

THE MOUNTAIN PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH---

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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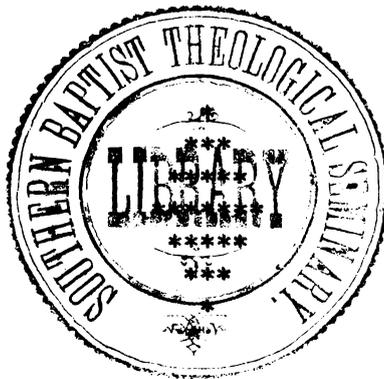
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

A Thesis

Presented to the faculty of the
Southern Baptist Theological
Seminary in application for the
degree of Doctor in Theology.

By

F. F. BROWN



SOUTHERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, LOUISVILLE, KY.

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PREFACE

At present the outside world is manifesting an increasing interest in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. The wealth of timber and mineral found there is attracting capital; the strong individualism of the people, their quaint customs and picturesque lives are furnishing a fascinating field for story and fiction; the native intelligence, sturdy and promising character of the population are inviting attention from educational and religious forces.

The author of this thesis holds that the field is one of surpassing interest and reward to the student of sociology. It is from this view-point that he has endeavored to treat the subject. He has tried to follow the mountain people as they came into their secluded homes, settled down in their iron surroundings and began the hard struggle against their hostile environment. He has seen them appear, for a moment, as it were, at different periods of our national history and then return to their pioneer homes in the hills. He has observed many of them leading a life at present which is largely one of survivals; retaining in their cabins the customs, speech, politics, religion, and moral code which were either brought with them in the beginning or have been developed there without the influence of outside forces. Thus, keeping in mind the fact of more than a century of terrible isolation, and trying to realize and interpret the influence of such an ordeal of isolation, the author reaches the conclusion so well stated by another: "To my mind, there is but one strain of American

blood that could have stood that ordeal quite so well, and that comes from the Scotch-Irish who are slowly wresting from Puritan and Cavalier an equal share of the glory that belongs to the three for the part played on the world's stage by this land in the heroic role of Liberty."¹

Two main difficulties have confronted the author in the preparation of this thesis.

1. The diversity of the field. We have before us a population of more than five millions of people scattered over parts of eight different states. Everywhere there is diversity. No two communities are alike. Conditions which obtain in one community may not be true of the adjacent community, or of any other community in the territory.

2. The lack of data. It is surprising how little is actually known of the mountain people. Meagre references in general histories, occasional magazine articles, and a growing fiction---some of which is suggestive, much of which is unreliable---constitute the sources of data. A questionnaire sent to fifty representative lawyers, teachers, and preachers, in various portions of the territory under consideration, brought very little definite information. X

So the author has been forced to depend largely upon his own experience and observation. Born and reared, for the most part, in an obscure section of Western North Carolina, never out of sight of the mountains before he was grown, the people, the customs, the life, the very mountains themselves, are part of him. Other students of the subject, who live far enough away from the mountains to give them a good perspective for study, have kept the author from allowing his own experience to blind him to facts.

¹Fox, Scribner's, Vol. 29:5, p. 570

Many friends have aided in this study by suggestion and encouragement. Four men, in particular, have been of great assistance: J. A. Burns, of Oneida, Ky., and A. E. Brown, of Asheville, N. C., have assisted by conversation and correspondence. President Frost, of Berea, Ky., kindly allowed the author to use the Berea College library. Special mention should be made of the help furnished by Mr. John C. Campbell. For a period of four years Mr. Campbell, under direction of the Russel-Sage Foundation, has been conducting a personal investigation of the Southern Appalachians. He furnished the author with the list of true mountain counties and other data. Then, too, Mr. Campbell read this manuscript and passed on the general correctness of the positions taken by the author.

Numbers of students are now devoting their attention to a careful study of the Southern Mountaineers. We hope that within the next few years their labors will bring to the public an accurate, reliable knowledge of this territory and people. Meanwhile, the author offers this study with the earnest desire that it may contribute something to a better understanding and a fuller appreciation of his own people.

The "Bibliography" which is appended includes all of the literature bearing on the subject which the author has been able to find.

Foot-note references are indicated by exponent figures.

F. F. BROWN.

March 1913.

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CHAPTER I

T H E T E R R I T O R Y

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION. The term Appalachian Mountains is generally used to designate the great system of mountains lying between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River. This range of mountains extends from the province of Quebec to the Northern part of Alabama, a distance of nearly thirteen hundred miles, and is made up of numerous parallel ridges, the direction of which is nearly Northeast and Southwest.

The territory we study includes that portion of the Appalachian system which projects itself through the eastern section of the South— extending Southwest from Mason and Dixon's Line and sloping away gradually in Georgia and Alabama. This extension of the Appalachian System forms a great back-bone which is about seven hundred miles in length and one hundred and fifty miles in average width. United States Geological Surveys call attention to the fact that surface features of the same kind are grouped together within tolerably definite limits, and that each class of features occupies a long, narrow belt of country extending in a Northeast and Southwest direction nearly parallel with the Atlantic coast. These belts are called physiographic districts, and the five which make up the Southern Appalachian province X are, beginning on the Southwest;

(1) The Piedmont Plain.

- (2) The Appalachian Mountains.
- (3) The Appalachian Valley.
- (4) The Cumberland Plateau.
- (5) The Interior Lowlands.

We are able to visualize more clearly this mountain region we are studying by remembering that it is the territory lying between the Piedmont Plain on the East and the Interior Lowlands on the West, bounded on the North by the Northern Mountains of Virginia and West Virginia and terminating on the South in North Central Alabama. Let us remember, too, that the territory surveyed is divided into two parts by the great Appalachian Valley running from Northeast to Southwest. This itself is much corrugated with minor mountains and ridges. It is known in Virginia as the Valley of Virginia, sometimes called the Shenandoah. In East Tennessee it is known as the Valley of East Tennessee. In Georgia and Alabama it is called the Coosa Valley.

Thus we have before us a great formation of mountain ranges, valleys, and table lands. In this portion of the Appalachian system we find its highest peaks, Mt. Mitchell, in North Carolina, being 6,711 feet high, while in the same region there are numerous peaks over 6,000 feet high. Some of the valleys and table lands are many miles in width.

This Appalachian territory has an area of 108,001 square miles. It embraces 246 counties, which include all of West Virginia, parts of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Kentucky and Alabama.

2. CLIMATE. The geographical position of this section guarantees to it a favorable climate. It is far enough South to receive

sufficient solar energy at all seasons of the year, and at the same time escape the cyclonic disturbances which exercise so much influence on weather conditions farther North. An occasional storm takes its course through the interior of the Southern states and reaches great severity in the mountains. Some of the local summer storms, although lasting but a short time, are very intense and at times attended by "cloud bursts" which usually leave behind them a great path of fallen trees.

The summer heat varies greatly according to the presence or absence of shade. There is a striking contrast between the temperature of the days and nights. Frequently one finds the heat annoying during the day, but when night comes on blankets are necessary.

There is an abundant rainfall in this region. "In annual amount the rainfall is exceeded in only two sections of the United States---on the coasts of Florida and Washington---and is, moreover, well distributed throughout the year. As a result, this region is the best watered of any section of the country, and probably nowhere else are streams so nearly never failing."¹

Keeping in mind the conditions found in the Appalachians which go to make up a healthful climate---an altitude sufficiently high to be invigorating without being enervating, combined with a perpetual supply of pure water---one is not surprised that this section is called the "Sanitorium of America."

3. SCENERY. When one comes to speak of the scenery of this section he is baffled. Even on a journey through the mountains by rail, one sees from the car window such a panorama of natural beauty

¹Frank Waldo, New Eng. Mag., May 1901, p. 237

that he is constantly expressing his wonder and delight. But to one who leaves the rail-road and takes his way up one of the valleys, which gradually closes in about him until there is only the deep, narrow ravine, or stern mountain before him, there is presented a wealth and variety of beauty which fascinates and at the same time eludes description. Following one of the mountain streams as it tumbles over rocks, abruptly winds its way through the thick undergrowth and trees which crowd down to the very brink and often extend their branches from either side until they almost meet, one has a closer view of the luxuriant vegetation. Dense thickets of laurel, rhododendron and fern sometimes cover many acres. A view from the top of one of the peaks is still more impressive. Billow after billow of mountain tops rise before one in succession and blend with the horizon in the blue distance. This is indeed the primeval forest, with its lofty peaks, giant, rocky-faced mountains, heavy timbers, tumbling water-falls, abundant and luxuriant vegetation. E. O. Guerrant was in the very heart of this region when he wrote the following sentence: "The great mountain had on its autumnal dress of crimson and purple and gold, with its rich, dark mantles of balsams around its giant shoulders. God only could make such a wardrobe, and only a god among mountains could wear it."¹ Such impressive scenes of wild, varied natural beauty have given to the Appalachian region the characterization of "The Switzerland of America."

4. RESOURCES. So abundant are the natural resources of the mountains that only a brief and partial list of them can be given.

In the Appalachian mountains of the South there is a field of coal forty thousand square miles in extent, containing within easy

¹ -----
The Galax Gatherers, p. 21

reach of the pick as much coal as Great Britain ever possessed. Iron ore is found in almost unlimited quantities. Alabama has 5,500 square miles of rich coal fields, with great quantities of iron ore. Georgia has 200 square miles of bituminous coal, while near at hand are immense deposits of iron ore covering 350 square miles. In Tennessee there are 500 square miles of coal fields, and iron ore in abundance. Kentucky has a coal area covering 9,000 square miles with large deposits of iron ore. Virginia has a bountiful supply of coal, and the beds of iron ore are from 21 to 100 feet thick and many miles in length. Almost the entire state of West Virginia is a coal field. Here there are 16,000 square miles of coal, and enormous quantities of iron ore.

X Petroleum oil is found in Alabama, West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee.

There is some gold in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia.

East Tennessee has a quality of marble which ranks among the finest in the world. The magnificent stairways of the Capitol at Washington were made of the marble from Holston River.

The Southern Appalachians have great forests of maple, ash, oak, chestnut, hickory, walnut, beech, locust, and other valuable species X of timber, forming in all the greatest treasury of hard-wood timber now existing in the United States.

Climate and soil combine to make the mountain valleys a great farming section, and the uplands are well adapted to fruit growing.

This bird's eye view of "Appalachian America," with a brief notice of its climate, scenery and resources, is sufficient to show us that nature has highly favored this region.

Below is given a list of the mountain counties, by states, as

worked out by Mr. John C. Campbell, and the area and population of each county taken from the census reports for 1910.

Virginia.

<u>County</u>	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Albemarle	750	29,871
Alleghany	457	14,173
Amherst	470	18,932
Augusta	1,003	32,445
Bath	545	6,538
Bedford	791	29,549
Bland	360	5,154
Botetourt	548	17,727
Buchanan	514	12,334
Carroll	458	21,116
Clarke	171	7,468
Craig	333	4,711
Dickenson	325	9,199
Fauquier	666	22,526
Floyd	376	14,092
Franklin	697	26,480
Frederick	434	12,787
Giles	369	11,623
Grayson	425	19,856
Greene	155	6,937
Highland	422	5,317
Lee	446	23,840
London	519	21,167

Madison	324	10,055
Montgomery	396	17,268
Nelson	473	16,821
Page	322	14,147
Patrick	485	17,195
Pulaski	333	17,246
Rappahannock	274	8,044
Roanoke	300	19,623
Rockbridge	613	21,171
Rockingham	876	34,903
Russell	496	23,474
Scott	543	23,814
Shenandoah	510	20,942
Smyth	435	20,326
Tazwell	531	24,946
Warren	216	8,589
Washington	602	32,830
Wise	420	34,162
Wythe	479	20,372
<u>Independent Cities¹</u>	20	77,549
42	19,882	836,319

West Virginia

<u>County</u>	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Barbour	348	15,858

¹Names of the eight Va. cities, for which the Census of 1910 gives an independent report, appear later in our chap. on distribution of pop.

Berkley	325	21,999
Boone	506	10,331
Braxton	517	23,023
Brooke	89	11,098
Cabell	261	46,685
Calhoun	286	11,258
Clay	332	10,233
Doddridge	317	12,672
Fayette	667	51,903
Gilmer	331	11,379
Grant	461	7,838
Greenbrier	998	24,833
Hampshire	648	11,694
Hancock	83	10,465
Hardy	574	9,163
Harrison	416	48,381
Jackson	461	20,956
Jefferson	211	15,889
Kanawha	860	81,457
Lewis	393	18,281
Lincoln	418	20,491
Logan	438	14,476
Marion	315	42,794
Marshall	310	32,388
Mason	475	23,019
McDowell	533	47,856
Mercer	419	38,371

Mineral	349	16,674
Mingo	416	19,431
Monongalia	358	24,334
Monroe	457	13,055
Morgan	233	7,848
Nicholas	680	17,699
Ohio	107	57,572
Pendleton	699	9,349
Pleasants	132	8,074
Pocahontas	904	14,740
Preston	650	26,341
Putnam	336	18,587
Raleigh	597	25,633
Randolph	1,036	26,028
Ritchie	453	17,875
Roane	522	21,543
Summers	369	18,420
Taylor	175	16,554
Tucker	405	18,675
Tyler	260	16,211
Upshur	351	16,629
Wayne	517	24,081
Webster	583	9,680
Wetzel	357	23,855
Wirt	218	9,047
Wood	364	38,001
Wyoming	502	10,392
55	24,022	1,221,119

North Carolina

<u>County</u>	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Alleghany	234	7,745
Ashe	427	19,074
Buncombe	639	49,798
Burke	534	21,408
Caldwell	512	20,579
Cherokee	454	14,136
Clay	220	3,909
Graham	298	4,749
Haywood	546	21,020
Henderson	358	16,262
Jackson	494	12,998
Macon	513	12,191
Madison	436	20,132
McDowell	443	13,538
Mitchell	371	17,245
Polk	251	7,640
Rutherford	544	28,385
Surry	520	29,705
Swain	553	10,403
Transylvania	379	7,191
Watauga	342	13,556
Wilkes	735	30,282
<u>Yancey</u>	<u>298</u>	<u>12,072</u>
23	10,101	394,018

South Carolina

<u>County</u>	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Greenville	761	68,377
Oconee	650	27,337
Pickens	529	25,422
<u>Spartanburg</u>	<u>765</u>	<u>83,465</u>
4	2,705	204,601

Georgia

<u>County</u>	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Banks	222	11,244
Bartow	471	25,388
Catoosa	169	7,184
Chattooga	328	13,608
Cherokee	429	16,661
Dade	186	4,139
Dawson	216	4,686
Fannin	401	12,574
Floyd	502	36,736
Forsyth	247	11,940
Gilmer	440	9,237
Gordon	375	15,861
Habersham	290	10,134
Hall	437	25,730
Lumpkin	280	5,444
Murray	342	9,763

Pickens	231	9,041
Polk	317	20,203
Rabun	377	5,562
Stephens	166	9,728
Towns	181	3,932
Union	324	6,918
Walker	432	18,692
White	245	5,110
<u>Whitfield</u>	<u>283</u>	<u>15,934</u>
25	7,891	315,449

Alabama

<u>County</u>	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Blount	649	21,456
Calhoun	630	39,115
Clay	614	21,006
Cleburne	568	13,385
Coosa	655	16,634
Cullman	763	28,321
DeKalb	786	28,261
Etowah	542	39,109
Jackson	1,140	32,918
Jefferson	1,135	226,476
Madison	811	47,041
Marshall	602	28,553
Morgan	587	33,781
St. Clair	645	20,715

Shelby	806	26,949
<u>Talladega</u>	<u>755</u>	<u>37,921</u>
16	12,315	681,867

Kentucky

<u>County</u>	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Bell	384	28,447
Boyd	159	23,444
Breathitt	483	17,540
Carter	413	21,966
Clay	478	17,789
Clinton	233	8,153
Elliott	263	9,814
Estill	254	12,273
Floyd	399	18,623
Greenup	346	18,475
Harlan	478	10,566
Jackson	333	10,734
Johnson	268	17,482
Knott	348	10,791
Knox	356	22,116
Laurel	447	19,872
Lawrence	422	20,067
Lee	199	9,531
Leslie	373	8,976
Letcher	355	10,623
Lewis	491	16,887

Madison	446	26,951
Magoffin	302	13,654
Martin	227	7,291
Menifee	203	6,153
Morgan	365	16,259
Owsley	216	7,979
Perry	335	11,255
Pike	779	31,679
Powell	181	6,268
Pulaski	779	35,986
Rockcastle	310	14,473
Rowan	272	9,438
Wayne	590	17,518
Whitley	585	31,982
Wolfe	230	9,864
36	13,302	580,919

Tennessee

<u>County</u>	<u>Square miles</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Anderson	337	17,717
Bledsoe	391	6,329
Blount	571	20,809
Bradley	336	16,336
Campbell	464	27,387
Carter	353	19,838
Claiborne	468	23,504
Coffee	443	15,625

Cocke	427	19,399
Cumberland	655	9,327
Fentress	486	7,446
Franklin	575	20,491
Grainger	307	13,888
Greene	613	31,083
Grundy	375	8,322
Hamblen	158	13,650
Hamilton	409	89,267
Hancock	228	10,778
Hawkins	482	23,587
James	165	5,210
Jefferson	312	17,755
Johnson	294	13,191
Knox	504	94,187
London	219	13,612
Marion	504	18,820
McMinn	432	21,046
Meigs	199	6,131
Monroe	673	20,716
Morgan	529	11,458
Overton	446	15,854
Pickett	162	5,087
Polk	432	14,116
Putnam	404	20,023
Rhea	365	15,410
Roane	388	22,860

Scott	550	12,947
Sevier	587	22,296
Sequatchie	264	4,202
Sullivan	436	28,120
Union	235	11,414
Unicoi	201	7,201
Van Buren	293	2,784
Washington	325	28,968
Warren	423	16,534
White	363	15,420
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45	17,783	860,145
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Totals 246	108,001	5,095,437

The mountain area and mountain population of these eight Southern States is approximately one-third the population and one-third the area of the states taken in their entirety.

CHAPTER II

E A R L Y S E T T L E R S

Much confusion and even controversy have arisen over the question of the origin of the mountain people. The early settlers in the several mountain districts wrote no history of themselves. A great deal of what has been said and written is either obscure or has no historical basis. The following account of their origin and how they came into the Southern Appalachians is a correlation of the facts as given by reliable historians.

For more than a century after the founding of Jamestown the colonists remained on the coast. Back of them stood the silent, blue peaks which seemed to form impassable barriers. In the early days Captain Newport had tried to cross the mountains but failed. By 1653 the desire to penetrate the mountains had grown so much that we have the following enactment: "Whereas divers gentlemen have a voluntarie desire to discover the mountains and have supplicated for license to this Assembly that order be granted for soe doing, provided they go with a considerable partie and strength of men and ammunition."¹

The year 1716 finds Governor Spotswood leading his party of fifty gentlemen across the Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap and into the Shenandoah valley about eighty miles Southwest from Harper's Ferry. Carving the name of George I upon a rock at the summit of the highest peak which they

¹Fiske, "Old Va. and Her Neighbors," p. 448

had climbed, and giving it the name of Mount George, this party returned to the coast. Spotswood presented each of his companions with a golden horse shoe, studded with valuable stones, as a souvenir of their mountain trip. The horse shoe bore the inscription, "Sic juvat transcendere montes."¹ This incident was called instituting the order of the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe."

The mountain territory had now been discovered, and gradually the English from the coast pushed their way up the steep slopes, through the gaps, and settled in the valleys.

More significant still was the coming of the Scotch-Irish to America during the period of Gooch's government from 1727 to 1749.

To understand who the Scotch-Irish are we must go back to the year 1611. At that time James I began to transfer large numbers of picked men and women from Scotland and the North of England to Ulster. His plan was to people Ireland with a Protestant population that would counteract the Catholic influence and ultimately overcome it.

The story of these new settlers of Ulster---their thrift and progress, their perseverance in spite of the persecution of the Church of England, and finally their movement from Ulster to America, beginning in 1719 and continuing until the passage of the Toleration Act for Ireland in 1782---need not detain us. Ship load after ship load came to our shores, landing for the most part at Philadelphia. Fiske says: "Altogether, between 1730-1770, I think it probable that at least one-half million souls were transferred from Ulster to the American colonies, making not less than one-sixth of our population at the time of the Revolution."²

¹Fiske, "Old Va. and Her Neighbors," p. 451 ²"Old Va. and Her Neigh." p 460

Just as Pennsylvania was the temporary stopping place for the Scotch-Irish, so also it was the distributing centre for the French Protestants who were driven from their homes by the despotism of Louis XIV.

The coming of the Quakers to Pennsylvania brought a large German population. The visits of Penn to Holland brought Mennonites, Waldenses, and Anabaptists. Another migration from Germany in 1708 and 1709 brought 30,000 Germans to New York, the Carolinas, and most of all to Pennsylvania. Then, too, the Dunkers, a sect of German Baptists, came to Pennsylvania between 1718 and 1729.

As the pressure of these early settlers upon each other made it necessary for some to move on, large numbers of the more daring and enterprising left Pennsylvania and followed the mountain ranges and valleys to the Southwest. This longitudinal movement brought them into Virginia, then beyond to the head waters of the Tennessee, the Watauga, the Holston, and the French Broad. They largely populated West Virginia, portions of the two Carolinas, and at a later time they were the chief factors in building the commonwealths of Kentucky and Tennessee.

A single generation in the mountains was sufficient to fuse and mould together these people from different portions of Europe. The Scotch-Irish were by far the most numerous and have always been the dominating element in the Appalachian mountains. Fully three-fourths of the present population are of Scotch-Irish descent. Roosevelt says: "They formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward, the vanguard of the army of fighting settlers who, with axe and rifle, won their way from the Alleghanies to the Rio Grande and the Pacific."¹

¹"Winning of the West," Vol. I, p.103

Settling first the mountain valleys and coves, they then pushed their way along the streams and up the slopes. The mountain walls closed in and around them. The tide was caught and held in pools, only occasionally passing through the mountain gaps and moving on Westward. Here, for more than a hundred years, the majority of their descendants have remained, out of touch with the forces and movements which have been sweeping, changing and moulding other sections and peoples.

But in spite of their seclusion the mountaineers have appeared as powerful factors at more than one crisis of our national life.

History has fully recognized the influence and service of Puritan and Cavalier in the establishment and development of our country. But only within recent years, and even now not generally, have the contributions of these Scotch-Irish highlanders received attention.

They were the pioneers who led the movement of civilization across our country and on to the Pacific coast---the advance guard who steadily pushed the frontier line over mountains and streams, in the face of great difficulties, until the "West was won." Tough and vigorous in body, grim and tenacious, eager and reckless, they met and overcame unfriendly nature and unfriendly man. Stern wilderness, treacherous Indians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen yielded to their fierce dogged determination. Says Roosevelt: "They warred and settled from the high hill-valleys of the French Broad and the upper Cumberland to the half tropical basin of the Rio Grande, and to where the Golden Gate lets through the long heaving waters of the Pacific."¹

Then, too, in the Revolution the mountain section rendered signal service. Intense hatred for England, Church and State, was in their

¹"Winning of the West," Vol. I, p. 27

blood. Tyranny and persecution had tried in vain to quench the spirit of liberty that glowed in their hearts back in the home-land. They claim the honor of making the first public protest against English oppression. On Jan. 20, 1775, a council met in Abingdon, Va. which registered the determination of the Scotch-Irish highlanders of that section. Bancroft says of them, "The spirit of freedom swept through their minds as naturally as the wind sighs through the fir trees of the Black Mountains. There they resolved never to surrender, but to live and die for liberty." This action at Abingdon, Va. was four months earlier than the Mecklenburg Declaration in North Carolina. Then came the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress.

When the actual fighting began we see Sevier and Shelby leading their border forces in triumph over the Cherokees. From Georgia, Northward to Virginia, these men with the blood of the Vikings in their veins swept Indians and Tories before them. X

Oct. 7, 1780 was a dark day for the colonists. Charleston was in the hands of the British, bands of threatening Indians were eagerly watching to attack the frontier line, and Ferguson, with 1125 men, was planted on King's Mountain, 1,700 feet above sea level, holding a position of such natural advantage that he cried: "Well, boys here is a place from which all of the rebels outside of hell cannot drive us."¹ But he had not counted on the riflemen from the backwoods. The story of the battle is well known and we do not repeat it. As to the significance of the victory Humes says: "It led the way to the surrender at Yorktown, and then to peace with Great Britain."²

¹Fiske, "The American Revolution," Vol. II, p. 296

²"The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee," p. 56

In the Seminole War of 1817 eleven hundred men drawn largely from East Tennessee made up General Jackson's army.

The war with Mexico was another call to the men from the Appalachian section and their response was eager and prompt.

When the Civil War came, and North and South faced each other in hostile lines, both armies were strengthened by the riflemen from the Southern highlands. The Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama mountains sent many men to fight for the Confederacy, while West Virginia, Kentucky and East Tennessee represented a strong Union sentiment. It is impossible to estimate just how much the mountain men contributed to the final decision. Gen. J. D. Cox says: "Considering their strategic position in the heart of the Confederacy, their numbers and their persistent courage at home and in the field, their services to the national cause must be reckoned one of the chief factors in the great result."

President Frost of Berea adds the following interesting incident: "The flag that went up Lookout Mountain and shone above the clouds was made by the loyal women of Estill County, and is kept in a farmer's house within twenty miles of Berea."

In the Spanish-American war the Southern mountains furnished a number of men far out of proportion to their population.

Then, too, a roll-call of the representative men of the nation must include a number of names from this territory. "There are the pioneers Boone, Sevier, the Shalbys, Davy Crockett, and Sam Houston; the presidents Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson; the famous Confederates Zebulon V. Vance, John H. Reagan, and Stonewall Jackson; the renowned Unionists Parson Brownlaw and Admiral Farragut; the inventor Cyrus H. Mc Cormick; and the man of the nation, Abraham Lincoln."¹

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S. T. Wilson, "The Southern Mountaineers," p. 36

We close this sketch of the contributions of the Southern highlanders to the nation with the following summary statement from Roosevelt: "In obedience to the instincts working half blindly within their breasts, spurred ever onwards by the fierce desires of their eager hearts, they made in the wilderness homes for their children, and by so doing wrought out the destinies of a continental nation The fathers followed Boone or fought at King's Mountain; the sons marched South with Jackson to overcome the Creeks and beat back the British; the grandsons died at the Alamo or charged to victory at San Jacinto. They were doing their share of the work that began with the conquest of Britain, that entered on its second and wider period after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, that culminated in the marvellous growth of the United States."¹

¹"Winning of the West," Vol. I, p. 27

CHAPTER III

I S O L A T I O N

The mountains that surround the Southern highlanders have stood as effective barriers between them and the rest of the world. Railroads thundered at the base of the mountains for many years before they began to penetrate them. No ships from other shores brought tidings from beyond. There was no coast line to receive such ships. No boats came in and out of this territory bringing an acquaintance with the activities and customs of the lowlands. Prof. C. R. Raymond, of Berea, Ky., says: "Appalachian America is the only large mountain region in the world without navigable streams or seaboard. Greek or Scot could keep in touch with all of the world by way of the world's great highway, the sea. The New England pioneer could do the same. But no sail from foreign shores visits the sylvan fastness of the Southern highlands." While the statement of Prof. Raymond as to there being no navigable streams in this territory does not hold, it is none the less true that no sails from other shores have visited this region. The mountain population was more effectively separated from the rest of the country, more completely out of touch with the influences operating in other sections, than their brothers on the coast line were from the mother country.

Not only were they completely shut off from the outside world, they were likewise separated from each other. The settlements are in coves, or along streams, and are walled in by mountains. Until recently

there were no telephones connecting one community with another. No inter-urban cars pass from settlement to settlement. Trails and bridle paths wind around the steep mountain sides until they finally pass through a gap and lead down into another valley. Mountain roads usually follow the creek beds so literally that the two are often identical. Most of the travelling is on foot or horseback. Thus separated into groups with little opportunity for communication, any commerce of ideas is practically impossible. The printing press came late, went to the larger centres first, and in great stretches of territory is still unknown.

This isolation has been a most powerful factor in making the mountain people what they are. And it is the key word in explaining their present position in the commercial, political, social, moral, and religious life of our times.

Very few of our mountain people are rich. Distance from markets and lack of means of transportation have kept them walking over and among treasures that are now beginning to enrich others.

Today the political adherence of the Southern Appalachians is, for the most part, different from that of the rest of the South. It is no doubt true that their loyalty to the Union in 1865 was transmitted to them from 1776. But this is not the whole explanation of their position in 1865. When they returned from King's mountain and Guilford court house their interests were different from the interests of their slave holding brethren. They raised no cotton, owned no slaves, and were not interested in the institution of slavery for economic reasons. Certainly no sentiment of regard for the black man prompted them to fight for his freedom for they are very positive and outspoken in their dislike for him till this day. Their attitude in 1865, from which their present political

allegiance comes, was largely the result of economic conditions.

Social life, too, was determined by the environment. Anything like a highly developed social life was impossible under existing circumstances. Pioneer conditions produced a pioneer, frontier society. There were no social ties to unite the people and develop a social mind. Most of the intermediate links which must come between the family and state to bring about solidarity were absent. There were common interests, in that they faced the same conditions and problems, but these interests never received united expression except in time of danger and distress. Ordinarily, each family lived to itself, or the small group dwelt on the same creek, or in the same cove, and was separate and independent. In this society life assumed many new aspects. If old customs were brought which would in any way hamper their freedom they were abandoned. Old social distinctions which their ancestors had known were abolished. All stood on the same level. Custom and distinction vanished into the background and social equality was recognized by these frontier people. Along with social equality, individual freedom received great emphasis in their social life.

Students of the subject are coming to attach more importance to the influence of environment in determining the moral standards of a people. People who live in seclusion develop a customary morality. Those who live where their contacts are numerous, where there is opportunity for commerce of ideas and ideals, where there is comparison of standards and contrast of standards, develop a reflective morality. The morality of those in isolation is traditional. It is group morality preserved and followed without question. An action or line of conduct is proper or improper because custom has made it so, because it has received

the sanction and approval or the condemnation of the local group through the years. This customary morality may be of the higher type or it may not. It has been developed and maintained in surroundings that gave no opportunity for comparison, that presented no contrast, that brought no challenge. When isolation is broken and the challenge for a comparison of moral standards is forced upon the people, there is a shock, a rude awakening, an unsteady groping for firm footing. After being aroused by this sudden shock, the moral standards are moved from the basis of custom and grounded in reflection. The new type of morality developed may be inferior or superior according to the excellence of the standards with which they are brought into contact. Our mountain people have necessarily been controlled by the customary, traditional moral standards. Later on we shall see the influence of the breaking up of the isolation and the appearance of other moral codes.

Highland countries have always been strongholds for religion. A conservatism characterizes the people which makes them stubborn defenders of the orthodox. Isolation moulds conceptions of God which are different from those shaped by other environment. Those who are alone with nature think more about God. A rural environment produces a theological while urban surroundings tend to develop more of a sociological type of mind. So we have instances in Scripture where God calls men apart from their fellowmen that they may be alone and commune with Him.

Not only does the separation from men and things afford opportunity to think of God, but the very character of the surroundings determine to some extent what the thoughts will be. Men in different countries have different conceptions of God.

The people we are studying were in surroundings that proclaimed

the marvellous power and work of God. Very little about them indicated the work of man. Rev. A. E. Brown says: "In the cities ninety per cent of all that the children see tells them of man. In the mountains ninety-six per cent of all that they see tells them of God." Wherever the mountain man looks---whether at the great stern rocks that surround him, the wild stream that plunges by him and leaps over the fall below, or the sky over-head---every where it is God. And his conception of God seems to be:

(1) Fear. He watches the storm as it gathers and bursts in fury over the mountain; he sees the lightning as it flashes in the darkness and reveals for a moment the forests that are being swayed by the storm; he hears the crashing of timber and the roll of thunder. A kind of awe creeps into his heart. He, like his remote ancestors, thinks of God as hurling the lightning and thunderbolts. However this feeling may be defined, it is one of helplessness in the face of a great, mysterious power which he has seen demonstrated time and again. This feeling of helplessness and awe combine in the feeling of fear.

(2) Reverence. Not only does he see nature in her wild, stern moods, but he sees her in all of her varied workings. Climbing the mountains, tramping the forests, hunting, fishing, farming; in winter with its ice and snow, autumn with its yellowing leaves, spring with its bursting buds, summer with its fullness; back of all, over all, there must be One who controls and directs. To Him he looks, not only with fear, but also with great reverence.

These conceptions of God find expression in church worship. A fondness for theology, for church doctrine and controversy are characteristic. Worship is marked by great demonstrations of emotion. The

Bible is God's Word, and every sentence of it is received with child like faith. The Sabbath is His day, and hence there is great regard for it. The preacher must be "called" of God. Frequently the "call" is attended by some kind of miraculous vision. A call does not imply any preparation but does presuppose a willingness to serve without remuneration. Much of the preaching is hortatory. Failure to relate the religious and moral is characteristic.

Then, too, this isolation has placed its arresting hand on the personalities of the people and held them in suppression. Seclusion emphasizes individual characteristics but at the same time checks the development of personality. "It is a law of biology that an isolating environment operates for the preservation of a type which would obliterate distinguishing characteristics."¹ Lack of contact, small number of stimuli, meager sources of inspiration, few interests, narrow horizon, contracted vision, no differentiation in vocation---such conditions afford little opportunity for the development, expression, and realization of personality. A noted German student reminds us that even flowers which grow and bloom in seclusion do not reach their highest possibilities of beauty and fragrance.

Here, as elsewhere, we find that isolation has preserved the Ethnic type. Not only have foreigners been pressed back by the mountain barriers, but negroes from other sections of the South have been almost entirely excluded. So that we have in the Southern mountains more white people per square mile than are to be found in any other region of equal size in the South---more native born American whites in this district than in any other district of equal area in America.

¹Miss Semple, Geo. Journal, Vol. 17, p. 592

This study forces upon us the conclusion that any differences that exist between the Southern mountaineers and their kindred who live beyond the mountains find their ultimate explanation in the mountain walls which separate them from each other. Notice one illustration. "Over one hundred years ago eleven Combs brothers, related to Gen. Combs of the Revolution, came over the mountains of North Carolina into Kentucky. Nine settled in the mountains of Perry County, one in Breathitt County, the eleventh pushed on to the blue-grass and founded a family which represents the blue blood of the state, while their cousins remain in the mountains and live as their ancestors did."¹ Any difference between the population of the Southern Appalachians and the people living in the Northern portions of the same range of mountains is explained by the fact that part of the early settlers who came on the same ships, from the same countries, impelled by the same motives, and possessing the same heritage of blood and disposition, settled in that part of the mountain range where the isolation was soon broken up; while others came along the ridges and down the valleys into an isolation that has remained unbroken. Any differences which exist between the various mountain sections of the several Southern states, or any differences among mountain communities of the same state, is explained by this one principle---the completeness of the isolation.

¹Miss Semple, Geo. Journal, Vol. 17, p. 593

CHAPTER IV

D I S T R I B U T I O N O F P O P U L A T I O N

Berea college furnished a display for the Missionary Exhibit at Cincinnati in the Spring of 1912 which strikingly illustrated the prevalent mistake of speaking of the Southern Appalachians as if the same conditions and same type of life were found throughout the mountain region. On one wall of the room was a painting which presented a log cabin on a mountain side. All about the cabin were signs of poverty, ignorance and neglect. Back of the cabin the wild, rough mountain lifted itself to the horizon. A beaten, rocky path wound down the steep descent from the cabin to the cove below. Just beneath the painting sat a woman weaving cloth at an old fashioned loom. Near her was a primitive hand mill, some of which are still found in the mountains of Kentucky. Close by was an old "still" which had been "cut up" by revenue officers. On the opposite wall was another painting. This was a picture of Berea college. The well-kept campus, imposing buildings---all of the surroundings---suggestive of culture and the higher values of life. What a contrast! Measured by a carpenter's rule the two pictures were only a few feet apart. But measured by the scale of social life which each brought before the mind they were more than a century apart. Both paintings were of mountain scenes. Both paintings, with all that they represented in themselves, and all of the intermediate stages leading from one to the other, are true of the mountain region of the South today. The pro-

blem which has baffled all students of the subject has been to determine just what proportion of the present population each of those paintings represents. It is impossible to do this accurately. But by working the 1910 Census for the mountain counties, as determined by Mr. Campbell, we are able to place before us the incorporated towns and cities of one thousand and more inhabitants. Deducting this result from the total population of the mountain region we have the number of inhabitants in unorganized communities of less than one thousand inhabitants.

<u>Virginia</u>		
<u>Town or City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Abingdon	Washington	1,757
Appalachia	Wise	1,090
Basic City	Augusta	1,632
Bedford City	Bedford	2,508
Big Stone Gap	Wise	2,590
Bristol	Washington	6,247
Buena Vista	Rockbridge	3,245
Charlottesville	Albemarle	6,765
Christiansburg	Montgomery	1,568
Clifton Forge	Alleghany	5,748
Covington	Alleghany	4,234
Damascus	Washington	1,299
Fries	Grayson	1,775
Front Royal	Warren	1,133
Graham	Tazwell	1,917
Harrisonburg	Rockingham	4,879

Leesburg	Loudon	1,597
Lexington	Rockbridge	2,931
Luray	Page	1,218
Marion	Smyth	2,727
Norton	Wise	1,866
Pocahontas	Tazwell	2,452
Pulaski	Pulaski	4,807
Radford	Montgomery	4,202
Roanoke	Roanoke	34,874
Salem	Roanoke	3,849
Saltville	Smyth	1,628
Shenandoah	Page	1,431
Staunton	Augusta	10,604
Tazwell	Tazwell	1,230
Vinton	Roanoke	1,928
Warrenton	Fauquier	1,427
Waynesboro	Augusta	1,389
Winchester	Frederick	5,864
Woodstock	Shenandoah	1,314
Wytheville	Wythe	3,054

138,779

West Virginia

<u>Town or City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Adamston	Harrison	1,200
Alderson	Greenbrier	1,252
Ansted	Fayette	1,030

Avis	Summers	1,432
Beckley	Raleigh	2,161
Belington	Barbour	1,481
Benwood	Marshall	4,976
Bluefield	Mercer	11,188
Bramwell	Mercer	1,458
Buckhannon	Upshur	2,225
Cameron	Marshall	1,660
Ceredo	Wayne	1,215
Charleston	Kanawha	22,996
Charles Town	Jefferson	2,662
Chester	Hancock	3,184
Clarksburg	Harrison	9,201
Davis	Tucker	2,615
Edgewood	Ohio	1,455
Elkins	Randolph	5,260
Elm Grove	Ohio	1,899
Fairmont	Marion	9,711
Follansbee	Brooke	2,031
Fulton	Ohio	1,038
Gassoway	Braxton	1,086
Grafton	Taylor	7,563
Guyandotte	Cabell	1,702
Hambleton	Tucker	1,300
Hinton	Summers	3,656
Huntington	Cabell	31,161
Keystone	McDowell	2,047

Keyser	Mineral	3,705
Kimball	McDowell	1,630
Logan	Logan	1,640
Macdonald	Fayette	1,153
Mannington	Marion	2,672
Marlinton	Pocahontas	1,045
Martinsburg	Berkley	10,698
McMechen	Marshall	2,921
Monongah	Marion	2,084
Montgomery	Fayette	1,888
Morgantown	Monongalia	9,150
Moundsville	Marshall	8,918
New Cumberland	Hancock	1,807
New Martinsville	Wetzel	2,176
Parkersburg	Wood	17,842
Parsons	Tucker	1,780
Philippi	Barbour	1,038
Piedmont	Mineral	2,054
Point Pleasant	Mason	2,045
Princeton	Mercer	3,027
Ravenswood	Jackson	1,081
Richwood	Nicholas	3,061
Romney	Hampshire	1,112
Ronceverte	Greenbrier	2,157
Salem	Harrison	2,169
Scarboro	Fayette	1,533
Shepherdstown	Jefferson	1,070

Shinnston	Harrison	1,224
Sistersville	Tyler	2,684
Spencer	Roane	1,224
St. Albans	Kanawha	1,209
St. Marys	Pleasants	1,358
Sutton	Braxton	1,121
Terra Alta	Preston	1,126
Thomas	Tucker	2,354
Welch	McDowell	1,526
Wellsburg	Brooke	4,189
Weston	Lewis	2,213
Wheeling	Ohio	41,641
Williamson	Mingo	3,561
<u>Williamstown</u>	<u>Wood</u>	<u>1,139</u>
		299,870

North Carolina

<u>Town or City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Asheville	Buncombe	18,762
Canton	Haywood	1,393
Forest City	Rutherford	1,592
Hendersonville	Henderson	2,818
Lenoir	Caldwell	3,364
Marion	McDowell	1,519
Morganton	Burke	2,712
Mount Airy	Surry	3,844
North Wilkesboro	Wilkes	1,902

Rutherfordton	Rutherford	1,062
Waynesville	Haywood	2,008
		40,976

South Carolina

<u>Town or City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Cowpens	Spartanburg	1,101
Easley	Pickens	2,983
Greenville	Greenville	15,741
Greer	Greenville	1,673
Liberty	Pickens	1,058
Spartanburg	Spartanburg	17,517
Seneca	Oconee	1,313
Walhalla	Oconee	1,595
Westminster	Oconee	1,576
Woodruff	Spartanburg	1,880
		46,437

Georgia

<u>Town or City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Calhoun	Gordon	1,652
Canton	Cherokee	2,002
Cartersville	Bartow	4,067
Cedartown	Polk	3,551
Cornelia	Habersham	1,114
Dalton	Whitfield	5,324
Gainesville	Hall	5,925

Lafayette	Walker	1,590
McCaysville	Fannin	1,253
Rockmart	Polk	1,034
Rome	Floyd	12,099
Rossville	Walker	1,059
Toccoa	Stephens	3,120
<u>Trion</u>	<u>Chattooga</u>	<u>1,721</u>
		45,511

Alabama

<u>Town or City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Alabama City	Etowah	4,313
Albertville	Marshall	1,544
Altoona	Etowah	1,071
Anniston	Calhoun	12,794
Ashland	Clay	1,062
Attala	Etowah	2,513
Bessemer	Jefferson	10,864
Birmingham	Jefferson	132,685
Bridgeport	Jackson	2,125
Brighton	Jefferson	1,502
Boaz	Marshall	1,010
Columbiana	Shelby	1,079
Cullman	Cullman	2,130
Decatur	Morgan	4,228
Fort Payne	Dekalb	1,317
Gadsden	Etowah	10,557

Guntersville	Marshall	1,145
Hartsell	Morgan	1,374
Huntsville	Madison	7,611
Jacksonville	Calhoun	2,231
Jonesboro	Jefferson	1,979
Lineville	Clay	1,053
New Decatur	Morgan	6,118
Oxford	Clay	1,090
Piedmont	Clay	2,226
Scottsboro	Jackson	1,019
Sylacauga	Talladega	1,456
<u>Talladega</u>	<u>Talladega</u>	<u>5,854</u>
		223,950

Tennessee

<u>Town or City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Athens	McMinn	2,264
Bristol	Sullivan	7,148
Chattanooga	Hamilton	44,604
Cleveland	Bradley	5,549
Clinton	Anderson	1,090
Cookeville	Putnam	1,848
Coal Creek	Anderson	1,102
Dayton	Rhea	1,991
Deckherd	Franklin	1,022
Dunlap	Sequatchie	1,166
Elizabethton	Carter	2,478

Erwin	Unicoi	1,149
Etowah	McMinn	1,685
Greenville	Greene	1,920
Harriman	Roane	3,061
Jefferson City	Jefferson	1,328
Jellico	Campbell	1,862
Johnson City	Washington	8,502
Knoxville	Knox	36,346
La Follette	Campbell	2,816
Lenoir City	Loudon	3,392
Livingston	Overton	1,421
Lonsdale	Knox	2,391
McMinnville	Warren	2,299
Maryville	Blount	2,381
Monterey	Putnam	1,107
Morristown	Hamblen	4,007
Mountain View	Knox	1,436
Newport	Cocke	2,003
Park City	Knox	5,126
Rockwood	Roane	3,660
Rogersville	Hawkins	1,242
South Pittsburg	Marion	2,106
Sparta	White	1,409
Spring City	Rhea	1,039
St. Elmo	Hamilton	2,426
Sweetwater	Monroe	1,850
Tullahoma	Coffee	3,049

Winchester	Franklin	1,351
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172,626

Kentucky

<u>Town or City</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Population 1910</u>
Ashland	Boyd	8,688
Barbourville	Knox	1,633
Beattyville	Lee	1,360
Berea	Madison	1,510
Burnside	Pulaski	1,117
Catlettsburg	Boyd	3,520
Corbin	Knox	2,589
Jackson	Breathitt	1,346
London	Laurel	1,638
Louisa	Lawrence	1,356
Middlesboro	Bell	7,305
Monticello	Wayne	1,338
Morehead	Rowan	1,105
Olive Hill	Carter	1,132
Pikeville	Pike	1,280
Pineville	Bell	2,161
Prestonsburg	Floyd	1,120
Richmond	Madison	5,340
Russel	Greenup	1,038
Somerset	Pulaski	4,491
Vanceburg	Lewis	1,145
Williamsburg	Whitley	2,004
		54,216

Total

1,022,405

There are 5,095,437 people in the entire mountain region. So we have 1,022,405 inhabitants in towns and cities of more than one thousand population and 4,073,032 outside of these towns and cities. This classifies our population into two main divisions---those in towns and cities, and those in unorganized communities of less than one thousand people.

CHAPTER V

T O W N S A N D C I T I E S

It is not the purpose of this paper to go into any detailed account of the building of the mountain towns and cities. Rather is it of more importance for our purpose to note and analyze the forces which led to the breaking up of the seclusion and the development of these centres.

1. NATURAL RESOURCES. The abundant, almost unlimited supply of valuable timber and mineral mentioned in the beginning of this paper has been the most powerful single factor in the development of the majority of the mountain towns and cities. This is very evident in the building of Birmingham, Ala., and the cities of West Virginia. It is a well known law of economics that capital goes along the lines of least resistance to the most inviting fields. Here were vast fields of untouched, dormant resources inviting the capitalist. As the great industrial awakening was felt throughout the South and the prejudice against outside capital began to pass away, portions of the Southern Appalachians felt the throb of the new life. Their undeveloped resources were so attractive that mountains were tunnelled, ravines bridged, and the shriek of the locomotive broke the silence of the forest. Mountain sides were opened and made to yield their treasures. Part of the great water power that had been tumbling over falls and going foaming and seething on all unused was harnessed and the hum of machinery was heard. This utiliza-

tion of natural resources developed the mining and manufacturing centres.

2. CLIMATE. Some of the largest and most progressive organized communities in our territory owe their development and maintenance largely to the healthful climate which they possess. It requires money for those who are ill to obey the physicians' order to seek a healthful climate. The services of skilled physicians are necessary when one has reached the resort. There must be every modern convenience which money can secure. Asheville, N. C., is one of the most prominent health resorts in the South. This city is perhaps more widely known than the state in which it is located. Here is a modern city, in the very heart of the Southern highlands, largely built by outside forces, attracted principally by the climate.

3. SCENERY. As we have seen, Appalachian America presents a variety of natural beauty hardly surpassed by any other portion of the world. Other countries and sections have single scenes which have made them famous. But nowhere else have forests, streams, and vegetation received richer, more delicate touches from the hand of the great Artist who laid the colors, applied the brush, and with His own hand placed the background of horizon and sky. This arrangement of mountains and streams has attracted and held the tourist. Summer resorts have developed into thriving towns and cities which owe their existence to the wealth of beauty which surrounds them.

These three forces, natural resources, climate, and scenery, in varying proportions, have united to build the organized communities in the Southern Appalachians.

In these places we find a social life very ~~much~~ similar to that of other Southern towns and cities. To be sure there are marked dif-

ferences between some of the new mining towns in the mountains and the quiet old towns found in other sections. But, on the whole, the economical, educational, moral, and religious standing of the mountain towns and cities will compare favorably with towns and cities of the same size in other portions of the country.

It is universally true that the influence of no city is confined to its corporate limits. So the power of contact, of improved roads necessary for transportation, of means of communication, of schools and churches has extended from the towns and cities into the surrounding communities.

CHAPTER VI

RURAL POPULATION

We have already seen that a large majority of the mountain people live in unorganized communities of less than one thousand inhabitants. In our study of this rural population it is helpful for us to distinguish between those who live in valleys and those who dwell in remote districts.

It is true that some of the valley population live in a seclusion as great as that of the more remote sections. But we consider here the broad, open valleys, such as the Shenandoah in Virginia, the Big Sandy in Kentucky, the Valley of East Tennessee, the Coosa Valley of Georgia and Alabama, and the French Broad Valley in North Carolina. In these valleys are found many of the towns and cities discussed above. But outside of these, in the unorganized communities, is found a large population. In these rural sections are good, substantial country homes. The farms are productive and those who own them prosperous. There are markets within reach where farm products, fruit and stock may be sold. Then, too, there are roads over which transportation to market is possible and connection with each other practical. These roads are not only a powerful factor from the economic view point but are also of great importance in the whole life of the people. Good roads afford opportunity for contact with each other, bring the inhabitants into more densely

populated groups, enable them to have average country schools and churches, and make community life in general possible. So the forces that have made possible the present state of progress found in these great valley sections are a productive soil, accessible markets, and means of transportation.

As we turn to consider the remote districts we must remember that we cannot make the division between this section and the valley section absolutely exclusive. Frequently they shade into each other. Yet there is a broad general distinction which is very clear. In the early days the first settlers naturally selected the more favorable territory in the valleys. As their sons and daughters grew up, married, and built homes, they were gradually pushed up the valleys, to the base of the mountains, and then on up the mountain sides.

So by the remote population we mean those who are out of touch with railroads and cities, largely out of touch with each other--- those who dwell in deep coves, along creeks that rush down narrow ravines, and far up the steep slopes of the mountains. We can form no accurate estimate of their numbers. Yet we know that a large proportion of the Southern highlanders dwell in these remote regions.

Here the paralyzing effects of isolation are apparent on every hand. Here we find people who represent a retarded frontier, an arrested development. For more than a century the mountain walls have held them like a vice. To understand the economic, social, intellectual, moral, and religious conditions which the people here present one must take into account the awful isolation of more than a century. Conditions are rapidly changing even in these hitherto inaccessible places. But we now examine them in seclusion and later

consider the transformation which is taking place.

1. THE FAMILY. A generalization as to the "typical" home of this section can hardly be made. Even in these out of the way places one finds many two-story, frame houses, sometimes painted. Such homes are in the minority and are owned by the more prosperous class of people.

The large majority of the buildings are of the log cabin type. Usually the house is situated near a spring for the mountaineer is prejudiced against any but running water. Such a home, made of hewn logs, with puncheon floors, board shingles, and stone or stick chimneys, is the product of the personal labor of its pioneer owner. The architecture is his. With his axe he cut and hewed the logs, with his froe he split the boards, with his ox team he brought the material together. Assisted by his neighbor, if the help in his own family was not sufficient, the house was erected. The structure is not attractive in appearance, but we must remember that it was designed and constructed from the forest with no tools but axe, saw, hammer, auger, and froe.

Inside the house one finds the meagre, crude furniture which was manufactured on the spot. The bed with its four posts, the table, the splint bottomed chairs, even the spinning wheel and loom, are home products. The furnishings for the bed and the garments which hang from pegs on the wall were made here under the roof.

The other buildings---crib, smoke-house, and "stable," if there is one---are built from hewn logs and board shingles.

A "worm" rail fence surrounds the place. This fence, with the gate itself, even to hinges and latch, came from the nearby trees.

A row of bee-gums, hollowed out from the bee-gum trees, is usually found somewhere near the home.

When we come to the family itself one of the first things that strikes us is its size. Large families are the rule, not the exception. The parents married young and have followed the history of all pioneer people in multiplying rapidly.

The family tie is strong but there is little display of affection. Members of the family leave home and return without a kiss, frequently without so much as a handshake. There are two men in the senior class of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary this year from remote mountain counties who say that they leave home to be gone a year with only a wave of the hand and "Good-bye, I am gone" to the other members of the family. A writer who has made a study of this characteristic of our mountain people says: "Their family feeling was intensely strong and enduring, while there was but little effusive expression of it in words or caresses. Men were seldom seen kissing their wives or fondling their children, and almost never heard indulging in warm expressions of affection. They practiced a stern repression of these emotional exhibitions. They do not shrink from toil and exposure for their families and would give up their lives in defence of them."¹

Food in the home is plain but wholesome. Corn bread and meat are the great staples. The corn is grown on the rough hillsides. The hogs, usually the "razor-back" variety, stay in the forests during the spring and summer and thrive on chestnuts and hickory-nuts---"mast," it is called. In the late fall they are placed in pens and "corn-fed." To this meat supply is added fish and game. Vegetables, fruits, and

¹J. W. Dinsmore, The Scotch-Irish in America, p. 51

berries add much to the table supplies.

All food is prepared simply, sometimes without much seasoning. In many places the coffee is sweetened with a cheap grade of brown sugar or molasses---called respectively "long sweetnin'" and "short sweetnin'."

The dress of the people is plain but substantial. A lady's wardrobe is composed of lindsey dresses, petticoats, and woolen stockings. Men wear home-spun jeans, "yarn" socks and brogan shoes.

Occupations are not numerous or widely differentiated. Men cultivate the samll farms, get out timber for lumber, telegraph poles, cross-ties, and locust pins, and peel tan bark. Women work hard. Constant heavy labor, and child bearing bring a look of age to them while they are yet young. Besides the ordinary duties of house keeping, they help with the crop, do the milking and washing, gather and "can" fruits and berries. An interesting part of the work of woman is the manufacture of clothing for herself and family.

The old loom which sits on the porch or in a side room is crude when compared with modern textile machinery. But from it the mountain woman produces clothing for the house-hold. Blankets and coverlets are also products of the patient toil and ingenuity of the housewife. This art itself has been preserved and perpetuated from a remote past. "Several years ago President and Mrs. Frost, of Berea, took some specimens of their textile manufacture to Louisville, Cincinnati, and New York. The patterns were in some instances found to be identical with a former generation in New England, and Old England as well. This showed their common origin."¹

¹Berea Quarterly, May 1902

Physicians are rarely called into these homes. From a variety of leaves, roots and herbs, the mother prepares teas which relieve the ordinary "ailments" of the family. The writer recalls that as a boy eleven years of age it was necessary for his father to carry him fourteen miles to have a physician extract a stubborn tooth which the local school teacher and black-smith had each attempted and had given up for fear of breaking the jaw-bone.

Very little money comes into these homes. Food and clothing are produced at home, while commodities which must be purchased are secured in exchange for roots, bees-wax, or fur taken from the animals killed in hunting and trapping.

Stock consists mostly of an inferior grade of hogs, sheep, cattle, and geese---the hogs for meat, sheep and geese for the wool and feathers so necessary in the household economy, and cattle for the purposes of milk, wagoning and plowing.

It is often difficult for the owner of these valuable timber and mineral lands to secure money enough to pay his taxes. Distance from market and almost impassable roads make transportation so expensive that little margin is left after the delivery is made. "The present freight on merchandise is about one dollar per hundred pounds for forty-five miles. The average haul for a load of cross-ties is only from eight to ten miles, and eight to twelve ties constitute a load, while on a good road twenty would be an easy load. Logs delivered at the rail-roads for twenty dollars a load consume sixteen dollars in transportation, which is at least twice the amount it would cost to haul them over a macadam road."¹

¹ Haney, The Mountain People of Kentucky, p. 41

Such conditions have not only kept the people poor, but have also developed in many of them a listlessness and indifference to labor. Remuneration is a powerful incentive to work and they have lacked this incentive.

But when one enters the home he discovers no embarrassment from poverty, no sense of inferiority, no realization of the lack of luxuries. Here dwells one who was never degraded by competition with slave labor to the level of "white trash" and he quickly resents any such insinuation. Hence the classification of this population as "Mountain Whites" is very offensive to them and is strongly resented. The owner of this primitive home greets the visitor as his equal and treats him as such.

A visitor entertained in one of these homes meets with an unusual example of hospitality for our day. He is welcome to anything that the home affords. The only requirement being that he must satisfy his host as to his business in the community. If no suspicion is aroused he is a welcome and honored guest. Take this incident as an illustration:

"A belated traveller asked to stay all night at a cabin. The mountaineer answered that his wife was sick and they were sorter out o' fixin's to eat, but he reckoned he mought step over to a neighbors' and borrer some. He did step over and he was gone three hours. He brought back a little bag of meal, and they had corn-bread and potatoes for supper and for breakfast, cooked by the mountaineer. The stranger asked how far away his next neighbor lived. 'A leetle the rise o' six miles I reckon,' was the answer.

'Which way?'

'Oh, jes' over the mountain thar.'

He had stepped six miles over the mountain and back for that little

bag of meal, and he would allow his guest to pay nothing next morning."¹

Although he pays no money for his lodging, the visitor gives ample recompense in the news that he brings from the outside world.

Around this fireside one hears a language which carries him back to the sixteenth century. The mountaineers are innocent of much of the dialect attributed to them by some modern writers. But they have preserved, as in archives, many words and phrases which are to be traced back to Shakespeare, and even Chaucer. "There have been collected from the daily speech in this and the immediately adjoining region three hundred words, obsolete since the sixteenth century, or surviving only in the dialects of England. The English they speak is that of the Elizabethan age. They say 'bus' for kiss, 'gorm' for muss, 'pack' for carry, and 'poke' for a small bag. Strong past tenses and perfect participles, like 'holp' and 'holpen,' and the syllabic plural of words ending in st, like 'beasties,' are constantly heard."²

Another adds: "The pronoun 'hit' is used throughout Appalachian America. . . . When the small neighbor tells me 'I come on a arrant,' I am tempted to criticize the noun, but bethink me of Sir Walter Raleigh's command.

'Go soul, the body's guest,

Upon a thankless arrant.'

The stranger is apt to be puzzled when the mountain mother tells him 'Sairy and Tom are a-talkin',' yet I take it the phrase is used in just that sense in Lear, when Regan says jealously 'Edmund and I have talked.'

¹John Fox, Scribner's, 30:6, p. 397

²Miss Mary Verhoeff, Filson Club Publication, No. 26, p. 29

'Those girls are of a favor,' says my mountaineer, and so does Shakespeare.

'I come to pass the time of day,' says my neighbor. 'Good time of day unto my gracious Lord,' says Hastings to King Richard.

The mountaineer says 'afeared'; so does Shakespeare. A worthless fellow is 'a sorry fellow' by both authorities."¹

Not only have the mountains preserved these quaint, obsolete expressions, brought there by the early settlers, they have also guarded this language from contact with the negro dialect. The result is that there are not as many peculiarities and corruptions found in the speech of the uneducated people of the mountain section as among the uneducated of the lowlands where there has been constant association with the negro.

Along with the archaic speech has been preserved many ballads which are of interest to the musical antiquarian. "Some of these ballads relate to the crusades, events of which the mountaineer has no other knowledge; some relate to the persecution of the Jews, and to features of English town life with which our people have been wholly unfamiliar. They are a 'proof patent' of good British descent, and they are themselves one of the curiosities of literature. . . . Perhaps the most famous of these Old English songs which have been thus preserved by tradition is the tragic ballad of Barbara Allen. In 1899 C. R. Raymond obtained a copy of this ballad from a mountain woman and heard her sing it. Comparing her version with the one preserved in Child's collection, he found that Child gave two slightly different ballads blended into one in the mountains."²

¹H. Norman, Atlantic Mo., Feb. 1910, p. 277 ²Berea Quarterly, Apr. 1905

Prof. Hubert G. Shearin, writing on "British Ballads in the Cumberland Mountains," mentions quite a number of them and then says: "But one group must engage our attention here. Songs coming from the mother country on the lips of the pioneers, to live 300 years thereafter by oral transmission solely, and in all their pristine fullness, merit more than passing notice. Of these I have thirty-seven, or, counting variants fifty-six. English and Scotch predominate, embracing all but three, which are indubitably Irish."¹

Folk lore, superstitious sayings, and belief in signs and omens are characteristic. The general superstition of the mountain people, however, is unlike that of other Southern people in that it has not been influenced by the superstitious fear of the negro. Mountain men will spend days alone in the forests, sleeping in caves, or out in the open. Women will stay alone and unprotected in the lonely home, miles from the nearest neighbor, without complaining.

This study of the family has shown us a real pioneer. The home itself, the inhabitants, their food, dress, customs, occupations, speech, music, and superstitions connect them with a remote past. All have been caught in the amber of isolation and perpetuated almost without change. It is from a consideration of these survivals that President Frost, of Berea, Ky., draws his striking characterization of the mountain people as "Our Contemporary Ancestors," 'tho the analogy does not hold true in all respects.

¹Sewanee Review, Vol. 19:3, p. 314

CHAPTER VII

R U R A L P O P U L A T I O N---Continued

2. THE COMMUNITY. From the standpoint of sociology these remote sections have very few real communities. The people are found clustered in small groups, or separate scattered families.

Groups dwell in pocket-like coves, or along creeks, hedged in on three sides by mountain walls. The outlet is to follow the creek as it winds its way down the narrow ravine to a more open valley. Sometimes there is connection with the group which lives in the cove beyond the mountains by a trail which leads up the steep ridges and finally passes through a gap.

Here one finds much evidence of intermarriage. Frequently the families which compose one of these groups are nearly all of the same name and are related.

Scattered families are those who have left the cove below and pushed their way far up the steep inclines, cleared some land, and built their cabins in places that are mostly inaccessible except by foot or bridle-paths. To them the group below is "the settlement."

Throughout the entire territory, 'tho widely separated, are small villages. They are composed of a few families which have gathered around the store, shop, post-office, and mill.

This population does not have the host of intermediate ties which come between family and state and develop a social mind. There are no

axes on which the social life may revolve---no centres of interest which draw the people from their seclusion and give opportunity for discussion. Occasionally a few meet at the store, post-office, or mill. Here they eagerly discuss any meagre news which may have found its way to them, talk about hunting, logging, crops, the weather, and such subjects as touch all of their lives. Then each returns to the solitude from which he came.

Such an environment presents little opportunity for the development of intellectual interests. On the contrary, deterioration along educational lines has been inevitable. Visitors to log cabin homes in this remote region have been astonished to find in some of them Greek and Latin classics which had been preserved as heirlooms from the grandfathers by those who could not themselves read and write. A strong proof of this educational decline is cited by S. T. Wilson: "As Mr. Roosevelt investigated the early documents that deal with the Alleghany frontier, he noted the absence of signatures made by mere signs or marks. In 1776 out of one hundred and ten pioneers of the Washington District who signed a petition to be annexed to North Carolina, only two signed by mark. In 1780 two hundred and fifty-six pioneers of Cumberland signed the Articles of Agreement, and only one signed by mark."¹

Some of the main reasons for this decline in education are:

(1) A sparse population. In many districts the population is so widely scattered that a school in the center is from three to six miles from a large per cent of the families.

(2) Bad roads. This hindrance appears from whatever angle we study this section. Many of the roads follow creek beds and high water

¹Wilson, The Southern Mountaineers, p. 26

makes travel impossible. "There are no schools, because there are no roads; no roads, because there are no taxes; no taxes, because there is no money; and, coming round again in a circle, no possible interchange of commodities, because there are no roads."¹

(3) Poverty. Only a meagre school fund is gathered from the taxes. This fund is so small that low grade teachers and short terms of school are the result.

Prof. P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education, furnishes the figures given below.

(1) Length of school term in some of the mountain counties of Tennessee: Carter County, 98 days; Scott County, 100 days; Campbell County, 100 days; Greene County, 107 days; Hancock County, 111 days; Monroe County, 112 days.

(2) Figures showing number of school houses in some of the mountain counties of Tennessee and North Carolina:

Tennessee

Scott County, 1 school house to every $8\frac{1}{2}$ sq. miles.

Monroe	"	1	"	"	"	"	$8\frac{1}{2}$	"	"
Polk	"	1	"	"	"	"	8	"	"
Unicoi	"	1	"	"	"	"	7	"	"
Greene	"	1	"	"	"	"	6	"	"

North Carolina

Graham County, 1 school house to every 14 sq. miles.

Swain	"	1	"	"	"	"	$13\frac{1}{2}$	"	"
Haywood	"	1	"	"	"	"	10	"	"
Jackson	"	1	"	"	"	"	10	"	"

¹Hough, The American Magazine, 75:2, p.13

Macon County, 1 school house to every $8\frac{1}{2}$ sq. miles.

Cherokee " 1 " " " " 8 " "

Such figures need no comment. With this public school situation, and the additional fact that there are no libraries, no magazines, and only an occasional paper coming into some of the homes, educational advancement is impossible.

Opportunities for public worship and religious culture are influenced by the same conditions that affect the educational situation. Churches are widely scattered. Preaching services are very irregular and rarely more than once a month. But this gathering for public worship brings more people together than meet for any other purpose except to hear a political discussion or to attend county court. Worship is simple and informal. The preacher is one of their own number who dwells in their midst and earns his living as the rest of them do.

An annual revival is held in most communities which draws large crowds. People come for ten and fifteen miles across the mountains to attend these services. Great emotion marks these revivals. Frequently some of the congregation swoon, or "go off in a trance" from which they do not revive for hours. The baptizing at the close of the revival is the climax of the services. This is usually on Sunday, everybody brings dinner, the day is spent on the ground and there is great rejoicing.

No hasty criticisms ought to be made of these services. Social Psychology readily interprets the shouting, intense excitement, and great demonstrations of emotion as characteristic of those who have long dwelt in isolation and loneliness. The consciousness of those who lead such a life is normally at low tension, the "inhibitive" func-

tions of the brain are not strong, and the emotional life is very irregular. Then when they are brought together in a crowd, and powerful emotional appeals are made, there are excessive outbursts in response.

A funeral service always draws the entire population of a community together. Often the funeral sermon is preached two or three years after the death. Two years ago a young father with whom I was reared told me that some day he wanted me to preach the funeral of his child which had then been dead more than a year. In many sections these funerals are always held during the spring and summer because of the impassable roads at other seasons of the year.

Our day is recognizing the value of amusements in the development of the social bond. Throughout this remote region few amusements are found. Mountain children know nothing of the wealth of toys which fill such a large place in the lives of children in more favored sections. As a result, our mountain children have a seriousness of disposition far beyond their age.

The mountain dance is the favorite entertainment for the young people. Here the fiddler and banjo picker are in their glory--the heroes of the occasion, the pride and envy of all. As "Sourwood Mountain" and other favorites are swept from their instruments, and the one who "calls figures" warms up to his job, the very floor trembles and the hillsides echo.

Men of the highlands find amusement and relaxation in hunting, fishing, and physical contests. Rarely do they come together at a road-working, barn-raising, or corn shucking that there is not a test of physical strength and prowess. Great respect is paid to the man of

superior strength and skill.

It is interesting to observe the physical type of manhood which this environment presents. The average mountaineer is generally tall, lean, sallow, and has high cheek-bones. After a careful study and investigation of men in the remote sections of the Southern highlands, Mr. Kephart says: "Our highlanders are conspicuously a tall race. Out of seventy-six men that I have listed just as they occurred to me, but four are below average American height and only two are fat."¹

A fat man is so rare in this section of the mountains that there is prejudice against him. In "Judith of the Cumberlands," Jephthah Turrentine remarks of one of his sons; "I named that boy after the finest man that ever walked God's green earth--an' then the fool had to go and git fat on me! To think of me with a fat son! I allers did hold that a fat woman was bad enough, but a fat man o'rt p'intedly to be led out and killed."²

In the valleys, towns and cities where food, occupations, and environment are somewhat different this physical type is not so pronounced.

Social equality is recognized throughout the mountains. Love of freedom, independence of the individual, slight differentiation in occupation and profession, place all who are not positively vicious on the same plane. When it comes to the vicious class, found in all communities the world over, the line is drawn and a mountain aristocracy appears.

This is expressed in the following observation from a mountain woman:

"There's scrubs amongst our people as well as amongst our cattle, and any person that's looking for scrubs can easy find 'em, but the person that

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Outing, Vol. 61, p.550

² Alice MacGowan, Judith of the Cumberlands, p. 51

thinks we're all scrubs is mistaken."¹

Statistics gathered by a test of eighty-three families in a county of East Tennessee places the whole situation of these remote sections before us very vividly. The one who made the test says that he took an isolated township of average condition.

I

Average distance to county seat,	15 1/3 miles.
" " " post office,	4 1/2 "
" " " public school,	2 1/4 "
" " " doctor,	4 "
" " " church,	2 1/4 "
" " " store,	3 1/8 "

II

Total area of land owned by above families, 2,279 acres. Average size of farm, 27 acres. Total amount cultivated, 639 acres. Average amount cultivated to farm, 7 5/8 acres.

III

Crops, gross, \$13,018. Crops, net, \$12,379. Seven made no crop. Average to farm, \$161.

IV

Rations: Total amount, \$4,438 for year 1908; average per family, \$53.47.

Meal: 64 raised, 19 bought.

Flour: Total, \$1,532; average per family for flour, \$18.30.

Pork: 45 raised, 38 bought.

Coffee: Total, \$718.80; average for coffee per family, \$8.66.

¹Frank Waldo, New Eng. Mag., May 1901, p. 243

Sugar: Total, \$578; average for sugar per family, \$6.90.

Molasses: 40 raised, 16 bought, 27 used none.

Tobacco and snuff: Total expenditure, \$902; 13 raised all or in part; average per family purchasing, \$12.56.

Clothes: Total expenditure, \$2,949; average per family, \$35.42.

V

Taxes: Total amount, \$204.60; average per family, \$2.46.

Men working road, 56.

Type of houses: Frame, 24; Log, 44; Box, 15; Total, 83.

Average size of family, $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Number sleeping in room, $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Number of beds in room, 1 to 4."¹

These figures from Thompson are but a minature picture of our discussion of the family and community. They explain any social, moral, and intellectual deterioration which has taken place. Here there is placed before us the poverty, lack of communication, lack of transportation, and general absence of all social bonds except the family tie--- all summed up in the one word isolation.

¹Thompson, Highlanders of the South, p. 52

CHAPTER VIII

L A W L E S S N E S S

Here again we must avoid sweeping generalizations. In a questionnaire sent to some fifty representative men in the Southern Appalachians---lawyers, preachers and teachers---the writer asked what was the attitude of the people toward law. Without exception, the answer was that the people were usually law abiding. Still we know that there is much lawlessness and disregard for constituted authority in the mountain region.

An examination of the mountain section of each separate state shows that there are generally three or four counties which have a reputation for lawlessness. These are usually the more isolated counties. Going to these counties, we find that there are spots, patches or dark corners in them where most of the crimes are committed. These are nearly always the more secluded portions of the counties. This but emphasizes the powerful influence which environment exerts in shaping the opinion of law and determining the attitude toward constituted authority.

In this territory law is regarded as an outside force, and officers of the law are considered hostile intruders. This attitude is explained by the mountains which separate these people from the outside world. Environment and not viciousness is the explanation. As a small boy hunting cows on the mountain sides the writer has many times seen smoke rising from a "still" down in some dense ravine and thought nothing of

it. Perhaps he knew who was down there making whiskey in violation of the law and did not consider him a bad man. And this opinion was held in spite of the fact that he was in a home where no whiskey was used, and where the manufacture and sale of whiskey was severely denounced. But the conception that a man had a right to do as he pleased without the interference of any outside force was in the very air. Against the law of the state? What does the state do for me? All that I see of the state is the tax collector who comes around once a year and wrings from my reluctant hands my taxes. Against the laws of the U. S.? What does the government do for me? The only representatives of the government that I know are the mail-boy, passing once a day or twice a week, and an occasional revenue officer who comes to pry into my affairs. The State Capital is beyond the mountains, in a distant portion of the state. The Seat of government is far, far away. Reasoning thus there can come no other conception of law than that it is an outside force.

Add to this conception the mountain economy which affords no market for corn and other products, thus producing general poverty, and it is easy to see why whiskey is made and sold in violation of the law.

Some of the crimes committed in the mountains reflect the primitive man. Here we think of the disregard of human life. Again and again has this found expression in the feuds and inter-family quarrels, which may be traced back to the idea of clan responsibility. The development of our mountain feuds may be followed back to the civil war. Through the years the quarrels have been kept up until many of the present participants do not know the real issue. A wrong done to a member of the family must be avenged. From families it spreads to groups until an entire community is involved. Often these feuds begin from trifling

causes---the shooting of a dog, a quarrel over a boundary fence, a drunken brawl, or a political rivalry. A mountain jury rarely convicts a man for murder. And in all of the blood shed in the mountains no one is ever killed for purposes of robbery. "In all mountain regions of the world crimes against persons are more frequent than crimes against property."¹

On March 14, 1912 the entire country was shocked when the news flashed across the wires that a judge, public prosecutor, sheriff, and a juror were murdered, a second juror and a girl witness mortally wounded, while the clerk of the court and two bystanders were shot, by a band of mountain men in the court house at Hillsville, Virginia. No excuse is offered for this atrocious deed. The guilty assassins have been apprehended and properly dealt with by courts of justice. But an examination of those connected with the horrible occurrence brings out very forcibly our contention of the attitude of the mountaineers toward law.

The same ships which brought the ancestors of Judge Massie to this country brought also the ancestors of the Allens. Judge Massie's ancestors settled in the valley and meadow section, and were prosperous, progressive people who gave their children every advantage of culture which proper home training, college and university afford. The ancestors of the Allens pushed into the mountains where such opportunities did not exist. "As the mountains fostered the Allens in lawlessness, so did the valleys and meadows below---'the land down yonder'---foster the Massies in respect for law and their fellowmen's rights."² So when the prisoner faced the judge he and his clan considered the court and court officials as enemies who were interfering with their rights.

¹Miss Semple, Geo. Journal 17, p. 618

²Meloney, Everybody's, June 1912, p.783

Stealing is regarded as a very grave offence among mountain people. Doors to homes, cribs, and smoke houses are left without locks. In few places is the definite understanding---this is mine, that is yours---more clearly recognized and more closely followed than in the Southern highlands.

Seldom is a divorce case brought into court. The marriage bond is respected. Cases growing out of the "social evil" are very rare. In spite of circumstances that would seem contrary, there is a high average of social purity among the mountain people. Perhaps early marriage is one explanation. Then, too, all women marry. Mountain economy holds no place for the unmarried woman.

The people are truthful. Judge Pritchard, of Ashville, N. C., says that in his law practice of years, in the county that has reputation far and wide for "killings", he never had a case of perjury.

Much of the litigation in the mountains is over land. Early surveying was not very accurate and there are frequent disputes over boundary lines.

The whole attitude toward law and law officers is illustrated by a scene from one of Miss Murfree's books: "I reckon you know you ai'nt got no right to carry concealed weapons," said the sheriff.

"Ai'nt got no right to w'ar a shootin' iron!" exclaimed Tubal Sims, his eyes starting out of his head.

"Agin the law", said the deputy airily.

"Agin the law!" echoed Tubal Sims, his back against the wall and his eyes turning first to one, then to the other of his companions. "Lord! Lord! I never knowed afore how far the flat woods w'ar a'hint the mountings. How air ye goin' ter pertec' yerself agin yer neigh-

bor 'thout no shootin' iron?" he added cogently.

"By the law," said both officers in unison.

"Thar ai'nt no law in the mountings, thank Gawd," cried Tubal

Sims.¹

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Murfree, The Juggler, P. 255

CHAPTER IX

T R A N S F O R M A T I O N

The process of transformation is now going on in the Southern Appalachians. This great section of country is being led into the main currents of thought and activity that have hitherto swept by it.

In our notice of the organized communities, we saw that industrial forces led the way in the development of the mountain towns and cities. These same forces, augmented by the general industrial awakening of the South, are now calling the capitalist to the more isolated portions of the highlands. An economic army is marching over the barriers of seclusion. Napoleon said: "Let there be no Alps," and there were no Alps. Captains of Industry are saying: "Let there be no separating mountains," and they are being removed. Mountains are being penetrated with new lines of rail-roads, coal and iron are being exploited, timber is being utilized, and water power is being harnessed.

As these advance guards of civilization enter this hitherto inaccessible territory, they are leading the outside world into the highlands and introducing them to their belated brethren. Speaking of how this economic transformation is introducing the mountain man to the world beyond the mountains, John Fox says: "Charles Egbert Craddock put him in the outer world of fiction, and in recent years rail-roads have been linking him with the outer world of fact."¹

¹Scribner's, 28:4 p. 389

Not only are these industrial forces introducing the mountain people to the outside world, they are also introducing the people of the hills to each other. Public roads are everywhere being improved. Telephones are being extended up the valleys. Transportation and communication are being made possible. Some of the host of intermediate ties which go to make up a community and form connecting links between the family and state are being moulded. Group is meeting group. Group contact is gradually developing a social mind---a real community.

Poverty is being removed by the development of trade and markets. Remunerative employment is increasing the circulation of money. All of the influences of this industrial transformation are not elevating. Evil forces are travelling the same highways of steel, hand in hand with the good forces. With his economic advancement, there is a tendency for the proud mountaineer to become servile and dependent. He is beginning to imitate some of the worst qualities of those who are bringing the new life to him, and is inclined to conform to their standards. Home life, with its simple, informal hospitality, is being interrupted. Regard for the Sabbath is passing. Social impurity is increasing. Lines of conduct that were formerly non-moral are becoming positively immoral. From many of the towns and cities poisonous influences are being sent into the surrounding hills and coves. Venereal diseases, hitherto unknown, are becoming prevalent.

Educational development has not kept pace with economic progress. While this is true the past few years have seen a strong impulse for education enter the Southern Appalachians and begin its work. Public schools are being improved. School terms are being lengthened. Better teachers are being employed. Log school houses are being replaced by frame build-

ings. An educational sentiment is being created.

Denominational schools are being erected at strategic points and are exerting a powerful influence. These, as we shall see later, are to be the determining factor in the life of the people.

As indicating the progress along educational lines, the writer gives the following from his own observation. Fifteen years ago a young man, now one of the leading lawyers in North Carolina, decided to go to college. He lived just across the road from me in a secluded mountain village, twenty three miles from the nearest rail-road station. What an event that was! The state university! How far away it seemed! We boys gathered around him and timidly told him good-bye. Ten years later the writer graduated from college and recalling this incident, noted that there were two men from the same little village taking degrees there that year, while others from different portions of the county were in other colleges of the state. This is but an illustration of the educational progress of the past fifteen years. It shows that from the position of never having heard of a college numerous mountain boys and girls are finding their way through the mountain tunnels and gaps to the college beyond.

One explanation of the readiness with which the tide of evil influences that inevitably attend economic development has spread in the mountain region is found in the fact that religious progress has not kept pace with industrial and educational progress. Here is presented a rural church problem intensified. Here we have a people startled, almost rudely aroused, by the strange forces that have come so recently into their midst---a people being led and influenced by new standards in every department of their lives---and they are without adequate religious leader-

ship. Everything else moving, the church standing. It is true that the different state boards are seeing the situation and making heroic efforts to command it. But the task is a great one---the responsibility heavy---the opportunity magnificent. The next ten years will see the different denominations outline and realize policies in some measure adequate to the situation, or will see the development of such a complex problem that it will take fifty years to do the work which is now possible in ten.

We have mentioned some of the dangers that attend the rapid changes which are taking place among the highlands. But no one can fail to see that the total result of the great transformation is good.

In most of the territory there has come a new respect for law and a determination to enforce law. No longer is the man with the greatest reputation for fighting---"the dangerous man"---the hero of the mountains. Mountain feuds are at an end. In some of the darker spots bloodshed is still frequent. But already there is the realization that it must stop. The better element of the people in each community are taking a firm stand by the side of the officers of the law in making it impossible for men or even clans to resist constituted authority.

This change of sentiment has a striking illustration in the position that the entire mountain section has taken on the prohibition question. West Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee are dry states. We find the following proportion of the mountain counties of the other states included in our study, dry by local option: Virginia, 24 out of 42; Alabama, 14 out of 17; Kentucky, 34 out of 36. All of the mountain counties of South Carolina are dry by local option. So we find that in Appalachian America, a territory embracing 246 counties, the manufacture

and sale of whiskey is legalized in only 23 counties.

This glance at the transformation which is now in progress in the Southern Appalachians has shown us a population of over five millions of people who have been static for more than a century---dwelling in the heart of a progressive civilization, yet out of touch with it---now beginning to move. The entire social life of the people is making a transition of more than a century within a few years. Such an abrupt speedy journey in social progress could be possible with no other than a strong race of people. And even to them it is attended by the inevitable perils which always go with sudden change. The future of the Southern mountaineers largely depends upon the character and content of the new environment which is so rapidly being placed about them.

CHAPTER X

S O U T H E R N B A P T I S T S A N D T H E M O U N - T A I N E E R S

From the Religious Census of 1906 we gather some striking figures as to the religious situation in the Southern Appalachians. Leaving out West Virginia, which co-operates with the Northern Board, we find that the total religious membership for the remainder of the mountain territory is 973,800. Baptists have 463,200, or 48% of this number; Methodists have 304,900, or 31%; 56,400, or a little less than 6%, are Presbyterians; Disciples have 48,900, or 5%. This leaves about 10% for all other classes.

In the mountain counties of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, Baptists outnumber all other denominations combined while in Tennessee and Alabama they are almost as numerous as all others combined. In the Virginia mountains Methodists outnumber Baptists, having 45,600, while Baptists have 35,800. In the mountains of Kentucky the Disciples have 28,800, and the Baptists 39,700.

One hundred and forty three counties in our territory do not report a single Catholic. The few Catholics reported are in the towns and cities. One hundred and seven counties do not report a single Episcopalian. The Episcopalians reported are, like the Catholics, in the towns and cities.

Of the 463,200 Baptists in the mountains, 427,425 are Missionary

Baptists, while the remainder are, for the most part, Primitive Baptists.

These figures show us that the Southern Mountaineers are Protestant and that a large proportion of them are Baptists.

We have already seen that the great majority of the early settlers were Scotch-Irish. In religion they were Presbyterians. It is not practicable to attempt in this paper---even if the task were possible---an account of how the mountain people became Baptists. We give here some of the main facts and leave the history to a more detailed study.

When Mr. Whitfield came to America for his great revivals he met and talked with Jonathan Edwards. From this time on his preaching carried a strong note of Calvinism. So many of his converts became Baptists that he is said to have remarked: "My chickens have turned to ducks."¹

Among Mr. Whitfield's converts in 1745 was Shubael Stearns, who soon left the Pedobaptists and became a Baptist. Daniel Marshal, brother-in-law of Mr. Stearns, after careful examination of the Bible left the Presbyterians and came to the Baptists.

These two men led in the organization of Sandy Creek Baptist church in Randolph County, North Carolina. This little church of sixteen members grew rapidly.

Sandy Creek Association was organized in 1758. One historian in speaking of the work of Stearns and Marshal says: "In seventeen years Sandy Creek church had spread her branches southward as far as Georgia, eastward to the ocean and Chesapeake Bay, and northward to the waters of the Potomac, increasing in seventeen years to forty-two churches and one hundred and twenty-five ministers."²

¹Purefoy, Hist. of Sandy Creek Asso. p.45

²Morgan Edwards Manuscript, Hist. of Baptists of N. C.

During the great period of revivals from 1799---1803 pioneer preachers from this Baptist center went into Western North Carolina, Virginia, North Georgia, East Tennessee, North Alabama and Kentucky and laid the foundation which made these sections so largely Baptist. The early Baptist history of Appalachian America really centers about the two men--- Stearns and Marshal---and the Sandy Creek Association.

Many forces aided these pioneers of the Baptist cause. The Presbyterians, always insisting on an educated ministry, could not furnish preachers to hold their early constituency in the mountains. Then too, Baptist church polity made a powerful appeal to the democratic pioneers. Above all, some of us insist, was the influence of the New Testament on open minds.

Even more than the other mountain resources, this great Baptist strength, steadily increasing in numbers, has remained dormant through the years. Coming into the mountains with a strong resentment against tax to support a State church, the pioneers naturally developed an opposition to a paid ministry. At the same time, they lost the Protestant idea of an educated ministry. These conditions, with all of the other influences of isolation, have combined to keep the thousands of Baptists in the highland section untrained and undeveloped.

Northern Presbyterians were first to see the situation, and in June, 1879, they began their work of Christian education in the Southern Appalachians.

Following the leadership of the Presbyterians, Baptists of North Carolina began an organized educational propaganda in the mountains of that state in 1898. J. E. White says: " At that time there were only five Baptist schools in the mountain region of the South, widely scatter-

ed over the several states, which were receiving outside assistance from denominational treasuries, and four of these were in that year receiving their first assistance. There were four other schools in the mountain region under associational organization at that time. Omitting from the calculation Carson-Newman college, which was a well established institution at Mossy Creek, Tennessee, and Williamsburg Academy in Kentucky, the total amount of assistance Baptist schools were receiving was slightly under \$5,000. When it is remembered that the Baptist church membership reported in this region at that time was 320,000 and the Baptist population a million and a half, what the Baptists were doing educationally indicated an appalling inertia and neglect."¹

The Southern Baptist Convention, at Hot Springs, Arkansas, in May 1900, responded to the appeals of Dr. F. H. Kerfoot by appointing a committee to draw up a general plan of educational work for the mountains of the South. Adopting the plans of the committee, the convention instructed the Home Mission Board to proceed with the work.

Rev. A. E. Brown was engaged as Superintendent of Mountain Missions and Schools and began his work in 1901. Under his efficient leadership the Home Mission Board has developed and maintained a system of Christian schools which represents more than \$450,000 in property and affords instruction for over 5,000 pupils. Thirty-one schools have been established, two of which are now self-supporting.

The following table gives the statistics from Superintendent Brown's report for the session 1911-1912:

¹The Home Mission Task, p. 232

MOUNTAIN SCHOOLS.

Schools	Location	Bldgs.	Tchrs.	students
VIRGINIA---Two				
Lee Institute	Pennington Gap	3	7	362
Oak Hill Academy	Mouth of Wilson	1	3	100
KENTUCKY---Three				
Barbourville Institute	Barbourville	3	6	257
Hazard Institute	Hazard	2	5	207
Magoffin Institute	Salyersville	3	5	156
TENNESSEE---Six				
Watauga Academy	Butler	3	5	160
Chilhowee Institute	Trundel's X Roads	3	6	262
Andersonville Institute	Andersonville	3	4	157
Doyle Institute	Doyle	2	5	163
Unaka Academy	Erwin	1	4	135
Stocton's Valley Acad.	Helena	1	3	125
N. CAROLINA---Eight				
Mars' Hill College	Mars Hill	5	9	360
Yancey Institute	Burnsville	4	5	261
Mitchell Institute	Bakersville	2	4	140
Fruitland Institute	Hendersonville	4	7	221
Round Hill Academy	Union Mills	3	6	169
Haywood Institute	Clyde	2	4	80
Sylva Institute	Sylva	4	3	87

Murphy Institute	Murphy	3	3	96
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S. CAROLINA---Three

N. Greenville Academy	Tigersville	3	5	137
Spartan Academy	Landrum	3	6	140
Six Mile Academy	Pickens	2	4	167

GEORGIA---Three

Hiawasse Academy	Hiawasse	2	5	230
N. Ga. Baptist College	Morganton	2	6	257
Blairsville Institute	Blairsville	2	5	233

ALABAMA---Four

Bridgeport Academy	Bridgeport	4	5	120
Beeson Academy	Pisgah	2	3	67
Gaylesville Academy	Gaylesville	2	3	97
Eldridge Academy	Eldridge	3	3	70

Totals, 29 Schools		77	139	5,016
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Since this report was made three additional schools have been established---one each in North Carolina, Tennessee and South Carolina--- and two farms have been purchased---one at Fruitland Institute, in North Carolina, the other at North Greenville High School, in South Carolina.

Other Baptist schools in the mountains, notably Oneida Institute, in Kentucky, and Boiling Springs, in North Carolina, are doing great work. But the above report represents the educational work fos-

tered by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Before speaking of the work these schools are doing we would call attention to the new step the Board has taken in beginning the purchase of farms for the schools. This is significant and important. A domestic science department is provided at each school for the girls. An increasing emphasis must be given to industrial training along with literary instruction.

The domestic science and industrial departments make it possible for large numbers of poor pupils, who could not otherwise enter school, to attend and partially support themselves by labor. At the same time they receive instruction in these departments which will make them better house-keepers and farmers when they return to their homes. No department of our mountain school work needs so much emphasis as these two at the present.

An adequate estimate of the value of this system of schools can scarcely be given. The schools are young as yet and cannot be fairly judged. This year two young men from one of these mountain schools take full degrees at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. They are the first pupils to leave one of these schools, take full degrees in college, and then complete the work at the Seminary.

Thousands of girls and boys are returning from these schools to transform their homes, their local churches, and their communities. In the homes they are placing carpets on the floor, books in the shelves, pictures on the walls, and bringing into the monotony of the home life a buoyant cheerfulness. In the churches they are establishing Sunday schools, and becoming teachers, superintendents and deacons. The entire community is quickened by these pupils who bring back from Christ-

ian schools the spirit of wholesome progress along all lines.

It is encouraging to note that from seventy-five to one hundred ministerial students matriculate in the mountain schools each year. This territory has already made a large contribution to Southern Baptists and to the Kingdom through the preachers it has furnished. But there is a serious situation at present. Teachers, lawyers and doctors trained in these schools can and do return to the mountains. The great development along educational and economic lines is making the Southern Appalachians an inviting field to them. With ministerial students there is a different situation. The mountain churches, except in few instances, cannot invite the boys whom they have sent out to return. These young preachers leave college and seminary in debt and must go to fields of labor that will make it possible for them to meet their obligations and earn a living. Hence they are not returning to the mountains. This situation is serious, even alarming, for two reasons:

(1) The older mountain ministers can no longer do the work. Faithfully, nobly have they wrought. Now many of them are too feeble to reach their appointments. Numbers of churches in the mountains, formerly under the care of these men, have no regular preaching services at all.

Then, too, these older men have not had the opportunities of training to enable them to grapple with changed conditions. Many of them bravely spelled their way through the Book before blazing pine-knots. Then, from cove to cove, they preached the Christ of experience. Too much cannot be said in praise of their work. But they themselves realize that others must take up the work of training and developing those whom they have evangelized.

(2) Again, the failure of our trained preachers to return to their native hills is serious because no others can lead the mountain people so well as those who were born and reared among them. No others can understand the situation so well, deal with it so sympathetically, so frankly, and so efficiently.

One of the brightest, strongest men in our senior class here this year, a mountain man, trained in one of the Home Board schools and for two years principal of one of these schools, has just announced his decision to go to China. This is as it should be. These schools are going to contribute an increasing number of strong men to the bringing in of the Kingdom in other sections and countries. But in some way provision must be made for some of those who remain in this country to return to their own people in the hills. There a plastic people are ready to be moulded. There a people beginning to move need leadership. There an untrained Baptist multitude are ready to become an army.

While the Home Board schools, located at strategic points in the Southern mountains, are doing a work of inestimable value, vast areas of the territory are as yet untouched. There must be an increase of the forces which are doing this fundamental work. For no student of the conditions fails to see that Christian education is the one method for the present.

Our mountain schools have been variously characterized. They have been called light houses. And they are light houses---light houses that are sending their guiding, revealing, encouraging streams of white light into our homes and through our hills. But they are more. They are power houses---power houses that are generating and sending out countless currents of dynamic power whose transforming influence is

girding our highlands with a power greater than electricity. The light houses and power houses must be made more numerous, more prominent and more permanent.

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