitted into the Union in 1812, Mississippi in 1817, Alabama in 1819 and Arkansas in 1836. "By 1840 all these areas had filled out, leaving sparsely settled sections in the interior swamps of Southern Georgia, the flat coastal lowlands of Alabama and Mississippi, and the Ozark-Ouachita Highlands and St. Francis Bottoms of Arkansas. By 1850 the frontier line had passed Arkansas and pushed out a sector of Southeast Texas."[3] Immigration into this state, which had begun before its annexation to the United States in 1845, increased rapidly after that date. By the fifties the rich Mississippi bottom lands were given over to large slave holdings for the production of cotton and sugar.

"Florida lay outside the cotton belt, although after its purchase in 1819 it received some immigration in the northern part. Its settlement was so retarded, however, that it was barely admitted to statehood in time to withdraw with the Confederacy."[4]

From the close of the Revolution then, through the early decades of the 19th century, Southern immigration poured into Kentucky and Tennessee; from 1820 down to the Civil War the migrant population of the South and its spare Negroes flowed into the fertile regions of Alabama and Mississippi and Louisiana, and into portions of Arkansas and Texas.

While the flood of Southern population flowed thus over the mountains and into the Mississippi Valley, descendants of the earliest pioneers remained isolated in the mountains of Kentucky, Tennessee, Western Virginia and Western North Carolina, completely removed from the development of Southern culture, without educational advantages and lacking adequate religious oversight.

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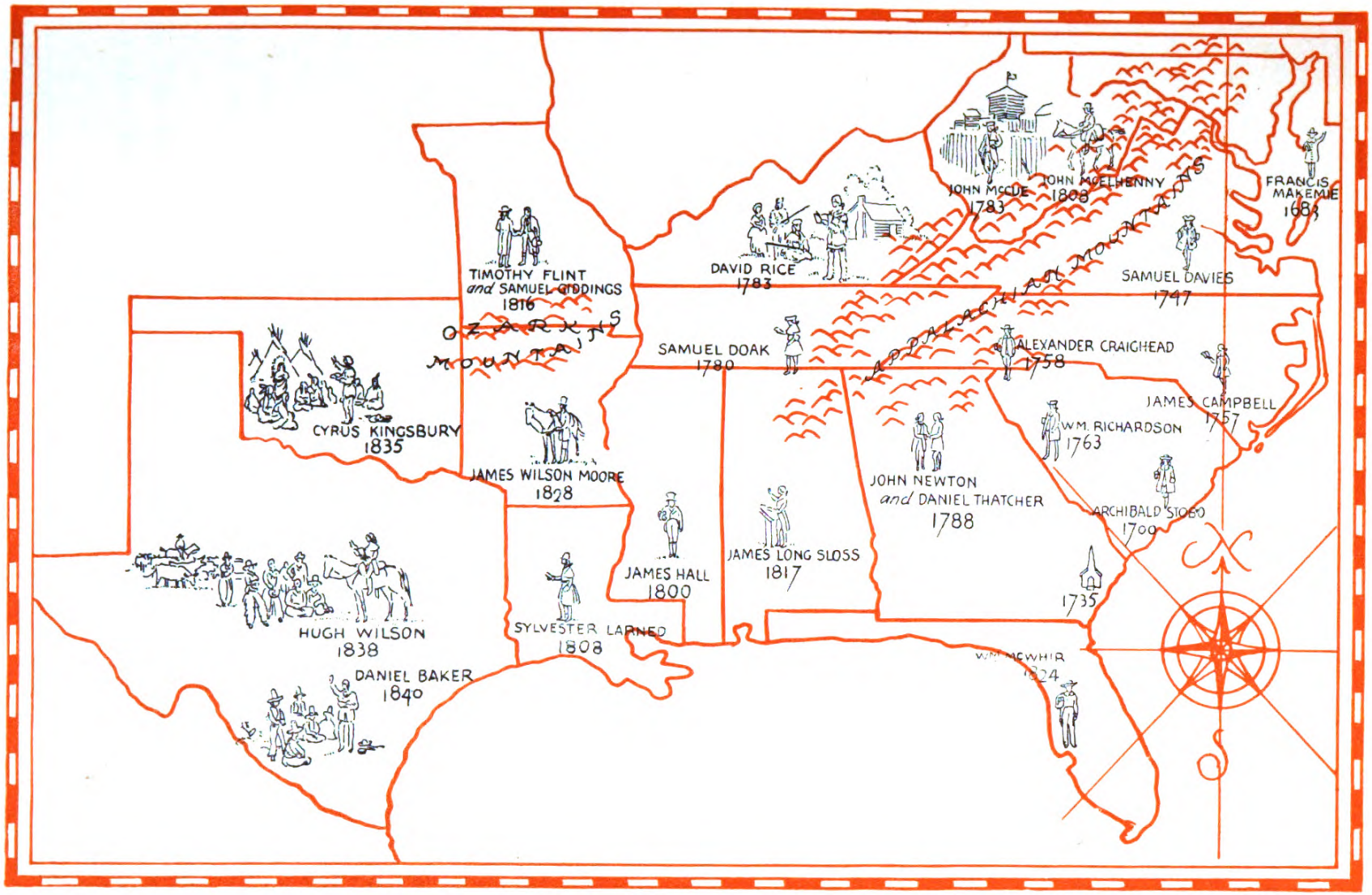
[3]R. L. Vance, *Human Geography of the South,* p. 53, by permission of the University of North Carolina Press, publishers.
[4]Ibid., p. 55.



We recall that throughout the colonial period, at least till the Great Awakening (beginning about 1740) the mass of the people, particularly those in the South, were little influenced by organized religion. In 1776 there were more unchurched people in America relatively than in any other so-called Christian land. Following the Revolution there was a great spiritual decline. The moral and religious life of America reached its lowest ebb. Only four persons out of a hundred were members of the Christian churches. Atheism and scepticism were gaining ground. Enemies of the Church were predicting its early demise.

3. The Challenge to the Church

It was just at this time that the heavy migration began to the West. Many of those who went had no interest in religion. Many others took their Bibles, but they went into a land where there were no settlements and no churches. The hardships of the frontiers, separation from the ordinances of religion, left the spiritual life undernourished. The moral life deteriorated, and many of the frontier settlements were characterized by lawlessness, vice and crime.

To follow this hurrying throng into the wilderness, over forest trails and mountain paths and unbridged rivers, to arouse the indifferent, to seek out and tend those who were concerned was a tremendous task, the most difficult, the most important task ever faced by the American churches. The future of the Church in America, the future of America itself depended upon the way in which the churches met the challenge. And the churches which met that need most successfully were destined to be the great influential churches of the future.

Fortunately the American churches recognized their obligation and aroused themselves to meet it in heroic fashion. "The Story of Home Missions," says Rowe,[5] "is one of the great chapters of church history. It has never been told adequately. Its significance for the nation has never been realized fully. It is as

4. The Response of the Church

[5]H. K. Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States,* p. 79, by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

thrilling as the story of the pioneer settlers, as dramatic as the tales of Indian battles and buffalo hunts on the plains, as consequential, as anything that three centuries of national progress have produced. Nothing in the history of modern Europe can compare in scope or importance with the American exodus to the West and nothing in the history of Catholic mediævalism or the Protestant Reformation was more epochal in its consequences than the peaceful conquest of the Western mind and heart for the Christian faith."

"The trials of the pioneer preachers and missionaries in the West often of the most disheartening character," says Dorchester,[6] "deserve mention. Their labors extended through sparse villages and open prairies, with individual settlers widely scattered. They traveled by Indian trails and marked trees. In the winter the roads were so bad, and the bridges so few that they were sometimes obliged to desist from traveling. Often sleeping in the woods or on the open prairies on their saddle blankets; cooking their coarse meals by the way; fording streams on horseback with saddlebags and blankets lifted to their shoulders; exposed without shelter to storms, and drying their garments and blankets by camp fires when no friendly cabin could be found, in a few years they became sallow, weather-beaten, and toil-worn. . . . A pioneer preacher in Louisiana in 1805 wrote: 'Every day I travel I have to swim through creeks or swamps, and I am wet from head to feet, and some days from morning to night I am dripping with water. I tie all my plunder fast on my horse, take him by the bridle and swim sometimes a hundred yards, and often further. My horse's legs are now skinned, and rough to his hock joints, and I have rheumatism in all my joints. . . . What I have suffered in body and mind my pen is not able to communicate to you; but this I can say, while my body is wet with water and chilled with cold, my soul is filled with heavenly fire and I can say with St. Paul, But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy.' These bold emissaries of the Cross often lost their way and widely wandered over unbroken fields. They constantly encountered the

[6] D. Dorchester, *Christianity in the United States*, pp. 388-9.

most godless, reckless and degraded men—sometimes more malicious and savage than wild Indians and ferocious beasts—who had fled thither from the retributions of justice in the older settlements. Often prostrated by fevers or wasted by malaria the years of pioneer service with many were few and severe, while others, endowed with extraordinary constitutions, lived to become apostles of moral heroism, venerable in years and weighty in words and character."

The missionaries had little inducement for such sacrifices save love for Christ and a desire to save souls. The salary of the Presbyterian missionary, for example, was for a time thirty-three dollars a month; later it was increased to forty dollars a month. "It is impossible to peruse the reports of missionaries to the Assembly," says Gillette,[7] "without a deep impression of the self-denying generosity of men who for the merest pittance were willing to brave all the hardships of the wilderness, and exposure to storm and fatigue in order to accomplish their missionary work. There is more than is expressed to the eye in such statements as these: that Mr. Chapman (of Geneva) 'received forty-five dollars and thirty-two cents, traveled two thousand miles, and preached above one hundred sermons;'—that John Lindley, absent for four months, 'baptized eleven children, preached ninety-six times, and received twelve dollars and fifty cents;'—that Mr. Coe (of Troy) 'served as a missionary for six weeks, and received three dollars and seventy-five and a half cents;' —that James Hall, a missionary to the Mississippi Territory, 'served on his mission seven months and thirteen days, and received eighty-six dollars.' Behind the dry statistical facts of the committee lie hidden whole chapters of welcome hardship, or heroic self-denial, and of results achieved, enduring, yet the history of which no human pen can fairly trace, but whose 'record is on high.'"

II. EFFORTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The first missionaries to cross the Alleghanies in pursuit of the pioneers were Presbyterians. They occupied indeed the strategic

[7] E. H. Gillette, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, Vol. I, p. 460.

position for the winning of the West. Their churches extended in a line along the frontier from North to South, and it was their people who led the way across the mountains. Their churches composed the second largest religious group in the nation and were joined together in Presbyteries and Synod for concerted action, while the Congregationalists, who alone surpassed them in numbers, were confined to New England and were handicapped by their lack of centralized control. The Church of England, now the Episcopal Church, had suffered greatly in the war and for a while seemed almost ready to perish. Baptists were numerous but lacked an educated ministry. Methodists were still a tiny minority.

During the Revolutionary War naturally little could be done. The public mind was so engrossed with the state of the country that all religious institutions languished, and some were temporarily suspended. In the South hostile armies overran, and from time to time occupied part of the regions to which missionaries had previously been sent, while the existence or the fear of Indian hostilities handicapped missionary activities on the frontier. Appeals for help continued to pour in, however, even during the war years from the Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Western Pennsylvania and Western and Northern New York. A number of missionaries were sent out during the war, and the subject received the serious attention of every Synod till 1788.

In that year the Presbyterians organized their first General Assembly. Four Synods were erected, the Synod of New York and New Jersey with four Presbyteries; the Synod of Philadelphia with five Presbyteries; the Synod of Virginia with four Presbyteries; the Synod of the Carolinas with three Presbyteries.

1. The First Missionaries

At the first meeting of the Assembly in 1789 an overture came up "that the state of the frontier settlements should be taken into consideration, and missionaries sent to them to form them into congregations, ordain elders, administer the sacraments, and direct them to the best measures for obtaining the Gospel ministry regularly among them." In response to this overture the General Assembly requested

each Synod (later the Presbyteries) to recommend to the next Assembly two of their members who were qualified for mission work on the frontier, and directed the Presbyteries to have collections taken in their congregations for the necessary expenses.

The following year missionaries were appointed for the frontier settlements of New York and Pennsylvania, and for the next thirteen years the Assembly as a whole gave serious attention to its missionary responsibilities, selected the missionaries whose commissions were then signed by the moderator, and listened with interest to their reports made in person before the Assembly. The Presbyterian Church thus became the first church to make a regular and systematic effort to supply the needy and destitute portions of the new West.

Emigration was now flowing in full force across the Alleghanies. "From western New York, Ohio, Indiana, Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi urgent calls came, pleading for missionaries and the establishment of churches. Through all these regions pastors went under direction of the Assemblies to spend from two to three months in their tours." Licentiates were ordinarily sent out on missionary visits to test their gifts and prove their fitness for the Gospel ministry. The main attention of the Assembly, however, was directed to the Northern frontier. Because of this fact, and because it was felt that local knowledge would enable them more wisely to meet the needs of their own fields, the Synods of Virginia and the Carolinas were allowed at their own request in 1791 to manage the missions within their own bounds.

In 1794 the Assembly drew up a circular address to the inhabitants of the frontier districts: "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America have for some years viewed with concern the state of our frontier and other settlements in the Union which are destitute of the regular administration of the worship and ordinances of God. . . . As our aim has not been to proselyte from other communities to our denomination, we have charged our missionaries to avoid all doubtful disputation, to abstain

from unfriendly censures or reflections on other religious persuasions. . . . We hear with pain that you are peculiarly exposed to visits from men unauthorized by the churches, unsound in faith and of unholy and immoral lives, who call themselves preachers. We exhort you to be very careful, neither to admit nor encourage preachers with whose principles, connexions and characters you are unacquainted."

In 1800 a committee on missionary narratives reported to the Assembly: "It appears from their journals that your missionaries have been very diligent and laborious in discharging their duty. They have preached the Gospel in season and out of season, and frequently to two, three or four hundred people. . . . Only ten years have elapsed since the first missionaries have been sent out by this Assembly. Since that period some thousands of families have settled on the frontier, who are rapidly forming into societies in order to have the Gospel preached and its ordinances statedly administered among them. Now is the time they need assistance."

Each year the encouraging reports continued. 1801—"The new settlements on our frontiers appear very desirous to have the Gospel preached amongst them." 1802—"From the frontiers the Assembly has received accounts at once pleasing and animating." 1803—"In the frontier settlements . . . new churches are rapidly forming, increasing in the number of their members, and in their punctual attendance on the means of grace."

As the number of missionaries increased it became impossible for the Assembly itself to hear their reports or to plan their itineraries.

2. *The Standing Committee of Missions*

The Assembly in 1802 decided, therefore, to appoint each year a committee to be called the "Standing Committee of Missions," and to put the conduct of the Home Mission enterprise into the hands of this committee in the intervals of the Assembly. Under the guidance of this Standing Committee the missionary operations of the Assembly became more and more extensive. In one year the committee recommended and the General Assembly sanctioned fifty-one missionary appointments. In addi-

tion to these missionaries commissioned by the Assembly a considerable number were sent forth annually by the various Synods, in particular the Synods of Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky and Pittsburgh.

Meanwhile in 1801 the General Assembly had entered into a famous plan of union with the Congregational churches of New England. The two churches at the time agreed in their theology and had always in the past worked together in the closest harmony. It did not seem right now that they should enter into competition, when the need of the West was so great, and the number of ministers so scarce. As a result it was agreed that Congregational and Presbyterian settlers in a new community might combine to form a single congregation and might call a pastor of either denomination. Because the Presbyterians were better organized to aid struggling mission churches most of these union churches came ultimately into the Presbyterian fold. It has been estimated indeed that two thousand churches organized by Congregational missionaries between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi were lost by them to the Presbyterians.

These were days of rapid growth. And yet the number of ministers were never adequate to meet the needs. Messrs. Mills and Schermerhorn sent out by various missionary societies in 1812-13 to visit the western frontier reported tremendous destitution. Ohio with a population of 330,000 had seventy-eight Presbyterian and Congregational churches, and forty-nine ministers; Indiana Territory had 25,000 inhabitants, with one Presbyterian church and one minister; Illinois Territory with 13,000 inhabitants, and Missouri Territory with a scattered population of 21,000, had no Presbyterian churches at all. Kentucky, with a population of 400,000 and settled originally by the Scotch-Irish, had ninety-one Presbyterian churches and forty ministers; Tennessee, also settled largely by the Scotch-Irish, had 260,000 inhabitants, seventy-nine Presbyterian churches and twenty-six ministers. The state of Louisiana, with a population of 77,000 whites and 25,000 blacks, had not a single organized Presbyterian Church. Mississippi Territory with a population of 58,000 had but six Presbyterian churches and four ministers. "The state of

society" in this region was described by the investigators as "deplorable." It was believed that "more innocent blood was shed in this territory and in Louisiana in one year than in all the Middle and Eastern States in ten years." Old Virginia, as it was called—the portion of the state living on the seaboard—was also represented as in a deplorably destitute condition. Three-fourths of the entire state exhibited "an extensive and dreary waste." West of the Alleghanies it had but twelve Presbyterian churches and three ministers.

In 1816 a committee of the Assembly, appointed to consider whether the missionary business could not be carried on with more efficacy, and to a greater extent, declared: "That there is a wide extent of country destitute of the ordinary means of grace is too well known to be mentioned in this place. The present demands for missionary labors far exceeds the ability to supply. . . . When there are such multitudes at this moment who rarely if ever hear the Gospel preached, and such mighty additions are made every year to our numbers; when too, great multitudes, sensible of their wants, are addressing their importunate cries to us for missionaries, the cry for help of souls ready to perish, it appears to your committee, that God and our brethren require of us much more than we have heretofore rendered."

3. The Home Mission Board

On the recommendation of this committee the General Assembly transformed the Committee on Home Missions, which had been bound each year by the instructions of the General Assembly and had only limited powers, into a Board with full power to transact all the business of the missionary cause, only requiring it to report its actions annually to the General Assembly.

At the same time the General Assembly "authorized and directed the Board to take measures for establishing throughout the churches Auxiliary Missionary Societies, and recommended to their people the establishment of such societies to aid the funds and extend the operations of the Board." In carrying these instructions into effect the Board recommended the formation of Auxiliary Societies in every Presbytery and the formation of missionary associations as

far as practicable in all the congregations. To a considerable extent this recommendation was carried into effect, and the Missionary Societies played a vital part in the further progress of the Kingdom.

The years 1816-1826 were years of accelerated growth. In 1816 there were forty-three Presbyteries in the Church; ten years later there were eighty-six. Among the Southern Presbyteries erected were Missouri (1818), Ebenezer in Kentucky (1820), Alabama (1821), Georgia (1821), Athens in Georgia (1822), Charleston Union (1823), North Alabama, Mecklenburg in North Carolina, Bethel in South Carolina (1824), Holston in Tennessee (1826), South Alabama (1826). The increase of the Presbyteries, however, fell short of the growth of the Church in other respects. Ministers increased in the decade from 540 to 1,140; churches increased from about 920 to over 2,000; membership grew from less than 40,000 to more than 122,000, an increase of more than 300 per cent. This growth hitherto unprecedented in Presbyterian annals was exceeded by the growth that followed and which continued in a rising curve till 1834. At this time there were 118 Presbyteries and a total membership of 247,964. The most of this growth was the result of Home Missions. In almost every part of the country numerous churches were organized by itinerate missionaries, representatives of the Board, which could not have been formed in any other way. During this same period hundreds of mission churches grew from feebleness to self-support.

But although the number of missionaries sent out by the Board grew steadily larger, rising in the course of ten years from about fifty to more than eighty; although some of the Synods, as those of Pittsburgh and Ohio, continued to carry on missionary labor at their own expense within their bounds, the aggregate still fell short of what was demanded by the needs of the churches. In all the western territory, and in the older states as well, there were Presbyterian communities and organized congregations calling for ministerial aid. Most of the Presbyterian effort, we might note was being expended in the North and West. Five-sixths of the Presbyteries were located in this area, rather than in the South.

The work of the Board was supplemented by voluntary missionary societies, some of them in the South, as the Young Men's Missionary Society in Richmond, and the Female Society in Charleston; some in the North as the Connecticut Missionary Society, a Congregational organization operating under the Plan of Union. These societies played a large part in the growth of Presbyterianism throughout the nation. Most of them were ultimately absorbed in the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions or in the American Home Missionary Society. The latter was an independent society composed chiefly of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. The Board and the Society, because of theological and ecclesiastical differences, became increasingly antagonistic and divided the allegiance of Presbyterians until the great division of the Church in 1837.

4. Decline of Itineracy

In 1825 the Presbyterian Board adopted a new policy which had great significance for the future. For more than a hundred years the Church had relied upon itinerating missionaries to carry on its Home Missionary enterprises. Presbyteries, Synods, the General Assembly had all claimed and at times exercised the right of laying an injunction at their pleasure upon any pastor and sending him forth on a missionary tour. Licentiates had often been required to undertake such journies before they could be ordained to the full Gospel ministry. Ultimately congregations gathered in this way grew strong enough to call their own pastors.

The growth of the Church had been largely due to this type of Home Mission work. It became increasingly apparent, however, that sending out itinerants to organize churches, which in some cases were not revisited for years, would no longer answer. "In many instances," says Gillette, "the remoteness of the field, except for ministers already settled, was such that more time was consumed on the journey than in the duties of the mission. It not unfrequently happened that the transient labors of a Presbyterian missionary merely laid the foundation upon which other denominations or perhaps errorists might build."[8]

[8]Gillette, *Presbyterian Church,* Vol. II, p. 346.

The defects of this policy were pointed out by Messrs. Mills and Schermerhorn in 1812-13, and the voluntary societies organized in the northern states began to follow a different policy. They sought as far as possible to send out men not settled as pastors, who might locate themselves on the field.

In 1825 the General Assembly resolved that "it be recommended to the Board to appropriate a considerable portion of their funds to the location of pastors in those destitute parts of the Church where from the character of the population there is a prospect of a permanent establishment, and where the pastor can, in the meantime, receive the chief part of his support."

This resolution of the General Assembly produced a change in the distribution of the funds entrusted to the Board, and feeble churches now received that aid which their then weakness and their potential strength demanded. But with increasing emphasis upon permanent pastorates itineracy languished, and nearly ceased to be known. The care of existing churches occupied the attention of the Board, rather than the evangelization of new territory.

The greatest check to the growth of the Church before the Civil War came from theological differences within the Church. Two schools appeared, the New School, largely Puritan, holding a modified Calvinism imported from New England, and the Old School, predominately Scotch-Irish, holding to the Westminster Confession without adulteration. The New School favored the Plan of Union, which brought Congregational elements into the Presbyterian Church and wished to carry on the Foreign and Home Missionary work of the Church through voluntary agencies supported by the two churches in common. The Old School felt that the Presbyterian Church should carry on its own work through its own denominational agencies and resented the growing Congregational influences on the Presbyterian Church. Increasing tension between the two sides brought about a decline in the membership of the Church after 1834 and led to the division of the Church into Old School Presby-

5. *Division of the Church: Old School—New School*

terians and New School Presbyterians in 1837, a breach which was not healed either North or South till after the outbreak of the Civil War. The vast majority of the Southern churches threw in their lot with the Old School.

The New School after the division carried on its work for some time through the American Home Missionary Society. Its failure to grow was due largely to its dependence upon this independent society, which was dominated increasingly by Congregationalists. Not till 1861 did the New School erect its own Board of Home Missions.

The Old School repudiated the American Home Mission Society in 1837 and threw its whole strength to its own denominational Board. The number of missionaries under its employ grew rapidly, from 256 in 1840 to 797 in 1861. Out of this number seven were in Alabama, sixteen in Arkansas, six in Florida, five in Georgia, ninety-seven in Illinois, sixty-one in Iowa, twenty-eight in Kentucky, twenty in Louisiana, seventeen in Maryland, sixteen in Mississippi, forty-two in Missouri, twenty-six in North Carolina, fifty-seven in Ohio, eighty-eight in Pennsylvania, two in South Carolina, twelve in Tennessee, twenty-five in Texas and thirty-six in Virginia. A few of these, about sixty, were itinerants, but the vast majority were Home Missionary pastors, under the immediate direction not of the Presbyteries but of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.

During these years there was a steady advance, at times a rapid advance, in the new states of Arkansas and Texas, as well as in Missouri, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. In the North and West where there was active competition with the New School Presbyterians, the Old School with greatly superior Home Mission organization grew rapidly at the expense of its rival.

From 1828 to 1854 money for the Home Mission Board was raised through paid agents. In the latter year the General Assembly dispensed with special financial agents and urged the local churches to take up special collections for the Home Mission enterprise. This was a great advance upon the old plan, but in 1858, 1,716 churches out of 3,324 contributed nothing to the cause of Home Missions.

III. IN THE OLDER SYNODS

The main attention of the Assembly, as we have seen, was directed to the northern frontier. Partly because of this fact, partly because they had a better knowledge of local conditions, the Southern Synods undertook at a very early date to meet the religious destitution within their own bounds.

1. *Virginia*

The Synod of Virginia included in 1788 Virginia, Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky. It appointed a Home Mission Commission at its first meeting October 24, 1789. The following year Mr. Nash Le Grand, a probationer under the care of the Presbytery of Hanover, was chosen as the first missionary of the Synod. He commenced his journeys in June of that year and passed through the counties of Bedford, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Montgomery, Augusta, Rockingham and Frederick, an extent of three or four hundred miles, "with a marked success in engaging the attention of the old and young to the concern of their immortal souls, and in a general attendance on the means of grace."

This was only the beginning of an extensive missionary work on the part of the Synod of Virginia. The missionaries were for the most part young men, unmarried, graduates of Hampden-Sydney College and Liberty Hall Academy, men touched by the Great Revival which broke out at Hampden-Sydney College and traveled through the Valley of Virginia shortly after the Revolutionary War. They were generally probationers for the Gospel ministry, appointed for a year's service on recommendation of their respective Presbyteries and supported by the voluntary gifts of the people. They gave a report of their labors annually at the meeting of Synod. People came from a great distance to hear them—the occasion was a solemn festival.

"The benefits of these meetings and especially of the missionary tours, the account of which added so much to their attraction," says Gillette,[9] "were great. A marked change was effected in the moral

[9]Gillette *Presbyterian Church,* Vol. I, pp. 282-3.

and religious condition of the people. The demoralizing effects of the war and the pernicious spread of French infidelity were arrested. The pulpits that had been vacant, or occupied by superannuated men, were now supplied by those who abandoned other pursuits and lucrative prospects to engage in the self-denying work of the ministry. Churches that seemed about to die were resuscitated and new congregations were gathered. On all sides the Church was roused to new life and vigor."

During this period missionaries from the Synod of Virginia also laid the foundations of Presbyterianism in Kentucky.

In 1802 the Synod of Pittsburgh was organized as a missionary body out of the original bounds of the Synod of Virginia, assuming the name of the Western Missionary Society. From that time there was a marked decline in the missionary interest of the Synod of Virginia. For several years there were only three to five missionaries in the field. As a result the growth of the Synod was slowed down.

Missionary activities continued, however, to play a large part in building up the Presbyterian Church in Virginia. It was during the first decades of the 19th century, for example, that churches were planted in Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk, Fredericksburg, and Lynchburg. The missionary of the Lexington Missionary Society reported in 1820: "In Covington and its vicinity a section of country which a few months ago was noted for all kinds of wickedness, we have reason to rejoice, that almost the whole population has professed religion, and have joined either the Presbyterian or Methodist churches."

On the whole, however, the Presbyterian Church in Virginia was not able to occupy its own field. At length evangelists ceased to be employed as a regular agency of the Church. Pastors were expected to give three or four weeks a year to opening up new territory, or supplying the needs of mission churches. Such intermittent effort could not build up weak churches or conserve the results of evangelistic efforts. As a result Presbyterianism in Virginia made practically no progress in the years preceding the Civil War.

2. *The Carolinas*

The Synod of the Carolinas was organized in 1788. Its three Presbyteries, Orange (North Carolina), South Carolina, and Abingdon (Tennessee), covered a territory which forty years earlier lacked a single Presbyterian minister. Now there were ten ministers in North Carolina, eleven in South Carolina, and six in Tennessee; there were more than a hundred preaching points, and the field was growing rapidly to the South and the West.

In 1791 Synod created a Standing Commission and instructed it to send out four missionaries to act in the destitute regions on each side of the Alleghanies. Two of these missionaries spent three months in the lower parts of North Carolina; the other two labored each for four months in the lower parts of South Carolina and Georgia. The most important rule which was given them was "not to tarry longer than three weeks at the same time in the bounds of twenty miles, except peculiar circumstances may appear to make it necessary."

In the years that followed these missionary labors were gradually extended. Throughout the destitute portions of North and South Carolina, in the northern part of Georgia, beyond the mountains in Tennessee, in the more distant south and southwest, as far as Natchez in the territory of the Mississippi, missionaries bearing the Synod's commission were to be found.

Leading pastors of the Synod engaged in these strenuous journeys. Young men, applying for ordination, were sent as a matter of course. "A meager salary was given them; for the churches from which the necessary funds were raised were few and feeble. But it sufficed to furnish them with 'scrip and staff'; and thus equipped they were commissioned to take practical lessons in preaching, by itinerating in the wilderness, looking after the scattered sheep, supplying the vacant congregations, and addressing such assemblies as they could draw together. It was a rough experience. It required men of energy and vigor, mental and physical, as well as no small measure of self-denying love for souls to meet it. But the training in such

a school was worth the price of tuition; and it brought into the field some of the most efficient and successful ministers of the day."[10]

The most zealous and sacrificial of these early missionaries of the Synod of the Carolinas was JAMES HALL, a native of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, of Scotch-Irish descent, licensed by the Presbytery of Orange in 1776. Two years later he assumed charge of Bethany, Fourth Creek and Concord churches in North Carolina. It was not long, however, till he resigned the last two in order that he might devote more time to missionary labors. His subsequent ministry extended far and near to Central Georgia on the south, and to the settlements of the Mississippi on the west.

His journey to Natchez with two companions in 1800 was the first of a series of Protestant missionary efforts in the lower valley of the Mississippi. His report of his journey was published in the papers and aroused general interest in the Mississippi Valley.

For some years the General Assembly confined its missionary activities largely to the North and West. The South and the Southwest were left largely to the Synod of the Carolinas. But the burden was too great for the Synod to bear. The Presbyterian Church accepted only educated ministers. Educational institutions were scarce in the South. The dearth of ministers made it impossible for the Synod of the Carolinas to carry on the work. In 1811 it asked the General Assembly to assume responsibility for the great territory which it had endeavored for a generation to serve.

In 1813 the Synod of the Carolinas was divided, three Presbyteries constituting the Synod of North Carolina, and as many forming the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.

THE SYNOD OF NORTH CAROLINA grew slowly from this date down to the Civil War, but it was due to circumstances, the natural increase of the Presbyterian population, rather than to any careful, systematic effort. Home Missions were neglected. Synod met year after year and little was said about the advance of the Kingdom at home or abroad. As a consequence, other denominations, especially Baptists and Methodists, came in and possessed land that rightfully

[10]Gillette, *Presbyterian Church,* Vol. II, p. 74.

belonged to the Presbyterians. Only descendants of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish were found in any large numbers in the Presbyterian churches and only a fraction of them.

THE SYNOD OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA resolved unanimously in 1818 "that it is expedient to form a society for the purpose of sending the Gospel to the destitute within our bounds, in South Carolina and Georgia, and for promoting the civilization and religious instruction of the Aborigines on our Southwestern border." The Society organized in response to that resolution opened up a promising work among the Chickasaw Indians that was later surrendered to the American Board, and conducted for a number of years a missionary work within its own borders.

In 1823 the Society declared: "It is much to be regretted that we have not been able to obtain a suitable supply of competent missionaries for the interior. Many important stations have remained unoccupied in consequence of our inability to do so. This deficiency has not arisen entirely from the want of pecuniary means, since the missionaries have been in a great measure and sometimes wholly supported by the places or districts to which they were sent, but it has rather arisen from the fewness of the number who are willing to occupy a missionary field in the South, or who have not been elsewhere engaged."

Three years later the report was more explicit. "We almost despair of being able to do anything efficiently in the Domestic Department of our Society unless missionaries can be raised up at home. We have too long looked to the North for a supply. The many vacancies that there occur, and the vast openings to the West, are more than sufficient to employ all the ministers that can be educated at the North for more than a hundred years to come; and there seems to be little in the South inviting to our northern brethren. They dread our climate—our summers are considered as fatal to strangers. They also in general exceedingly dislike the domestic circumstances of our country, and few can reconcile it to their feelings to settle permanently in the South. . . ."

To raise up missionaries and pastors for the southern country Columbia Theological Seminary was founded in 1828 in South Carolina, as Union Theological Seminary had been earlier in Virginia. Ministers were trained who could abide the southern climate —even in summer—as well as its peculiar domestic economy. But the number was still inadequate, and as a result the church in South Carolina, as elsewhere in the South, grew very slowly. When the war broke out there were about 11,000 Presbyterians in the state, 40,000 Methodists and more than 50,000 Baptists. For the want of preachers of their own denomination many descendants of the old Presbyterian stock had joined one of the other churches.

3. *Georgia*

Georgia, we recall, had suffered disastrously in the Revolutionary War. The Presbyterian settlements had been broken up, and during the war there was only one Presbyterian minister in the state. With the return of peace Scotch-Irish from the upper parts of South Carolina, together with immigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia, began to cross over the Savannah River into the middle and upper parts of the state. Churches were soon planted among this Presbyterian constituency and supplied by ministers belonging to the Presbytery of South Carolina, notably JOHN NEWTON and DANIEL THATCHER, who came as the first missionary pioneers.

In 1796 the PRESBYTERY OF HOPEWELL was formed, including within its bounds the whole state of Georgia. In all this territory there were only fourteen or more small and feeble churches, with a number of preaching points in addition, all of them organized since the Revolution and the most of them by the first missionaries, Newton and Thatcher. The number of churches increased slowly, but the field was too vast, the ministers too few, and the conveniences of travel too limited for a proper occupation of the land. Thus in 1810 there were still only five ministers in the state, and the communicants reported were only 218. Pastors forced to teach for a living and at the same time to carry the burden of missionary endeavor were oftentimes discouraged and sometimes even ready to give up in despair.

Some help came from the itinerants sent out by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, and more help from the General Assembly, to whom the Synod was forced to appeal for aid. In 1820 a young graduate of Princeton, a native of Vermont, named REMEMBRANCE CHAMBERLAIN was sent into the state as a missionary evangelist. He traveled extensively through the upper part of the state and organized church after church. To Chamberlain and a few other young men, who came into the state about the same time, is to be attributed the rise and extension of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia.

A further impetus was given to the growth of Presbyterianism by the establishment of a Domestic Missionary Society in 1825. According to its declaration: "The object of the Society shall be to send ministers wherever they think it expedient in the state, and to assist in building up feeble churches." Anyone could become a member of this Society by paying an annual fee of $5.00. This Society carried on the Home Mission work of the Presbytery till the latter organized its own Home Mission work in 1834. It employed a number of very efficient missionaries and founded and fostered churches in most of the recently acquired territories in the Southwest portion of the state.

By such means the Presbyterian Church in Georgia grew till finally in 1844 the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia was divided. The Synod of Georgia at this time included five Presbyteries, fifty-three ministers, ninety-four churches and about three thousand communicants. The new Synod followed the policy of sending out missionaries and evangelists into different parts of its territory, but in 1860 there were only seventy ministers, 116 churches and 6,199 Presbyterians in the state. As elsewhere in the South the Presbytrians in spite of their early start had allowed themselves to be outstripped by Methodists and Baptists. It was the same old story, fields were white unto the harvest, but the laborers were few. In the period when Presbyterianism was growing most rapidly in Georgia the churches were multiplying at a rate five-fold that of the ministers in the state. Applications for aid were "heart-melting" but they had to be denied. Many promising churches became ex-

tinct because they could not be supplied regularly with the ordinances of religion.

IV. ACROSS THE ALLEGHANIES

1. *West Virginia*

Presbyterianism was brought into West Virginia by the Scotch-Irish, who a few years after their arrival in the Valley of Virginia, and shortly before the Revolution, began to occupy Tygarts Valley and the most inviting portions of Monroe, Greenbrier, Kanawha and Pocohontas Counties in considerable force. For many years they were forced to defend themselves from the Indians with little help from the colonial authorities.

Missionaries followed close on the trail of the first settlers. They picked their hazardous journey over the mountains on horseback, carrying pack saddles with little baggage, meeting wild animals and hostile Indians, encountering great discomfort and inconvenience.

The first churches west of the Alleghanies were organized by JOHN MCCUE, a missionary sent out by Hanover Presbytery in 1783, one at Lewisburg and another at Union twenty miles to the south.

Three years later Lexington Presbytery was organized out of Hanover, including within its bounds the Presbyterian settlements and the newly formed churches across the mountains. For many years the development of Presbyterianism in West Virginia was under the direction of the Home Mission forces of this great Presbytery. It adopted at its very beginning a regular plan of visitation by which vacant churches might be supplied.

JOHN MCELHENNY entered on his memorable pioneer service in West Virginia in 1808. The Virginia Synodical Committee on Missions instructed him to spend a month of this year as an evangelist in Greenbrier and Monroe Counties. The following summer he was ordained by Lexington Presbytery and installed as pastor of the churches at Lewisburg and Union. At this time and for years there was no Presbyterian minister to the east nearer than Lexington, Virginia; on the west none this side of the Ohio, and no minister north or south for at least a hundred miles. McElhenny preached

through the entire region, traveling on horseback across great mountains, and through chilly mountain streams. He journeyed often as much as forty miles per day, and covered the chief part of what is now West Virginia. In all the South of that day no man rode and preached more than John McElhenny. Through his own preaching, and that of the men trained by him, congregations were organized in the Greenbrier Valley, in Tygart's Valley, as far away as Parkersburg, Charleston and Point Pleasant.

In 1838 the churches established by McElhenny and his helpers had grown sufficiently numerous to be set off to themselves as the Presbytery of Greenbrier. The first statistical report of the new Presbytery showed ten ministers, fifteen churches and 1,423 communicants. But in the years that followed lack of systematic Home Mission effort slackened the growth of the Church in the western part of Virginia just as it did in the eastern part.

2. *Kentucky*

In 1774, two years before the Declaration of Independence, Captain James Harrod led thirty-one brave and adventurous men into the thick forests and canebrakes of the present state of Kentucky, and founded the first settlement in that region at Harrodsburg. The early explorers, says Davidson,[11] "spread everywhere on their return the most glowing accounts of what they had seen—luxuriousness of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, the undulating face of the country, the vast fields of native clover, the magnificent groves of sugar tree and walnut, the deeply channeled rivers sweeping between precipitous cliffs, the verdure of the vegetation."

As a result, when peace with Great Britain came in 1783, immigrants began to pour into Kentucky by the thousands, from various eastern states, but the great majority from Virginia, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the van. By 1790 the aggregate population of Kentucky and Tennessee amounted to a hundred thousand, ten years later it had increased to 325,000, and new immigrants were pouring in at the rate of 20,000 a year. "This was during a period when New England had scarcely begun to colonize west of the Hudson,

[11] R. Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky.*

and when Central and Western New York were in process of being surveyed. The pioneers were bold and hardy men, ready to brave the hardships of the wilderness and contend with the beasts of the forest, or the scarcely less merciless Indian tribes."[12]

Jane Allen Trimble, wife of Captain James Trimble, describes the migration of a number of Presbyterian families from the Valley of Virginia to Kentucky in 1784. All the grown up members of the party, she writes, "rode upon horses and upon other horses were placed the farming and cooking utensils, bed and bedding, wearing apparel, provisions, and last, but not least the libraries consisting of two Bibles, half a dozen Testaments, the Catechism, the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church and the Psalms of David. Each man and boy carried his rifle and ammunition, and each woman her pistol." Mrs. Trimble carried one young child in her lap, while another, a boy three years of age (later to become Governor of Ohio), was placed on the horse behind his mother. By the time the party reached the Holston River in southwest Virginia they had increased to 300 persons. A little farther on the way westward "they were joined by 200 more from Carolina. Three-fourths of these were women and children."

Hardly had this great movement begun when, in response to an invitation signed by some three hundred settlers, Rev. David Rice came as a missionary to the dark and bloody grounds of Kentucky. "Father" Rice, as he came to be called, graduated from Princeton College, labored as a missionary in southern Virginia and in North Carolina, and had settled as a pastor of the church at the Peaks of Otter in Bedford County, Virginia. He left Virginia in 1783, though he was then in his fiftieth year. Having rendered eminent service in one state, he proceeded now to lay the foundations of Presbyterianism in another.

It was not an easy task. Many came to Kentucky, it is true with their Bibles and with their Catechisms, and with an earnest desire for the ordinances of religion. But the religious and moral life of America was at its lowest ebb after the Revolutionary War. A great

[12]Gillette, *Presbyterian Church,* Vol. I, p. 403.

many of the early settlers had lived for years upon the borders of civilization exposed to the demoralizing influences of the frontier, without Sabbaths, or ministers or churches. Still others suffered from the blight of French infidelity which spread rapidly through the country after the Revolution. Conditions in Kentucky were not favorable for the spread of the Gospel.

Rice spent the first year in gathering congregations and in trying to elevate the tone of morals and piety among the people. The second year he organized three churches—Danville, Cane Run, and New Providence. Other missionaries came to his aid, and in 1786 "Father" Rice was elected Moderator of the Presbytery of Transylvania, organized out of the Presbytery of Hanover, and composed of five ministers and five elders. The new Presbytery covered all the territory from the Ohio on the North to the Cumberland on the South, from Virginia on the East to the Mississippi on the West.

The same year a notable revival of religion began at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia, was carried to Liberty Hall Academy (now Washington and Lee University), and spread up and down the Valley of Virginia. Many young men of great ability and future promise were converted in that revival and in due time entered the Presbyterian ministry. Eight of these young men came to Kentucky as missionaries in the last decade of the 18th century.

These men, with other missionaries most of them from Virginia, built up the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky. By 1799 there were twenty-six ministers in the state, and three years later the Synod of Kentucky was formed with three Presbyteries, thirty-seven ministers and more than a hundred churches.

Meanwhile a great revival had broken out under Presbyterian auspices in Kentucky and Tennessee. Nothing like it had been seen in America. Thousands of people gathered in great camp meetings, where religious services conducted by Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists continued for days. Hundreds of people were converted amid scenes of great emotional excitement, and of nervous and physical reactions that almost beggar description.

The harvest was so great, the laborers were so few that Cumberland Presbytery proceeded to ordain men who lacked the educational qualifications hitherto demanded for the Presbyterian ministry, men who had doubts also about what they considered the "fatalism" of the Westminster Confession. Differences over this action, differences over the Revival methods, and over Calvinism led to the Cumberland schism in southern Kentucky, the New Light schism in northern Kentucky, and ultimately to the formation of two new denominations, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Christian Church.

These unfortunate divisions, along with the dearth of Home Missionaries caused the Presbyterians to lose their golden opportunity in Kentucky. Despite the fact that the state had been largely settled by Presbyterian folk, that the Presbyterians were among the first on the field, that it was under their auspices that the great revival had begun, the state was quickly lost to the Methodists and Baptists. Thus the census of 1820 placed the population of Kentucky at 563,317, while the church population for the same year was but 46,730, or one in twelve. The Baptists and Methodists had about 21,000 members each, the Presbyterians 2,700, the Cumberland Presbyterians another 1,000, while all others numbered not more than 500.

3. *Tennessee*

Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from the Valley of Virginia and the Carolinas opened the way into what is now Tennessee about six years before the Declaration of Independence. More vigorous immigration set in immediately after the close of the Revolutionary War, and as early as 1790 Presbyterian settlements extended as far west as Nashville.

Charles Cumming, the first settled pastor in Southwest Virginia (Old Glade, Abingdon) was also the first minister to preach the Gospel in Tennessee. We read that it was his habit on Sunday morning "to dress himself neatly, put on his bullet pouch, mount his horse, and with his rifle in his hand, ride off to one of his churches. Each man in the congregation also brought a rifle to church, and usually held it in his hand while Mr. Cumming was conducting the service." Thus the congregation was prepared for any sudden raid by Indians.

In the month of October, 1776, this militant parson accompanied Col. William Christian on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians in Tennessee, preaching to the soldiers en route, the first time Christ had been preached in Tennessee. For more than thirty years this pioneer of Presbyterianism bore his witness for Christ in southwest Virginia and in Tennessee, traveling far beyond the bounds of his own immediate field.

But the first minister to make his home in Tennessee and the apostle of Presbyterianism in the state was SAMUEL DOAK, a native of New Jersey, a graduate of Princeton, licensed to preach by Hanover Presbytery in 1777. Theodore Roosevelt, in *The Winning of the West,* writes of him as follows: "Possessed of the vigorous energy that marks the true pioneer spirit he determined to cast his lot with the frontier folk. He walked through Maryland and Virginia, driving before him an old 'flea-bitten grey' horse, loaded with a sackful of books, crossed the Alleghanies and came down along blazed trails to the Holston settlements (in 1780). The hardy people among whom he took up his abode were able to appreciate his learning and religion as much as they admired his adventurous, indominable temper; and the stern, hard, God-fearing man became a most powerful influence for good throughout the whole formative period of the Southwest."

Samuel Doak is said to have organized twenty-five Presbyterian churches in eastern Tennessee. He also built a log high school, which developed into Washington College, Tennessee, the first educational institution in the Southwest.

Other pioneer missionaries who exerted a vast influence upon this growing region were Hezekiah Balch (responsible for the existence of Greenville College), Robert Henderson, Gideon Blackburn (who "could preach in coat-sleeves, or with his musket by his side, and with equal readiness in the pulpit or from the stump"), Samuel Carrick and others.

These were the men who planted the church in Tennessee. ABINGDON PRESBYTERY, including the territory in Southwest Virginia and eastern Tennessee, was organized in 1785. Twelve years later it included thirty-six congregations and at least ten ministers. Eleven of

these congregations were within the state of Virginia, nineteen were in Tennessee, and seven were in the western part of North Carolina. Through its territory a great Presbyterian army was moving on to take possession of the new regions in the West.

C. W. Heiskell describes a typical church of this period. It is of logs, from twenty-five to thirty feet wide, forty to sixty feet long, and from twenty to thirty feet high. The pews are unplaned benches of pine plank or slabs, eight to sixteen feet long, mostly without backs, though once in a while there is an enclosed pew, but with backs so high and steep that children groan to sit in them. There is no fireplace, and of course no stoves. A few of the well-to-do bring hot bricks wrapped in flannel and apply their feet to them, and thus make life endurable during the service. A broad aisle divides the church into two sections. The men sit on one side, the women on the other. The pulpit is narrow and boxed, and so high that the minister's head is fifteen feet above the congregation. He reads the hymn and then hands the book (the only one in the house) to the precentor, who lines it and raises the tune. The prayer is from fifteen to twenty minutes long, the sermon an hour and a half or two hours. Back home there is cold dinner and a cold supper. There is no levity, whistling is forbidden; loud laughter, secular reading or singing is prohibited. A solemn stillness, a holy atmosphere pervades the house.

The Presbyterian Church was probably the leading church in Tennessee until the beginning of the 19th century. In 1800, however, doctrinal differences and other disagreements led to the division of the Presbytery. Other denominations came in, with a greater number of laborers and soon swept into the lead.

In 1819 the Indians who had occupied the western part of Tennessee were moved beyond the Mississippi River. Emigrants from Middle Tennessee, Kentucky, the Carolinas, and Virginia poured rapidly into this fertile, well-timbered territory. As usual, missionaries followed and churches were organized. A typical Home Missionary in this section was SAMUEL MCCULLOCH WILLIAMSON, a native of North Carolina and graduate of Yale, who moved to Tennessee in 1826 in-

tending to practice law. His mind was turned to the ministry and in 1829 he was licensed to preach by Shiloh Presbytery. After traveling for a while as a missionary in western Tennessee, and preaching for a short period to the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, he settled in the fall of 1830 at Memphis. When he commenced his labors there were but few dwellings, and not a single church edifice in the town, and not a great deal of public sympathy. He persevered and soon gathered a prosperous congregation. Leaving Memphis, he continued to labor as pastor and evangelist in western Tennessee till his early death in 1846.

The Synod of West Tennessee (name changed to Nashville in 1850) was organized at Huntsville, Alabama, in 1826 and included the Presbyteries of West Tennessee, Shiloh, Mississippi and North Alabama. The Synod of Memphis was organized in 1847, including the Presbyteries of Western District, Chickasaw, Arkansas and Indian. Home Missions thus continued to push Presbyterianism westward.

V. DOWN TO THE GULF

The civil authority of the American government was established over the Mississippi Territory (Mississippi and Alabama) in 1798.

1. Mississippi

Two years later the General Assembly appointed James Hall of North Carolina to take an extended tour of the Natchez country. He was accompanied by J. H. Bowman and William Montgomery of the Synod of the Carolinas. The Synod pledged itself to give these missionaries $33-1/3 per month "for the time they engage in the work; they rendering a regular account of all money received by them during their mission."

The three missionaries met in the neighborhood of Knoxville, October 14, 1800, proceeded thence to the Cumberland settlements about Nashville, then through the Indian country to Natchez, the capital of the Mississippi territory. The dangers of the road were so great that travelers set out heavily armed and prepared to meet the most desperate emergencies. The missionaries went by horse-

back (the only mode of travel), with their provisions and camp fixtures loaded on a pack horse. On one occasion their stock of provisions was almost entirely exhausted. Only a little meal remained, which they mixed with water and ate with thankful hearts. They were fortunate enough to catch a raccoon which they roasted and ate without salt or condiments. Night and day they pressed forward, as fast as their horses could carry them in hope of relief. On December 4, at two o'clock in the morning, they heard the crowing of a rooster and knew they were drawing near to civilization. A short time later they were dining sumptuously on bacon, cornbread and coffee. Forty years later when relating the story, Mr. Montgomery remarked: "That was a night never to be forgotten."

"After we had gone once around the territory, preaching in different places," this missionary reported to the Synod of the Carolinas, "we met in the town of Natchez and intimated to some leading characters of that place the propriety of having particular places appointed to preach at in different settlements. In consequence of a hand bill published by them, a respectable committee of persons from different parts of the territory met in town and appointed for us nine places of preaching. We continued to preach at those places on Sabbath days; and at those and other places on as many week days as we judged expedient. Our religious assemblies were frequently large and generally decent, and sometimes solemnly attentive.

"Presbyterians and Episcopalians appear to be the most numerous denominations in the territory. There are a few congregations of Baptists and Methodists. Of the Baptists there are only two ordained ministers, who do not appear to be very influential among the people in general. Of the Methodists there is only one minister, a pious, amiable man. There appears to be an earnest desire among the inhabitants to have Presbyterian ministers among them.

"Your missionary baptized thirteen children and received eighty-six dollars as a compensation for his labors."

After four months of such labors the three men returned to the Carolinas, bearing with them the following Address to the Mission-

aries from the citizens of the town of Natchez and its vicinity: "While, gentlemen, we desire to return through you our sincere thanks to the Presbyterian General Assembly for their great attention to our dearest interests, we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial approbation for your conduct while among us. . . . For we have pleasingly witnessed, that so far from portraying those shades of religious opinion not practically discernible, you have exhibited to us a moral picture to all equally interesting (and ought to be) equally engaging. Omitting points barely speculative, you have insisted on points radical and essential. . . . Such disposition and exertions we consider as proper and necessary to counteract the influence of infidelity which have already produced alarming symptoms of moral and social depravity; and it is with pleasure we add that since your coming among us we have observed some indications of a beginning change in opinions and habits. . . . Permit us to add an earnest solicitation for your return to our territory. Should this, however, be impracticable, you will please to exercise your influence in procuring and sending others whose zeal and abilities may operate to accomplish the incipient reformation your labors have instrumentally effected. . . ."

In response to this request the Synod of the Carolinas continued to send other missionaries, who traveled on horseback the same perilous route, and who adopted the same plan of labor, filling appointments by rotation in a circuit. Many of these were men of great ability as shown by their subsequent services in the Church. Five of the original preaching points were organized in time into Presbyterian churches and formed the basis of organized Presbyterianism in the Southwest. The first Presbytery, the PRESBYTERY OF MISSISSIPPI, was organized in 1816. It embraced all the territory west of Georgia.

The pioneers who composed this Presbytery were Joseph Bullen, William Montgomery, Jacob Rickhow and James Smylie. Joseph Bullen, a native of Vermont, came to the Southwest in 1799 in his 47th year, a missionary of the New York Missionary Society to the Chickasaw Indians. "Daunted by no difficulties or hardships, wet,

hungry, shelterless oftentimes, he labored at all seasons to prosecute the missionary work in which all the sympathies of his soul was enlisted."[13] Disassociating himself from the Indian mission he became one of the original members of the Presbytery of Mississippi, in fact the patriarch of the body. William Montgomery had accompanied James Hall on his missionary tour in 1800; he returned as the first permanent missionary from the Carolinas to the Territory of Mississippi and lived to serve the great Valley for forty years; Jacob Rickhow served as a pioneer evangelist in southwest Mississippi for the most of his life; James Smylie was also a missionary sent to the Mississippi region by the Synod of the Carolinas.

2. *Louisiana*

The Louisiana Purchase, negotiated by President Jefferson in 1803, added a vast territory west of the Mississippi to the national domain, and stimulated immigration into the Mississippi basin. In 1816 the population of Mississippi and Louisiana (served by the Presbytery of Mississippi) was approximately 100,000; nine years later Presbytery estimated it to be 230,000, scattered through an extensive territory of about 80,000 square miles. To serve this vast territory and this growing population there were only fourteen Presbyterian ministers, of whom eight, mostly missionaries from the General Assembly's Board, were without charge.

Presbyterianism was planted in Louisiana by SYLVESTER LARNED, who came to New Orleans in 1818. The city then had a population of 34,000. An Episcopal Church was the only Protestant church in the city. Other Presbyterian missionaries had labored there for short periods, especially Elias Cornelius, who since 1816 had toiled with zeal and devotedness which nothing could check or tire among all classes of the population, and who aided Larned, a more brilliant preacher, in the gathering of the first Presbyterian Church in New Orleans. This church in turn stimulated the growth of Presbyterianism in New Orleans and vicinity in the years that followed.

Meanwhile other parts of the Mississippi Valley were visited by the Assembly's missionaries. SAMUEL ROYCE, who labored mightily

[13]Gillette, *Presbyterian Church*, Vol. II, p. 369.

to build up Presbyterianism, was sent out by the Congregationalists of Connecticut. "He crossed the Mississippi at Baton Rouge, and thenceforth occupied ground 'never trodden before by a Protestant minister,' except by a few who were very illiterate. Accepting an invitation to settle at Alexandria on Red River he yet made the whole surrounding region his parish. There was scarcely a brother minister within a hundred miles. Many of his hearers before his arrival had never heard a sermon except from Roman Catholic priests. Here infidelity had spread abroad its baneful influence. The evil was aggravated by the fact that the few who assumed the exercise of the Gospel ministry in the region were so illiterate as only to bring it into contempt."[14]

Zebulon Butler labored at Vicksburg and founded the church at Fort Gibson. "Through his widely extended influence he became virtually a diocesan bishop establishing churches and confirming the disciples in many localities."[15]

Northern Louisiana was not settled and Presbyterian churches were not organized there till shortly before the Civil War. It remained strictly Home Mission territory.

3. *Alabama*

Presbyterian missionaries followed the first settlers into Alabama. One of the most notable of these was James Long Sloss, licensed by the Presbytery of South Carolina in 1817 and commissioned to labor as a missionary through portions of Georgia and the newly formed settlements of what was then called the Alabama Territory. His report back to the Presbytery was not overly enthusiastic: "Most of the people in the country through which I passed were new settlers and they seemed to think it necessary that every hour should be employed in preparing for next year's crops. . . . I have more than once preached to fewer than a dozen men and women. . . . The excessive badness of the roads prevents me from traveling as speedily as I wished. I have not yet had an opportunity to organize a single congregation. Members of our church are very scarce in the country through which

[14]Gillette. *Presbyterian Church*, Vol. II, p. 377.
[15]Ibid., pp. 378-9.

I traveled, and the few that I saw are considerably scattered. The state of religion in the Alabama Territory is not prosperous. There are 'tis true many professing Christians (principally Methodists and Baptists), but most of them seem to have lost their first love."

A few months later this young man was ordained as an itinerant on the southwest frontier; the most of his life was given to building up the Church in Alabama.

In 1825 the two Presbyteries of Alabama and North Alabama covered the entire state and contained jointly seventeen ministers, of whom five were missionaries. There were approximately twenty-eight churches in the state, most of them feeble and unable to support a pastor. There were numerous other settlements which invited aid, where by missionary and pastoral labor churches might be organized. This was especially the case in the southeastern section of the state on the borders of Florida. The table of the Presbytery was "literally covered with petitions of these people for supplies."

The Synod of Mississippi and Alabama was formed in 1829. Five years later it was divided into the Synod of Mississippi and the Synod of Alabama, the former including also the state of Arkansas and the Indian reservations to the West.

4. *Florida*

Florida came into the possession of the United States by virtue of a treaty concluded in 1819. Prior to this time East Florida, under the control of Spain, had been over-run by white adventurers, Seminole Indians and escaped slaves. Marauding bands of Indians and Negroes crossed the frontier into Georgia, plundered and burned, and fled into Spanish territory beyond the reach of the United States authorities. After order was established by the United States Government, immigration of a substantial type began to come into the territory.

The first Presbyterian church in Florida was organized by WILLIAM McWHIR in 1824 at St. Augustine. He had been laboring as a missionary in Southern Georgia for many years, but was drawn to Florida by its religious destitution. He was for a time the only Protestant minister in the whole of this territory, supporting a population of about six thousand, one-third of whom were in St. Augustine.

The Presbyterian church at this place continued for some years to be the only church in Florida. Its ministers were sustained by the Assembly's Board and by the American Home Missionary Society.

Other churches were organized by Home Missionaries in Florida, so that in 1841 the PRESBYTERY OF FLORIDA was set off from the Presbytery of Georgia. Its seven ministers and five churches represented the Presbyterian strength of the state. This Presbytery, which remained the only Presbytery in Florida till sometime after the Civil War, grew very slowly. The little band of pastors and missionaries could not meet the spiritual needs of the people. Methodists and Baptists were more successful in reaching the masses of the people here as they were in the other Southern states.

VI. BEYOND THE MISSISSIPPI

The Louisiana Purchase, as we have seen, added to the national domain all of the vast territory west of the Mississippi from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, except California and Texas. St. Louis had become a prosperous town under the French and Spaniards. The colonization of this region was greatly accelerated by the Ordinance of 1787, which in excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory diverted the stream of Southern emigration to Missouri.

1. Missouri

Stephen Hempstead, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, who had removed to St. Louis, wrote in 1814 to a Boston minister: "I do believe there is no place more in need of missionary aid than the Territory of Missouri." He estimated that there were a thousand Presbyterian families within its bounds, while there was not a single church or society of their order. There were, however, about a dozen Baptist lay preachers, eight Methodist circuit riders, and four or five Cumberland Presbyterian ministers in the territory.

The very next year SALMON GIDDINGS, a young tutor in Williams College, just licensed to preach, was sent to labor in the "Western Country" by the Connecticut Missionary Society. He arrived in St.

Louis, whose population was largely French and Roman Catholic, on April 6, 1816. Picking up a small printed sheet, which proved to be a St. Louis newspaper, he read an article headed "Caution" warning the people against himself.

Giddings spent the next eighteen months in itinerant labors throughout the Territory of Missouri. He sought out the scattered Presbyterians and endeavored to gather than in congregations. Two churches were organized in this period, one eighty miles southwest from St. Louis with thirty members, the other thirty miles west of St. Louis with sixteen members.

Two other missionaries arrived the same year, CHARLES S. ROBINSON, a native of Granville, Mississippi, sent out by the New York Evangelical Missionary Society, and REV. TIMOTHY FLINT, sent out by the Connecticut Missionary Society. The former located at St. Charles River; the latter, a Congregationalist whose labors under the plan of union served to build up the Presbyterian Church, preferred to labor as an itinerant. His tours extended from the Forks to settlements more than one hundred miles up the Missouri River.

It was about this time that settlers began to pour in from all parts of the Union. An average of one hundred immigrants a day passed through the town of St. Charles, but the missionary sadly reported: "Not one family in fifty carries a Bible." In 1820 there were 66,000 inhabitants within the present limits of the state.

Giddings opened a school in St. Louis, teaching part of the year, itinerating the rest. He worked with a little handful of people in St. Louis, till finally on November 23, 1817, he was able to organize a church with nine members.

"Mr. Flint, stationed at St. Charles on the Missouri, labored extensively in the adjoining towns. His tours were numerous and distant. He ascended the Mississippi and the Missouri, frequently crossing the rivers and preaching everywhere as opportunity afforded. Many of his tours were performed on foot. He traveled eighty miles a week. In an excursion of seven weeks he crossed the Missouri sixteen times and on some occasions the attempt was hazardous. But

no difficulty of any kind was allowed to withstand his perservering energy."[16]

The situation of the people where he traveled he represents as being deplorable. "Many of them," he said, "live and die without any thought of eternity. So engaged are they in making new settlements in the woods that they seem to regard nothing besides." The morals of the people he described as being very low. Little attention was paid to the Sabbath. Churches were formed but there were no pastors to assume their charge. The burden devolving upon the early missionaries was almost crushing.

Gradually other laborers came to their suport. But the number was pitiful compared with the need and the opportunity. The PRESBYTERY OF MISSOURI organized in 1817 with three members, had only eight members in 1830. Growth after this was more rapid. Missionary activities continued, and in 1861 the two Old School Synods, Missouri and Upper Missouri, had the one seventy-eight ministers, the other forty-nine.

2. *Arkansas*

JAMES WILSON MOORE, pioneer preacher in Arkansas, was born in Pennsylvania in 1797, was licensed and ordained by Northumberland Presbytery in 1827, and commissioned this same year by the Assembly's Home Mission Committee as a missionary to Arkansas, then mostly a "howling wilderness." Little Rock, metropolis of the territory, sheltered only nineteen white families, 100 or 150 people in all, including six professing Christians, three of whom were slaves.

As the young missionary drew near to the settlement, he said: "I cast my eyes toward the West, and reflected that between me and the Pacific Ocean there were scarcely a civilized human being—none, indeed, but the few who were scattered thinly over the territory, and the missionaries among the Cherokee and Osage Indians—but my heart overflowed with delight, as I reflected that the whole region belonged to my Divine Master, and that it was all embraced in the glowing vision of the prophet Malachi, 'For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great

[16]Gillette, *Presbyterian Church,* Vol. II, p. 428.

among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name'."

On January 27, 1828, Mr. Moore preached his first sermon in Little Rock, gathered a prayer meeting, then a Sunday School, and in July organized a church in a log school house with seven members.

Seven years later the PRESBYTERY OF ARKANSAS was organized with three ministers, but Mr. Moore was still the only minister who resided in Arkansas, and his was the only church. In 1836 a young graduate of Columbia Theological Seminary, A. R. BANKS, accepted a commission from the American Home Missionary Society to labor in Arkansas for one year as an itinerant. It was a difficult service, entailing hardships and privations, traveling for days on horseback through wild and unknown regions, swimming creeks and rivers, sleeping under trees with a saddle for a pillow and a saddle blanket for a bed. But the young man stayed on, first as a missionary, then as an educator for almost thirty years, and in that period he organized or assisted in organizing more than twenty churches.

In 1847 REV. JOSHUA FRY GREEN, attracted by the Home Missionary opportunities, resigned an attractive pastorate in Paris, Kentucky, to come to Little Rock. In 1852 he was elected missionary agent and evangelist for the state of Arkansas. The country was new, the settlements were scattered, the roads were bad and difficult to find, there were not many bridges or ferries, horseback was the only mode of travel, the pioneers could offer only the rudest of accommodations, but the intrepid missionary rode tirelessly over the whole state, preaching almost daily, holding meetings, strengthening and confirming weak churches, gathering scattered Presbyterians into new organizations, raising money to support missionaries and to build churches.

So Presbyterianism grew in Arkansas. But the number of the missionaries was always too limited. Up to the War Between the States the whole number could almost have been counted upon the fingers of two hands. The son of the earliest pioneer, James Wilson Moore, wrote in 1902: "I can remember when the advent of a new Presbyterian minister into the state was hailed almost with the joy that the coming of an angel from heaven would have been."

In 1841 Presbytery was divided, the Presbytery of Arkansas including the state of Arkansas, Indian Presbytery including the territory to the west. At this time there were only four ministers in Arkansas. "It was always a question of anxious solicitude," writes C. B. Moore, "whether a bare quorum could be gotten together for a meeting of Presbytery, and happy was the pioneer minister after riding 100 or 200 miles on horseback, swimming bridgeless and swollen streams, and toiling over the rough and miry roads of the new country, and subsisting en route on corn bread and fat bacon or perchance bear's meat, to find at the place of the meeting two other ministers and one ruling elder arrived, so that a meeting might be held."

The Synod of Arkansas was organized in 1852 with two Presbyteries in Arkansas and two in Indian Territory. Ten ministers were present, representing all four Presbyteries. Up to the Civil War members in Indian Territory, mostly Indians, outstripped those in Arkansas. At this time only one church in Arkansas numbered as many as one hundred members, whereas Indian Territory reported seven.

Frontiersmen from Kentucky, Tennessee and Louisiana drifted into Texas, while it was still a Mexican Province, early in the 19th century.

3. *Texas*

The first Presbyterian minister in the state was probably Rev. P. H. Fullenwider, who came to the state when it was still illegitimate for anyone to conduct a religious service but a Catholic priest.

American settlers revolted from Mexican rule and established the Republic of Texas in 1836. Presbyterian Home Missionaries arrived shortly thereafter. Hugh Wilson, a native of North Carolina and a graduate of Princeton Seminary, sent to Texas as a missionary by the Synod of Mississippi, organized the first Presbyterian church in Texas at St. Augustine in 1838. About the same time W. Y. Allen came from the Presbytery of South Alabama and organized churches in Houston and Austin, the latter only six months old and the capital of the Republic. Another missionary, John McCullough from Pennsylvania, organized the first Presbyterian church of Galveston in 1840 and the first Presbyterian church of San Antonio in 1846.

Rev. W. C. Blair planted the first church west of the Colorado at Victoria in 1841. He and his family had a narrow escape from the Comanche Indians. Mrs. Blair and her two-day-old baby were placed upon a new rawhide and dragged three miles to safety. For some time travel remained dangerous in much of the state.

But the most noted of the missionaries who built up the Presbyterian Church in Texas was DANIEL BAKER, one of the greatest evangelists of his day. He was born at Midway, Georgia, August 17, 1791, a descendant of New England Congregationalists who settled there, and who aided greatly in the development of Presbyterianism in the South. He was educated at Hampden-Sydney and at Princeton, held pastorates at Harrisonburg, Virginia, Washington, D. C., and Savannah, Georgia. In Washington he had President John Quincy Adams and General Andrew Jackson among his parishioners. His great success as a revivalist determined him to become an evangelist, though it meant the surrender of an attractive pastorate, a comfortable salary, and in return a moderate income, barely sufficient for the support of his family. The only compensation was the number of souls won for his Master. Successful tours were made through Virginia, Ohio and Kentucky, 2,500 persons acknowledging Christ as Saviour the first two years after he left the pastorate. He then held short pastorates at Frankfort, Kentucky, and Tuscaloosa, Alabama, holding revival services meanwhile at Memphis, Mobile, New Orleans and other strategic points in the Mississippi Valley.

One day Dr. John Breckenridge made a masterly plea for the Republic of Texas. After he was done, he laid his hand upon Dr. Baker's shoulder and said: "Brother Baker, you are the man." The great evangelist responded to the challenge, landed at Galveston in 1840, and made his first missionary journey through the Republic. Five years later Texas was admitted as one of the states of the Union. From that time on the growth of the state was rapid. There was a challenge here that the Church could not overlook.

In 1848 the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions appointed Daniel Baker, who had been holding revival services in Nashville, Vicksburg, St. Louis and at various other points in the Mississippi

Valley, a "general missionary" to Texas. In June of that year he landed at Lavaca and gradually made his way westward, riding alone across vast plains, sleeping under the sky with wild beasts prowling all about him, preaching in all the villages along the way. The next year he made a memorable trip to the lower Rio Grande, carrying the Gospel into every hamlet along that stream, the first Protestant voice to be heard in all that region. From that time on Dr. Baker made his home in Texas. He was in fact, if not in name, the first Synodical missionary in Texas. The distances were vast. With the ground for his bed, the sky for his roof, this man of God, declining calls to large churches and comfortable salaries, passed many of his nights. Often wild beasts or wilder men, both red and white, threatened his life. He suffered exposure and fatigue, was often hungry and sick. But nothing discouraged the indefatigable missionary. His diary gives us a thrilling record of hairbreadth escapes, of souls saved, of churches established. Coming into a town where he was unknown, he would ring a bell, or beat a triangle, or journey from house to house to gather the people. At first the crowds were small, afterwards no house would hold them. Doors, windows were sometimes removed so that people could hear him.

As Dr. Baker traveled up and down through the state, he realized increasingly that provision must be made for the education of a native ministry if Texas was ever to be won for Christ. Bringing the matter before the Presbytery of Brazos, then the only Presbytery in the state, he secured its concurrence and co-operation in establishing Austin College. "Henceforth, this institution became the idol of his waking hours, the magnified object of his dreams at night. Six tours he made to the East and North for funds and supplies until he had placed it on a firm financial basis and had successfully launched the greatest Home Mission enterprise to occupy the attention and interest of the Southern Presbyterian Church in all its history."

On his deathbed Daniel Baker said: "I want this epitaph carved on my tomb, 'Here lies Daniel Baker—Preacher of the Gospel—a a Sinner Saved by Grace'." He died at Austin, December 10, 1857. "It becomes my painful duty," said one of the members of the House

of Delegates then in session, "to announce to this House the sudden and unexpected intelligence of the loss of one of Texas' public benefactors. The Rev. Daniel Baker is no more." Both branches of the legislature adjourned promptly as a token of their respect for the man, and in recognition of his death as "a public calamity."

In spite of the efforts of the early pioneers and the magnificent labors of Daniel Baker, Presbyterianism in Texas was very weak before the Civil War. The first Presbytery was organized in 1840 with three ministers present; distances were so great that it was divided in 1850, and the next year the Synod of Texas was organized, including the Presbyteries of Eastern Texas, Western Texas and Brazos. Provision was made for carrying on the Home Missionary work, but the wide fields, the few laborers, together with the small pecuniary strength of the Synod, made the work exceedingly difficult. In 1853 there were only 700 Presbyterians in Texas out of a total Protestant membership of 72,000. The real development of Home Missions in Texas, and with it the real growth of Presbyterianism, came after the War.

Presbyteries in the Southwest felt that the National Board of Missions was too far distant to have cognizance of their problems, and in 1859 the General Assembly at their insistence instructed the Board to establish an Advisory Committee in New Orleans with its own district secretary. The Board obeyed reluctantly, but fortunately for the South, for two years later this Advisory Committee turned over its funds and its responsibility to the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.

CONCLUSION

As we think back over the history of the Presbyterian Church in the early part of our national life, certain facts stand out clear and distinct.

First: Home Missions was the chief responsibility of the Church in this period just as it was in the Colonial Period. In the days when population was pushing westward in ever-increasing numbers, across

the Appalachian Mountains, down to the Gulf, across the Mississippi, no other task was so compelling, so important as following the pioneers into the wilds, accompanying the settlers into towns and villages, seeking them out on isolated farms with the Gospel of Christ.

Second: Christianity was planted and developed in all the states west of the Alleghanies by devoted missionaries, who toiled sacrificially and suffered hardship and danger only for the love of Christ and their fellowmen. Ninety per cent of the Presbyterian churches between the Alleghanies and the Rockies, it is estimated, were organized by Home Missionaries, or supported in their infancy by Home Mission funds.

Third: Presbyterians played an honorable part in the winning of the West for Jesus Christ. Its missionaries were the first to cross the Appalachians and were among the first to carry the Gospel into every Southern state. These missionaries and those who followed them led in the establishment of educational institutions, and in many other ways put the South in their everlasting debt.

Fourth: Presbyterians outstripped Episcopalians and Congregationalists, the two great churches of the Colonial Period, in carrying the Gospel into the West, but fell behind Baptists and Methodists so far as numerical results are concerned. These two churches, because of their extensive missionary endeavor, became at this time and have ever since remained the "popular" churches of the United States of America.

The failure of the Presbyterian Church to win as many members as the Baptists and the Methodists is due to at least two things:

(1) The Presbyterians had an inadequate Home Mission force. There was no lack of consecration and energy in the small band engaged, but the limited number of Presbyterian missionaries could not expect to meet the needs of the rapidly expanding population.

With a limited number of ministers at its disposal the Presbyterian Church was forced to depend in the early days on itinerate missionaries, licentiates trying out their gifts, or pastors released for a few weeks from their charges, who visited Presbyterian communi-

ties at irregular intervals. Only a fraction of the settlers were ever reached by this method and churches organized were left to languish and die. Such a system could not compete in numerical results with that of the Baptists, whose ministers, mostly self-supporting farmers, preached in the community in which they toiled for a livelihood, or with the highly organized circuit system of the Methodists.

After 1825 the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions began to use its Home Mission funds to support pastors in needy churches where there was a prospect of future growth, but from that time itineracy languished and opportunity to develop new churches was neglected.

(2) The comparatively small number of Presbyterian missionaries was due chiefly to the high educational qualifications demanded of all Presbyterian ministers. In Scotland and the North of Ireland religion and education had been inseparably combined. But in America, and especially in the South, the population was scattered, competent teachers were rare, the minds of the people were often diverted by their circumstances in life from their books, primary education was not universally provided, institutions of higher learning were not readily accessible, college trained men, the sort demanded by Presbyterians could not be secured in any sufficient numbers, especially for the West. Baptists and Methodists, who had no such educational qualifications but demanded only a genuine religious experience and a desire to preach, found missionaries in abundance. It is, of course, true that "illiteracy in the pulpit was repulsive to the educated few, but the masses welcomed men like themselves, in whom knowledge of books was not expected, but whose sincerity and zeal was unquestionable."

Presbyterian ministers were led by their educational gifts and by the need of schools to settle largely in towns. Men of other denominations, with less ability and with less education, went into the rural districts and built up churches through the countryside. Towns which have grown only at the expense of the country have thus come to lack a Presbyterian constituency on which they can draw.

This demand for educated ministers, however, did have its com-

pensations. The training of Presbyterian ministers, though it unfitted them somewhat for a popular appeal to the masses, enabled them to reach the intelligent and thoughtful minority in every community that they entered.

Presbyterian ministers became the Christian instructors of the people, and along with the Congregationalists, with whom for so long they worked in close harmony, established most of the educational institutions throughout the West. As Dr. W. W. Sweets says, in *The Story of Religions in America,* these two churches made the largest contribution to the educational and cultural life of the frontier.

Home Missionaries established Presbyterianism in every Southern state, but Presbyterians, in spite of their strategic position at the close of the Revolutionary War, dropped behind Methodists and Baptists numerically,—in the last analysis for just one reason—their insistence on an educated ministry.

Chapter Three

THE MODERN SOUTH
1861-1934

Chapter Three

THE MODERN SOUTH

I. THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

POLITICAL and economic differences of long standing between Northern and Southern states, centering on a disagreement regarding the control of slavery, came to a head in 1860 when Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. A convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, December 17th, and on the twentieth passed an ordinance declaring that "the union now existing between South Carolina and the other states under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved." Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana seceded from the Union in similar fashion in January, and Texas followed their example on the first day of February. Three days later a Congress, which met at Montgomery, Alabama, with representatives present from all the seceding states, adopted a provisional Federal Constitution for the "Confederate States of America." Meanwhile South Carolinians had seized the United States Custom House, Post Office and Arsenal in Charleston, and had taken possession of Forts Pinckney and Moultrie in the harbor of that city. Bombardment of Fort Sumter was begun by state troops on April 12, 1861, and resulted in its surrender on April 14th. The next day President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers for three months. Two days later Virginia withdrew from the Union and joined itself to the Confederacy; Arkansas followed suit on May 6th.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church met in Philadelphia on May 16th in an atmosphere surcharged with excitement.

1. Disruption of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

There were only sixteen commissioners present from the South. On May 20th North Carolina passed an ordinance of secession. Eight days later, after prolonged and heated debate, the Assembly passed the famous Gardiner Spring Resolutions:

"Resolved: 1. That in view of the present agitated and unhappy condition of our country, the first day of July be set apart as a day of prayer throughout our bounds. . . .

"Resolved: 2. That this General Assembly do hereby acknowledge and declare our obligation to promote and strengthen, uphold and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions under our noble Constitution; and to this Constitution, in all its provisions, requirements and principles, we profess our unabated loyalty. . . ."

These resolutions were adopted by a vote of 156 yeas and 66 nays. Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, with fifty-seven others, solemnly protested the action of the Assembly "not because we do not acknowledge loyalty to our country to be a moral and religious duty, according to the Word of God, which requires us to be subject to the powers that be, nor because we deny the right of the Assembly to enjoin that, and all other like duties, on the ministers and churches under its care, but because we deny the right of the General Assembly to decide the political question as to what government the allegiance of Presbyterians as citizens is due, and its right to make that decision a condition of membership in our Church."

Southern Presbyterians felt that the Assembly's declaration of allegiance to the Federal Government made their position in the Church impossible. On June 5th the last Southern state (Tennessee) seceded from the Union, and five days later the Presbytery of Memphis in an adjourned meeting renounced connection with the Assembly for its un-Christian and revolutionary action (the Gardiner Springs Resolutions) and requested all concurring Presbyteries to meet with them for the purpose of organizing another Assembly.

In similar fashion and for like reasons all the Southern Presbyteries renounced their allegiance to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. during the summer and fall of 1861. On December 4th their commissioners met according to appointment in Augusta, Georgia, and constituted the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.

Organization of the benevolent work of the Church was one of the main items of business. Four Executive Committees were erected: Foreign Missions, Domestic Missions, Education, and Publication. Reacting against the large unwieldly Boards of the Old Church, with their wide grant of powers, the Southern Assembly determined to elect its committees annually (changed later to three-year periods) and to make them more directly responsible to the Assembly itself. They were to be in name and in fact committees of the General Assembly.

2. Organization of the Southern Presbyterian Church

The Southwestern Advisory Committee, created by an order of the General Assembly in 1859, with its headquarters in New Orleans, and with about forty missionaries through the Southwest in its employ, called the attention of the new Assembly to "the wonderful manner in which God prepared and equipped the Southern Presbyterian Church for the storm . . . in the creation of this agency, without which domestic missions upon her extended frontier must have been brought abruptly to a close, and many faithful laborers, without a warning, cast loose upon the world, without visible prospect of support for themselves and their families." "The work of Missions," it reported, "has moved on without a jar to the present moment." The Southwestern Advisory Committee then proceeded to resign its trust to the Southern Assembly and to turn over its records, its funds and its work to the new Committee on Domestic Missions.

This committee established its headquarters likewise in New Orleans, but was forced by the exigencies of the War to move its location to Athens, Georgia, then to Montgomery, Alabama. In 1863 its work was joined with that of the Committee on Foreign Missions, with headquarters in Columbia, South Carolina, and Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, Secretary of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions, became Secretary also of the Executive Committee of Domestic Missions.[1]

[1]In 1875 the Joint Committee moved its headquarters to Baltimore, and from thence in 1886 the Home Mission Committee moved to Atlanta.

Dr. Wilson, responsible more than any other man for the establishment of both Foreign and Home Missions in the Southern Presbyterian Church, was a native of South Carolina, and one of its most illustrious sons. He and his wife sailed to Africa in 1834 as the first American missionaries to the Dark Continent. Here Dr. Wilson rendered notable service as missionary, humanitarian and naturalist.

Returning to America in 1852, he was elected one of the Secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in New York, but resigned this position at the outbreak of the War to throw in his lot with the South. "Our wisest man is gone out from us," said Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, and added, "He had more of the Apostolic spirit than any one I ever knew."

No sooner had Dr. Wilson arrived in South Carolina than he began to collect money for the support of the missionaries working among the Indians in Indian Territory. In October, 1861, he visited the field and set it forward by his counsel and advice. The General Assembly heard his report as one of its first pieces of business, and shortly afterwards elected him as Secretary of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions. In 1863, when Dr. John Leyburn, Secretary of Domestic Missions, was forced by the Federal authorities to leave New Orleans, the work connected with that cause was assigned also to Dr. Wilson. He bore the double burden alone for nine trying years, and for ten years longer with Dr. Richard McIlwaine, who assisted him as Co-ordinate Secretary in charge of Domestic Missions.

3. Demoralization of Home Missions

As would be expected, the work of Home Missions was greatly demoralized by the War. The Assembly's Committee took over the work in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, the territory of the old Southwestern Advisory Committee. Presbyteries in the stronger Synods, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Nashville, attempted to carry their own work, and declined to contribute to the work of the Assembly. As a result the Executive Committee was made to depend for its financial support upon the field containing the largest proportion of feeble churches, a field which would naturally be a

consumer rather than a producer of funds, together with such occasional contributions as were made by benevolent individuals or by churches not complying with the Presbyterial arrangements.

Salaries promised the Home Missionaries were either curtailed or in great part unpaid. Many were seriously straitened for the means of subsistence. . . . "They are living in the most frugal manner," reported the Secretary in 1862, "scarcely able to provide for themselves and their families the plainest clothing and the simplest food. Even what are usually regarded as necessities of life have become to a considerable extent rare luxuries to them. The patient suffering of these brethren in these trying circumstances is worthy of all commendation."

As the War continued the work grew more difficult. Churches on mission fields hesitated to undertake even the partial support of a minister during the unsettled state of public and also of private affairs. Little support came from the stronger churches. In 1863 the Secretary reported "Little more . . . has been done than to keep the organization in existence." In 1864 he said: "Much of the country formerly under the direction of the committee has fallen into the hands of the enemy, while with other portions it is almost impossible to have any correspondence. It cannot be ascertained how many of the missionaries reported to the last General Assembly are still in the field." In 1865 he reported: "Very little was done or attempted in the way of promoting evangelical religion in the more destitute and frontier regions of the country."

But while the Home Missionary activity of the Church was paralyzed and the Home Missionaries suffered for the necessities of life, increasing attention was paid to the soldiers. "Thousands of our youth are now connected with the army and there is no field of Home Missions more important than this," said the Assembly in 1862. It then resolved: "That the Secretary be and is hereby instructed to do all that he may judge expedient to secure the appointment of suitable chaplains in our army." The next year the Secretary reported that he was instrumental in increasing to

4. Revivals Among the Soldiers

some extent the number of chaplains, but that difficulties had arisen because the government was unwilling—on account of denominational friction—to appoint chaplains unless they were asked for by particular regiments, and because it was difficult to persuade ministers to accept the office when tendered to them.

From 1863 on, however, the work was developed with increasing success. Chaplains were secured; missionaries controlled and supported by the Church were sent into the field; pastors spent months at a time in the army, preaching by day and by night, conversing with individuals, distributing Bibles, attending the sick and the wounded. As a result of these efforts, together with those of the other churches, great revivals sprang up in various parts of the army, especially in Northern Virginia and Tennessee. In 1864 the committee reported: "The whole number of conversions among our soldiers during the past year have probably exceeded 12,000. Besides those numbered as converts there are probably hundreds and thousands in the army at the present time inquiring what they must do to be saved. No one can think of what would have been the condition of our armies apart from this religious interest without the most painful reflections. Not only has vice in all its multifarious forms been restrained, but virtue, intelligence, sobriety and patriotism have been so greatly promoted among our soldiers as to make them alike the terror of our enemies and the hope of their country." The next year the committee said: "The work in the army to which the attention of the committee was mainly directed was carried on with systematic efficiency and perhaps with as important results as those of any preceding year. . . . The churches to the last were extremely generous in their contributions and at no time was the work retarded for lack of funds. . . . Thousands of our beloved soldiers were converted. . . . That our camps should have been made nurseries of piety is something new and unprecedented in warfare."

II. RECONSTRUCTION

Unable to cope with the superior forces arrayed against him, General Lee surrendered his army to General Grant at Appomattox Court

House on April 9, 1865. General Johnston surrendered his forces in North Carolina on April 26th, and General Taylor the Confederate forces in Alabama on May 4th. The last Confederate army in the field, the trans-Mississippi, surrendered on May 26th.

The South was now prostrate both politically and economically. "Its labor system was convulsed and its working capital annihilated. It was not only impoverished, but left in a position where it got small benefit from the general national revival of manufacture and trade." As W. E. Garrison says in *The March of Faith:* "The economic depletion of the South, in violent contrast with the North's rather swaggering prosperity, was due even more to the grotesque corruption of reconstruction than to the waste of War. Arkansas, for example, increased its state debt almost five-fold between 1868 and 1875, and had little to show for it, while its counties, which had been practically debt-free, came to the verge of bankruptcy. Most of the other Southern states fared no better and some of them worse. The churches inevitably bore their share in this financial debacle, for the people who would normally have supported the churches were staggering under a load of inordinate taxation to meet the expense of governments dishonestly and incompetently administered by carpetbaggers and newly enfranchised and wholly incompetent Negroes. Nevertheless, they took hold of their local problems with indomitable courage and with what resources they could muster."[2]

1. The Task

Three departments of Home Missionary labor claimed the attention of the General Assembly after the end of the Civil War; first, the building up of its churches; second, the extending of the knowledge of the Gospel to the destitute and frontier regions of the country; third, the providing of religious instruction for the Negroes. Of these the first was most urgent.

"The restoration of our crippled and broken-down churches," said Dr. Wilson, "is undoubtedly the object which claims the immediate and earnest attention of this Assembly. These churches are to be

[2]Winfred E. Garrison, *The March of Faith,* by permission of Harper & Brothers, publishers.

found in every section of our country that has been occupied for any length of time by Northern soldiers, and especially along the broad track of those desolating marches that were made through most of the Central states. Wherever the armies have gone, the country has been desolated, the people have been impoverished, and in the great majority of cases the sanctuaries of the living God have either been entirely destroyed or so much injured as to be unfit for use. Some of our ablest and most earnest ministers have been compelled to betake themselves to school-keeping, or some other secular employment in order to provide their families with the means of subsistence. . . . If ever there was occasion for the people of God to rally as one man . . . the present is that occasion."

To meet this emergency the Assembly appointed commissioners in every Synod to canvass their respective Synods, ascertain what churches needed help and to collect funds to be disbursed for this general object through the Committee of Domestic Missions.

The committee attempted first and primarily to provide for the support of the Gospel in churches that had been impoverished by the War. Sums ranging from $50 up to $300 were given the first year to something over 200 ministers, sums sufficient to relieve their most pressing wants, and to enable them to remain at their posts. Many needs of course went unmet. Mr. Wills, Synodical commissioner for Georgia, wrote: "I do not know of more than half a dozen ministers in the states of Georgia and Florida who are receiving a competent support."

Having relieved the pressing wants of the ministers, attention was turned to the buildings. Commissioners reported that about one hundred of these had been seriously injured or entirely destroyed, about one-half in Virginia. Thirty of these churches were restored or repaired with the help of the committee the first year. Some were repaired without help; some were repaired by money sent from the North; some were left in ruins.

Having met the most urgent demands for sustentation and church erection, the committee turned its attention to the work of supplying vacant churches with the preaching of the Gospel, especially in the

Synods of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, where the need was the greatest. But funds were lacking (nineteen-twentieths of the funds which came to the hands of the Executive Committee this year came specially designated to the cause of sustentation), and little or nothing could be done.

J. Leighton Wilson declared in his memorial to the General Assembly in 1866: "Our great work for the present and perhaps for a good while to come is not so much to establish new churches (though this is never to be lost sight of) as to keep life and energy in those already established."

So pressing was this need of sustentation that the name of the committee was changed from the Committee of Domestic Missions to the Committee of Sustentation, and this task remained the chief, almost the sole, work of the committee till the next decade, when aggressive missionary work came again to the fore.

The states that received the greatest aid during this period were Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. In 1866 and in most of the years that followed the first named state received the greatest assistance. In 1867 the Presbytery of Cherokee in upper Georgia received more help than any other, "owing to the fact that that region of country was more terribly desolated and the people more thoroughly prostrated and impoverished than any other portion of the Southern country. Not only were the people stripped of almost everything they had, but their church buildings, with few exceptions, were utterly destroyed. There was only one church in the whole bounds of this Presbytery that could give its pastor anything like a competent support, while four-fifths of the whole would probably have become entirely extinct as churches, if it had not been for the aid extended to them by the Central Committee."

2. *The Plan*

To secure the funds needed to sustain churches and ministers during these trying years, the General Assembly adopted in 1866 a Preferred Plan and a Optional Plan. According to the Preferred Plan all Home Mission funds were to be sent to the Executive Committee, and were to be al-

located by this committee to the Presbyteries according to their need. In practice this meant that each Presbytery was allowed to and often did draw out as much as its churches contributed; any funds not drawn in this manner were used for the benefit of the more needy Presbyteries of the Church. According to the Optional Plan, a Presbytery could manage its own funds, provided a collection was taken during the year for the benefit of the Committee of Sustentation. Practically all the Presbyteries came to follow the Preferred Plan, for a while, and the number of churches which contributed to the work of the Sustentation Committee, less than one-fifth in 1866, gradually increased.

It is doubtful if the Church could have borne up in these trying years had it not been for generous financial help which came to the Church from friends in the border states, particularly Maryland and Kentucky, and from the states further north. Thus in 1866 $12,000 came from the Board of Aid for Southern Presbyterian Pastors located at Louisville, Kentucky, and $6,862 from friends in Baltimore. This was more than half the total receipts for the year. In 1867 one-third of the committee's funds came from Baltimore, Louisville, New York, New Jersey and Wisconsin and in 1868 the contributions from outside were only a little less.

3. *The Secretary*

"Throughout these years of bitter trial and sorrow", says Henry Alexander White,[3] "J. Leighton Wilson moved among his people as a tower of strength. He met his countrymen always with a smile and bade them trust God and cease not to work. He must be assigned therefore a worthy position, not merely among Presbyterian leaders, but also in that company of noble guides in every sphere of life who brought the South through the period of her greatest need into the peace of these later years. Dr. Wilson 'wielded more real power in the Southern Presbyterian Church than any other man in it,' writes Dr. Robert L. Dabney. 'Everyone was certain of the purity of his aims. Always modest and conciliatory, yet he was perfectly candid and manly. He practised no arts nor policies, but relied

[3]H. A. White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders*, p. 407.

solely upon the appeals of fact and reasoning to the consciences of his brethren.' 'The law of kindness was in his lips,' writes Dr. M. Hale Houston; 'his spirit of love and the clearness of his convictions made him stand firm as an oak.'"

Fortunately, Dr. Wilson who guided our mission work through the difficult days of the war, and the more trying days of the reconstruction period, was able to lead the Church forward as she struggled slowly to her feet and faced new opportunities opening up in the West.

III. RECOVERY

The westward movement of population interrupted by the War Between the States was resumed with new intensity as soon as the War was ended. The lure of gold, the wide range of the cattle country, the opportunity of a homestead, the new towns which sprang up like mushrooms along the railroads spreading like magic to join the East and the West, brought a challenge to the Church similar to that presented when the first great migration poured over the Appalachians.

1. Growth of the West

The newly constructed railroads, which increased the tempo of the migration, also enabled the Church to mobilize its forces more quickly, and without the hardship of the earlier days. But as Dr. Garrison says: "The Church has always followed the frontier and a period in which the frontier advanced with the speed of steam instead of the deliberation of ox carts merely gave a more striking exhibition of this ancient and enduring characteristic."[4] The rapid increase of the population of the country particularly in the West is paralleled by the rapid growth of Home Missions, with its special emphasis on the western frontier. Protestant Home Mission Societies which raised and spent an average of a little less than a million dollars a year in the decade of the fifties spent two million a year in the sixties; three million a year in the seventies; four million a year in the eighties.

[4]W. E. Garrison, *The March of Faith,* by permission of Harper Brothers, publishers.

A goodly portion of this westward migration poured into the vast empty stretches of Texas. Longhorn cattle had been bred on the Texas plains for two hundred years chiefly for their hides. The coming of the railroads opened this great cattle country to the meat markets of the East. Longhorn cows were crossed with imported sires and a variety of prime beef was produced which was welcomed in the markets of the world. "The unfenced plains of the public domain, where pasturage was bountiful and free for the taking gave the industry every opportunity to develop. Great herds of cattle soon filled the Texas country from the Rio Grande to the Red. In the seventies there were as many as five and one-half million head of cattle roaming the Texas plains."[5]

Advent of the barbed wire hastened the passage of the open range and ushered in the day of the stock ranch. Homesteaders moved in in increasing numbers. Along with Oklahoma, Texas became the nation's newest and most rapidly expanding cotton area. In 1890 it took the lead in the production of this staple, a position which it has continued to hold. Irrigation introduced into the lower Rio Grande Valley about 1909 served to transform what had been a combination of tropical jungle and semi-arid desert into a market garden area.

The first oil well was drilled in Texas in 1866 at Nacogdoches. In 1879 it was listed as an oil producing state with a yearly output of less than 500 barrels. In 1901 a famous ten-day gusher at Beaumont opened the Gulf field, and Texas soon became one of the great oil states of the Union.

The tremendous production of oil led to booms which moved here and there across the state; it also helped to make Texas one of the great industrial and manufacturing states of the Union; and Texas' billion-dollar crops began to be exceeded by her manufactured products, valued at $1,200,000 in 1930.

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[5]Hacker and Kendrick, *The United States Since 1865*, by permission of F. S. Crofts & Company, publishers.

The development of ranching and of farming, the discovery of almost inexhaustible supplies of mineral wealth, the rise of manufacturing, industry and shipping led to a rapid increase of population in Texas and made it the great mission field of the South in the period following the Civil War. In 1850 the population was only 212,000; in 1870 it had risen to 818,000; thirty years later it was more than 3,000,000, and in 1930 the number had mounted to nearly 6,000,000. A surprisingly large part of this population settled in the cities. Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, Fort Worth and many lesser towns grew rapidly, to the pride of their inhabitants, but to make heavy demands on the Home Mission forces that were determined to hold Texas for Christ.

2. *Returning Prosperity in the South*

Though Texas suffered less than any of the Southern States in the War, and though its growth came more quickly thereafter, the other Southern States also came to share gradually in the new prosperity of the nation. The last Southern state was readmitted to the Union in 1870. Six years later all the Southern States had been redeemed from the carpetbaggers.

"The Civil War and reconstruction," Hacker and Kendrick tell us, "left the Old South broken, it seemed almost beyond repair; victorious Northern armies had destroyed whole sections of the countryside; railroads were run down and their equipment was antiquated; at least one-fourth of the white Southern manhood had been slain; as a result of the promises of the carpetbaggers the laboring population—the Negroes— had been left recalcitrant and indisposed toward regular employment. Forty years had to go by before Southern property was again worth what it had been in 1860. Not until the late seventies were Southern cotton farmers able to raise as large a crop as had been harvested in the year before the war broke out. . . .

"Slowly new industrial activities began to make their appearance. First cotton mills sprang up in increasing number; railroad building was resumed; lumbering and manufacture of furniture took on im-

portance; tobacco factories (in North Carolina and Virginia), and iron and steel plants (in the Chattanooga-Birmingham district) came to figure prominently in the South's new economy. By 1900 almost a billion dollars was invested in Southern manufacturing establishments."[6]

Along with the recovery of economic prosperity there came a growth of population, the filling out of empty spaces, the settlement of new regions, the development of new communities, the growth of great cities, the rise of foreign immigration, and a formation of foreign communities in the midst of a hitherto homogeneous South —each with its own particular challenge to the missionary forces of the Church.

"The growing importance of the South," the Committee of Home Missions reported in 1883, "is now on all hands freely acknowledged and its wonderful resources are beginning to attract multitudes of settlers from the outside world. Not only in the newer states, but to a greater or less degree in all of them, towns are springing up; mining, manufacturing and commercial centers are being formed; and large areas of the country are being filled up with an enterprising population."

In 1899 the committee reminded the Assembly that in Texas and Arkansas the increase of population was numbered by many scores, if not by the hundreds of thousands every year; that the great Mississippi bottom was being opened up year after year by new railroads; that the population of West Virginia was increasing rapidly, and large numbers of foreigners were pouring in; that the population was increasing in the Valley of Virginia and in Southwestern Virginia because of new railroads, mining and other enterprises; likewise in East Tennessee and in Missouri; that in the Presbytery of North Alabama 125,000 people had come in within the last two years. "In one word almost the whole country in the Southern States presents an inviting, promising field for the aggressive work of God's people."

[6]Ibid., pp. 62-3.

In the terrible days following the Civil War the Southern Presbyterian Church was forced to bend its energies to the pressing task of sustentation; for a short period aggressive Home Missions almost ceased. But as the white people of the South began to lift up their heads, as they recovered political control of their communities and came to share, if even a little, in the economic prosperity of the nation, they saw the new needs, particularly the call of the West, and girded themselves to meet the challenge.

3. Renewal of Aggressive Home Missions

In 1868 the Committee of Sustentation pointed out that for the last three years self-preservation had been quite evidently the duty of the Church. It is important, however, it added, "that we divest ourselves of the idea that the great business of the Church is one of sustentation rather than of aggression and enlargement. . . . If the Church has made no marked progress in enlarging her border during these years she has by the blessing of God been enabled to hold her own. No time however should be lost. The Church should be brought into efficient action against the powers of darkness as speedily as possible."

Three years later the committee was compelled to acknowledge that little aggressive work had been undertaken. "The complete prostration in which a large number of the churches were left at the close of the War; the removal of church members from one part of the country to another since that time; the repeated failure of the crops, and the low prices of most of the staple products of the country; the unsettled political condition of the country and heavy taxation, with other causes of like nature, have kept our people in straitened circumstances, and have prevented them from doing as much for the support of the Gospel as otherwise. Besides the great dearth of ministers prevailing at the present time has left hundreds of our churches with only occasional preaching, so that our missionary efforts for the present are mainly directed to keeping these feeble churches alive; and this in fact is what is denominated the missionary or evangelistic work in most of our Presbyteries."

But this year, the year 1871, marked the turning of the tide, so slight that it was hardly perceptible, yet becoming more and more apparent as the years passed. Hitherto practically all the funds of the Church had gone to the cause of sustentation. Now the General Assembly ordered that a special collection be taken annually for evangelistic or missionary work, and after three more years this collection was administered as a special fund. The amounts contributed increased year by year and were expended for the evangelistic, aggressive work of the Church.

In 1879 it was thought that the enlarged functions of the committee called for a more appropriate name; and so the Executive Committee of Sustentation became the Executive Committee of Home Missions with two departments; one of Sustentation, including Church Erection, the other of Evangelism.

Main responsibility for Home Missions continued to fall on the Presbyteries. The Assembly's committee was the equalizing agency of the Church. As aggressive missionary operations were resumed, it began to appropriate the funds left at its disposal to the growing sections of the Church, particularly in the Southwest.

Thus in 1872 the committee reported: "Ever since the inauguration of the general scheme, the committee has regarded that portion of our common country lying to the west of the Mississippi as the proper and peculiar field of Domestic Missions. Its constant aim has been to strengthen the churches there and to promote the cause of evangelization in those regions. To this end, they have aided a large number of brethren in getting to that field; as a general thing they have usually appropriated all that has been asked in support of the Gospel there; and in Texas particularly have usually appropriated three or four times as much for the support of the churches as those churches have contributed to the common fund."

Under this plan, over a period of twenty years (1873-1893) the churches in Florida increased from twenty-three to seventy-three, their communicants from 1,006 to 3,502; the churches in Arkansas from fifty-six to ninety-six, their communicants from 3,215 to 4,078; the churches in Texas from 102 to 289, their communicants from 3,323

to 12,000. In all of these fields the increase in church membership was greater than the increase in population, in some instances two or three times as great.

But still the need could not be met. In 1885 the committee reported that the population of Texas had increased by a million within the last five years, that in a territory as large as Virginia and Kentucky Southern Presbyterians had four organized churches and no church building; that along a single railroad for more than 600 miles there was no Presbyterian house of worship; that in another territory equal to that of the two Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama, there were only twenty organized churches, with nine or ten houses of worship.

Inability of the Southern Presbyterian Church to meet the needs of the frontier Synods led to Home Missionary activity on the part of the Northern Presbyterians. Repeatedly the statement came to them, endorsed by many Southern Presbyterians, that the Southern Church was too poor to do the work. As much of the immigration into these states came from the North they thought it was their right, more their duty, to enter a field so scantily occupied. In 1893, the Northern Church expended over $14,000 in Home Missionary activities in Texas and several thousand dollars in Florida, and increasing amounts in the years that followed. The two churches have divided the work in many of the Southern States from that day to this, not wholly without friction and not without loss to the Kingdom.

4. Rise of Synodical Home Missions

The Home Mission plan adopted by the General Assembly in 1866 provided that this most essential work of the Church be carried on by the Presbyteries, with the General Assembly distributing the common funds of the Church to the Presbyteries according to their needs (an ideal not realized in actual practise). No responsibility was put upon the Synod, which some of the leaders of the Church argued had no constitutional right to engage in Home Mission activities.

The entrance of this body into the field of Home Missions came through the vision of a few far-seeing men in the SYNOD OF KENTUCKY.

There were sections of this state into which the Presbyterian Church had never penetrated. Dr. Stuart Robinson, who led the major part of the Synod into the Southern Assembly in the years of bitter controversy that followed the War, and who was its recognized leader, became convinced that the Synod itself must assume responsibility for the work if there was to be any evangelistic advance. He died with his project unrealized on October 5, 1881. The Synod of Kentucky met a few days later. Toward the end of the meeting great excitement was aroused by a member of the body rising with a telegram in his hand from two gentlemen in Louisville, neither officers in the Church (Col. Bennett H. Young, a son-in-law of Dr. Robinson, and Hon. R. S. Veech), offering to double any amount between $2,500 and $5,000 which might be raised by the Synod for evangelistic labor within its bounds.

Synod accepted the offer, appointed an executive committee to take charge of the work and apportioned the entire amount among the churches. The five thousand dollars was quickly oversubscribed. Five evangelists were put into the field immediately, two as general evangelists, and three appointed to serve particular Presbyteries. Five years later there were twenty-five evangelists supported by the Synod. And in spite of the large amount of money raised for the Synodical enterprise, a larger amount than before was left in the hands of the Assembly's committee for the work of the Church as a whole. The added collection for Synodical Home Missions seemed to have added to the grace of giving.

Within ten years sixty-five churches had been organized, and as many more sustained; fifty new buildings had been erected; and more than ten thousand members had been received on confession of their faith in Christ. The Presbyterian banner had been planted in twenty new counties, most of which had suffered from extreme religious neglect, and an interest in mountain missions had been aroused which was to awaken the entire Church to this neglected

area at its own "back-door." Revival of Home Missionary activities stimulated the work of the Synod in all of its departments. In 1901 twenty years after the work was begun, the Synod put on record "its gratitude to the Great Head of the Church for the manifold tokens of His blessings upon the special evangelistic efforts of the Synod for the past twenty years." These years of Synodical effort formed indeed one of the most brilliant eras of expansion that the Synod of Kentucky had known in its entire history.

The next Synod to assume responsibility for Home Mission work was NORTH CAROLINA.

In 1888 a memorial to the Synod from Orange Presbytery called attention to the fact that its Home Mission field was twice as large as that of the other four Presbyteries put together. Its energies were exhausted in keeping four or five evangelists in the field, and as many more were badly needed. The Presbytery expressed the hope that some way might be found for "removing the disproportionate and unequal burdens of the Presbyteries and so further the more effective prosecution of the great work of state evangelization."

Next year after strenuous debate and strong opposition to the plan of Synodical Home Missions, the Synod erected a permanent Committee of Home Missions and declared that the responsibility for evangelizing its territory lay upon the Synod itself as well as upon its Presbyteries. The first Synodical evangelist was appointed the same year.

This beginning of Synodical Home Missions ushered in a period of expansion, which has continued down to the present time. Twenty years after the inauguration of the plan nearly two hundred churches had been organized, the unoccupied counties had been reduced by half, the membership of the Synod had doubled. From 1910 to 1920 the population of North Carolina had increased 16 per cent, the Methodist population 31.6 per cent, the Baptist 37 per cent, the Presbyterian 40 per cent. The Synod of North Carolina is today the strongest Synod in the General Assembly. Its present strength is due not only to the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish who set-

tled within its bounds, but to the aggressive Home Missionary activities begun in 1889.

Other Synods followed the example of Kentucky and North Carolina in embarking upon a course of Synodical Home Missions till nine of them, all of the older and stronger Synods, except South Carolina, had entered upon this kind of work.

As Synodical Missions developed, the plan of work adopted by the General Assembly in 1866 became increasingly unsatisfactory.

5. The New Home Mission Plan

More and more Presbyteries preferred the Optional Plan, some switched from one plan to the other, or cooperated in one department and worked separately in others. Presbyteries which conducted their own work through local treasuries rarely gave the one annual collection for which the Assembly had called. Instead they generally proposed to give a percentage of their collections for the General Assembly's Committee. But too often the percentage was never given. Funds contributed to the General Assembly's Committee therefore varied from year to year, and the amount left in the hands of the Executive Committee for the aid of the needy Presbyteries in the Southwest was utterly inadequate.

As a result of these various factors the General Assembly in 1893 abandoned the plan for Home Missions which it had adopted in 1866, and adopted a new plan which it thought might avoid the weaknesses of the old. It now urged Synods and Presbyteries both to prosecute the work within their own bounds to the extent of their ability. Funds for Presbyterial and Synodical Home Missions were to be raised by collections taken in the churches during the months of February, June and August. Funds for Assembly's Home Missions were to be secured by two annual collections taken in all the churches in the months of January and September. The committee was instructed, other things being equal, to apply these funds to the development of the work in the weaker portions of the Church, the southern, southwestern and western portion of its territory, including Indian Territory and the regions beyond (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California).

According to this plan the Executive Committee of Home Missions was made almost exclusively an aggressive agency for evangelizing the frontier. The older and stronger Presbyteries were encouraged to prosecute the work within their limits and where in an older Synod some of the Presbyteries were weak, opportunity was given to equalize the burden through the Synod.

By 1900 the idea of Synodical Home Missions in one form or another had taken hold of all the Synods of the Church, though there was a variety of plans in actual operation. In some states, notably Arkansas, Georgia and Mississippi, there has been a notable advance in recent years through this type of missionary effort. Home Missions has continued to develop along these three lines, Presbyterial Home Missions, Synodical Home Missions, Assembly's Home Missions.

Congregational Home Missions has of course always been in operation. In some centers, for example Kansas City, Raleigh, Atlanta and Charleston, West Virginia, the advance of Presbyterianism has been due largely to it, coupled with the broad vision, the Christian statesmanship of the ministers of the local churches.

IV. THE EXPANDING FRONTIER

Under the old plan, from 1866 to 1893, the General Assembly's Committee had utilized the most of the funds left at its disposal for the advancement of the Gospel on the Western and Southern frontier. Under the new plan, 1893-1903, it confined its attention more exclusively to this same section of the Church.

1. *Texas*

Texas had been regarded as the land of opportunity ever since the General Assembly inaugurated its aggressive Home Mission policy in the early seventies. Each year it received the largest surplus of the Home Mission funds—all that could be spared.

In 1897 the committee reported that the population was increasing with great rapidity. "Whole colonies of people from other states as well as foreigners are moving into its vast acres."

At this time Texas had a population of 3,250,000, of whom only 16,000, a mere pittance were Southern Presbyterians. There were 250 towns in Texas with a population ranging from 300 to 2,500, which had not been touched as well as a vast number of country neighborhoods, with little or no religious training. One of the Assembly's evangelists, who had ten Texas counties to cover, described the situation in a few words: "The country is being developed, settled with people. The circuit rider comes along and organizes a society with a class leader in charge, and Presbyterians are invited to join with them until a Presbyterian Church can be organized. The Presbyterian evangelist does not come, and the children of those families strengthen a sister denomination."

An evangelist in Western Texas reported during this period that he had organized fifteen churches in fifteen months, and would organize twelve more in the next twelve. But the Assembly could not sustain the churches and the zeal of the evangelist had to be restrained.

In 1912 Dr. Morris prophesied: "Owing to its new lands being opened up, its new towns being built, and its ever-increasing population, Texas is compelled to accept aid from the Church. The East is pouring its sons and daughters into Texas and must bear a part of the burden of their support. The time will come when Texas will lead all the Synods in membership, and will pour its money into the treasury of the Church for the evangelization of every destitute section." These words are approaching fulfillment. Texas, after having received Home Mission aid for more than fifty years, during the largest part of which it was the chief beneficiary of the Home Mission funds of the General Assembly, has today more than 50,000 members, is our third largest Synod, and contributes the third largest amount to the benevolences of the Church.

"The changing scenery of a half a century ago," Dr. Morris wrote in 1921, "revealed limitless plains innocent of plow or grain, covered with herds of cattle while the wild beasts and the adventurous cowboy fought for supremacy. Then the picture changed rapidly as locomotives swept across the plains, leaving towns

and villages in their wake, and in the field of vision farms appeared dotting the prairie, and wild nature fled before the face of advancing civilization. It now became a race between the Church with its Home Mission forces and paganism with its ungodly ideals as to which would permanently organize and consolidate the territory. It was originally no man's land. It has since been frequently any man's land. The whirling kaleidoscope moves more rapidly today, and we can scarcely fix one picture in our mental vision before others displace it, and in the maze cities, oil wells and derricks mix inextricably. The struggle for possession is still unsettled."

2. *Oklahoma*

White people began to press into the INDIAN TERRITORY at a very early date, some as traders, some refugees from justice, an increasing number as settlers. Though they were not permitted to become citizens of the Territory, they were allowed to settle upon the payment of a small tax, and many rented farms from the Indians who owned but did not wish to utilize the land. Missionaries reported in 1888 that the population of the Territory was rapidly changing.

J. J. Read and F. H. Wright, missionaries to the Indians, held meetings in some of these white communities, and a considerable number professed their faith in Christ. Mr. Wright said: "The Lord was with us and the Spirit's presence was marked in most places especially on Red River at the mouth of the Washita. This place had the worst of reputations, and murder, drunkenness and other crimes abounded. Preaching was rare, and the people were demoralized. At our services there were, as we hope, several conversions and at times it would seem that the people were melted by the Spirit's power."

OKLAHOMA TERRITORY was a part of the Louisiana Purchase and was included in the "unorganized or Indian Country" set apart by Congress in 1834. After the Civil War the Creeks and Seminoles who had sympathized with the Confederacy were forced to cede back a large part of their land to the government. A number of Western tribes were located on a part of this land, but a large portion of it remained unoccupied. White settlers had to be restrained from

entering by troops. Finally in 1889 the government opened the first strip for occupation. On the appointed day exactly at twelve o'clock a gun was fired and the expectant settlers began their mad rush for land. Four years later the Cherokee strip was opened in the same manner, amid still wilder scenes, and two hundred thousand eager men and women fought and struggled at the risk of life and limb for "a claim" in this new country. The southern section was opened in 1901, only in this case town sites were sold at public auction and quarter sections were drawn by lottery.

Settlers flowed into this new region at an unprecedented rate. Thus between 1890 and 1900 the population advanced from 61,834 to 389,245, a gain of five hundred per cent, "surpassing all other records for that decade, and probably any decade in the history of American settlement."

As the population poured into Oklahoma Territory, Congregationalists, Northern Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Episcopalians followed with their religious ministrations, but the Southern Presbyterians seemed to take no notice.

The white immigration which was pouring into Oklahoma began to spill over into Indian Territory. As railroads penetrated the country towns began to spring up, from which the Red Men were characteristically absent. In 1901 Dr. S. L. Morris wrote in the *Christian Observer:* "The Indian Territory is Indian only in name. It is true that it contains fifty thousand Indians, but it contains a population of over four hundred thousand; nearly ten whites to every Indian. It is a white man's country. No section of the country is more thoroughly white and the people are still pouring in."

Missionaries of the Southern Presbyterian Church who had their hands full with the Indians were not able to cope with the great influx of whites. While the Southern Presbyterian Church held back, blind to its responsibility, as well as to its opportunity, the Northern Presbyterian Church (as well as other denominations) pressed in, occupying such large and important centers as Muskogee, McAlester and Ardmore.

"Failure of the Southern Church to enter these fields in the early days, or to hold them when they did," has been termed truly "one of the tragedies of our history in Oklahoma."

Finally, on May 23, 1901, the day Rev. S. L. Morris, D. D., was elected secretary of the Executive Committee of Home Missions, the General Assembly passed a resolution "That Oklahoma be included in our Home Mission field, and that the Executive Committee be directed to make such an investigation as will enable it to undertake work intelligently in that territory."

Dr. Morris hastened to Oklahoma to make his investigation. He described his trip in the *Christian Observer* of December 11, 1901: "The secretary hurried down into Southern Oklahoma, just opening up, hoping to secure that territory. Lawton was found to be a city six weeks old, containing eight thousand people and eighty bar-rooms. But the Northern Presbyterian preacher was there and had organized a strong church, largely of Southern Presbyterian people. So our Church is practically shut out of its own territory, and debarred from utilizing its own material. Not only has the northern section of the Indian Territory and almost all of Oklahoma been lost, but even in the southern section our Church has made the costly mistake of spending nearly all of its money on the Indians. It is a grand work which has been done among the Indians, but they constitute such a small percentage of the population. The Church has neglected the whites who are in the vast majority. . . ."

Indian Presbytery at this time was connected with the Synod of Texas and only one of its eight ministers served the rapidly growing white population of Indian Territory. To minister to this latter group the services of C. E. Paxson were now secured.

At the same time Rev. H. S. Davidson was sent to investigate the possibilities of venturing into Southern Oklahoma. As the Home Mission Committee had no funds at its disposal, his salary and expenses were secured from private sources. Two churches were organized by Mr. Davidson and several stations occupied. The committee did not have the means, however, to make a vigorous cam-

paign in this rapidly developing section. Most of its attention was directed instead to Indian Territory. Twelve churches were organized in this section in a little over twelve months, and men were secured for them as fast as organized.

The ministers in charge of these churches were at first members of Indian Presbytery. But the Indian work was concentrated in the southeastern corner of the territory, and one could go to St. Louis quicker than he could to a meeting of Presbytery when it met, as it generally did, in this section. As a result Durant Presbytery was organized on May 2, 1903, with seven ministers and twenty-six churches, embracing the ministers working among the white population in Indian and Oklahoma Territory. The Presbytery grew steadily year after year with with the help of the Home Mission Committee and through the evangelistic labors of its missionary pastors.

It was easy to organize churches but impossible for lack of funds to man them. Presbyterian evangelists sowed the seeds but were unable to reap the harvest. In 1907 Superintendent Matthews reported: "The work during the past year has been marked with signal success. Its growth and development are limited only by the number of men and the amount of money at our command for its prosecution. . . . During the entire year only six churches were organized. It is not because of the lack of opportunity for organizing more, but because of the lack of men to care for those already organized."

This same year Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were accepted into the Union of States as the State of Oklahoma. The following year the Synod of Oklahoma was formed, including Indian Territory, Durant Presbytery (in old Indian Territory), Mangum Presbytery (in old Oklahoma Territory).

With the exception of Snedecor Memorial, this Synod is today the weakest in the Church and the neediest. At the time of the last religious census, in 1926, the adult population of the state was estimated to be 1,461,408, and only 35 per cent of this number were members of the Church; this was the lowest ratio for any of the

states in the territory of the Southern Presbyterian Church. In material resources the State is one of the wealthiest in the Union (7th in 1925). Few of the churches in the Synod, however, are self-supporting, and it remains dependent upon the Home Mission Committee for aid.

3. *Arkansas*

The frontier which the Home Mission Committee endeavored to serve after the Civil War included not only Texas, Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory, but also Arkansas and Florida.

At the end of the War, Arkansas was still very much of a wilderness; the Presbyterians were only a tiny handful, approximately 1,200 members and thirteen ministers, not all of whom were actively engaged in preaching.

Home missionaries testified that in large sections of the state no true Gospel was preached; the people were in the most grievous ignorance, and those who thought on eternal things at all were deluded, fanatical and misguided. One of the most judicious and efficient ministers in Arkansas wrote: "The religious condition of the country is painful to contemplate; Brazil can scarcely need a pure Gospel worse. Many neighborhoods have no preaching of any kind; many have preaching only occasionally. And very much of the preaching so called is worse than none."

No doubt but these are over-statements. Pioneer conditions, however, continued to exist in Arkansas for some time after the War, and did not begin to pass away till about 1872 with the advent of the railroads. In 1889 the Home Mission Committee reported that the increase of population in Arkansas was numbered by many scores, if not by hundreds of thousands every year. "The great Mississippi bottom," it said, "is being opened up year by year."

But the great tide of population flowing into the Southwest poured on into Texas and Oklahoma, and Arkansas was sometimes described as "The State which is passed by." Not till later did its fertile land and unrecognized opportunities attract public attention.

As a consequence, the Home Mission Committee spent the most

of its resources on the territory farther west. At the turn of the century, for example, it was giving aid to seventy-one ministers in Texas, nineteen in Florida, sixteen in Arkansas, two in Indian Territory, one in Tennessee. For thirty years after the Civil War the average number of ministers laboring in the State of Arkansas was less than twenty-nine, and there never was a time when that number was actively engaged in ministerial labor. Meanwhile the membership of the Southern Presbyterian Church increased slowly till in 1900 it was a little more than 5,000. The population of the state at this time was about a million and a half. During the next twenty years, through lack of funds and workers, over half of the churches lost ground, only a few made definite progress, many grew weak, dissolved and disappeared.

In 1920 the Synod embarked on an aggressive campaign of statewide Synodical Home Missions. Traveling evangelists moved through the state, churches were organized where there were definite needs that were unmet, and where adequate support was assured; sustentation aid came from the Executive Committee of Home Missions, which returned $1.50 for every $1.00 that was received from churches within the Synod. In seven years seventeen churches were organized, or resuscitated, or received from other denominations, and 10,970 members were added to the church rolls, 1,600 more than the total membership at the beginning of the Synodical campaign.

At this time there were still twenty-two counties not entered by the Southern Presbyterian Church; half of the adult population (estimated at 1,176,054) were outside of any church; only one out of 120 were Presbyterians; Methodists outnumbered us twelve to one; Baptists thirteen to one.

Arkansas lies in the very heart of the great Mississippi Valley. It is cleft by great rivers whose bottom lands are as fertile as the delta of the Mississippi, and crossed by the Ozark mountains, some of whose peaks are 2,500 feet high. Thus it has a wide variety of climate and of soil, and is capable of producing the most diversified crops. One of the weakest of our Synods, it remains one of the greatest Home Mission states.

Florida, the second largest state east of the Mississippi, also received Home Mission aid steadily from the time of the Civil War.

4. *Florida*

Evangelistic work carried on through the State by the Presbytery of St. Johns, with the aid of the Assembly's Committee, made possible the organization of the Synod of Florida in 1891. Ten years later one-half of its thirty-two ministers were still being aided by the Assembly's Committee, and no more than twelve out of its seventy-four churches were entirely self-sustaining.

The great influx of population into Florida which began about 1900 was due to improving economic conditions, and the growing popularity of the state as a winter resort. During the next fifteen years or more it grew more rapidly than any other state in the South with the exception of Oklahoma. It even surpassed Texas, which gained twenty-seven per cent from 1900 to 1910, while Florida increased forty-two per cent during the same period. Towns seemed to spring up out of the palmetto scrubs overnight.

A large percentage of this immigration came from the North and included more than the usual number of Presbyterians. The Home Mission Committee took advantage of its opportunity and through its aid churches were organized more rapidly in Florida than in any other state in the South.

Dr. William H. Dodge, whose ministry was inseparably interwoven with the development of the Church in Florida wrote in 1915: "The growth of the state has been great compared with the majority of the Southern states, but the progress of the Presbyterian Church has so far surpassed that of the state as to be nothing short of phenomenal. . . . Much of this marvelous growth has been due directly to Home Mission effort, and Florida Presbytery is indebted very largely to the generous support which the Executive Committee has rendered. Except for this help many important towns would not be occupied by our flourishing and active churches."

But great as has been the growth of the Presbyterian Church in Florida, its membership is small compared with that of the Methodists and Baptists. One-half of the church membership of the

state now belongs to the former, and two-thirds of the remainder to the latter. These two great Churches continue to reap the rewards of their extensive missionary sowing at the beginning of the national era.

In 1924 the great Florida boom developed. Rev. T. P. Walton, superintendent of St. John's Presbytery, wrote: "No one but those who have actually been on the ground can have any adequate idea of the wonderful development going on in the southern part of Florida. Whole sections, thousands of acres, are laid off into town sites; splendid buildings, hotels, apartment houses, stores, bank buildings, palatial residences are constructed and people move into them and settle down to the serious business of making a living."

The next year Dr. J. G. Anderson wrote: "The roads from California to Maine are almost clogged with automobiles going to Florida. Steamships are doubling their numbers and booked up for weeks ahead. Railroads are double-tracking and double-scheduling and embargoing some freight at the present time, with berths taken far in advance. Every mode of conveyance is burdened with passengers. . . ."

The very next year economic difficulties began to develop, and it was not long till the boom had exploded. Churches were impoverished, as well as individuals, but the marvelous resources of Florida remain undisturbed, and tourists and permanent residents will continue to be attracted. The Synod remains in need of Home Mission aid.

New Mexico, Arizona, Southern California seemed to belong to the Southern Presbyterian Church. Population was pressing into them as into other parts of the West; towns without churches were springing into existence. "Being a part of our own Southland," said Dr. Morris, "there is a tremendous obligation upon us to give this vast section the Gospel." A few missionaries were actually sent into New Mexico and met with good success. But funds were insufficient and the work could not be pushed. Today we have three small churches in New Mexico, none in Arizona, none in California.

In 1893 the General Assembly urged its Synods and Presbyteries to prosecute the work within their own bounds; it instructed its Committee of Home Missions, other things being equal, to apply its funds to the development of the work in the weaker portions of the Church which lie in the southern, southwestern and western portion of our territory, including Indian Territory and the regions beyond.

5. *The "Frontier Within"*

In accordance with this plan the General Assembly for ten years devoted practically all its efforts to building up the Church in Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Florida. But as the South developed economically, as the population increased generally, new needs appeared in the older Synods, old needs which had gone unrecognized were uncovered. It was discovered that in addition to the western frontier there was a "frontier within."

"It is a great mistake," said Dr. Craig in 1889, "to suppose that our missionary field lies only in Texas, Arkansas, the Mississippi bottom and the state of Florida. In West Virginia the sturdy settled population is increasing, and a large number of miners and foreigners are found. In the Valley of Virginia the increase of population is constantly giving to our Church new and inviting fields. The same thing is true in Southwestern Virginia, where new railroads, new mining and other enterprises are constantly increasing the population. East Tennessee and Missouri are fields as good as those of West and Southwest Virginia. In the Presbytery of North Alabama there has been an influx of population of perhaps 125,000 people within the past two years. . . . In one word, almost the whole country in the Southern States presents an inviting, promising field for the aggressive work of God's people."

There was a time when Home Missions was mostly pioneer work. Home missionaries camped on the trail of Presbyterian folk in the western migrations and shared their hardships and fortunes, while the Executive Committee strained itself to support them and to erect chapels and churches for homeless congregations. But now the frontier was beginning to return upon itself. The economic develop-

ment of the country which produced new towns left other sections depleted of their population, and destitute of religious ministrations. At the same time is created new communities, whose needs could not be met, by the Presbyteries in whose bounds they were located.

As the churches in the old frontier region approached self-support, and as these new needs appeared in the older portions of the Church, feeling rose that the Home Mission plan of the Church should be revised. In 1903 the General Assembly adopted the report of an Ad Interim Committee on Home Missions. Once more it urged all of its Synods and Presbyteries to prosecute the work of local Home Missions within their own bounds to the extent of their ability. But the Assembly's Committee was instructed to aid to the extent of its ability the work in any Presbytery, where it was shown to the satisfaction of the committee that the said Presbytery was unable to compass the work.

Though the Home Mission Committee continued for a good many years to spend the bulk of its funds on the western and southern frontier, it gradually assumed obligations in the older Synods as well, pressing obligations that the Presbyteries could not discharge unaided, till every Synod in the Church enjoyed its needed ministrations.

The aid which the Assembly had extended, which it now extended more widely through the Church as a whole, came under three heads: (1) Evangelism; (2) Church Erection; (3) Sustentation. Logically and ideally, Evangelism comes first; the other two follow in order. The evangelist gathers the congregation, some help may be needed in the erection of a house of worship, sustentation or grants in aid are required until the congregation becomes self-supporting.

V. HOME MISSION DEPARTMENTS

1. Evangelism

Home Missions began with Evangelism. In the colonial period and also in the ante-bellum South the primary function, for a while almost the sole function of Home Missions was to follow the pioneer westward with the Gospel to Christ, to preach and to gather congregations

in new communities and in new states that were destitute of the Gospel privileges.

In the period of the Civil War and of Reconstruction when the whole efforts of the Church were centered on sustentation, the true goal was not lost to sight. The Executive Committee was specifically instructed to promote the preaching of the Gospel in the more destitute portions of the country, and the Assembly enjoined every Presbytery to seek out and set apart a minister to do the work of an evangelist within its own bounds.

In 1872 a special collection began to be taken for Evangelism, and after 1874 this collection was administered as a special fund. This fund and the number of contributing churches grew steadily till in 1887 the Assembly aided in the support of sixty-one evangelists in thirty-eight different Presbyteries.

Other Presbyteries which did not employ "evangelists" did an excellent work in extending their bounds through the agency of pastors sent out to hold meetings in unoccupied territory.

Through the labors of such evangelists or pastors 450 new churches were organized through the Southern Presbyterian Church in the decade ending 1891.

In 1893 the new plan of Home Mission work was adopted: Presbyteries and Synods became responsible for their own work; collections were taken in the churches specifically for Presbyterial and Synodical Home Missions, and were sent directly to Presbyterial and Synodical treasuries; the General Assembly confined its attention for ten full years almost entirely to the growing states on the southern and western frontiers.

Under this plan about fifteen or twenty evangelists were aided each year by the Assembly's Committee in Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Florida. A much larger number could have been used, with larger results in proportion, except for the fact that the bulk of the Home Missionary funds were required as heretofore to sustain feeble churches already formed. "The Church is crippled," said Dr. Morris, and "its progress retarded not for lack of opportunity but from the neglect of hundreds of vacant churches languish-

ing from lack of proper support. This prevents us from a more energetic prosecution of the evangelistic work."

After 1903 when the Home Mission plan was again modified, the Home Mission Committee began to support evangelists not only along the frontier, but once more throughout the Church, in Presbyteries where there was a great need which the Presbyteries could not meet alone, in Synods where Synodical Evangelists were desired and the Synod was weak, among special classes for whom the General Assembly had assumed a special responsibility.[7]

As a matter of fact evangelism and sustentation cannot be wholly separated, for while sustentation designates the aid given to a weak church in the process of becoming self-supporting, in many cases the pastor aided by the sustentation fund is also engaged in the most practical and substantial evangelistic work that is being carried on by the Church. The largest percentage of the Church's growth has always come from its Home Mission churches.

The Home Mission Committee has not been content to aid in the support of evangelists throughout the Church, it has also sought to promote the spirit of evangelism in the Assembly.

In the early years of our Church's existence it repeatedly pressed the importance of evangelistic laborers on the attention of the various Presbyteries; one or more evangelists in every Presbytery was the goal held continually before the Church.

Finally in 1908 the General Assembly appointed a permanent committee to "organize and direct the distinctively evangelistic work of the Church." This committee decided that its work should be largely educational and inspirational, and by various methods, including a General Conference held for several years at Montreat, attempted to awaken the Church to its responsibility.

In 1909 Dr. J. Ernest Thacker, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, was called into the evangelistic service of the Church. He entered at once upon what was destined to be a series of notable evangelistic campaigns held throughout the Church. The

[7]Gradually "evangelists" in Presbytery and Synod gave way to "Home Mission Superintendents."

first year there were 1,124 professions of faith in his meetings. The figure rarely went below this in the following years, till in 1921, when evangelism in the Southern Presbyterian Church seemed to have reached a temporary peak, there were in his meetings 1,498 professions of faith in Christ. Notable in these meetings held by Dr. Thacker were the large number of young men who chose as a result of them to give their lives to the Gospel ministry.

The Assembly planned to increase the number of its evangelists, and at the same time urged every Synod to secure Synodical evangelists who might be able to supplement the work of the Presbyterial evangelists. In 1914 Rev. W. H. Miley, of Louisville, became Superintendent of Evangelism, in connection with and under the direction of the Assembly's Committee of Home Missions, upon the assurance which was given that this special work would be supported by voluntary offerings and subscriptions.

In the four years that Dr. Miley served the Church in this capacity a rising interest in evangelism was discerned; an increasing number of Presbyteries appointed Committees on Evangelism and adopted definite evangelistic programs; conferences on evangelism were held at the summer conferences; simultaneous evangelistic campaigns were held throughout the Church. In two years there was a decrease of twenty three per cent in the number of churches failing to report converts, an increase of thirty-five per cent in the number of additions on profession.

The special Department of Evangelism with its own Superintendent, was abolished, however, in 1918 because the voluntary support which had been expected failed to materialize. Its work was merged into the regular work of the Executive Committee of Home Missions, a position which it has continued to hold, though the committee has continued to cherish the hope that funds may be secured to enlarge the Department and put it once more under the care of a Special Superintendent.

In 1927, before the depression came, in addition to the General Evangelists, whom the committee endorsed, but for whom it had no responsibility, the Executive Committee of Home Missions aided in

the support of four Synodical evangelists, twenty-nine Presbyterial evangelists, six evangelists for special classes. The committee has continued to promote to the best of its ability the spirit and message of evangelism in the Church, but its largest service has been in the support of workers in the field.

The Assembly in 1931 approved the preparation of an Assembly-wide Evangelistic Campaign to be undertaken during the year 1933 in every congregation and institution of the Church. General charge of this campaign was entrusted to the Executive Committee of Home Missions, though each Synod was made responsible for the management of the campaign in its own territory. Results of the special evangelistic year were somewhat disappointing, but the General Assembly of 1933 renewed its call to all of its churches and ministry to "put first things first" in their vision and prayer and effort; to think evangelism, to pray evangelism; to exalt the effort to win men to Christ to first place in their personal life program and in the work of their respective churches. It proceeded to recommend a Three-Year Plan for special evangelistic effort throughout the Church for 1934-37, and to direct its Committee on Stewardship and Finance to study the entire question of evangelistic method and endeavor to relate all of the constituted agencies of Synods and Presbyteries in a unified effort to emphasize the evangelistic forward movement in every church throughout the Assembly.

The Southern Presbyterian Church in all its agencies is thoroughly committed to evangelism as the great task of the Church; the trend in recent years, however, has been away from professional evangelists to evangelism through its regular pastors.

Logically as well as historically evangelism is the first task of Home Missions; but when an evangelist has gathered a new congregation it has to be housed, and in many cases, if a structure is to be reared, some assistance must be given by the Church at large.

2. *Church Erection*

Rev. George P. Hayes, writing in 1892, said: "Religious enthusiasm finds itinerating mission work much the more attractive. It looks like the immediate work of preaching the Gospel is to travel from

place to place holding evangelistic meetings. . . . (But) if Christianity is to be permanently strong and financially able, and intellectually competent to carry on large schemes of aggressive missionary work, great attention must be paid to these things which help to secure enduring strength and power. . . . It is a great task for a small church in a destitute neighborhood to erect a suitable building. Unsuitable buildings, badly constructed and unfavorably located, are oftentimes more of a hindrance than a help to the growth of a church. The early fathers of Presbyterianism learned the value of help from the strong when wisely given to the weak, by the necessity which compelled them to appeal to the churches of the mother country for aid in building up the Church in the wilderness. The New School General Assembly in 1850 expressed the thought which has been true through the whole history of Presbyterianism in this country in these words: 'It is recommended to all our churches to strive earnestly to render our religious institutions permanent by the erection of church edifices and the settlement of pastors wherever this can be done, and in this work the older and wealthier churches ought to co-operate with the younger and feebler'."

Aid in church erection was extended by the Presbyterian Church as early as 1733, and from the origin of the Home Mission Board in 1816 the matter was brought constantly to the attention of the General Assembly, which urged its churches to contribute for this particular cause.

In 1844 the Board of Domestic Missions of the Old School Assembly erected a Committee on Church Extension, which became a distinct and separate agency in 1855, and whose purpose was to extend aid to feeble churches in the erection of church edifices, or in relieving their property from debt. In four years aid was extended to 276 churches in thirty-one different Synods. Receipts for this cause continued to rise steadily till 1861, when $30,000 was collected and expended. At this time about one Presbyterian Church in four lacked its own house of worship.

The first Assembly of our own Church recognized the services of the Committee on Church Extension and the importance of con-

tinuing to extend aid to feeble churches in erecting church buildings and assigned its duties to the Committee on Domestic Missions.

When the War was ended and the General Assembly met to take stock of the situation, it instructed the Committee of Domestic Missions, first of all, to make provision for the support of the Gospel in the churches that had been impoverished by the War, and, second, to aid in repairing or rebuilding church edifices injured or destroyed in the War.

For several years help continued to be given to repair or to rebuild, and when that task was completed aid was given each year to a few churches—a dozen more or less—to erect needed houses of worship. By 1898 aid had been extended to 649 buildings, 238 of these being in Florida, Arkansas, Texas and Indian Territory.

In 1892 Mr. William A. Moore, an elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Atlanta, for years a member of the Home Mission Committee, left a fund of $5,000 to be established as a loan fund at three per cent interest for church erection. The churches built with the aid of this fund have now passed the century mark, and their combined value probably exceeds $25,000. Monuments to this consecrated and far-seeing elder are scattered from Maryland to New Mexico, from Missouri to Florida.

In 1911 the Southern Presbyterian Church determined to raise a semi-centennial building fund of $100,000. After six years $20,000 was raised, and this, with the Moore Fund and a small manse fund, gave the committee a working capital of $31,000. At this time the Northern Presbyterians had a permanent loan fund of more than $4,000,000; the Northern Methodists a fund of $11,000,000; Southern Methodists, $800,000; Southern Baptists had $160,000, and were endeavoring to raise it to a million.

Slowly the semi-centennial fund grew till at last in 1923, by means of memorial funds and annuity bonds, the full amount was realized. At present the Church and manse fund amounts to approximately $195,000.

Unfortunately a good part of this fund is tied up by the refusal or inability of churches to repay the money which they have bor-

rowed. "Despite the frantic appeals from other churches for substantial loans," the committee reported in 1924, "we cannot promptly secure repayment; and the whole church erection movement of the denomination is held up and thwarted."

Up to 1933, 257 churches and manses had been aided by the building funds of the Church. Many of these have proved to be splendid investments. Thus an investment of $30,000 by the Executive Committee of Home Missions in San Antonio, Texas, led to a building program of nearly $100,000. During the years 1910-13 six churches were erected in the lower Rio Grande Valley to house churches organized by pastors supported by the Executive Committee. In 1933 these six churches had a combined membership of more than 1,200 and contributed to the Home Missionary enterprises of the Church more than $2,000.

But though the money invested has paid splendid returns, the field has not been greatly cultivated. "Church erection is 'the neglected continent' of Home Missions," said Dr. Morris in 1925. "The insistent demands of forty dependent Presbyteries for appropriations, each seriously claiming to be 'the neediest section in the whole Church,' leaves the Home Mission Committee practically no funds for erecting new churches." As a result, in many communities the Southern Presbyterian Church has passed its day of opportunity.

In addition to the Assembly's Church Loan Fund some Synods and Presbyteries have handled a Church and Manse Building Fund of their own. Mississippi, for example, has had "The Chandler Church and Manse Building Fund," named after Rev. G. E. Chandler, who originated the plan in the early nineties, when he was evangelist for the Synod of Mississippi. Members of the Church and Manse Building League agree to give $1.00 toward the erection of a church or manse at the call of the manager, not more than three calls to be made in any one year. Aid is given only when the building otherwise cannot be completed. A similar league has operated in Asheville Presbytery in the Synod of Appalachia, and in Paris Presbytery in the Synod of Texas.

A congregation is collected, a house of worship is erected, ordinarily the new church must be aided for a time by stronger churches or it will languish and die. Any full program of Home Missions must therefore include not only evangelism and church erection, but also sustentation. The vast majority of our churches and the churches of every other denomination have received in their early stages grants-in-aid from the Mission Boards of the Church.

3. Sustentation

When a new church is organized, the general expectation is that the community will grow and that the church will grow with it; that mission aid will be gradually diminished till the church is able to assume the burden of its own support and to contribute to the benevolent program of the Church. In many cases this has been the result; in others it will yet be the result.

But, as pointed out in the recent exhaustive study of the Home Missions Council (*Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow*), two sorts of conditions gradually emerged in the history of Home Missions and became frequent enough to be regarded as characteristic.

"The first was that older settled rural communities in very many cases begun to decline in population and wealth. Such a tendency very early appeared in many parts of the older settled East, weakened by successive migrations westward and by the movement to the cities.

Thus churches which had gone through the initial process of missionary promotion and had become self-supporting found themselves enfeebled and unable to provide for their own support. Furthermore, many of these older communities began to change in character. Their original populations were replaced by new types of populations not so congenial to the existing churches. So churches found themselves partly stranded. This has been a familiar occurrence in the older sections of many cities.

"A second condition was that in many sections, particularly in the West, the anticipated growth in population and in wealth never materialized, or at least was much less than expected. Therefore, in such communities very many churches never were able to make the

progress that was expected of them, and never passed out of the stage which required assistance from the outside.

"Both of these conditions were accentuated by the lack of interdenominational planning and by the fact that in many communities of both sorts there were too many churches.

"Later on a third condition was faced which, while not so widely characteristic, was nevertheless frequent enough to become a definite factor in Home Mission policy. This was that many churches were established for special types of population, as for Indians, or for foreign-language groups. From the outset special factors retarded the development of these churches in numbers and in financial strength, so that it was not possible to set a fixed term for the withdrawal from them of missionary aid."

The simplest remedy for this state of affairs is to group a number of churches into a single pastoral charge and this has been very generally done.

But in many cases subsidies, grants-in-aid are still necessary if the church, or combination of churches, is to enjoy the advantages of pastoral care, and so it happens that in the Presbytery, in the Synod (perhaps), and in the General Assembly sustentation has become the most characteristic feature of Home Missions and the department which absorbs the largest part of its funds. It should be noted, however, that in most cases the aid granted is very small. It often happens that in a group of three churches two are able to support a pastor for a portion of his time, but cannot provide his full support. A third weak church is aided perhaps to the extent of only one or two hundred dollars, and the assistance given to this one church enables the whole group to be supplied with a pastor.

Even before the Civil War, because of conditions just traced, sustentation had come to be the chief characteristic of Presbyterian Home Missions. After the War, the most urgent task confronting the Home Mission Committee was to provide for the support of the Gospel in churches that had been impoverished by the War. A large proportion of our churches were completely prostrated, scores of our ministers were reduced to utter poverty, and without special effort the doors

of many churches would have been closed altogether. So great was the need that the very name of the committee was changed, as we have seen, from the Executive Committee of Domestic Missions to the Executive Committee of Sustentation.

This aid to churches, impoverished by the War, continued through the days of reconstruction, but in 1872 conditions had improved, the Church felt that it was ready to embark upon a more aggressive program. As a result the General Assembly amended the by-laws of the Committee of Sustentation: "No appropriation shall be made to a church or union for a period of more than five consecutive years, except under extraordinary cases, or except where they are strictly classed as missionary churches." In actual practise, however, this rule could not be enforced; it was soon abandoned; and sustentation continued to absorb the bulk of the Home Mission funds of the Church.

When the Home Mission plan was changed in 1893 and the Executive Committee became responsible only for the mission territory along the frontier, the numbers aided from the sustentation funds of the Assembly necessarily became less. But as the Church followed the settlers into Texas, Oklahoma and Florida, sustentation remained the right arm of evangelism, both being required for any real advance of the Kingdom.

"New churches are continually reaching self-support," said Dr. Morris in 1910, "but our missionaries are aggressively pushing into newer territory and churches are being organized faster than others reach self-support. Thus the burden of sustaining a larger work grows with the growth of the Church. In small towns or scattered destitute sections it could not be expected that self-support would be easily or speedily obtained. The Executive Committee encourages every effort in that direction, but much work of this character will be purely benevolent and missionary for years to come."

At the present time approximately half of our churches are mission churches, receiving aid from either the Presbytery or the Assembly. Each of these churches is expected to progress toward self-support. And each year a number do reach the desired goal. Thus in 1927,

before the depression developed, fifty churches assumed self-support. In 1928 two Presbyteries, Brazos and Dallas, both in Texas, were able to dispense with Assembly aid. In 1932, a depression year, nineteen churches came to self-support and in 1933 there were eight.

The average church membership of the Assembly is about 125. More than half of the churches in the Assembly have less than seventy-five members, and these churches contain more than one-fourth of the total membership. It is from these Home Mission churches that we receive the greatest number of our ministers and missionaries for the fields at home and abroad. While they may not contribute much in material things, they are laboring for truth and righteousness in the communities in which they are placed, and they are sending up continual reenforcements to the large urban churches which depend upon the Home Mission churches for their growth.

And yet some of these churches are in communities which are over-churched. They have inadequate programs, inefficient equipment, insufficient pastoral care, though the community might support one or two effective churches if there were no denominational competition.

To remedy the evils of such a situation requires Christian statesmanship of the highest order. And a situation that has developed through the years cannot be cured in a day, or a month, or a year, probably in a generation. Home Mission Boards are fully cognizant of the situation, and the Home Missions Council, of which our Church is a member, is seeking the wisest solution. It is a solution which the denominations must reach together.

But meanwhile, and even after the evils of needless competition have been allayed, sustentation must continue if the Church is to endure.

Chapter Four

EARLY WARDS OF THE SOUTH: THE INDIANS

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HOME MISSIONS in the Southern Presbyterian Church has been concerned largely with carrying the Gospel to the descendants of the original Presbyterian settlers and into the main currents of Southern life. But from early times the Church has recognized its responsibility to certain needy classes located within its bounds,—Indians, Negroes, Foreigners, isolated Mountain folk and others. We are concerned in this chapter and the next with Presbyterian Missions for the earliest wards of the nation: the Indians, whom the white man displaced in America; the Negroes, whom he transplanted to America.

Not much was done during the Colonial Period to carry the Gospel to the Indians in the South. The Quakers sent missionaries to the Cherokees in North Carolina; the Wesleyans attempted work among the same tribe in Georgia, but little or nothing was accomplished. Anglicans abandoned their efforts to convert the natives in Virginia after the disastrous massacre of 1622.

More attention was paid to the Christianization of the Indians in the North. The Congregationalists had done some notable work in New England; Moravians and Quakers and Anglicans had won some success in the Middle colonies. The Presbyterians, too, had not been idle. David Brainerd, in particular, had inspired the Church by his heroic devotion and his work had been carried on by his brother, John. But till after the Revolutionary War the work of the missionaries was constantly thwarted and destroyed by the clashing ambitions of England, France and Spain, and by the cupidity and aggression of the colonists.

The mass of the Indians were pushed back over the Alleghanies before the Revolution. As the more adventurous pioneers followed them across the mountains toward the end of the Colonial Period,

and in increasing numbers after the War, the Red Men contested their advance, and there were many bloody massacres, especially in Kentucky, Tennessee, Western Pennsylvania and Ohio. But the Indians steadily gave way before the resistless pressure of the white men, who were land hungry and determined.

In the Southeastern area of the United States five Indian tribes stood in the way of the white man's advance, the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles. The largest and most important of these tribes were the CHEROKEES, occuping originally what is now Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee. They fought with the British during the Revolution, but in 1785 made a treaty of peace with the United States, which they were careful to observe.

The CHOCTAWS dwelled in Southern Mississippi and the adjacent parts of Alabama. They were sedentary and agricultural, slow and unwarlike in disposition, contrasting strongly with their cousins, the CHICKASAWS, who occupied Northern Mississippi and the adjacent parts of Tennessee, and who, during the Colonial Period, were restless and ready to fight. From the close of the Revolution both tribes maintained friendly relations with the United States. As Dr. Morrison says: "In spite of the fact that the same pressure was brought to bear against them by the aggressive white pioneers that the Indians experienced everywhere they yielded to the inevitable with good grace. There never was such a thing as a Choctaw-Chickasaw massacre of white people. It was their boast, 'We have never shed the blood of an American'."[1]

The CREEKS were an Indian Confederacy holding the greater portions of Alabama and Georgia, and were second only to the Cherokees in importance. They sided with the English during the Revolution, but made a treaty of peace with the United States in 1790. Taking up arms against the Americans in 1813 they were completely crushed in a brief but bloody campaign conducted by General Andrew Jackson. The SEMINOLES, an offshoot from the Creek Confederation, overran the peninsula of Florida early in the 18th century, receiving

[1]William B. Morris, *The Red Man's Trail*, p. 28.

accessions from other Indian tribes and a considerable Negro element from runaway slaves. Conflicts with the American led to the invasion of their territory by General Jackson and ultimately brought about the cession of Florida to the United States in 1819.

All of these tribes were farther advanced in civilization than the Indians of the plain. They devoted themselves to the culture of the ground, and lived in rude houses, grouped in villages, which were moved from place to place as occasion demanded, especially when their farm lands became exhausted. "They made pottery, carved stone objects with a high degree of excellence and wove some fabrics. All—especially the Creeks—had a complex political organization and elaborate religious ceremonies."

I. MISSIONS EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Just about the time that contact was re-established with the Indians, who had retreated across the Alleghanies, a Baptist preacher in England, named William Carey, published an "Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens" and preached a famous sermon on Isaiah 54:2, "Lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes." As a result of his flaming zeal, a Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen was organized in 1792, and Carey, who had once cobbled shoes for a livelihood, was sent as its first missionary to India. Thus began the great modern enterprise of Foreign Missions. The new interest in the evangelization of the world was communicated to America, stirred already by the second Great Awakening, a mighty revival which spread East and West after the Revolutionary War. A call to prayer led in 1796 to the formation of the New York Missionary Society, a voluntary society composed largely of Presbyterians,—and soon afterwards to similar societies throughout the United States. Instead, however, of proceeding immediately to send missionaries to the uttermost parts of the earth, and thus co-operating with the various missionary societies in Great Britain, the American organizations turned their first

attention to the heathen within their own borders. Missions to the Indians, counted then and for long afterwards as Foreign Missions, begun during the Colonial Period but conducted intermittently, and with inconclusive results, were resumed now with new devotion and with larger results.

1. Beginning: Joseph Bullen

Soon after the forming of the New York Missionary Society it was determined to establish a mission among the Chickasaws of "West Georgia." The missionary was Mr. Joseph Bullen, a native of Vermont, then forty-seven years of age. He started out on his long, arduous journey to the Indian country on March 26, 1799, accompanied by his son, a youth of seventeen years, who it was thought might render important aid in acquiring the language and giving instruction as a teacher of Indian children.

When Bullen reached Nashville, he was still 270 miles from his point of destination, and his friends urged him to delay his journey for several weeks that he might secure the guides, without whom it was dangerous to proceed. "But the zeal of the missionary would not allow him to pause. He had already had experience of hardship, exposure to storms, and perils from swollen streams, sometime crossing 'waters almost to the horse's back.' Unappalled by the representations made to him, he resolved to press on. 'Trusting in Divine goodness to direct' their way the travelers set out for the Indian country. Their horses were encumbered with baggage, and their movements were slow. But, provided with food, blankets, an axe and a gun, they made such progress as they were able. Their lonesome way was occasionally cheered by meeting traders from Natchez and New Orleans, returning to Kentucky. Sometimes they were impeded by the rains and the swollen streams. The waters of the Tennessee were high, and places of entertainment were few and far between. The food which they could procure was not of the best kind,—sometimes hominy or damaged meal. A bed of bear-skin was a luxury for the night's lodging.

"At length Mr. Bullen reached his destination, worn, weary and almost an invalid. The Chickasaws he found 'without any kind of religious observance, and without temple and priest,' except that a few of their enchanters had images, the use of which was little understood among the people. He preached and conversed as he had opportunity, witnessed their frolics and their 'mysteries,' their 'singing, yelling and running,' gained their confidence, and with alternate experience of encouragement and disappointment prosecuted his work. From one town he journeyed to another, distributing his labors among Indians and whites, and coming in frequent contact with the hundreds of traders who after their trip down the Mississippi returned by land to their homes. His greatest success was among the slaves, five of whom he baptized on one occasion. Daunted by no difficulties or hardships, wet, hungry, shelterless oftentimes, he labored at all season to prosecute the missionary work in which all the sympathies of his soul were enlisted."[2]

Thus began Presbyterian Missions to the Indians in the Southern United States. James Hall, on his trip to the Southwest in 1800, reported that husbandry and consequently civilization were making considerable progress among the Chickasaws, and that Mr. Bullen and his assistant, Mr. Ebenezer Rice, were meeting with some encouragements in their efforts to give religious instruction to the Indians. But in spite of its early success the mission in the end had to be abandoned. Mr. Bullen gave up his work among the Indians in 1803, but continued to labor as one of the pioneer Presbyterian ministers in the Southwest till his death in 1825. One of the greatest obstacles in reforming the morals of the Red Men, he reported, had been the abandoned lives of the white men who came among them.

In 1803 the Synod of the Carolinas began to take an interest in the religious instruction of the Catawba Indians, but after a couple of years the Indians "became weary of it," and further work for them appears to have been relinquished.

[2]Gillett, *Presbyterian Church*, Vol. II, pp. 368-9.

2. *Cherokees: Gideon Blackburn*

The first wholly successful work by Presbyterians among Indians in the South was begun by Gideon Blackburn in 1804. Blackburn, who was a product of the frontier, had been pastor of the New Providence and Eusebia churches in Eastern Tennessee since 1794. While accompanying a military expedition against the Cherokees, he was led to inquire into the cause of their savage and wretched state. "Some cheering rays of hope would flash" in his mind when he "reflected that they were of the same race with ourselves. . . . More and more the subject took possession of his mind. He prayed over it. He asked what could be done."[3] About this time Joseph Bullen was sent out by the New York Missionary Society to labor among the Indians of the Southwest and passed through the place where Blackburn was settled. No doubt the two earnest men opened their hearts to one another. At any rate Blackburn soon afterwards formed a purpose to establish a mission among the Cherokees. In 1799 he introduced the subject to the Presbytery of Union of which he was a member. But nothing came of it. The scarcity of money, the poverty of the people stood in the way.

In 1802 it was recorded in the Minutes of the General Assembly: "The Assembly have attended with a very considerable degree of care and solicitude to the duty of sending missionaries among the Indian or heathen tribes of America, but have not been able to recommend any person who is willing to undertake that arduous and important service."

The next year Blackburn was a commissioner to the General Assembly. He went to it with a paper in his pocket containing the outlines of a plan for the education of Indian children. The Assembly commissioned him as a missionary to the Cherokees, but believing his enterprise an experiment voted him only $200—enough to support his mission for two months.

Nothing daunted, Blackburn proceeded to enlist the interest of the Indian agents of the Federal Government. In October he assembled a council of two thousand Indians and explained to them his

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

purpose. After some delay on their part, it was approved, and early in 1804 the mission was commenced. "By unwearied exertion and self-denial and by encroaching severely upon his own scanty means, Blackburn was able to continue his operations till the spring of 1806. He then, on a Southern tour, collected fifteen hundred dollars for his enterprise, and the succeeding year on a journey to the North secured more than four thousand dollars. This effort is the more remarkable as the foundation of the Cherokee mission and as conducted under the auspices of no society,—an instance of individual enterprise, except as sanctioned and commended by the General Assembly."

Blackburn concerned himself chiefly with establishing schools among the Cherokees, though he preached faithfully not only to the Indians, but also to the whites in the neighborhood. The improvement of the Indians under his tutelage was truly remarkable. They began to assume the form of government and the habits of a civilized nation.

In 1810 this devoted missionary was forced to retire from the Cherokee mission because of the failure of his health. While the Standing Committee of the General Assembly was looking about for a successor, Cyrus Kingsbury, a young man employed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (an independent society largely Presbyterian and Congregational), asked and received permission to occupy the field. The success of Kingsbury and the later missionaries sent out by the American Board was so great that the Assembly's Committee left the field in their hands.

3. *Choctaws: Cyrus Kingsbury*

Cyrus Kingsbury, destined to play a great part in Southern Presbyterian Missions, and to labor among the Indians for more than fifty years, was born in Alstead, New Hampshire, in 1786. Early in life he came under the influence of that band of young men led by Samuel J. Mills, who did so much to revive missionary zeal in the United States. He graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1812, the year that Adoniram Judson, a graduate of the same school, sailed as the first Foreign Missionary from the shores of America. Kingsbury was ordained as a missionary by the Congre-

gational Church in Massachusetts. He labored two years in Southwestern Virginia and in Eastern Tennessee, and was then appointed a missionary to the Indians by the American Board. In 1817 he opened his first station among the Cherokees, called Brainerd, near Chattanooga (now known as Missionary Ridge).

Laborers in this famous mission field came from various quarters under the auspices of the American Board, but the most of them connected themselves with the Presbytery of Union in East Tennessee, which did much to develop the growing work till the final removal of the Cherokees beyond the Mississippi.

Meanwhile successful missionary work had been started among the Choctaws, who then occupied a large tract of land in Central Mississippi, most of which was trackless forest and unbroken prairie. No sooner did they hear of the mission school among the Cherokees than they applied to the American Board for a similar privilege. They advanced three reasons: (1) they wanted their children to be taught the better way of life which was found in the "White Man's Book"; (2) they were equally as worthy as the Cherokees; (3) they had always been at peace with the white man and had never shed his blood in battle.

Cyrus Kingsbury was selected as the one to open the mission. In 1818 he went from Brainerd with Mr. and Mrs. Williams and established a station, which he named Eliot, on the Yalobusha River.

Within a year's time it had become a model mission, with preaching services and a school. Other workers were sent out by the Board, including teachers, farmers, a blacksmith, and—most important—a doctor. Five years after Kingsbury and Williams first entered the Choctaw country missionaries were working in every section of the territory.

The Choctaws accepted eagerly the advantages of the schools and appropriated many of the ways of the white man's civilization. But they were not greatly concerned about the Gospel. In 1828 there were forty missionaries working in various capacities in the Choctaw nation, but only four of the natives had been received into the church and only a handful ever attended the services. In that year, however,

a great revival broke out in the tribe. "As a result of this gracious revival," says Morrison, "there was a great ingathering into the several churches. Not only did the youth of the schools and the more humble Indians take up the new way, but many of the leaders, including the district chiefs, Folsom, Garland and LeFlore, became bold and earnest Christians. Henceforth, the task of Christianizing the Choctaws would have been a relatively easy matter had it not been for the tragedy of the Great Removal that even at this time of revival was threatening the tribe.

"Whatever was done to change the Choctaws from heathen to Christian and from savages into a civilized people is due in large measure to Kingsbury's faith, wisdom and perseverance. Lame from his youth (the Chocktaws called him . . . 'Limping Wolf') and frail in health during most of his life, he nevertheless kept ceaselessly active in his chosen work. Every year he rode hundreds of miles visiting the stations under his charge, meeting in a statesmanlike manner the many and varied problems that arose, and at the same time keeping in close and vigorous touch through newspaper and magazine articles with the great church constituency which he knew must never be allowed to forget his adopted people and their needs."

4. Chickasaws: "Father" Stuart

The mission among the Chickasaws was begun by the Presbyterians of South Carolina and Georgia. In 1819 the Synod resolved unanimously "that it is expedient to form a society for the purpose of sending the Gospel to the destitute within our bounds in South Carolina and Georgia, and for promoting the civilization and religious instruction of our aborigines on our southwestern border." The following spring the Missionary Society formed by the Synod dispatched Thomas C. Stuart, a licentiate, and Rev. David Humphries on a four months' trip of exploration to gain such information as would enable the society to carry their designs into effect. The two missionaries visited first the Creek Indians, who refused to permit the establishment of Christian schools. They journeyed on through Alabama into Mississippi, and arrived finally among the Chickasaws, located about six thousand strong in the northern part

of the state. At a meeting of the council, June 22, 1820, a decision was reached to allow the Synod to establish its mission. Shortly thereafter the corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society received the following communication: "Chickasaw Nation, July 8, 1820, Friends and Brother Missionary, My head men address themselves a few lines to you to inform you that we had the pleasure of seeing our brothers, Mr. D. Humphries and Mr. Thomas C. Stuart, which our head men are much pleased with their conduct, and wish strongly for them to return and educate their children. It is the request of my head men in general. Now we shall look for them in the course of this winter. Friends and brothers."

At the next meeting of the society Mr. Stuart offered himself as a stationed missionary among this long-neglected people. His offer was accepted, he was ordained promptly as an evangelist to the heathen, and a few days later set out with his young wife on the arduous undertaking.

Arriving at their destination, January 27, 1821, the young minister and his wife were received by the Indians with expressions of gratitude and joy. A site was selected and named "Monroe," in honor of the President. Eighteen months of difficulty and toil were spent in clearing the land and in erecting the necessary buildings. In April Messrs. Hamilton V. Turner and James Wilson, the former a mechanic and the latter a farmer and teacher, arrived with their wives at the station. Next month the school opened with sixteen scholars.

Sometime later a little church was erected, a diminutive room, not over sixteen by sixteen, built of poles. For light it had one window, a hole cut through the logs and closed with a clapboard. It had a dirt-and-stick chimney, with a large open fireplace, where in winter the primitive worshippers warmed their frost-bitten fingers. Thus Christian worship and education both had their beginnings in Northern Mississippi.

For some time Mr. Stuart, with his wife, was the only minister on the field. At last Rev. Hugh Wilson, with his wife and sister, and Rev. William C. Blair were sent out. In the annual report of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the Synod of South

Carolina we read: "As in the instance of Mr. Stuart, they receive no other compensation for their laborious service than food and raiment. Theirs is to be a life of self-denial, their only reward in this world is to be the approbation of conscience in the discharge of their duty. To them we fully believe it will be no meager return for their toil and their multiplied care." Eventually four stations were established by Stuart and his associates.

Says Professor Morrison: "The same discouragement and slow progress was experienced by the missionaries here as among the Choctaws. Though Monroe Church (which still survives as a country church in North Mississippi) was organized in 1823, it was December, 1824, before the first Chickasaw made a profession of faith in Christ. Eventually, however, a number of the leaders of the nation were converted, and the mission began to make substantial progress. In 1827 it was taken over by the American Board and was operated by it until the Chickasaws were removed to Oklahoma in 1837." After the removal of the Indians, "Father Stuart," as he was called, remained to minister to the whites in Northern Mississippi. He died at Tupelo in 1882 and was buried at Pontotoc, not far from the scene of his early labors among the Chickasaw people. He has been termed the tenderest and gentlest spirit that touched and transformed the Indians of the Southwest.

5. *Creeks*

The American Board also supported missionaries among the Creek Indians in Alabama and Georgia from 1832 to 1837. Stirred by the slanderous charges of white neighbors, the Creeks unfortunately petitioned the United States Government to remove the missionaries, and they were summarily expelled without a hearing.

6. *The American Board*

The vast bulk of Presbyterian missionary endeavor among the Indians during these years was carried on through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In a typical year the budget of this Board for work among the Indians was over $100,000, while that of the Baptists was $15,000, and that of the Methodists only $6,000. "In 1831 there was record of nearly forty-

five hundred Indians who had been received into the churches of the American Board, and a total of twenty-seven stations among the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Osages, including those west of the Mississippi, with twenty-one missionaries and ninety-nine teachers, doctors, farmers and mechanics."[4] These workers, Congregational and Presbyterian, were chiefly responsible for developing a Christian civilization among the Indians of the South.

II. THE TRAIL OF TEARS

This promising work among the Southern Indians was given a severe check when the United States Government, pressed by white settlers and the urgency of their state governments, removed the Indians into "Indian Territory" west of the Mississippi.

The Creeks, who had made peace with the United States after the Revolution took the warpath against the Americans in 1813, beginning hostilities by the terrible massacre of Fort Mims. Defeated by General Jackson, they were forced to surrender more than half their ancient territory. Other cessions quickly followed till in 1832 they sold all their remaining territory and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi into what is now the state of Oklahoma. Five years later the removal had been completed.

The Seminoles in Florida agreed to remove to the west of the Mississippi in 1832, but a large part of the tribe repudiated the agreement. As a result there was fought the most desperate and costly Indian war in the history of our Government. In the end, however, the Indians were conquered and forced to take their leave.

1. Cherokees

The treatment of the Cherokees by the state of Georgia stands out as one of the most flagrant of the many injustices suffered in this country by the Indian. It was the old desire of the white man for the Red Man's land. In this case the cupidity of the white settlers and also their impatience was greatly increased by the discovery of gold in the Cherokee country. The ruthlessness with which the state of Georgia

[4]G. W. Hinman, *The American Indian and Christian Missions,* p. 44, with permission of Fleming H. Revell Company, publishers.

pushed its campaign to be rid of the Indians is indicated by the following paragraphs from the *Augusta Chronicle* quoted in the *Cherokee Phoenix* of Augusta 12, 1829: "If they (the Indians) persist in it (their opposition to removal) their utter annihiliation will be the consequence." In spite of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upholding the autonomy of the Cherokee Nation, the state of Georgia extended her laws over their country, and President Jackson, exemplifying a new policy of ruthlessness, refused to interfere in their behalf.

This injustice to the Indians was protested strenuously by the missionaries working in their midst. The Governor of Georgia insisted that they cease their opposition or get out of the state. Finally four missionaries of the American Board and two Methodist missionaries, with seven other white men working among the Cherokees, were arrested, chained and sentenced to four years of hard labor in the penitentiary. "The missionaries," says Hinman,[5] "were dragged from their homes in chains, one a physician being chained by the neck to the saddle of a horse and compelled to walk alongside through the darkness over a wilderness road till the horse stumbled and fell on him. All but two of the missionaries finally accepted pardon by taking the oath of citizenship in the state of Georgia and giving up their opposition to the policy of the state. Worcester and Butler, of the American Board, appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which denied the jurisdiction of the courts of Georgia over the Cherokee country; but the decision was ignored and flouted by the Governor of the state. After sixteen months' imprisonment in the penitentiary at Milledgeville, Georgia, these two missionaries decided to accept pardon, being convinced that nothing further was to be gained by continued protest."

In spite of the heroic opposition of the missionaries, the Cherokees were moved out of Georgia by military force in 1838. The journey to Indian Territory became a Trail of Tears. It was made in the dead of winter. Many, even of the women, were compelled to walk barefoot, though at times the ground was frozen. At other times the trail

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

led through the muddy swamps of the Mississippi. The sickness, suffering and death was terrific. A quarter to a half of all who left their homes died on the march or from the hardships incident to the removal. One of the Georgia volunteers who assisted in this peacetime enterprise said later: "I fought through the Civil War and have seen men shot to pieces and slaughtered by thousands, but the Cherokee removal was the cruelest work I ever knew." But as Hinman remarks: "The white people of Georgia had secured what they wanted, and the Federal Government was relieved for a time from the continual pressure of the Indian problem."[6]

2. Choctaws and Chickasaws

The Choctaws in Mississippi were as loath to give up their homes as the Cherokees, but they saw the folly of resisting the white man, and moved peacefully to Oklahoma between 1830 and 1848. Much credit goes to the missionaries who offered to go with them and help them establish themselves in their new homes. But the journey was a Trail of Tears to the Choctaws as well as to the Cherokees. Fifteen hundred to two thousand of the tribe died on the journey or shortly after reaching their new homes,—from exposure or fatigue, or from cholera. The Chickasaws followed the Choctaws within a few years, settling west of them in the southern part of Oklahoma.

As pointed out by Professor Morrison: "The removal was a severe blow to the American Board, which had invested many thousand dollars in the various stations throughout the old Choctaw Nation in Mississippi. The Federal Government paid the Board less than five thousand dollars for the improvements in its various abandoned stations. In spite of the losses, however, it was decided to continue the work and rebuild from the ground floor in the Western wilderness. Many of the most faithful of the older missionaries could not be retained. Some of them remained in Mississippi to become citizens of that commonwealth, while others sadly made their way back to the East. A number of the younger and hardier men and women went West with the Indians or followed soon after."

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

"It is worthy of note," says Professor Morrison, "that the Christian Indians stood the ordeal with unshaken faith. Whether on the river boats or in their tents on the tiresome march through the wilderness, the Christian bands always held morning and evening prayer. One of the white captains said of them, 'Their singing and praying made the passage appear like a continued meeting.' The Federal agent testified that the trouble of removing the Christian Indians was less by half than that of removing the others."

The only missionary who actually accompanied the Choctaws on the Trail of Tears was Ebenezer Hotchkin. "Mother" Hotchkin, as she was called, rode a little Indian pony and carried her only child on her lap from Natchez to Doaksville.

"When they arrived," writes one of their descendants, "there was nothing but the wilderness—flour hauled from Little Rock cost $50 a barrel; and all the meal must be ground on a little hand mill; pumpkin was the staff of life."

III. MISSIONS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi destroyed the Christian institutions established by the missionaries and disrupted their religious life. To the difficulties always involved in winning a pagan people to Christ fresh difficulties appeared in the new land. Because Christian people had not prevented the injustice of the removal many of the Indians were moved "to swear eternal enmity to religion as well as to those who profess to be its followers." When the knowledge spread that the Indians would receive considerable sums of money as compensation for the lands and improvements they had given up, traders from various parts of the Western country flocked in with large supplies of whiskey. There was considerable trouble between the Indians who came early and the Indians who came later and the white squatters who had to be forcibly ejected. As some of the Indians told the missionaries: "We cannot pray now, we must go to war, and we cannot fight and pray too." Hindrances were thrown in the way of the missionaries by some of the Govern-

ment agents, who found that mission work "was an obstacle to that inconsiderate and arbitrary control of the Indians which became characteristic of the Government policy under and after the time of Andrew Jackson."[7]

Nevertheless, the various mission boards followed the Indians with their missions and with their schools, and the Christianizing and the civilization of the five tribes continued apace till the Civil War.

As before the American Board, representing now the Congregationalists and the New School Presbyterians, took the lead. Missions had been begun in that region before the bulk of the migrations took place. The United Foreign Mission Society (merged with the American Board in 1825) had opened a work among the Osage Indians at Union Mission, somewhat north of the present city of Muskogee, Oklahoma, in 1819, and the American Board had started a work for the emigrant Cherokees in Arkansas (later moved to Oklahoma) in 1820. The conveniences of life were so hard to secure in this region at the time that one settler burned the missionary's stranded flatboat to salvage the nails and corner irons.

1. The American Board

Progress of the Indians under the instruction of the missionaries was rapid. A report issued in 1828, after describing the gains in civilization, continues: "There are not now consumed as many gallons of ardent spirits in a year as there were barrels when we first came here. Lewdness, polygamy and conjugal infidelity are now disgraceful, and we have not heard of an instance of infanticide in two years. The belief in witchcraft is now fast declining. A considerable number now regard the Sabbath as a day of rest."

Three of the missionaries accompanied the CHEROKEES who were driven out of Georgia. Native preachers came with their congregations. They had begun to be influential in their old homes and were destined to play a large part in the development of the new country. One of these was Rev. Stephen Foremen, who in 1842 became the first Superintendent of Schools under the Cherokee Government.

[7]Hinman, *American Indian,* p. 123.

One of the strongest of the missionaries among the Cherokees was Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, who came to Oklahoma after he had been released from the penitentiary at Milledgeville. He joined Arkansas Presbytery in 1839 and was a charter member of Indian Presbytery, which was formed in 1840. At Park Hill Station, close to the Cherokee capital, Tahlequah, Worcester set up the first printing press in the Indian Territory. Here he issued millions of pages of Christian literature in the language of the several tribes and made an inestimable contribution to their progress in Christian civilization.

Another of the prominent missionaries of the American Board was Dr. Butler, called by the Cherokee Government to be its special adviser in the erection and administration of the two high schools maintained out of its national funds.

Missionaries of the American Board were particularly successful among the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. A number with established positions in the hearts of the Indians followed them to the West. Among these were Kingsbury, Byington, Alfred Wright and the Hotchkins. New missionaries came out and traveled from camp to camp, living from two to six weeks in Indian homes, learning their language and preaching the Gospel of Christ. As the people scattered and made homes for themselves, the work became more difficult. There were long trips on horseback, wolves hovered around, ready to pull the saddle bags from under the heads of the sleepers whenever the camp fires went out. The missionaries had to act as physicians of both body and soul. Luxuries of life were unknown. Charles J. Hotchkin said: "I heard my mother say she would cook corn bread on Monday morning for my father and he would leave with others on ministerial tours and live on that bread for two weeks at a time."

Five stations were organized at the start, and as the Indians moved westward others were added. In 1853, twenty years after the reestablishment of the work there were eleven stations and eleven workers. In nearly every case schools were conducted in connection with the missions, in some cases supported by the Choctaw Nation, and reckoned more important than the mission proper. This was

particularly true of Spencer Academy. In 1844 the Choctaw legislature founded three seminaries for the education of boys and four for the education of girls. They placed these schools under the immediate instruction and management of the missionaries of four different boards. At the same time they paid the school expenses of four hundred pupils in missionary and private instruction. There was also a fund for the collegiate education of promising young men. The Choctaws were said to be more civilized than some of their white neighbors.

During these years the language of the people, three distinct languages among the five tribes, were reduced to writing; grammers and lexicons, spellers and readers and other textbooks were prepared. The Bible was translated into the native language.

At this time the membership of the Choctaw churches of the American Board was greater than that of any Foreign Mission of the Board, except that in the Sandwich Islands. In 1852 there were 1,300 members in their churches among the Choctaws, and about the same number in all other missions combined, approximately one-eighth of the whole tribe. The Indians were contributing liberally to erect houses of worship and to sustain their own religious institutions. "The Choctaw Christians, according to their ability, were said to be more benevolent than their white brethren."

But the Choctaws owned Negro slaves, and the supporting constituency of the American Board after 1835 became increasingly abolitionist.

Officials of the Board urged their missionaries constantly to oppose strenuously the institution of slavery. "While almost to a man the missionaries were Northern born," says Professor Morrison,[8] "and though on principle many of them were opposed to slavery as an institution, they found it impossible to comply with the desires of the Board without great injury to their work. All of the prominent Indians were slaveholders and firm believers in that institution. Practically without exception they were kind and merciful masters and perhaps nowhere in the South did slavery wear a fairer face than in

[8]Morrison, *Red Man's Trail*, p. 68.

the Indian Territory. To denounce these men as criminals and urge them to free their slaves was impossible. The missionaries knew this and felt that such a course would also be unjust.

"The pressure from the American Board became increasingly severe after 1850 and the answer of the missionaries at the height of this controversy sounds prophetic of the later position of the Presbyterian Church U. S.: 'A missionary has nothing to do with political questions and agitations. He is to deal alone as a Christian instructor and pastor. We assure you that we are not insensible of the evils connected with slavery. In our opinion their only antidote is the Gospel. As ministers of Christ we regard it our duty and privilege to preach the Gospel to masters and servants, according to the example and instruction of Christ and His Apostles, and to act according to our best judgment in the reception of members to our churches'."

The years 1854-1859 were stormy years, in which feeling ran high and tension grew more severe. There was only one solution. In 1859 the American Board turned its missions over to the Presbyterian (Old School) Board of Foreign Missions. Under the new control the mission continued to grow and prosper.

The Old School Presbyterians, who had severed connection with the American Board in 1837, opened their own missions among the five tribes shortly after their removal into Indian Territory.

2. The Presbyterian Board

The CREEKS came into their new homes in the West soured and disappointed and with no friendly feeling toward the missionaries. For several years they were destitute of any religious instruction. In 1841 R. M. Loughridge, a member of the Presbytery of Tuscaloosa, secured permission to commence a mission and to open a school. The school which opened in June, 1843, with six students grew rapidly, aided by the funds of the Indians.

Rev. John Lilly began a mission among the SEMINOLES in 1848, and opened a school the year following. Both continued to grow up to the time of the Civil War.

The CHOCTAW Mission grew out of an offer by the Indians in 1845 to transfer Spencer Academy, established by the Choctaw Nation three years earlier, to the care and direction of the Presbyterian Board. The offer was accepted, and in the following year Rev. James B. Ramsey entered upon his work as Superintendent with seven assistants. The next year a church was organized with sixteen members. The work of this mission was greatly blessed, and from the church and school there came a stream of ministers, physicians, legislators, judges, lawyers and teachers to serve their nation. In 1856 new work was opened at Goodwater and at Six Towns. Three years later the work was greatly enlarged by the transfer to it of the extensive work of the American Board. Seven ordained missionaries, including the venerable Kingsbury, and the scholarly Byington, six native preachers and helpers, twelve churches with a membership of 1,467, three day schools, and three boarding schools with 445 scholars came under the care and direction of the Presbyterian Board. One of the native Choctaws was Allen Wright, an orphan Indian reared in the home of Alfred Wright, educated at Union College and in Union Seminary, New York, who had commenced a great historic mission among the Choctaws in 1852. His son, Frank Hall Wright, became a famous evangelist and singer, not only among his own people, but also among the whites The work of the mission continued to expand under the Presbyterian Board till the outbreak of the War.

Work among the CHICKASAWS, to the west of the Choctaws bordering the Texas line, was begun very similarly to that among the latter. In 1849 the Indian Department offered to put under the direction of the Board a boarding schools for girls, promising to erect a building and to furnish funds for the support of the school. The offer was accepted and the school opened three years later with nine teachers and forty scholars. In the years that followed hundreds of girls were educated in the school and returned to elevate the life of the nation. Stations were opened and churches were organized at Wapanucka and at Boggy Depot.

Indian Presbytery, composed of Presbyterian missionaries in Indian Territory, was organized in 1840 as a part of the Synod of Memphis.

At the time of the War it had on its roll twelve white missionaries and two native preachers, and seventeen churches with a total membership of 1,768. The Presbytery of the Creek Nation, organized in 1848, to serve the interests of the Presbyterians in the Creek and Cherokee Nations, reported seven ministers. Methodists and Baptists had built up stronger work among the Cherokees and the Creeks, partly, Hinman says, because the Presbyterians were very strict in their requirements for membership, partly also because the increasing white community was largely affiliated with these two churches. Presbyterians, due to the accessions from the American Board, sustained the strongest work among the Choctaws.

This was the general situation when Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States, and the Southern states one after another proceeded to secede from the Union.

3. *The Civil War*

The Choctaws and the Chickasaws promptly espoused the Southern cause, as the other tribes did a little more tardily. During the War the Indian Territory became a battleground, a sort of no-man's land between loyal Kansas, and the active secession states of Arkansas and Texas. For a while the fortunes of battle waged back and forth, the land being devastated alternately by soldiers of the South and the North. In 1863 the Federal troops came to stay, but raids back and forth across Arkansas continued and "the sufferings of the Indians on account of hunger and destruction of their homes became intense."

The War made mission work among the Indians very difficult. Some of the Northern missionaries and most of the teachers withdrew or were expelled. Most of the older missionaries, including the veterans Kingsbury, Byington and Wright, remained to cast in their lot with the South. The schools, eight in all, were forced to close.

When the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America met in Augusta, Georgia, in December, 1861, Dr. Cyrus Kingsbury was present to represent Indian Presbytery and Rev. R. M. Loughridge to represent Creek Presbytery. Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, who had been Secretary of Foreign

Missions in the United Church till the outbreak of hostilities, told of his recent visit to the Indian country and commended the work to the care of the Assembly.

When Dr. Kingsbury commenced his labors among them in 1818, Dr. Wilson said, he found them in the lowest depths of barbarism. They had not acquired the first rudiments of civilized life. Evidences of the grossest idolatry and superstition were to be seen on every hand. Intemperance to the extent of their ability to procure intoxicants was the universal habit among the women, children and men. "But what a change has come over this people. Go among them now in their far western homes and you will find the humblest among them living in decent and comfortable log cabins; not a trace of their former idolatry will be seen. . . . intemperance is little known. . . . But the most marked progress is in education and religion. It is confidently asserted by those who have the means of forming a correct judgment that at least two-thirds of those who have attained a suitable age are able to read and write; while the present Church membership, to say nothing of those who belong to other branches of the Church, is about sixteen hundred; and among no people have I ever witnessed more striking proofs of sincere humble piety."

Dr. Wilson recommended that six additional missionaries be appointed, two to reinforce the Choctaw Mission, one the Creek Mission, one the Seminole Mission, two to reopen work among the Cherokees, most of whose missionaries had withdrawn or been expelled; that provision be made for the reopening of some of the boarding schools.

In reply, the Assembly accepted, with joyful gratitude to God, the care of those missions among the Southwestern tribes, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles and Cherokees, thus thrown upon them by His providence. It assured the Indians and the missionaries that had so long and successfully labored among them of their fixed purpose "under God to sustain and carry forward the blessed work whose foundations have been so nobly and so deeply laid." It entrusted this responsibility to the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions.

Unfortunately the exigencies of war prevented the carrying out of the Assembly's plan. New missionaries were not sent. Schools, except a few day schools, were not reopened. The missionaries who remained on the field found their work seriously hampered by the drainage of men into the army, by the refugees who poured into the country, by the fighting that swept back and forth over the country. War was a severe test of the Indian's piety. "It is difficult for them to understand," said Dr. Wilson, "how it is that those who have labored earnestly for nearly half a century to promote the cause of education, religion and civilization among them, have now drawn the sword to destroy them in common with the people of the South." Conditions were worse toward the latter part of the war when disease and famine began to stalk through the Territory, taking heavy toll and leaving misery and wretchedness in their wake, and when the missionaries were shut off from communication with the Church.

At the beginning of the war the membership of the missions under the care of the Southern Presbyterian Church had been over 1,600; after the war the number was reduced to about 1,200. Idleness, intemperance and godlessness had been increased by the war, and this heritage was to prove a deadly blight for many years to come.

In 1866 C. C. Copeland wrote: "Our destitutions are great, our strength feeble and our numbers few—Fathers Kingsbury, Byington and Hotchkin, nearly worn out and myself worn and weary—Mr. Stark is about to leave us, and no native ministry coming forward to take the place of those who are called away. We must be reinforced or run out. Besides all this we are crippled for the want of means. But God knows it all, and he reigns."

Though the South was facing political and economic chaos, the Assembly declared we must not "bate one jot of heart or hope in the Indian field. . . . The vacancy that is occasioned by the retirement of Brother Byington must be filled. The treasury must be replenished, and the work of Indian Missions greatly extended and enlarged. The Red Men, no less than the Black, is at our very doors crying for the Gospel." The Church did not feel, however, that it was able to reopen the mission schools. In view of the unsettled state of af-

fairs it was unwilling to assume any responsibility in carrying on the work 'beyond the simple preaching of the Gospel."

Gradually the old guard who had carried the burden of the Indian work for so many years began to lay down their arms. Cyrus Byington who had labored for more than forty years among the Indians was compelled to retire at the end of the war because of physical weakness. He was the great scholar of the mission and rendered an invaluable service in reducing the Choctaw tongue to a written language. His Choctaw dictionary was practically perfect. The first draft of his grammar was completed in 1834. It was written and rewritten till his death on December 31, 1868, when he was at work on the seventh revision. He also translated a large part of the Choctaw Bible and translated a great many of their hymns. Oliver P. Stark gave up his work in 1866. Ebenezer Hotchkin died the next year, Charles C. Copeland the year following, Cyrus Kingsbury, working steadily almost to the end, though he was more than eighty years old, in 1870.

The mission was reduced during these years to its lowest extremity. Four of the principal stations with eight or ten out-stations were entirely unoccupied and had been for years. The committee pled for new laborers but to no avail. Many of the people who once walked according to the spirit of the Gospel had backslidden and fallen into sin.

The Church was forced ultimately (1877) to abandon a work which it had begun among the Cherokees, as it had closed earlier its mission to the Creeks and Seminoles. Only the work among the Choctaws and the Chickasaws was retained, and that was greatly reduced in scope.

"The decade ending with 1870 saw the passing of the veterans who had under God made a civilized Christian people out of a savage Indian nation." It also saw the work crippled and reduced by the ravages of the war, by the weakness of the Church in the reconstruction period, and by the increased difficulty of reaching the Indians with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

4. Recovery and Growth

Nonetheless the two decades which saw a general revival of Home Missionary activity in the Southern Presbyterian Church witnessed fresh interest in the mission to the Indians. Gradually, though with some difficulty, new missionaries were secured to replace the notable leaders who had dropped by the way.

W. J. B. Lloyd, of South Carolina, whose name was to be associated as closely with the Indian work as that of Kingsbury, came to Indian Territory in 1870. "He threw himself at once heart and soul into the work of ministering to the Indian people. Like Kingsbury and the others he became a circuit rider over a large territory. At first he preached through an interpreter, but soon became well-versed in the Choctaw language. He preached among the Choctaws more than forty years, and few men ever more fully won the confidence and love of these people."[9]

J. J. Read arrived with his wife and two children in December, 1876. Read had served as a volunteer in the Confederate armies for four years, taught school, completed his college and seminary education, and served with eminent success the First Presbyterian Church of Houston, Texas. But he had always yearned to become a foreign missionary, and so at last he resigned his comfortable pastorate to take charge of Spencer Academy, a mission school in Indian Territory under the care of our Church. Here was missionary work indeed among an alien people, who spoke a strange language in the heart of the United States. His isolation was complete. The school was located in the midst of primeval forests, forty-five miles from the depot of supplies, over nearly impassable roads with two rivers, dangerous at certain seasons, to be crossed by ferry.

Mr. Read taught in the school for five years and had the great satisfaction of seeing the majority of his pupils accept Christ, and carry His influence throughout the Choctaw nation. He then accepted the invitation of the Presbytery to serve as a missionary to the Chickasaws, having under his charge one organized church and several outlying stations, scattered over a radius of fifty miles. In three years he built four houses of worship (contributing to their

[9]Morrison, *Red Man's Trail*, p. 76.

erection out of his own limited means, and working for many days with his own hands) and gathered four congregations. When in 1884 Jonas Wolfe, a full-blooded Chickasaw elder and the Governor of the Chickasaw nation, was ordained to the ministry all of Mr. Read's work was turned over to him, and Mr. Read went out as a pioneer. It was not long before he had four new churches organized. He ministered to these though they were widely scattered, and though it involvd many weary hours, at first on horseback, later in a buggy, till the day of his death.

Mr. Read felt a special responsibility for the youth of the Chickasaw nation, who were being trained in the national academies, and who were destined to take the places of leadership in the tribe. Many of them came from irreligious homes, some of them from homes where scepticism had replaced the teachings of the Bible. When he began his work these schools were almost entirely without religious instruction. After a few years he reported: "My efforts to reach the neglected youth have helped to stir up others, principals, teachers and even preachers of other churches, to give more attention to the spiritual interest of the scholars. Even high national officials and among them some who opposed the work at the first, are now willing to admit its importance, indeed its very necessity as the hope of the nation."

The great missionaries after the War were W. J. B. Lloyd among the Choctaws, and J. J. Read among the Chickasaws, but there were others who came a little later, whose influence was almost as great. J. P. Gibbons came to the Choctaw country in 1884, though he was already thirty-four years of age. "Like all the great missionaries to the Indians," says Professor Morrison, "Mr. Gibbons gave his entire life to the work with no thought of reward other than the good he could do. At no time during the thirty-four years of his ministry did he receive a salary of more than fifty dollars per month, and yet through the help of a loyal wife and his own labor on the little mission farm, he was able to give all his children a college education." He was vitally interested in every phase of Indian education and was instrumental in the establishment of Goodland Orphanage. Mrs.

J. P. Gibbons, who married Mr. Gibbons in 1902, and who has been serving the Goodland Indian Orphanage as a teacher or treasurer since coming there in 1898, was chosen by the Oklahoma Memorial Association in 1933 as one of the ten most eminent citizens of the commonwealth.

CHARLES E. HOTCHKIN, son of the pioneer missionary, Ebenezer Hotchkin, with that command of the language which comes with early familiarity, preached with good success to the Choctaws from 1884 to his death in 1905. REV. CALVIN J. RALSTON left the pastorate to take charge of Armstrong Academy in 1890 and identified his life with that of the Indians till his death in 1928.

In 1889 the Southern Presbyterian Church had thirteen missionaries (ten natives and three whites) in the field with twenty-two churches under their care. But the field was too large for this small force to cultivate, the Northern Presbyterian Church was working in the contiguous territory, and had greater funds at its disposal. In this year four of the native preachers, with the churches under their care, and 332 members withdrew from the Southern Presbyterian Mission and joined that of the Northern Presbyterians. Nine ministers, thirteen churches and 638 communicants remained in the Southern connection. Two years later the Indian missions were transferred from the Executive Committee of Foreign Mission to the Executive Committee of Home Missions, to which they had come more naturally to belong.

5. *Educational Institutions*

The American Board, through whom the Presbyterians had worked at the start, and later the Presbyterian Board had sustained a notable educational work among the Indians before the Civil War. Southern Presbyterians were not able to sustain this work during the War, and finally abandoned education altogether for evangelism. When at last the Church was ready to resume the educational task, many of the old stations and much of the opportunity had passed into other hands.

SPENCER ACADEMY, which had been the Choctaw's largest boarding school for boys before the War, and which had helped to train almost

every man of prominence and usefulness in the Choctaw nation, was reopened in 1871 under the charge of J. H. Colton. J. J. Read rendered faithful service in this institution, and molded the character of outstanding native preachers like Henry Wilson and Silas L. Bacon. But in 1881 the Indians failed to renew their contract with the Presbyterians because of the school's inadequate support by the Church.

ARMSTRONG ACADEMY, which had been another important school for boys among the Choctaws before the War, was operated by the Presbyterians from 1873 to 1894. Under the management first of W. J. B. Lloyd and later of C. J. Ralston, it rendered splendid service to the Indian people and to the Presbyterian Church. But in the last year mentioned the Choctaws cancelled all of their educational contracts, and began to operate their own schools without missionary aid.

The Southern Presbyterian Church then, along with other churches working in the Indian Territory, established NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS in strategic centers, which ministered not only to Indian children, but also to the white children whose parents were crowding into the territory in ever increasing numbers. In 1903 eleven of these schools were supported by the Home Mission Committee; and twenty-three teachers gave over 1,200 scholars instruction in secular subjects, along with the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. The majority of the schools were self-supporting; for a number of years the Church's only aid came through the offerings of the children in the Sunday School.

The Home Mission Committee embarked upon this educational program in Indian Territory because it was urgently needed. Indian children were able to attend public schools for a few months in the year, but there was no guarantee of any religious instruction. The children of the poor white people in the territory had no school advantages at all, except those afforded by the mission schools. In 1904 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported to the Government that there were 119,000 white children in the territory for whose education no provision had been made.

In 1905, when the towns began to develop a public school system, the number of mission schools began to be reduced, so that after four years only two of the original schools were left, the orphanage at Goodland and the college at Durant.

Oklahoma Presbyterian College for Girls began in 1894 as a primary school for Indians. The first building was only a small log cabin, with its desks and seats cut from rough logs, and with a tiny window sawed in the walls of the cabin. It was named Calvin Institute, in memory of the little son of Rev. C. J. Ralston. The lad was accidentally drowned when he was just four years old, and the grief-stricken parents had given $200 which they had saved for the boy's education to the Home Mission Committee to establish the new school. Mary Semple Hotchkin, the last of the pre-war missionary teachers, a cultured young society girl, who had come to Indian Territory by boat and wagon train in 1856 at the early age of nineteen, was placed in charge.

The school was operated by the Home Mission Committee as a primary school for Indians till 1902, when aided by a contract system with the Indians, and by generous gifts of the people of Durant a large, substantial brick building was erected in the heart of the town and Durant Presbyterian College came into existence. For eight years the "College" gave a creditable high school education to boys and girls, both Indians and whites.

At the end of that time a new building was erected on the outskirts of Durant—the name was changed to Oklahoma Presbyterian College for Girls, and the high school became a junior college. New buildings were added in the years that followed, a burdensome debt that threatened to wreck the school was paid off, and a small endowment raised. The Bible Department was endowed by the Auxiliary Birthday Offering in 1926.

For some time Oklahoma Presbyterian College was the only high-grade institution in Southern Oklahoma. Its moral and spiritual influence was felt throughout this entire region.

The school is now operated by the Synod of Oklahoma, but is owned and partly supported by the General Assembly, through the

Executive Committee of Home Missions. Southeastern Teachers' College, one of Oklahoma's largest normal schools, is also located at Durant. A cooperative arrangement between the two schools makes it possible for a girl to remain under the influence of the Church college for an additional two years and to go out with a degree. Henceforth in increasing measure the lives of the Indians will be intertwined with those of the whites in Oklahoma, and this school which educates Indians and whites together on an equal footing (in 1932 there were 162 girls in the school, 97 of whom were Indians) ought to render an even larger service to the Indians and the white people of that state. For several years, however, the college has been on the brink of financial collapse. The recent depression has reduced its income by 65 per cent.

GOODLAND INDIAN ORPHANAGE AND SCHOOL is the second neighborhood school which has survived to the present time. Its roots run way back in the past, and are intertwined with the history of our work among the Indians. The station at Goodland was opened in 1850 by Rev. O. P Stark. There was no money for a teacher, so Mrs. Stark, who had three small children of her own, gathered the Indian children of the neighborhood in a side room of the long manse (the main room served as living room, bedroom, dining-room and kitchen) and opened and taught the first school at Goodland. The labor was too much for Mrs. Stark and she died a few months later with a new-born babe in her arms.

Other teachers paid by the Foreign Mission Board continued the work down to the Civil War. The school received no Mission funds from 1866 to 1890, but was kept alive and taught year after year by some members of the Goodland Church. "Special credit," says Professor Morrison, "should be given to Mrs. Carrie LeFlore, wife of the Choctaw Chief, Basil LeFlore, who supervised the school for a number of years. She was a woman of culture and refinement as well as a splendid Christian character, and exercised a remarkable influence not only upon the people of the Goodland neighborhood, but upon the entire Choctaw nation."

The school came under the influence of our Mission again in 1890 when Rev. J. P. Gibbons took over the work at Goodland. The strenuous life of farming, teaching, preaching was too much for Mr. Gibbons' health, and after three years he was forced to abandon the school. It was reopened the next year, with four or five white children, and all the Indian children in the neighborhood. In addition, a number of orphans were cared for, at first in the homes of Mr. Gibbons and the members of the Church, and then later in a small log dormitory; support for the orphans came from the members of the Goodland Church. Four years they supplied their wants out of their own scanty resources; at the end of that time a series of scanty crops compelled them to end the experiment The school continued, however, as a day school under Miss Bella McCallum, who later became the wife of Rev. J. P. Gibbons.

"Through the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Gibbons and the renewed interest in Indian Missions, which came with the appointment of Dr. S. L. Morris as secretary of Assembly's Home Missions," Goodland became at last a 'contract' school, aided by the Choctaw tribal funds. The boarding department was reopened, the orphanage reestablished under the direction of one of the most eminent of all the Choctaw Christians, Rev. S. L. Bacon. "Mr. and Mrs. Bacon gave over their home to the use of the orphanage, and until their death in 1922 these devoted Indians gave every moment of their time to the youth of their people and at death willed their entire property to the orphanage. If Indian Missions had produced no other Christian character than Silas Bacon," says Professor Morrison, "it would have been worth all it has cost."

Rapid progress was made under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Bacon. New buildings were erected, the material assets improved through gifts of the Indians themselves, some in the church, some out of the church. The Choctaw legislature finally voted to appropriate $10,000 from their tribal funds for the school. In order that the school might receive this gift the Home Mission Committee recommended that it be turned over to a Board of Trustees elected by the Indian Presbytery. This was done in 1913, and since that time Goodland

Indian Orphanage has been controlled by an independent Board of Trustees, most of whom are Indians and members of the Presbyterian Church.

The school is still regarded, however, as a Presbyterian institution and has been commended steadily to the generosity of the Church. There are at the present time approximately 250 Indian children in the school, and each year hundreds of applications have to be refused.

In addition to the work carried on among the Choctaws and Chickasaws, the Southern Presbyterian Church also carries on an interesting work among the Alabamas.

6. The Alabamas These Indians are a branch of the Choctaws and lived originally in Alabama. They were pressed westward by the advancing whites, across the Mississippi, across the Red River, till they settled down at last near the Trinity River in Polk County, Texas. Their descendants, about 250 in number, live there today.

Back in 1880 Dr. S. F. Tenney got lost in the woods and was discovered by an Alabama Indian, who gave him shelter in his own home. When Dr. Tenney discovered that none of his tribe had any knowledge of Jesus Christ, he interested himself in their behalf. The next year the Presbytery of Eastern Texas employed Rev. and Mrs. L. W. Currie of North Carolina to settle among them. After great difficulty, and in spite of much opposition on the part of white men, Mr. and Mrs. Currie established a church and a school. The house of worship was burned down, the work interrupted and for a time suspended by outlaws. Mr. Currie gave up the work and went as a missionary to Alaska. Mrs. Currie returned after her husband's death and taught with faithfulness and efficiency till 1899.

From March, 1890, till his death in 1899 Rev. W. A. Jones labored among them for a part of his time, and received a few members into the Presbyterian Church.

Rev. C. W. Chambers and his wife moved into the village in May, 1900, and have continued there as preacher and teacher till the pres-

ent—faithful, uncomplaining workers, with meager support and for much of the time with poor equipment.

When missionary work was begun among them, the Alabamas were still following the "chase" for a livelihood; wearing blankets, leather breeches and feathers for clothing; drinking as much whiskey as they could get. Presbyterian missionaries have transformed them from a band of savages, illiterate and pagan, to a civilized Christian community.

IV. THE PRESENT SITUATION

At present there are about 332,397 Indians within the borders of the United States, and the number is increasing year by year. Approximately one-third of this number (92,725) live in Oklahoma, remnants of about a hundred different tribes from every section of the United States. The bulk of the population is composed of Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles, the "five civilized tribes," among whom Presbyterians have worked from the start.

But though the number of Indians in Oklahoma is increasing, the number of church members is decreasing. Thus in 1894 there were 786 churches and 28,600 members among the "five civilized tribes," while in 1931 there were only 200 churches, with about 8,700 members. Membership in the Southern Methodist Church declined in the same period from 9,683 to 2,687; in the Southern Baptist Church from 9,147 to 4,791. Losses of the Southern Presbyterian Church have not been quite so heavy. Nevertheless we had about 1,800 members before the Civil War, 686 in 1875, and only 550 in 1933.

The Indian is by nature a religious person, a worshipper of the Great Spirit; yet after more than a hundred years of missionary effort he has not been won in great numbers to the Christian religion. What is the explanation?

As pointed out by J. N. Morse, in *Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow:* "There are some very obvious reasons for this limited result. Many things have militated against the success of Indian mis-

sions. From the very beginning the Indian has been the victim of conquest, international strife and war, and exploitation at the hands of the white man. Our treatment of the Indian makes the blackest page of American history. No wonder he is slow to accept the white man's religion."

But there are also other reasons. It has been difficult, for example, to secure ministers for the Indian churches. This has been the supreme need, says Dr. McMillan, and the great lack through the ages. In 1930 Superintendent Firebaugh said: "Our task is to care for a growing work with fewer workers. One man today is doing the work where five men used to be, and where there ought to be ten." A few years ago there were six white ministers devoting their whole time to the work, in addition to the Indian ministers. Today there is one white minister, Rev. R. M. Firebaugh, and six native ministers, only two of whom can preach in English.

The native ministers have rendered faithful service, but so far it has been impossible to secure thoroughly educated natives, who are able to appeal to the rising generation, trained and educated in modern American ways. As early as 1894 Rev. Allen Wright marked the new attitude of the younger generation. The break with the older generation has been greatly intensified since then by the Government schools, which train annually about 30,000 Indian students. As the Home Missions Council pointed out in 1924, no longer are these students "tolerant of any thing less than that which they see demanded by white boys and girls. Moving pictures, automobiles, radio machines, lectures, contact with the student movements of the world—all have been of infinite influence in shaping their ideas and ideals. The girls bob their hair and the boys press their clothes in the latest fashion of movie stars; they hear great music, and they have seen on the screen life in other places from reservations. They know what other young people are doing and are eager to imitate them, even in the extremes. They also know what other young people are longing to do, and they too have all the ambitions and enthusiasm of youth to be leaders.

"It is not to be wondered at that when these stylishly dressed girls

and boys return to the reservation they are strangers in a strange land. Frequently they do not respect or understand the methods and teachings of the uneducated native or white missionaries, and are even intolerant of the splendid, self-sacrificing older missionaries who because of their isolation know far less of the present world and its ways than these Indian boys and girls have experienced. Hence the returned students are not 'at home' in the missions, nor the missionaries 'at home' with them."

Another difficulty has arisen out of denominational rivalries. Such competition did not exist when the Presbyterian missions were established, but it has grown up since the Civil War. In 1889 missionaries began to mention the tendency of the Indians to divide into denominational factions. There were instances where different denominations, in one case as many as four, were struggling for the ascendancy in little communities which, taken together, would barely suffice to support a single church. Mr. Hotchkin, speaking of denominational rivalries in his own field, said: "It takes a great deal of forbearance and Christian charity to keep the peace." Writing of the situation in Oklahoma at the present time, George W. Hinman says: "Present conditions of Christian work among Indians of Eastern Oklahoma are not encouraging. Neglect and indifference of white Christian neighbors, the rivalry of sects, the perpetuation of pre-war denominational divisions, the dominance of reactionary religious bodies, jealous and competitive, give little hope for immediate spiritual revival."[10]

Another difficulty has arisen from the presence of the white man. Before Oklahoma was opened for settlement, unprincipled white men were drifting into Indian Territory. Many were indifferent to religious ministrations, others were ungodly, they inter-marrie[d] the Indians, sold them whiskey and in many other ways made the work of the missionary more difficult. And now that the whites have poured into the state, and the Indians are outnumbered twenty to one, too often there has been neglect and indifference on the part of Christian neighbors. In 1922 Mrs. Gibbons wrote: "The Indian is

[10]Hinman, *American Indian*, p. 134, with permission of Fleming H. Revell Company, publishers.

fast becoming civilized, but the conditions which surround him are more deplorable than they were fifty years ago. Then the missionary had only to fight the traditions, superstitions and customs of the Indians. Now the greatest battle the missionary has is to keep the Indian from falling into the vices of the white man."

In 1924 Rev. R. M. Firebaugh, who had served since 1912 as a missionary, and who had returned as Superintendent of Indian work, wrote: "The great problem of the Indian work from its very beginning has been to keep up with the changed conditions—changes over which we had no control—and which were in the main good, but inevitably brought disastrous results for the time being to well-developed religious growth. Since we began work among them a hundred years ago, there has been an exodus from Mississippi to a wilderness—Indian Territory—accomplished with considerable pain and hardships. . . . Here in Indian Territory they vacillated for a time between what civilization they had attained to and things primordial and finally established themselves as a pastoral people. Then came the shift from tribal government to statehood, from settlement to rural life, from communism to individual property rights. These changes have come so fast and so insistently that even the white race in Oklahoma has been unable to keep pace; and it would be unreasonable to expect that the Indian, who loves to hold on to the old until the new has become quite ancient, should be able to do anything more than mark time. The changed conditions incident to the World War that have been felt over the whole nation are only a faint illustration of the quicksilver state that has been among the Indians for the last five generations.

"Notwithstanding all of this, the outlook is far from discouraging. The Indian has done more than merely mark time. He has held on to his religion, though he has lost in material things. The family altar is still a usable piece of furniture in his home and not an antique. The sessions still keep a wise oversight of the flocks. The Sunday School is a real school, with the Bible and Catechism as its textbook. The decisions of the General Assembly are received with favor and accepted without complaint. Support, counsel and continuous effort

of the Executive Committee of Home Missions are deeply prized and regarded by them next to God, as their one steadfast help through many changeful years.

"We who have closely studied the Indian work begin to believe we have at last reached something stable on which to build in religious things for the future. The danger of landed estates in material things is passing and the Indian is becoming a small landowner, managed by himself, on his own resources and abilities. . . . We are getting hold of the young Indian life in the Presbytery. We have never been able to do this effectively in any large way before. Our two schools, Oklahoma Presbyterian College for Girls and Goodland Orphanage are tremendous factors in bringing this to pass. They are furnishing us with a splendid product of trained Christian leadership. The pastors of the local churches are wider awake today. . . ."

For the first time since the Civil War, two young Choctaws are now studying for the ministry in one of our Presbyterian seminaries. On the average, about sixty members are received into the churches each year. While the work of some other churches is still declining, ours now seems to be making slow but steady progress.

There have been many eminent Indians among those trained by our missionaries: the Folsom brothers, and their descendants down to the present day; Allen Wright and his son, Frank Hall Wright, the Indian evangelist and singer who converted thousands of Indians and whites to Christ throughout the United States and Canada; Silas Bacon, who gave his property and his life to the Goodland Orphanage; Jonas Wolfe, a chief of the Chickasaws, whose ministerial mantle has fallen upon his nephew, Nelson Wolfe; William A. Durant, "prominent and forceful in Choctaw politics before statehood and in Oklahoma ever since"; William F. Semple, student at Durant College, graduate of Washington and Lee University, and later chief of the Choctaw nation; the present chief, Ben H. Dwight, and many others.

But the success of the Indian missions is gauged not only by the eminent men who have been won to the service of Christ, but by a host of humbler men and women in every walk of life. At a meet-

ing of Indian Presbytery, Rev. Silas Bacon once said: "It is often asked what has become of the money spent on Indian missions. If you will come with me to yon cemetery, I will show you the graves of hundreds of sainted dead. Is the money wasted that filled those graves with Christians instead of heathen?"

Chapter Five

EARLY WARDS OF THE SOUTH: THE NEGROES

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I. THE COLONIAL SOUTH

THERE were more than 500,000 Negroes in the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution, approximately one-fifth of the total population. On the whole, their religious training had been sadly neglected, not only by their masters, but also by the churches.

There were, of course, some individuals who made faithful efforts to give them the Gospel. Samuel Davies, for example (about 1748), and others who lived in Eastern Virginia, gave a large share of their time to the slaves, who lived in the homes of their people. About three hundred attended the preaching of Davies regularly, and a hundred or more were baptized. Friends in England sent him Bibles and copies of Watt's hymns for distribution among the Negroes. Many of the Africans learned to read that they might receive these coveted books. Some of the Negroes, Davies wrote, "have the misfortune to have irreligious masters, and hardly any of them are so happy as to be furnished with these assistances for their (educational) improvement." The English "Society for the Promotion of Religious Knowledge among the Poor" became very much interested in the efforts of Davies to teach the Negroes, which they said was the "first attempt of this nature that has ever been made with any considerable success." Collections were made to supply him with Watts and other religious books. Davies replied: "Your letter, with the large donation of books that attended it, gave me the most agreeable surprise that ever I met with in my whole life. . . . The books were all very acceptable, but none more so than the Psalms and Hymns which enable them to gratify their peculiar taste for psalmody. In this seraphic exercise some of them spend almost the whole night. . . . There are thousands of Negroes in this colony who still continue in

1. Individual Efforts

the grossest ignorance, and most stupid carelessness about religion, and as rank pagans as they left the wilds of Africa." Davies was assisted in his labors among the Negroes, and his work continued after his departure by his young co-laborers, Todd, Wright and Henry. The fruit of their work continued for many years.

The work of Davies, however, was most exceptional. The Episcopal Church, the dominant church in the Southern colonies, did not on the whole concern itself with the religious instruction of Negroes, though some of its ministers, in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, did some very notable work. Baptists and Presbyterians, next to the Episcopalians, the strongest religious groups in the South did not really touch the problem. Failure here was largely due to the fact that these two groups before the Revolution were not slave-holders; the Presbyterians settling chiefly on the frontier had little contact with the slaves. Quakers manifested more interest in the religious development of the Negroes than any other group. Owning few slaves themselves, because of their anti-slavery tendencies, and denied access to those of others, they were able to accomplish little. Generally speaking, the Negroes were neglected. Writing of conditions toward the close of the Revolution, a contemporary states: "One thing is certain, that the Negroes of that country, a few only excepted, are to this day as great strangers to Christianity and as much under the influence of pagan darkness, idolatry and superstition, as they were at their first arrival from Africa."

2. General Neglect

II. THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH

After the Great Awakening (about 1740), more particularly after the Second Great Awakening which followed the spiritual depletion of the Revolutionary War, a more general interest was taken in the evangelization of the Negro. All of the churches, but particularly Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians, recognized their obligation to carry the Gospel to the slaves, and their work met with considerable success.

A most important movement was started about 1829 to convert the large Negro population on the Southern plantations. Farmers in the border states owned four or five slaves, or it may be fifty or sixty, according to the size of the farms. Such slaves generally shared with their masters in the ministrations of the Gospel. But the large tobacco, cotton, rice and sugar plantations of Virginia and the far South were cultivated by great communities of slaves numbering hundreds and forming quarters equal to villages. These slaves were generally ignorant, superstitious, practically heathen until organized efforts to reach them were begun at this time. Prominent and wealthy citizens of all the churches, and of no church, contributed to the expense of the work, and many of the planters erected neat and comfortable chapels especially for the benefit of their slaves.

1. Negro Missions in General

As the clamor for abolition grew more bitter in the North, some of the white people in the South lost their interest in the spiritual welfare of the Negroes. Because of certain insurrectionary movements, it became unpopular to teach them to read. During the thirties and forties, masters in some parts of the South opposed even the verbal instruction of Negroes, thinking that it might inspire a desire for literary training, which was out of harmony with their status in a slave-holding commonwealth. When Virginia learned that Nat Turner, leader of an uprising in that state in 1831, was a minister, it passed a law forbidding Negro ministers to carry on the exercise of their office except in compliance with very rigid regulations and in the presence of certain discreet white men. Other Southern States followed the example of Virginia, passing laws that were even more drastic, such as prohibiting the association of Negroes after the early hours of the night. The religious training of the colored people was seriously handicapped by such attitudes, but Southern Christians as a whole never gave over their attempts to instruct them in the meaning of the Gospel. Such instruction was provided in all of the cities, and in most of the plantations of the South up to the time of the War Beween the States.

Rev. T. C. Thornton, president of Centenary College, Clinton, Mississippi, wrote in 1841 after having made a tour of the South: "We do not know in any slave-holding state in the Union a neighborhood where a church has been built for any of the orthodox Protestant denominations, in which a portion thereof was not set apart for the colored people, unless they have a church of their own, or other provisions in some church in the vicinity."

At the time of the War it is estimated that about half a million slaves were members of the Protestant churches, and that two million were regular church attendants, out of a total Negro population of about four million.

Independent colored churches (Methodist and Baptist) had been formed in the North, but had made little headway in the South, due largely to the attitude of the whites. On the large plantations the Negroes frequently had chapels of their own, where the planter and his family would worship on occasion. Elsewhere the Negroes worshipped under the same roof with the whites. Where there were not too many Negroes they were segregatd in the gallery or in certain pews which they entered by a side door, but if there were many Negroes and few whites the blacks worshipped in a different edifice, or in the same edifice at a different hour.

The denominations that sought to meet the religious needs of the Negroes were the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Methodists.

2. Presbyterian Missions in Particular

The Episcopal Church, which was the old aristocratic church in the South, had its missionaries to the slaves, and many of their clergy devoted time and care to their religious training. But their success was not commeasurable with that of the more popular, evangelical churches. As Woodson says in his *History of the Negro Church:* "While an Episcopal clergyman with his ritual and prayer book had difficulty in interesting Negroes, they flocked in large numbers to the spontaneous exercises of the Methodists and Baptists who, being decidedly evangelical in their preaching, had a sort of hypnotizing effect upon the Negroes, causing them to be

seized with certain emotional jerks and outward expressions of an inward movement of the spirit which made them lose control of themselves."[1]

More decided efforts for the evangelization of the Negroes were put forth by the Presbyterians. Dr. Archibald Alexander and Dr. John Holt Rice, the most eminent Presbyterians of their day, the former rendering eminent service as president of Hampden-Sydney College and professor of theology in Princeton Seminary, the latter the real founder of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, were diligent in preaching to and catechizing the Negro, thus continuing the tradition of Samuel Davies in Virginia. But this was nothing exceptional. Presbyterian ministers generally rendered faithful and diligent service to the Negro.

The courts of the Church took frequent notice of these services and exhorted them to even further endeavors. Thus in 1825 the General Assembly said: "We notice with pleasure the enlightened attention which has been paid to the religious instruction and evangelizing of the unhappy slaves and free people of color of our country in some regions of our Church. We would especially commend the prudence and zeal combined in this work of mercy by the Presbyteries of Charleston, Union, Georgia, Concord, South Alabama and Mississippi. The millions of this unhappy people in our country . . . constitute at home a mission field of infinite importance and of a most inviting character. No more honored name can be conferred on a minister of Jesus Christ than that of Apostle to the American slaves; and no service can be more pleasing to the God of Heaven or more useful to our beloved country than that which this title designates."

The Presbytery of Georgia said in 1839: "We are happy to say in regard to the religious instruction of the Negroes, that this important part of our services has received a new impulse during the last year. Plantations are open to all our ministers and fields presented among this people which it is impossible for them to occupy.

[1]Carter G. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church,* with permission of the Associated Publishers, Inc.

Sabbath schools for their benefit exist in some of our churches, and we are happy to believe that there is an increasing interest felt on this subject."

The Presbytery of South Alabama said in 1847: "Perhaps without a solitary exception our ministers are devoting a considerable part of their labors to the benefit of the colored population. It is a field which we hope to cultivate, and to some the great head of the Church is intimating an abundant harvest."

The Synod of South Carolina reported in 1850 that nearly all its ministers devoted one-half their time to preaching to the Negroes, separate services being held for them in many churches, in addition to the services in which both classes participated.

In 1854 the report of the General Assembly on the instruction of the Negroes in the slave states said that instead of abating, the interest in their religious welfare was increasing. In their houses of worship provision at once special and liberal was made for the accommodation of the people of color so that they might enjoy the privileges of the sanctuary in common with the whites. "Besides this, nearly all of our ministers hold a service in the afternoon of the Sabbath, in which all exercises are particularly adapted to their capacities and wants. In some instances ministers are engaged in their exclusive service . . . not ministers of inferior ability, but such as would be an ornament and a blessing to the intelligent, cultivated congregations of the land. In a still larger number of instances the pastor of a church composed of two classes, inasmuch as the blacks form the more numerous portion, devotes to them the greater share of his labors, and finds among them the most pleasing tokens of God's smiles upon his work. Besides the preaching of the Word, to which they have free access, in many cases a regular system of catechetical instruction for their benefit is pursued, either on the Sabbath at the house of worship or during the week on plantations where they reside. . . . The position taken by our Church with reference to the much-agitated subject of slavery secures to us the unlimited opportunities of access to master and slave, and lays us under

heavy responsibilities before God and the world not to neglect our duty to either."

G. C. Woodson, himself a Negro, in his *History of the Negro Church,* agrees that the Presbyterians manifested an unfailing interest in the condition of his people. "Although the Church as a national body receded from its early position of attacking slavery, and thereafter compromised with the institution, there was among these people in the various parts of the country a continuous effort to promote the religious instruction of the Negroes. . . . Not only in the North but in the very heart of the South the Presbyterians did not fail to aid the instruction of the Negroes wherever public opinion permitted it."[2]

3. *Notable Presbyterian Missionaries*

In addition to the pastors who labored faithfully among the Negroes of their flock there were ministers in various Presbyteries who gave their full time to the instruction of the blacks. One of the most notable of these apostles to the Negroes was CHARLES COLCOCK JONES, a native of Georgia, who resigned the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Savannah in 1832, while still a young man in his twenties, to devote himself to this arduous ministry. He went back to his own plantation in Liberty County, which was in the midst of a district of 4,500 slaves, and sought to convince his neighbors that it was wise to instruct the slaves, for this reason if for none other, that Negroes who had been trained in the doctrines of Christianity had less tendency toward servile insurrection than those who had been left in heathenism. Evidently his efforts were not always appreciated, for one of the rules he adopted for his personal guidance was this: "To notice no slights, nor unkindness shown to me personally; to dispute with no man about the work, but to depend upon the power of truth, and upon the Spirit and blessing of God." Again he wrote that a missionary among the Negroes must not be "astonished at the ignorance, superstition and hardness of the people; nor must he be depressed and driven from the field by want of sympathy or assistance on the part of Christian brethren in the minis-

[2]Woodson, *Negro Church,* Associated Publishers.

try." It was a laborious work, a pioneer work, for there was no precedent to which he could look for instruction. But he persevered till there were fifty plantations open to him for systematic religious instruction.

But Dr. Jones did more than labor among the Negroes in one county in Georgia. He organized the Association for the Religious Instruction of the Negroes, and served as its secretary for many years. The Catechism which he had prepared for his Negro Sunday Schools experienced a wide circulation and ran through many editions.[3] By his extensive correspondence, his writings, his published reports, he did as much as any man in the country to arouse the church to its duty to the African.

Dr. Jones spoke plainly to the servants; he also spoke plainly to their masters. In 1833 the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia adopted and published the following exhortation written by Dr. Jones: "Religion will tell the master that his servants are his fellow-creatures, and that he has a Master in Heaven to whom he shall account for his treatment of them. The master will be led to inquiries of this sort: 'In what kind of houses do I permit them to live? What clothes do I give them to wear? What food to eat? What privileges to enjoy? In what temper and manner and proportion to their crimes are they punished?'"

For four years Dr. Jones gave his money, his time and his strength to the colored people; then for three years he served as a professor in Columbia Theological Seminary, after which he returned to his plantation and resumed his services to the Negroes. In the course of his work he was compelled to take long rides at night through the swamps; as a result, fever began its deadly work within him. In 1849 he returned to Columbia; the next year he became secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Three years later he retired to his plantation in Georgia and, though broken in health, continued for ten years more to minister to the black men, whose salvation pressed so heavily on his soul. When no longer able to

[3]A catechism for the Negroes, prepared by James Smylie, of Mississippi, also proved very popular. Henry Patillo, pioneer missionary in North Carolina, prepared a similar catechism in 1787.

stand, he would take a seat in the pulpit and preach from his chair. He died a martyr to his missionary zeal to the Negroes.

Another outstanding missionary to the blacks was Rev. John B. Adger, D.D. For twelve years, from 1834 to 1846, Dr. Adger was a missionary to the Armenians, into whose tongue he translated the Shorter Catechism and the New Testament. The American Board hesitated to send Dr. Adger back to the Near East in spite of his eminent abilities, because his wife had inherited a number of slaves; he remained in America, therefore, and in Charleston, South Carolina, his native city, began to minister to the Negroes under the auspices of the Second Presbyterian Church of that city.

After four years of faithful labor a handsome church building was solemnly dedicated as a house of God for the benefit of the slaves. It had been erected by the Second Presbyterian Church to house Dr. Adger's congregation. The transepts or wings of the building were assigned to the use of white persons, but the main body of the church was reserved for the Negroes. Dr. Adger served the colored people of Charleston through this church until he was compelled to retire on account of his health. In 1857 he became Professor of Church History in Columbia Theological Seminary, a position he continued to hold till his resignation in 1874.

For two years Dr. Adger's congregation was under the pastoral charge of Rev. Ferdinand Jacobs, and then came Dr. John L. Girardeau, one of the most eloquent ministers that the Southern Presbyterian Church has ever produced. Girardeau was a native of South Carolina, interested in the welfare of the Negro from his boyhood. After graduating from Columbia Theological Seminary he refused calls to large and important churches because he felt obligated to preach the Gospel to the numerous slaves dwelling along the South Carolina seaboard. Finally, he was called to take over Dr. Adger's congregation in Charleston. Under the spell of his oratory the congregation grew till Zion Church, the largest church in the city, was erected for its special benefit, by the contributions of the people of Charleston. From the first, the main floor seating a thousand Negroes, and the balcony holding about 250 whites were crowded. Time and time

again Dr. Girardeau declined flattering calls to white congregations, that he might do something for his "brother in black." When the War broke out he resigned his charge to become a chaplain in the army. Gradually he passed into the larger service of the Church, and in 1876 became professor of systematic theology in Columbia Theological Seminary, a position which he continued to hold till 1895.

Jones and Adger and Girardeau—it would be hard to equal this triad in general ability—and yet all three gave a large part of their lives to the exclusive service of the Negroes.

Most of the missionaries to the Negroes, especially in the South, were white men. There were some outstanding Negro preachers, especially among the Methodists and Baptists, but also among the Presbyterians.

One of these was John Gloucester, converted under the preaching of Gideon Blackburn in Tennessee. His piety and natural gifts so attracted the attention of Dr. Blackburn that he bought him and encouraged him to study for the ministry. Freed by Dr. Blackburn he became a pastor to his own people in Philadelphia.

In 1818 George M. Erskine, a Negro, was appointed by the Presbyterian Board to spend four months in evangelistic labor under the direction of the Missionary Society of East Tennessee; the commission was renewed in 1819 and again the year following.

One of the most notable of these Negro preachers was John Chavis, a full-blooded Negro of dark brown color, born probably near Oxford in Granville County, North Carolina, about 1763. Attracting the attention of the white people of the neighborhood, he was educated by them at Princeton under the famous Dr. Witherspoon, winning recognition as a good Latin scholar and a fair Greek one. From Princeton he went to Lexington, Virginia, and in 1801 he was reported by Hanover Presbytery as a "riding missionary under the direction of the General Assembly." For six successive years he was appointed to serve as a missionary to his own people in Virginia and North Carolina. In the latter state "as a result of the close relations existing between the whites and the blacks and his power as an

expounder of the Gospel, he preached to large congregations of both races." But after the uprising under Nat Turner, preaching by Negroes was prohibited in North Carolina. John Chavis thereupon opened a classical school for whites, which was patronized by some of the most aristocratic people of the state. Among his pupils were Archibald and John Henderson, sons of Chief Justice Henderson, W. P. Mangum, afterwards United States Senator, and Charles Manly, later Governor of the commonwealth.

4. Comparative Failure of Presbyterian Missions

In spite of unremitting efforts of the Presbyterians to evangelize and train the Negroes, the results were not greatly impressive. At the outbreak of the War there were 500,000 Negroes holding membership in the Protestant churches of the South; 200,000 of these were Methodists; Baptists were probably more numerous still; less than 14,000 were Presbyterians.

It is not difficult to explain this great disparity in numbers. The Methodist and Baptist Churches had a much larger number of evangelists working among the Negroes, due in turn to the lower educational standard which they required of their ministers. In particular, there were very few Negroes able to qualify for the Presbyterian ministry, but there were many effective Negro preachers, without educational advantages, to be found among the Baptists and Methodists.

Second, ministers without a classical education made a much greater appeal on the whole to the untutored mind of the Negro. They were more successful in stirring his emotions. As Bishop Tanner of the A. M. E. Church said: "Presbyterianism "strove to lift up without coming down, and while the good Presbyterian parson was writing his discourses, rounding off the sentences, the Methodist itinerate had traveled forty miles with his horse and saddle bags; while the parson was adjusting his spectacles to read his manuscript, the itinerate had given hell and damnation to his unrepentant hearers; while the disciple of Calvin was waiting to have his church completed, the disciples of Wesley took to the woods, and made them re-echo

with the voice of free grace, believing with Bryant, 'The groves were God's first temples.' "

Third, the Methodists and Baptists developed a more adequate Home Mission plan for reaching the Negroes. As indicated by Bishop Tanner's words just quoted, they were more aggressive than the Presbyterians. The Methodist system of itineration kept them in better touch with their Negro congregations and enabled them to get the maximum service out of every missionary in their employ. The Baptists were aided by their congregational independency. In the Presbyterian Church Negroes belonged practically always to the same congregations as the whites, but they were compelled to sit in the balcony and to enter by a side door. The Harrison Street Baptist Church (colored) was formed in Petersburg as early as 1776, and a number of other independent colored churches were formed after that date. The moral tone of these churches was not always so high as that of the mixed churches, but they made a strong appeal to the Negroes "in quest of the liberty wherewith they believed Christ had made them free."

III. THE WAR TIME SOUTH

1. Negro Missions During the War

When the War Between the States broke out in 1861, the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America urged its Committee on Domestic Missions to give serious attention to the conduct of missionary operations among the colored people, and urged the Presbyteries to cooperate with the committee in securing pastors and missionaries for this field. The Committee on Narrative reported: "In several places within our bounds there have been blessed revivals of religion, adding to our churches hundreds of hopeful converts among the colored people. . . . In having received so many of the sons and daughters of Africa into the communion of the churches (there is) cause of devout thankfulness."

Reports made to the General Assembly during the War indicated that religious instruction was faithfully imparted to the colored population during the whole period. The Committee on Narrative

reported in 1863 that in their estimation more was being done for their spiritual interests than at any former period. The Executive Committee of Domestic Missions declared: "The promise for the future. . . is full of encouragement. When our independence shall have been established, we shall no longer be subject to suspicion and hindrance because of the fanaticism of the North and shall be left free to gather the fruits from this vast and inviting field." After these hopes of independence were frustrated, the Church still recognized its obligation to the Negro and planned to continue its missionary operations. Thus the first General Assembly which met after the collapse of the Confederacy resolved "that the abolition of slavery by the civil and military power has not altered the relation . . . in which our Church stands to the colored people nor in any degree lessened the debt of love and service which we owe them."

But in spite of the good intention of the General Assembly and its Committee on Domestic Missions, abolition had completely altered the relations of the blacks and the whites in the South, and the freed men proceeded to desert the white churches almost en masse in order that they might enter or form independent Negro churches of their own.

2. Withdrawal of Negroes After the War

This changed attitude so far as it affected our own Church was apparent a few months after the close of the War. Thus the Committee on Narrative reported to the General Assembly in 1865: "In regard to the instruction of the colored population, a field once so faithfully cultivated and so fruitful, the reports narrate that there is of late a marked change in their religious deportment. Instead of crowding the courts of the Lord, as formerly, and making the churches resound with their hymns of praise, and listening with tearful eyes to the glad tidings of salvation, comparatively few of them are seen in the assemblies of the saints." In 1868 the committee reported that "almost everywhere" the colored people "absent themselves from our assemblies." In 1873 it was reported that "the colored race as a body has entirely separated itself from our influence and control."

Desertion of the white churches by the Negroes was due to a number of causes. For one thing the freedmen were suspicious of the whites, and distrustful of their attitude toward them. The General Assembly in 1865 attributed the changed attitude of the Negroes to the "insinuations of designing men who for sinister purposes have sought to alienate their affections from those ministers whom they once delighted to honor." But no doubt there was a real fear on the part of the blacks that the whites might in some way again enslave them.

J. Leighton Wilson, secretary of the Executive Committee of Sustentation, estimated that at least five thousand Negroes left the Southern Presbyterian Church to enter churches supported by Northern Presbyterians (who began missionary operations among them shortly after the end of the War) in the expectation of secular benefits or because of a foolish ambition on the part of many to exercise functions in the Church for which they were unfit. In a rather sharp correspondence with Dr. Logan, secretary of the Northern Church, Dr. Wilson declared that nine-tenths of the members of a certain Negro church formed by the Northern Presbyterians withdrew from a Southern Presbyterian church where "the gallery was appropriated for their exclusive use." The Northern Church erected a building for them and they withdrew "simply because they wished to have a place of worship to themselves."

Inadvertently Dr. Wilson had put his finger on the chief reason for the withdrawal of the Negroes from the Southern Presbyterian Church. Rejoicing in their new found freedom they were not willing to worship in a church where they would be confined to the gallery, and where they were not counted genuine members of the church. Free politically they wished to be free ecclesiastically. They withdrew not only from Southern Presbyterian churches, but from all white churches, chiefly that they might form their own churches, and listen to their own ministers.

To some extent the white people encouraged them to go. "Making all due allowance for the desire on the part of the colored people to have an entirely independent organization of their own," says

Dr. Stacy,[4] "we cannot be oblivious to the fact that the white people were just as anxious to have them to themselves." "The mass of the Southern people," says Rev. James H. McNeilly[5] in a book intended to be a vindication of the Southern churches, "were opposed to being united in the same organization with Negroes lest it should lead to the demand for social intermingling of the races." It was the Negroes who withdrew, but few churches, few Presbyteries made any great effort to retain them, and those that did were not very successful.

3. Formation of Independent Negro Churches

Some denominational leaders saw the trend of events and wisely planned to meet it. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, for example, in 1869 organized its Negro membership into the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church, an independent Negro Church which has existed down to the present time. When the General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, met in 1866 it faced the fact that the 207,000 Negro members it had possessed in 1860 had shrunk to only a few more than 78,000 since the War. Voluntarily it offered to organize its remaining Negro constituency into a separate organization, if they so desired. In 1870 the Negro membership was found to be unanimously desirous of a separate church, and the Colored M. E. Church was the result. During the same period the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, both of which had been organized in the North before the War, were growing rapidly in the South.

The large body of Negroes, however, as Woodson points out, were attracted not by the Methodist but by the Baptist Church. "The freedom which even prior to emancipation meant so much in the growth of the Baptists was thereafter a still greater cause for their expansion. It was easier than ever for a man to become a prominent figure in the Baptist Church. While the Methodists were hesitating as to what recognition should be allowed the Negroes, or whether they should be set apart as a separate body the Negro Baptists were

[4]James Stacy, *The Presbyterian Church in Georgia.*
[5]James H. McNeilly, *Religion and Slavery.*

realizing upon their new freedom which made possible the enjoyment of greater democracy in the Church. Every man was to be equal to every other man and no power without had authority to interfere.

"This situation in the Baptist Church appealed very strongly to the then recently enfranchised Negro in the reconstruction states. As the white men of the South had over-emphasized politics and the professions to the extent that these avenues in that section were overmanned, the Negro in his undeveloped state made the same mistake in trying to escape drudgery. A rather hard row to hoe, or an unusually heavy burden was too often abandoned on hearing a call to the ministry, and the devotee thus impressed had practically no difficulty in securing a hearing in this locally democratic Baptist church. The grade of intellect possessed by the novice in this ministerial service had little to do with his acceptability; for there were all sorts of degrees of mental development among the freedmen and every man preferred to follow the one who saw the spiritual world from his own particular angle, and explained its mysteries in the dialect and in the manner in which he could understand it."[6] Operating on this basis local churches sprang up here and there and everywhere as Baptist preachers, a law unto themselves, went abroad seeking a following. The three Methodist churches among the Negroes have today a respectable following, but the great mass of the Negroes ever since the days of reconstruction have belonged to the Baptists.

4. Policy of Southern Presbyterians

In the face of this mass movement away from the white churches, the Southern Presbyterian Church tried—officially—to retain its Negro members within its own fold, wavered, changed its policy in the face of the mounting desertion, and agreed to the establishment of an independent Negro church after the hope of building one was gone.

In 1865 the Assembly appointed a committee to submit to the next General Assembly a practical scheme for the religious instruction of the colored people adapted to their now altered civil and social

[6]Woodson, *Negro Church*, pp. 196-7, Associated Publishers, Inc.

condition. In the meanwhile it resolved that "whereas experience has invariably proved the advantages of the colored people and the white people being united together in the worship of God, we see no reason why it should be otherwise, now that they are freedmen and not slaves."

The next year it reiterated its belief that it was "highly inexpedient that there should be an ecclesiastical separation of the white and colored races." If the colored people declined to remain in the white churches it recommended that branch congregations be organized under the care of white sessions. It did not seem to be wise to ordain Negroes to the ministry, but Presbyteries or sessions might license properly qualified Negro men to labor as exhorters.

In 1867 these resolutions were rescinded, the Assembly refusing on constitutional grounds to make any declaration regarding the future ecclesiastical status of the Negro.

A special committee reported in 1869 that the want of any definite policy throughout the Church had led to variant and incongruous lines of policy in different parts of the Church, and had produced needless complications and confusion. The General Assembly thereupon adopted a plan previously suggested by Dr. Girardeau which looked forward to branch congregations for the Negroes, congregations with colored elders and deacons, but still under the care of white pastors.

Reviewing these actions of the General Assembly, we see that it started out with the avowed design of retaining its colored membership in the same position it occupied before the War. It agreed next to the formation of separate congregations, not churches in the proper sense, but branch churches under white sessions. It conceded finally that these branch congregations might have colored elders and deacons. But as the Synod of Mississippi pointed out in 1874, while these schemes were being devised and even before they were announced, the colored race as a body had entirely separated itself from our influence and control. The schemes of the General Assembly were never put into effect. It is impossible to tell how they would have worked, for there was no chance to put them into execution. It

is true the Synod reported that "here and there from tender associations a few individuals still cling as before to our particular Church, and here and there over the land for strong and personal attachments and other genial influences, a small body may be found ready to be guided by us in their ecclesiastical relations. But the exceptions are so rare as to make no abatement of the fact that as a class they have fully and clearly separated themselves from us."

IV. THE MODERN SOUTH

In many ways the desertion of the white churches, the formation of the Negro churches fell out unto the progress of the Gospel. The Negro churches were zealous in advancing their cause. "Within a few years the neglected masses of the freedmen unto whom the Gospel had never been successfully preached were generally evangelized and provided with some sort of facilities for religious instruction." And the Negro church, the one institution in which the freedmen were able to develop their own gifts, has played a remarkable part in the further development of the colored race. At the same time it has displayed serious shortcomings. Ignorance and moral laxity in the pulpit has been too often reflected in the pew. Even yet the majority of the churches are not equipped, their leaders are not trained to serve the highest spiritual interests of their constituency.

Many of the whites after the secession of the Negroes became indifferent to the religious needs of their former servants; others accused them of ingratitude and doubted if they had any capacity for real Christianity. But interest in and concern for the Christian education of the Negroes never died out among Southern Presbyterians.

Thus the Synod of Mississippi, meeting in 1872, resolved, "that released by emancipation from the peculiar responsibilities resting upon us as owners of slaves, we have not been freed from the obligation to preach the Gospel to those who dwell with us in the same territory. That any reluctance on their part to receive instruction from us ought not to be construed as a providential hindrance excusing us from laboring in a field once so exclusively and successfully culti-

vated by us, unless judicious and persistent, but unsuccessful efforts shall have first been made to overcome it."

Two years later the Synod sent a memorial to the General Assembly, reviewing the past actions of the Assembly regarding the Negroes and the separation of the Negroes from the white churches, and proposing as the only solution of the problem an independent Negro church, aided and supported by the General Assembly.

1. The New Plan

In response to this overture and others of similar tenor from the Presbytery of East Hanover and the Synods of South Carolina and Memphis the General Assembly in 1874 approved a policy which was to guide its actions in the years to come. The goal was to be establishment and development of a separate, independent, self-sustaining colored Presbyterian church, ministered to by colored preachers of approved piety, and such training as should best suit them for their life work. To reach this goal the Presbyteries were urged to encourage and aid in the formation of colored churches and to seek among them men of approved piety who might be suitable for the work of the ministry. The Church generally was invited to contribute to a Colored Evangelistic Fund, on which the Presbyteries might draw. The Committee on Sustentation was requested to consider the best method of providing training for the colored candidates for the ministry and to report thereupon to the next Assembly.

The committee's report next year was not very encouraging. Receipts for the Colored Evangelistic Fund were very small, and all but an insignificant sum came from sources outside the Church. In the years that followed the story was the same, so that it was quite evident that there was no great interest in colored evangelism in the Church at this particular time.

In reply to the question "Is anything being done in your bounds for the Colored Evangelistic Work?" thirty-five Presbyteries in 1875 replied "nothing." Twelve Presbyteries reported thirteen Negro churches in their bounds with two Negro ministers and a few licentiates and candidates. A few Presbyteries reported Sabbath Schools and preaching by some of the white ministers of the Presbytery. This

seemed to be all that was left of the colored work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

The Executive Committee reported this same year that, in obedience to the directions of the last Assembly, it had considered the best method of providing training for the colored candidates for the ministry. Convinced that a theological school was impracticable, it recommended that each colored candidate be placed under some approved divine in his own Presbytery.

Fortunately an overture came to this same Assembly from the hands of Rev. C. A. Stillman, D.D., asking the Assembly to take immediate action looking to the establishment of an institute for the education of colored preachers, or to appoint a committee to take the subject into consideration.

Dr. Stillman's interest in the Negroes was of long standing. Before the War he had helped to educate a slave bought by the Synod of Alabama to go to Africa as a missionary and had gone to New Orleans to see him embark. After the War his interest in the salvation of the Negroes had continued. He became convinced that the most effective way to reach them would be through an educated ministry of their own race. Of his own accord he began to teach a class of Negroes in preparation for the ministry, though he was without funds and thought he received but little sympathy from his brethren.

Dr. Stillman's resolution met with a favorable response, and in 1876 the General Assembly voted to establish an institute for the training of a colored ministry under the care of Dr. Stillman himself. The institute opened the next year at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, with two students, and so the Southern Presbyterian Church began its educational work among the Negroes. "It required a man of no ordinary courage and wisdom to undertake such a work at that time," said Dr. A. L. Phillips. "There was much hard feeling toward the Negro growing out of reconstruction. In the Church at large there was indifference and hostility to the work, and it was not regarded with special favor by his own congregation. But with characteristic faithfulness to duty he entered on the work."

Fifteen years later there were twenty-four colored ministers in our Church, and nineteen of these had been educated at Tuscaloosa. One of the graduates, W. H. Sheppard, went with Samuel N. Lapsley as a pioneer missionary to Africa; laid with Lapsley the foundation of our mission in the Congo and won there international fame. The Southern Presbyterian Church thus became the first Church in the United States to send a Negro missionary to Africa.

Dr. Stillman resigned his post in 1893 because of ill health. The name of the institution which he had fathered was changed thereupon to Stillman Institute for Training Colored Ministers. "With what profound interest and shrewd economy, with what firmness of discipline, with what faithfulness in counsel to the students under his care (Dr. Stillman) managed the enterprise will make too long a story for this place," said Dr. Phillips before the Assembly after Dr. Stillman's death. "Before the Assembly he so pleaded the cause he loved that he steadily gained friends for it. Indeed it may be doubted whether he ever made an enemy for it. Undoubtedly the excellent character of the men who graduated under him are attributable to his direct influence over them. . . ."

Another great step forward was taken in 1890 when the Committee of Home Missions elected Rev. A. L. Phillips, pastor of South Highlands Church, Birmingham, Alabama, as Field Secretary of its Colored Work. Dr. Phillips traveled widely through the Church and sought to arouse the Church's conscience regarding its responsibility to the Negro. He reported a serious lack of information and of interest in the work, but felt that "in no case has the work been fairly presented without a decided awakening of the Church, which at times has shown considerable enthusiasm."

The following year the General Assembly gave further evidence of its determination in the matter by erecting an Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, with Dr. Phillips as its Executive Secretary.

According to the instructions of the General Assembly Presbyteries were to appoint Committees of Colored Evangelization; and chairmen of such committees were to be corresponding members of the

Assembly's Committee, making semi-annual reports of the condition of the colored work within their bounds. Such committees were finally appointed in practically every Presbytery in the Church.

Dr. Phillips resigned as Secretary of the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization in 1897 and was succeeded by Rev. D. Clay Lilly, who surrendered the position to Rev. James G. Snedecor in 1903.

One of the questions which came before the committee rather early was what relation the work of the Southern Presbyterian Church should sustain to the much larger work of the Northern Church, particularly strong in Virginia, North and South Carolina.

A joint committee of the two churches offered in 1894 the following report: "The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. are agreed:

"1. That we recognize the solemn duty laid upon us by our common Lord to work for the evangelization of the Negroes in our country. . . .

"2. We believe that this work can be better done if we work together than as at present separately. . . .

"3. We agree that the entire work now done by both Assemblies shall hereafter be conducted together . . . under the corporate name of the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.—such Board to consist of twenty-two members, fifteen from the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and seven members from the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. . . .

"6. We make these mutual concessions because we hope we can unitedly do better the Master's work for these people, the brethren from the South changing their present responsibilities and power over a limited work to take part in the much larger and more important work to be done by both churches; the Northern Church inviting the assistance and co-operation of their brethren from the South, because of their local knowledge and experience and their vital personal interest in the success of these efforts to Christianize and elevate the race who are all around them, touching them at every point."

The Southern Assembly rejected the plan of co-operation on the ground that the surest and quickest way to the evangelization of the Negroes was through the establishment and maintenance of a separate and independent African Presbyterian Church. The Northern Presbyterian Church would not agree to work toward this goal to which the Southern Presbyterian Church was now thoroughly committed. As a result of this disagreement Southern Presbyterians and Northern Presbyterians continued to cultivate the same field, and each year one or more of the colored churches developed by our Church transferred its allegiance to the Northern Church, which offered it a larger financial support. Thus in 1894 the Southern Church lost the only colored organization it possessed in the whole state of Virginia. At the present time colored Presbyterians are almost lost among their Baptist and Methodist brethren, but they may belong to any one of four churches, Presbyterian in the U. S. A., Presbyterian in the U. S., United Presbyterian or Colored Cumberland Presbyterian.

2. Development of Negro Churches

Our own colored work has developed very slowly. In 1876 thirteen Presbyteries reported something done for the evangelization of colored people, forty-four reported that nothing was done. The thirteen Presbyteries reported sixteen churches, one candidate, three licentiates and three ministers.

The following year, the year that the institute was opened at Tuscaloosa, there was a slight improvement. Eighteen Presbyteries (out of fifty-four) reported twenty-one churches, five ministers, three licentiates, six candidates. Eight of these Presbyteries asked and received aid for their colored work from the Committee of Sustentation.

One of these churches was the Good Hope (colored) Presbyterian Church in De Soto Parish, Louisiana. It sent the following petition to the Assembly's Committee: "The undersigned members of this church beg respectfully to call your attention to our needy condition. We were organized into a church by Rev. Mr._____and Elder _____, now five years ago, and now number sixty members in good and regular standing. We dearly love the Presbyterian

Church, its ordinances and government in which we were baptized and bred with our children. We have no member capable of expounding to us the Scripture of Truth, we are all poor and have not the means of procuring a white preacher, which we are so anxious for. Mr._____ preached for us occasionally last year and expresses his willingness to do so again, but is himself in needy circumstances and necessitated to labor with his hands to support his family. He is without a riding horse, without means of buying one and resides about twenty miles from us. We promise to use our endeavors to raise from our scanty means all we can, and faithfully promise to raise at least $50 in paying for preaching once a month in the year. If God and our white brethren come not to our aid we must soon lose our place in our beloved Church, where many of us have been for more than twenty years, and have hopefully remained organized since the close of the War. That our Heavenly Father may move the hearts of good people through your means to send us the Gospel is the sincere prayer of your petitioners." The petition was signed by the elder of the church and by the members with their marks. All had been at one time the slaves of a Presbyterian elder, now poor as well as they.

The committee painted that year a dark picture of the religious conditions of the Negroes: "Multitudes of these people are in gross ignorance and superstition. . . . Their ministers are often worse than blind leaders of the blind, not only being ignorant, but immoral, and their instructions and influence being hurtful instead of salutary. . . . Surely if the heart of the Church be moved for the perishing in China, Africa and the islands of the sea it ought to be touched for those who in the Southern states of America are living and dying in a state as hopeless as it is possible for men to occupy."

Evidently the appeal fell on well-trodden ground, for in 1880 the committee reported that none of the Presbyteries seemed much encouraged in the prosecution of this branch of the work, nor had they generally taken action on the subject. "In some portions of the Church," said the committee, "there seems to be little demand for special efforts on the part of our Church in this field, other denomina-

tions fully occupying the ground and having the ear of the people. At other points there is a large and uncultivated field open before us, into which it behooves us to enter and labor for the Master."

Gradually, however, the work grew so that in 1887 the first colored Presbytery was formed, the PRESBYTERY OF NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA. Though formed as an independent Presbytery, it reported regularly to Harmony Presbytery, and was aided through the Assembly's Committee. The following year a Presbytery was formed in Texas. This Presbytery, also independent, was the outgrowth of a colored church organized about 1870 by Rev. S. F. Tenney, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Crockett.[7] The committee reported that new organizations were being asked for, and that there was an increasing demand among the colored people for preachers from Tuscaloosa.

Three more Presbyteries were organized about 1891, Ethel in Mississippi, Central in Alabama, Zion in Louisiana. Of the five Presbyteries, Ethel remained under the jurisdiction of our Assembly; the other four were independent in jurisdiction, but remained financially dependent on the Assembly and subject to its counsel and advice. Altogether the five Presbyteries contained fifty-six colored churches with about 1,600 communicants and were served by thirty-nine colored ministers, licentiates and candidates. The largest church had 111 members; only six of the ministers were sustained without aid from our committee. Central Alabama came back under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Alabama in 1895.

The General Assembly, having discovered that the majority of the colored ministers were ready to form an independent Colored Presbyterian Church, placed its imprimatur upon the project and promised its continued aid. The new Church was organized in New Orleans on May 19, 1898, under the ambitious name of "The Synod of the Colored Presbyterian Church of the United States and Canada," changed the next year to THE AFRO-AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. The Assembly declared that this action was in accord with its long-cherished plans, and that "as an ecclesiastical body of like faith and

[7]Dr. Tenney's devoted labors for the Negroes led also to the erection of Mary Allen Seminary (Presbyterian, U. S. A.), the first Negro girls' institution in the South to be recognized as a junior college by the Educational Association.

order with our own we welcome it to the relation of fraternal correspondence with this Assembly and pray upon it the special favor of our Lord." It resolved further to aid the new Synod with all the moral and financial support within its power.

Under the aegis of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and with the guidance and help of the Committee of Colored Evangelization, the colored churches grew—but very slowly, and few ever came to the point of self-support. In 1892, when the committee began its work, there were fifty-six churches and about 1,600 members; in 1910, when the committee was discontinued, there were only sixty-nine churches and 2,355 members. The committee acknowledged that the work was discouraging, and that "few of our pastors and evangelists present satisfactory reports." At the same time it pointed out that due allowance must be made for the extraordinary obstacles that confronted the Negro missionaries.

First and most important, the field had been largely occupied. While the Presbyterian Church attempted to hold its Negro members in the status they had occupied before the War, the independent Negro churches had practically preempted the field.

Second: When the Presbyterian Church attempted to build an independent Negro Church it aroused the active opposition of the other churches. There are many references to the jealousy, the opposition of the colored pastors. Thus Dr. Snedecor reported: "The meager results reported by these pastors may be explained when we remember the difficult material upon which they labor, the fierce opposition of other ignorant and envious preachers, and the higher standards of church life demanded by our people." For some reason, too, Presbyterianism had become unpopular among the masses of the colored people.

Third: There was the indifference of Southern Presbyterians to colored evangelism. Dr. Phillips reported in 1892, "there is a serious lack of information and of interest in the colored work"; next year, "we do not feel that we have the proper support of the Presbyteries." Rev. O. B. Wilson, a man of great gifts, and a genuine missionary heart, who gave his services to the committee gratuitously, reported

in 1897 that there was "much prejudice against the work" and "a great indifference toward it." In 1905 Dr. Snedecor wrote: "This is not a popular cause. . . . It is worthy of notice that two classes of our Church members are steadily devoted to it: the elderly people, whose memories run back to slavery times, and the missionaries. The latter class get the viewpoint of the foreign shore. They have traveled thousands of miles to help the heathen and they are constantly reminded of the heathen at home. Of the former class, it may be said, this cause finds itself poorer each year by the loss of many of the dear old saints who are falling on sleep. May the prayer of the Church be raised to God in our behalf. 'Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth; for the faithful fall from among the children of men'." In 1906, he said, "the Church seems apathetic, many good people are prejudiced against this enterprise." Four years later, "we can safely report a steadily growing conviction that the efforts of this committee to spread good morals and true religion among the Negroes should be more generally supported by the Church. This conviction makes headway slowly against a very prevalent prejudice and against much misconception of what we have been appointed to do."

Dr. S. L. Morris, in *The Romance of Home Missions,* reminds us that these men who set out to serve the Negro met in some cases persecution amounting to ostracism. Dr. Stillman began teaching a class of Negroes in preparation for the ministry without funds and with but little sympathy from his brethren. Rev. James G. Snedecor, a man of noble blood, of wealth, of scholarly parts, felt keenly the loneliness of his position, the lack of sympathy and support of the Church. Rev. O. B. Wilson was subjected to many humiliating experiences. Rev. S. F. Tenney and his family suffered reproach and public obloquy for their efforts on behalf of the colored people.

The indifference of the Church reflected itself in the insufficient support given to the cause of Colored Evangelization. The income of the committee was not large enough to support the work in any adequate fashion. Most of the colored ministers had to support themselves by farming, or by teaching, or by some other occupation.

"I can't do my duty when fixed as I am," wrote one preacher. "My nights are often spent in my kitchen, my days in the schoolroom. I am trying to do three things—baking, teaching and preaching. I don't want to join the Northern Church and don't expect to, but I must support my family."

A minister wrote from Alabama: "I am here working as hard as a man can work, minister or not, and getting no pay scarcely from the people. . . . I taught nearly twenty scholars during March and received for it so far the sum of fifty cents. Now how can I get on at this. Yet I am not going to quit. I am determined, God helping me, to go on, if I don't get a cent from the people here."

Much of the fruit of our ministers' labor has been dissipated too by the restlessness of the Negro folk. As Presbyterian churches are few in number, a Presbyterian who moves his residence is generally lost to the Church. The exodus to the North, which set in after the World War, has almost demolished a number of our colored churches.

As the work of the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization failed to secure the substantial support of the Church, its work was transferred in 1911 to the Executive Committee of Home Missions. As a result of the change it received a somewhat larger appropriation, but it remained totally inadequate and the transfer made little practical difference. Dr. Snedecor remained in charge of the Department of Colored Work till 1916, when he resigned because of his failing health.

After the resignation of Dr. Snedecor, there was no Superintendent of the Colored Work till 1922, when Rev. R. A. Brown was chosen to the position, one which he continued to hold till his death in 1931. Dr. Brown "was a man with a fine mind and an understanding heart. He loved the Negroes and had a real sympathy for them in their limited and restricted lives. The Negroes loved Dr. Brown, and thought of him not only as their Superintendent, but as their friend." No successor has been elected because of the committee's lack of funds.

In 1915 the Executive Committee proposed to revitalize the Afro-American Synod by having its Presbyteries become an integral part

of the Southern Assembly. The following year the Synod was reorganized. The Presbytery of North and South Carolina, which had been a part of the independent Negro Church; the Presbyteries of Ethel and Central Alabama, which had remained organically connected with our own Church; and the Presbytery of Central Louisiana, which was formed in 1916, constituted a new Afro-American Synod connected with the General Assembly, and with its Presbyteries represented in the Assembly on the same basis as those of any other. The name of the new Synod was soon changed to SNEDECOR MEMORIAL SYNOD, in honor of the great soul who had given so much of his life to the colored folk. Theoretically, the goal of our Church is still the establishment of an independent Negro Church; practically the Negro Presbyteries have become a constituent and a permanent part of our own Church.

The erection of a Negro Synod as a part of the Assembly has developed self-government and initiative on the part of the Negro, at least to a limited degree; at the same time it guarantees to the Negro Presbyterian churches that support which it is still necessary for them to have.

In addition to the four Negro Presbyteries in Snedecor Memorial Synod, there are at least five Negro churches in white Presbyteries; three of them receive aid from the Home Mission Committee.

Snedecor Memorial Synod adds a fair number to its rolls each year, but its net growth is very small. In 1918 there were 1,492 members, and in 1933 there were 1,847, only a few hundred more than in 1892 and considerably less than the Presbyterian Church had before the War. None of the fifty-one churches are self-supporting. Yet very little aid is given by the Executive Committee. In 1927, in the days of "prosperity," the average salary of the Negro minister of our Church was $50 a month, of which about $40 came from the Executive Committee; only in rare cases is there a manse. "I have never heard one complain," said Superintendent Brown, "though they have to give up many of the necessities of life to continue in this service." The depression has been particularly hard upon the Negroes; the N. R. A. has helped them less than it has the whites; it has been more

difficult for them to support their churches, and the contributions of the committee have been decreased. Yet the work goes on. In 1932-3, 216 persons were added to the Church on profession of faith and 101 came by letter; nine new Sunday Schools were organized. Out of their poverty the Negroes gave this year $6,737 for local expenses and $1,207 for benevolences.

The churches are small and few in number, but their influence means much to the better class of Negroes. Dr. Morris, in *The Romance of Home Missions,* describes some of the eminent Christians in our Southern Presbyterian Church: Maria Fearing, who sold her home and possessions and went to Africa at her own expense as a servant to the white missionaries that she might have the privilege of ministering to her own people; William H. Sheppard, who laid with Lapsley the foundation of our mission in the Congo; Sam Daly, who founded the Daly Reformatory for Boys; Charles Birthright, who left the largest legacy to Home Missions in all the history of the Southern Presbyterian Church; Rev. W. A. Young, consecrated evangelist, eloquent preacher. And there are others. Althea Edmiston, for example, now a missionary in the Congro, who is the author of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Bushonga Language, besides several smaller volumes; and Rev. A. M. Plant, of Texarkana, who, in addition to his pastorate, serves as principal of one of the city schools and wields a public influence as an educator. Southern Presbyterians had no need to be ashamed of their Negro preachers, or of their Negro members.

Since the Civil War Southern Presbyterian Missions for Negroes have centered, as they still do, about STILLMAN INSTITUTE.

2. Development of Negro Schools

This valuable school was founded, as we have seen, for the purpose of training a godly ministry, particularly for the Presbyterian Church. Such a school was requisite if we were to develop any work among the Negroes. The number trained has been comparatively small, something over five hundred, but graduates of the school have gone into the Home field and into the Foreign field (seven to Africa), into the ministry of our own Church,

and a good many more into the ministry of the Methodist and Baptist churches. The weakness of the Negro Church in America, particularly in the South, has been its ignorant and untrained pastorate. And the Southern Presbyterian Church has rendered a real service in raising, if only a little, the standards of the Negro ministry as a whole.

But the small divinity school at Tuscaloosa has developed gradually through the years into a valuable educational plant for Negro youth in general, whose aim is to provide a practical industrial, as well as academic and Christian, training for both boys and girls. Through it the Southern Church is putting its Christian stamp upon hundreds of Negro boys and girls in every walk of life. Since 1916 the school has embraced the following departments:

Theological—Three-Year Course—based on a thorough knowledge of the English Bible.
Academic—including high school and junior college.
Normal—an up-to-date practise school for prospective teachers.
Home Economics—including cooking, sewing and laundry.
Mechanical Arts—including carpentry, blacksmithing, and auto work.
Agriculture—including stock raising, poultry and hogs.

In 1929, through the gifts of the Woman's Auxiliary Birthday Offering, and other friends of Home Missions, there was opened the "Estes Snedecor Memorial Training School for Negro Nurses."

The physical equipment at the present time includes dormitories, recitation rooms, professors' homes, model dining-room, mechanic's shop, nurses' training building with twenty standard hospital beds and an operating-room completely equipped with all modern appliances, an agricultural farm of more than a hundred acres, a small canning plant, with a cooling box for meats and vegetables.

The farm is operated by student labor. It helps to support the school and at the same time to defray the expenses of the students.

In 1933 the total number of students in the institute was 148, eight

of whom were taking theological training, preparatory for the ministry. Approximately 275 were declined admission this year because there were no scholarship funds and they were unable to pay tuition and board. There was a faculty of twelve members, six white and six colored, who had their degree or its equivalent from a standard college. The principal of the school was Professor A. L. Jackson.

One reason perhaps why Stillman Institute has held its secure place in the affections of the Church is that nothing has been done to offend Southern susceptibilities. As Dr. Snedecor once said: "There is a constant effort to prevent the students from imbibing along with book knowledge any impossible notions of their position in society."

Though attention of the Southern Presbyterian Church is now centered on Stillman Institute, there have been other educational efforts put forth by the Church in the past.

FERGUSON-WILLIAMS INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE, at Abbeville, South Carolina, offering academic work with industrial features, was aided by our committee in 1900 and purchased three years later. It was fairly prosperous at one time with 110 boarders and a total enrollment of 240. Gradually, however, the work began to drag; it was embarrassed by debt, inadequate equipment, and the inability of the Executive Committee to render any substantial aid. In 1920 the school was finally liquidated and its funds invested in the enlarged program of Stillman Institute.

The NORTH WILKESBORO INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION, at North Wilkesboro, North Carolina, was transferred from the Synod of North Carolina to the Assembly in 1900.

The next year aid began to be given to the J. H. ALEXANDER ACADEMY at Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Both of these institutions were parochial schools offering some industrial features and were taught by Negro ministers in connection with their regular church work.

In 1903 there were 500 pupils in four schools operated by the Southern Presbyterian Church. The committee, with the sanction of the General Assembly, was seeking to encourage at this time the establishment of additional parochial schools among the Negroes, and

hoped to open up several boarding and industrial schools as soon as the means were put into its hands.

But the funds which the committee hoped to receive did not materialize and its aid was soon restricted to Stillman Institute. Though help from the Assembly was lacking, some of the more energetic pastors maintained for a while fine parochial schools, as at Texarkana, Selma, Montgomery, Milton, Thomasville and Florence. In 1933 six pastors still operated schools in connection with their churches; these schools had an enrollment of approximately 800.

During the latter part of the 19th century, an attempt was made to reach the Negroes through mission Sunday Schools.

3. The Mission Sunday Schools

There were ten such schools conducted by members of the white churches in 1895 and forty in 1901. Schools of this sort, which would have been impossible a generation earlier, seemed for the time to offer a fruitful field for missionary endeavor. Dr. Phillips was convinced in 1897 that "the hope of our work lies mainly in them."

But difficulties began to appear here as in the other Negro work, and with the 20th century the Sunday School movement as a whole began to decline. In 1905 Dr. Snedecor said: "We still regard Sunday Schools as a most efficient and practical agency for the uplift of the colored people. It is a matter of common remark that the younger generation of Negroes is more neglected than any that has preceded them. Parental authority exerted for proper ends is almost unknown. The Sunday Schools of their own churches are rarely efficient and are not generally attended. But while the importance and possibility of reaching these neglected children by the establishment of Sunday Schools is acknowledged, it is becoming more difficult to find teachers and superintendents for them. The arduous nature of the work, the apparent paucity of results, the indifference of the whites, and the jealousy of the colored pastors, are some of the reasons given for the failure to persevere in this noble effort."

No doubt hundreds of Christian men and women continued to teach in Negro Sunday Schools in their own communities on Sun-

day afternoon, but as a general agency of colored evangelization the movement soon ceased to figure, except in the slum sections of a few of the larger cities. Here, however, the movement was to bear notable fruit. For example, the most successful mission for Negroes in the country is probably the MISSION Sunday School begun AT LOUISVILLE, Kentucky, in 1898 by REV. JOHN LITTLE.

This noble servant of God, pioneer and apostle of Negro institutional work in the South, was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. His father, representative of a distinguished Southern family, was treasurer and trustee of Stillman Institute, so that his son imbibed an interest in Negro missions from his infancy. He came to Louisville as a student in the Theological Seminary. One Sunday in February he and a few other students set out to organize a Sunday School in one of the crowded Negro sections of that city. "We believed that some effort should be made to teach the Gospel to the 40,000 Negro people living in Louisville," said Mr. Little, "and we could not find any effort being made by the church to which we belonged." A Sunday School with twenty-three Negro children as charter members was organized in an old building which had formerly been a lottery office. Mr. Little continues: "We soon found there were hundreds, even thousands of colored people lying within sound of the church bells of both white and colored churches who never attended any church. Not a member of my class knew anything about Jesus Christ." On Sundays and Wednesday evenings the six students took turns in preaching. The interest was so great that the Sunday School was continued through the summer by volunteer teachers from the churches of Louisville. When the students returned in the fall, they persuaded these teachers to retain their classes, while they went out and secured additional pupils for new classes. At the request of a Negro boy another mission was opened in April by the Students' Missionary Society in "Smoke Town," a mile away. And so the two Negro missions in Louisville were launched, which have grown steadily in usefulness till the present day.

The enrollment of the two missions has grown from twenty-three to nearly two thousand. The doors are now opened seven days a

week, morning and evening. Classes in sewing, cooking, shoe repairing and carpentry; recreation clubs for boys and girls; a bath house; a playground; a Daily Vacation Bible School, together with Sunday School and preaching services are distinct features in the yearly program.

Each of the various activities of the mission was begun to meet a particular and definite need.

Some of the girls in the Sunday School asked to be taught sewing—the teachers saw at once that this could be made a useful supplement to the Sunday School. A woman volunteered to come on Saturday morning and teach those who were interested. Eleven girls assembled as pupils and eighteen cents was invested in materials.

The boys seeing the girls with extra classes made application and a class in basketry was organized; this developed later into a carpenter's shop.

Another consecrated woman, realizing the importance of proper nutrition, offered her services to teach a class in cooking; a cheap shed was built for the class, the teacher bought dishes and cooking utensils; and this department, soon the most popular in the mission, was begun.

Realizing the need for recreational facilities, playgrounds were opened in the side yards of the two missions; they were the first playgrounds for Negro children in Louisville,—a few swings, bean bags, jumping ropes and sand boxes being all the equipment provided at the start.

When announcement was made that a bath house with showers and bathtubs was to be established, one mother said: "I am glad to hear this, for I am tired of carrying water on Saturday. My whole family will be present each week." And she kept her word. This was the only bath house open at this time to colored people in the east end of Louisville.

The teachers visited the pupils regularly in their homes. Many were found to be sick, with no competent medical advice. Prominent physicians volunteered their services; the Kings' Daughters provided

a visiting nurse. In cases of extreme destitution nourishing food and medicine was provided.

And so the work has grown. "The first aim of all of our teachers," says Dr. Little, "is to give the Gospel to the colored man. (But) in giving him the Gospel we believe that it is wise to use as auxiliary means such things as will help him to help himself. . . . It has been demonstrated that our industrial work, our clubs and playgrounds have a strong spiritual influence. Most of the boys who have united with the church have come from our classes in carpentry and our boys' clubs."

Seven years after the Sunday School was opened a church was organized with seven members. The church now has nearly 200 members, and many more attend the services. A majority of the members of the Sunday School go into churches of their own choice.

For twelve years the work was conducted in two old dilapidated store rooms rented for the purpose. About 1915 the missions moved into better quarters. In 1929 these quarters were outgrown; a successful campaign was put on for funds, and a new plant was erected at a cost of over $100,000.

Attendance on the missions, as well as their influence in the city, seems to be increasing steadily. In 1932 there was an increased attendance of 13,200 over the preceding year, and an enrollment in clubs and classes of almost 2,000. The total attendance was 108,713. In 1933 the attendance was 4,800 more. One hundred and fifty white men and women volunteer their services that this great work might be carried on.

Most of the financial support for the work comes from Louisville, some from churches, more from individuals; aid is given also by the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Northern Presbyterian Church, the Associate Reformed Presbyterian and the Reformed Church in the U. S. The depression has cut the institution's income so that it now operates on the budget used in 1921, when it served 60,000 people instead of the present 113,000.

Successful Negro missions are also conducted at the present time in Richmond, Atlanta and New Orleans. The COLORED MISSION IN

RICHMOND was organized by two students of Union Theological Seminary in 1911. Seeking the worst and toughest Negro section in the city, they were directed to "Hell's Bottom," a district about a mile long lying along 17th Street, which followed an open sewer creek east of Richmond. The students rented an old building and began the 17th Street Mission, which has grown steadily till the present time. Hell's Bottom has now been transformed, and the very name forgotten; part of the credit goes to the 17th Street Mission.

The whole program here is religious; there is no full-time paid director; no industrial, educational, recreational or charitable activities; volunteer workers, students of the Seminary and the Training School visit regularly, however, in the Negro homes in the neighborhood. A splendid brick building costing $19,000 has been provided for the mission by the Presbyterian League of Richmond.

The COLORED MISSION IN ATLANTA embraces two centers, one in the Pittsburg section of Atlanta, the other in Decatur. The Pittsburg Mission originated about 1900 in a mission Sunday School of the Central Presbyterian Church. In 1918 it was decided to enlarge the work, and with equipment provided by the Central Presbyterian Church and with the aid of the Executive Committee of Home Missions the Colored Mission of Atlanta was organized. The section chosen for the mission was a destitute, churchless section, where great numbers of young Negro people were growing up, knowing nothing of the Gospel of Christ, and little about keeping the civil and moral law. The mission was opened along institutional lines, with a full-time superintendent and a corps of volunteer workers from the Atlanta churches.

A church was organized in connection with the mission and placed under the charge of a Negro minister. In connection with the church, erected by the white Presbyterians of Atlanta, there is a manse, and the mission building with auditorium, kindergarten, and sewing-rooms, a basement for the boys' club and cooking school. The work includes all of the activities of an organized church, with preaching services, a Sunday School taught by volunteer white teachers from the Atlanta churches, a Christian Endeavor Society, and a Woman's

Auxiliary, together with programs for community service and betterment.

The Decatur Negro Mission with a smaller program was opened in 1927. A medical clinic, under the supervision of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Decatur Presbyterian Church, ministers to hundreds of Negroes each month. Two doctors and the county nurse, together with a corps of white assistants have ministered to thousands of patients during the last three years. The most recent development is a weekly dental clinic.

Both of the Atlanta missions are now under the direction of Rev. William Huck, Presbyterial Superintendent. Sixty volunteer white workers give some part of their time to this work.

The last of our colored missions, "THE BEREAN CENTER" IN NEW ORLEANS, was opened in 1929, under the leadership of Dr. U. D. Mooney, who resigned the pastorate of Napoleon Avenue Church to lead in "this purely missionary and Christ-like undertaking." The Berean Center is located in the midst of 130,000 Negroes, probably the largest Negro urban population of the South.

At present the staff consists of the director, for all his time; an office secretary, a boys' worker, a girls' worker, and a supervisor of sewing; all on part time, varying in the number of hours engaged. In addition, there are about fifty volunteer workers from the various white churches, who assist in the various activities.

The program of the mission includes a number of clubs and classes, a free baby clinic, and the services of a visiting nurse. In addition to his particular service at the Berean Center, the director seeks through the various social agencies to arouse a deeper interest in the needs of the Negro citizens of New Orleans.

A very unusual work which our committee helped to support for a while was the SAM DALY REFORMATORY. Sam Daly, an elder in the Negro Presbyterian church in Tuscaloosa, purchased a little farm out of the tips he had received from the students at the university. One day he saw in the papers that several young Negro boys in Birmingham were to be sentenced to the chain gang. He took the train, sought out the judge and said: "Judge Feagin, I see where

you are sentencing to the chain gang Negro boys in their teens. I believe they will be worse criminals than ever when their terms expire. I have come to ask if you will sentence them to my farm, and I will try and reform them."

The judge agreed to make the experiment, and on this Negro's poor sandy farm there grew up the Sam Daly Reformatory. Several years later Sam Daly stood before the General Assembly and stated that he had trained and returned to society over 200 Negro boys, ninety per cent of whom had made good.

Sam Daly died in 1913, but the work continued for a number of years under the supervision of Mrs. Daly, assisted by Rev. A. D. Wilkinson, whose salary was paid by the Executive Committee.

Another type of work among the Negroes is represented by the Colored Women's Conferences conducted by the Woman's Auxiliary. The conferences were inaugurated by Mrs. Winsborough and were first held at Stillman Institute. As their popularity grew, they were transferred to the Synodicals, practically each one of which now holds its own annual conference. About one thousand selected Negro women are enrolled in them each year for Bible Study, Missions, Church Activities, Health and Sanitation. Leaders in Inter-racial Work testify that these Conferences of the Presbyterian Church for Colored Women are of inestimable service in promoting better understanding between the races.

5. The Conferences for Colored Women

CONCLUSION

C. Luther Fry, in *The U. S. Looks at Its Churches,* estimates that seventy-three per cent of the adult Negro women in the United States are members of the Church, compared to sixty-two per cent of the adult white women; that forty-six per cent of adult Negro men are in the Church, compared to forty-nine per cent of the adult white men. Recent studies reveal what has long been suspected, that most Negro communities are seriously over-churched. They reveal also that the great majority of all Negro preachers are untrained,

many of them being quite illiterate, that the program of work of the average Negro church is generally meager, and that large numbers of the Negroes in the South as well as in the North are without any really adequate religious service. As a result, the Church is failing to hold many of its better educated youth.

A church that helps to prepare an adequate ministry, even in a small way, that trains Christian leaders in other spheres of life, that operates Negro missions in the slums of some of the great Southern cities, that brings each year a thousand Negro women to confer on religious and practical themes of life under trained and competent leadership, is rendering some service to the Negro race, even though its Negro constituency is comparatively insignificant.

Chapter Six

NEW RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SOUTH

Chapter Six

NEW RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SOUTH

THE Southern Presbyterian Church has attempted to discharge its responsibility to the population advancing westward, to the Indians, and the Negroes from very early times. In recent years it has begun to recognize its "debt" to other needy classes in the South.

I. THE HIGHLANDER

The Southern Highlands include two distinct, but in some ways, similar sections: the Appalachian Mountains in the East, the Ozark Mountains in the West.

The Appalachian Mountain chain extends along the Atlantic Coast from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the low lying lands on the Gulf of Mexico. It is cut almost in half by two rivers, the Potomac and the Monongahela. The southern half of this mountain country extends into the heart of our territory east of the Mississippi and cuts it into two approximately equal divisions. This whole mountain area is about 650 miles long and 200 miles wide; it includes 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 to 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 (the most famous of which are the Shenandoah

and the Holston), in which lie the upper courses of many rivers, which pass out of the long trench either at the end 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."[1]

In this mountain district thriving cities are to be found and fertile farms, particularly in the Great Valley, but this is not characteristic of the Southern Highlands as a whole. U. S. topographers report that in the Appalachian region mountain slopes occupy 90 per cent of the total area, and that 85 per cent of the land has a steeper slope than one foot in five. Not more than one-fourth of the land is under cultivation. Raine, in *The Land of Saddlebags,* says there are more mountains in Appalachia, the valleys are deeper and more frequent, the surface rougher and the trails steeper than in any other section of our country. E. A. Ross describes a characteristic section: "The mountains come down to a point like the letter V. Adown this crease brawls a petty river; leading into this from a smaller valley will be a creek; into the creek a branch, and into the branch a fork. Each settlement is a shoe-strong along one of these water courses and constitutes a world within itself, for it is insulated from its neighbors by one or two thousand feet of steep wooded ridge. The only wagon trails lie in the bed of a stream which you may have to ford twenty times in a mile."[2]

The Ozarks penetrate and divide our territory west of the Mississippi just as the Appalachian Mountains divide it in the east. They are a smaller replica of the Eastern Highlands, covering about 70,000 square miles to the latter's 108,000 square miles, and occupying a good-sized portion of three states, Arkansas, Missouri and Oklahoma.

The total population of the Appalachian Highlands in 1930 was 6,750,000 and of the Ozark region 1,850,000.

Dr. R. F. Campbell divided the natives of these sections into three classes: (1) Those whose ancestors settled in the broad rich valleys, or on extensive plateaus, where we now find prosperous towns begirt

[1]E. R. Hooker, *Religion in the Highlands,* p. 26, with permission of the Home Missions Council.

[2]E. A. Ross, "Pocketed Americans," *New Republic,* XXXVII, 170.

with fertile farms, such towns as Staunton, Lexington, Roanoke, Salem, Abingdon in Virginia; Morganton and Asheville in North Carolina; and Bristol, Knoxville and Chattanooga in Tennessee. The inhabitants of these towns and of the regions round about compare favorably with any population of the globe.

(2) Radiating from these valleys and plateaus are ranges of mountains growing more and more rugged and inaccessible, among which may be found two other grades of our mountain people. The higher grade are hardy, hospitable, honest and intelligent, but too far from the highways of civilization to have kept pace with their more fortunate kinsmen in education and the conveniences of modern life. In native force, however, they are in no way inferior, but rather superior to many more highly favored representatives of the same race. "They need only an introduction to civilization to prove themselves equal to any men in the world."

(3) People of the third class are shiftless, ignorant and apparently without aspirations. They haunt the fringes of the better communities in narrow coves, or far up on the mountain sides, though in some instances they are not so isolated, but are gathered in "settlements" which are homogeneously bad. "The mountains as well as the cities have their slums. Many of those who have written about the 'mountain whites' have made the mistake of describing this class as representative of the general condition of the Southern Appalachian."

The native Highlanders are for the most part descendants of those early groups who settled the American colonies, and who pushing westward remained for one reason or another in the broad river valley or the narrow mountain coves.

The three main stocks represented are: first, the English, earliest and most important settlers of the Atlantic Seaboard; second, the Scotch-Irish, and third, the German. These last two groups came in great numbers especially to Pennsylvania in the 18th century. In addition, there are a few Huguenots and some of the Highland Scotch.

Colonists from these various strains entered the Valley of Virginia and began gradually to penetrate the mountain regions about 1730.

Germans settled thickly in the regions about the lower end of the Shenandoah; the Scotch-Irish pushed on boldly into the regions beyond. Settlement of the Highlands continued during the Revolutionary War, and at an increasing speed after its end till about 1790. After this time there was some change in the character of the immigration. The movement of Germans and Scotch-Irish down the Valley from Pennsylvania slowed down. There was a greater migration to the Highlands, and through the Highlands to territory farther west by the earlier colonists from eastern Virginia and North Carolina.

"In judging those who stayed in the Highlands," says Miss Hooker, "it must be remembered that there was less difference than today between the Highlands and neighboring areas. Everywhere roads were poor, the forests were only partly cleared away, institutions had not been developed. And no one knew that the Highlands were to stand for generations cut off from the rest of the world."

But so it happened. "After 1850 the westward migration through the Highlands practically ceased; and while neighboring territory gradually acquired turnpikes and railroads, these improvements did not come to the Highlands. The people left behind were pretty much forgotten by the world outside."[3]

Isolation from the outside world, ignorance due to lack of schools or to inadequate schooling and extreme poverty have characterized thousands of the Highlanders from that day to this. The civilization of America has developed all about them and left them stranded in the fastnesses of the mountains.

The religious institutions of the Highlands, as might be expected, are relics of the early religious history of America, modified by the characteristics we have just mentioned. Presbyterian churches were not sustained by the Scotch-Irish who were separated from their brethren and who found it impossible to secure qualified ministers. In many sections Primitive Baptists are now the dominant group. They oppose Sunday Schools and an educated ministry, and carry their belief in predestination almost to the point of fatalism. In

[3]Hooker, *Religion in the Highlands*, pp. 34-35.

recent decades the various Holiness sects have made great headway in the mountains.

"The standard religious experience for the Highlanders," says Miss Hooker, "is a sudden emotional conversion rather than the gradual development of character. To bring about the conversion of sinners and the renewal of religious emotion in those previously converted, the protracted meeting is almost universally considered an important part of the church year.

"Aside from the protracted meeting the indigenous churches throughout the Highlands have a very simple program. Preaching services, usually held only once a month, and weekly Sunday School sessions, with here and there a prayer meeting, are about all there is to it. No form of community service is undertaken by the churches, the sole function of which is believed to consist in the preparation of individuals for happiness in a world beyond the grave.

"The ministers, or rather the preachers, for their duties in relation to their congregations are conceived to be fulfilled almost entirely through preaching, are in large measure untrained men who earn their living wholly or partly through other occupations, and who receive very little compensation from their churches, of which they usually serve from two to five."[4]

Some of the mountain people are destitute of religious privileges; many others hear only a caricature of the Gospel; an increasing number of the young people are dissatisfied, and cannot be reached by the ignorant, uninstructed preachers to whom they are accustomed. For all these reasons the Appalachian Mountains present one of the great mission fields in the South. The chief problems are lack of economic opportunity and consequent poverty; lack of adequate medical and hospital facilities and consequent prevalence of disease; lack of proper schools and consequent illiteracy; lack of good roads and adequate transportation facilities and consequent isolation and retardation; lack of strong churches with educated leadership and consequent weakness of religious life. Housing and social life present important related problems.

[4]Hooker, *Religion in the Highlands.*

The situation in the Ozarks is similar to that in the Appalachians. Population here came chiefly from the Southern Highlands, with the Scotch-Irish in the lead, 1820-1840 being the period of greatest migration. Unlike the Appalachians, however, there has been a continuous but fluctuating migration to the Ozarks since the first settlement. Religious destitution here is a little greater. Only about a fourth of the population are members of any church. No county in the area has over one-half of its population in the membership of the Protestant churches. In the Arkansas section seven counties out of thirty-four have less than twenty per cent of the population in church membership; only one has over fory per cent. In Missouri thirteen out of fifty-one counties have under twenty per cent of the population in the Church, only four have over forty per cent. In Oklahoma eleven out of fourteen counties have less than twenty per cent of their people in the church, and none has more than twenty-four per cent. Though the need here is greater, "the Ozark Mountain region has never made such an appeal to the general philanthropic interest of the country as has the Appalachian region, and has not attracted anything like the same degree of public and private philanthropic effort."

1. Beginning of Presbyterian Missions

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. began its missionary operations in the Southern Highlands as early as 1879, establishing a mission school near Concord, North Carolina. Gradually its work spread over the mountain region of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and West Virginia. By the end of the century there were thirty-one churches and thirty-seven mission schools under the control of its Home Mission Board.

Other churches followed the lead of the Northern Presbyterian Church and developed educational institutions, and evangelistic work through the Southern Highlands, the Congregationalists in 1884, the Episcopalians in 1889, the Northern Methodists in 1891.

First of the Southern denominations to begin missionary activities in the mountains was the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. Their

work, as that of the other Southern denominations, was at first evangelistic and only later educational.

The man who awoke the Southern Presbyterian Church to the need of the mountains, and who laid the foundation for our subsequent work in the Highlands was Dr. E. O. Guerrant, of Kentucky.

According to Dr. Guerrant's own account, his interest in the Highlanders went back to his early career as a soldier in the Civil War, and to his subsequent labors as a physician. "I was brought up in a village of churches," he said, "and thought all people this side of China were equally blessed. . . . When a young man I went to Virginia, the land of my fathers, to join the army, and rode more than 100 miles across the Cumberland Mountains. Although not looking for churches or preachers, I do not remember seeing a single one. During the year I crossed those mountains several times and still found no churches. After the War I became a physician and frequently rode through those mountains, visiting the sick, and still found only a church or two in many miles, though here were thousands of people with souls."

Dr. Guerrant finally abandoned the practise of medicine and entered Union Theological Seminary, with the intention of devoting his life to preaching the Gospel to the poor. As pastor of churches near the Highlands and then of the First Presbyterian Church of Louisville, Kentucky, he reminded the Synod repeatedly of the destitution of the mountains, and spoke of the culpable neglect of the Church in not sending them the Gospel.

When the Synod of Kentucky embarked upon its plan of Synodical Home Missions in 1881, Dr. Guerrant resigned his comfortable pastorate in Louisville to become one of the first Synodical Evangelists. He was assigned the eastern part of the state, including the mountain country. "I thought I had some idea of the vast destitution of the mountain regions," said Dr. Guerrant, "but when I entered the work I was amazed to find a region as large as the German Empire practically without churches, Sabbath Schools or qualified teachers; whole counties with tens of thousands of people who had

never seen a church or heard a Gospel sermon they could understand."

For almost four years Dr. Guerrant labored as a Synodical Evangelist, most of the time in the mountain section where no Presbyterian churches were to be found, and where few churches of any denomination were to be seen. "In the glory of his splendid prime, he passed like a veritable tongue of flame through the narrow valleys and along the tortuous waterways of our mountain country, bringing light and heat to many a dark and cold abode." And the people responded in remarkable fashion. Twelve churches were established by him in this one brief period. A church in Breathitt County was the first to be erected in the whole county.

After four years of such labors, Dr. Guerrant was forced by broken health to return to his pastorate; he continued, however, to serve the Highlanders to the extent of his strength.

Finally in 1897 he organized a Society of Soul Winners to support a more extensive work among the mountains than his own denomination had been able to support.

"After fifty years' knowledge of this people, and twenty-five years' labor among them as a minister," he said, "I was convinced that all agencies now employed or available by neighboring churches would never reach them in this generation or maybe in a dozen generations. So I appealed to all Christian people who loved their own countrymen to help save them. The response was such as only God could inspire. From every branch of the Church and every section of our country and beyond it, even from China and the Sandwich Islands God has raised up loving hearts and liberal hands to help."

The Society began with $360 and one missionary. For twelve years it raised $12,000 a year, maintained as many as seventy workers, established scores of churches in the mountain sections of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina.

"By this time Dr. Guerrant had been convinced that lasting religious results could not be obtained without training up leaders through teaching the young. He therefore introduced primary schools, many of which began their sessions in a log schoolhouse,

in a tent or under a tree. The annual report of the Society of Soul Winners for 1910 enumerates fifty-nine day schools, 1,343 pupils and 239 teachers. Many of these schools were small and were held only in summer; but some developed into boarding schools of considerable size."[5]

Dr. Guerrant continued to conduct this wide-spreading mountain work, through his Society of Soul Winners "on faith," without the backing of any church or patron, till finally in 1911, burdened with years and infirmities he turned it over to other agencies, mostly to the Executive Committee of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

Meanwhile, mountain work had begun to be developed in other parts of the Church. North Carolina began its Synodical missions in 1888. Wherever a pioneer evangelist went in the mountains he was likely to start a day school in connection with his work, and some of these schools developed into splendid institutions of learning. "In nearly every instance," says Craig, "these schools originated through the self-sacrificing labors of some godly woman in teaching a day mission school under the direction of the committee or some evangelist."[6]

2. *Development of Presbyterian Missions: North Carolina*

Mountain missions were pushed more aggressively in North Carolina after the erection of Asheville Presbytery in 1896. Two years after the Presbytery was set up it commissioned two evangelists to investigate the conditions in its own territory, including eleven of the westernmost counties in the state. The investigators were directed to leave the railroads and the larger villages and to seek out the secluded coves and the highlands. They found a number of homes without a lamp, a candle, a comb, a brush, a looking-glass or similar articles of civilized life. Many of the people had never seen a town. A buggy was an object of curiosity. The food was coarse, half-cooked, sometimes served on pieces of dishes black with dirt. The beds were often offensive to smell and inhabited by insects. There were families, none of whose members could read,

[5]Hooker, *Religion in the Highlands*, p. 201.
[6]D. I. Craig, *A History of the Development of the Church in North Carolina*, p. 119.

and in whose home there was not one word of print. Many other families had no Bibles. In one thickly settled district, 150 square miles, in which there were 400 children of school age, there was neither school, Sunday School nor church. In other sections, the religious leaders were ignorant, sometimes immoral. Under such circumstances, Asheville Presbytery developed a program which included both evangelism and education. By 1903 there were five mission schools within its bounds.

In this same year, 1903, the General Assembly's Committee began its work in the mountains. Through the gift of a Christian philanthropist, Nacoochee Institute in north Georgia was opened; the capacity of Lees-McRae Institute in Concord Presbytery, North Carolina, was doubled; financial assistance was given to the five schools in Asheville Presbytery.

3. Erection of Department of Mountain Missions

This aid was continued for a number of years, being extended gradually to a large number of institutions through private gifts, without calling on the regular funds of the Church. Regular Home Mission help was also given to some of the mountain Presbyteries, Asheville and Concord Presbyteries in North Carolina, Athens Presbytery in Georgia, Knoxville Presbytery in Tennessee, Ebenezer and Transylvania in Kentucky.

In 1911, Dr. E. O. Guerrant, feeling the effects of advancing age, transferred the great work he had developed, largely in the mountains of Kentucky, to the General Assembly. Fifty missionaries, operating eighteen mission centers, seventeen schools, including such outstanding ones as Highland Institute and Stuart Robinson, and an orphanage—thirty-four buildings in all—came into the possession of the General Assembly. It required $50,000 annually to care for this work whose responsibility the Assembly had assumed. A large part of this sum was raised by Dr. Guerrant whose interest in the work continued unabated till his death in 1915. In honor of him the General Assembly resolved that the work conveyed by him to the Church should be known as the Guerrant Inland Mission.

To take charge of its greatly increased obligation in Mountain missions, the Executive Committee elected in 1911 its first mountain superintendent, Rev. William E. Hudson. Dr. Hudson resigned in 1914 and was succeeded by Rev. J. W. Tyler; on his death in 1924 Rev. E. V. Tadlock became superintendent of the mountain work.

Five years after the Assembly had taken over the work of the Guerrant Inland Mission, mountain missions had become its most extensive work, requiring more of its income than all the vast territory beyond the Mississippi, once its sole missionary responsibility. Though the Executive Committee supported a superintendent of mountain missions who gave himself largely to evangelistic work, and though it aided the mountain Presbyteries in their evangelistic labors, the bulk of its support was given to the mission schools. At this time the Congregationalists supported five schools in the Southern Highlands, the United Presbyterians eight, the Disciples ten, the Southern Methodists fourteen, the Northern Presbyterians fifteen, the Southern Baptists thirty-four, the Southern Presbyterians forty-five.

Further impetus was given to the progress of mountain missions in 1915 by the formation of the Synod of Appalachia, including sections out of the four Synods of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky. The formation of these Presbyteries with their common interests, and common problems, into a separate Synod lifted the mountain sections of the Church out of the background and gave them a Church-wide prominence. The churches of the mountain Presbyteries having the same education and religious needs were able to develop their own resources, train their own leaders, build their own educational institutions, and carry out the programs best adapted to their needs.

4. Formation of Synod of Appalachia

In 1933 an Ad Interim Committee reported to the General Assembly: "The record of this youngest Synod of the Assembly reveals a phenomenal growth. Within the sixteen years of her short life, she has made an increase in membership of nearly eighty per cent. The record shows she is leading the other Synods in every

department of Church work. Further, we find in this young Synod an enthusiasm, a zeal, a Synodical consciousness, a solidarity of mind, heart, and purpose that is unprecedented."

5. *The Mission Schools*

The most distinctive, the most valued work in the mountains is that done by the mission schools. Since 1911 when the work of the Soul Winners' Society was transferred to the General Assembly some of these schools have been supported wholly by the Executive Committee; others have been supported by Presbytery or Synod, in most cases with aid from the Assembly's Committee.

In 1927, before the financial depression began to affect the mountain work, there were twelve schools with sixty-four teachers and 1,222 pupils supported entirely by the Assembly's committee and under the immediate supervision of the Mountain Department of the Executive Committee. There were twenty-one schools, with 116 teachers and 2,081 pupils that received financial aid from the Assembly's committee, but that were under the immediate supervision of Presbytery or Synod.

Seven of the twelve schools supported by the Assembly were in Kentucky, two were in Tennessee, there was one each in North Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia. The largest schools in this group were Stuart Robinson at Blackey, Kentucky, with eighteen teachers and 400 pupils; Highland Institute at Guerrant, Kentucky, with fifteen teachers and 200 pupils; Madison Synodical School at Madison, West Virginia, with eight teachers and 117 pupils; Blue Ridge Academy at The Hollow, Virginia, with six teachers and 109 pupils.

The Stuart Robinson School, founded in 1914, was the last enterprise undertaken by Dr. Guerrant. It was located by him in Letcher County, which held the record for the largest percentage of unchurched people in the United States, 97 per cent being out of the church altogether, and most of the rest being Primitive Baptists opposed to missions, Sunday Schools, and other forms of church activity. Opposition to the Presbyterians was at first intense and active, but was gradually overcome as the work of the school became

better known. After a few years this school had become the largest home mission school in the General Assembly, and next to Davidson College educated more young people annually than any school in the Presbyterian Church. Its curriculum now includes the grades, and the work of an accredited high school, with courses in agriculture, home economics, Bible, music and typing. Industrial features fit the pupils for the practical life of their mountain environment and help the students to earn their way through school. A resident trained nurse carries on a program of child welfare and devotes her whole time to looking after the health of the students and of the people of the community.

In 1930 a modern gymnasium was built and equipped through the generosity of one of the friends of the school; this building contains on its first floor the domestic science department, the shops, cannery, laundry, and clothing sales department—all modernly equipped except the shops. The following year the last payment was made upon the farm, now used as a demonstration project by the agricultural department of the school in connection with the extension work of the State University. At present the school has a faculty of twenty and 270 students.

Highland Institution was founded by Dr. Guerrant in Breathitt County in 1908 and had till recently about 200 pupils; it included an orphanage, a hospital with resident physician and nurse, a farm and a church. The depression has reduced the support of the institution approximately 35 per cent and required the closing of the orphanage. The home economics department in both Stuart Robinson and Highland was endowed by the Auxiliary Birthday Offering in 1932.

The medical work in the Kentucky Highlands developed out of the practice of Dr. E. O. Guerrant in taking physicians and surgeons to various places in the mountains for the benefit of those who were destitute of medical services. After his death doctors were employed to look after the health of the workers in the various schools and missions. This attention was extended to the pupils in the schools, and then clinics were held for the people residing in the communities adjacent to the schools. Finally, a resident physician

came to take charge of the hospital at Highland, and from Highland to carry his healing services throughout the mountain country. The hospital is at present greatly handicapped by lack of funds and equipment, but nonetheless serves a wide region which is not otherwise provided for.

THE WEST VIRGINIA SYNODICAL SCHOOL, at Madison, was opened in 1919; it offered instruction from the kindergarten through the high school, with a department in music, and practical instruction in domestic science and agriculture. It came to have about 100 pupils, became an Assembly school, but was closed in 1931 because public schools had developed and its services were no longer required.

Some of the largest and best equipped mountain missions of the Church have been those conducted by Presbyteries and Synods in cooperation with the General Assembly, among them Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School in Georgia; Lees-McRae College in North Carolina; Grundy in Virginia; Caddo Valley in Arkansas, and the school of the Ozarks in Missouri.

In 1903 Athens Presbytery in Georgia was asked to accept a valuable piece of school property as a gift, and there to establish and maintain a Christian school. The offer was accepted and NACOOCHEE INSTITUTE was opened that year at Sautee in the beautiful Nacoochee Valley, with two teachers, the only mountain school in the state. Meeting some difficulties at the beginning, the school gradually grew, receiving aid first from the Synod and then from the General Assembly. The work broadened out when a beautiful country estate was donated as a home for orphans and dependent girls.

The school at Rabun Gap, Georgia, was founded by Mr. and Mrs. Andrew J. Ritchie. Mr. Ritchie, graduating from Harvard in 1899, was the first boy from Rabun County to secure a college education. He taught for some years at Baylor University in Texas, returned then to his old home determined to establish a school for the children of his native mountains. In 1905 he established a small boarding school in which boys and girls could work to pay their expenses. The work was gradually enlarged till in 1926 the school possessed seventy-eight boarding pupils and 1,500 acres of fertile land located

at the headwaters of the Tennessee River amid the mountains of Northeastern Georgia.

On February 18, 1926, the main building of Rabun Gap was destroyed by fire, and on April 1st of the same year the two main buildings of Nacoochee were destroyed in the same way. The next year the two institutions, Nacoochee, which emphasized literary instruction, and Rabun Gap which stressed economic and industrial education were combined into one great mountain school. The elementary school, the Williams Home for Children, remained at Nacoochee. The high school, the dormitory, the administrative force were moved to Rabun Gap, where permanent stone and brick buildings were erected. The school is now on the Atlanta-Asheville Highway and has a property valuation of about $500,000.

There are at present two departments in the school. First, a rotating farm system, devised by Dr. Ritchie, which furnishes worthy mountain families with a fifty-acre farm, a six-room dwelling and a barn for a limited period, during which they are given intensive training in the elements of successful farming. Second, an academic department, with special emphasis on agriculture and home economics. As in all the mountain schools the Bible is taught throughout; Christian character is regarded as the dominant objective. There were in 1933 nine members on the faculty and 144 students.

Lees-McRae College represents the life work of Edgar Tufts, who spent his summer vacations at Banner Elk, North Carolina, while a student at Union Theological Seminary, and on graduation accepted a call to take charge of this inviting field. A little handful of children were being taught during a part of the summer by mission workers to supplement the brief and inadequate session of the public school. Mr. Tufts began to aid in the instruction of some of the more advanced pupils. The monotony and isolation of their lives, particularly the lives of the mountain girls, depressed him and fired him with a mighty resolve to give them the normal opportunities of youth, to build them "a boarding school right here in Banner Elk." In the fall of 1898 he laid the matter before his little congregation. Subscriptions were received from them and from the people

of the community to the value of $250 in lumber and work. After months of hard labor, during which a debt was never made (as one has never been made since), the dormitory and a two-room school building were ready for use. Additional buildings were erected as the needs developed; the course of study was expanded, and the faculty enlarged; in 1905 the boys' department was established at Plumtree; to the original purchase of land Tufts added gardens and orchards along the river; a beautiful church was erected. There were hundreds of neglected orphan children in the mountains. Moved by their need, and aided by the small gifts of many friends, Mr. Tufts bought a farm and established the Grandfather Orphanage. There was no doctor near to take care of the children or to minister to the people of the neighborhood, so an old building was converted into a hospital and dispensary for the care of the people. On June 1, 1924, a modern hospital and dispensary was opened, made possible through the generous gift of a friend in New York. Since then a new and larger hospital building has been erected. And so the work has continued to expand.

Edgar Tufts, frail of body, but large of soul and far ranging in his vision, whose sympathy for the neglected mountain folk has taken permanent form in one of the greatest works of the Church, died January 6, 1923. The mission schools at Banner Elk and Plumtree (now combined as Lees-McRae College at Banner Elk), Grandfather Orphanage and Grace Hospital were incorporated the next year as the Edgar Tufts Memorial Association. Each project has at the present time its own administrative head, but is a part of a larger whole, controlled by the Board of Trustees of the Memorial Association. Each month a copy of the little paper, the Pinnacles, appears to keep its progress before its friends in the Church, and in the summer time the strikingly beautiful stone dormitories function as Pinnacle Inn, open to summer guests.

In 1933 the college had 217 students and a staff of twenty-three. High school work is offered, but the school is distinctly a junior college, offering vocational and industrial work and training in the arts and crafts. Grace Hospital serves a thousand square miles of mountains where live 60,000 people. It receives aid from the Duke

Foundation and gives free care to 62 per cent of all its patients. It utilizes the service of twenty student nurses. Grandfather Orphanage serves the same territory, also receives Duke aid, and cares for about eighty-five mountain children.

Most of the mountain schools are in the Appalachians. The Synod of Missouri has developed, however, a splendid school, the SCHOOL OF THE OZARKS, at Point Lookout. This school has 200 students, twelve teachers and twelve other members on the staff. It is an accredited high school, offering vocational and spiritual training as do all the mountain schools. Students work their entire way. Last year a thousand were turned away because of lack of room.

In Arkansas the Assembly's Committee, in co-operation with the Synod, developed two mountain missions, one at MOUNTAINCREST, the other at CADDO VALLEY. The latter school was the result of evangelistic and pastoral work done in the mountain regions for thirteen years or more by Rev. John Barr, D. D. Only one other school in the county offered opportunity for high school instruction, and that was narrowly denominational.

In recent years public schools through the county have been consolidated and improved and school busses put in operation. In keeping with these developments the Academy's school building has been leased to the local school board; the Presbyterian Church providing the Bible teacher. At the same time it maintains dormitories for boys and girls, and needy and deserving youths are taken into them and supported through scholarships. They are intensively trained in Christian doctrines and morals. As a result, the institution is able to achieve all of its objectives without the expense of paying literary teachers.

Several years ago Rev. J. E. Jeter and his wife were touched by the needs of a large mountain area in the heart of the Ozarks in Northwest Arkansas. There was no school in the vicinity, and no Sunday School. Without a dollar and with no backing, Mr. and Mrs. Jeter turned their back on civilization and by faith undertook to establish a school that would furnish a Christian education for the neglected children of the mountains. MOUNTAINCREST, adopted by

the Synod and aided by the General Assembly, was the result. In 1933 this school was closed for lack of funds.

And so each of the mountain schools has its own history, each was or is an attempt to meet some specific need in the name of Jesus, the Saviour of all men, the friend of youth. In every school instruction in the Bible goes along with secular education; in most every case industrial and agricultural instruction for the boys, domestic science for the girls is included. The attempt is made not to educate the young people away from the mountains, but to fit them for life in the mountains.

Workers in the mountains are not only evangelists and educators, but social and community workers as well. They visit in the homes, offer sympathetic suggestions along lines of sanitation and domestic science; care for the sick; endeavor to meet every need in the spirit of Christ.

6. *The Changing Situation*

There have been many changes in the mountains in recent years. The rapid extension of an improved highway system has opened them to the world, and made the former isolation a thing of the past. The gradual improvement of the public schools has removed in some cases the necessity for the mission schools. State and philanthropic agencies have conducted campaigns against poor sanitation and disease. The introduction of industries, the development of natural resources, the ingress of population from the outside have provided in places money and facilities for better living. These and other changes have imparted to the Highlanders a widening life. At the same time they have brought to them new problems, dangers and temptations that were unknown to their forefathers. The new conditions in the Highlands do not end the need for missions, therefore, but only change them.

In 1929 the Executive Committee took notice of the changing situation in the mountains and emphasized its policy not to compete with the public schools, but to pass the responsibility for education to the state whenever it was possible.

Two years later the General Assembly adopted a report offered by its Ad Interim Committee which acknowledged that mission schools had been planted too promiscuously and sometimes poorly located. It approved the recommendations of the committee which declared that the ultimate aim of all mission schools should be evangelistic; that the Church would not plant or continue mission schools where the state provided adequate schools; that no graded or high school would be continued unless it were needed for some special forms of training which was not provided by the state, and which was necessary to the permanence and progress of the Church in the region served.

In accordance with this policy, but partly because of greatly diminished resources, the number of mission schools has been gradually decreased. Thus in 1925 fourteen mountain schools were maintained by the Assembly's Home Mission Committee. Today this committee controls only Stuart Robinson School, Highland Institution, and Brooks Memorial Academy, all in Kentucky. In similar fashion, institutions controlled by Presbyteries and Synods have decreased in number.

Some of the schools with a record of distinguished service have changed their purpose to meet the changing times. Thus, Grundy Presbyterian School, at Grundy, Virginia, which for twenty-five years had more than a hundred pupils each year, to whom it gave an excellent Christian training, now cares for a small number of orphans and furnishes a home for students from remote sections of Buchanan County. The children go to the public high school for their classes, while Grundy Presbyterian School furnishes a Christian home for pupils who otherwise would have no opportunity for such educational opportunities.

In somewhat similar fashion, Bachman Memorial School and Home, supported by the Presbytery of Knoxville, has become almost entirely a home for mountain children, particularly orphans. It turns its children over to the state for their secular education and furnishes such supplementary training to the public curriculum as may be conducive to the developing of a well-balanced character.

In one form or another, the mission schools are needed, and will continue to be needed. Miss Hooker, in her painstaking study, *Religion in the Highlands,* makes this very clear. She says, "Striking as have been the changes for the better in roads, in schools, and in provision for public health and for agricultural improvement throughout the more accessible sections of the Highlands, the transformation is hardly more than begun in the more secluded sections of the Appalachian plateaus. Here many counties still have but one stretch of surfaced road in their whole extent; the children of many townships are out of reach of high school, and even of elementary school during the months of worst weather and roads; sanitation is lacking and disease is prevalent; deeds of violence are condoned; political corruption is taken for granted; and families live each to itself in discomfort and squalor upon the bare means of subsistence raised upon their small and sloping farms. For such districts to provide for themselves the facilities of better-favored rural territory is impossible for two reasons: they do not realize their needs; and even if they did, they are too miserably poor to supply them."[7]

The mountain missions have a Christian purpose too which may be lacking in the public schools. As the editor of *Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow* says: "In the poorest mission schools and especially where there is a boarding department, the Christian purpose with its inevitable result in changed lives, in dedication to active Christian service, and in development of Christian lay leadership is at once apparent to the most casual visitor."

According to the editor of this authoritative study, three types of educational institutions can be justified as services not only legitimate, but of continuing necessity to mission board programs: first, those schools which offer educational opportunities to communities where the state has not yet assumed the burden; second, those schools which are blazing new trails in Christian education; third, schools whose avowed purpose is the training of a lay religious leadership. Though further adjustments may become necessary, the great mountain schools

[7]E. R. Hooker, *Religion in the Highlands,* p. 287.

will continue for an indefinite period to render a large and much-needed service.

II. THE FOREIGNER

Immigrants came to America in ever increasing numbers through the 19th century, and up to the eve of the World War. The following table indicates the average number coming annually in the indicated decades:

1820-30 ... 14,000	1850-60 260,000	1880-90 ...525,000
1830-40 ... 60,000	1860-70 231,000	1890-00 ...384,000
1840-50 . 171,000	1870-80 281,000	1900-10 ... 880,000

The high-water mark was reached in 1907 (1,285,000), though these figures were nearly duplicated again in the year ending June 30, 1914, at the outbreak of the World War. At this time one-third of the people living in the United States were either foreign-born or the sons of foreign-born.

An important change in the character of this immigration occurred about 1890. Arrivals before this time were largely from the north and west of Europe, and the stock was similar to that of the original settlers; it could be assimilated therefore fairly easily into American culture. After 1890 immigration began to come more largely from the south and east of Europe; it included Italians, Greeks, Poles, Russians and the like. Springing from a different stock than that of the original Americans and representing on the whole a lower culture, they were not easily assimilated into American life.

The vast majority of the immigrants settled in the large cities, the great industrial centers of the East. But with the returning prosperity of the South, the rise of new industries, the development of coal mines in West Virginia, steel mills about Birmingham, oil wells in Texas and the like, an increasing number, especially after the turn of the century, began to push into the South. In three years 15,000 foreigners came to live in Norfolk, Virginia. In 1910 there were 15,000 Cubans and 10,000 Italians in Tampa, Florida, and a large polyglot population running into much higher figures in New Orleans.

Some of these immigrants attracted to the South, Bohemians and Hungarians, for example, were Protestants in the old country, but found here no church to minister to them. The vast majority came from Roman or Greek Catholic lands, but many had become indifferent to the Catholic Church, others were frankly hostile. Two decades ago Professor Mangano declared that the Italians both in Italy and America could be divided into four general groups: (1) Those who were loyal to the Roman Catholic Church; (2) a larger group who were indifferent; (3) an atheistic, anarchistic and socialistic group, actively hostile to all religion; (4) a small group who had been reached by the evangelical churches. This situation has not changed for the Italians, and applies almost equally as well to the other foreign groups who have come to America in such large number since 1890.

Missions among these immigrants began through the interest of a few individuals, ministers or laymen, in the neglected foreign element of their own communities. The churches were aroused later. In fact, the great denominations did not seriously attempt to do home mission work among the immigrants from southern Europe till about 1908. Since that time the needs of the foreigners have assumed a commanding position, especially in the work of the great Northern denominations. Professor Abel in his survey, *Protestant Home Missions to Catholic Immigrants,* says that among the four major racial groups—the Slavic, Italian, Magyar and Mexican—there are now 2,082 Protestant foreign language churches and missions with more than 184,000 members. Lutherans have over a thousand of these centers, Northern Baptists 247, Northern Presbyterians 236, Northern Methodists 122.

The Southern denominations with a smaller foreign population in their midst, and with small resources, developed their foreign work later and on a smaller scale. At the time of Dr. Abel's survey, Southern Methodists operated sixty-eight centers, Southern Baptists fifty-six and Southern Presbyterians forty-nine.

1. Missions to the Mexicans

The oldest work of our own Church, and its largest in this field, has been among the Mexicans, who are constantly crossing and recrossing our Southern border. Not all the Mexicans in the United States, however, are immigrants. Texas and the Southwestern portion of the United States belonged originally to Mexico, and when this territory was annexed to the United States the Mexican residents, the earliest residents, became citizens of the United States. Among the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of the United States, therefore, there is a large native element.

Mexicans, however, continued to come into the United States after annexation, because of troubled political conditions at home, or because they hoped to improve their economic conditions here. After 1890 immigration became more rapid; in 1894 there were seventy-five thousand Mexicans in the United States; in 1910 more than two hundred thousand. During the World War there was a great demand for unskilled labor and Mexicans crossed over the boundary in larger numbers, completely displacing the Negro in many sections of the Southwest. In a region sixty miles wide on the Texas side of the Rio Grande it was estimated that there were ten or twenty Mexicans to every American. In many towns English was rarely spoken; Mexican customs prevailed, and the Roman Catholic religion was the only religion. San Antonio and El Paso in particular became great Mexican centers. In 1930 the census showed 1,422,533 Mexicans in the United States, about half of these in Texas, an increase of more than a hundred per cent since 1920.

Nominally, the Mexicans who came to the United States are Roman Catholic. But in recent years there has been a strong movement away from the Roman Church in Mexico, and thousands of the immigrants are in revolt against the only church that they know. It is estimated that forty per cent of those who come to America are lost to the Roman Catholic Church. In more recent years an anti-religious movement has developed in Mexico, as well as an anti-Catholic movement. The ignorance of the Mexicans has offered a fertile field for agitators and propagandists of many sorts.

Our work among this people began in the closing years of the seventies when the two Graybill brothers went out from Virginia under the auspices of the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions; one pressed on into Mexico, the other remained in Brownsville, Texas. Under the faithful ministry of DR. A. T. GRAYBILL, the church at Brownsville became the mother church of all the mission work which the Southern Presbyterian Church has done for the Mexicans in Mexico.

Home mission work among the Mexicans was an indirect product of the same Brownsville Church. It had its origin in a humble Mexican Christian named JOSE MARIA BOTELLO, who was converted to Protestant Christianity through reading a religious tract. He joined the Mexican church in Brownsville and later became an elder.

In 1883 Senor Botello moved with his family from Brownsville to San Marcos in the interior of the state. "Being a sincere Christian and a loyal Presbyterian," says Evangelist W. S. Scott, Botello "did not hide his candle under a bushel. He and his family held daily prayers and Gospel services on the Sabbath. This brought on petty persecutions, but the Lord sustained them and gave them the victory. It was not long before they began to have inquirers. While they sowed seed in their field they sowed the Gospel seed in the hearts of their neighbors, and soon that seed gave fruit. In less than half a year Botello had ten or twelve converts ready to accept the Gospel and make public profession of their faith in Christ."

On July 13, 1884, ten of these converts were received into the First Presbyterian Church of San Marcos, then supplied by Rev. J. B. French, and the others united a few weeks later. Three years more and the Mexican Presbyterian Church of San Marcos was organized with twenty-six members, two ruling elders and two deacons, the church being under the charge of a Mexican, Juan C. Hernandez.

On the same day that this church was organized a young man, with whom the Mexican work in Texas has ever since been identified, was taken under the care of Western Texas Presbytery as a candidate for the Gospel ministry. This young man, WALTER S. SCOTT, was born of Scotch parents who moved to Mexico during the Civil

War. Reared among the Mexicans, he spoke the language with the ease and fluency of a native. He had intended to return to Mexico as a missionary, but was persuaded by older missionaries to work among the Mexicans in the United States, assured that if they could be brought to Christ they would become in turn a power in the work among their own countrymen. It seems providential that such a man was secured for the work in Texas at the very time that Mexican immigration into the United States was beginning to assume really large proportions.

On April 17, 1892, Walter S. Scott was put in charge of the San Marcos Church, which he had visited repeatedly during the preceding years, and was also appointed as an evangelist to the Mexicans in Texas.

In a few years there were five churches in the neighborhood of San Marcos, and four more which Scott had developed in the Uvalde field 143 miles away. With the aid of native elders, he cared for both of these groups of churches, at the same time had charge of all the territory embraced by the Presbytery of Western Texas, and worked at ten or twelve other points. He organized churches at Bexar, Laredo, Corpus Christi, Beeville, Clareville, Victoria, Gonzales, San Antonio—fifteen churches in his first sixteen years, twenty-five churches by 1924.

To the assistance of Mr. Scott in 1894 came Dr. H. B. Pratt, formerly a missionary of our Church at Barranquilla, South America. Dr. Pratt was a great scholar; he had given the Spanish-speaking people a translation of the Bible into their language, and written an excellent commentary on the Pentateuch. He now rendered valuable assistance as evangelist and pastor among the Mexicans at Laredo; his greatest service, however, was to train several young Mexicans for the ministry, men needed for the waiting fields and who ever since have been powers for good among their own people.

When Dr. Pratt had to leave Texas in 1899, Rev. R. D. Campbell, who had been a missionary to Mexico, came to take his place. He took charge of the work at Laredo and Corpus Christi. Together with Mr. Scott he has borne the burden of and deserves the credit

for the splendid development of the Mexican work down to the present day.

As a result of the combined labors of Scott and Campbell and the native missionaries trained by Dr. Pratt, preaching points increased and believers multiplied.

On July 30, 1908 the first MEXICAN PRESBYTERY, TEXAS-MEXICAN, was formed with four ministers, W. S. Scott, R. D. Campbell, Reynoldo Avila and E. Trevino. Mr. Scott who presided referred to the new Presbytery as a trophy of the Executive Committee of Home Missions.

The new Presbytery extended over a territory 400 miles long and 300 miles wide, and included seventy or more counties. Of necessity the churches were widely scattered, but each was a center of Christian influence. Headquarters for the Presbytery were at Austin, residence of Rev. R. D. Campbell, who in addition to his pastorate was the wise counsellor and trusted friend of his Mexican brethren. The same year that the new Presbytery was organized, Rev. and Mrs. C. R. Womeldorf came to work in the northern part of the state.

THE ADVANCE FIELD. The Mexicans who had at first congregated in a strip along the border spread gradually throughout Texas, and Mexican colonies sprang up in the central and northern part of the state. With the passion of a pioneer, W. S. Scott sought them out, and in 1918 the Advance Field, covering roughly the northern half of the state, was organized as a new mission field by the Synod of Texas, with Mr. Scott as evangelist in chief. It was hoped that the Advance Field would develop in time into another Presbytery, and that ultimately a Texas-Mexican Synod might be formed. The growth of the new field has been rapid for the number of workers employed, and the new Presbytery is expected to come in process of time.

Because of its isolation, the Mexican church at El Paso and other missions in that region belong to and are administered by the Presbytery of El Paso.

There are difficulties in carrying the Gospel to the Mexicans, in addition to the ordinary difficulties that regularly confront the ambassadors of Christ. For one thing, Mexicans are constantly on the move. Few own their homes. Many are tenant farmers. Some ride the cattle ranges. Great numbers do manual labor on railroads and farms and in mines.

"In addition to the difficulties common to all mission work," says R. D. Campbell, "we encounter those peculiar to the stranger in a strange land, with its attendant poverty, ignorance, especially of our language and customs, and consequent hard working conditions and ever-increasing search for something better." The depression has made the problem immeasurably worse. Illiteracy, wretched housing conditions, unstable support, poverty, and a general low standard of living prevail everywhere.

In spite of the difficulties our Church has taken great pride in its Mexican work. It has grown steadily and is as successful as any mission conducted by any church among foreign-speaking people. Statistics are an inadequate indication of work accomplished. A large number of the converts of our mission have moved beyond its bounds; many have returned with the Gospel to their native lands.

But with all that has been done, the Protestant churches have not yet touched the fringe of the problem. In all the missions there are less than 28,000 Protestants. With increasing restrictions thrown about religious work in Mexico, with a growing strain between Mexicans and Romanism, there is the greater need for Protestants to carry the Gospel to the Mexicans in the United States. Rev. R. D. Campbell, who has given thirty-four years to the Mexican work, writes: "I have never seen the Mexican people more willing to listen to the Gospel, nor more responsive to its claims than at present." Rev. W. S. Scott, who for more than forty years has been an evangelist to the Mexicans, gives the same testimony.

If the Mexicans in Texas are to be won for Christ, it must be done ultimately by the Texas-Mexicans themselves. Realization of this fact has led to the establishment of two schools for Mexican youth—

the Texas-Mexican Industrial Institute for Boys at Kingsville, and the Presbyterian School for Mexican Girls at Taft, Texas.

TEX-MEX, as the former school is affectionately termed, opened its doors October 1, 1912, under the direction of Dr. J. W. Skinner. The school possessed at the time 660 acres of uncleared land, a two-story frame house, a mule barn used for a class room, and a feed shed converted into a dormitory. A Gulf storm blew down the school buildings in 1916, and a tornado wrecked the buildings again in 1920. But in spite of such mishaps the school has grown steadily in equipment and in usefulness. There are now four interlocking tile buildings and five frame houses, including an administration building with class rooms and chapel, a library and reading room, dormitories, a dining hall with commissary and teachers' home. There are four class-room teachers, two industrial supervisors, a matron and the president.

The school seeks to prepare Mexican boys for Christian life and service; it hopes to train young men who will take the lead in developing Christian work among the Mexicans in Texas. The curriculum includes primary grades through the high school. Industrial features are included, so that the pupils may be enabled to help themselves through the school, and also be prepared to serve their own people and if need be to make a living with their hands.

In 1933 only $39 a year was required for tuition, room and board; many, however, were unable to pay that, and the decreased income of recent years has reduced the attendance from ninety to sixty-five. Twenty-six of the students were baptized and received into the Presbyterian Church during the session 1932-33, most of them never having heard a Protestant service before coming to Tex-Mex.

Graduates of the school now hold important positions in secular and religious affairs, both in Mexico and in the United States.

PRES-MEX. The women of the church sensed the fact that girls as well as boys must be trained if there were to be Christian homes, and through them Christian leaders among the Mexicans in Texas. Most of the Mexican girls in the Presbyterian Church could neither read nor write. Though naturally bright, they had had no chance to

learn. A few progressed as far as the high school, but almost none graduated. Language was one serious difficulty, poverty another, race prejudice another.

And so the women of the Texas Synodical, encouraged by Mrs. Winsborough, planned to establish a Presbyterian school for Mexican girls. $25,000 was given by the Texas Synodical; $25,000 more by the Auxiliary as a whole. Friends in Taft donated 200 acres of land and $10,000 in cash. The school opened in 1924 with twenty-four girls.

The school does not purpose to educate the mass of Mexican young women, but to train leaders and teachers for the Mexican people. Academic work continues through the high school. Industrial features are included, and self-help required as in the school for boys.

The enrollment is strictly limited (fifty-one in 1933) because of the lack of funds and the purpose to keep free from debt. In this year there were a group of eight workers, a president, a matron and six teachers. The students are chosen by the various churches and mission centers so that the girls enter school as the chosen representatives of their communities.

Dr. J. W. Skinner, founder and for nineteen years president of Texas-Mexican Industrial Institute, died October 24, 1931. He had resigned his pastorate in Colorado and come to Texas to salvage a shaky financial investment. There he was drafted into the service of the Southern Presbyterian Church, and of the Mexicans in Texas. In reporting his death to the General Assembly, Dr. McMillan described him as one of the foremost ministers of the Presbyterian Church, and a pioneer in Christian industrial education for Mexican youth. "This splendid school for Mexican boys, known far and wide as a model of its kind, is a monument to his faith and vision and perseverance. When the companion school for Mexican girls at Taft, Texas, was organized he gave generously of his assistance in providing material equipment and in outlining practical courses of study. These mission schools are visible symbols of Dr. Skinner's work. Yet his greatest monument is inscribed in the hearts and lives

of the boys and girls who through the years he lived with them caught a vision of the beauty of a life of Christian service. Preacher, scholar, scientist, Moderator of the General Assembly, Dr. Skinner considered it his greatest honor to be a home missionary."

Some of the boys who graduate from Texas-Mexican Industrial Institute continue their education through college; a few of these dedicate their lives to the Gospel ministry. To provide for the needs of such young men, on whom the evangelization of the Mexicans in Texas and in Mexico as well must increasingly depend, AUSTIN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY in 1930 opened a Spanish department. All of the privileges of the seminary and all of its courses of instruction were open to the Mexican candidates for the ministry. However, the lack of facility with the English language limited the ability of such students to take full advantage of the regular course of study. To overcome this language handicap, the Executive Committee began in 1922 to provide a teacher with a knowledge of the Spanish language to be associated with the seminary faculty. In addition to the work which this teacher offered in Spanish, he sought to make the other courses more profitable to the Mexican students.

Prof. R. B. Gribble has been in charge of this work from the beginning. He has been assisted by Rev. A. H. Perpetuo, Rev. O. C. Williamson, formerly a missionary in Mexico, and more recently by Rev. R. D. Campbell, superintendent of our Spanish-speaking work. In 1933 five students were enrolled in this department. The seminary is also used as a rallying center for short, intensive courses and conferences for the Mexican workers.

In addition to the work carried on among the Mexicans (in conjunction with the Synod of Texas) the Executive Committee has for some years, though in a smaller way, attempted to aid various Presbyteries in carrying the Gospel to other foreign groups in the South.

2. Missions to Other Foreigners

Aid began to be given and a specific department of foreign work was established in the Executive Committee of Home Missions in 1909. In that year help was given to the French and Italian work which had been conducted for years in the Pres-

bytery of New Orleans; to evangelistic work which was being carried on among the Italians in Birmingham, and to a work being started among the Bohemians in Virginia. Independent work was being carried on at the same time among the Italians in Kansas City by the Central Presbyterian Church. Work was being planned for the Cubans in Tampa. In a very few years the General Assembly was taking an active part in preaching the Gospel to a dozen different nationalities.

Presbytery of New Orleans. The Synod which had the largest foreign problem on its hands was the Synod of Louisiana. There were approximately 400,000 French-speaking people in its bounds, descendants for the most part of the original settlers who occupied the country about New Orleans before the Louisiana Purchase, or of the early arrivals in the "Evangeline Country"—refugees from the French provinces which Great Britain conquered in Canada. The intervening years had not served to assimilate them wholly into American life; French was the native tongue of whole sections of the state, and Roman Catholicism was the only religion.

In 1926 Dr. George Summey wrote: "In many of these Romanized parishes, especially in the rural districts, the people are turning their faces towards the liberty and enlightenment of Protestantism, the parochial schools are deserted for the public schools, parents are discouraging the use of the French language by their children, men and women are yearning for a more intense 'Americanization,' and thousands have little use for the church except for the inherited formalities or sanctions of baptisms, marriages and funerals. The great trouble with all this practical 'Los von Rome' is that, having no knowledge or experience of any other religion or faith than that of the Roman hierarchy, multitudes think religion is a sham and they repudiate all faith."

In addition to the French, there were in Louisiana approximately 50,000 Italians, great numbers of Germans, some 10,000 Spanish-speaking people, a thousand or more Syrians, a colony of Hungarians, and numbers of Chinese passing in and out of the great port.

The Presbytery of New Orleans, in which the most of this need lay, had begun work among the foreign groups as early as 1882, but it was hard to carry the work alone. Presbyterians were the strongest Protestant denomination in New Orleans, but they numbered less than 5,000, while the city contained 200,000 Roman Catholics. The Synod of Louisiana is one of the weakest of our Synods. Most of the churches are small. It was only natural, therefore, that when the General Assembly developed its foreign-speaking work aid should be given to this faithful and overburdened Presbytery.

In 1911 the Presbytery, with the aid of the General Assembly, employed two missionaries among the Germans, two among the Syrians, one among the Spanish-speaking people, one among the Chinese, two among the Hungarians, two among the Italians, four among the French. In 1915 twenty-two missionaries were ministering to the foreign-speaking people in the state.

The two German churches very quickly became self-supporting. Other missions have been discontinued, some for lack of funds, others for lack of workers. A few are still continued in spite of recent financial difficulties.

Work for the French people is conducted in the country districts adjacent to New Iberia, Jeanerette and Houma. Several Sunday Schools are maintained. There is an organized church at Bayou Bleu. A church for the Hungarians is supported at Hammond.

The mission for the Chinese was begun in 1884. It was in general a wayside ministry to those in need, and known as such to every Chinese immigrant who shipped for New Orleans. If any Chinaman was sick or in trouble, help was always available. Preaching services are now held, a Sunday School conducted in a building owned by the Presbytery. It has never been practicable to organize a Chinese church, but converts of the mission are found in the white churches of New Orleans, and many have carried their faith in Christ to other cities in America and back to their native land.

ITALIAN MISSIONS Most numerous by far of the immigrants who have come to American shores in recent years are the Italians, now a "familiar and omnipresent part of the American scene." According

to the last census, there were four and a half million of them in the United States.

Missions for the Italians have sprung up in many parts of the country. Probably no one is better equipped or more successfully conducted than the Italian Institute and Central Chapel at Kansas City. The mission has a long history. In 1897 Central Presbyterian Church started a Sunday School in what is known as "Little Italy," intended for Americans as well as foreigners. But as the Italians moved in and the Americans moved out, attention of the mission became directed almost entirely to the former. There were six thousand of them, mostly from Southern Italy, congregated in a section of the city in which most of the saloons were located, and which contained the segregated vice district.

A native minister was called; a fine plant costing about $16,000 erected by Central Church. Rev. J. B. Bisceglia, who has been mainly responsible for the splendid development in recent years, took charge of the mission in 1918. A little later a branch mission was opened in the northwest district of the city, into which a large number of the Italians were moving.

The principal aim of the mission has always been to win souls for Jesus Christ and the main emphasis has always been placed on the religious work, but to attract people who through ignorance or prejudice would fail to come to the place of worship, and to improve the body and the mind as well as the soul of these new Americans settlement features have been used from the beginning with great success. Thus the mission has developed a Child Welfare Station; clubs for various groups; the first Protestant Mutual Benefit Society among the Italians in America; the only Nursery School for Italians in the city; classes in piano, voice, the violin; a Daily Vacation Bible School; a playground; a bi-lingual semi-monthly publication, *Il Messaggero,* which carries in each issue some spiritual message, and which gives a clear interpretation of American life and ideals. In one recent year twenty-seven new members were received into the church, another young man (the fourth) added to the list of candidates for the min-

istry. The attendance at the clinic numbered 2,241; 2,376 treatments and dressings were given in addition; and 3,145 social cases were handled. Over 53,000 children used the playground, and the mission paper entered almost every Italian home in the city. At the present time there are about 150 Italian members of the Central Presbyterian Church who have come through and are a part of the Italian Mission. Its varied program reaches not less than 5,000 individuals, approximately one-half of the Italian population of Kansas City.

Birmingham, as one of the great industrial centers of the South, has attracted an unusually large number of foreigners. Forty-one different nationalities have been listed by the United States census, the largest single group being the Italians. Thirty thousand were estimated to live in Birmingham or neighborhood in 1925, and they were particularly numerous in the town of Ensley. Work was opened here in 1909, when the Executive Committee built a mission house and chapel. For several years a splendid work was conducted here with an Italian pastor in charge, assisted by trained women workers. Several mission Sunday Schools were developed. When the World War came, however, the Italians were scattered and the work declined. An attempt was made after the War to revive it, and a church was organized for the Italians in the district, but it was soon abandoned because of the inability of the committee to secure a satisfactory worker. The Italian Mission in New Orleans was abandoned for the same reason after a successful service of thirty-five years.

The only indigenous Protestants in Italy are the heroic and often martyred Waldensians, tracing their lineage back to Peter Waldo in the 12th century. They have belonged to the Reformed or Presbyterian branch of the Church since the early Reformation. The Executive Committee of Home Missions has extended aid to a few colonies of these Waldensians in America, one at Valdese, North Carolina, another at Wolf Ridge, Texas, another at Galveston.

Bohemian Missions. The census of 1930 reported two million foreign-born Slavs in America, indicating a total population, including those of foreign or mixed parentage, of about six million. In this

conglomerate of racial groups or nationalities are included the Russians, Bulgarians and Serbians, who belong predominantly to the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and Slovenes, who are predominantly Roman Catholic. The Czechs, or Bohemians, constitute about one-tenth of the Slavic group in the United States. A few thousand of them have settled in Virginia, particularly in Prince George County, where they now own a large proportion of the farms.

In the old country before the World War about two per cent of the Bohemians were Protestants and were oppressed because of their faith by the Catholic Church. A number of them came to America, happy to live in a Protestant land. A group of these in Virginia were organized into a Congregational Church. Another group applied to East Hanover Presbytery for organization into a Presbyterian church. The request was readily granted, and in December, 1908, the church was organized with a membership of thirty-three.

For a while services were held in the home of one of the elders. Then with the assistance of friends in Petersburg they erected a neat brick church. Outposts were established, one of which is still maintained at the present time. The pastor, Rev. Adolph Makovsky, writes: "Though we are losing some of our young people to the cities and by inter-marriage with the Americans, we have a small growth every year. There are always some new people who come and buy or rent the abandoned farms, and as most of our families are large we have every year a class of catechumens of ten or twelve who receive special instruction in the Bible and the Catechism before they are confirmed. . . . Every year we use more English language in our work. Since the immigration was so restricted we have very little addition from Europe. Our young people are Americanized, and many marry with Americans. We feel we are just filling the gap between the old country and this better country. With the help of our Lord we strive to fill that place faithfully. Our church is deeply grateful to the Southern Presbyterian Church for the support of our work."

A work was begun among the Bohemians in Texas in 1910, but it was transferred the next year to the Northern Presbyterians, who have developed a very extensive and successful mission among this particular folk.

MISSIONS FOR THE CUBANS. Most of the foreign population of Florida lives either in Key West or in that portion of Tampa known as Ybor City, and are made up chiefly of Cubans, Spaniards and Italians. There were till recently at least about 7,000 Cubans and Spaniards in Key West, about 17,000 in Tampa, most of them employed in the manufacture of cigars in those two districts.

The Cubans speak their native tongue almost exclusively, making little effort to learn the English language. The Roman Catholic Church has lost its hold upon them almost entirely. Not one per cent, it is estimated, ever go inside a church. Very few have been reached by the evangelical churches.

Our work in Ybor City began in July, 1909, as a mission Sunday School; it grew; in 1915 a substantial brick building was erected by the General Assembly's Committee; Ybor City Presbyterian Church was organized February 17, 1915, and has now a membership of forty-seven.

Key West is the fartherest church south in our Assembly, being situated on an island 150 miles south of Miami and 90 miles from Havana. The work here is bilingual, the same minister serving the American residents and the Cubans, as well as the soldiers, sailors and tourists. For many years a small band of loyal Presbyterians, interested in the religious welfare of their Cuban neighbors, sustained the work alone without much organization and with no church home. A church was organized in 1923 with twenty-five American members and twenty-two Cubans.

In 1931 a congregation of two hundred Bahamas (Negroes), developed by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society of London, was transferred to our Assembly. We gained thereby a fine church building, a manse and a mission hall valued at $35,000.

MISSIONS FOR THE HUNGARIANS. Of special interest to Southern Presbyterians are the quarter million or more Magyars (Hungarians) in the United States. This great race which migrated from Asia, and with their flocks and herds occupied the fertile plains of Hungary in the 9th century, have played an important role in the history of Europe and its religious life for more than a thousand years. About one-fourth of the race, both in Europe and America, are Protestants and the most of these are Presbyterian or Reformed.

In 1910 more than a thousand Magyars, along with Italians and Slavs, were employed in the vast coal and coke industry centering around Norton in Southwestern Virginia, and in flush time there were two and three times as many. No work was done for them by any denomination, except the Roman Catholic, which sent them an occasional itinerant priest. The Protestant element seemed eager for religious help.

This year Abingdon Presbytery, with the help of the Executive Committee of Home Missions, employed a pastor to work among the mines. After five years of labor, Mr. Ujlaky succeeded in building up two churches with more than a hundred members. At the end of this time ill health forced him to retire.

A few years later the work was resumed under the direction of Rev. Benjamin Csutoros, who preached among the coal fields of Wise County and brought together several hundred Hungarian Presbyterians in small groups through this territory. But with Mr. Csutoros' death the work was dropped; for lack of a satisfactory pastor it was never resumed.

In 1914, 159 Hungarians petitioned for the organization of a Presbyterian church at Holden, West Virginia. E. Von Pechy was secured, the church agreeing to pay half the salary, the First Church, Charleston, the other half. Mr. Von Pechy traveled over a good part of the state, ministering to his countrymen among the mines. But his work was abandoned in 1920 on account of ill health and because the mine in which the church was located had come into the hands of Roman Catholics.

A Hungarian church is still supported at Hammond, Louisiana.

MISSIONS FOR THE SYRIANS. For a number of years a work for the large Syrian colony in Atlanta has been conducted with varying success. It was begun in 1915 as a co-operative undertaking by the Executive Committee and the Auxiliaries of certain Atlanta churches. In 1928 the work was taken over by Atlanta Presbytery. It is now operated very largely and very successfully by the young people of the Presbytery, under the general direction of Dr. William Huck.

During the War, for a short period, religious work was also carried on among colonies of Russians and Japanese.

3. The Present Situation

During the World War a great number of foreigners returned to their native lands. Several of our foreign-speaking churches were depleted by this reflex movement. The policy of restricted immigration established in 1924, and more recently the world-wide economic depression have stopped the influx into America; in fact, the immigrant tide has actually turned and is now flowing out. But this does not dispose of the fourteen million of the foreign-born, together with the twenty-six million of the second generation already here. If this huge mass is not leavened with positive Christian ideals, then the civilization of America will inevitably suffer.

"The evangelization of Catholic immigrants," says Professor Abel,[8] "was undertaken by the Protestant churches in the belief that the ideals and principles of government and social life in America were derived from and supported by the spirit of Protestantism. Evangelization was conceived to be the most adequate means of Americanization and the best way to retain these ideals and principles, while at the same time safeguarding the supremacy of Protestantism which was thought to be endangered by the influx of peoples from Catholic countries."

Though mission work has been carried on for over fifty years among immigrants, with the expenditure of between fifty and one hundred million dollars, Professor Abel concludes that the enterprise has failed

[8]Theodore Abel, *Protestant Home Missions to Catholic Immigrants.*

to realize the main purpose for which it was instituted. "Thousands of immigrants," he says, "have derived spiritual and other benefits from the mission enterprise, particularly through the assistance which they have obtained in making better personal as well as social adjustments, and through participation in the activities of social centers. A better understanding of Protestantism among immigrants has been achieved."

But the enterprise "has failed to accomplish to any significant degree the evangelization of Catholic immigrants and their descendants, and has not achieved the control which it sought for directing the process of their adaptation to American life. No movement toward Protestantism has taken place as a result of these missionary efforts. There has come under the influence of the Protestant Church only an insignificant fraction of the total number of immigrants from the non-Protestant countries."

"The slow progress of Protestant Missions among Italians," says the editor of *Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow,* and the same might be said of other immigrant groups, "is not due to their devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. What all churches confront is a vast indifference to religion and a growing materialism. This is the condition which the Home Mission societies have finally to reckon with." Despite all difficulties, and often discouragements, the missionary agencies of the Protestant churches will not retreat. This is the thing for which they have been created. It is the reason for their being.

Southern Presbyterian Missions have been crippled by the depression, some as noted have been closed because it was impossible to secure acceptable workers. But in addition to the work for Mexicans, which is the most extensive work carried on by our Church for a foreign-speaking group, and is in co-operation with the Synod of Texas, the Executive Committee, in co-operation with the Presbyteries, carries on work for Hungarians, French and Chinese in New Orleans Presbytery; for Italians in Brazos and Upper Missouri Presbyteries; for Cubans and Bahamas in St. John's Presbytery; for

Czecho-Slovakians in East Hanover Presbytery, and for Syrians in Atlanta Presbytery.

"Every one of these Presbyteries," said Dr. McMillan in 1932, "report splendid progress this year in the foreign-speaking work, despite the depression and the consequent wide-spread unemployment which bears more heavily upon these foreign communities than any other class of our population. Every mission reports increasing spiritual interest, larger attendance in the Sunday School and more additions upon profession of faith."

III. THE JEW

There are approximately four and a half million Jews in the United States, one-third of the entire race. They have prospered amazingly in this land of freedom. "Here there are no ghettos to hem them in, nor discriminating laws to cow their spirit. Though a large number of the more recent immigrants are poor and have only the economic outlook in life of wage earners, yet no element of the population is so eager to avail itself of economic and educational advantages. They press forward to enter every open door. Though constituting but three per cent of the total population, they form ten per cent of the student body in the higher schools of learning, and through this they enter into all the professions. They have reached the foremost places as lawyers, doctors, educationalists, scientists, engineers and journalists. In industry and commerce, in politics and finance, they exercise a powerful influence. They own and manage a number of the most important newspapers. They control the theaters. The motion pictures, jewelry, fur, clothing and other industries are in their hands. They furnish governors for three states and mayors for ten cities. They are well represented in state and national legislatures and two Jews sit on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States.

"In this country Jews are at the peak of their experience, economically, politically and culturally. They will doubtless occupy a still larger place in American life. They now hold the leadership of the Jews of the world. What happens to the Jews in America will largely determine the future of Jews everywhere.

"What is giving the Jewish leaders the deepest concern today is the widespread drift of their people from the ancient faith. The synagogue is no longer the dominant factor in Jewish life."[9]

The failure of the synagogue to retain the allegiance of the Jew, coupled with his new receptiveness to Christian truth, gives the Church its supreme opportunity to win large numbers of them to Christ.

Overtures regarding definite missions for this people began to be sent up to the General Assembly as early as 1873, but the Church as a whole seemed to have little interest in the matter, and the Home Mission Committee did not feel that anything could be done. In 1915, however, correspondence was opened with the Northern Presbyterian Church regarding the co-operation of the two churches in a mission to the Jews, and in 1920 the Committee of Jewish Work in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. invited the Southern Presbyterian Church, through its Executive Committee of Home Missions, to co-operate with them in a Joint Mission in the city of Baltimore. The offer was promptly accepted, a suitable building was secured on Lombard Street in the heart of a Jewish settlement of about 45,000, many of whom were recent immigrants to America, and a regular city mission inaugurated, with Sunday School, street preaching, reading rooms and clubs for social service.

At first there was much opposition from the Jews in the neighborhood but open hostility gradually subsided. In 1923 Rev. M. Birnbaum, who was in charge, reported: "Some time ago our chief anxiety was to get the children, now it is how to find room for them and secure teachers to give them the proper attention."

In 1925 a second mission, also in co-operation with the Northern Presbyterians, was undertaken in Washington, D. C. Community service classes in English for Jewish mothers, clubs for boys and girls, Vacation Bible Schools were carried on in Northminster Presbyterian Church, largely by volunteer workers from the Presbyterian churches of the city. In recent years the work of the Jewish center has been abandoned, but Christian women, members of the Presbyterian

[9]H. M. Morse, *Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow.*

churches of Washington, teach small groups of Jewish women and exchange visits with them in their homes, and in this way win friends for Jesus.

"The Assembly," said the Executive Committee in 1928, "inaugurated the Jewish work in the expectation that the large contributions going every year from the members of our Church to the various independent missions throughout the country would be sent to the committee for the support of a Jewish work under responsible control. This hope has not been fully realized. The Executive Committee appeals to the friends of Jewish evangelization to recognize the claims of our own Jewish missions rather than the representations of irresponsible agents of undenominational missions that prey upon the Church and give no accounting of the use of funds received."

In 1930 the mission in Baltimore, known as Emmanuel Neighborhood House, moved into a new and better equipped home in a community of 20,000 Jews of a very high type. The next year a convert of this mission, a young man of fine mental gifts, entered Union Theological Seminary to study for the Gospel ministry. In 1933 the attendance on the various activities of the mission was more than 23,000.

The two Jewish missions have been justified by their fruits, but the Executive Committee has reiterated its judgment, which is also the judgment of other agencies concerned for the evangelization of the Jews, many of whom are alienated from the Synagogue, and vast numbers of whom are now open to the Gospel message, that our Christian responsibility for these people cannot be met by isolated missions here and there, but that the interest of individual Christians must be enlisted in the salvation of individual Jews. Our committee is now co-operating with certain other churches in the Home Missions Council in a program designed to press this responsibility upon the hearts of Christian people.

IV. THE PRISONER

At various times and in a number of ways the Home Mission Committee has sought to render a spiritual ministry to prisoners in the South.

Rev. George W. Crabtree was employed in 1912 as an evangelist for this group. He traveled from place to place in his wagon, preaching to groups of men wherever the opportunity offered, and distributing evangelistic tracts. "The real need in all the small prisons," he reported, "is Christian workers and Bibles and song books freely distributed among the prisoners. I find in my work scarcely any rebellion against God, but much rebellion against man's inhumanity to them. Let me beseech the ministers and Christian people to visit and conduct religious meetings in the local jails and camps and to supply the prisoners with good reading matter." While Mr. Crabtree's work was primarily spiritual, his investigations led to some reforms in the way of cleanliness and the merciful treatment of this unfortunate class.

In 1916 Mr. Crabtree's evangelistic labors were ended by his continued ill health. But his interest in the prisoners continued, and he raised money and material to build and equip a home for friendless and discharged prisoners at Catlett, Virginia.

For several years, as already described, a remarkable work was done for Negro boys by Sam Daly, a Negro elder in Alabama.

In 1920 the General Assembly began to assist in what has developed into a most fruitful work among the prisoners in Virginia. Since the colonial days, because of the Old Dominion's experience with an established church, there has been a sentiment against any formal relations between Church and State in Virginia. As a consequence no chaplain could be employed for any of the state institutions.

The need for religious work among the prisoners became so great that an inter-denominational board was formed to direct and support a man who would give his whole time to the work. Rev. R. V. Lancaster, D.D., a member of our Church, was chosen for the position, which he still continues to hold. Under the general supervision of Dr. Lancaster, regular services are held in the State Penitentiary, the two state farms, the various road camps and the four Industrial (Reform) Schools.

In addition to the religious services, Dr. Lancaster holds personal and private interviews with all new men coming into the penitentiary, and conferences with all who are in trouble and desire his aid. There are more than three thousand men, women and youths in these various institutions whose religious needs are thus provided for in part by the Presbyterian Church.

V. THE RURAL CHURCH

The Assembly has felt some concern in recent years for the country church. In general churches in the city do not sustain themselves but feed on recruits that come to them constantly from the country.

The movement of population from the country to the city, which has been checked only recently by the depression, the rapid increase of tenancy and the economic hardships of the farmers have not only seriously impaired, but in many cases threatened, the very existence of the country churches. The situation is made worse in many cases by denominational competition and by the necessity of an absentee ministry.

Attention began to be directed to the importance and the plight of the country church by the report of the Roosevelt Country Life Commission in 1909. The Board of Home Missions in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. established shortly thereafter the first Country Life Department which proceeded to conduct numerous surveys and to issue many valuable reports. A study of three counties in Missouri, for example, revealed the fact that 159 Protestant church buildings out of 180 were used only occasionally, while 21 had been entirely abandoned. Twenty-three per cent of the population was Protestant, five per cent Catholic, seventy-one per cent belonged to no church whatsoever. Departments of the country church were soon provided by most of the larger denominations, and they have rendered a valuable service in the development of the country life movement in the United States. In recent years, however, less attention has been paid to this vital cause. At the present time not

more than one man is giving his full time to this service, although a number of boards continue to make some provision for it.

Our own committee began to call attention to the difficulties of the rural communities in 1913: "The rural communities are committing suicide," it said, and again the next year: "The most distressing situation now embarrassing Home Mission agencies and the whole Church grows out of the prevailing tendency of the rural church toward disintegration." The General Assembly recommended that the Home Mission Committee make a special study of the situation and report its discovery to the next Assembly.

Data secured indicated that out of 1,355 churches located strictly in the country thirty-four per cent were served by absentee pastors, while twenty per cent were vacant; sixty-four per cent were growing, twelve and one-half per cent were dying, three and two-thirds per cent were abandoned, twenty per cent were merely holding their own. "It is not likely," said Dr. Morris, "that those reported as growing are making decided progress; it is doubtful whether many which seem to be growing at present have as large a membership as thirty years ago. Once the country church, pastored by the highest type of intellectual and spiritual ministry influenced the national life, setting the standards of morals and leading to the remotest nooks and corners of the country. Now the country church is distintegrating and is ceasing to be a controlling factor in the religious life of the nation. Its main effort is to perpetuate its existence."

Thus by word and pen Dr. Morris sought to awaken the Church to the plight of the country church, affected more and more by the adverse conditions affecting rural life as a whole.

In 1926 the General Assembly "inaugurated a movement to check the retrograde tendency to abandon large areas of the country where strong churches once flourished," by electing Dr. Henry W. McLaughlin, a successful country pastor, as "Country Church Director." With unusual vigor Dr. McLaughlin set out to investigate conditions and to put into effect plans and policies for meeting the spiritual needs of the rural frontier. In 1932 his work was enlarged; the Com-

mittee on the Country Church was abolished; and Dr. McLaughlin became Secretary of the Country Church and Sunday School Extension in the Executive Committee of Religious Education and Publication.

The writers of *Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow* declare that the work done by the various boards in the rural field has been one of the most important factors in the development of the country life movement in the United States and that in their judgment there is still a vitally important service to be rendered. They continue:

"However much the city may come to dominate the thought of the nation, as an ever larger proportion of population, of wealth, of influence and of power come to be concentrated within it, this must not be allowed to obscure the continuing importance of the country. Fifty-four million of our people still live in rural communities and well over thirty million of these still live on farms. The individual population units are small, but the aggregate of them is impressively huge. Farm population had been decreasing until the present period of business depression and may again decrease with the return of prosperous times. The total rural population, however, is increasing steadily, even though its proportion in the national total has decreased. None of the forces which have created the modern city in our generation has left the countryside unscathed. Rural life has undergone a revolution as profound in its ways as that which the city has experienced. And the problem of adjustment which the Church faces in the city is no more pressing and difficult than that which confronts the rural church."

"But meanwhile," say the authors of this important study, "the town and the country church is dying. The depression is hastening the end, and unless something is done immediately hundreds will close their doors during the coming year and as many rural communities will be left without religious leadership. Rural America is rapidly becoming a mission field."

Conclusion

YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

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THE Southern Presbyterian Church has been fortunate in the character of its Secretaries. They include Dr. J. Leighton Wilson, Secretary of Home Missions from 1863 to 1882; Dr. Richard McIlwaine, Co-ordinate Secretary in charge of Home Missions from 1872 to 1882, and Secretary from 1882 till his resignation the following year to become President of Hampden-Sydney College; Dr. J. N. Craig, who served as Secretary from 1883 till his death in 1900; Dr. S. L. Morris, who guided the destinies of the committee in the first three decades of the present century, and who became Secretary Emeritus in 1930; and Dr. Homer McMillan, who has served since 1907 as Associate and as General Secretary, and who became Executive Secretary upon the retirement of Dr. Morris. All have been men of large vision and of practical administrative ability. Their reports to the General Assembly, too little known to the Church, are documents setting forth clearly the rapid development of the South, and the need as well as the opportunity of Home Missions on the part of the Southern Presbyterian Church.

I. YESTERDAY

Under the leadership of these men the work of Home Missions in our Church has expanded wisely and sanely to fit the needs of the time. During the Civil War attention was confined almost entirely to the soldiers; in the period of reconstruction, sustentation of the churches impoverished by the War was to the fore; as the South began to lift its head from the ashes, aggressive work was resumed, not only by Presbytery and Synod, but also by the Assembly, especially on the western and southern frontier. As the population increased and industry developed throughout the South and new opportunities

were uncovered, aid was given to needy fields, beckoning fields here, there and everywhere throughout the Church. The colored work was revived, the Indian work saved from slow decay, the Gospel was carried to the immigrant, schools were established for boys and girls locked in the recesses of the Southern Highlands, thought was taken for the prisoner, missions were established for the Jews, and the attention of the Church was drawn to the plight of the country church. When sudden emergencies arose, boom towns in the World War like Nitro, West Virginia; Hopewell, Virginia; Muscle Shoals, Alabama; devastating storms in Florida or swirling floods in the Mississippi Valley, the Home Mission Committee was ready with funds, however inadequate, to spring into the breach. It has been estimated that more than 3,000 of our 3,500 churches began their career, or were helped toward support by some of the Home Mission agencies of the Church.

Support for Assembly's Home Missions came for some time after the Civil War from annual collections ordered, at least, in all the churches,—first an annual collection for sustentation, then others for the various sub-divisions under the head of Home Missions. By 1890 there were seven collections all told: two for sustentation, two for evangelism, one for church erection, one for the invalid fund, and one for the colored work. This method of financing the work had its advantages. Chief was the fact that it set each cause squarely before the Church on its own merits and it kept this cause before the people. But if the day appointed for any particular collection was untoward, the collection suffered; the method did not encourage systematic giving and it was not an adequate way for distributing the resources of the Church according to the actual needs of the Church.

An advance step was taken in the Forward Movement inaugurated in 1902. In this year the General Assembly recommended that every Presbytery, through its Home Mission Committee, make a persistent effort to get each church within its bounds to make a direct subscription to Assembly's Home Missions. The Church was to seek annual

subscriptions from individual members, who were asked to pledge definite amounts to be paid at regular intervals.

The advantages of the subscription plan compared to the old collection plan became so apparent that in 1910 an Every-Member Canvass was ordered for subscriptions, not for one cause, but for all the causes of the Church, to be paid at stated periods,—weekly if possible.

The next year the Every-Member Canvass was supplemented by the adoption of a budget system. The General Assembly was to adopt a budget for all of its benevolent causes, apportion the same to the various Synods, who were to apportion it in turn among the Presbyteries, who were to apportion it finally among the local congregations. Gradually the new method made its way through the Church.

A budget tends to become impersonal. A minister who presents a budget once a year to his congregation, including local causes, Presbyterial causes, Synodical causes, and Assembly causes cannot easily translate that budget into terms of personal service in the name of Christ, cannot keep each specific cause before the congregation so that its need is clearly understood, so that the heart is warmed, and the will moved to give sacrificially as the need demands. And yet the budget system, the Every-Member Canvass, the sytematic offering of one's means to all the causes of the Church has so greatly increased the resources of the Church that no real demand has arisen for its abandonment, or for its serious modification. The method of systematic beneficence, every member contributing each Sunday for every cause of the Church has seemingly come to stay.

Funds received for the benevolences of the Church mounted rapidly after the inauguration of the Forward Movement in 1902, and even more rapidly after the adoption of a systematic beneficence plan in 1910. Receipts for Home Missions, which had fluctuated around $50,000 in the 19th century, rose each year thereafter till 1924, when the total was $588,400.

These were years of great denominational expansion. In the first two decades of the century the population of the United States increased forty per cent, the membership of the Protestant churches

forty per cent, the membership of the Southern Presbyterian Church sixty-eight per cent. Additions to the Church on confession of faith through the Home Mission agencies mounted from 1,000 annually to almost 9,000, an increase of approximately eight hundred per cent. In the second decade, when Home Mission activity was at its height, the Southern Presbyterian Church led all the larger denominations in net growth. In 1906-1916 the rate of increase was: Southern Baptists, thirty-one per cent; Southern Methodists, twenty-eight per cent; Southern Presbyterians, thirty-seven and seven-tenths per cent.

In material equipment and in variety of services rendered the work had also greatly expanded.

In 1901 Assembly's Home Missions was conducting a few small primary schools for Indians in Oklahoma, the principal one being Calvin Institute in Durant, which did not measure up to the higher grades in the ordinary public school system. In 1926 Calvin Institute had become Oklahoma Presbyterian College with a campus of twenty-seven acres of land, two handsome dormitories, the entire plant valued at $325,000 and a student body of nearly 200.

In 1901 Stillman Institute for training a Negro ministry consisted of an old colonial home with beautiful groves surrounding it worth perhaps $10,000. In 1926 it had buildings and lands valued at $300,000. It had prepared more than 500 men for the ministry, had enlarged its scope to include a girls' department, and elevated its curriculum to qualify as an accredited educational institution.

In 1901 Assembly's Home Missions was carrying on an evangelistic work for Mexicans in Texas without any equipment whatever, except a few dilapidated houses of worship. In 1926 it had grown to a Texas-Mexican Presbytery, an Advance Field of several thousand communicants, and had a creditable institution for boys and another for girls, with property approximating $200,000 in value.

In 1901 Assembly's Home Missions had no Mountain Department. In 1926 many splendid institutions had been developed by Presbyteries and Synods, and the Assembly's Committee had taken over the wide-spreading work developed by Dr. E. O. Guerrant.

In 1901 Assembly's Home Missions possessed only the small "Moore Fund" as a means of assisting churches in erecting houses of worship. In 1926 it had a Building Fund of approximately $175,000.

In 1901 Assembly's Home Missions had practically no equipment—its total value was not over $10,000. In 1926 it had institutions, dormitories, church buildings, aggregating in value more than $1,000,000.

II. TODAY

In 1925, several years before the present financial depression, the Home Mission tide began to turn, so slowly, so uncertainly that not for years did it become plain that it had actually turned.

Receipts this year were only slightly less than they were the year before; in 1926 the decrease was more pronounced. For the first time the Home Mission Committee was faced with a real deficit; as a result appropriations were scaled, work began to be abandoned for lack of funds. The great Home Mission enterprise which had steadily enlarged in the face of growing opportunities for a quarter of a century began slowly to draw in its forces and to close its enterprises; henceforth, further advance or development of new projects was impossible. From this time on it was a fight to maintain the territory which had been won; a heart-rending retreat, which of late has almost become a rout.

There was a slight increase in the contributions for 1926-7; the next year, because an emergency relief fund for the Mississippi Valley was counted in the Home Mission funds an all-time high was recorded, a total of $597,588. But the next year, ending March, 1929, before the great financial depression had really begun receipts for all the causes of the Church had once more begun to decline. The debt which had been reduced during the years of partial recovery began to mount, from $40,000 to $128,000, by March, 1931. This debt was not due to extravagance or mismanagement on the part of the committee, but to the fact that the decline in gifts proceeded more rapidly than any one could imagine and more rapidly than the work could be reduced. In 1927 through 1930 $119,516 was taken from the work,

resulting in a net loss of 130 workers aided and 168 enterprises supported. In two years administrative and educational expenses of the committee, never high, were reduced twenty-five per cent. The committee limited its appropriations for the coming year to the budget receipts of the preceding year and included in its budget a definite amount for the retirement of its debt.

But Home Mission receipts for 1931-32 were $50,000 less than for the preceding year. As the extent of the decline became apparent, administrative expenses were cut to the bone; appropriations were cut ten per cent in April, another ten per cent in October. Unwilling to increase its debt further, the committee voted unanimously that from this time forth Assembly's Home Missions would proceed on a cash basis, that payments on appropriations, whether to workers in the office or to workers on the field, would be made only as the funds were received. Our committee thus became the first major Home Mission agency to adopt a policy of pay-as-you-go. Several of the Presbyteries and Synods have since followed the Assembly's example. By such heroic means the debt of the Home Mission Committee was actually cut down even during this year of heavily reduced income.

In 1932-33 Home Mission receipts dropped off another $70,000, making a decrease of fifty per cent in Home Mission giving in a space of five years. This decline, of course, was not peculiar to our own Church, or to a few churches, but was the common experience of all Christian denominations and followed, though it did not equal the fall in the national income. The committee kept this year within its income and reduced its bank debt by five per cent. Such a feat was possible because the committee reduced its initial appropriations by thirteen per cent, and cut its payments on these reduced appropriations forty per cent in December and fifty per cent in March.

Such drastic economies have kept the Church from paralyzing debt, but they have brought the Home Mission enterprise almost to the point of collapse. Fruitful activities have been abandoned, beckoning opportunities have been declined.

In five years, 1928 through 1933, Home Missionaries aided by the Assembly were reduced from 709 to 574, and Home Mission enterprises from 777 to 637. This means forty-six fewer pastors and eighty-nine fewer Home Mission churches in the newer and weaker Presbyteries, where the opportunities for expansion are the greatest. It means three less workers among the Indians, eight among the Negroes, three in the foreign language work, and sixty-one fewer workers in the mountains.

In 1928 the Assembly's Committee was responsible for the entire support of nine splendid mountain schools,—it co-operated with the Presbyteries and Synods in the support of seventeen. In 1933 the Assembly's Committee had only three mountain schools and it co-operated with the Synods and Presbyteries in only six. It is true that in many communities the public schools have greatly lessened the need for the mission schools, yet the major factor in the committee's decision was the great loss in supporting income.

During this period of decreasing Home Mission receipts, the Italian missions in Ensley, Alabama, and in New Orleans, as well as the Hungarian work in the coal fields of Virginia and West Virginia were stopped; in these cases, however, not so much because of a lack of funds as to the inability of the Executive Committee to find capable foreign language pastors.

Work which has not been closed has been seriously crippled by the reduction in the appropriation and the reduction of personnel.

The plight of the Home Missionary himself has been more serious probably than at any other time in the history of our Church. He works as a rule among people already poor and in many ways handicapped. Unemployment has been more severe among the Negroes, Mexicans and other people among whom the committee works than in the general population. Many Home Mission churches and groups have been unable to pay their pastor the amount promised. Lack of funds in the Presbytery and in the Assembly causes unspeakable hardships to the missionaries and their families. In some cases faithful

servants of the Church have been reduced not merely to the point of poverty, but beyond that almost to the verge of starvation.

But the Home Missionaries, men and women of culture and refinement, college trained men, graduates of seminary and training school, have carried on without complaint.

The General Assembly which met May, 1933, adopted the report of its Standing Committee on Home Missions, which stated: "We desire to most sincerely commend the great army of Home Missionaries throughout the length and breadth of our beloved Church for their sacrificial service. When the information was taken to them that no regular salary could be expected, not one left his post of duty. Though months passed in some cases, with little or no funds coming to them, they labored on in the hard places of our country just because of their love for Christ and their love for human souls."

III. TOMORROW

Throughout its history,—as the Scotch-Irish poured down the Valley of Virginia and led the way across the Alleghanies, as the Church suffered with the South in the Civil War and after, as the new South arose from the ashes of the old,—always Home Missions has been the life of the Church; every other enterprise has depended ultimately upon its success.

Will its role be greater or less in the years that lie ahead?

To begin with, there are some continuing responsibilities that it must endeavor to meet. Approximately half of the churches in our Assembly now receive Home Mission aid and must do so in order to live. Some of these, many of these, will ultimately become self-supporting, assets financially, rather than liabilities.

Many others no doubt will be liquidated, or combined with other churches, or grouped in self-supporting fields. In *Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow* it is pointed out that "Home Missions had its period of greatest territorial expansion at a time when the conviction of the importance of denominational differences was strong in the churches and the feeling of the need of inter-denominational co-

operation was weak. Then, too, the initial expansion of Home Missions in the process of which it established its enterprises in all parts of the territory of the United States was carried out under the drive of a frontier psychology which was nothing if not optimistic. The extent of this expansion was controlled by an expectation of population growth and distribution which in very many instances failed of realization by a wide margin. Further, the sense of community responsibility was weak, a characteristic of all frontiers, while loyalty to the particular group was strong. At the same time the prevailing rather meager standards of church equipment, program and support made competition and the resultant division of local forces tolerable. In such characteristics the Church was not different from other institutions. Inevitably our present day, with its new concern for the solidarity of the Christian cause, its keener sense of social responsibility and its higher standards of work, has been confronted with a wide-spread problem of adjustment. Home Missions has come to the time when it cannot escape the realization that it is over-divided for its needs and over-extended for its resources."

Home Mission officials are awake to the problem, but it cannot be solved till denominational leaders and members of local churches are ready to co-operate; meanwhile Home Mission churches, which enrich both the membership and the ministry of the Church, and on which the future of the Church depends, must be sustained if the Church is not slowly to expire. Inter-denominational agreements, looking toward comity and co-operation among the agencies administering Home Mission work, are growing all the while. A new Presbyterian church is not supposted to be located today in any community where there is not a definite need.

Though many of our Home Mission churches will grow into self-support, though some will go through a process of readjustment, there are many that will require Home Mission aid for a long, if not for an indefinite period of time. Dependent groups, small and impoverished communities have a right to the Gospel, even if they cannot support the institutions of religion. And the Southern Presby-

terian Church must continue to do its part in maintaining the Gospel among many such groups in the South.

. . . . . .

The Home Mission forces will not be satisfied simply to support or to readjust churches already established; there are many groups and regions in the South whose religious needs are not yet met.

In 1926, the date of the last religious census, there were five Southern states which had from twenty-five to thirty-five per cent of their adult population (i. e., 13 years and over) outside the Church. These were North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Six Southern states, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Texas and Maryland, had from thirty-five to forty-five per cent of their adult population outside the Church. Three Southern states, Florida, Arkansas and Missouri, had from forty-five to fifty-five per cent of their adult population outside the Church, and two, West Virginia and Oklahoma, had from fifty-five to sixty-five per cent of their adult population outside the Church. Twenty-seven counties in Oklahoma show more than eighty per cent of their total population outside the Church, while only eleven counties show as much as thirty-five per cent of the population in the Church.

Even in those states where a comparatively large proportion of the total population is to be found in the Church, there are many unmet needs.

The recent study of the Home Missions Council: *Home Missions: Today and Tomorrow,* which lays great emphasis on competition and overchurching in some communities, and stresses the need of cooperation and adjustment in the Home Mission work as a whole, says that at the present time almost every state has large areas without any competent religious ministry.

Miss Elizabeth Hooker, in her study of the *Hinterlands of the Church,* brings out the fact that in every part of the country on the poorer and more sparsely settled lands the ratio of Church membership to population is unusually low. Instances of acute need, she says,

could be cited from surveys made in virtually every state of the Union.

Confirmation of these statements, so far as the South is concerned, is found in a series of studies made by Dr. Henry W. McLaughlin, Secretary of Country Church and Sunday School Extension. These studies reveal the fact that there are in the sixteen Southern states 1,500 counties; in 267 of these there is no church or Sunday School reported by either the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., or the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. Sixty-four of these counties have a larger church membership than non-church population and may be considered therefore as being adequately served by other denominations. The remaining 203 counties, representing every Southern state, have a combined population of 2,211,610 people, of whom 1,501,348 (approximately seventy per cent) are not members of any church.

There are an equal number of counties in the South where one or more Presbyterian churches are reported where the need and opportunity are even greater. For example, every county in Guerrant Presbytery has one or more Presbyterian churches, and in Breathitt County the Southern Presbyterian Church leads all other denominations, yet in this Presbytery eighty-seven out of every hundred in the population are not members of any church. There are other populous counties in Kentucky in which there are Presbyterian churches and Sunday Schools where more than ninety out of every hundred are not members of any church.

Miss Hooker, in *Religion in the Highlands,* points out that in many parts of the Appalachian Plateaus there are districts which have no organized churches with regular services. Some of these districts are notorious for violence and moonshining. The church members of this section formed in 1926 (the date of the last religious census) less than one-sixth of the total number of inhabitants.

There are unmet needs not only in the rural sections of the South, but in all our great cities. Also there are growing suburbs and many surrounding urban developments whose needs are not yet supplied.

Dr. McMillan reports that there are within the bounds of our Assembly twenty-eight cities that have a population of more than a hundred thousand. In each of these cities there are from three to five suburban communities where the Southern Presbyterian Church would have the exclusive occupancy if the funds were available to enter these places with a worth while program.

Our work among the Indians and Negroes and the foreigners has been handicapped in the past by a lack of qualified workers. For a lack of such workers the Birmingham Italian Mission had to be closed; the Italian Mission in New Orleans after thirty-five years of service was discontinued; the Hungarian work in West Virginia had to be abandoned. For the lack of qualified workers the Texas-Mexican work, the most successful in the point of additions in all the Assembly, could not go forward. It was useless to open new fields, organize churches, build chapels when we had no Mexican ministers to supply them. For lack of ministers in the early days our Negro work could make no progress and vacant Negro churches had to be supplied, if at all, with ministers secured from other denominations. Since the Civil War our Indian work in Oklahoma has been suffering because of a lack of an adequately trained native ministry. From 1908 to 1928 the Assembly's Home Mission income grew from $46,000 to $597,000, but qualified workers for these particular groups could not be found.

Today the situation is reversed. Workers for these needy groups are available, but financial support is lacking. Thus the Italian Mission in Kansas City, Missouri, under the leadership of J. B. Bisceglia, has four ministerial candidates, two already graduated. If funds were available, both the Birmingham and the New Orleans Missions could be resumed.

The Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin, Texas, is graduating from three to six young Mexican ministers each year. These young men are trained largely in the Texas-Mexican Industrial Institute founded by Dr. Skinner, and then later sent to Austin for their ministerial education. But there are no funds to employ them or

to furnish inexpensive chapels in which to preach. Many of them are serving without salary, gathering the Mexicans into the homes for services and living on the offerings that an impoverished but grateful people can give.

Stillman Institute, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, is graduating from two to four Presbyterian ministers each year, but the committee has no funds to employ them, even to supply vacant fields.

For the first time in generations there are two Choctaw Indian ministerial students, studying now in Austin Seminary, who will be ready soon to go back to Oklahoma to unite with Indian Presbytery.

Not only has God given us workers for the Mexicans, the Indians, the Italians and the Negroes; but there are scores of young men and women, graduates of colleges, of our seminaries and the Assembly's Training School waiting to be sent into the whitening Home Mission fields of the Church.

. . . . . .

Not only is Home Missions necessary to care for the churches and institutions which have been developed in the past, and to overcome the destitution which still exists, but it is necessary also to meet the development of the future. Immigration on a large scale has ended, western migration has halted. No longer can we base our Home Mission program on a general and practically unlimited population growth throughout the field. But the process of redistributing population is still going on and is likely to continue.

In some of our mission territory we must anticipate a static or a declining population. This is particularly true in the rural areas. For this reason some churches that have been self-supporting in the past will have to have Home Mission help in the future.

But the progress of the South as a whole, checked by the Civil War, rapid in recent years, will continue in the years to come. Cities will grow, industries will spring up. "The textile and steel industry are yet in the infancy of their development in the South," writes William Crowe, Jr. He continues: "Textile mills are already a familiar sight to us, but there is every reason to suppose that in the

coming years all manufacturers of cotton products will establish their mills in the cotton belt, which is the base of their raw material. The steel industry is looking toward the South as the scene of much of its future development. . . . Not only will industries which are already established among us expand, but new ones will find their way to our doors. Within the last year a discovery has been made which will enable pulp manufacturers to make newsprint and similar types of paper from Southern yellow pine. This industry has never been able to operate anywhere except in the North, where white pine is available. White pine is much more expensive than yellow pine and men who are in a position to know tell us that it is only reasonable to suppose that pulp manufacturers will move to the South as soon as it is possible for them to make the change.

"Within the last few months President Roosevelt has signed the Muscle Shoals bill, which will result in the greatest unified industrial development America has ever known. The present complete plants at Muscle Shoals, constructed by the Government at a cost of from a hundred and fifty million to two hundred million dollars, will be put into operation. These will be augmented by a series of gigantic dams and electric plants extending for more than 400 miles up the Tennessee River Valley. Hundreds of millions of dollars will be invested in that section by the Government. More than 200,000 men will be employed in the construction, which will probably require from ten to fifteen years to complete. However, the construction work will only be the beginning of the development of the Valley, since many thousands of men will be required for the permanent operation and upkeep of the projects. Furthermore, hundred of factories will be built along the Tennnessee River to take advantage of its unprecedented power opportunities. Merchants, professional men, and tradesmen will find their livelihood there. Great cities will grow up where there are now only villages or cotton fields."

What actual developments there will be in the South only the future can tell, but new opportunities and new needs will arise in the days to come, as surely as they have in the past. The chief responsibility

for meeting these needs will always rest upon the local congregation or the Presbytery, in whose bounds the need arises. But if Christ is to be served, if the Church is to advance, and if the South is to be saved, the strong Presbyteries must always be ready and able to come to the help of the weaker Presbyteries, and that is possible only through the Assembly's Executive Committee of Home Missions.

Home Missions is essential if we are to share Christ and the Christian life with our fellowmen. Till all men have an equal opportunity to know Him and to enter into the more abundant life which He offers to all mankind, till His spirit is regnant upon earth, Home Missions, as well as Foreign Missions, will continue, for missions, whether at home or abroad, is the Church witnessing for Christ, endeavoring to carry out the last commission of its Master and Lord.