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# The religion of the Southern Highlander

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THE RELIGION OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER

SENIOR THESIS

DEPARTMENT  
OF  
RURAL CHURCH  
PROF. M.A.DAWBER.

STEPHEN E.TAYLOR  
1922.

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## FOREWORD

Much has been written of the Southern Highlander, little of which is accurate or truly representative. The late John C. Campbell, Secretary, Southern Highland Division Russell Sage Foundation, describes the Highlands as "a land of promise, a land of romance, and a land about which, perhaps, more things are known that are not true than of any (other) part of our country."<sup>1</sup>

The usual impression of the Southern Highlander and his homeland is that received from the "foreigner-" to use a term employed by the mountaineer in describing the tourist, the novelist, and the exploiter. Since this impression is from the "foreigner," it is colored by his viewpoint, and almost invariably shows a lack of accurate knowledge of the Highlander, and a lack of appreciation of his real worth. The descriptions so often seen in collections of short stories, in newspapers, and journals are usually greatly exaggerated and unduly colored. The characterizations of the short-story writer are of the unusual type-the feudist, the moonshiner, or the imbecile. The tourist, looking from his Pullman window, remembers only the mountain girl that, from the door of her cabin home, waves a happy greeting to the "big folks" who are so rich that they can ride on the fine train that comes screaming through the mountains from the mysterious somewhere that lies far beyond the hills, and about which she has read in her "Gography" in the little school at the forks of the "big road," and which she hopes to visit some day. The exploiter has no interest in the Highlander except to get his land, coal, iron, and timber at as low a price as possible; and if, perchance, the rugged mountaineer is able to hold his own in a deal with the exploiter, he is written up as a crook. Even the missionary and the educator, though with righteous motives, misrepresent the mountaineer. In order to make a strong appeal for funds for running their missionary and educational enterprises, these well-meaning and sincere people picture the most extreme cases of illiteracy and destitution. Particular cases are given without qualification, and leave the impression that they are typical and universal.

May I cite two or three instances that came under my own observation to illustrate my position. There came one day to the mountain college which I was attending a

<sup>1</sup> "The Southern Highlander and His Homeland-" John C. Campbell.

A straggling youth who had walked fifty miles, as he stated, in order to attend school. He was penniless and destitute, having no other clothes than those he was wearing. There happened to be visiting at the school some friends from the East who were greatly interested in the work it was doing. Eager to secure all the publicity matter available, these philanthropists lined this new specimen of mountain illiteracy, "thirsting for a draught from the fountain of knowledge," before their camera in order that they might carry his likeness back to their friends in the East. In the meantime, the institution of learning, justifying its existence by helping the youth of meager means to get onto the road to knowledge, took the young man in and gave him work to do to pay his way. But he had been on the campus only a few days when he took a suit of clothes belonging to another student and was again on the road. Meantime, his photograph was being carried East as a representation of the mountain youth.

Another instance: I spent a Sunday with a friend, in company with a gentleman from the North, in the mountains. It was a sort of sight-seeing and exploring expedition. Our Northern friend was careful to "snap" the occasional log cabin which he was able to find, when he might have secured the pictures of a dozen or more of modern country homes. He took great pains to "snap" the picture of our guide-without his knowing it-who was a half-witted fellow.

These incidents illustrate the methods that are employed to secure funds for wholly worthy causes, yet I seriously question whether the end justifies the means. They may be positively harmful. The philanthropist concludes from the extreme types that are represented to him that the mountaineer is not worthy of assistance, or that progress is impossible. On the other hand, the mountaineer is exceedingly sensitive, and no more wishes to be regarded as a subject of missionary effort than other people. One lady from New York State, the wife of a professor in a mountain college, was literally amazed, on attending a reception given at the Girl's Dormitory, to find that the young ladies were dressed in real clothes, of good material and made from the latest patterns, and that they actually knew how to conduct themselves on a social occasion.

A BIT PERSONAL

It was with no little questioning that I decided to write on a particular phase of the life of the Southern Highlander. Being myself a son of the mountains and a product of mountain environment and institutions, I realized that I would naturally write from the viewpoint of the native. And yet the very fact that might in a measure disqualify me from writing fairly and with an unprejudiced mind would on the other hand justify the undertaking.

Born and brought up among the mountains, I was heir to everything that the most isolated sections of that wonderful region possesses—wonderful for its remarkable contrasts—its wealth and its poverty, its beauty and its ugliness, its wisdom and its ignorance, its righteousness and its wickedness, its cheer and its loneliness. But the wealth of the mountains is not the wealth of the plain or the city. It consists not in houses and land, gold and silver. True, there is abundant wealth in the coal and iron mines, the expansive forests, and the fertile valleys, but the wealth which is the noblest heritage of the Highlander is that of blue sky and pure air, of pure refreshing stream gushing from the mountain side, of abundance of room in the world and rugged independence. Neither is his poverty the poverty of the city slums, for it is a poverty unrecognised. Poverty is relative, and where there is no contrasting material wealth no poverty is felt. If the mountaineer owns a patch of land with a house on it to shelter his family, the plainest of clothes and the simplest of food, he is supremely happy. His is the happiness which the "Miller of the Dee" expresses when he sings at his work:

"I owe no penny I cannot pay;  
I earn my bread, quoth he.  
I thank the stream that turns the mill,  
To feed my babes and me."<sup>1</sup>

This contentment of the mountaineer is one of the tragedies of his life, for<sup>1</sup> has a tendency to keep him in his low estate and makes difficult any appeal to him for improved conditions for him or his family. It is only when a youth catches a gleam from the outside world that he becomes restless and dissatisfied, and seeks for better things.

<sup>1</sup> This is a bit of verse I learned as a boy from a school reader. It is all that I can recall of the poem.

But I started out to be a bit personal; I was just saying that I was born and brought up in the mountains, and that I was heir to all that was worst and best there. My youth might be well described by St. Paul's description of his condition to the Philippians: "I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound: everywhere and in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need."<sup>1</sup> But my lot consisted mostly in "being abased, being hungry, and suffering need." Poverty was real for me; for there was sufficient contrast between my condition and the condition of some of my more fortunate neighbors to cause me to feel the pinch and the humiliation of it. There were many of the simplest and inexpensive things, nevertheless, things dear to every boy's heart, that I was deprived of. My father, with a large family of boys, with his meager earnings was barely able to supply us with the plainest clothes and the simplest food, to say nothing of such luxuries as books.

But there were two things that I inherited from my father that have been of inestimable value to me. These <sup>were</sup> a love for reading, and a reverence for God and the Bible. My father has always been an inveterate reader, though his education was only elementary. And in this matter all his boys "took after their father." About the most epoch-forming event that ever occurred at "our house" was when the first weekly paper was "subscribed for." It was the Toledo Blade, and proved for a time the greatest educative force in the home, aside from the Bible. The things that I read besides the Toledo Blade, were the Bible, an old History of the World-which an older brother had borrowed somewhere-, and a copy of Grimm's Fairy Tales-this was also borrowed, and had to be smuggled in, my father being uncompromisingly opposed to anything that smacked of fiction. I used to "hide out" with this wonderful collection of fairy tales and for hours at a time live in the land of "make-believe." But it was very real to me. As I now look back on those days of riotous living, those days of revelling in the Historic Old Testament, the thrilling accounts of the rise, prosperity and fall of nations, and in Fairy Land, I can see how fortunate I was to have such a splendid combination-a combination that satisfied in my youthful heart the desire for the religious, the historic and heroic, and the imaginative.

I never entered school until I was past eight years of age, and from that time until I was past sixteen I

<sup>1</sup> Phil. 4:12.

was a victim of one of the most wretched school systems that has ever dwarfed the life of any boy. The sessions varied from six weeks to five months, and much of this time I had to spend at home working. The equipment consisted of a one-room building-usually with vestibules or cloak rooms-, long hard benches to sit on, without any desk, and the same height for the six-year old and the young man of twenty-one. The black-board was made by painting a portion of the ceiling. The teacher who ruled with all the majesty of an Ichabod Crane over this mot-tled group of boys and girls was usually selected by the board because he could be hired at a lower salary than a better man, because he was crippled or an invalid, hence unable to earn a living at any other business, or because he was a relative or friend of some member of the Board. His main task was disciplining the rugged lads and saucy lasses, and his success as a teacher was usually measured by his ability to "rule."

When I was<sup>d</sup> sixteen years of age my parents moved to within three miles of a school of secondary learning. This move proved to be an epoch-making one for me, for I could now attend the "College," even though I had to walk for three miles over almost impassible roads. But what cared I for mud, and slush, and rain? I gloried in it so long as I could have access to a good school. At the age of nineteen I made a State certificate, and was given a school to teach. This was the beginning of a teaching career which lasted almost continuously for a period of twelve years.

Why have I taken the trouble to give this bit of autobiography? In order to establish my right to write about the Southern Highlander. I am his kinsman, his neighbor, and his offspring. I know him, and the conditions under which he lives. I know the most learned and the most illiterate, the most prosperous, and the most improvident, the happiest and the most-despairing. I have shared the scanty meal of the grim-faced miner and sat at the table of the prosperous farmer. I have tried to teach the children of them all, and have served them as a minister of the Gospel. I have preached many a time in a little log school-house back in the forest when I felt more like making a talk on health and sanitation.

Yes, this is my reason for writing of the religion of the Southern Highlander: because life in those High-lands has been misrepresented and misunderstood, and

because I have a deep and abiding interest there.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER-HIS HOMELAND-ANCESTRY.

In order to fully understand the religion of the Southern Highlander some knowledge of his homeland is necessary, for there is probably no other people in the world whose religion has been so tremendously influenced by its environment than the Southern Highlander. What and where are the Southern Highlands? It is impossible to draw an imaginary line around a certain area and call it the Southern Highlands. There is no sharp line of demarkation between the Southern Highlands and the Northern Highlands-so-called for the immediate purpose. But as a basis that portion of the great Appalachian system lying south of New York, and extending to central Alabama, has been isolated and called the Southern Highlands. This region takes in the four western counties of Maryland; the Blue Ridge, Valley, and Allegheny Ridge counties of Virginia; all of West Virginia; eastern Tennessee; eastern Kentucky; western North Carolina; the four northwestern counties of South Carolina; northern Georgia; and northeastern Alabama.<sup>1</sup> It is a great upland region of mountains, valleys, and plateaus, consisting of three parallel belts or ranges running northeast to southwest. They are the Blue Ridge belt; the Allegheny-Cumberland belt; and the greater Appalachian Valley.

Who is the Southern Highlander? This question is more difficult to answer than the former. There are a number of things involved that make it difficult. The Southern Highlander is usually described by the public speaker who is making an appeal in his behalf by saying that "In the mountains of our fair Southland lives a people of purest Anglo-Saxon blood, upon whose cabin walls hang the rifles with which their illustrious ancestors at King's Mountain turned the tide of the Revolution." But so sweeping, though eloquent a statement means very little for our present purposes.

In the early settlement of the Atlantic Seaboard there were formed three great reservoirs of population which later supplied the streams of western immigration. The first was in Pennsylvania, formed by transatlantic immigration passing through the port of Philadelphia.

<sup>1</sup>-John C. Campbell-THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER AND HIS HOMELAND, p.10

The second was formed to the southeast of the Blue Ridge and fed not only from the north, but also from the south by later and lesser streams of transatlantic immigration through the ports of Charlestown and Wilmington. The third reservoir was formed in the vicinity of Pittsburg. These early centers of population became the main sources for the settlement of the Highlands. Driven by the tyranny of British rule and class distinctions, or attracted by new and rich lands, abundant game, the lure of adventure, the intrepid immigrant pushed westward. Undaunted by the apparently impassible Appalachians, unheeding of the warnings of the colonial government officials, and undismayed by a limitless expanse of wilderness, heretofore unacquainted with the white man's foot-fall, the pioneer, at first cautiously, as the boy exploring the new forest, but growing bolder as the mysteries of the new land call him, blazed the trail for civilization. These immigrants, coming at first in small groups, but later in streams, found, or rather improvised, homes in various sections of what are now Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The strongest and probably the earliest of these colonies was the Holston Settlements, formed on the Watauga River in Tennessee, in the year 1769. When the Revolution broke out there was a sufficient number of these hardy pioneers to hold the far-flung battle line, to defend the widely scattered and unprotected settlements against the frequent Indian attacks, and finally to turn the tide at King's Mountain. In 1772 these scattered settlements, of which Holston was the center, were formed into the Watauga Association. Of this Association Theodore Roosevelt writes:

"It is this fact of early independence and self-government of the settlers along the headwaters of the Tennessee, that gives to their history its peculiar importance. They were the first men of American birth to establish a free and independent community on the continent. Even before this date there had been straggling settlements of Pennsylvanians and Virginians along the headwaters of the Ohio; but these settlements remained mere parts of the colonies behind them, and neither grew into a separate community, nor played a distinctive part in the growth of the west."<sup>1</sup>

After the successful termination of the Revolution there was a great impetus given the western movement, and the Highlands were so rapidly settled that in 1796 there were enough people in Tennessee to entitle it to admis-

<sup>1</sup> Rosevelt-Winning of the West, Vol. I, p.231.

sion into the Union, and it was admitted as the sixteenth State.

After the great Northwest Territory was opened for settlement many of those who had earlier founded homes in the Highlands, pulled up and moved on further, in search of richer lands. Many people, also, on the Atlantic Seaboard and the Southern plains, desiring to move into the Northwest Territory, found the most accessible route to be through the Highlands, mainly by way of Cumberland Gap. Many of them reached their destination, but others, while others halted in the fertile river valleys, or on the slopes of the Highlands, thus forming another stratum of settlements.

The question of the ancestry of the Southern Highlander is an interesting one; but its chief interest lies in the light it throws on his religion. Although this ancestry cannot be determined beyond question, a careful study of the nationality of the immigrant, the names found among the early settlers, together with the character of the present population, will give us a fairly correct idea of the Highlander's ancestry. John C. Campbell, in discussing this question, says:

"Conjectures have been many as to the ancestry of the Southern Highlanders. Some would make their progenitors Scottish chieftains, transplanted to the Highlands of the South, unchanged, save that here they preferred the rifle to the broadsword, the huntingknife to the dirk, the buckskin and homespun to the brighter hued tartan. Others find in them the offspring of English redemptioners and indentured servants, swept beyond the mountain ridges by the swollen tides of immigration flowing through the valleys and left to subside in the hollows and grow stagnant. In just resentment to this claim, other theories more sane have been put forth, but often with such extravagance as to make those not of 'illustrious Scotch-Irish descent' or 'purest Anglo-Saxon lineage' shrivel before the effulgence emanating from such stock."<sup>1</sup>

I have mentioned three reservoirs of population from which the early Highland colonies drew. These were: Central Pennsylvania; the section about Pittsburg; and the Piedmont section of the Carolinas. In all three of these sections there was an admixture of English, Welsh, Scotch,

<sup>1</sup> The Southern Highlander and His Homeland, p.50.

and Irish; also, German. As a whole, it seems that the Scotch-Irish, or Nobbh Irish, as they are otherwise called, were dominant, with the Germans a close second. It is almost certain that in the Central Pennsylvania reservoir the Scotch-Irish took the lead; and it is still more certain that they held the supremacy in the second reservoir, about Pittsburg. While the same may be said in regard to the Piedmont reservoir, in this section there was a greater admixture of the races than in the others. There were a goodly number of French Huguenots and English.

The proper names found among the early settlers, and even to this day, are very significant in their bearing on the question of ancestry. Frederick Jackson Turner, writing of this western tide of immigration in "The Old West," says:

"Thus it happened that from about 1730 to 1760 a generation of settlers poured along this mountain trough into the southern uplands, or Piedmont, creating a new continuous social and economic era, which cut across the artificial colonial boundary lines, disarranged the regular extension of local government from the coast westward, and built up a new Pennsylvania in contrast with the old Quaker colonies, and a new South in contrast with the tidewater South.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Among this moving mass, as it passed along the Valley into the Piedmont, in the middle of the eighteenth century, were Daniel Boone, John Seveir, James Robertson, and the ancestors of John C. Calhoun, Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Stonewall Jackson, James K. Polk, Sam Houston, and Davy Crockett; while the father of Andrew Jackson came to the Carolina Piedmont at the same time from the coast. Recalling that Thomas Jefferson's home was in this frontier, at the edge of the Blue Ridge, we perceive that these names represent the militant expansive movement in American life. They foretell the settlement across the Alleghenies in Kentucky and Tennessee; the Louisiana Purchase, and Lewis and Clark's transcontinental exploration; the conquest of the Gulf Plains in the War of 1812-15; the annexation of Texas; the acquisition of California and the Southwest. They represent, too, frontier democracy in its two aspects personified in Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. It was a democracy responsive to leadership, susceptible to waves of emotion, of

a 'high religious voltage'-quick and direct in action."<sup>1</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt, in the *Winning of the West*, calls the Presbyterian Irish (Scotch-Irish) the "vanguard of the army of fighting settlers, who with axe and rifle won their way<sup>2</sup> from the Alleghenies to the Rio Grande and the Pacific." He regards them as a mixed people, descended from Scotch ancestors, originally from both Highlands and Lowlands, from among Scotch Saxons and Scotch Celts, with a few French Huguenots among them and quite a number of true old Milesian Irish extraction.

It has been generally agreed that the Watauga settlers were largely Scotch-Irish, though it is interesting to note the variety in their leaders. For instance, James Robertson was of Scotch-Irish, John Seveir was of French Huguenot and English, the Shelbites were Welsh, while William Bean is said to have been of English ancestry.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth the English came into greater prominence. Immigrants coming from the lowlands and English sections of the South settled along the valleys and ridges of the Carolinas, Virginia, or Tennessee; while many moved on into Kentucky, which had become the Eldorado of the immigrant.

There is a theory popular with a few faddists to the effect that the Southern Highlanders are descendents of settlers transplanted for alleged crime, and of indentured servants. This idea is not entertained for a moment by a fair-minded, thoughtful person who takes the trouble to acquaint himself with facts. There is absolutely nothing to substantiate the theory. These early pioneers were neither ignorant, vicious, nor cowardly. Of one hundred and thirteen of the Watauga settlers who signed a petition addressed to the State of North Carolina, asking permission to form a local government, only two were unable to write their own names. I regard this as a splendid showing in a literacy test, even to-day. While the settlements were not free from the usual camp-follower, criminal, or adventurer, they were as a whole orderly and free from crime. They were a vigorous, liberty-loving, and courageous class of people who knew no fear, except of God, of cowardice, or dishonesty. During the dark days of the Revolution, isolated from civilization, left to shift for themselves, living in widely

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Old West."

<sup>2</sup> Theodore Roosevelt: "The Winning of the West," Vol. I, p.134.

scattered communities, they held their own against the harassings of the British outposts and the Indian attacks. The fact that a few hundred of them could march for thirty hours through a downpour of rain, without rest or sleep, drive an army of well trained British regulars from King's Mountain, and then within less than a month defeat a band of Indians at Boyd's Creek, Kentucky, more than three hundred miles across the mountains, is good evidence that they were not a band of ignorant, vicious, and enervated criminals.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE HIGHLANDER OF TO-DAY

The question is sometimes raised whether the Highlander of to-day is the same as that of pioneer days. In answer that the proverbial tribute of the orator that "In the mountains of our fair Southland lives a people of purest Anglo-Saxon blood, upon whose cabin walls hang the rifles with which their illustrious ancestors at King's Mountain turned the tide of the Revolution," is literally true. Especially in the more isolated sections the stock is practically as pure as when the settlements were made. This fact is borne out by a careful study of family and Christian names, comparison of census figures, pension lists, traditions, etc. The topography of the land, which has so deeply influenced every phase of the life, has served to keep the stock pure. One will find to-day many inhabitants of the valleys and ridges of upper East Tennessee who are descendents of the Shelbys, the Seveirs, the Campbells, etc. It has been only in recent years that the population, through the infiltration of a foreign element, has been in any measure mixed. This has come about mostly through the opening of coal mines, timber lands, and railroads. This does not mean that the stock is degenerate, or "run-out." It was sufficiently diversified in the beginning to permit of a wide relation in marriage. Intermarriage of blood relation is almost universally tabooed in the mountains, and while illicit relations are more or less common, this form of immorality is frowned upon in Puritanic fashion, and the child of questionable parentage, unfortunately for it, carries always with it the stigma of its birth. If the mountain people appear more immoral than people of more favored sections it is largely because of their lack of knowledge in concealing their practises. I know communities within a few miles of the cultured city of B- in comparison

with which any mountain community would be a near-Eden.

If I have given an undue amount of space to the preliminary description of the Southern Highlander and his homeland I think that the fault will be pardoned when due recognition is given to the bearing of these aspects upon his religious life. The mountaineer's religion is largely a product of his ancestry, his history, and his environment.

### CHAPTER III.

#### DENOMINATIONALISM IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS.

The separation of Church and State in the colonies along the South Atlantic Seaboard, which was practically accomplished by 1782, was a natural concomitant of the wider movement for political freedom. The brunt of the battle was borne by the Dissenters east of the mountains, first by the Presbyterians, and later by the Baptists. This freedom was realized only after much persecution and not a little violence.

The question is often asked, Since the Scotch-Irish, or Irish Presbyterians, were dominant in all the early mountain settlements, why are not the mountain people of to-day dominantly Presbyterian in faith? The mountain people are essentially Calvinistic, not only by heritage, but also by temperament. Their isolation and environment have accentuated this faith. The Presbyterians were the first on the field, and were the first to establish educational institutions—Liberty Hill in the Virginia Valley, and Tusculum and Greenville Colleges in the Tennessee Valley. It was Samuel Doak, a Presbyterian minister, who founded at Limestone, Washington County, Tennessee, in 1785, Martin Academy, since 1795 known as Washington College. This institution has been called "the first institution of classical learning west of the Alleghenies." But there are two main reasons for the Presbyterians losing their prestige in the Highlands. In the first place, they failed to supply a sufficient number of ministers to serve the people. Their strong emphasis was on academic training, and their tendency to place the ministers in the towns and more densely populated sections left the major part of the territory open to other religious bodies. It must be added that the manner of worship and

the polity found in some other religious society were more to the liking of the mountaineers. The Presbyterians have about the same status to-day. They are to be found mostly in the urban centers.

The denomination which was able to supply the Calvinistic element characteristic of the Presbyterians, and to even to a more accentuated degree, and at the same time furnish a large number of preachers, together with a type of religious experience and ecclesiastical government more in keeping with the free and democratic life of the mountains, was the Baptist society. After the Revolution the Baptists, who had been so prominent a factor in bringing about a complete separation of State and Church in Virginia and the Carolinas, migrated in large numbers to the country west of the mountains. The scarcity of Presbyterian ministers offered an open field, and conditions were peculiarly favorable to the growth of the Baptists. The Baptists were as strongly opposed to an educated ministry as the Presbyterians were in favor of it. They were also opposed to a paid clergy.

Theodore Roosevelt clearly describes the situation in the Winning of the West. Here he writes: "By the time Kentucky was settled the Baptists had begun to make headway on the frontier, at the expense of the Presbyterians. The rough democracy of the border welcomed a sect which was itself essentially democratic. To many of the backwoodsmen's prejudices, -notably their sullen and narrow hostility towards all rank, whether or not based on learning, the Baptist's creed appealed strongly. Where their preachers obtained a foothold, it was made a matter of reproach to the Presbyterians' clergymen that they had been educated early in life for the ministry as for a profession. The love of liberty, and the defiant assertion of equality, so universal in the backwoods, and so excellent in themselves, sometimes took very warped and twisted forms, notably when they betrayed the backwoodsmen into the belief that the true democratic spirit forbade any exclusive and special training for the professions that produce soldiers, statesmen, or ministers."<sup>1</sup>

Also, A.H. Newman, in his History of the Baptist Churches in the United States, describes the Baptist prejudice against education and a paid clergy. He writes: "The early Baptists of Kentucky were as a rule thoroughly imbued with prejudice against educated and salaried ministers. The experience of early Virginia Baptists in being taxed

<sup>1</sup> Theodore Roosevelt: The Winning of the West, Vol. II, pp. 113-114.

for the support of irreligious and vicious clergymen, whose only recommendation was that they had received a university education, led them to look with suspicion upon the highly educated, and to prefer a ministry from the ranks of a people earning a support by following secular pursuits. These sentiments became intensified in Kentucky, where for a long time educational facilities were almost wanting."<sup>1</sup>

But the very characteristics which were favorable to the early development of the Baptists in the Highlands, as the settlements advanced economically and in learning, proved weaknesses, and made room for a third denomination which was to prove a close rival. The reasons advanced by Howell, the Baptist historian, for the failure of the Baptist Church to hold its own in Virginia at a time when the Methodists were flourishing, in the main hold good for the entire Highland region and for all periods:

1. They abhorred proselyting, (?) and refused to employ education as an auxiliary to denominational advancement. Incurred reproach of being enemies to education.
2. Failed to perceive true relation between religion and the use of money as a means of advancement. This was evident in their failure to use money for any other purpose than the support of the poor, and the building of meeting-houses, and to adequately support their pastors.
3. Rich and aristocratic converts boasted of the sacrifices they had made—sacrifices of society, friendship, and the refinements of social life.
4. Carelessness in defending the honor of the Church. It was charged that as a rule, Baptists were disreputably ignorant; that they refused to be enlightened; and that their ministers were generally rough fanatics; that they were penurious, narrow-minded, and without regard for the moral training of their children.
5. Failure to plant churches in cities as opposed to rural districts.
6. Mistaken as to the extent in which unassisted truth will take care of itself.
7. Carelessness in regard to the qualifications of their ministers. Refused to demand any specific amount of literary and scientific culture.
8. Failed to supply people with suitable books for their instruction.<sup>2</sup>

The denomination which came in to supply the things lacking in the Baptists was the Methodist Church. The

<sup>1</sup> A.H. Newman: History of the Baptist Church in the United States, pp. 303-305.

<sup>2</sup> John C. Campbell: "The Growth of Denominationalism," in The Southern Highlander and His Homeland, p. 160.

revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which stirred Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists alike, greatly accelerated the growth of Arminianism in the Highlands. This Arminian faith was represented by the Methodists, and was opposed to the Calvinism of the Presbyterians and the Baptists. While as early as 1773 there were Methodists in Southwestern Virginia, the rapid growth of Methodism in the mountains did not begin until after the Revolution. By 1776 there were many in Piedmont, North Carolina, and it is estimated some years later that there were in the Holston region about "sixty sheep scattered over a large section of the country." Meetings were held in private homes, with little organization or leadership.

The Methodist movement was given great impetus when Francis Asbury, who was elected as general superintendent in 1784 and given charge of American Methodism, established the circuit system. This great itinerant of early Methodism, in his swing around the circle, "from Maine to Georgia, to Kentucky and Ohio, and back to New York again," .....the man from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or almost any place you please,"<sup>1</sup> touched the Highlands, and held meetings among the settlers, of whom he writes in his Journal: "I am of opinion that it is as hard, or harder, for the people of the west to gain religion as any other. When I consider where they came from, where they are, and how they are, and how they are called to go farther, their being unsettled with so many objects to take their attention, with the health and good air they enjoy, and when I reflect that not one in a hundred came here to get religion, but rather to get plenty of good land, I think it will be well if some or many do not eventually lose their souls." Mr. Campbell states, that from 1800 to 1833 Bishop Asbury made annual visits throughout the eastern part of the United States, and as far west as Tennessee and Kentucky. According to the Journal of the Holston Conference, however, these visits extended from 1788 to 1815. He is recorded as presiding over the "Sessions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Holston Country" during this period in Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee.<sup>2</sup> Methodism as organized in the Holston Country has been variously known as the Western Conference, the Tennessee Conference, and the Holston Conference.

It may be said, almost without qualification, that the Southern Highlander is a Protestant. Of the entire number of people in the Highlands in 1916 over one-third

<sup>1</sup> Ezra Squier Tipple: Introduction to the Heart of Asbury's Journal, p.9.

<sup>2</sup> Official Journal of the Holston Annual Conf., 1921.

were recorded as members of some Church. Of this number more than ninety per cent. were Protestants. They are not only Protestants, but are Dissenters, and strongly evangelical. The Catholics and their near kinsmen, the Episcopalians and Lutherans, are found almost entirely in the industrial and urban centers.

The Baptists in their several divisions are still the leading denomination in the Highlands. Conditions have always been favorable to their growth. They naturally thrive on pioneer soil, and much of the mountain section is still pioneer in its customs and thinking. In many of the most out-of-the way and backward sections the Baptists have the field all to themselves. They still place little importance on an educated ministry, and no more on a paid ministry. The only qualifications necessary are evidence of a divine call, and ability to make a fuss. The preacher is elected and ordained by the local congregation and turned loose to find a "preaching place" wherever his brethren see fit to call him. These conditions, of course, are not true of the urban centers; neither are they confined to the isolated sections. I have known prosperous farmer congregations, and even "college" centers, tolerate the grossest illiteracy in the pulpit. But as a rule, the Baptists also lead in the cities, where they have prosperous churches, and educated, able ministers. There is a certain democratic spirit about their worship and ecclesiastical polity, and a fervor and enthusiasm about their ministers that have a remarkable appeal. One of their leading features is their insistence on baptism by immersion, and so well established are the mountaineers in this faith that a large number of those who join the Methodist Church ask to be immersed. T

The larger number of the Baptists now in the Highlands are known as Missionary or Regular Baptists, though they are more generally spoken of simply as Baptists. They are represented by the Northern, the Southern, and the National (Colored) Conventions; and are distinguished by section or race rather than doctrine or polity. Besides the main branches referred to, there are many smaller groups, very little organized—Old School, Regular, Anti-Missionary, Hardshell, Foot-Washing, etc. These are distinguished by degree rather than difference in doctrine, and in their attitude toward missions.

The Methodists, through their circuit system, have built up a large following in the Highlands. They have

congregations, not only in the most out-lying sections, but flourishing congregations in the cities as well. The two main branches of Methodism are the Southern Methodist, which is the leading one, and the "Northern Methodist," as the brethren of the sister Church call it,-- and not inappropriately from the standpoint of territory. As a rule these two branches of Methodism in the Highlands are friendly, and co-operate in enterprises of common interest.

The Methodists appeal to the Arminian element of faith in the mountains, having at the same time sufficient spiritual fervor to satisfy the deeply emotional nature so characteristic of the mountaineer. Where this has been lacking the "Holiness" Methodists have come in to supply it. The Methodist ministers in the Highlands compare favorably in intelligence and ability with those of other sections, though few of them have seminary or college training. They are men of deep religious convictions, wonderful sacrificing spirit, and large native ability. Through the Conference course of study, general reading matter, and the recently established Summer Schools for Rural Pastors, they keep fairly well abreast of the times. The Holston Conference, comprising all of East Tennessee--except the "Copper Hill Basin"--and the Southerwester part of Virginia, is a fair representation of Methodism in the Highlands. Of the 848 pastors serving this Conference there are 45 supplies, 16 undergraduates--those who have not completed the Conference Course of Study, but who are pursuing it--and an estimated number of 7 who are seminary or college men. The average salary reported paid in 1921 was \$1200, including house rent. In many cases the salary falls far below this figure, the scale running all the way between \$91 and \$4800. A few of the lower salaries are materially supplemented by funds from the Board of Home Missions. It is encouraging to note that during the period between 1917 and 1921 there was a total increase of salary paid pastors of 41.6 per cent. In 1921 the Holston Conference reported a membership of 42,873, a net gain over the previous year of 1328. It is to be greatly regretted that only about 50 per cent. of reported converts unite themselves with the Methodist Church. A few join other denominations, but the larger number never relate themselves to any Church. This is accounted for in a large degree by the prevalent evangelistic methods. The annual revival is always expected, and it comes as regularly as the seasons themselves. Many sin-

ners, on the high wave of emotionalism, "hit the trail," but for the lack of a constructive follow-up program of conservation, there is a reaction which is positively harmful. Many fall away to be reclaimed the next year, or to be lost. The revival is reported in the next number of the Advocate with the account that many were saved or reclaimed, the Church greatly revived, a few joined the Church, with more to follow." As a rule those who are "to follow" never follow the trail into the Church and active Christian service, but follow the other way, the way of the world. Probably the greatest need in the Church in the mountains to-day is a wholesome, constructive program of evangelism, supplemented by a good social program.

The three leading denominations in the mountains to-day are, in order of number, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. The total Church membership of the Highlands is reported to be divided as follows: Baptists, .40, Methodists, .312, Presbyterians, .228.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER.

Professor Campbell speaks truly when he says, "If any phase of mountain life calls for sympathetic understanding it is the spiritual phase, in comparison with which all other else is of minor importance."<sup>1</sup> This is true because this phase of the mountain life is so intricately interwoven with the whole of his life-his history, environment, economic and health conditions, and his education-that one cannot wholly understand his religious life nor fully appreciate its expression unless he has come to know the whole of his life. The religious life and expression of the mountain has been greatly misrepresented. It might be fully and briefly described by saying that it is of the pioneer type-free, independent, informal, and individualistic. Religion is rarely found in the van of progress, and where pioneer life in general still persists we may expect to find a pioneer type of religion.

The Southern Highlander is deeply and intensely religious; in no other part of our country will one find so deep and sincere interest in religion as in the Southern Highlands. This may be accounted for mainly by the mountaineer's ancestry, his isolation-which give opportunity for meditation,- and his narrow field of interests and few distractions. The infidel is very rare, and where he is found he carries about with him a peculiar stigma which marks him as ~~stupid~~ <sup>stupid</sup> and lacking in intellect. No matter how wicked a man may be he deeply resents being regarded as an atheist. The line drawn between the "saint" and the sinner is very sharp. In Church the Christian is supposed to sit well to the front-usually in the "amen corner"- while the sinners occupy the rear of the room. For a believer to be seen in the rear of the Church with the sinners, is a sure sign that he has "back-slidden," or to say the least, that he is out of his place. Usually in the out-lying sections there is a separation of the sexes in the Church, the "men-folks" occupying the right with the women on the left. There are many reasons for attending Church in the mountains aside from a religious interest. In fact, the religious appeal is oftentimes the least.

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J.C.Campbell: The Southern Highlander and His Homeland-p.152.

The strongest appeal is the social. The Meeting-House is the common rendezvous of all ages and both sexes. The women-decrepit grandmother, mature matron, and buxom maiden look forward to Sunday with great anticipation, when they shall have the opportunity to see friends from whom they have been parted for a whole month. They arrive at the Church early, the older women resting on the long hard benches (pews), having walked or driven, or ridden "horse-back" for several miles, while the girls chew gum, giggle and blush behind their fans, or perchance employ the time before the beginning of preaching to go to the spring for a drink. Most of the girls, if they are pretty, are not old-fashioned, or have not reached the spinster age, which comes very early in the mountains, have a beau. If we run the motive for Church going on the part of the average mountain girl to its hiding-place we will find it to be social. She goes to "catch a beau." She is not to be blamed for that, and is none the worse for it. It's the only place she has to meet her young man friend-she rarely has more than one at a time, for if she even smiles at another she is regarded as frivolous, unfaithful, and a flirt-except it be in her humble home where they must do all their "courtin'" in the presence of the entire family, or perchance in the kitchen. There is no other excuse to be out except to go to "meeting". The young man accompanies his "girl" to the door of the Meeting-House, where he leaves her to go in alone, while he drops back into the yard to exchange jokes with his youthful friends, or listen to his elders discuss the weather, crops, politics, or religion. If he doesn't have the courage, as sometimes he does, to slip in and find a seat by the side of his "girl" on the "women's side" of the house, he joins her at the door when the service has closed and escorts her home. When the preacher, who sometimes must be his own singer, or some brother in the "amen corner" starts a song the men cease their talking on the outside, throw their cud of "natr'l leaf" out of their mouth, give a final expectoration, and file slowly and solemnly into the house. The grannies and matrons who have been exchanging "receipts" (recipes) for legion ailments or for cooking, suddenly break off their conversation, the girls restrain their laughter, with an occasional affectionate glance to the other side of the house. All is reverence. Everyone joins heartily in the singing of the hymn, which is highly ecstatic and rhythmic. The singing is ended. There is no noise except possibly the stifled sob of a babe whose mother is endeavoring

to quiet it. The preacher is going to pray. He always kneels. For a preacher to stand while praying is a sign of lack of piety and humility. And all the Christians must kneel, or at least appear very humble. Here again the line of distinction between the Christian and the sinner is drawn very sharply. The sinner may sit erect looking ahead, but the "professor" must not show such irreverence. It is not that the Christian should be less reverent, but that the sinner should be more reverent and thoughtful.

The prayer is long and high-pitched. It is made up largely of coined traditional phrases, though usually accompanied with deep feeling. The prayer ended, another hymn followed by a second prayer by a member of the congregation, or perhaps by a visiting preacher, then the sermon. The sermon, like the prayer, is long, and very dramatic. However illiterate the mountain preacher may be, he knows human nature, has a dramatic power and a combination of endowments which command a respectful hearing. There is in the sermon little of the love of God and of positive Christian teaching, but much of eternal punishment ("where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched.") The preacher is judged by his skill in depicting the future life and drawing the contrasts between heaven and hell, and warning his hearers to strive for the former place and shun the latter. The discourse which is delivered in a sing-song fashion, at times altogether unintelligible, sometimes in a natural tone, but at others rising to a scream, is largely interspersed with death-bed scenes. Often there is weeping aloud, and not infrequently the preacher is interrupted by shoutings. The writer was once declared to be "no preacher at all, as he can preach a whole sermon without shedding a tear."

When the preacher has exhausted his vocabulary or his physical strength, if there is another minister present he is asked to "conclude the service." There may be two or three others, and they must all be given an opportunity to say something. After the last speaker has finished a revival hymn is sung, during which all the Christians are urged to come to the altar for a "handshake." Thus the service is extended far into the day, but the people don't mind it as it comes only once every month, and is a rare treat.

The mountaineer is a stickler for "the pure Gospel,"

untainted with politics, education, or social questions. All forms of amusement and recreation are taboo in many sections. One Sunday I saw an old man get up and stalk down the aisle mumbling the words, "He's a base ball player," when a visiting minister used a base ball game to illustrate.

The annual revival is a permanent fixture in the program of the mountain Church, and is looked for with the same regularity as "Hodder-pullin'" or "molasses makin'" time, and with much greater pleasure. It is sometimes conducted by a "professional" evangelist, who goes through the country at that particular season-usually the Fall-holding revivals. Or it may be held by a neighboring pastor, or the local pastor, assisted by others. Oftentimes when it has been "notated" around the country that a revival is going to be started at a certain place on a certain date all the preachers within a radius of several miles who are not engaged come together for the meeting. An invitation is unnecessary. Every preacher is expected to have a share in the meeting, and they take it "time-about" preaching. The writer was converted in such a meeting. As I recall, there were six Baptist preachers in this meeting, each one taking his turn preaching. I later learned that most of them were fakers and wholly without character. These revivals are usually remarkably successful from the standpoint of the numbers converted and reclaimed, in spite of the dubious character of the "revivalist." While, as a rule, there is no constructive program, or plans for conserving the good that has been accomplished, many of the new converts "stick" or "hold-out." This is so, largely because of the drastic and cataclysmic nature of the conversion. It is a public repentance and confession, and becomes a milestone in the life of the individual. He may have not have thought himself through, but by the exercise of his will he has made a momentous decision which is hard to get away from.

The Highlander in his religious belief and expression, is Protestant, puritanic, orthodox, and dogmatic. Added to all these qualities is a deep emotionalism. While he is noted for his hospitality, and the stranger who is not regarded as suspicious is always welcome, he closes his door in the face of the carrier of a strange religion. His isolation, provincial thinking, coupled with his stern ancestry, have tended to keep his religion pure. I have seen my father, who is a kind, hospi-

table man, turn the Morman elder from his door, and if perchance, he succeeded in leaving any of his tracts, they were without ceremony committed to the flames. And as I review his policy now, after many years of experience and study, I cannot say that I believe he was wrong. Our Unitarian brethren have miscalculated the mind of the Southerner in their plans for spreading their propaganda in that section, basing their policy on the idea, as stated, that the field where orthodoxy is most conservative is the most fertile field for Unitarianism. Unitarianism will never gain a hold in the South-and in this respect the Southern Highlander is not unlike his kinsman, the Plainsman-because it is too cold and lifeless. The Highlander demands a religion which is at once warm, emotional, and orthodox.

In no other phase of mountain life is extreme individualism seen in such marked degree or in so varied expression as the religious phase. The Highlander is naturally and inevitably individualistic, but because of the very nature of religion and its important bearing upon life in general, here is where individualism finds its most marked expression. It is seen in the interpretation placed on the Scriptures, in the character of the sermon, the hymns, the general religious beliefs, and even in the architecture of the churches and the epitaphs seen on grave-stones. As a rule, the Highlander is interested in the Bible only in so far as it reveals the plan of salvation, and a wholly individual salvation at that. In so far as the Scriptures regulate the individual's personal conduct or his relation with his neighbor, it is in order that he may shun Hell and be sure of Heaven. And there is a widely popular belief that even right conduct is not necessarily to secure a passport into the heavenlies. For the belief, that "once in Grace, always in Grace," is prevalent. If one has ever been once genuinely "saved," he is saved for all time; there is no possibility of his being lost. Of course this belief is not confined to the Southern Highlands, or to any highlands. The writer recalls only recently that a person, a citizen of the cultured State of M- used the Parable of the Good Samaritan to substantiate her argument on this belief. She proceeded to show that the fact that the Good Samaritan left enough money with the inn-keeper to care for the wounded man until he should return was symbolical of God's giving us sufficient Grace on our conversion to meet our spiritual needs for the rest of life. The major part of the preaching is

of the individualistic, emotional type, with much emphasis on the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death and the judgment. It is calculated to bring about a state of feeling or excitement that will result in repentance and conversion. Whatever may be said against the prevalent type of religious belief and expression, underlying it all is a deep and immovable faith and sincerity.

Much comment has been made on the "funeral preachings" customary in the Highlands, and for the most part without a proper understanding of the custom or the conditions that make it necessary. I have reference to funeral services that are conducted after-sometimes many years after-the dead have been interred. In the mountains, where the homes are scattered, and yet where everyone knows everyone else, a death and funeral are attended with much solemnity and publicity. Preparation for burial ~~is~~ attended to with slow and measured step and with great solemnity. Instead of a hurried private affair in which the deceased is hurriedly enshrouded and raced to the cemetery and left for the sexton to care for, the friends and relatives racing away in their automobiles, as is the case in other sections of the country, death and burial in the mountains constitute somewhat of a social affair. It is an opportunity for the living to pay their respect to the dead, at the same time, taking advantage of a not too frequent opportunity to meet with friends. All the neighbors are expected to turn out in respect for the deceased and hear the funeral sermon from the minister. But many times in the most isolated sections a minister is not available, or at any rate, the one desired. The unfortunate individual may have to be buried without the ministrations of clergy, just as he may have had to die without the attention of a physician. It is one of the tragic phases of mountain life. Or maybe the funeral was postponed because some relative living at a distance was unable to be present. At some future date-maybe many years after-the desired minister is secured, all the relatives are notified, the occasion is announced and widely "noted," and the funeral sermon is preached. It is nothing more than a memorial service to which we are all accustomed, but which has somehow become a subject for much light comment. I was once called to attend the funeral of a woman which turned out to be a sort of double funeral. After driving for many miles out onto the Cumberland Plateau, we stopped at a little barn-like country church situated in the forest. When I was on the point of beginning the service I was informed that the deceased had

had a baby to die several years prior to her own death, and it had been buried without religious services being held, and the husband would like to have me include the baby in my remarks. Fortunately for me, for I had never before faced such a situation, there was an older minister present, a minister-physician-dentist-who had known the family, and who came to my rescue.

## CHAPTER V.

### RELIGION AND MORALS.

Because the Highlander's religion is so highly emotional and individualistic, because he so largely stresses right belief as the means of salvation, his religion too often has little relation with ethics. It lacks much of the element of love, charity, and self-control. His is a stern religion which at the same times demands of his neighbor acquiescence to his creed, and yet justifies him in the commission of incredible crimes. Or the same passionate nature which makes the mountaineer so intensely religious sometimes vents itself in uncontrollable wrath which in turn moves him to violence. I have known of more than one murder being committed in such unguarded moments, in religious controversies. A man may shoot his neighbor down and then kneel by his side and pray for him, unwilling that his soul should go into the presence of its Maker unsaved. John C. Cambell relates how the leader of a long-standing feud, on being refused whiskey by his neighbor, fatally shot him, and then being unable to get anyone else to pray for the dying man, himself knelt by his side and prayed for him, explaining his prerogative by the words, "It ain't right to let this man's soul go naked into the presence of his Maker without prayer."

Yet this too often lack of the ethical in the religion of the Highlander is largely balanced by his intense loyalty and sincerity that is so often lacking in the religious life of other sections, so that in morality the mountaineer compares favorably with those of more favored lands where there are education, culture, and abundant police protection. The mountaineer is not religious for social reasons, nor he does not join the church from policy. His religion is not a sort of veneer, and to him the church is more than a social club for the elite. It is a means of salvation. If he goes wrong it is not be-

cause he intended to go wrong, or that he premeditated evil. The same deep passion that makes him so intensely religious makes him also peculiarly susceptible to evil influences and makes him desperate in unguarded moments. If the mountaineer is at times immoral, he at least is not unmoral. He has a fine sense of moral responsibility to God and has a deep conviction that he will one day be called into the presence of the Judge of the nations, there to give strict and literal account of his wrong-doing.

The stories of the immorality, feuds, and general lawlessness of the Highlands have been greatly multiplied and exaggerated. From questions asked and stories told one would believe that there is a constant guerilla warfare, a "moonshine" still in every ravine, and that degeneracy is the rule. While there have been many bloody feuds, they have never been general, and are rapidly disappearing. Unquestionably there are many illicit stills hid away in the coves, the ravines, and caves; and the coming of prohibition with few officers to hunt the moon-shiner, the business has greatly increased. A District Superintendent of the Methodist Church in the mountains of East Tennessee partially explains the absence of a pastor in a certain field by the fear of moon-shiners. He says, "We began the year with a scarcity of eight men, but by dint of searching managed to find supplies for every charge but one.....It is a rough and rugged charge in more ways than one, and with but little prospect for support for the one who might be willing to brave the hardships of the coalfields, and a country thickly infested with moonshiners and boot-leggers....The number of them is getting to be legion, and instances there are where Pastor's lives have been threatened. Your humble servant has had occasion to be wary of these lawbreakers. Once was he mistaken for a Revenue officer, once for a boot-legger, and once was held up in the night time by the occupants of a Booze-wagon."<sup>1</sup>

Such a report as this would leave the impression that lawlessness is rampant in the mountains, but the section referred to is in the very heart of the mountains, and conditions here are far from typical. There is no doubt but that there are more illicit stills in the cellars of the rich of the cities than there are hid away in the fastness of the mountains. If there appears to be more crime and immorality in the mountains it is due largely to the fact that lawlessness receives more publicity there, where everybody is known, and where attractions are few.

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## CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

What of the future for religion and the Church in the Southern Highlands? Before we attempt to answer this question let us ask another: Has there been no progress in the past, and is there no sign of progress at present? It must be kept in mind that the conditions that have been described in this paper, and in every attempt at description of life in the Highlands, are not typical of the entire Highland section. There are many wide sections where life is much the same as in any normal section of America. It must be borne in mind that life in the Highlands is essentially pioneer life, that, shut in by great mountain ranges, with few railroads, poor highways, and inferior schools, this great territory has not kept pace with the rest of the country in the march of civilization. Problems are not different here than elsewhere, except that they are more intense and extensive. In the mountains we have great contrasts—the log cabin and the modern residence, the little one-room school and the modern well-equipped consolidated school, the illiterate and the cultured side by side. Conditions in the mountains are by no means what they were fifty years ago, nor even twenty years ago. There has been a gradual, though sure forward trend. The ~~movement has been~~ working more slowly in Highlands than in the plains, and will so continue.

The religious life of the Highlands will not move forward more rapidly than the economic and intellectual life. There must be an advance all along the line. The railroad has been, and will continue to be a tremendous power as a modernizer. Wherever it finds its way it carries with it new wealth, new opportunity for making wealth, new intelligence, and new life. It serves as a sort of artery through which new life is conveyed into the neglected regions. But mere economic freedom is not enough. The Highlands must have a new and fresh vision of Christ, a more wholesome method of Scriptural interpretation, and a new conception of religion. Professor John F. Smith of Berea College, Kentucky, writing in the

New York Times on The Causes of Feuds and Moonshining, says, of religious work and the churches in this connection: "The people are naturally inclined to be religious, but I frankly admit that I see little hope for religious work in the churches of the 'other half' until a new type of preacher embodying the devotion of the old pioneer preacher and the qualities of the modern highly trained leaders of men enters the pulpit....."

More progress would have been made in the reconstruction of life in the Highlands if those who have been responsible for the efforts at "uplift" had approached the problem with a better understanding of the problem, a more thorough knowledge of the field, and a more sympathetic, yet less patronizing attitude toward those whom they sought to help. In earlier years a psychological wall was built up in many instances between the well-meaning philanthropist, educator, or missionary, and the objects of ~~their~~ <sup>his</sup> zeal. The mountain people are peculiarly sensitive, and they no more wish to be regarded as objects of missionary uplift than any of the rest of us. The mountaineer is noted for his hospitality, and though he is distrustful of the stranger, yet when one has once gained his confidence, he is easily influenced and will give himself to co-operation. Yet when the "foreigner," who has shared his hospitality or gained his confidence, for the sole purpose of exploiting it, it becomes exceedingly difficult to win back the ground that has been lost.

The Highlander will never be extensively and permanently helped by external missionary zeal. It would be well if we could work under some other name. Professor Smith continues; "Only the strongest leaders who have had thorough training in rural sociology and economics should ever go out under church boards to become leaders of the mountain people. And they should never call themselves 'missionaries.'"<sup>1</sup> The problem of the mountaineer will never be solved by the board secretary in his city office, though he has his part in the solution, nor by the man gazing forth from his Pullman <sup>window</sup> ~~coach~~, or staying over night in the mountain hotel. It can be solved only by trained leaders who know and understand the people with whom they intend to labor, and who are willing to go into the mountains with the determination to see the thing through, to live with the people, be a part of their life, go in and out among them, sit by their humble fireside and at their plain table, sharing their

1

The Literary Digest for April 22, 1922.

2.

Ibid.

simple meal, and leaving in the home something of the real spirit of the Christ. It is no soft job, this redeeming of the Southern Highlands. The leader will become discouraged and feel like quitting many times, when the mountaineer fails to respond heart and soul to his ideas. The Highlander is extremely conservative. He will not be driven, and cannot always be led. Yet, when once he is won over to the side of progress he makes a loyal partner. It will demand the best, the most able, the most consecrated leaders to "carry on" in the Highlands. The ultimate solution of the problem will come from the inside, as the youth of the mountains catch a gleam of the light from the outside world, and are willing to prepare themselves and go back to their own people and serve them. Unfortunately, most of the young men of the Highlands who have been trained for the Christian ministry, if they have not gone to more prosperous fields, have accepted the better stations in the cities. They cannot be greatly blamed for this, for the rural field has never afforded a living for the man who is trained. The men who take up the work will have to be supported by other means. Moreover an error that is often committed is in expecting results that can be tabulated within a sort time. The greatest good that will be done cannot be put down in figures, and it takes time to work out a program.