THE ROLES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U.S.A.,
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S., AND
THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA
IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND SUPPORT OF FIVE BLACK COLLEGES

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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August, 1986

The problem of this study was the roles of the general assembly agencies of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the United Presbyterian Church of North America in the development of Barber-Scotia College, Knoxville College, Johnson C. Smith University, Stillman College, and Mary Holmes College. The historical records of these three churches for the period from 1866 to 1983 were examined to analyze the factors surrounding the establishment of the five colleges, the differences and similarities in the administrative practices of the general assembly agencies charged with operating the colleges, the relationships of the colleges to the churches in the transition from dependent mission schools to independent colleges, and to identify way in which the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) may improve its support of Black higher education.

The Presbyterian Churches established the mission schools to meet the religious, educational, and economical needs of the emancipated Black slaves. Though the three
churches had differences over the issues of slavery and
doctrine, the administrative systems developed for the
operations of the schools were very similar. All treated the
missions schools as remedial temporary measures necessitated
by the refusal of Southern and border states to provide
adequately for the public education of Black people, and to
satisfy the demand for educated Black clergy to attract Black
members. From the period of 1866 to 1922, the churches laid
the foundations for their educational and religious minis-
tries to Black people by establishing over two-hundred
schools. From 1923 to 1949, great reductions were made in
the number of mission schools. During the period of 1950 to
1983, the Presbyterian Churches struggled with strategies to
make the five remaining former mission schools independent
of their administrative and financial support.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education has long been one of the tenets of Presbyterianism. Prior to the split of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., in 1861, this denomination had established forty-nine colleges and universities, located in twenty-one of the thirty-four states. After the Civil War, the three Presbyterian Churches joined other religious groups in organizing mission schools for Black people. These schools were concentrated in the coastal areas of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The best of the mission schools provided complete social, moral, and educational services for the community. The schools provided by the Presbyterian Churches were often superior to those of the other religious groups. "The Presbyterian pastors and missionaries were the best educated in the nation and, therefore, could be of the greatest assistance to Black people who were always looking for opportunities to learn how to read and write." The Presbyterian Churches and other


religious and philanthropic groups assumed much of the responsibility for the education of Black people after the termination of the United States Freedmen's Bureau and the collapse of the reconstruction efforts. Southern states refused to assume any major responsibility for Black education until nearly seventy years later. These schools were important parts of the evangelistic programs of the Presbyterian Churches and had great influence upon the surrounding Black communities.

This case study examines the roles of the Presbyterian Churches in the development of the following five colleges: Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1867, Barber-Scotia College in Concord, North Carolina, in 1867, and Mary Holmes College in Westpoint, Mississippi, in 1892; all founded by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, was founded in 1876 by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Knoxville College in Knoxville, Tennessee, was founded in 1875 by the United Presbyterian Church of North America. These colleges are the vestiges of the network of parochial schools that extended throughout the Southern and border states.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study is the roles of the general assembly agencies of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.,

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5Ibid., p. 173.
the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the United Presbyterian Church of North America in the development of Barber-Scotia College, Johnson C. Smith University, Knoxville College, Mary Holmes College, and Stillman College.

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study are

1. To analyze the factors surrounding the establishment of the five Black colleges which were founded by the predecessors of, and are still related to the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.);

2. To analyze the differences and similarities in the administrative patterns of the general assembly agencies charged with the operations of the colleges;

3. To analyze the changes in the relationship of the colleges to the Presbyterian Churches in the transition from dependent mission schools to independent colleges;

4. To identify ways in which the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) can improve its support of Black higher education.

Research Questions

Specifically, this study explores the historical aspects of the following.

1. What were some of the significant factors in the establishment of each of the colleges?

2. What were some of the differences and similarities in the administrative practices of the general assembly agencies responsible for overseeing the colleges?
3. What changes have occurred in the relationships between the colleges and the Presbyterian Churches as the colleges developed independent governing boards?

Significance of the Study

An issue effecting the five colleges in the study and many other private liberal arts colleges, both white and Black, is inadequate sources of financial support. In spite of the financial assistance received from the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), state and federal funds, and other extra-mural grants, many of these colleges operate on the brink of financial insolvency. Knoxville College has been placed on probation and granted "extraordinary" status by the Southern Association of Colleges and School because of its $2.4 million dollar debt. Mary Holmes College and Barber-Scotia College continue to fight battles of dwindling enrollments and insufficient monies to cover their mortgage indebtedness and operating expenses.

Because of the financial difficulties and the access of Black students to other institutions, the continued need for church support of these colleges is questioned. This study examines the history of the financial and administrative support and practices of the general assembly agencies of the Presbyterian Churches in regard to these Black colleges for


7Interview with Mary Ida Gardner, Staff Associate for Specialized Education, The Program Agency of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), February 21, 1985.
suggestions which may strengthen their relationships with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). This study may also be of significance to those interested in Black and minority education, church-related colleges, financial support of private education, and the impact of federal desegregation practices on private colleges.

Procedures for the Collection of Data

Descriptive research studies are those which are designed to obtain information concerning the current status of phenomena. There is no administration or control of a treatment as is usually found in experimental research, and it is not generally directed toward the testings of hypothesis. There are seven types of studies that may be classified as descriptive research: (1) case studies, (2) surveys, (3) developmental studies, (4) follow-up studies, (5) documentary analyses, (6) trend analyses, and (7) correlation studies. This study on the relationships of the Presbyterian Churches to the five Black colleges utilizes the case-study method. This method has been used effectively in such fields as law, medicine, education, social work, economics, business, political science, and journalism. It makes judicious use of the principles of historical research in which the investigator conducts a systematic search for primary and

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secondary sources of data on the phenomena under study.10 Direct observation is essential in most cases. The case-study method emphasizes the complementary and supplementary uses of other research techniques and is characterized by completeness of data, validity of data, confidential recording, and scientific synthesis.11

The subject of this case study is the roles of the Presbyterian Churches in the administrative and financial support of the five Black colleges during the period of 1867 to 1983. Primary source materials from the archives of the Presbyterian Historical Societies at Montreat, North Carolina, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, were reviewed. Extensive use was made of the minutes of the general assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Secondary sources were consulted to compensate for primary records that were destroyed or lost. Personal visits were made to all five of the colleges, and tape-recorded interviews were conducted with selected trustees, administrators, faculty, students, staff, and alumni. Tape-recorded interviews were also conducted with members of the general assembly agencies charged with


administering the financial assistance of the Presbyterian Churches to the colleges.

Definition of Terms

The following denominational terms are used in this study.12

Church refers to the legal corporation known as the Presbyterian Church, (U.S.A.), the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church, U.S., the United Presbyterian Church of North America, or the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Congregation refers to one of the local units of the nationally incorporated bodies referenced above.

Black refers to a person of Negro ancestry and of African American origins.

Elder refers to a church member who is charged to strengthen and nurture the faith and life of a congregation.

General Assembly refers to highest governing body of the Presbyterian church and is representative of the presbyteries, synods, sessions, and congregations of the church.

Minister refers to an individual set aside through calling and training to perform a special ministry of the Word for a congregation or other religious work. The minister is a member of presbytery rather than the local congregation.

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Overture refers to a petition to amend the form of government of the church.

Presbytery refers to the corporate governing body which consists of all the congregations and ministers with a certain geographical district.

Session refers to the corporate governing body which is responsible for the mission of a particular congregation and consists of the minister(s) and elders in active service.

Synod refers to the corporate governing body which consists of not fewer than three presbyteries within a specific geographic region.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to the five colleges which were founded by the predecessors of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) during the period from 1867 to 1892, and which were still related to the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in 1983. The minutes of the general assemblies of the three churches were used extensively to discover how the churches viewed their relationships with their Black colleges. A review of the records of the independent boards of trustees of the colleges may present different perspectives of the relationships among the churches and the colleges.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The Development of the Mission Schools

The treatment of Black people in America is a collage of hope, despair, inhumanity, benevolence, and courage. The issues of slavery, family disorganization, social and racial inequality, and economic exploitation are some of the areas that have been researched by scholars, to discover solutions to vestiges of the past that continue to thwart the assimilation of Blacks into the American mainstream. This review focuses on the participation of the benevolent and other religious groups in the higher education of Blacks.

A number of scholars have researched the contributions of the religious organizations to the development of educational systems for the emancipated slaves. Browning and Williams credited the religious groups with providing the first major steps toward a system of schools and colleges for Blacks.

Following the lead of the American Missionary Association (AMA) in 1861, several religious benevolent societies sent missionaries into the South with the goal of uplifting the freed slaves through religion, education and programs of physical assistance. The AMA alone was respon-
McKinney stated that, "It is more strikingly true of Negro education than of any other educational tradition that religious interests and forces have been the primary determining factors in the rise and perpetuation of higher institutions of learning." Holmes cited the contributions that the American Missionary Association and the other denominational boards made to the establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau. The federal government created this agency to supervise the material affairs, including employment, transportation, housing, food, clothing, and the provision of means for the spiritual and mental improvement of Black people. The religious groups were instrumental in adding education to the list of services. They also assumed much of the responsibility for the education of Blacks after the dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau.

These religious and benevolent organizations shared the belief that education was absolutely essential to the

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2Richard I. McKinney, Religion in Higher Education Among Negroes (New Haven, 1945), x.


4Ibid., p. 38.

religious, moral, and economic development of Black people. Mission schools and churches were established for "the relief and improvement of the freedmen of the colored race, to teach them civilization and Christianity, to imbue them with motives of order, industry, and self reliance, and to elevate them in the scale of humanity by inspiring them with self-respect." The schools were staffed by some of the best educated teachers in the country. So anxious were Black people to learn, that despite their poverty, a great majority of the schools were sustained totally by their contributions.

In 1867 Mr. F.A. Fiske, the State superintendent of education under the Freedmen's Bureau, reported, that many instances had come under his notice where the teachers of a self-supporting school had been sustained till the last cent the freedmen could command was exhausted, and where these last had even taxed their credit in the coming crop to pay the bills necessary to keep up the school.

Pupils of all ages learned to read the Bible proficiently in these early schools.

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8 Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, From 1619 to the Present, p. 24.

So great was the emphasis on religion that some scholars have criticized its prominence in the reconstruction efforts. Butchart questioned the "benevolent" motives of the American Missionary Association. According to him, "the denominational societies presumed that Blacks were unstable, dangerous, and threatening unless led by proper religion, under which they became docile, tractable, and safe. This racist assumption deeply affected the entire approach to education." He contended that more attention paid to land acquisition would have done much more to improve the economic plight of the Black race. Cone stated that economics rather than religion determined the actions of the Christian church on the issues of slavery and education of Black people. Furthermore, Niebuhr contended that while education is power, it can and is often used as a means for inculcating submissiveness.

Regardless of the position one takes on these arguments, the efforts of the American Missionary Association and the denominational boards provided education for Black people when Southern states refused. Bond cited the following reasons for their refusal.


11Ibid., p. 10.


(1) The dominant tradition of the South was opposed to the education of any considerable number of children at the entire expense of the State.

(2) The aristocratic tradition found a peculiar strength where it was a question of the education of the children of Negroes, a class with even less economic resource than the poor whites and, in addition, lacking the weapon of the ballot, with which these poor whites had forced a grudging assent to the principle of free schools from the aristocracy.

(3) An argument for free education for whites was their possession of the ballot and the theoretical consideration that in a democracy the social order demanded enlightened and literate voters. This argument had no meaning in connection with the Negro.

(4) The education of Negroes symbolized their elevation to a status inconsistent with prior conception of the role they played in the social system. . . . Public schools for Negroes would not only increase the tax rate and give the race tools of citizenship it was not to employ, but would also fly in the face of all existing conceptions regarding the race and its capacities. 14

In states where public education was provided, Black people were taxed double the amount charged whites as they were required to finance separate Black schools as well as the schools for whites. The Black schools established were often inadequate and inferior to ones maintained for whites. 15

Therefore, the mission schools provided the only education available for the majority of Black people. According to Holmes, the groups most responsible for the establishment of schools that survived the reconstruction


period were the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Presbyterians. Their efforts were complemented by the work of the Black churches: the African Methodist Episcopal, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, the Colored Methodists, and the Negro Baptist Conventions.16

The Philosophy of Education

The curricula of the mission schools were influenced by the desire to evangelize and to teach Black people to function independently. Some denominational sponsors believed that the emancipated slaves were as competent as whites and were fully capable of benefitting from the liberal approach to learning used in the white schools and colleges.17 This view was contested by other supporters who believed that Black people were inherently inferior to white people, and were incapable of the mental skills necessary to master advanced learning. They believed that instruction in the agricultural, mechanical, and household industries was most appropriate to equip Black people to earn a living.18 The conflicting views on the mental capabilities of Black people, and the most appropriate type of schooling for them generated a long-standing debate on the benefits of the liberal approach versus the industrial approach. Du Bois,

16 Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College, pp. 67-68.
17 Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, pp. 360-361.
one of the foremost spokespersons for the liberal or literary approach, rejected the philosophy that Black students were best suited for a technical or industrial curricula. He campaigned for the education of students with talent and promise to "impress upon them the fact that life is more than living—that necessary as it is to earn a living, it is more necessary and important to earn a life." He saw industrial education as an attempt to require Blacks to give up political power, abandon their insistence on civil rights, and withdraw demands for the higher education of Black youth.

The most prominent advocate of the industrial curriculum or "boot straps" approach was Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute. He saw industrial education as contributing to the practical training given Blacks during their enslavement, and criticized the abandonment of such marketable skills.

... when we decided to make tailoring a part of our training at the Tuskegee Institute, I was amazed to find that it was almost impossible to find in the whole country an educated colored man who could teach the making of clothing. We could find numbers of them who could teach astronomy, theology, Latin or grammar, but none who could instruct in the making of clothing, something that has to be used by everyone of us every day in the year.

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Washington had been a pupil of Samuel C. Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute, who believed that industrial education for Black people contributed to the economic prosperity of the country by utilizing the large supply of Black workers. Black people were considered unsuitable for scholarly training. The aims of industrial education were to provide practical training, to cultivate purposeful work habits, and to prepare Black people for their roles as the working class of the American society.22

The decision on whether the mission schools emphasized the liberal or industrial approach was determined largely by the financial supporters, who tended to favor industrial education. Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, due to their development of attitudes and habits of industry, honesty, and the disciplining of Black students to accept their working class status, were regarded as models for the other Black schools to emulate. Industrial education became ritualized in schools where there was neither money nor personnel available to properly conduct the training. A number of pretentious industrial education programs was publicized to respond to the demands of white philanthropists.23

Political and financial support for the industrial education curricula was also provided by the Morrill Act of

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1890, which extended to Southern states the opportunity to establish land-grant colleges for Blacks. While the impetus behind this act, and the prior Morrill Act of 1862, were the need to educate an essentially rural population, they had the result of establishing a system of Black industrial schools which was supported by federal funds and white political support.24 Within three years after the passage of the second Morrill Act, twelve land-grant institutions were established for Black students. The total income of the grants far exceeded all the donations to the private Black mission schools and colleges.25

Despite the federal support of these technical colleges and the religious and other philanthropic support of the mission colleges, the educational opportunities provided Blacks were judged inferior to that available to whites. Jones conducted one of the first comprehensive studies on the Black colleges, and found that they were overwhelmingly below the standards established for white institutions.

Hardly a colored college meets the standards set by the Carnegie Foundation and the North Central Association. . . . Under a liberal interpretation of college work, only 33 of the 653 private and State schools for colored people are teaching any subjects of college grade. Of the 12,726 pupils in total attendance at these institutions, only 1,643 are studying college subjects and 994 are in profes-


sional classes. . . . Further, only three institutions, Howard University, Fisk University, and Meharry Medical College have student bodies, teaching force and equipment, and income sufficient to warrant the characterization of college.26

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and the state accrediting agencies excluded Black colleges which penalized their undergraduates seeking admittance to graduate schools, and reduced the eligibility of the schools for state and foundation funds. The states did not wish to appropriate sufficient funds to bring the Black schools up to the levels necessary for accreditation, and the unaccredited status of the colleges prevented Black graduates from being employed in white schools.27

The study by Jones also found much duplication in the geographical distribution of the Black colleges. For example, five denominations had established Black colleges in Atlanta, Georgia, due to the close proximity to railroad facilities, and adequate police protection.28 Notwithstanding the geographical and program duplications of the colleges, the educational work done by the white churches was emphatic evidence of their altruistic efforts to assist a struggling people. Nineteen denominations maintained one or more schools to educate Black people for life in a democracy.

26Ibid, pp. 58-60.
although very few of them had considerable proportions of Blacks in their membership.

According to the [1904] census, there were 3,685,097 Negroes in the various denominations. Of these 2,354,789 were enrolled by Baptists, 1,182,131 belonged to various branches of Methodism, and the remaining 148,177, hardly 4 per cent of the total, were distributed among the Catholic, Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, and other denominations.29

The administration and control of the schools operated by these white denominations were considered superior to that of the public and independent schools for Black people. These denominations incorporated governing boards, maintained central offices, and appointed corresponding or traveling secretaries to supervise the schools and the solicitation of funds.30

The greatest handicaps to the effectiveness of these boards were the conservatism of their educational and financial policies, and the difficulty of obtaining qualified teachers. Very few of the schools had proper accounting systems, and the needs of the Black community were often not addressed in the curricula. Further, some of the schools had been turned over to Black leadership without either the proper training of the Black administrators and teachers, or continuing financial support by the churches.31

29 Ibid., p. 129.
30 Ibid., p. 128.
31 Ibid., p. 129.
The Desegregation of Colleges and Universities

From the origins of the mission school program in 1861, separate schools for Black students became the norm. The Plessy v. Ferguson United States Supreme Court decision in 1896 gave legal standing to educational practices begun during the American Missionary Association work with the emancipated slaves. According to Butchart, the denominations were responsible for separate schools for white and Black students.

The denominations defined their work in racially separate terms. Their focus in the freedmen's aid was parochial schools or evangelical public schools for Blacks. What they did for southern whites educationally and spiritually fell into another category of activity and invariably under a different committee.

The Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka United States Supreme Court Decision in 1954 set aside the separate educational systems for Blacks and whites, but had little immediate impact on the racial diversity of education at the elementary, secondary, and college levels. The decision raised questions regarding the continued need for Black institutions if white schools were now required by law to admit Black students. Supporters of the Black colleges thought it a travesty of justice that these institutions, which had been the only avenues to education for the majority

32 Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 1138 (1896).
33 Butchart, Northern Schools, Southern Blacks and Reconstruction, Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875, p. 50.
of Black students, were now viewed by some as being anachronistic and promoting further segregation. According to Mays, the Black colleges were segregated, not by choice but because of the racism present in the American society as shown in the following statements.

By nature they are without prejudice and bias. The teachers from the beginning were members of the white race. They themselves, have never closed their doors to students of other races, the state laws have done this. The private and church-related Negro colleges have been segregated but not segregating institutions. These Negro colleges have no history or tradition of exclusion and practice of discrimination.35

Cook saw the following manifestations of racism in the treatment of the Black church-related colleges.

First, there is a constant questioning of the very legitimacy of black colleges. 'Why black colleges?' 'How are they justified?' The counterpart question, 'Why white colleges?' or 'How are white colleges justified?' is not raised. . . .

The second key manifestation of the racist syndrome is the simple, easy and groundless a priori and arbitrary identification of predominantly white colleges and universities with academic excellence and superiority and predominantly black colleges and universities with academic inferiority and failure. . . . The third key manifestation of the racist syndrome is the woefully inadequate support of black colleges in comparison to white colleges. The tragic assumption is that black colleges require less, indeed much and incomparable less, financial support than white colleges.36

35 Benjamin E. Mays, "The Significance of the Negro Private and Church-Related College," The Journal of Negro Education, XXIX (Summer, 1960), 245.

McGrath, after his comprehensive study on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the historically Black colleges, stated that "most of the predominantly Negro institutions ought to be preserved and strengthened. In any event none should be allowed to die unless and until their present and prospective students can be assured of better educational opportunities elsewhere."37 He contended that the closing of the even weaker institutions would deny thousands of Black students opportunities for higher learning.38

In 1972, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed suit against the federal department of Health, Education, and Welfare for failure to enforce Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited racial discrimination in programs receiving federal funds. The district court ruled in Adams v. Richardson that Southern and border states must dismantle their segregated systems of higher education.39 The ruling facilitated greater access of minority students to white public institutions, and increased the competition for the top-ranked Black students. The small, under-endowed Black church-related colleges were most affected as states were required not only to increase the number of Black students enrolled at the predominantly white

38Ibid., pp. 7-8.
public institutions, but to strengthen and enhance the Black public colleges.40

In 1978, the United States Supreme Court ruled in Regents of the University of California v. Bakke that in public colleges and universities subject to Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, a two-track admissions program in which a specific number of places is reserved exclusively for applicants from designated minority groups is impermissible in the absence of appropriate legislative, judicial, or administrative findings. The court also ruled that race-conscious admission programs were legally permissible under certain circumstances.41 The ruling had a chilling effect on those predominantly white institutions that had enacted voluntary affirmative action programs designed to increase the enrollment of non-white students. Increased attention was given to standardized test scores which often ignored factors such as socioeconomic status, differences in educational opportunity, motivation, narrowness of content of the tests, atmosphere of the testing situation, the perceived relevance of the test to success, and the validity of the test as a predictor of future performance of Black stu-


41 The Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, No. 76-811 (June 28, 1978).
dents. As a result, the enrollment of Black students declined at the graduate and professional levels.

A contributing factor to the decline in Black enrollment in the graduate and professional schools was high attrition at the undergraduate level. Fleming stated that the low retention of Black students in white colleges and universities was "one of institutional abandonment, isolation, and bias in the classroom--factors that create a hostile interpersonal climate." She added that those factors that create a psychologically safe environment for Black students at Black colleges are largely absent or unavailable in white schools. Blackburn, Gamson, and Peterson found in their study of thirteen predominantly white institutions that race relations were "characterized by voluntary segregation or by indifference, thinly covering interracial conflicts and feelings of mistrust. Little attention was being paid to the interpersonal aspects of race on these campuses, and organizational arrangements and social segregation rein-


45Ibid., p. 3.
forced the situation."\textsuperscript{46} Willie and McCord found that Black students were very dependent on financial assistance from the white schools but deeply distrustful of them. This created great anxiety over the possible reductions or terminations of assistance, which would force those students with limited family resources to leave college.\textsuperscript{47}

Summary

The alienation perceived by Black students at the predominantly white institutions has focused continuing debate on the need for the historically Black private and public colleges. When the American Missionary Association and the other religious and benevolent organizations developed their network of mission schools for Black people, little access was permitted to white institutions. As states assumed more responsibility for the education of their Black citizens, and judicial decisions ruled as unconstitutional laws that separated educational services based on race, the continuing need for Black colleges generated much discussion. Although predominantly white institutions enrolled larger percentages of Black students, these students reported feelings of alienation, mistrust, and indifference that resulted in low retention rates. The historically

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Black private and public schools, despite their precarious financial positions, continue to be the institutions of choice for those Black students who perceive that they are either inadmissible to, or psychologically unprepared for, or have failed to satisfy the academic requirements of the predominantly white institutions.
CHAPTER III

THE ROLES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT, CONTROL, AND FUNDING OF THESE COLLEGES

Introduction

The three predecessors to the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) were responsible for the establishment of three systems of mission schools for the education of emancipated slaves and their descendents during a period when Southern public officials were unable to or refused to provide for the educational needs of Black people. This case study focuses on the colleges established by the three churches during the period of 1867 to 1892 and which had continued their relationships with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) to 1983.

The United Presbyterian Church of North America was responsible for the founding of Knoxville College in 1875.

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S. established Stillman College in 1876. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. was responsible for the establishment of Johnson C. Smith University and Barber-Scotia College in 1867, and Mary Holmes College in 1892.

Because all five of these institutions were developed as educational and religious missions to Black people, they were totally governed by the sponsoring churches. The three churches were responsible for the total administration and
financial support of the schools. This chapter focuses on the philosophies, policies, and practices of the three churches as they related to their Black colleges, from the establishment of the institutions to the reunion of all three churches into the Presbyterian Church, (U.S.A.) in 1983. The work of each church is presented separately with the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the result of the merger between the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America in 1958, discussed in the section on the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. was the largest of the three predecessors and was responsible for the largest number of mission schools for Black people. During the early history of the schools, the church served as the primary financial supporter, administrator, and teacher. There were often no local board of trustees or advisory groups. In the event of a local board of trustees, the members were nominated and subject to the continued approval of the church. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. owned title to all property and was responsible for all indebtedness.

For the Presbyterians, education and religion were necessary to and inseparable from the evangelistic work among the freed persons. Black people had to be educated so that they could read the Bible and maintain Christian homes.
Missionaries sent to this work had to be willing to be first teachers and then preachers.¹

Fund raising was an extremely important part of the missionary work to freed persons because though the general assembly always included the ministry in its annual appropriations, the monies actually collected from the congregations were usually much less than the budgeted amounts. To provide a source of income for the work, the general assembly in 1866 approved a resolution for a special offering to be taken on the first Sunday in October, or other convenient time, to benefit the work.² Some members criticized the assembly for setting aside the first Sunday in October to collect the special offering because October was a time of elections which highlighted the problems involved in enfranchising Black people and created a climate not conducive to philanthropic acts. October was also the time when significant numbers of the liberal, urban supporters of the ministry to the freed persons were absent from their congregations due to vacations and unable to lobby for donations.³ The annual


offering was later moved to the Sunday nearest the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.4

Another factor contributing to the difficulty in raising funds for the ministry to Black people was the North-South sectional differences. Due to conflicts over the issues of slavery, the Civil War, and religious doctrines, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. had lost many of its white congregations located in the South to the newly organized Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Also, fund raising among the Northern church was difficult because some congregations saw the work with the emancipated slaves as temporary and were hesitant to include it among their budgeted contributions. Other congregations were reluctant to contribute to the cause of the ex-slaves for fear of offending Southern Presbyterians and thereby preventing the desired reconciliation of the two churches. Still others contended that the Northern church was trespassing on Southern soil in its efforts to evangelize and educate the Black ex-slaves. The missionaries were viewed as religious carpetbaggers and ostracized by some white Christians.5

Another significant factor which impeded the fund-raising efforts on behalf of the ministry to Black people was the fierce competition for mission dollars. Some congre-


gations, who in philosophy supported the ministry to the emancipated Black people, chose to donate to other missionary projects, such as work among the Native Americans, the evangelization of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and the development of higher education institutions for white students. Throughout the history of the work, this competition for limited resources resulted in the retrenchment and abandonment of some mission schools.

In addition to the funds generated by the white congregations, the contributions of Black people to the cost of operating these schools were important parts of the development efforts, both financially and psychologically. The missionaries were directed to use all proper efforts to make the schools self-supporting and to demand that students do without in order to purchase textbooks and pay tuition if they were at all able. This Calvinistic orientation sought to develop spirits of self-reliance in the people served by these schools. It was a key tenet in the administration of these schools by a church which did not desire for the ex-slaves to transfer their dependence from slave masters to Northern charities.6 During the period from 1865 to 1870, the freed persons contributed an average of 10 per cent of the operating budgets. Another tenet in the administration of these schools by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. was

their management by Black preachers and teachers as soon as qualified persons were given an education.7

In October 1865, a group led by the Reverend Mr. Willis L. Miller, submitted an application to the state of North Carolina for a charter for a college. In March 1866, the charter was granted to establish the Freedmen's College of North Carolina. The institution was "intended for the education of Freedmen, and for training a Calvinistic ministry for the coloured race."8 By the provisions of the charter, all the members of the board of trustees were required to be members of some branch of the Presbyterian Church.9 The Board of Trustees of the Freedmen's College of North Carolina was organized April 4, 1867. Three days later, Catawba Presbytery authorized the development of the institution for the education of Black men "for the ministry, for catechist, and for teacher."10 The school was renamed the Henry J. Biddle Memorial Institute in recognition of the


8Office of the General Assembly, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., XVIII (Philadelphia, 1866), 76.

9Ibid., pp. 76-77.

husband of its first benefactor and was located in Charlotte, North Carolina.11

In 1869, the general assembly approved the creation of a Freedmen's Department under the supervision of the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions to supervise the development of Biddle University, the other mission schools, and the Black congregations. All of the congregations of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. were challenged to raise $100,000 "to extend and enlarge the work and to enable it move forward boldly and swiftly."12 The 1870 report showed contributions of $37,172 from 319 congregations and individual members, the United States Freedmen's Bureau, the English Fund of the Pittsburgh Freedmen's Aid Commission, legacies, books sales, and Freedmen's Schools. The 1870 report also showed a deficit of $8,597.13

Deficit spending became characteristic of the administration of the Black mission schools established by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. due to the funding practices of the church. A pledge of financial support would be approved by the general assembly but the actual dollars were not available unless the congregations and individual


13Ibid., p. 189.
donors contributed the funds. There were no contingency funds to draw upon and the administrators of the Freedmen Department did not know the amount of income which would be collected until the end of the fiscal year. During the period of the early development of the schools, from 1867 to 1923, the actual contributions usually fell very short of the appropriated figures. This resulted in deficits, reductions in the curricular offerings, delayed building maintenance, cuts in the length of the school year, and consolidations and closings.

In spite of the shortage of funds, the work with the mission schools continued. Biddle Memorial Institute was regarded as the most successful of all the schools by the Committee on Missions to Freedmen as shown in the following report to the assembly.

... 100 students enrolled during the present term. It has a fine location upon a plat of eight acres, a good building, two good houses for professors, and one small dormitory, valued in all at over $13,000, and clear of debt. Through the efforts of its President, a partial endowment of one professorship has been secured during the past year, and its completion, with the endowment of at least one other, at an early day, is exceedingly desirable. Among other wants, are scholarships of $100 for a single year, or for each of a number of years consecutively; a general fund to aid students who can support themselves for but part of a single term; an additional dormitory; and supplies of bedding and substantial clothing—the latter being in constant demand.14

Biddle Memorial Institute enjoyed the special favor and support of the church officials because of its involvement in the training of Black preachers for the Southern field.

Another mission school, Scotia Seminary, which was the predecessor of Barber-Scotia College, also received special attention from church officials. It was established at Concord, North Carolina, under the leadership of the Reverend Mr. Luke Dorland and claims 1867 as its date of founding, although no record of its activities appear in the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. until 1871. The design and location for the school was selected by the Committee on Freedmen in 1866 but the funds to establish the school were not available until 1871 when Matthew Scott of Muskingum County, Ohio, donated the monies. Though Scotia Seminary was the only church institution for Black women at its founding, it soon was to be joined by others, including Barber Memorial Seminary, which merged with it in 1930. Notwithstanding the desires of the early church administrators to operate the school free of debt, this college, like many of the mission schools for Black people, waged a constant battle to solicit operating and endowment funds. Unlike many of the other schools, Barber-Scotia College, Mary Holmes College, and Johnson C. Smith University are still in existence.

In 1872, the "Report" to the general assembly announced that, consistent with the philosophy of self-reliance of the Committee on Missions for Freedmen, the congregations and schools of the freed persons had contributed $8,710 to the annual budget of $50,081. Furthermore, the number of Black workers was increasing: of the thirty-three ordained ministers, seventeen of them were Black; of the five licentiates, four of them were Black; all of the twenty-six catechists were Black and of the fifty-three teachers, eleven were Black females and eight were Black males. In summary, Black people accounted for sixty-six of the 117 missionaries assigned to the Committee on Missions for Freedmen.16 The committee had come to the realization that except in cities, towns, and villages, and along the lines of railways, Black preachers and teachers who were native to the area were the most successful.17 Black missionaries continued to replace their white counterparts until the majority of the workers were Black.

The 1872 "Report" also revealed that support for the religious and educational ministry to Black people was still not endorsed throughout the church.


Only 1,120 of the northern churches contributed to the fund, leaving 3,496 which have failed to respond to the call for aid. Of the 100 churches among the freedmen, contributions have been made in all but 17.

Thus, while less than 25 per cent of the white congregations of the church contributed to the work, 83 per cent of the Black congregations donated monies to support their mission congregations and schools. However, the Black contributions made up less than 18 per cent of the total dollars received. There were two major patterns of support for mission schools operated by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. First, while the annual general assemblies usually endorsed the work among Black people, the white congregations and governing bodies often had competing interests in other missionary projects, and the annual offerings and other donations made to the work with the Black mission schools were often inadequate to satisfy the pledges of support. Second, while the Black congregations supported the schools in large numbers, their actual contributions were insufficient to maintain these institutions. Therefore, Black institutions were dependent on a small group of white congregations and benefactors for their financial survival.

In 1873, the Committee on Missions for Freedmen reported to the general assembly that the funds from the boards of the church and the United States Freedmen's Bureau had diminished to practically nothing. Church members were advised that

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they had not fulfilled their obligations to the task committed to them by God.

In the providence of God the elevation of a race is committed to us. It is a nation at our own doors, strangely distinct from us and yet one with us, bound to us by a tie which can neither be ignored or broken. This people hold us under bonds for a debt which we can pay, not merely by granting them political equality, we must give them also a civilization which, in all its essentials, shall be the saviour of our own; and to the discharge of this obligation we are now summoned by the voice of humanity.19

The notion that white church members responded to the plight of the emancipated Black people out of a sense of guilt or that the fate of whites was inextricably woven with that of Blacks are arguments often used to explain the relationship which has existed among the two groups in the Presbyterian Churches. According to some observers, the most influential role of Blacks in the Presbyterian denomination has been to "serve as an irritant to the conscience of the church, reminding it of the gap between its professions of Christian equality, and its tacit acceptance of the systems of slavery, segregation, and economic and political oppression."20

The 1873 "Report" also contained more information on the development of Biddle Memorial Institute, whose curricula had been organized into three departments: preparatory, collegiate, and theological. The institute now enrolled one hundred and thirty students and forty-nine of them were


preparing to be ministers.21 Biddle was the only seminary related to the church in the Southern states and was deemed of great importance in evangelizing the masses of Black people. The assembly took action to "commend this Institution to the generous liberality of our churches, and include it in the regular list of Theological Seminaries."22 The preparation of Black leadership for the development of Black congregations allowed the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to maintain its presence in the South where most of the white Presbyterians belonged to the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.

The Committee on Missions for Freedmen took an active role in the selection of faculty for Biddle Institute and the other mission schools. These faculties were selected with great care, particularly in regard to their suitability for ministry. They were required to be members of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and to regard their work, not as an occupation but as a religious calling.23

In 1874, the "Report" to the assembly carried more pleas for greater financial support, a particularly urgent need

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21 Committee on Theological Seminaries, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., III (New York, 1874), 129.

22 Committee on Theological Seminaries, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., II (New York, 1873), 534.

since the monies received in 1873 were much less than that received in 1872, which caused the closings of some mission schools.24 This was the first account of a decline in the number of mission schools due to lack of funds. Throughout the period of 1867 to 1983, the majority of the schools would be closed due to lack of funds or turned over to public governments which were assuming responsibility for the elementary and secondary education of Black students.

In 1876, the Committee on Missions for Freedmen issued the following equal opportunity statements which sought to correct some misunderstandings concerning the admission policies of the Black mission schools.

That while it is intended primarily for the freedmen, it is not of design restricted to them. . . . Let the fact be thoroughly accepted, that the whole system of church and school, as considered by the Committee, knows no exclusion of persons on account of color. The door is thrown free to all, and white and black enter it on the same conditions.25

It may have appeared ironic to some members of the committee that they were having to defend their admissions practices against charges of racial discrimination when Black students were denied admission to practically all of the public and private white colleges located in the South and many of those located in the North. The Committee on Missions for Freedmen

24The Standing Committee on Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., III (New York, 1874), 75.

also sought to establish the importance of the mission schools to the evangelism of the former slaves. Though the schools were supposed to occupy an ancillary position to the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it was impossible to provide Black educated preachers for the Black congregations without them. Also, the mission schools required a greater share of the resources than the congregations. The schools were regarded as the building blocks for the evangelistic efforts of the church and the entry of Black people into their rightful place in American society. The committee refuted the charges of some critics who claimed that the mission schools did not preach enough of the Gospel and others who complained of too much emphasis on evangelism.

The 1876 "Report" also highlighted the progress of Scotia Seminary and Biddle Memorial Institute. Biddle received praises from the Standing Committee on Theological Seminaries for "doing a great work which promised more for the future, if it can only be relieved of the embarrassment caused by the want of an endowment fund, and reliance on the Committee on Freedmen to pay its professors." The institute then enrolled 124 students but had accommodations for only

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26Ibid., p. 42

27Butchart, Northern Schools, Southern Blacks and Reconstruction, Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875, p. 198.
The report on Scotia Seminary identified the purpose of the school as being "the education of colored girls in Religion, and in the Arts and Sciences usually taught in Seminaries of a high order; and in those domestic duties which belong to the highest type of wife, mother and teacher." The seminary then had 105 students enrolled.

In 1877, the "Report" of the Committee on Freedmen contained more information on the outstanding academic and vocational programs offered by Scotia Seminary.

This Seminary has some of the Mount Holyoke features. The pupils, in addition to scholastic studies, give attention to the cutting, making, and mending of their own clothing, also to finer needle-work, and perform all the household work of the Institution. Scotia Seminary is Vassar and Holyoke combined.

These programs were typical of those found in the curricula of the mission schools. First, there was an effort to duplicate the liberal education available at white institutions. Second, there was a heavy emphasis on vocational or industrial training. The Committee on Missions for Freedmen, like many of the other individuals involved in the education

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30 Ibid.

of the emancipated slaves, were divided on what should be the appropriate philosophy concerning the education of Black people. Some argued that Black students needed an industrial education, one which would give them vocational skills to compete in the capitalistic economy.32 Others contended that the economic and social liberation of Black people was dependent on the development of a cadre of leaders educated in the liberal tradition.33 The curricula of the Black mission schools reflected efforts to include both the liberal and industrial approaches, and varied in the emphasis given either according to the desires and restrictions of the benefactors.

The 1877 "Report" to the general assembly continued to admonish the church for its poor financial support of the work among the freed persons.

The Presbyterian Church gives not quite as much, to educate and Christianize the millions of freedmen, as it appropriates for the meeting of the General Assembly.34

This lack of support was most noticeable in the donations from the white congregations. Over one-third of these congregations did not contribute to the special offerings


34The Standing Committee on Freedmen, "Report," (New York, 1877), 551.
for the support of schools and churches for Black people. Despite these shortcomings, the loyal supporters of the ministry to freed persons continued to give generously to the educational and religious work. In 1877, the Committee on Missions for Freedmen reported that $8,000 had been permanently invested to make the work with the schools and congregations less dependent on the annual fund-raising efforts. Notwithstanding the many resolutions approved by the general assemblies, and the passionate pleas for monies, the Committee on Missions for Freedmen was not able to secure significant endowments for the individual schools or the general work of the committee.

The 1877 "Report" also told of the upgrading of the curricula of Biddle Memorial Institute by the Committee on Missions for Freedmen. A new charter was obtained from the state of North Carolina under the name of Biddle University, and the school now offered a full collegiate program for the purpose of training Black preachers, catechists, and teachers. Because of the lack of formal education, many of these early students had to rely on their dedication and commitment to acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to perform college-level work. The committee continued to regard Biddle as the most important school for its work with the freed persons, primarily due to its work in the prepa-

35Ibid.

ration of men for the ministry and its excellent location in Charlotte, North Carolina. This city had a large population of Black people, many of them educated and from Presbyterian backgrounds. The city also served as the terminus of six railroads. Biddle University, unlike Scotia Seminary and many of the other mission schools which followed, was located in an urban area with ready access to good transportation and a diversified local economy. The majority of the mission schools was located in rural areas or small towns and were often isolated from the surrounding communities.

According to a plan adopted by the general assembly in 1874, the congregations and educational institutions operated by the Committee on Missions for Freedmen were to be transferred to the Board of Home Missions in 1878. This transfer was resisted by the Committee on Missions for Freedmen, Knox Presbytery, and Atlantic Synod, Black governing bodies; and the Presbytery of Louisville. These groups argued that the work with the freed persons was being operated in the most economical manner possible and would only suffer were it to lose its distinctive identity by becoming a part of the Board of Home Missions. Concern was also expressed that the Black people would be lost to the Roman Catholic Church, or to other Protestant denominations if there was not a special agency charged with overseeing the work. Other apprehensions

centered on the impact on the educational institutions of such a transfer. It was feared that the Board of Home Missions would not recognize the need to support and expand the system of parochial schools into the Carolinas, Georgia, Virginia, and throughout the Southwest. All of the higher-level schools, such as Biddle University and Scotia Seminary, served as centers to provide preachers and teachers to organize and care for Black congregations. The close relationship between the schools and the congregations which existed under the present arrangement was beneficial for it provided congregations with well educated leaders and provided the colleges with places for students to develop practical skills for ministry and teaching. Because of these pleas, the general assembly nullified the transfer of the congregations and educational institutions to the Board of Home Missions.38

In 1881, the "Report" to the general assembly contained the following resolution encouraging wealthy church members to contribute to the endowments for the mission schools, particularly that of Biddle University.

"No Institution of learning on the continent offers the colored man superior facilities for a liberal education than Biddle University; and perhaps none equals it in the thorough practical training of the young minister."39


39Committee on Theological Seminaries, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., VI (New York, 1881), 42.
Though the receipts from the congregations continued to increase, there were still 3,000 congregations which contributed nothing to the work. The 1881 "Report" also contained a strong statement on the civil rights of Black people and the moral obligations of Christians to assist in their enfranchisement.

This race has fastened itself upon our soil, as well as upon the institutions of the land. It is not to be separated from the white race, but is to advance and develop as it advances and develops. . . . Both are to live together, and share together in the good or ill of a common country. The Constitution of the United States gives both a common citizenship, with out any distinction on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

This statement was especially significant because of recent judicial decisions which had limited the civil rights guaranteed Black people under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. Two years after the Committee on Missions for Freedmen issued its equal opportunity statement, the United States Supreme Court ruling in 1883 eliminated some legal defenses which had been available to Blacks in their battle against disfranchisement of their civil rights.


43 Civil Right Cases, 109 U.S. 3(1883).
Despite what some church members perceived to be a retrenchment on the part of the federal government regarding the protection of the rights of Black people, the Committee on Missions for Freedmen persisted in its efforts to uplift the Black race through religion and education. The necessity for expanding the facilities of Scotia Seminary and Biddle University was the focus of the 1882 "Report" to the general assembly. The committee was successful in raising $24,449 for a classroom building at Biddle to ease overcrowded teaching and sleeping quarters. Scotia Seminary was the recipient of a $7,000 gift to enable it to erect a dormitory to serve the large numbers of Black women applying for admissions.44

In 1883, the Committee on Missions for Freedmen was incorporated under the name of the The Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. This action allowed the holding of title to all properties, facilitated the execution of administrative responsibilities between meetings of the general assembly, and enhanced fund-raising efforts due to the new independence and recognition. An educational branch was organized to supervise the work of the chartered mission schools: Biddle University, Scotia Seminary, Wallingford Academy at Charleston, South Carolina; Brainerd Institute at Chester, South

Carolina; and Fairfield Institute at Winnsboro, South Carolina. 

The new organization was quite successful and in 1883 raised $102,077. This was the largest amount collected thus far, although the general assemblies had often appropriated greater amounts. Biddle University and Scotia Seminary were ranked as the most successful institutions in the educational ministry to Black people. Biddle was described as taking 187 young men "from the very rudiments of an education up, so as to fit them for whatever position they may be called to occupy, whether as mechanics, school teachers, or preachers of the Gospel." Scotia Seminary was characterized as preparing 243 young girls and women, 162 of them professing Christians, "to be worthy companions in a true Christian household."

In 1884, to aid in the expanded missions of Scotia Seminary, Biddle University and the other mission schools, the Standing Committee on Freedmen pleaded with the church for increased donations to extend its work into the state of Mississippi, "where the need is so pressing, and from which


47 Ibid.
the cry for help is so importunate." Additional pleas were made to the organizations of women to contribute to the work with the freed persons through the endowment of scholarships, service as teachers, and as advocates for the cause of the freed persons in the presbyteries and synods. In response to these appeals, the Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions organized a Freedmen's Department with the specific aims of "... collecting the children into schools, giving them religious as well as secular instruction, plus teaching the parents how to make attractive Christian homes." The Women's Executive Committee also initiated the idea of the Birthday Offering to support the educational ministry to freed persons. The proceeds from the Birthday Offerings were important parts of the annual solicitation campaigns and were very instrumental in erecting buildings at many of the mission schools.

In 1884, the Standing Committee on Theological Seminaries also expressed its support of the educational ministry to freed persons, particularly with regard to Lincoln University and Biddle University. Lincoln University, formerly


49 Ibid.


51 Letter from Mrs. C.E. Coulter, Corresponding Secretary of the Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions, March 31, 1885 to the Board of Missions for Freedmen, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Ashmun Institute, was the first college for Blacks established by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. It prepared Black preachers and teachers for work among the Black people in the Northern states due to its location in Pennsylvania. The committee supported the existence of both institutions by defending the right of Black people to migrate to the North. "This race, so long oppressed and neglected, does not belong to a section. It has both a North and a South.

Biddle University was also viewed as an olive branch to the Southern church. "The Freedmen, who once separated us, seem to promise in the Providence of God, to be the link to unite us."

In 1884, the Board of Missions "Report" carried more news on the industrial emphases of the curricula at Biddle University and Scotia Seminary. Along with permanent endowment funds, scholarships, a library fund, and donations of clothing for distribution to needy students at Biddle University, the board requested $10,000 to "organize a Labor Department where young men may be taught the elements of industry and the use of tools." At Scotia Seminary, "an Industrial Department had been added in which the girls are


53 Ibid.

taught to cut and make dress, to mend, darn, and to do all kinds of plain sewing." The monies for the teachers in this program came from the Slater Fund which was established in 1882 for the purpose of "uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their prosperity."56

In 1885, two years after the incorporation of the Board of Missions for Freedmen, the two Black presbyteries of Yadkin and Catawba overruled the general assembly, requesting that the work of the board be divided among the Board for Home Missions and the other agencies of the church, and the Board of Missions for Freedmen be dissolved. "Local difficulties which have arisen in certain quarters," were cited as the reasons for the action.57 They especially desired the transfer of the higher-level schools, such as Scotia Seminary and Biddle University, to the Board of Aid for Colleges and Academies, the unit responsible for financial assistance to the white colleges related to the church. Both Scotia Seminary and Biddle University were in the boundaries of the two petitioning presbyteries.

The assembly denied the request, stating that the Board of Home Missions was already overburdened with other

55Ibid., p. 216.


57Special Committee on the Overtures Concerning the Work Among the Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., VIII (Philadelphia, 1885), 647.
responsibilities. It was also decided that though the schools for freed persons were not excluded from assistance by the Board of Aid for Colleges, they must remain under the oversight of the Board of Missions for Freedmen. To minimize further unrest, the assembly declared that Biddle University and all the other higher-level mission institutions should not have faculty on their boards of trustees.58

In 1888, special tribute was paid to the Women Executive Committee for their service in raising funds, providing clothing, securing annual and permanent scholarships, building and repairing schools and otherwise assisting the Board. Though they had been involved in the ministry to freed persons for only two years, the women societies of the synods and presbyteries had contributed close to $28,000 dollars. These women societies were regular contributors to the educational ministry to Black and other minority people.59

In 1889, the question of the dissolution of the Board of Missions for Freedmen was again one of the key issues before the general assembly. A special committee had been appointed by the general assembly in 1888 to respond to overtures from presbyteries, both white and Black, asking for the consolidation of all domestic missionary efforts within the Board of Home Missions. The special committee, after consultations

58Ibid., pp. 647-648.

with the Boards of Missions for Freedmen and Home Missions, reported that the Board of Missions for Freedmen should continue. It was felt that the "peculiar character" of work among the freed persons required special treatment by a distinct unit. Work with freed persons was likened to the missionary efforts in foreign countries, for the church had to provide everything: "education, evangelization, church erection, and the training of people in trades that they may learn self-support." Furthermore, it was believed that the "abolishment of the Board would imperil titles of property and risk the loss of large bequests." The general assembly adopted the report of the committee, which also contained a resolution calling for the Board of Missions for Freedmen to give more prominence and attention to the establishment and promotion of industrial schools.

The emphases on industrial education in the curricula of the mission schools gained momentum with the enactment of the Morrill Act of 1890. This act made available federal land-grant funds to establish industrial colleges for Blacks as had been done for whites with the Morrill Act of 1862. Within three years after the passage of the Morrill Act of 1890, twelve public land-grant colleges were established for Black students. The total public grants made to these


61Ibid., p. 61.
schools far exceeded all the donations to the private Black colleges. The Morrill Act of 1890 brought federal money and white political support to a system of public industrial education for Black colleges. Private institutions, such as Biddle University and Scotia Seminary, had to revise their curricula to compete with these new and better financed institutions offering training in the mechanical, agricultural, and domestics arts.

The year 1890 also marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the ministry to freed persons. The work, while still concentrated in the Carolinas, had reached into Georgia, Florida, and Virginia. Plans were being made to expand into Mississippi, the Gulf States, Kentucky, and Tennessee due to the migration of Blacks into these areas. Industrial training was now found in all the schools operated by the Board of Missions for Freedmen in recognition of the employment opportunities available to Black people.

When we remember that the colored people must, for a long period, if not always, constitute mainly the laboring population of the South, and that the rapidly developing industries of that region are, more and more, demanding intelligent and reliable labor in order to their success, we begin to appreciate properly this feature in our educational work.


The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. followed the practices of the land-grant colleges and other privately funded industrial colleges in promoting industrial education as the avenue for preparing Black students for the only jobs open to them in the American caste system.

In 1891, the Board of Missions for Freedmen reported that an Industrial Department had been started at Biddle University, the premiere school which had been established for the education of Black preachers, teachers, and catechists. The new department provided training in printing, carpentry, the manufacturing of plain furniture, and other mechanical pursuits. Eighty-five of the 175 students were enrolled in the industrial program.64

The 1891 "Report" also told of the great and growing demand for boarding schools for the religious and secular training of Black women. Scotia Seminary had to turn away 200 applicants due to lack of boarding facilities. To respond to this demand for the education of Black women and to expand the work into Mississippi, a group of church women in Illinois raised $16,000 for the establishment of a boarding school for Black women.65 In the autumn of 1892, Mary Holmes Seminary began classes in Jackson, Mississippi.

64 The Standing Committee on the Board of Missions for Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., XIV (Philadelphia, 1891), 86.

65 Ibid., p. 87.
The Reverend Dr. H.N. Payne was appointed as the first president.66

In addition to the founding of Mary Holmes Seminary in 1892, the Board of Missions for Freedmen made another significant step in its governance of the Black mission schools. After the recent overtures by the Black synods of Atlantic and Catawba and the earlier overtures calling for the dissolution of the board, it was determined that the time had arrived for Black leaders to participate more in the governance of Biddle University. Blacks were already serving as principals at six of the boarding schools operated by the board, and at seven colleges run by other denominations. The board nominated three additional Black professors for Biddle, which brought to four the number of Black faculty. After the election of these men, the four remaining white professors resigned and were replaced by Black professors.67 The most significant change came when the Reverend Dr. D.J. Sanders was named as the first Black president. Biddle University, with its 237 students, was now under the control of a Black president and faculty.68


In 1893, Richard H. Allen died and was replaced as corresponding secretary of the Board of Missions for Freedmen by the Reverend Dr. E.P. Cowan, the former president of the board. The Freedmen's Department of the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions continued to play a substantial role in the fund-raising efforts of the board. In 1892, the 1,312 societies had contributed over $38,000 and nearly 150 boxes and barrels of clothing. "A Christian education, under God, is the power to elevate this race, as it has our own," was the theme for the efforts of the women.69

In 1894, the "Report" revealed that only $194,610 of the $250,000 that was appropriated in 1893 had been collected from the church, continuing a long-standing pattern. In an effort to more easily manage the plight of the missions schools, the Board of Missions for Freedmen initiated monthly instead of quarterly salary payments to its missionaries. Such payments "lessened the necessity of borrowing from the heartless money lenders at exorbitant rates and enabled the Black missionaries to buy at a lower price for cash and to avoid going into debt."70 The board also began settling all the accounts for the boarding schools on a biannual rather than annual basis. These two changes


significantly improved the efficiency of the operations of the schools. However, due to lack of funds, the board was forced to suspend work on a number of schools, including the building of an annex to Mary Holmes Seminary. The appointment of a financial agent for the endowment campaign for Biddle University was also deferred.71

The lack of funds continued into 1895 and caused the closure of a few schools, and reductions averaging 10 percent in the salaries of the teachers. Despite the retrenchment, designated gifts permitted construction of a badly needed dormitory at Biddle University. Carter Hall, which provided accommodations for 164 students, was built by the students of the university, under the supervision of the professors of the Industrial Department.72

In 1895, the total destruction by fire of the new Mary Holmes Seminary added to the financial pressures. The entire plant, including all additions and improvements, cost $27,000, but was insured for $15,000. Pleas were made for donations to rebuild the school as soon as possible.73

In response to these pleas, a generous gift came from Mrs. Phineas M. Barber of Philadelphia for the establishment of a boarding school for 150 girls in memory of her husband. This school became Barber Memorial Seminary located in

71 I bid., p. 41-43.


73 I bid., p. 52.
Anniston, Alabama. It was formally opened on November 17, 1896 and the main building was destroyed by fire in 1897. The Reverend George A. Marr, the brother to Mrs. Barber, provided the funds for the construction of a larger building, which was presented to the board debt-free on January 1, 1898. The facilities of Barber Seminary were far more elaborate than those of the other mission schools. Despite one more fire in the main building, Barber Seminary annually provided a liberal arts education to no fewer than 117 students during the period of 1896 to 1940. In 1924 a College Department was added and the first six grades were dropped. The college program was merged with that of Scotia Seminary in 1930 and ten years later the board closed Barber High School, the vestige of the preparatory program begun in 1896.

In 1897, the financial depression of the country created more retrenchment problems for the Board of Missions for Freedmen. The board had a debt of $20,000 in spite of the closing of some of the schools, reductions in the salaries paid teachers, and the deferral of expansion into new


fields. The length of the school terms was also reduced as a measure of austerity. Nevertheless, because of special gifts, the rebuilding of Mary Holmes Seminary proceeded, and the seminary reopened in West Point, Mississippi on January 1, 1897, two years after it was destroyed by fire. The relocation from Jackson to West Point occurred because the citizens of West Point appeared very eager to have the institution. They provided twenty acres of land and drilled an artesian well for use by the school. The insurance money and designated gifts provided all but $5,000 of the $39,000 replacement cost for the Seminary.

The year 1898 brought more financial troubles for the Board of Missions for Freedmen. Fourteen of the schools were closed and the school year was reduced from eight to six months. Furthermore, maintenance of the facilities was neglected so that monies would be available for the small monthly salaries of the ministers and teachers. In spite of all these efforts to reduce costs, the board was not able to collect enough funds to meet its expenses, and by 1898 it had accumulated a debt of $58,062.50 in loans from banks.


79 Ibid.

individuals, and mortgages on buildings. The Board of Missions for Freedmen made a strong appeal to the church for assistance to ease the financial crisis. "An average offering of twenty cents a member from every congregation of the church" became the battle cry aimed at erasing the debt and moving forward. Presbyteries were asked to apportion the amount among its congregations, "not by way of assessment, but as the minimum contribution requested of them by the Board." The sessions and pastors of all the congregations were asked to use the promotional literature prepared by the board in collecting the annual offering for the work with the freed persons so that noncontributing congregations could be readily identified. The funds collected in this campaign averaged less than one cent per member.

During this period of financial exigence, Biddle University saw its fund-raising efforts further hampered because it was not an industrial school. "It is a matter of regret that the Biddle University is neglected by those who are largely interested in making gifts to industrial school,"


83 Ibid., pp. 39-40.

was the concern expressed by the Committee on Theological Seminaries.\textsuperscript{85} The Reverend Dr. D. J. Sanders, president of the university, made the following observations in his report to the assembly.

Unfortunately there are many good people who seem to realize the need of an educated ministry for the people and yet they insist upon devoting their gifts to sustain only industrial education. The injurious effects of this course of dealing with the subject is being seen. As a matter of fact industrial education is not ignored by Biddle University, and the rule is that during the three-years' course in the Normal and Preparatory School each student is required to learn some one of the trades taught there. But the purpose for which the school was founded and for which it has been sustained by the Church has never been lost sight of, namely, the intelligent Christian training of a leadership for the Negro race.\textsuperscript{86}

The Board of Missions for Freedmen also noted the impact of the societal preference for an industrial rather than liberal education for Black people. Some wealthy Presbyterian members were giving large sums of money to non-Presbyterian schools which promoted industrial and manual training. The board responded by emphasizing that all the Black mission schools provided as much industrial education as the budget allowed. Furthermore, the board defended its emphasis on the liberal education tradition.

Our object in giving the youth of this race an education is not primarily that they may 'make a

\textsuperscript{85}The Standing Committee on Theological Seminaries, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., XXI (Philadelphia, 1898), 128.

\textsuperscript{86}Biddle University, "Annual Report of the Faculty," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Theological Seminaries, XXI (Philadelphia, 1898), 220.
living,' but rather that they may rightly apprehend the saving truth as it is in Jesus Christ. 87

In this time of scarce financial contributions, the industrial schools appeared to have an advantage over schools that offered a liberal education for Black people.

On March 6, 1899, Mary Holmes Seminary was again destroyed by fire. The board once more appealed to the church to raise the monies, over the $29,000 available from the insurance funds, needed to replace the school. Other bad news included the $40,000 debt owed by the Board of Missions for Freedmen, the only agency with any indebtedness. 88

The 1899 general assembly, led by Moderator Robert F. Sample and Stated Clerk William H. Roberts, took a novel approach to eliminating the debt. During the assembly the Associated Press, at no expense to the church, sent out news releases which were printed in the Saturday issue of nearly every newspaper in the country. These releases appealed to Presbyterian congregations throughout the United States to take an offering on Sunday, May 21, 1899 for the educational and religious ministry to Black people and report the amount collected to the assembly on Monday morning. Telegrams were also sent to more than 200 pastors requesting their assistance in gathering the emergency offering. The $40,000 was

87 The Standing Committee on Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., XXIII (Philadelphia, 1900), 51.

also apportioned among the presbyteries. As a result of these efforts, $43,900 was pledged.89

The board collected $37,000 of this amount and through careful budgeting had eliminated the debt by the next assembly.90 This lack of indebtedness did not mean that the ministry to Black people was now financially secure; rather, it signified that the Board of Missions for Freedmen had reduced all operations to a break-even point. All expansions, building maintenance, equipment replacement, and restoration of faculty salaries to their levels prior to the cost-reduction measures had been eliminated or sharply curtailed. The board, due to a lack of adequate endowments for any of the schools, had to raise annually all monies needed to cover the operating expenses. This created a very unsettled climate where more attention was directed to maintaining a steady state or retrenching than to seeking creative ways of ministering to Black people who were one generation removed from "freed persons." In spite of the spirit of retrenchment which still prevailed, Mary Holmes Seminary reopened, debt free, on January 1, 1900. The board was able to rebuild the school with the money from the fire insurance coverage and donations.91


In 1901, the "Report" to the general assembly announced that the period of retrenchment was over and the Board of Missions for Freedmen had begun to recover some of the lost momentum. Not only were salaries for missionaries raised but the length of the school year was increased at the larger schools, and the curricula were strengthened in the smaller schools. Black ministers were directed to develop parochial schools as part of the program of evangelism to the communities. The financial recovery continued in 1902 when the yearly income was the largest of the past eight years. Biddle University received $5,000 from the estate of Mrs. Henry J. Biddle, the wife of the man for whom the institution was named. The board earmarked this money for the construction of a "very much needed industrial building in which the industries of the institutions may be more conveniently and advantageously grouped together."

In 1904, the industrial building with facilities for painting, printing, carpentry, shoemaking, and other trades was built at Biddle University. The building was erected entirely by students but funds were needed to equip the various trade departments before the building could be put into service. The Woman's Department of the Freedmen's Board was a major benefactor to this construction and to the


overall work of the Board of Missions for Freedmen. The contributions from this department had increased every year and usually averaged one-fourth of the annual funds received by the Board. The Young People's Societies and the Sunday Schools were also regular contributors to this ministry.

In 1905, despite the strong emphasis of the Board of Missions for Freedmen on industrial education, the minutes contained a note of caution on the increasing trend toward industrial education in the schools operated for Black people. The Standing Committee on Freedmen contended that more than industrial education was needed to deliver Blacks to their rightful place in society. A Christian approach was essential, one which sought to educate the head, hand, and heart. The committee further maintained that Black people, not unlike white people, required more than industrial education to prepare qualified teachers, doctors, lawyers, and preachers. Nevertheless, for those members who wished to contribute to industrial education for Black people, the committee advised that "there is nothing new in the secular industrial schools that is not old in our schools." Black people must be educated, not as civil slaves, but as respon-


sible citizens to give them equal chances with other people.97 The teachers and preachers in these mission schools were adamant in their belief of the suitability of a classical education for Black people, although the church administrators found it increasingly more difficult to compete for funds with sponsors of industrial schools. The supporters of the mission schools, which emphasized the liberal approach, were forced to counter the increasing popularity of the land-grant technical and agricultural colleges, which were being established for Black people with funds from the Morrill Act of 1890. These industrial schools, such as Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, enjoyed greater white political and financial support than the private church-related institutions and served as models for instruction in the domestic arts and skilled trades.98

On May 26, 1906, Mary Holmes Seminary suffered a third fire. To aid in its rebuilding the board once more appealed for donations to supplement the money provided by the insurance claim, and the seminary was reopened in 1907.99 The unwavering support given to Mary Holmes Seminary during the three destructive occurrences typified the dedication

97Ibid.


and commitment of the board to provide for the educational needs of Black people.

The period of 1865 to 1907 shaped the direction, philosophy, and structure of the relationship of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to its Black mission colleges. It was the period of greatest need because for many of the illiterate and destitute ex-slaves, emancipation without social, economic, and cultural parity was still another form of enslavement. This was also a period of great risk as white missionaries often journeyed into hostile southern areas to carry the Gospel of Jesus Christ and education to Black people. This period witnessed the empirical testing of the notion that Black people were capable of both intellectual and manual education, and because of this, Black people benefited from instruction in the liberal arts as well as in the manual and domestic arts. This period was characterized by the ongoing struggles of the Board of Missions for Freedmen to raise the monies to operate the program due to the indifference or benign neglect of many congregations. The time span also saw many congregations and members dedicate their lives and fortunes to the cause of bringing religion and education to Black people. Most notable in this group were the founding presidents of the missionary schools, the early teachers and missionaries, the women's societies, and the members of the Committee of Missions for Freedmen, and later the Board of Missions for Freedmen who braved the
wrath of their Southern and Northern brothers and sisters to advance the right of Black people to receive an education.

Though the annual reports are filled with the financial difficulties during the period from 1865 to 1915, the Board of Missions for Freedmen collected and expended $6,839,000 in the education and evangelization of Southern Black people. Millions more were given by generous individual members of the church. The Women Department of Missions for Freedmen were important parts of this effort and in 1922 was "commended with gratitude for their share of the work, and especially in their interest in and financial support of the education and civilization of the Negro."

In 1923, following the resignation of Dr. Cowan, the program responsibilities of the board were transferred to the new Board of National Missions. By 1925, all domestic missions were consolidated under this new administrative structure. The administrative and financial oversight for the Black mission colleges was assigned to the Division of Missions for Colored People within the new board, which replaced the Board of Home Missions and the Board of Missions for Freedmen. The new division had a threefold task: "the support of the schools, the maintenance 100The Board of Missions for Freedmen, "Abstract of the Fiftieth Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Boards and Permanent Committees, XV (Philadelphia, 1915), 440.

of churches and ministers in the various colored Synods and
Presbyteries and the establishment and support of Negro
churches where circumstances required them."102 In 1925, the
division supervised one hundred and thirty-seven schools,
which included Biddle University, Scotia Seminary, and Mary
Holmes Seminary. These schools received praise not only for
their educational practices, but their positive impact on the
surrounding community. Areas where mission schools were
located enjoyed lower crime rates than other Black communi-
ties and the schools celebrated the fact that none of their
graduates had been arrested for any crime.103

By 1929 the Division of Missions for Colored People
maintained only one hundred and seventeen schools whose
curricula emphasized vocational training, particularly the
training of teachers and ministers.104 The debate over the
merits of an industrial versus a liberal education for Black
people continued. Supporters of W.E.B. Du Bois, one of the
foremost advocates of the liberal approach, rejected the
philosophy that Black students were best suited for a

102The Board of National Missions, "Second Annual
Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian
(Philadelphia, 1925), 158.

103Ibid., p. 157.

104The Board of National Missions, "Sixth Annual
Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian
(Philadelphia, 1929), 142.
technical or industrial curriculum. Followers of Booker T. Washington, the leading proponent of the "boot strap" approach, saw industrial education as laying the economic foundation for the upward mobility of the Black race. The Division of Missions for Colored People, like the former Board of Missions for Freedmen, were divided in their loyalty to either philosophy. Although the curricula of the schools still centered around classical and scientific learning, much of the promotional, fund-raising literature emphasized the industrial approach as the boot straps Black people needed to lift themselves from the economic abyss created by their prior enslavement.

Regardless of whether the approach was industrial or liberal, the Division of Missions for Colored People considered high-quality academic programs as essential to the special preparation for Christian leadership and sought to have all the schools under its jurisdiction accredited by the state and regional associations. Though double standards in funding and salaries existed between institutions for Black and white in the Southern states, the division joined leaders of the Black community in asking that these institutions be judged by the same criteria used to rate white schools. Much satisfaction was expressed when the American Medical Association, the first accrediting group to use uniform standards


for white and Black schools, placed Johnson C. Smith in its Class A category.\textsuperscript{107} On March 1, 1923, the board of trustees had voted to change the name of Biddle University to Johnson C. Smith University in recognition of the generosity of Mrs. Jane Berry Smith of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{108}

Accreditation, along with the transition to Black teachers and administrators in the mission schools, became primary goals of the Division of Missions for Colored People. The division reported to the general assembly in 1932 that unless the mission schools qualified for accreditation at the highest level by the state and regional associations, they would not attract the top students capable of providing quality leadership to the Black churches and communities. The three junior colleges, Barber Memorial, Mary Holmes, and Scotia, and the senior college, Johnson C. Smith University, were rated as Class A institutions at the state levels but did not qualify for this top rating on the regional level.\textsuperscript{109}

Also in 1932, the Board of National Missions approved an arrangement whereby the graduates of Barber-Scotia College could spend the last two years at Johnson C. Smith Univer-


sity. Dr. Leland Stanford Cozart, the first Black chief administrator, was appointed as the executive dean of Barber-Scotia, under the general supervision of the president of Johnson C. Smith University. Under Dr. Cozart's leadership, the college was reorganized with "an all Negro faculty, most of whom held M.A. degrees from leading universities." The affiliation with Johnson C. Smith ended in 1938 when Smith became an independent college, related to the church through the Board of Christian Education.

Notwithstanding these tremendous strides, the mission school program still suffered because of insufficient funds. In 1934 the division was forced to reduce the budgets, cut the staff, consolidate some schools, and completely abandon some areas. In some instances, the merger of two or three unaccredited, border-line institutions resulted in the creation of one strong school of high academic quality. In other instances, the schools were not able to afford the improvements required for accreditation at the highest level. In 1934 Barber-Scotia College was rated as a Class B by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools because no funds


111Ibid., p. 53.

were available to purchase the equipment required of Class A schools.\textsuperscript{113}

In 1936, the Board of National Missions reported that the Southern states were taking over some of their proper responsibilities and providing more and more public schools for Black students.\textsuperscript{114} In some instances the Division of Missions for Colored People contracted with the local authorities to operate the public schools for Black students. For example, the Mary Holmes administration was reimbursed by Clay County to operate a laboratory school to relieve the overcrowding in the Black public school.\textsuperscript{115} Despite the strong endorsement of the mission schools by the states, the difficulty in finding employment for teachers in 1938 caused some Black educators to accuse the Unit of Work for Colored People, the successor to the Division of Missions to Colored People, of operating schools that did not prepare Black students to earn a living. The narrow focus of the mission schools on preparing teachers and preachers had created a very competitive employment market for the limited number of


positions open to Black professionals. In response to this concern and the changes in the Southern states regarding public education for Black people, the Unit for Work with Colored People in 1940 affirmed the following policy for its ministry to Black people.

>. . . schools be continued only if they are located in or serve communities where public services along these lines are not yet available, or where such services are far below standard, or where the total program of the Board seems to need them.

This same policy had been applied to Board of National Missions schools serving white students some twenty years earlier.

Despite the cooperative efforts with the public school which provided some salaries and other operating costs, money continued to be a major problem for the Black mission schools. Because of inadequate budgets, building maintenance had been grossly neglected, and some facilities had reached a state of such disrepair that the continued operation of the schools was threatened. Attempts were made to sell proper-

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118 Ibid., p. 90.
ties of closed schools, and to increase the funding from the church to secure badly needed operating capital.119

In 1938, Johnson C. Smith University became related to the church through the Board of Christian Education, a sign that it was strong enough to be independent of sustentation. The church exercised much less control in the financing or administration of these colleges, though Presbyterians often served on the boards of trustees and contributed generously to their development efforts. Therefore, from the period of 1938 to 1983, the only references to Johnson C. Smith University in the minutes include a listing among the colleges related to the Board of Christian Education. The Council on Theological Education continued to provide funding and direction for the Johnson C. Smith Theological Seminary as it annually reviewed changes in the enrollment, financial reports, library collections, curriculum, faculty, trustees, assets, and needs.

By 1941 the church maintained only ten boarding schools for Black students in the seven Southern states which, because of low income and undeveloped resources, were considered one of the most underprivileged areas in the country. Seven of these schools received state and county aid, ranging from payment of the salaries of two or three teachers, usually for vocational work, to the payment of salaries for all instructive personnel. Through the auspices of the National Youth Administration and state and county agencies,

119Ibid., pp. 91-92.
four of the mission schools were able to offer technical training, a response to criticisms that the Black schools were largely academic and failed to prepare students to earn a living. The mission schools began to target their efforts in the high school and college areas as more Black public elementary schools were provided. Mary Holmes College offered two years of work beyond high school with an emphasis on teacher training, and Barber-Scotia College had eliminated its secondary program and offered junior college work only.120

In 1942, the country was at war, an event that served to open doors to Blacks in various types of government employment and in civilian defense industries. The church claimed as its responsibility the objective of convincing the wider society that doors opened to Black people because of the war effort must remain open, less the country be subject to widespread frustration and bitterness among 10 per cent of its citizens.121 To provide the trained, skilled leaders needed for these increased opportunities, "approval was given to develop Barber-Scotia into a four-year regional college for women, the junior year to be added in the fall of


1943 and the senior year in 1944."122 Emphases were to be given to the many professional fields now open to Black women: religious education, music, health, homemaking, child care, business, and library science. Furthermore, the college was encouraged to prepare its students to become ambassadors of good will and promoters of interracial understanding.123

In 1944, the "Report" of the Board of National Missions to the general assembly carried the announcement that due to its ongoing evaluation of the needs of the Black community, the mission schools which served them, and the adjustments required to meet these needs in wartime and beyond, fewer and better equipped schools was to be the new plan of action. The minutes this year also included an integrated report of all the mission schools in one section. Previously, the work of the schools serving Black, Native American, and Hispanic students were treated separately.124

In 1951, there was a strong push for the Black mission schools to become financially independent of the church. It had been almost a century since the church had started the mission schools with the goal of placing them under the administration and financial support of the Black community

122 Ibid., p. 46.
123 Ibid.
as soon as suitable leaders were educated. It was the opinion of the Unit of Work for Colored People that the time had now arrived.125

In 1954, one of the most influential judicial decisions in the matter of race relations in America was rendered. In Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, the United States Supreme Court struck down the separate but equal doctrine established by the 1896 ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson and held that states could no longer discriminate on the basis of race in public schools.126 The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., sensitive to its support of separate schools for white and minority students, responded to the decision with a policy statement which affirmed that segregation was not a policy of the Board of National Missions, and pledged to admit all qualified students to its schools, without regard to color or race.127

Despite this policy of inclusiveness, the racial composition of the mission schools showed little change as the country slowly dismantled the dual systems of education for Black and white people. Schools that were historically identified as Black had great difficulty attracting non-black


students. White institutions were slow to admit Black students and many Southern states did so only after long court battles. There is no information in the reports of the Unit for Missions with Colored People of the Board of National Missions to show that the church encouraged its white congregations to send white students to the Black mission schools. There is also no mention whether the white colleges related to the church actively recruited Black students from these mission schools, although interviews with two Black church administrators reported that this did occur.

In 1955, the "Report" of the Board of National Missions described the efforts of the church to comply with the mandate of the supreme court decision and its own desegregation policy statement. Four of the Black boarding schools were located in Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi, states which vigorously protested all efforts to desegregate public schools. The church, which had set as a goal the operation of these schools by Black administrators and teachers, now emphasized biracial faculties. The biracial staff and advisory council for Mary Holmes College were viewed as quite an accomplishment in Mississippi, though the white staff members were not wholeheartedly accepted in the


129 Interviews with The Reverend Dr. J. Oscar McCloud, General Director of the Program Agency, and The Reverend Mr. James Reese, Associate Director of the General Assembly Mission Council, February 21, 1985.
Westpoint community. Despite these external tensions, Mary Holmes worked on qualifying its junior college program for regional accreditation. It also offered a special continuing education program on Saturdays and in the summer, which was designed to prepare Black teachers to meet new state certification requirements. In 1957, the Board appointed Dawson I. Horn as the first Black president of the institution.

The progress of Barber-Scotia College in complying with the mandate to diversify its faculty and student body was also noted. Four non-black faculty members were now employed and the charter was amended on March 8, 1954 to remove all restrictions based on race or sex. The first male student, a white individual, was admitted in 1955. There is no mention of the desegregation efforts undertaken by either Johnson C. Smith University in the report of the Board of Christian Education, or Johnson C. Smith Seminary in the report of the Council on Theological Education.

In 1958, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. merged with the United Presbyterian Church in North America to become the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. This resulted in the consolidation of the Board of American


Missions and the Board of National Missions. Barber-Scotia College, Mary Holmes College, and Knoxville College, Black mission schools of the two former churches, now were administered and funded through the Department of Educational and Medical Work under the new Board of National Missions. The new agency affirmed the earlier policy statements of both churches regarding non-competition with the public schools.

Our mission schools must be so limited in number and maintained in such exceptional situations as to avoid any justifiable charge that they are competitive with adequate public schools.133

The Department of Educational and Medical Work also stated that the mission schools would not be operated in a manner which duplicated the programs and services offered by the white church-related colleges of the Board of Christian Education. The merging boards also affirmed that the schools would be operated according to the spirit and letter of the law prohibiting racial segregation.

Each institution shall consider application from students without restriction as to race, color, religion, or national origin. All staff personnel shall in each case be selected on the basis of the requirements of the particular situation without restrictions as to race, color, or national origin.134

These three colleges, representing only a fraction of the more than 200 mission schools established by the United

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134 Ibid., p. 57
Presbyterian Church of North America and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., were to be maintained to serve the exceptional needs of disadvantaged people.135

In 1959, the Department of Educational and Medical Work began a period of intense study and scrutiny of the continuing need for the Black mission colleges and how they best served disadvantaged students. The study identified the following criteria for mission schools: First, the schools must be integral parts of the total missionary program of the church. Second, the services of the schools must carry out the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. to disadvantaged persons. Third, the programs of the school must serve to enhance the evangelical efforts of the church.136 Barber-Scotia, Knoxville, and Mary Holmes satisfied these criteria in their academic and extracurricular offerings.137

In the period of 1960 to 1970, despite the competition from predominantly white public institutions who were allowing access to greater numbers of Black students, all the mission schools showed strong enrollments. Dormitories and other facilities were expanded or upgraded on many of the campuses. Knoxville College achieved a record enrollment,

135Ibid., p. 54.


137Ibid., p. 42.
renovated its administration building, continued to upgrade its faculty and curriculum, and began to develop plans for a new dining hall and kitchen. Barber-Scotia revised its curricula, completed two new staff residences, and began work on a third. Mary Holmes completed a new residence for the president, renovated a former shop building for a student union, had a record enrollment utilizing all dormitory space, and began a comprehensive program of standardized testing and student guidance.138 The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. guaranteed much of the mortgages for the expansions and renovations.

In 1962, another organizational change occurred in the relationship of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and its Black mission colleges. The colleges were placed under the general supervision of the Board of Christian Education, though they continued to be funded and administered as mission institutions under the Division of Education, which had replaced the Department of Educational and Medical Work. Another study was launched to answer the continuing concern of the need for the special funds allocated to these colleges. Some members advocated the mainstreaming of Black and other minority students into

majority institutions, now accessible to them because of the recent civil rights activities.\textsuperscript{139}

In 1964, the Division of Education of the Board of National Missions and the Board of Christian Education reported to the general assembly the findings of their study on ways to open new opportunities for young people from minority groups. They declared that the aim of the mission institutions, "was to forestall wastage of human potential by 'aiding in the processes of acculturation and educational development' while bracing religious moorings," and established the following objectives for these institutions.

To follow admission policies that will ferret out latent talent;

To maintain standards of academic excellence; 'no mission school should tolerate sloppy scholarship, nor should it tolerate standards of mediocrity;'

To provide courses of study tailor-made to take account of individual differences and degrees of readiness;

To employ special techniques and teaching methods where needed (these to include after-hours teacher-help, vocabulary drill, devices for programmed learning, electronic teaching aids, and reading rate accelerators);

To put education within the financial reach of young people from low-income families by work programs and opportunities for scholarships;

To carry on evangelistic outreach, augmenting local ministries, among families fenced off by secular indifference from normal exposure to the gospel.140

The church charged Barber-Scotia College, Knoxville College, and Mary Holmes College to develop programs of excellence in their unique arenas of service. They were charged with the education of Black students who because of educational and cultural disadvantages were inadmissible to or psychologically unprepared to attend the predominantly white institutions which were reluctantly opening their doors to Black students because of the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka decision. Furthermore, Title VI of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, which prohibited segregation based on race in programs supported by federal funds, also permitted greater access to white institutions for Black students. However, the recruitment and admission policies of the predominantly white institutions targeted the top-ranked athletic and academic students. Average and under-prepared Black students were relegated to the private Black colleges or the junior colleges.141

The Black mission colleges were maintained to provide higher education to those students whose lack of educational and cultural readiness hampered their enrollment in the predominantly white institutions. Mary Holmes College was


praised for its efforts to eradicate the educational and cultural deficiencies of Black students in Mississippi, a state that "had not made even minimum, token progress" with regard to the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The college was able to help students overcome inadequacies by "special coaching in and out of class, larded with the 'extra something' supplied by Christian teachers." Similarly, Knoxville College, in cooperation with the Educational Counseling Service of the Board of Christian Education, offered summer study skills program to remediate educational and cultural deficiencies. This program was directed toward "superior-ability, under-achieving eleventh graders and utilized intensive drills in reading and math, general study techniques, library usage, and cultural activities such as art, drama, and music."

It was also in 1964 that the Division of Education began the task of preparing long-range plans for each of the national mission colleges. Institutions, such as Barber-Scotia, Knoxville, and Mary Holmes, were encouraged to resume the process of identifying alternative sources of income to replace the special funds given by the church. They were urged to replace their advisory boards with independent


143Ibid.

144Ibid., p. 63.
boards of trustees who would be responsible for the property and other legal affairs, the academic programs, and the fiscal solvency of the colleges. This action represented another effort to transfer support of these mission schools to Black control and to eliminate reliance on the financial resources of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Some of the mission institutions had customarily assembled all their bills and sent them to the Board of National Missions for payment. Such practices had thwarted the development of local budgeting processes, or accountability systems and had created a paternal system which fostered the expectations that the church was responsible for all debts, both budgeted and non-budgeted.

In 1965, the "Report" of the Board of National Missions cited additional efforts of the mission schools to provide quality specialized programs for Black students in keeping with the objectives set forth in the 1964 policy statements on excellence and autonomy. The mission colleges were urged to establish consortia among neighboring colleges. Barber-Scotia College was encouraged to explore faculty, student, and academic program exchanges with Johnson C. Smith Univer-


146Interview with Dr. Mable McClean, President of Barber-Scotia College, March 27, 1985.
sity and Queens College, both Presbyterian colleges, and with Bennett College, a Methodist College.147

The Board of National Missions continued its efforts to shift the responsibility for the fiscal and administrative support of these mission schools to local boards of trustees through the implementation of independent or locally oriented finance systems for all institutions. Barber-Scotia and Knoxville now received a lump sum transfer from the treasurer of the church for salaries and was responsible for the administration of these funds. All three mission colleges, Barber-Scotia, Knoxville, and Mary Holmes, were given responsibility for securing funds from foundations, private contributions, and other sources outside the church. The services of the Office of Fund Development within the Board of National Missions were made available to assist with the fund-raising campaigns.148

In 1967, the Division of Education reported on the efforts of the three mission colleges to meet the special needs of disadvantaged Black students. Knoxville College had an enrollment of one thousand students and was moving slowly "out of the Negro educational ghetto" with the assistance of a grant from the Ford Foundation. The grant was designed to assist formerly segregated colleges to break out of their academic isolation and to raise their academic


148Ibid., p. 48.
quality. Upward Bound, a federally sponsored educational and cultural program for disadvantaged high school students, was offered in addition to the Summer Study Skills Program funded by the Educational Counseling Service of the Board of Christian Education. The college was so successful with these remedial endeavors that the president proposed the addition of a pre-college program for under-prepared students. Such a program would have revised the curricula to include instruction at the secondary level, a program which had been eliminated in 1931 when Tennessee began to provide adequate education for Black people at both the elementary and secondary levels.149 The provision of a program of secondary instruction would have violated the long standing policy of not competing with the public schools.

Mary Holmes College, in its efforts to offer unique programs for culturally and economically disadvantaged Black students, now operated the "nation's largest Head Start Program," a federally sponsored program for preschool children.150 In 1967, the Child Development Group of Mississippi was funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity for eight million dollars to provide assistance for 6,000 preschool children and their families.151 The successful


150 Ibid., p. 35.

151 Ibid., p. 53.
administration of this project expanded the role of Mary Holmes in the area of adult education and brought national recognition to the college.152

The federal support to Knoxville, Mary Holmes, and Barber-Scotia had considerable impact on the financial and administrative practices of these schools. Like many other of the historically Black colleges, the three mission institutions were now able to take advantage of increasing amounts of federal financial support to colleges.153 The fiscal support was given in the form of direct payments to students through scholarships, loans, and work-study awards, and assistance to the colleges through institutional grants, sponsored projects, and interest subsidy payments.154 Along with the increasing amount of federal funds, came federal control which prohibited the colleges from requiring religious participation as a condition of enrollment. Students were still required to enroll in a limited number of religious courses but attendance at chapel and other extracurricular religious activities declined. This factor, coupled with the continued dismantling of the preparatory school

152Ibid., pp. 34-35.


systems operated by the Board of National Missions, served to reduce the religious presence on the campuses. 155

In 1968, Mary Holmes College had to deny admission to 350 students because of lack of facilities, yet still enrolled a record number of 385 students. The Board of National Missions was particularly concerned because the population served by Mary Holmes College came from one of the most educationally backward areas in the country. "Only 14 per cent of the Black youth in Mississippi sought college enrollment." 156 The board approved a ten-year expansion plan to enable Mary Holmes to increase its services to Black students in Mississippi and surrounding areas. A Black architectural firm was retained to supervise the construction of a $14,868,500 building program which would replace the hazardous and substandard buildings with facilities for a 2,000 student enrollment and "make Mary Holmes the first campus totally designed by Blacks." 157 A cooperative education program, accreditation as a four-year college, increases in the adult and continuing education offerings, and the "recruitment of top faculty committed to the ideal of education as an open-ended struggling-together of students, faculty, and community to understand the world in which they

155 Interview with Dr. Joseph Gaston, Vice President for Student Affairs at Johnson C. Smith University, March 27, 1985.


157 Ibid., p. 35.
live and to change it for the better," were key components of the new plan. The execution of the master plan was dependent on a strong development program supervised by an autonomous board of trustees.

In 1970, the ambitious plan was launched with the construction of a gymnasium funded by the Fifty Million Fund of the church. The new Mary Holmes College was to serve as "the bridge between what the church proclaimed and what the church did; the bridge between the world that is and the world the church desires on God's behalf." The college had been incorporated on June 15, 1969 and on April 1, 1970 the first meeting of the board of trustees was held, signals that Mary Holmes College was satisfying the objectives of the Board of National Missions for local control of the mission schools. Despite these encouraging developments, the building program for Mary Holmes was aborted after the construction of the gymnasium and dormitory due to lack of funds.

Also in 1970, the Board of National Missions reported on the progress of all the mission colleges toward autonomous boards of trustees and alternate funding sources. A committee, under the supervision of the executive officers of

158Ibid., p. 36.

159Ibid., pp. 38-39.

the Board of National Missions and which included the presidents of three of the institutions, was appointed to explore the implications of autonomy and financial support of these institutions as had been mandated by the general assembly in 1969. The committee considered strategies for assisting the colleges with the election of boards of trustees, fund raising, administrative responsibility, development of academic programs, staff recruiting and development, and all other elements involved in the movement from a centralized system managed by the church to a decentralized system governed by local boards of trustees. The overall relationship of the church in the continuing fiscal and administrative support of these schools had to be determined. 161 The push for local control and reductions in financial support was occurring in the agencies throughout the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A as the emphasis shifted to doing "mission with rather than for people."

In 1971, the Board of National Missions recommended, after a special study of the histories, operations, plans, and the demands of some of the mission institutions for self-determination and autonomy, "a program of institutional development to lead toward the autonomy of each institution within three years, beginning July 1, 1970." 162

161 Ibid., p. 675.

Scotia College, Knoxville College, and Mary Holmes College were three of the seventeen mission institutions covered by this program.

In 1972, the Board of National Missions outlined the steps which were being taken to prepare the mission institutions for self-governance and financial independence. Conferences with synods were arranged to consider mutually beneficial arrangements. Alternative sources of funds were sought, including foundation grants, government support, and private donors. The Office of Institutional Development expended thirteen million dollars during the period from 1970 to 1973 to assist the colleges in meeting urgent capital needs, eliminating deficits incurred prior to the enactment of locally administered development programs, and securing consultative services to improve their management and fund-raising processes. For example, Mary Holmes College was provided monies to organize and computerize its accounting processes, helping it to qualify for extramural funding sources.163

Despite the large infusion of cash from the Office of Institutional Development, it soon became apparent that the colleges would not be able to satisfy the mandate of the general assembly for self-governance and financial indepen-

dence by July 1973. All of the mission colleges which were formerly owned and operated by the Board of National Missions were now under the authority and control of autonomous boards of trustees. Nine of the boards were incorporated and one was in the process. The transfer of properties to the local boards was projected to be completed in December, 1972, "except for those cases in which mortgage or other instruments require continued ownership by the Board of National Missions or its successor." The boards of trustees for Barber-Scotia, Knoxville, and Mary Holmes Colleges all announced that "they were unable and unwilling to take full property titles at this time." Some questioned the reasonableness of a three-year deadline for financial independence of institutions which had a history of serving economically and politically oppressed people. Neither the current students nor alumni had the financial or political resources to secure large donations for the colleges. The three colleges had a combined debt of over $10,000,000. The church continued to be legally responsible for the mortgages it had consigned for building projects at these schools.

164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
In 1971, the general assembly had approved a major reorganization which reflected a move from a dependent-centralized system to an autonomous-decentralized system for the agencies and boards of the church. On January 1, 1973, the Program Agency, the successor to the Board of National Missions and the Board of Christian Education, became responsible for overseeing the former missions schools, now referred to as minority institutions. The Program Agency was charged with carrying out the following recommendations which had been adopted by the general assembly in 1972.

1. The General Assembly direct the General Assembly Mission Council to place the concern for minority education high on the list of specific priorities of the General Assembly boards, agencies, and councils, reflecting this priority in its budget allocations for the year 1973 and following.

2. The General Assembly authorize a 'Fund for Minority Education' in the amount of $1.75 million annually beginning in 1974, the fund to be administered through the appropriate department of the Program Agency.

3. The General Assembly indicate to the Program Agency the intent of the General Assembly that the Fund for Minority Education be employed to support both institutional and noninstitutional ministries. In relation to institutional ministries its objectives should be to assist minority institutions to build bases of support sufficiently broad to insure the continuance of their service as long as they are essential to the welfare of the people they serve.

4. The General Assembly Mission Council and the Council on Church Support be directed to explore alternative methods of providing the necessary sums

including such options as: a special appeal for specific gifts; the creation of a temporary trust or trusts from appropriate portions of the church's endowment portfolios, invested for the production of income rather than capital growth.169

These recommendations affirmed the continuing support of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for minority education.

In 1973, the General Assembly Mission Council, the unit responsible for church-wide planning, budgeting, evaluating, and implementation of assembly policies, recommended that the Program Agency define a set of objectives for the administration of the Fund for Minority Education. The Program Agency was directed to consult with synods within whose boundaries the schools were located, and to develop program objectives, costs, time schedules, and priorities for continuing financial assistance.170 This agency was also given the responsibility for securing the sources to underwrite the annual $1,750,000 fund for minority institutions.

In an effort to clarify the relationship of the Program Agency to the minority institutions and to the colleges and universities which were formerly related to the church through the Board of Christian Education, the statement "The Church and Related Colleges and Universities" was adopted. This statement served as an outline of the responsibilities

169Ibid., p. 637.

of the church to its colleges and universities and encouraged covenantal relationships at the synod or regional level. The minority institutions, which from their inception had been related to the church at the national level, were being urged to establish stronger relationships at the synod and presbytery levels, and throughout the church.

In 1974, the Standing Committee on Empowerment of Minorities stated that minority institutions were critical to providing a source of minority leaders, and preserving the cultural and personal identity of minority students. The church was challenged to find additional ways to provide scholarships, other financial assistance, and to assist in the development of a strong recruitment program for these schools. The church was also urged to "find ways to support minority persons who enroll in non-minority institutions through scholarship aid and special ministries." After 107 years, the church was considered to be in a position to support Black higher education through direct financial assistance to students, rather than exclusively through the establishment, operation, and maintenance of institutions. The concept of awarding financial assistance directly to


students rather than to institutions had been endorsed by
the church in 1970 in reference to its white institutions.173

Despite the continuing financial support of the United
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the minority institutions
faced great difficulty. The following account of the crises
at Barber-Scotia illustrates the financial problems affecting
the minority colleges.

An immediate crisis at Barber-Scotia College must
be dealt with definitively in the next few weeks.
There are extensive unpaid debts and more pending.
The presidency of the school is vacant. Either a
decision to maintain this college, or a decision to
close it, has the potential for major immediate finan-
cial impact.174

The church was guarantor of the mortgages on the property,
and feared the immediate settlement of the multi-million
dollar debt should the college default or cease operations.
Including the mortgage on the property at Barber-Scotia, the
church had cosigned loans totalling nearly $10,000,000 for
the minority institutions.175 Also, in spite of the efforts
toward self-sufficiency, the former mission schools still
received a large share of the church appropriations to higher
education. For the year of July 1, 1975 to June 30, 1976, the
Program Agency awarded the eight minority institutions grants
totalling $2,155,000. Knoxville College, Mary Holmes

173The Standing Committee on Church and Society, "Higher
Education for a Changing Society," Minutes of the General
Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.,

174The Program Agency, "Minutes of the February 16-17,
1974 Board Meeting," p. 36.

175Ibid.
College, and Barber-Scotia College received $325,000, $538,000, and $457,000 respectively. These figures do not include interest payments, loan guarantees, or other indirect financial assistance.176

In 1975, the General Assembly Mission Council acknowledged the need for a long-range strategy for the financial support of minority education. None of the three colleges had met the three-year deadline for financial independence and local control, despite significant contributions from the church, which frustrated some and angered others. "Minority education had more impact, more history, consumed more dollars, had more constituency, attracted more attention and more criticism, was more maligned, more misunderstood than any other single issue before the Church."177

The decision on the proper course of action which the church should follow in satisfying its commitment to its minority institutions differed among members, administrators, and among the institutions themselves. Some argued that the 1954 Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregated public facilities had removed the need for minority institutions, private or public. Others contended that the nation remained as racist in 1975 as it was in 1856, the date of the founding of the Ashmun Institute, the first Black college founded by

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the Presbyterian Church. Still others contended that while minority students did have increased access to majority institutions, significant numbers of minority students were academically and psychologically unprepared to handle the academic and personal pressures present in predominantly white institutions, both public and private. Proponents of this view pointed to the low retention rates for Black and other minority students at the predominantly white institutions and cited the success of the minority institutions in building strong, positive self-images because of the care, concern, and special attention given to the special needs of students. Some members contended that because the mission of the church is among the poor and the oppressed, "The Presbyterian Church needed minorities in its ranks to be the Church of Jesus Christ, to be whole. The responsible support of these minority institutions is one of its missions which gives it credibility in the minority community."178 These arguments appear to suggest that the minority institutions were quite homogenous. However, Barber-Scotia, Knoxville, and Mary Holmes exhibited much diversity in the types of populations served, the financial stability of the institution, the quality and variety of the academic programs, and other criteria. While some of the colleges provided quality education to underprivileged, disadvantaged peoples, others struggled to keep their doors open and offered average to marginal services. To respond to the mounting criticisms and

178Ibid., p. 369.
concerns, the Program Agency appointed a "Committee of Four" to conduct an evaluation of the minority institutions. The committee examined the following features: impact of the institution on the community, the efficiency of operation, the ethnic and economic composition of the service area, the quality of the facilities and personnel, the quality and distinctiveness of the academic programs, the development efforts, the morale of the staff and faculty, the effectiveness of the board of trustees, the relationship between the institutional mission and the mission program of the church, and the preservation of minority culture.179

In 1975, the General Assembly Mission Council prepared a paper on "Strategy Recommendations For Minority Education," which had as its central focus the decision to support only those institutional and non-institutional sources which had the potential to provide the most effective services. The new strategy committed the church to increase its support to viable minority institutions and non-institutional sources. Because the former mission schools had virtually no endowments, relying on the church as their living endowment, it was hoped that the planned Major Mission Funding capital campaign would retire most of the debts of these schools as well as provide them with funds to build endowment portfolios. Scholarship funds were to be provided for all levels of higher education and other professional training. The

church would continue the process of strengthening the local boards of trustees by assisting in the recruitment of influential people to serve on these boards, by helping to make contacts with foundations and corporations for extramural funding, by establishing church-wide recruitment programs, and by clarifying and resolving property and other corporate matters. Furthermore, the church would continue to investigate possible coalitions, mergers, and other relations with schools and colleges affiliated with other denominations.180

In 1975, a special Christmas Offering was authorized to benefit equally the Board of Pensions and the minority education institutions. During the process of authorizing legislation for this special offering, the following notice was given that the number of minority institutions might be reduced if the donations from the congregations were insufficient to cover the annual awards.

In the event the Christmas Offering does not produce the adequate funds to support these schools, then the institutions will not expect further funding from General Assembly sources to make up the difference. Moreover, if it is decided that any or all of the minority education institutions are not included in the Major Mission Funding Campaign at a level that assures their survival, it is the judgement of the General Assembly Mission Council that the church must then take the full level of church support essential to the survival of such institution into its regular

budget or such institution must be closed or
informed of the church's inability to continue
financial support.181

The agencies or boards or the church would no longer
supplement or provide emergency financial assistance to these
institutions. The closing of minority schools because of
inadequate finances was not new for the church, but it had
always been a painful matter. Such decisions were now
especially controversial due to the small number of former
mission schools.

In 1976, the general assembly approved a plan for the
support of the minority institutions which sought to target
the support to the minority institutions by identifying four
categories of financial needs which would be funded.

program costs associated with the educational
program;

capital costs associated with mortgages at three
schools with a current indebtedness of $10.7
million;

short-range costs associated with bridging from
year-to-year planning to a long-range direction
and policy;

and long-range costs associated with continued
support of a fewer than the present number of
school and with long-term capital obligations.182

The church sought to reduce the number of minority insti-
tutions receiving special funds and to lessen its fiducial

181Ibid., p. 377.

Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian
Church in the U.S.A., Part I, Journal, X (New York, 1976),
300-301.
The institutions included Barber-Scotia, Knoxville, and Mary Holmes which served predominantly Black students; Ganado and Sheldon Jackson which served predominantly Native American students; and Warren Wilson and College of the Ozarks which served predominantly disadvantaged students from a variety of racial-ethnic backgrounds.

The following recommendations were approved by the assembly to carry out the provisions of the new plan of support for minority institutions.

1. That the financial needs be met related to continued support of all the institutions through the academic years 1976-77, at the funding level as that provided for the 1975-76 academic year.

2. That the financial needs be met related to the Program Agency's plan to provide financial support to only one four-year college, to only two junior colleges, and diminished support to the two secondary schools, for the academic year 1977-78.

3. That the financial needs be met related to meeting contingent liability and associated costs for any institutions whose General Assembly Mission support is terminated in the implementation of the Program Agency plan.183

The success of the plan was contingent on the proceeds from the Major Mission Funds Campaign retiring the mortgage indebtedness guaranteed by the church.

The recommendations served to carry out the desire of some church administrators and members to enact better controls in the funding of these schools. The cry for greater accountability was heard throughout the church as the inflationary spiral, dwindling membership statistics, and reduced giving, forced retrenchments in all program areas.

183Ibid., p.301.
The Program Agency secured the funds for the minority schools by borrowing from unrestricted church reserve funds at a rate of approximately $550,000 per year and using the proceeds from the Christmas Offering.184

In 1977, the decision was reached by the Program Agency and the General Assembly Mission Council to withdraw funding from Barber-Scotia College, a four-year predominantly Black school, and the College of Ganado, a two-year predominantly Native American school, effective June 30, 1977. Consistent with the action specified in the financial plan adopted earlier by the church, the United Presbyterian Foundation was authorized to make the payment of $307,149 on the interest and principal of the mortgages on the Barber-Scotia property for the 1977-78 academic year and to negotiate with the college on subsequent payments. The general assembly further authorized the council, in consultation with the foundation and the Comprehensive Financial Planning Committee, "to take whatever action deemed best by it, should future financial developments indicate the impossibility of continued operations on a break-even basis at Barber-Scotia College."185 Because the church remained the legal owner of the property, Barber-Scotia College continued to receive substantial financial assistance through its use of the facilities and the payment on the mortgage. The primary

184Ibid., p. 302.

effects of this action prohibited the college from receiving "significant financial support through the regular budget of the Program Agency" and served notice that the college could be closed if it did not operate on a balanced budget.186

Program support was continued on diminishing levels for Knoxville College and Mary Holmes College. In 1977-78, the Program Agency provided $1,371,000 to support Mary Holmes, Knoxville, Sheldon Jackson, and two secondary schools, Boggs Academy and Menaul School. Additional funds were awarded to noninstitutional minority education projects in excess of the $1,500,000 figure contained in the minority education fund proposal. The Program Agency proposed to fund the minority institutions at an annual level of $650,000 for the period beginning with the 1978-79 academic year and ending with the 1982-83 school term. The aid would be supplemented by $2,360,000 from the Major Mission Funds Campaign in order to provide the institutions with a total of $5,832,600 by the 1982-83 school year as shown in Table I.

<p>| TABLE I |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| <strong>PROPOSED FUNDING TO MINORITY INSTITUTIONS</strong> |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Year</th>
<th>Proposed Funding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>$1,374,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/80</td>
<td>1,286,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/81</td>
<td>1,166,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/82</td>
<td>1,065,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/83</td>
<td>990,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,832,600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

186 Ibid.
These projections warned that even with the proceeds from the Major Missions Funds Campaign, the minority schools could no longer rely on the church for major financial support. When it was discovered that the proceeds from the campaign could not be used to pay off the $10,000,000 in loans owed by the institutions, the church was faced with finding creative approaches to curtail its financial expenditures, while simultaneously affirming its long-standing commitment to racial and educational equality.187

In 1978, the general assembly ruled that the mortgage payments for Barber-Scotia College could no longer be paid from the unrestricted reserves. An interagency team appointed to find another funding source secured the approval of the assembly to make the payments from the unrestricted, uncommitted funds in the event the college continued to be unable to satisfy the debt.188 From 1978 to 1983, the $307,149 payment was made without any assistance from the Barber-Scotia College.189

However, Barber-Scotia, despite the loss of funds for program support for the 1977-78 and 1978-79 school years, was

187Ibid.


able to eliminate a $141,355 deficit and to operate on a balanced budget. Because of this "strong will to survive on the part of the Trustees and Faculty, and so that congregations desiring to contribute to the college could do so without going outside the budget," Barber-Scotia College was allowed to participate in the proceeds from the 1979 Christmas Offering for minority institutions. This had the impact of restoring the program funds that had been terminated in 1977. The College of Ganado was also allowed to participate, thereby cancelling some of the provisions of the actions taken by the 1976 assembly to reduce the number of minority institutions receiving substantial support from the church.

In 1979, the general assembly also approved a revision of the projected expenditures for the Five-Year Plan for Minority Education Institutions. The projected expenditures shown in Table I were predicated on the assumption that the proceeds from the Major Missions Funds Campaign would eliminate the mortgage indebtedness of the colleges and thus more local funds would be available for programs. Because this did not occur, it was felt necessary to provide additional program support, less the entire operation of the colleges would be impaired. The church also recognized the necessity for assisting Knoxville and Mary Holmes in making annual payments of $343,402.50 and $316,687.62 respectively on mortgages which the church had guaranteed. An examination of
the data presented in Table II shows the revised schedule of program grants for the colleges in the study.

TABLE II

REVISED PROPOSED FUNDING TO MINORITY INSTITUTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Proposed Funding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barber-Scotia College</td>
<td>$ 112,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knoxville College</td>
<td>1,319,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Holmes College</td>
<td>2,473,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Minority Institutions</td>
<td>2,012,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noninstitutional Support</td>
<td>700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,617,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The revised projections reflected an increase of $784,900 in assistance to the total program support for minority education. The funds were to be provided by the Program Agency, the Major Mission Funds Campaign, and the Christmas Offering over a five-year period.\(^{190}\) They represented a substantial investment for the church and appeared somewhat contradictory with earlier intentions of transferring administrative and financial support of these institutions to the communities served by them. These appropriations were particularly troublesome for some members of the church who questioned the continuing need for these former mission schools, the duplication of programs that existed among the schools, the quality of their instructional programs, and the apparent preference of increasing numbers of minority

students to attend predominantly white, public institutions. Still, other members contended that the need for the minority institutions was as acute in 1970 as it was in 1860. Despite the increasing numbers of Black and other minority students matriculating at predominantly white higher education institutions, they were being retained and graduated in fewer numbers than their Black peers at the historically Black colleges. Regardless of the support for either argument, the financial receipts illustrated that minority institutions and all other missionary projects were competing for decreasing sources of funds, as illustrated by the following statement made by the Program Agency.

In the final analysis, . . . 'the essential issue facing the church is not the validity of the mission nor the quality of the effort, nor the need for the institutions, but simply the diminishing financial resources of,' the United Presbyterian Church available from the General Assembly General Mission Budget.

In 1980, the Program Agency appointed a Committee on Minority Education, "with the authority to act on behalf of the Board of the Program Agency in all matters involving the relationships between the Program Agency and Minority Education Institutions (Barber-Scotia College, Boggs Academy, Mary Holmes College, Knoxville College, Menaul School, and


Sheldon Jackson College).  Due to the many emergency requests for financial assistance and the continuing crises which characterized the operation of these schools, it was deemed imperative to empower a small group which could react swiftly. The following responsibilities were assigned to the committee.

... shall immediately contact the Trustees of each minority institution to mutually develop solutions to financial, staffing, programmatic, enrollment and physical facilities problems that have been identified.

... shall allocate, account for and monitor the spending of all Program Agency funds supporting minority education with monthly reports.

... together with minority education institutions, shall mutually develop a comprehensive plan for providing educational opportunities for minority individuals at all age and educational levels. This plan shall be directed toward providing the best education possible while making optimum use of physical facilities and other resources available to the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The Committee on Minority Education was responsible for the enactment of operating policies which provided annual grants to the institutions, payable quarterly, contingent on their payment of all interests and principals on mortgaged loans. Further, the institutions were required to cover anticipated emergency or contingency funds, and capital repair and replacement costs from the annual grants. This policy


194 Ibid., p. 154.

sought to deter the practice of calling on the committee to assist in financial shortages.

Despite the intentions of the Committee on Minority Education to curtail emergency awards to the minority institutions, the precarious financial positions of the colleges and the continuing legal liability often forced the expenditures of funds above the annual grants. Pursuant to a request by the Knoxville College Board of Trustees, in March, 1982, the General Assembly Mission Council provided $800,000 to the college to prevent a foreclosure. The church now either held the first mortgage or was the guarantor of mortgages on all college property. The committee also voted that year to relieve Mary Holmes College of any obligation to repay the $89,802 outstanding loan granted to them by the Board of National Missions in October, 1971.

Though these two actions violated the operating policies of the Committee on Minority Education, they were deemed essential in preventing the colleges from defaulting on loans guaranteed by the church.

In October 1982, the Program Agency gave tentative approval to the polices contained in the paper on the "United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America Position on Minority Education" which targeted support to programs for minority students rather than assistance to institutions.

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Future grant awards would be made according to the following criteria.

a. Operating grants will be made to programs that exhibit or have a high potential for:
   1. academic excellence
   2. unique objectives consistent with the UPCUSA
   3. graduating students who have a high potential for success
   4. meeting unmet educational needs

b. A continuing responsibility of the UPCUSA will be to assist minority institutions in mortgage reduction.

c. The UPCUSA will encourage the traditional minority institutions in the development of excellent academic programs.

d. Financial support for designated UPCUSA minority institutions will continue until such time as a joint evaluation, the judicatory involved and the Committee on Minority Education shall determine otherwise.

e. Consideration may be given to support of minority education programs in other institutions at some time in the future.

In 1983, these criteria became a part of the charter for the Committee on Minority Education which gave final approval for the "support of education for minority students rather than general provision of funds to an institution." In June 1983, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. reunited to become the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). This merger brought Stillman College, the only Black college related to the

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198Ibid., pp. 273-274.

Presbyterian Church in the U.S., under the same denominational umbrella as Barber-Scotia College, Knoxville College, and Mary Holmes College. In the "Articles of Agreement" which set forth the contractual commitments of the new Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the following provisions are made for black and other racial-ethnic institutions.

8.4 Racial ethnic educational institutions have been the primary source from which racial ethnic church leadership has developed. Consistent with the dire need for racial ethnic church leadership, the General Assembly Council shall propose to the General Assembly ways whereby the General Assembly shall be able to fulfill its responsibility for education through colleges and secondary schools and for meeting the operational and developmental needs of those Presbyterian schools that historically have served Black Americans and those serving other racial ethnic groups.200

Because the infrastructure of the new church will not be operational until 1989, the relationships of these colleges to the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) continue in the same manner as their relationships to the predecessor churches with joint planning meetings held between the Program Agency and the Division of Corporate and Social Mission, the liaisons to the colleges.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S., like its Northern counterpart, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., placed a high priority on the religious education of Black people.

Beginning with the 1861 general assembly, a number of resolutions was adopted which called for the religious instruction of Blacks. The 1861 assembly declared that, "the Committee of Domestic Missions be urged to give serious and constant attention and the Presbyteries to cooperate with the Committee in securing pastors and missionaries for work among the colored population."\textsuperscript{201} The 1865 assembly affirmed that the emancipation of the Blacks did not abrogate the responsibility of the church to preach the gospel to them.\textsuperscript{202} In 1866, the church encouraged congregations to assist in the identification and education of Black men to preach the gospel to their people.\textsuperscript{203}

In 1874, the general assembly approved a program of evangelism to Black people which called for the establishment of a separate Presbyterian Church for Southern Black persons. Crucial to its enactment was an adequate source of educated Black ministers, an highly educated clergy being one of the tenets of the Presbyterian tradition.\textsuperscript{204} In 1875 the general assembly appointed a committee under the direction of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{201} Office of the General Assembly, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., (Richmond, 1861), p.20.
\item \textsuperscript{202} Office of the General Assembly, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., (Richmond, 1865), p. 369.
\item \textsuperscript{203} Office of the General Assembly, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., (Richmond, 1866), p. 36.
\item \textsuperscript{204} Office of the General Assembly, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., III (Richmond, 1874), 516-517.
\end{itemize}
Reverend Dr. C.A. Stillman "to consider the propriety of establishing an Institute for the education of coloured preachers." In October, 1876, the church established Tuscaloosa Institute for the Education of Colored Candidates for the Ministry, the predecessor of Stillman College, with the purpose of educating Black preachers to carry out the program of evangelism to the ex-slaves. The church viewed religious education and the moral and spiritual uplifting of Black people as paramount in their transition from enslavement to their appropriate social, economic, and legal places in society.

The institute was organized at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and though no reason was cited for the selection of Tuscaloosa, it may have been chosen because Dr. Charles A. Stillman, who had been selected as the superintendent, was pastor of a congregation in the town. He was given the responsibility to raise monies for the support of the school, to design the curriculum, and to select suitable faculty. Fund raising was difficult and restricted the number of students served by the institute. The first class of students was made up of only

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205Office of the General Assembly, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., IV (Richmond, 1876), 208.


207Office of the General Assembly, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., III (Richmond, 1874), 517-518.
six candidates for the ministry, because those who were unable to pay were discouraged from making application. Dr. Stillman set the goal of operating the school debt-free and relied on local congregations and philanthropists to provide monies for operating and endowment capital. The congregations contributed $1,029 to the support of the institute in 1877, either through designated support of students or as general support of the school. In view of the precarious funding of this fledgling institution, the assembly was urged to establish a financial base for the institution, one which would eliminate the dependence on continuous solicitations. A special offering for the benefit of the institute was approved for the first Sunday in December.

In 1877, the general assembly created the Executive Committee of the Institute for Training Colored Ministers to manage the school, and Dr. Stillman was designated as corresponding secretary. The executive committee was responsible for the administration of all functions of the institute, particularly fund raising and development of curricula.

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209 The Committee on Theological Seminaries, "The Tuskegee Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., IV (Richmond, 1878), 631.

The task of providing theological training to a Black population that was 70 per cent illiterate was not an easy one. Many of the students were not able to read, write, or compute at the academic levels required for advanced biblical studies. Further, their attendance patterns were erratic with some students able to stay only a few months and others planning to stay only two years for the three-year program. It was impossible to offer a proper theological program of study.211

In spite of the difficulties students were having with the theological curriculum, the Executive Committee of the Institute for Training Colored Ministers was asked to add a school of manual labor, "as a means of partial support for needy students and for the promotion of health and industrious habits."212 The philosophical arguments over an industrial versus a liberal education for Black people was also present in the Southern church. The Committee on Theological Education, recognizing the need for a strong academic program to properly prepare candidates for the ministry, urged the Executive Committee of the Institute for Training Colored Ministers to give careful consideration before such an addition to the curricula was made.213

211Ibid., p. 699.

212Ibid., p. 698.

213The Committee on Theological Seminaries, "The Tuscaloosa Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers," (Richmond, 1878), p. 630.
In 1879, the executive committee reported to the general assembly that despite the deployment of a financial agent to solicit funds for the endowment, buildings, library, and general support of the institute, the agent was able to raise only enough money to pay his $1,500 salary and traveling expenses. The executive committee was able to operate the institute debt-free by keeping expenditures to a minimum and restricting the enrollment to students who were funded by presbyteries, other ecclesiastical units, or were able to pay their educational expenses. Though this was a Presbyterian theological seminary, the majority of the students were not studying to be Presbyterian ministers. In 1879, of the ten students enrolled, four were Presbyterians and six came from different branches of the Methodist Church. The Presbyterian Churches were able to influence the theology, preaching, and teaching of the Black church in America by their ecumenical education of Black teachers and preachers.

In 1880, the "Report" of the executive committee to the assembly contained strong pleas for funds to purchase a permanent location and employ additional faculty. Because of the wide range in the academic levels of the students, it


215 Ibid.

was deemed imperative to engage a teacher for the lower branches. The attainment of a permanent building for the institute was also needed to provide stability, attract donors, and reduce the boarding and other expenses incurred in renting facilities. The need to secure funds for the general operation of the school, and for scholarship support to destitute candidates was especially critical.

The 1880 "Report" also mentioned the organization of a Black congregation in connection with Tuscaloosa Institute. The Sunday school and prayer meetings provided practical ministerial training for the students. The pattern of establishing a school and then organizing a local congregation was a part of the evangelistic program of all the Presbyterian Churches. Education and Presbyterianism became synonymous in the minds of some Black people when they regarded the work of the church.

In 1881, the "Treasurer's Report" for the institute showed a balance of $3,087 which illustrated the conservative fashion with which the fiscal affairs of the institute were


219 Ibid., p. 248.
managed. By operating on a small scale, carefully screening students based on their ability to pay, and reducing personnel costs to a bare minimum, the executive committee was able to comply with the mandate of the general assembly to remain debt-free. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S., even though it attempted to limit enrollment to students who had the means to pay their expenses, did provide partial assistance in the form of "board, fuel, lights, and washing" to some of the Presbyterian students. Candidates from other denominations were required to pay their total expenses. The generosity of the congregations also contributed to the financial health of the institute, and appreciations of their generosity was often expressed in the reports of the executive committee to the assembly. Gratitude was also stated for the assistance of the congregations in recruiting suitable candidates and for supporting the costs of their instruction.

In 1882, the executive committee announced to the assembly that the institute had secured permanent facilities. On January 1, 1882, the school moved into a commodious building containing one small and two large rooms. "The


222 Ibid.
entire cost, including lot, enclosure, furniture, and fixtures, was $1,888 and is all paid for and insured."

Financially, the institute was doing very well and in spite of the purchase of the building, it closed the fiscal year with a balance of $2,416,223.

In 1884, the "Report" of the executive committee to the general assembly contained pleas to the presbyteries and local congregations to be more selective in assessing the intellectual capabilities of students sent to the institute. Many of the candidates for the ministry were academically unprepared to handle the rigors of Biblical and theological study and the two professors were required to spend considerable time teaching the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic. To meet the increasing demands for educated Black preachers, the Executive Committee of the Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers extended the curricula to four years of study and required all entering students to demonstrate abilities to read, write, and compute "correctly and intelligibly." 224

In 1885, the Executive Committee on the Colored Institute reported to the assembly that while the entrance examinations and the four-year curricula had shown satisfactory results, more was needed to prepare the students for

223Ibid.

higher-level theological study. Very few of the students were able to stay for the completion of the four-year program and many left with only the beginnings of the knowledge required for effective ministry in the church. Presbyteries were again urged to exercise greater care in the selection of candidates, particularly in regard to their mental and moral capacities. The executive committee relied heavily on the presbyteries to assist in the screening of students with the requisite moral and mental abilities to perform theological work, and to provide financial support for them. The presbyteries were also encouraged to secure preparatory schooling for the ministerial candidates prior to their enrollment in the institute. To address the inability of some students to perform advanced theological work, the executive committee requested the advice of the assembly on the following proposal to expand the curricula of the institute.

... to include a full academic, and perhaps a normal department, as both a help to our present work, in increasing the number of candidates, and relieving the present Faculty of the burden and embarrassment of academic instruction; and of more extensive good to this people, through a distinctive Presbyterial influence over colored youth.225

The curricula were handicapped in its attempt to provide advanced theological training without also providing instruction at the preparatory levels. In spite of an affirmative response from the assembly, the academic program was not added because of lack of funds.

affirmative response from the assembly, the academic program was not added because of lack of funds.

In 1888, the Executive Committee on the Colored Institute once again called to the attention of the assembly the urgent need of elementary education to prepare the Black students for the theological program. Only twenty-six students were enrolled which caused the committee to recommend that the following steps be taken to increase the number of candidates and to provide a more efficient ministry to Black people: First, the ministers of local congregations were requested to stress the need to recruit additional candidates for the ministry during the collection of the special offering in December. Second, the Committee of Home Missions was authorized to grant aid for the support of students who were not yet candidates under the care of presbyteries, but who could be used during their vacations as preachers in vacant churches. Third, the committee requested increased donations to expand the curricula of the institute to provide proper preparatory training for the under-prepared candidates.226 The expansion of the institute, including increases both in the number of students served and the courses available, was dependent on the generosity of the church.

In 1889, the "Report" to the assembly again lamented the lack of an elementary program because the institute felt

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bound to accept as students those candidates for the ministry who were recommended by their presbyteries or educational committees, although some were unprepared to do advanced theological study. The entrance requirements, "the capacity to read intelligently, to write legibly, and an acquaintance with the four elementary rules of arithmetic," were often waived when presbyteries sent candidates with no such preparation. The institute was forced to take the following action in regard to one candidate.

In one case we have been compelled to place the candidate in a common school, and meet his expenses, as he had sold all he had to get here and was unable to get home. He will be prepared for our second class at the beginning of our next session. We have had to bear with a serious lack of preparation in other cases. We desire the Assembly to urge on the Presbyteries a more careful attention to our reasonable conditions of entrance, and to see to it that they send only such men as are capable of education.227

The 1889 "Report" also mentioned that a survey of the graduates of the institute revealed that "there is a growing tendency among the better class of their people towards the Presbyterian Church."228 Also cited were the difficulties of the Black congregations in supporting their ministers, often relying on financial assistance from neighboring white congregations. Some of the Black ministers had to supplement their small income by teaching, farming, and other services. The need for these men to find other income had a chilling


228 Ibid., p. 648.
effect on recruiting qualified Black candidates for the ministry.229

In 1890, the "Report" to the general assembly had a more encouraging note on the progress of the Black ministers educated by the institute. The Reverend Mr. W. H. Sheppard was appointed by the Executive Committee of Foreign Missions as a missionary to the Congo Free State.230 For enthusiastic supporters of the institute, this event signaled the organization of an African Presbyterian Church in the United States and Africa, the goal for which Tuscaloosa Institute had been established. Though some members resisted the idea of a separate church for white and Black members, they conceded that the social mores of the South would not permit an integrated church where white and Black members could exercise power equally.231

The 1890 "Report" also announced that though the assembly had approved and authorized a preparatory program for Tuscaloosa Institute, the Executive Committee on the Institute "had not yet seen the way clear to inaugurate such a measure."232 Insufficient numbers of students to justify the cost of providing the preparatory program was given as

229Ibid.
231Ibid.
232Ibid.
the reason the committee did not proceed with the school, though all annual reports for this period lamented the predicaments of one or more students who encountered difficulties with the theological courses because of lack of academic preparation. The proposed elementary program would be open to all Black boys and young men and not just those preparing for the ministry. The executive committee did expand the curricula to include instruction in the classics.233

In 1890, the assembly approved some organizational changes in the ministry to Black people. It appointed an Executive Committee on Colored Evangelization with the responsibilities for the overall work of evangelism to Black people, including overseeing Tuscaloosa Institute. The assembly also instructed all presbyteries to appoint Standing Committees on Colored Evangelism to further the ministry.234

In 1891, the Executive Committee of the Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers was replaced with an incorporated Board of Directors of Tuscaloosa Institute.235 The newly organized board of directors, which met for first time on June 4, 1891, also decided that it was inexpedient to organize a separate department for preparatory instruction.

233Ibid.
234The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., VIII (Richmond, 1891), 241.
235Ibid.
The presbyteries were directed to conduct personal examinations of their candidates to assure that they met the minimum standards of literacy in reading, writing, and arithmetic.236

In 1893, the "Report" of the Executive Committee on Colored Evangelization carried a disturbing message to the assembly. For the first time in the history of the institute there were no cash reserves on hand to cover expenses until the special offering in December, some seven months away. Only 50 per cent of the recommended sum of $20,000 had been collected from the church and all sources during 1892. The assembly authorized the committee to make "appeals to churches and men of means for immediate and liberal contributions."237 Furthermore, the executive committee received permission to move Tuscaloosa Institute to Birmingham, Alabama, "whenever it seems advisable and practicable to do so without detriment to the cause for which the institute was founded."238 The executive committee also recommended that the board of directors of the institute be dissolved with all future management and supervision to be handled by them, until a board of trustees consisting of three members

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236 The Board of Directors of Tuscaloosa Institute, "Annual Report of Tuscaloosa Institute," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, VIII (Richmond, 1892), 424.
237 The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., IX (Richmond, 1893), 29.
238 Ibid.
expressly charged with holding and protecting all property interests of the institute, was appointed. The executive committee became responsible for the total governance of Tuscaloosa Institute, including the appointment to and approval of all actions of the board of trustees between meetings of the general assemblies.239

The 1893 "Report" also noted a measure of interchurch cooperation between the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The 1892 assembly had appointed representatives to meet with the Board of Missions for Freedmen, either to unite the work of the two churches by creating an independent Black Presbyterian Church or to establish closer working relationships between the two churches.240 The plan of cooperation proposed by the Birmingham Conference of the two churches was rejected by the assembly in 1894 because of differences over the issue of a separate church for Black Presbyterians. The Southern church, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., reaffirmed its position that the establishment and maintenance of a separate and independent African Presbyterian Church was the surest and quickest way to the evangelization of the Black race. The Northern church, the Presbyterian Church in the

239 The Executive Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Abstract of the Second Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, IX (Richmond, 1893), 66-68.

240 The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," (Richmond, 1893), p. 29.
U.S.A., would not agree to a separate church for Black Presbyterians.\textsuperscript{241}

In 1894, the minutes also reported on the continuing reorganization of the administrative structure of the institute, which remained in Tuscaloosa. The Executive Committee on Colored Evangelization consolidated the positions of executive secretary of the committee and superintendent of Tuscaloosa Institute. In mid July, 1893, the Reverend Mr. A.L. Phillips took over the daily operations of Tuscaloosa Institute, replacing Dr. C.A. Stillman who resigned and was honored for his sixteen years of "patient, self-denying, and wise management of the Institute."\textsuperscript{242}

One of the first acts of Mr. Phillips was to establish the long-awaited academic department in order to better prepare the candidates for the ministry. The new academic program covered a period of three years and included such courses as "Higher English Grammar, Universal History, History of United States, Geography, Introductory Logic, Introductory Natural Science, Elementary Psychology, and Vocal Music."\textsuperscript{243} The faculty noted that the students enrolled in these courses demonstrated more accurate use of

\textsuperscript{241}The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., IX (Richmond, 1894), 233.

\textsuperscript{242}The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, "Abstract of the Third Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, IX (Richmond, 1894), 257.

\textsuperscript{243}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 258.
language, increased mental awakening, and greater facilities in handling and classifying truths. It continued to be the hope of some members that the ministers would be trained at the institute not only for ministry to Black people in the Southern states, but as missionaries to the African countries.244

In 1895, the general assembly affirmed its support of the goal of preparing Black men for the American and African mission fields by approving the establishment of a normal department for the training of missionary teachers.245 Mr. S.P. Verner, the first non-minister instructor, was employed to take charge of the department and develop the curriculum for the Normal School. This assembly also took action to honor Dr. C.A. Stillman who died on January 23, 1895 by renaming the school Stillman Institute.246

The Executive Committee on Colored Evangelization also reported to the 1895 assembly on the difficulty the institute and the aid-receiving Black congregations were experiencing with their reliance on the special offering. Because the executive committee was unable to form any reliable estimate of the amount of income that would be collected from the

244Ibid.

245The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., IX (Richmond, 1895), 397.

246The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, "Abstract of the Fourth Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, IX (Richmond, 1895), 443.
December offering, sometimes appropriations made to the institute and congregations exceeded the actual collections. The executive committee asked the assembly to rule that no appropriation should be made, unless the money was in the treasury. Furthermore, all presbyteries were asked to instruct their congregations to indicate by March of each year the amount of funds they budgeted for benevolent causes, including the evangelization of Black people. From these statements, the executive committee would build a budget for Stillman Institute and the Black congregations which would enable the committee to continue to operate debt-free.247 This proposal illustrated the measures taken by the church to insure the efficient and debt-free operation of the ministry.

In 1896, the "Report" to the assembly continued to express concern regarding the financial position of Stillman Institute. Presbyteries were admonished for the apathy they showed toward the ministry to Black people by their failure to provide sufficient monies to advance the work.

We have been pained beyond expression that our brethren of the church at large have not responded to what they have themselves taken for the call of God to duty in behalf of the colored people. So we have tried to work on in the face of indifference and hostility, where we had every right to expect sympathy and help.248

247Ibid., p. 444.

In spite of the financial depression effecting the country, the assembly in 1897 appropriated $15,000 for the work of Stillman Institute and the Black congregations receiving financial assistance.249

Another factor which contributed to difficulty in fund raising was the social and legal cries for the separation of Blacks and whites. Many of the civil rights cases which served to limit the role of the federal government in the protection of equal rights for Black people originated in the Southern and border states.250 In some areas of the South, Blacks outnumbered whites and some whites were fearful of retribution by descendants of former slaves. There were some members who contended that to allow Black people full participating membership in the governance of the church would result in political and religious anarchy. An independent church for Blacks was needed for "if black presbyters had equal rights with their counterparts, the principal of white supremacy was endangered."251 Yet, other white churchmen argued that "it was impossible to accomplish any great work for Christ among the freedmen as long as their churches and ordained ministers


were denied full, fair, and equal representation and rights in the church courts along with the white churches.\textsuperscript{252}

Because of these varying sentiments, financial support to Stillman Institute and the Black congregations suffered.

The Executive Committee on Colored Evangelization saw self-support by its Black congregations and mission schools as necessary to their survival and encouraged them to become self-supporting as soon as possible. The executive committee was directed by the 1896 general assembly "to do all within its powers to promote a spirit of manly independence on the part of all the colored ministers and candidates for the ministry."\textsuperscript{253} Stillman Institute, the primary resource for the empowerment of Black leaders, now provided services to thirty-three students, thirty Presbyterians, two Methodists, and one Baptist. Twenty-six students were enrolled in the academic course, seven in the theological program, and two in the Congo missionary course.\textsuperscript{254} The church was asked to donate a farm of fifty to one-hundred acres so that employment could be offered to more students, thereby increasing the supply of ministers available to serve the Black congregations.\textsuperscript{255}

\textsuperscript{252}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{254}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{255}Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," (Richmond, 1896), p. 605.
In 1897, the general assembly met in Charlotte, North Carolina, the home of Biddle University, the predecessor of Johnson C. Smith University. The following account of the respect and recognition accorded this Black college by the Southern church appears in the minutes.

The Assembly receives with thanks the kind invitation from the president of Biddle University to visit that institution, and returns answer that the members will take pleasure in accepting the invitation if the business of the Assembly will permit.256

Though the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. were not able to consolidate their ministry to Black people, there continued a spirit of cooperation between them. The Northern church, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., was essentially serving as "foreign missionaries" within the boundaries of the Southern church to conduct its ministry to Southern Blacks. This fact, coupled with the increasing racial hostilities directed against the former slaves and Northern agents sent to protect the rights of the federal government, created a climate where diplomacy and trust were sorely needed, but sometimes missing in the relations between the two churches.257

In 1897, the "Report" to the assembly contained more disturbing needs on the financial struggles of Stillman Institute. Due to financial exigence, the Executive

256 Office of the General Assembly, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., X (Richmond, 1897), 20.

Committee of Colored Evangelization recommended that the Academic Department be temporarily closed and that matriculation in the Theological Department be provisionally limited to ten students. The church was requested to appropriate for the development of Stillman Institute $10,000 above the $15,000 needed for the general work of the executive committee.258

In 1898, the executive committee reported that $9,000 had been secured in cash and pledges for Stillman Institute. Although the number of students was still restricted to ten and the Academic Department remained closed, a farm and building site had been purchased for the institute.

For three years we have been looking for a suitable place for the erection of needed buildings and the cultivation of a farm, looking to the idea of at least partial self-support. We let it be known through the church papers that we desired a place. Finally the decision lay between Tuscaloosa and Birmingham. The Pioneer Mining and Manufacturing Company, of Thomas, near Birmingham, Ala., generously offered us a beautiful site three miles from the city. Before accepting this offer the people of Tuscaloosa tendered us $745 in money, and urged us to buy the old Cochrane homestead, which could be had at a reasonable price. After the most careful consideration we decided to accept the Tuscaloosa proposition. We bought the house, with twenty acres of good land for $5,000, payable one-half in cash, and the balance in three equal payments, due the first of April, May and June, with interest at six per cent, and secured by the notes of the trustees of the Institute and mortgage on the property. We are very thankful to report that we have paid on the purchase the sum of $3,333.33, and have reliable pledges to meet the deferred payments, beside the old buildings at Tuscaloosa, which is surely worth $800. The

258 The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., X (Richmond, 1897), 21-22.
building is a large two-storied brick house, well built, and already fairly adapted to our purposes.259

The fiscally conservative manner in which this site was purchased typified the relentless efforts of the Executive Committee on Colored Evangelization to manage the institute in a fashion which avoided debt by operating only on available funds, even when the program of the institution had to be reduced by more than 50 per cent.260

In 1899, the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization reorganized and separated the positions of secretary of the committee and superintendent of Stillman Institute.261 The executive committee reopened the Academic Department and revised the admission policies to allow all male students and girls under the ages of fourteen to enroll with tuition charged to non-ministerial students. All students were now required to earn their board by laboring on the farm and to provide for their own clothing and medical expenses.262

The educational program of Stillman Institute was expanded to include the first summer school for Black


260The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., X (Richmond, 1898), 236-237.

261The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, "Abstract From the Eighth Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, X (Richmond, 1899), 461.

262Ibid., p. 459.
pastors. This continuing education event lasted ten days and also encompassed the meetings of the Independent Negro Synod and its presbyteries which had been organized in 1898. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S. strongly refuted all charges that it had organized the Black church "because of race prejudice, and with the purpose to rid ourselves of the burden of colored evangelization."263 Local congregations were urged to continue their financial and spiritual support of the educational and evangelistic ministries to Black people.

In 1900, the executive committee announced that the Afro-American Presbyterian Church, the new official title of the Independent Negro Synod, was facing great opposition. Ethel and Central Alabama, the two largest and most influential of the five Black presbyteries, were strongly opposed to the organization of the separate church. The ministers in these two presbyteries were primarily graduates of Stillman Institute and had been actively involved with the general assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. The Black presbyteries which favored the separate church were primarily composed of ministers who had little or no ministerial education or relationship with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.264

263The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., X (Richmond, 1899), 437.

264The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, "Abstract From the Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, X (Richmond, 1900), 663.
The 1900 "Report" also announced the creation of an industrial department at Stillman Institute. The cultivation of the farm at the new site had enabled the superintendent to reduce the average boarding cost of students by 50 percent. The desire for more industrial trades to increase the enrollment and further reduce costs was expressed to the general assembly by the Reverend Mr. O. B. Wilson, superintendent of Stillman Institute.

Limited, as we have been, to one single industry, the cultivation of the land, there were many times when I had to say to twenty or more willing workers, 'I have no work for you to-day.' Had we at such times had such in-door work as broom or mattress making, a carpenter's shop, or any one of many possible industries, there is no reason to doubt—it is practically certain—that our expenses would have been still further reduced. 265

Mr. Wilson added that though there were now thirty-five students enrolled in the institute, the number could have been doubled if industrial work was available for them. He urged the assembly to expand the facilities at Stillman to serve 250 students, and to establish a number of schools "which gives industrial training to equip the Negro for work in connection with the farm, a sphere to which he has proved himself peculiarly adapted." 266

In 1901, the enrollment stood at fifty-four students, sixteen of these enrolled in the Theological Department which now covered four years of study. The Executive

265Ibid., p. 664.

266Ibid., pp. 664-665.
Committee of Colored Evangelization also expanded the courses of study in the Academic Department, which enrolled the majority of the students.\textsuperscript{267} Industrial education continued to be an important part of the curricula, both to reduce the cost of operating the school and to teach students manual and agricultural skills. The executive committee developed a self-sufficiency plan which charged each academic student thirty dollars, each theological student twenty dollars, and required each student to earn thirty dollars toward their tuition by working on the farm or performing other service. The executive committee offered the following rationale for this plan.

We do this in order to carry out the idea of making our students strong and independent men when they have finished the course here. Too much assistance is injurious to any one, and especially to colored youths, who are easily made dependent and helpless, and for this reason we insist on their doing everything for themselves which they can possibly do.\textsuperscript{268}

The students provided all the labor for the construction of a three-story building for academic classrooms and dormitories.

At the time of the 1901 general assembly, the institute was in a good position with a balance of $4,919 to support the work from May to the December special collection. With this encouraging bit of fiscal news, the Executive Committee

\textsuperscript{267}The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., XI (Richmond, 1901), 66-67.

\textsuperscript{268}The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, "Abstract From the Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, XI (Richmond, 1901), 89.
on Colored Evangelization encouraged the assembly to develop a network of academic schools throughout the Southern states which would prepare Black students for the theological education available at Stillman. The executive committee supervised the following preparatory schools for Black students: Ferguson-Williams College at Abbeville, South Carolina, with an enrollment of 230 pupils; the Industrial Institute at North Wilkesboro, North Carolina, with an enrollment of twenty-one pupils; and the J. H. Alexander Academy at Vicksburg, Mississippi, with an enrollment of 115 students.269 All these schools emphasized industrial training for students and none survived to 1983.

In 1902, the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization asked the assembly to approve the policy of "fastening the industrial feature so firmly upon all of its education work, and ask from all our people their sympathetic interest in, and support of, this kind of Negro education."270 This feature was viewed as a budget-balancing measure at a time when the generosity of the church toward the ministry to Black people was experiencing further decline as illustrated in the following statements.

The church is manifestly far too indifferent to the claims of this very important work. An examination of the statement of receipts discovers the fact that only two churches in the whole Assembly

269Ibid., p. 89.

270The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., XI (Richmond, 1902), 292-293.
gave as much as $100 for this work, and that only four Presbyteries gave over $200, while forty-eight Presbyteries gave less than $100.\textsuperscript{271}

The monies contributed by the Black congregations was a small but important part of the budget. In 1902, eighty-six Black congregations gave $3,010 for the budget of the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization.\textsuperscript{272} These contributions were important signs of self-sufficiency.

To aid the institute in becoming completely independent of the financial assistance of the church, the executive committee developed the following plan for the 1902-1903 school term.

The committee to provide the land, the buildings, the necessary implements, the necessary stock and poultry, and all necessary teachers and superintendents. The students to furnish the labor, the fertilizers, the seed, the rations, the fuel, the lights, their own bedding, books and clothes, and to have the proceeds from the place. But the committee is to have entire control of all their operations, to direct the fertilizing and planting, and to see that the place is kept in proper repair by their efforts, and that it is kept constantly clean. We do this primarily and chiefly because we believe that to put one on his own resources best develops his character. And the colored people have need of leaders that are MEN in all the highest meaning of the word.\textsuperscript{273}

This action was taken because of the successful response to the tuition program introduced in 1901. The Executive Committee for Colored Evangelization looked to such a plan to

\textsuperscript{271}Ibid., p. 292.
\textsuperscript{272}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{273}The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, "Abstract From the Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, XI (Richmond, 1902), 313.
cover all operating expenses of the institute, except for the salaries of the faculty which hopefully would be provided by endowment funds. The following goal was cited for the new funding proposal.

It is our purpose to make of it a great training school for ministers and teachers. It is giving a most excellent training now—by white graduate teachers—and all its work is done in harmony with the views of the southern people respecting negro education.274

This was the first time that the executive committee listed the preparation of teachers as one of the goals of Stillman Institute.

In 1903, as a way of increasing the enrollment at Stillman Institute and of meeting the demands for Black ministers, the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization requested each presbytery to send at least one student to Stillman Institute.275 From the founding of the institute, the church had relied on the efforts of its congregations to recruit suitable Black students. White presbyteries were asked to endorse and pay the expenses of suitable Black students to become ministers for Black congregations. These measures helped to establish a degree of closeness in the relationship among the local congregations, presbyteries and Stillman College. Despite the fact that the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization now administered four

274 Ibid., p. 314.

275 The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, "Abstract From the Annual Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, XI (Richmond, 1903), 531.
Black schools, Stillman Institute continued to have its expenses met before payments were made to any of the other Black schools, ministers, or congregations.

By 1904, the enrollment of Stillman Institute had reached seventy-two students, half of whom were candidates for the ministry. The Reverend Mr. J. G. Snedecor replaced the retiring Dr. D. Clay Lilly as secretary of the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization and superintendent of Stillman Institute. Mr. Snedecor supervised the purchase of twenty-five acres of farm land adjoining the institute, thereby bringing the total campus to forty-five acres, five of which were occupied by the buildings and grounds. This land acquisition did not signal an increase in the industrial education focus of the curricula. The executive committee, under the new leadership of Mr. Snedecor, affirmed that industrial education was not only expensive, "but in our opinion it would not conduce to the general object we have in view—namely the training of an intelligent and godly ministry."276 The land was purchased primarily to provide work for students in a natural and healthful manner.

The Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization also sought to make the curricula more simple and natural by eliminating "such abstruse subjects as psychology and logic, as well as the dead languages, and the strongest emphasis is

now placed upon a plain English education, with special
reference to the fluent reading and sensible interpretation
of the Bible." 277 Special instruction was also offered in
surgery and medicine to prepare students for ministry in the
Congo Free State. 278

In 1904, the "Report" to the general assembly lamented
the fact that the contributions to the work of Black evange-
lism was either overlooked or received very small offerings
from the majority of the white congregations. 279 Though the
Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization incurred no
debts in the operation of Stillman Institute and the other
ministries, it was forced to keep the scope of service
very small, especially when compared to the work of other
denominations.

In 1905, the "Report" contained more encouraging news of
the financial support of this ministry to Black people.
Primarily through the actions of Mr. Snedecor, the amount
contributed in 1904 was $10,699, an increase of $2,086 on the
previous year. The assembly authorized the raising of
$20,000 from the congregations for the following year. 280

277 Ibid.
278 Ibid., pp. 73-74.
279 The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization,
"Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian
Church in the U.S., (Richmond, 1904), p. 25.
280 The Standing Committee on Colored Evangelization,
"Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian
Church in the U.S., (Richmond, 1905), p. 50.
It should be remembered that the authorizations of the general assemblies to raise designated amounts of money from the congregations did not guarantee that such would be collected. When the collection efforts did not reach the specified figures, the executive committee had to reduce the size of its work or delay the expansion into new arenas of service. The assembly provided no cash reserves to guarantee the annual appropriations, and rarely did the funds collected meet or exceed the authorized figures.

In 1905, the "Report" to the general assembly carried the first mention of the efforts of the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization to gain accreditation for Stillman Institute. During the 1904-1905 school year, the Reverend Dr. G. S. Dickerman, Field Agent of the Southern Education Board, visited the institute to inspect the academic, theological, and industrial programs. He commended the executive committee on the healthy exercise, manual training, strong religious training, and opportunity to become self-supporting which were made available to the students.281

In 1906, the "Report" to the assembly told of prosperous fund-raising efforts. The financial receipts for the year came to $16,107, the largest amount ever collected by the executive committee. Two legacies of $4,000 were included in this figure. The executive committee regarded the three-

year trend of increased collections as a renewed commitment to the cause of Black people, as illustrated in the following statements.

If liberality be an index of interest, then it is obvious that the spiritual needs of our colored people and our own obligations to give them the gospel are taking a stronger hold upon the hearts and consciences of our people. Let us hope that such is the case.282

Though the financial picture was bright, the enrollment of the institute still remained well below the goal of one-hundred students. In 1906, forty-one students were enrolled at Stillman Institute, fifteen in the Theological Department and twenty-six in the Academic Department.283

The 1906 "Report" to the assembly also contained a detailed account of the latest revisions in the curricula by the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization. The course of study for ministers covered four years in the Academic Department and two years in the Theological Department. Because most of the students were not educated above grade-school levels, the academic classes consisted of common school education with a few high school courses designed to prepare students for biblical and theological study.

No time is spent on ornamental branches; no study is introduced which does not seem essential to a foundation for ministerial training or necessary


283 Ibid.
for the preacher in his life among the lowly people for whom he is to work; and no language but English is attempted in either department.284

Instruction in Greek and Hebrew were considered core requirements in the Presbyterian seminaries attended by white candidates for ministry.

Instead of language study, the Theological Department emphasized catechetical methods in its efforts "to give students a good working knowledge of the contents of the whole Bible, a thorough grounding in the essential doctrines of orthodox Christian theology, and to develop the ability to preach with clearness and power."285 Church history, Presbyterian polity, and pastoral theology were key components of the curricula. The courses in the Academic Department also employed the catechetical methods through daily Bible lessons, instruction in reading, writing, singing, elocution, and study of the Shorter Catechism, one of the confessional documents of the denomination.286

Industrial education continued to be a small but important feature of the curricula at Stillman Institute. "A simple text-book in agriculture has been introduced into the advanced academic classes as being a subject every colored preacher should have an intelligent knowledge of."287

285Ibid.
286Ibid.
287Ibid.
Further, all students were still required to work on the farm, in the garden, or at repairs or improvements on the buildings or grounds for three hours every day and all day on Mondays. Furthermore, the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization believed that daily physical labor contributed to "the general good health of the students, their right thinking and docility."288

In 1907, the executive committee reported to the general assembly that the local congregations had contributed the total amount of money appropriated by the assembly. The executive committee collected $20,000 that year and attributed the generosity of the members to the heightened concern and awareness generated by the serious race riots and intolerable labor conditions in the South as described in the following account.

In the clamor of many opinions there is fast crystallizing a well-defined belief that religion is the prime factor in all efforts to deal effectively with the race problem. Its restraints should influence the dominant race to patient dealing with the follies of the inferior; while the missionary spirit of Christianity should urge the wise to become the teachers of the ignorant.289

Despite the pleas of the assembly for increased donations to address the conditions leading to the riots, in 1908, the executive committee reported to the assembly that contri-

288Ibid.

butions for year 1908 totaled only $13,293, resulting in a deficit of several thousand dollars for the year.290

The year 1911 marked the thirty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of Stillman Institute. During the period from 1876 to 1911, the institute had enrolled 600 students and had graduated 139 of them. Though Presbyterian students were often not the majority of those enrolled, they represented the majority of those graduated: sixty-five Presbyterians, forty-one Methodists, and thirty-three Baptists. In 1911, sixty students were enrolled at the institute.291 The year 1911 also introduced a different organizational structure for the governance of Stillman Institute. The general assembly had authorized, effective October 1, 1910, the consolidation of the work on Colored evangelization with that of general evangelistic work, under the supervision of the Executive Committee on Home Missions.292 Stillman Institute and the other ministries to Black people lost their independent relationship to the general assembly and became a part of the overall domestic missions structure. According to the report filed with the assembly in 1911, the consolidation of the Black evangelistic work, with efforts directed toward Americans with Italian, Mexican, Russian, German, and


292 Ibid., p. 34.
French backgrounds, and Native Americans from the Choctaw
and Chickasaw tribes, brought greater recognition to all the
mission areas.293 All departments were reported as working
together harmoniously and, beginning with the "1911" Report
to the general assembly, there was proportionately less
information on Stillman Institute. The special December
offering to benefit the institute and the Black congregations
was discontinued because the ministry to Black people shared
in the total receipts collected by the Executive Committee of
Home Missions.294

Under the new structure of the Executive Committee of
Home Missions, Dr. J. G. Snedecor was named superintendent of
the Department of Colored Work and placed in charge of
Stillman Institute, which now enrolled sixty-five students.
The Executive Committee of Home Missions purchased a tract of
250 acres of land near Tuscaloosa, at a cost of $8,000, to
build modern structures better suited to the education of the
students. The current equipment, classrooms, and dormitories
were described as being a menace to health of the students
and unsuitable for effective educational use.295 The
institute never relocated to the new location.

In 1914, the Executive Committee of Home Missions
reported to the general assembly that the Department of

293Ibid., p. 85.

294The Executive Committee of Home Missions, "Colored
Evangelization," Minutes of the General Assembly of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, (Richmond, 1913),
p. 91.

295Ibid., p. 92.
Colored Evangelization was doing well under its supervision, though it still suffered from meager financial support by the local congregations and presbyteries. The ministry to Blacks had also failed to secure the substantial support of the church under the former Executive Committee for Colored Evangelization. Though it benefited from larger contributions in the new structure, the expenditures were still inadequate to meet the needs. Despite the lack of funds, Stillman Institute still fared better than either the Black congregations or the evangelists supported by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. In 1914, seventy-two students were enrolled in the institute, the largest enrollment to date. Students were still required to earn portions of their educational expenses by working on the farm or in the buildings and grounds.

In 1916, Dr. Snedecor, due to failing health, stepped down and assumed the position as principal at Stillman. He introduced new admission requirements of seventeen years of age and ability to enter the sixth grade. The policy reduced the enrollment to forty-four students who were better prepared and required fewer instructional services. On November 20, 1916, Dr. Snedecor died. His last report to the


297 Ibid.

general assembly praised white Presbyterian friends who had recruited and paid the low expenses of outstanding students at Stillman Institute.

The liberal care of the Home Mission Committee makes it possible to put the expenses of the student at a merely nominal figure, so that if he can bring $25.00, he can meet all his bills both for tuition and books, while he is allowed to work out his board on the farm or in the shop.299

Both the theological and academic courses of study now covered three years. One of the last wishes of Dr. Snedecor was for more dormitory space at the institute, so that the number of boarding students could be increased to seventy-five.300 In 1918, the annual Conference for Black Ministers was named in honor of Dr. Snedecor.301

Stillman Institute, now under the leadership of the Reverend W. E. Hutchison, offered three professional development opportunities for Black preachers, women, and farmers. An annual leadership training conference for Black women had been started in 1917 by the Women of the Church organization. Stillman Institute also sponsored the Snedecor Conference for Pastors and a continuing education event for Black farmers.

In early spring, Black farmers assembled at the institute to


300 Ibid.

discuss better methods in farming, and to hear addresses by 
experts in agriculture, sanitation, and education.302

The 1918 "Report" to the assembly also praised the 
attainments which Black people had made in the area of 
education. In fifty years, the ex-slaves and their descen-
dants had reduced their illiteracy rate from 70 to 30 
per cent. White religious organizations were responsible for 
a significant part of this progress for they supported 354 of 
the 625 private schools open to Black pupils. In addition, 
religious groups provided most of the higher education 
available to Black students. The information in Table III 
presents the expenditures by white denominations to advance 
Black education in 1917.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Expenditures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>$320,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian, U.S.A.</td>
<td>317,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Episcopal, North</td>
<td>252,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Episcopal, North</td>
<td>107,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists, North</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>66,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian, Southern</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist Episcopal, South</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists, South</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Reformed</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,249,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

302 The Executive Committee of Home Missions, "Colored 
It should be noted that the Northern denominations contributed more monies to the cause of Black education, although the majority of Blacks in 1917 lived in the South. 303

In 1916, an exodus of from 100,000 to 500,000 Blacks to Northern cities created a scarcity of labor in some Southern areas and resulted in riotous conditions in the Northern cities unprepared to cope with such social change. The Executive Committee of Home Missions appears to have seized this opportunity to return some of the criticisms the Northern denominations had leveled against Southerners and to give some advice on the best method for assimilating Black people into the economic, political, and social mainstream of American society.

This exodus will at least give the North the opportunity to study the Negro at close range and to put in practice theories and advice which they have furnished the South. In the meantime each section should give special attention to the Negro at its own door. Every one wants to help the Negro at long range. The British sent missionaries to the Negroes in the colonies before the American Revolution. The North sends money and missionaries to the South. The South sends money and missionaries to Africa. All sections should unite in the demand that the Negro be treated as a man, with liberty to go and come, the right to labor without hindrance, the right to full police protection, and equal justice in the courts, entitled to sympathy in his environments and to help in his necessities and to all the blessings of the gospel of the Son of God. 304

The philosophy of maintaining some social distance from Black people and treating them as objects of mission rather than

303 The Executive Committee of Home Missions, "Colored Evangelization," (Richmond, 1918), p. 23.

304 Ibid.
partners in ministry was found in some degree in the governance of the missionary schools operated by all religious denominations.

In 1919, the "Report" to the assembly spoke against racial prejudice, mob law, and the lynching of Black men with the following statements.

Mob law disgraces any community, and patriotic and Christian people should not only condemn it in unmistakable terms, but join in every worthy movement to eradicate it as a menace to our enlightened civilization. Church and State, press and pulpit, must make their power felt.305

Further, the church praised the gallantry of Black soldiers in World War I and called on the country to accord Black people better police protection and the inalienable rights which accompany citizenship. Black people were also admonished to be patient and not demand these rights, less they render the racial situation more explosive. The power of the Gospel was seen as the solution to the racial tensions besetting the country, and congregations were urged to support Stillman Institute to save not only Black people but the Southern way of life.306

Stillman Institute was now under the leadership of the Reverend Mr. R. K. Timmons who, like all the administrators and teachers before him, was white. The first record of a Black person on the staff of the institute appeared in the

306 Ibid., p. 23.
minutes for 1919 with the employment of Ms. Emma L. Waterford as matron.

She is a well trained colored woman of unusual ability, who is religiously interested in the betterment of her race. She has inaugurated quite a number of reforms as to the cleanliness and neatness of the dormitories, and in the management of the dining room, kitchen and pantry.307

Also in 1919, Stillman Institute began a six-week summer school for Black teachers which brought to four the number of continuing education events sponsored by the school. The enrollment in this event was between sixty and seventy and this activity, like all the others sponsored by the school, used the Bible as a major curriculum resource. "The work of Stillman Institute is gradually broadening out into several channels, but always with a distinctly religious purpose, nor is it ever forgotten that the main purpose of the school is to train a colored ministry."308

In 1920, Stillman Institute had an enrollment of fifty-eight students, close to the pre-war levels. The curricula of the school was revised to add a year to the Normal Department. Thus, the institute now offered eight years of instruction, five years of academic instruction and three years of theological education. The Executive Committee of Home Missions sought to increase the standards and years of study until the institute offered "as advanced and as

308Ibid.
thorough courses as are offered by any school for colored men."309

In 1921, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. urged extending to Black people their "God-given rights" to equality and justice under both religious and civil laws. The Executive Committee on Home Missions endorsed the following statement on the elimination of lynching by the University Commission on Southern Race Questions, a group which sought to cultivate better feelings between the races and insure substantial justice for Black people.

Lynching is a contagious social disease, and as such is of deep concern to every American citizen and to every lover of civilization. It is, of course, no argument that it is not confined to any section of our country and the victims are not always black. One of the bad features of lynching is that it quickly becomes a habit, and, like all bad habits, deepens and widens rapidly. Formerly lynchings were mainly incited by rape and murder, but the habit has spread until now such outrages are committed for much less serious crimes. The wrong that it does to the wretched victims is almost as nothing compared with the injury it does to the lynchers themselves, to the community, and to society at large.310

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S., in a moderate tone, often denounced the atrocities directed toward Black people. A continuing theme of these pronouncements was that the race issue was not exclusively a Southern problem and that


moderation in social change was more effective than legally mandated assimilation.

In this manner of moderate change, the first Black teachers were added to the faculty of Stillman Institute in 1921. Three of the graduates of the class of 1920 taught students in the lower classes and supervised the dormitories at night in exchange for their enrollment in an advanced course. Their work was rated as "eminently satisfactory" and "the best arrangement we've had for some years."311 Other changes at the institute reported to the general assembly in 1921 included the appointment of the Reverend Mr. Paul H. Moore as Principal. Stillman Institute now enrolled seventy students, an over-capacity enrollment for the facilities.312

The first forty-five years of the history of Stillman Institute established the relationship of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. with the institution. Because of the strict financial policies of the Executive Committee of the Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers, and its successors, the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization, and the Executive Committee of Home Missions, Stillman College remained small in size. The management style of these groups eschewed financial risk by cautious and penurious spending. They practiced policies of selective admissions, both in regards to ability to pay and academic

311 Ibid., p. 30.
312 Ibid.
readiness. Students who were destitute or below prescribed levels of literacy were denied admission. If the money was not available, the programs of study were immediately retrenched until fund-raising results warranted their resumption.

The relationship between Stillman College and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. during the period from 1876 to 1921 also gives account of the distinctively Southern approach to the education of former slaves and their descendants. In some cases, it was easier for the Northern denominations to participate in the educational and religious efforts of the controversial reconstruction of the South for they were often strangers in Southern territory. Southern Presbyterians who championed the rights of Black people to know the Gospel, to be literate, and to exercise political and economical power, often faced intense opposition from their families and other associates. All white missionaries in the ministry to Black people encountered some degree of social ostracism, but the missionaries from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. were most acutely affected by strained social relationships with other whites. They were often rejected by families, friends, other church members, and many times treated as social lepers. Despite all these difficulties, from 1876 to 1921, the founders of Stillman College and their supporters throughout the church fashioned an institution which continues to provide education for the entire Black community.
By 1925, the Department of Colored Evangelization had become the Department of Negro Work. Stillman Institute now enrolled 160 pupils and two thirds of the student body were members of denominations other than Presbyterian. Black teachers represented almost half of the eleven faculty members and were valued as illustrated in the following account.

The five colored teachers in the grades are most excellent Christian men and women whose presence with the student body has given it a moral tone that could not have been procured except through personal social contact in daily life.313

The preparation of men for the ministry continued to be one of the primary programs offered by the institute.

In 1930, the "Report" to the General Assembly boasted that "Presbyterian Negro ministers are universally recognized in the community in which they live and work as the highest type, and they gather about them the best class of Negro people."314 Stillman Institute was praised for its education of these Black leaders, upon whose shoulders, according to supporters of the church, rested the burden for the religious, political, and economical salvation of Black people. Also receiving special attention was news of the development of a Nurses Training School for women students at Stillman

313 The Executive Committee of Home Missions, "Department of Negro Work," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, (Richmond, 1925), p. 20.

Institute. The school was made possible by the 1928 Birthday Offering by the Women of the Church organization. In 1922, this organization had provided the resources to develop a school for Black girls in cooperation with the institute. With the addition of the Nurses Training School, Stillman Institute now offered instruction in the following departments: "High School, Junior College and Normal, Theological, Industrial and Nurses Training School." The faculty was made up of eight white and seven Black teachers, and 200 students were enrolled. The Executive Committee of Home Missions announced with great pride that Stillman Institute had satisfied the requirements of the Alabama State Board of Education for a standard normal school. "The Presbyterian Church has here a great missionary institution in buildings, equipment, curricula and teaching force for which it need no longer apologize or be ashamed."316

In 1935, the "Report" of the Executive Committee of Home Missions announced that 275 students were denied admission to Stillman Institute because they were unable to pay any of their educational expenses. The enrollment dropped from the 1930 level of 200 students to 175 students. During this period the institute also operated a hospital in connection with the Nurses Training School and rendered hospital service


316 Ibid.

to an average of 120 patients per year. Ten white and four Black physicians practiced at the hospital. The hospital, like the institute, was operated on a fee basis. Patients unable to pay were denied admission. "If the patients were able to pay for the service or if the school was able to furnish it without cost every room and bed could be occupied practically all the time."318 It was also in 1935 that the administrators of Stillman Institute, in an effort to offer admission and employment to students who had to earn their school expenses, asked for donations to increase the land available for farming by 100 acres. The additional farm land would make possible a larger student body, provide a larger cash income for badly needed maintenance on the buildings and grounds, and "furnish practical training in farming, gardening, stock-raising, poultry and dairying which is one of the great needs of the Negro race."319

In 1940, the "Report" to the general assembly announced that Stillman Institute had an enrollment of 308 students. Furthermore, good news that year included the accreditation of the high school and the junior college by the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. Also, the critical dormitory shortage had been alleviated by construction of a home for nursing students, which was financed through the 1938 Birthday Offering by the Women of the Church organization. Religion and industrial education continued to

318Ibid.

319Ibid.
be the focal points of the curricula of the institute. A home economics program for girls and boys was added in 1938 and the Theological Department was strengthened through the addition of a separate library of 4,000 volumes. Students were now required to complete the junior college program before they were admitted to the three-year seminary course.320

By 1945, the effects of World War II had decreased the enrollment of Stillman Institute to 158 students, 148 of whom were female. The junior college program, which enrolled 115 students, retained its "B" level accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools because funds were not available for the improvements necessary for the highest rating.321 The Nurses Training School prospered during this period and was provisionally accredited by the Alabama Nurses Board of Examination and Registration. The school had an enrollment of thirty-nine students and graduated nine students in 1945. Further, Stillman Hospital, the primary clinical facility for the School, was the only hospital available to more than 100,000 Black people in eight counties.322


322 Ibid., p. 29.
Unlike the Nurses Training School, the Ministers' Training School suffered because of the war and only three students were enrolled in 1945. However, an encouraging note came with the appointment of the first Black person to serve as an administrator at the institute. The Reverend Mr. Charles E. Tyler, a Stillman graduate, served as acting dean of the Ministers' Training School while he completed his study for the Bachelor of Divinity degree. Mr. Tyler also served as pulpit supply for Brown Memorial Church, the Black Presbyterian congregation adjacent to the campus.323

By 1950, the Board of Church Extension had replaced the Executive Committee of Home Mission. The new board was responsible for Home Missions, Negro Work, Evangelism, and Christian Relations and Radio. The Division of Negro Work, in its 1950 "Report" to the general assembly, lamented the fact that only one-half of one per cent of the members in the Presbyterian Church, U.S. was Black, while such people made up more than twenty-two per cent of the average Southern community.324 The assembly moved to renew its commitment to evangelism programs which would develop new Black Presbyterian congregations and took steps to strengthen the relationship between Stillman College and the church.

323Ibid.

324The Board of Church Extension, "Division of Negro Work," Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., Appendix, (Richmond, 1950), p. 69.
In June, 1950, Stillman College became one of the institutions with direct access to the general assembly. Its board of trustees was appointed by the assembly and, beginning April 1, 1952, a definite percentage of the general fund would be assigned for its support. With these changes, Stillman College enjoyed the same financial security and support as the Assembly's Training School and the Mountain Retreat Association, two entities which served the educational needs of white members. The general assembly also directed that the Board of Trustees for Stillman College would be an independent board, totally responsible for all affairs of the college, as illustrated in the following account.

All real property held for Stillman College by the Board of Church Extension, or in the name of any of its divisions, be conveyed to the college as soon as practicable and that any and all property and assets of every kind and description, including cash, belonging to, or being held for, Stillman College, also be transferred to the college as soon as practicable.325

The charter amendments which carried out these directives were approved in 1954.326

Stillman College prospered under the leadership of its independent board of trustees. In 1951, the first four-year degrees were awarded and three years later, the Southern

325Ibid.

Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools accredited the four-year program. The college now enrolled 230 students, with 103 of these students living on the campus. Through the church-wide campaign for Presbyterian Negro Work, Stillman College in 1954 received $310,820 for its permanent endowment and for the construction of three buildings. Another $670,000 was anticipated from pledges made during the campaign.327

It was also in 1954 that the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. received and sent to the church a study paper on "The Church and Segregation." This paper, prepared by the Council on Christian Relations, examined the need for and extent of racial equality in higher education, the armed forces, religion, and other areas. The assembly approved the following recommendations contained in the statement.

1. That the General Assembly affirm that enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics and that the Church, in its relationship to cultural pattern, should lead rather than follow.

2. That the General Assembly, therefore, submit this report for careful study throughout the Church, and that it especially urge:

   (1) That the trustees of institutions of higher education belonging to the General Assembly adopt a policy of opening the doors of these institutions to all races.

(2) That the synods consider earnestly the adoption of a similar recommendation to the trustees of institutions under their control.

(3) That the governing bodies of the various conferences held throughout the Church consider the adoption of a similar policy.

(4) That the sessions of local churches admit persons to membership and fellowship in the local church on the Scriptural basis of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ without reference to race.

(5) That in this time of crisis and concern, we commend to all individuals in our communion and especially to all leaders of our churches the earnest cultivation and practice of the Christian graces of forbearance, patience, humility and persistent good will. 328

The minutes for 1954 also contained "A Statement to Southern Christians" which presented a theological rationale for the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools. Church members were reminded that belief in racial inferiority is not supported by the Bible but was a purely secular doctrine, which arose and gained favor partly as a result of the Black enslavement. The statement further commended the principles of the decision and urged all members to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problems involved. It encouraged members "to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim." 329


329 Ibid., p. 197
strong a statement on behalf of desegregation as the assembly could constitutionally issue, for in proper Presbyterian procedure, it could not direct that certain changes in educational and cultural patterns be adopted. Instead, the assembly could only urge the adoption of such changes in the practices of the church.330

"The Church and Segregation" paper received a mixed response from the church. The Presbytery of Meridian, located in Mississippi, petitioned the 1955 general assembly to prevent the publishing of any further articles on the abolition of racial segregation and to abolish the division which had prepared the statement. The Synod of Mississippi filed a protest against the actions of the 1954 general assembly in its adoption of the statements and petitioned the 1955 general assembly to rescind the actions. On the other hand, the Presbytery of Lexington, Kentucky, requested the 1955 general assembly to support the principles and recommendations contained in the statements and urged that they be applied to the conference facilities at Montreat, and to the election of commissioners to the assembly and all other official delegates to church gatherings and conferences.331 All of these petitions were answered in the negative.332

330Ibid., p. 193.


332Ibid., p. 78.
However, the $2,000,000 campaign for Presbyterian Negro Work, the proceeds to be divided equally between Black church development and Stillman College, suffered because of the unrest over the statements on "The Church and Segregation," and "A Statement to Southern Christians." Some members cancelled pledges made prior to the court decision and the resultant controversy in the church. The general assembly reiterated its commitment to provide a minimum of $2,000,000 for Stillman College and the development of Black Presbyterian congregations. It urged all congregations and members to pay their pledges to the Presbyterian Negro Work Campaign in full by January 15, 1956, and encouraged those who had not made pledges to send a gift before the close of the year.333

The effects of the controversy on Stillman College were traumatic. The college was forced to suspend construction of a new library building due to the tardiness of the receipt of the pledged donations. The continued accreditation of the college was contingent upon the completion of this facility.334 The proceeds from the Presbyterian Negro Work Campaign had been responsible for a substantial increase in the endowments and the start of extensive improvements and new construction on the campus. The college now reported


deficits in its operating funds for 1954 and 1955 with no hope of balancing its budget, except through increased income from the assembly, special gifts, and increased endowments, which would generate sufficient income.335

In 1956, the "Report" to the general assembly announced that in spite of the controversy over desegregation, only $36,000 of the funds pledged to the Presbyterian Negro Work Campaign were still outstanding. The church urged all members to recruit outstanding Black students to attend Stillman College, particularly those who were interested in the Gospel ministry.336 No mention was made of recruiting white Presbyterian students to attend Stillman College or of recruiting Black students to attend the white Presbyterian-related colleges. Members were also challenged to become "Stillman Supporters" by providing special funding for student scholarships and faculty salaries.337

In 1957, to further aid in the financial support of Stillman College, the general assembly urged all congregations and pastors to observe January 19, 1958 as Stillman College Day. The church was encouraged to recruit superior young people from the local high schools for Stillman College


and to identify and support young men entering the ministry. However, unlike in 1956, no mention was made of the race of the students to be recruited.338

Due in part to such recruitment efforts, the enrollment of Stillman College reached 484 students by 1960. The college received more applicants than it could admit, which contributed to both the quality and size of the student body. To provide much needed facilities for this increased demand, the Women of the Church organization again came to the aid of Stillman College by naming it as the recipient of the 1960 Birthday offering. The Alex R. Batchelor Classroom-Administration Building was constructed from this gift.339

Despite the strong support of Stillman College by groups throughout the church, there were some members who questioned the continued need for a private Black college in view of the increased access Southern Blacks had to public institutions. Some members felt that continued financial support of Stillman College supported the segregation of the races and a missionary spirit of paternalism. The Reverend Mr. Lawrence W. Bottoms, Secretary of the Negro Work Department in the Board of Church Extension, and a Black man, refuted this argument. He contended that the Presbyterian Church in the


U.S. supported Stillman College, "to provide Negro youth a college made up predominately of Negro people where they can develop qualities of leadership, giving them the opportunity of having a sense of belonging in the entire life and activity of the campus." Furthermore, he maintained that Stillman College provided a forum where the two races could become better acquainted with each other on a higher level. Though the dean and some of the division heads were Black, the president and many of the faculty were white. Mr. Bottoms believed that the church supported Stillman College for the same reasons it supported the white colleges related to the church, regarding it as a Christian institution providing quality education and not as a missionary endeavor to provide meager opportunities for the under privileged.

In 1965, the "Report" to the assembly described Stillman College as a healthy private liberal arts college. The college had an endowment portfolio of over $1,000,000 and had been admitted to membership in the United Negro College Fund. The student body of six-hundred plus students came from twenty states and seven foreign countries. The faculty, made up of fifty full-time and five part-time educators, had one of the highest percentages of teachers with their doctorates among the higher education institutions in the state of


341Ibid., p. 268.
Alabama. The college enjoyed a healthy relationship with the church and each year the personal contributions and bequests increased.342

By 1970, the Board of Trustees had elected the first Black president of the College. Dr. Harold Stinson, the former principal of Boggs Academy, a secondary mission school operated by the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., was elected in 1967. A capital funds drive conducted in 1969 had raised approximately $500,000 for expansion of the facilities to accommodate 681 students. The college participated in cooperative programs with the neighboring University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, Indiana University, and the Cooperative Library Center in Atlanta, Georgia. The college also initiated a special program for underachieving high school graduates. To satisfy questions raised in the last reaccreditation visit by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and to improve its eligibility for extramural funding, the charter of the college was amended in 1970 by the assembly to strengthen the role of the board of trustees.343

By 1975 the College had an enrollment of 700-plus students, and the Division of Corporate and Social Mission in


the General Assembly Mission Board was now the liaison between the college and the church. In May, 1974, a special task force had been elected by the mission board and the Board of Trustees for Stillman College to evaluate the present status of the historic relationship between Stillman and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and to consider future possibilities. The following recommendations were approved by the 1975 general assembly.

1. That Stillman continue to be related closely to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.

   We do not see any possibility of support on the Synod level. To merge Stillman ecumenically with another institution, to set it loose as a private institution, or to integrate it into the public system, would, in our judgement, deprive our Church of what has historically been its major thrust toward mutual ministries between black people and white people.

2. That the pattern of funding continue at the General Assembly level.

   We are not impressed with the need for neatness and symmetry in funding patterns. It is true that Stillman is the only college funded on the General Assembly level, but Stillman is a unique institution carrying out a specific mission in behalf of the whole Church.

3. That the present campaign of Stillman, approved by the General Assembly and restricted to individual donors, be concluded with a major thrust in the College's Centennial Year, 1976.

4. That a major development fund campaign by the General Assembly itself be planned for later in the decade and that Stillman be included for at least $5,000,000 in endowment funds, which would underwrite permanently the present level of Assembly support.

5. That continued inclusion of Stillman as a line item in an appropriate amount be considered than as a means for keeping this important cause continuously before the Church.
6. That the governance relationship between the General Assembly and Stillman be reaffirmed as presently set forth in the College's Charter; i.e., that the President and a majority of the College's Board of Trustees shall be members of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and that each new member of such Board shall be approved by the General Assembly of the PCUS; and further that the Board of Trustees shall strive to operate the college in such a way as to perpetuate the Christian, humanitarian, and educational goals which led the Church to found the college, and the General Assembly shall strive to support the work of Stillman College as it does its other boards, agencies and institutions.

7. That in this covenantal relation, Stillman report to the General Assembly through the Division of Corporate and Social Mission of the General Executive Board and invite from Division of Corporate and Social Mission suggestions as to how it can more fully assist in carrying out the corporate and social mission of the Church.344

These recommendations not only strengthened the relationship between Stillman College and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. but underscored the importance of the college in the ministry of the church to Black people. As further demonstration of the high regard in which the leaders of the church held Stillman College, the 1976 assembly was held on the campus in tribute to the centennial anniversary of the college.

By 1979, due to internal administrative problems, the enrollment of Stillman College had dropped to 607 students. The "Report" to the general assembly highlighted the increasing number of special programs for disadvantaged and poorly

prepared students, which were funded by the federal government. By 1982, 90 per cent of the student body received financial assistance through scholarship gifts from congregations, individuals, alumni groups, businesses, foundations, and federal grants, loans, and work-study programs. The enrollment had declined to 523 students and the college appeared to be increasingly less selective in its admissions practices as illustrated in the following account.

The dominant assumption at Stillman is that students who are admitted will succeed, not fail. Programs and schedules which provide students with opportunity for reaching their potential regardless of the strength or weakness of previous preparation are maintained.

The college, in addition to the administrative tensions, was showing signs of the impact of a declining recruitment market due to the increasing number of Black students enrolling at predominantly white institutions. On January 1, 1982, Dr. Cordell Wynn became the president of Stillman College. He has provided the leadership needed to eliminate the administrative tensions, to curb the enrollment decline, to address the concerns raised by the 1980 reaccreditation visit by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and to


strengthen the relationship between Stillman College and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.  

In June, 1983, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. reunited to become the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). This merger brought Stillman College under the same church as Barber-Scotia College, Knoxville College, and Mary Holmes College. The relationship of these colleges to the church is still being determined.

United Presbyterian Church of North America

The United Presbyterian Church of North America, like its counterparts, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., placed great emphasis on the evangelism and education of the emancipated Black people. This branch of Presbyterianism had been an ardent abolitionist, which had spoken out against the injustices of slavery, and demanded its end. This accounted in part for the special interest in the plight of the ex-slaves.

If there is any mission in which the United Presbyterian Church should feel a special interest, it is that of the Freedmen. She has probably done more than any other one agency in this land to form that public opinion which resulted in their liberation. This imposes upon her the obligation to labor for their highest elevation, if she would


348 Loetscher, p. 152.
not expose herself to the charge of abandoning the work when only half accomplished.349

In 1863, the general assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America approved the organization of a Board of Missions to the Freedmen of the South. Two collecting agents solicited enough funds to send a number of missionaries to begin the work among the freed peoples.

The past year has been to some extent one of experiment. The work was new, the embarrassments to its prosecution many, and the kind of teachers that should be employed was not well understood. But we went forward hoping to profit by experience, and trusting that the God of the oppressed would bless our humble endeavors to Christianize and elevate the delivered captives, and the results have been very encouraging. We are persuaded that there is no other field now open to the Church in which so much good can be done at so little cost.350

The Board of Missions to the Freedmen organized the missionaries into corps, composed of ministers, to superintend the religious interests of the missions; one or more male members to assist in the general management of the work, and one or more female members to serve as teachers. In 1863, six corps, including a Black teacher by the name of Moses Johnston, were commissioned to work among the freed persons.351


351Ibid., p. 49.
The policies and practices governing the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church of North America to the emancipated slaves were based on the premise that Black people were not only anxious to learn, but were particularly in need of and desirous of religious instruction. Religion was viewed as the instrument to lift Black people out of the moral and economic abyss created by their enslavement.

As Christians and patriots we ought to labour incessantly for the mental and moral elevation of this unfortunate people. The Church is God's instrument for this work. Without her they can never enjoy the bliss and dignity of civil and religious freedom.

The conversion of Black people to Christianity was viewed as a prerequisite to their exercise of the full rights and privileges of American citizenship.

The Board of Missions to the Freedmen received financial assistance from the federal, state, and local governments for its ministry. In 1864, the federal government furnished rations and shelter for missionaries in the field. By 1869, the Freedmen's Bureau provided small grants and some of the Southern states enacted laws creating common school funds for the education of Black students. A number of the teachers were paid from these funds. The Board of Missions to Freedmen very early established a policy of noncompetition with the public schools in the provision of educational

352 Ibid., p. 51.
353 Ibid., p. 52.
354 Ibid., p. 51.
services to Black students, as showed in the following statements.

Our Superintendents all seem hopeful that, in the course of another year, the States may make ample provision for the education of their people. When this had been done, the common school work, conducted under the supervision of this Board, will be at an end.355

With this hopeful note, the board urged the assembly to seriously consider the establishment "at some needy and promising point in the South, a large Normal School for the training of coloured men and women to teach their own race."356 Such a school would assist the church in fulfilling the goal of transferring the missionary schools to Black leadership as soon as such could be educated.

In 1870, a representative of the Board of Missions to the Freedmen met with an official of the United States Freedmen's Bureau and secured a guarantee of $5,000 toward the development of a Black normal school in a suitable section of the country. Sites in Huntsville, Alabama, and Natchez, Mississippi, were considered and rejected because of the existence of other schools and the high cost of the land.357 By 1873, a suitable site had still not been secured, much to the dismay of the board and members of the

355The Board of Missions to Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, II (Pittsburgh, 1869), 51.

356Ibid.

357The Board of Missions to the Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, III (Pittsburgh, 1870), 182.
church. The Presbytery of Tennessee sent a memorial to the 1873 assembly, pleading for the founding of a normal school among the freed persons. "The intellectual elevation of that people is highly necessary as preparatory to their Christianization."358

The development of a normal school was regarded as especially crucial, for the church had discontinued all its missionary schools. Systems of free public school accommodations for Blacks were now being organized in the states of Mississippi and Tennessee where the board schools were located, and the church was hopeful that its schools were no longer needed.359 The Board of Missions to the Freedmen was given responsibility to supervise the transition of the Black congregations to the Board of Home Missions. Thus, the future of the Board of Missions for the Freedmen remained in doubt, until 1873 when the general assembly designated it as one of the regular boards of the church with responsibility for the educational and religious enterprises among the freedmen.360 This signaled the re-entry of the church into the education of Black children, due to the inadequacies of

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358 The Committee on Missions to Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, III (Pittsburgh, 1873), 529.


the public systems of education which were offered by the Southern states.

In 1874, the Board of Missions to the Freedmen was finally able to report to the general assembly that a suitable site had been secured for the development of a normal school for Blacks. The Reverend Mr. J. W. Witherspoon, corresponding secretary for the board, and the Reverend Mr. James McNeal, pastor of the Nashville United Presbyterian Church, recommended the city of Knoxville, Tennessee, a city they deemed anxious for such an institution.

A beautiful city of about 16,000 inhabitants, and a large colored population, but no school for the colored people except two small primary schools. The loyal sentiment of the people, the rapidly increasing population of the city, the expressed opinion of some of the most prominent members of the bar, and prominent ministers of the Presbyterian Church of the city, that a Normal training was the great present need of the colored people, and the field wholly unoccupied, soon convinced us that we had found an open and effectual door.361

The board approved the purchase of a site of five and one-half acres located just outside the city limits on the west side, one mile from the market square, with a commanding view of the countryside. The purchase price of $3,500 was paid, one-third in cash, and the balance financed by two equal annual payments, with interest at the rate of 8 per cent.

361The Board of Missions to the Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, IV (Pittsburgh, 1874), 68-69.
Mr. A. C. Bruce of Knoxville was selected as the architect.362

In September, 1875, Knoxville School opened its doors in the Long School House, one of the missionary schools discontinued in 1873, while its new building was being erected.363 The Reverend Mr. J. P. Wright was transferred from Nashville to serve as superintendent of the school, and Miss Jennie McCahan was commissioned as teacher. The number of students enrolled the first week numbered almost seventy and increased so rapidly that Miss Mary Hezlep was commissioned as the second teacher in November. The school term lasted from September to June.364

On September 4, 1876, the new building for Knoxville School was dedicated amidst much fanfare from the city of Knoxville and the United Presbyterian Church of North America.365 The following account describes the community and church involvement.

Both the Knoxville Daily Press and Herald and the Knoxville Daily Tribune gave full coverage to the services. The grand procession began on Main Street to Gay Street, then left on Asylum Street out to the Clinton Pike, and then to the school.

362 Ibid., p. 69.


It was headed by the McGhee Guards, in full uniform, equipment, drum corps colors afloat, commanded by Captain Theodore Miner. Next came the colored citizens of Knoxville in buggies, carriages, and other vehicles. After them marched the school children, making a large and impossible procession through Gay Street and out to the college.366

The Freedmen's Board sent a delegation consisting of Drs. J. W. Witherspoon, W. H. McMillan, R.B. Ewing, president of the board and the person who delivered the dedicatory address; Drs. D.S. Kennedy and J. S. Sands. The Reverend Dr. Thomas Hume, president of East Tennessee University at Knoxville and the Reverend Mr. James McNeal, pastor of the Nashville Presbyterian Church, also participated.367

By September, 1876, the school enrolled 141 students, though the largest attendance averaged less than one hundred. The academic levels of the students were quite low, with the most advanced pupils not above the intermediate grade of a good public school. Yet, many of these students served as teachers in the common schools operated for Black students and alternated their attendance with their teaching assignments. The Bible was a prominent feature of the curricula: "The obligation of this work is laid on us by the imperative demand for an educated ministry and educated


teachers, thoroughly indoctrinated in the principles of pure religion."  

In August, 1876, the Reverend Mr. S. B. Reed and his wife were appointed to supervise the religious work of the school. Through their efforts, the First United Presbyterian Church of Knoxville was organized on March 18, 1877. The Black congregation had two ruling elders and twenty-five members. The organization of a Black congregation in connection with the establishment of a school became a practice of the board.

To provide leadership for additional Black congregations, a theological program was organized in all the normal and collegiate schools established by the Board of Missions for the Freedmen. In 1877, Knoxville College had ten students enrolled in the theological program, of which two were Presbyterians. The attendance of these students was irregular due to their enrollment in other courses, and their preaching responsibilities, as illustrated in the following description.

We have gone through Patterson’s Theology as far as Santification. We have also gone over 300 pages of Thompson’s Archaeology. We also spent some time at each meeting on Bible difficulties, divisions of texts, and working for Christ. Moreover, we arranged for regular discourses on Saturdays, but heard


369 Ibid., p. 474.
only a few, as the brethren were much engaged preaching elsewhere.\textsuperscript{370}

Though the board was committed to making the theological program a strong part of the curricula of Knoxville College, it never attracted the number of students nor achieved the recognition of the industrial or teacher education programs. This dismayed the Board of Missions for the Freedmen and some church members who saw the need for a strong theological department to provide superior Black preachers for the evangelism of Black people to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to the United Presbyterian Church of North America.\textsuperscript{371}

It was also in 1877 that Knoxville School was given the rank of college, though there is no record of the assembly having authorized such a change. Dr. J. S. McCulloch, the first president, expressed surprise at the name change.

I did not even know that the Freedmen's school had been advanced to the dignity of a college... When I intimated to the cor. secretary how difficult it was to screw up courage to write College when the most advanced class could not do fractions or percentages, the secretary replied, 'It is a college, and a college it shall be.'\textsuperscript{372}

By 1878, the total enrollment in Knoxville College and adjoining elementary school had reached 287 students. Dormitories were provided for students which allowed the college to broaden its service area. Also, an industrial

\textsuperscript{370}Ibid., p. 475
\textsuperscript{371}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{372}McGranahan, p. 25.
department was developed to provide student employment and training in the manual arts.373

In 1879, the general assembly recommended that the board enlarge the Industrial Department. "They must have not only the preached work, but also instruction in the domestic arts of Christian civilization."374 Thus, from the early history of Knoxville College, industrial education was accorded a high priority. The first classes in this department taught sewing and clothes making to the female students and women in the community. In 1879, nine boxes of clothing and supplies were distributed to destitute individuals and thirty-five poor families were aided by the funds raised from the sale of articles made in the sewing classes.375

It was also in 1879 that Knoxville College earned recognition for its preparation of Black teachers. Nearly all of the thirty students who received certificates from the County of Knox were employed as teachers in the Black schools. Because the terms of the schools averaged only two to five months, the majority of the normal students would return to their college classes as soon as their schools

373 The Committee on the Board of Missions to the Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, V (Pittsburgh, 1878), 582.


closed. Due to the on-going supervision and training offered, Knoxville College students were preferred as teachers by the various county superintendents.376

Despite the rapid growth of Knoxville College, the Board of Missions to the Freedmen initially operated the institution without deficit spending. From the establishment of the Board in 1864, there is no mention of a significant indebtedness until 1800 when a $3,850 debt was reported to the assembly.377 In its early financial practices, the board appeared very cautious and conservative, both in regard to the number of schools opened and the expenditures of funds solicited from the church and other sources.

With every school year, Knoxville College became more of a collegiate institution. The scholarship levels of the students increased and their attendance patterns became more regular, as demonstrated by the following record.

A goodly number are now in the regular College classes and expect to remain in course till they graduate. At the beginning of the next term the grades will range as high as the junior class; and the standard of the classes will compare favorably with the same grades in any of our Northern Colleges.378

376Ibid.

377The Committee on the Board of Freedmen's Mission, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, V (Pittsburgh, 1880), 186,

378The Board of Missions to the Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, V (Pittsburgh, 1881), 386.
The college also expanded its services to the surrounding Black communities through the addition of a lecture series. Professor William Wallace spoke on the advantages of education to church, and other community groups of Black people. He was accompanied on these visits by outstanding students who served as very effective recruiters for the college.379

In 1882, the Board of Missions to the Freedmen requested the church to provide a discretionary fund to assist students who were unable to continue at Knoxville College due to lack of money.380 Though the general assembly authorized the collection of $25,000 from the church in 1883 for the operation of the ministry to Black people, there was still very little direct financial assistance to students. The financial position of the college was further strained, for the Board of Missions to the Freedmen rarely collected from the church the figure appropriated by the assemblies. Church members were encouraged to sponsor a needy student for the sum of twenty-five to fifty dollars per year.

When a young woman works hard all summer at low wages and succeeds in saving enough to barely support her four months, let us say to her that her heavenly Father has provided enough to finish. When a young man comes with $50, the savings of four months with pick and shovel, let us relieve

379Ibid.
him from worry about the $25 or $50 more that may be needed.381

Despite the lack of adequate financial support for students, the enrollment of Knoxville College had reached 202 students by 1882.

In 1883, another feature designed to assist needy students came with the establishment of the orphanage or Little Girls' Home. Under the supervision of Miss Maggie McDill, Black girls, orphans and nonorphans, from the ages of five to fifteen were provided schooling and boarding in the atmosphere of a Christian home away from all vices. The home served eight students in 1883, primarily through the financial support of a businessman in Chicago and the Ladies' Missionary Society of the Presbytery of Southern Illinois. The whole church was requested to continue and expand this much needed service.382

With the expansion of the programs at Knoxville College and the other Black missionary stations, the financial position of the Board of Missions to the Freedmen was becoming increasingly more debt-ridden. Though the total receipts in 1883 were $16,767, they were insufficient to meet the expenses for the year and to satisfy a $4,375 debt from the previous year. The board reported an indebtedness of


382Ibid., p. 769.
$6,500 for 1883. In an attempt to liquidate the indebtedness of the board, which had increased to $15,520 by 1884, the general assembly authorized an appropriation of $35,000 for 1885. Only $23,300 was actually collected.

In 1884, the enrollment of Knoxville College stood at 243 students which included a significant number of the higher-level students who were preparing to become teachers. Though the demand for well educated Black teachers was great, the administrators at the college took special efforts to keep the most advanced students in school, until they completed the prescribed course of study in the Catalogue. One of these efforts was the development of a training school for teachers, which utilized the elementary grades as a laboratory school. The students enrolled in the normal classes, both prospective teachers and those already employed in one of the Black common schools, were given instruction and practice in the theories and methods of effective teaching. The college also continued to monitor the progress of its students serving as teachers in the Black common schools of Tennessee, West Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas,

383Ibid., p. 771.

384'The Committee on the Board of Missions to the Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, VI (Pittsburgh, 1884), 30.

By 1886, the Board of Missions to the Freedmen was responsible for seven missionary posts which provided educational, religious, and social resources to Black people. Three of these posts, one at the college and two at the common schools, were located in Knoxville, Tennessee. The other four stations were located in Prairie Bluff, Alabama, and in the Virginia cities of Bluestone, Chase City, and Norfolk. Twenty-nine missionaries, four ordained ministers, four male teachers, and twenty-one female teachers, provided the religious and instructional leadership for 1,627 students. Knoxville College had educated over one hundred teachers for these new missionary schools and for the public schools in nine Southern states. The board requested $35,000 from the assembly that year to continue the ministry which had so positively affected the lives of the students and their families, and to eliminate the indebtedness which had prevented its expansion into new areas. The actual monies received totalled $26,584.

In spite of the conservative fiscal management practices of the Board of Missions to the Freedmen, the educational and

387 Ibid., p. 473.
religious ministry to Black people became more debt-ridden. The congregations rarely donated the amount of monies appropriated by the assemblies, and there were no reserves for the board to draw from when expenditures exceeded income. By 1887, the board was in debt for $25,584 as a result of borrowing money to pay operating expenses and purchasing property. The interest payments on the debt alone required $535 dollars of the annual operating budget.389

By 1889, the Board of Missions to the Freedmen had initiated changes which emphasized more industrial training at Knoxville College and the other missionary stations. These changes were made to reduce the operational expenses of the schools as well as respond to growing public sentiment, which favored and provided funds for such training. The main industrial training available to female students at Knoxville College was sewing. Girls, unless excused, spent forty minutes each day sewing. All students who lived in the dormitories, except for the very young, were required to do their own washing, ironing, and mending. Students provided all the labor in the dining room, kitchen, bakery, and performed all janitorial services for the college. They were also responsible for nearly all the work of the garden, small farm, and grounds keeping. The students also gained

389The Committee on the Board of Missions to the Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, VI (Pittsburgh, 1887), 676.
valuable training through their publication of a small monthly student paper, The Aurora.390

Knoxville College also received funds from the state of Tennessee for some of its industrial education programs. Approximately twenty-five students received normal scholarships and cadetships through the University of Tennessee. The amount of assistance given to each student varied from six dollars to thirty dollars. In 1889, the college received nearly $600 dollars from this program.391

In 1890, the general assembly gave the industrial arts further emphasis by calling for the establishment of industrial schools, and encouraging the church to contribute generously to such schools.392 As of 1890, Knoxville College had 263 students enrolled, all of whom were involved in some form of industrial training. "Although no pretension is made to teach trades and turn out good mechanics, there are few, if any, institutions in which more hand-work is done by the students."393


391 Ibid.


In 1891, Knoxville College greatly increased the industrial training available to students by the addition of schools of agriculture and mechanics. In order to comply with the provisions of Article 4, Section 339 of the Statutes of the state of Tennessee, which required that "no citizen of this state otherwise qualified shall be excluded from the privileges of the University by reason of his race or color, but the accommodation of persons of color shall be separate from the white," the University of Tennessee contracted with Knoxville College to offer such accommodations to Black students. According to the provisions of the contract, the Board of Missions to the Freedmen agreed to erect a suitable building, costing not less than $5,000 and to name two professors. The University of Tennessee agreed to pay the salaries of the professors, to purchase up to $3,000 worth of equipment for the building, and to assist in the compensation of students for work done in the shops. Either party could terminate the contract by giving notice of one year, and the arrangement did not interfere with any of the policies governing the operation of Knoxville College by the United Presbyterian Church of North America. In agreeing to such an arrangement, the Board of Freedmen's Missions temporarily sanctioned the practice of separate accommodations according to race, as illustrated in the following statement.

394 McGranahan, p. 39.
The University is bound by law to provide separate instruction for the colored appointees, and this plan of sending them to the colored college is adopted as the most satisfactory, at least for the present.\textsuperscript{395}

The arrangement was praised by the assembly because it brought to Knoxville College a large number of outstanding Black students with state scholarships.\textsuperscript{396} The new Industrial Department offered instruction in the following trades: agriculture, carpentry, printing, sewing, cooking, electrical work, brick-making, and blacksmithing.\textsuperscript{397} The University of Tennessee at Knoxville and Knoxville College are located within a mile of each other.

In 1892, the Board of Missions to the Freedmen attributed the extra prominence given to industrial education as a response to the popular demand for manual education. The president of Knoxville College, Dr. J. S. McCulloch, and the eighteen faculty members spent most of their time supervising the different industrial areas.

The necessary superintendency of all the manual labor connected with the mission has been distributed more among the teachers, thus giving dignity to physical

\textsuperscript{395}The Board of Freedmen's Missions, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, VII (Pittsburgh, 1891), 682.

\textsuperscript{396}The Committee on the Board of Missions to Freedmen, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, VII (Pittsburgh, 1891), 636.

\textsuperscript{397}McGranahan, p. 39.
effort, while not detracting from the importance of that which is mental and literary.398

Young men were taught not only how to perform agricultural and mechanical tasks but how to perform many domestic duties, such as baking, cooking, and housekeeping. The young ladies concentrated on the domestic arts trades, primarily sewing and housekeeping. Instruction for the mechanical and agricultural trades took place in the new industrial building which had been erected at a cost of $5,500. The state of Tennessee had equipped the building and provided $2,400 annually for its operation.399 Knoxville College was the only one of the colleges in the study to serve as an agency for state compliance with the provisions of the Morrill Act of 1890, which provided federal land-grant funds for teaching agricultural and mechanical arts at black schools.400

The financial assistance given to students selected for the state scholarships served to motivate them to stay in school by providing recognition of their achievements and money for personal expenses. The Board of Missions to the Freedmen pleaded with the church for funds to make such scholarships available to other deserving Black students.


399Ibid. p. 70.

The conviction is forcing itself upon many that aid will be needed for many years to come. It is needed, and is given in many of the white colleges. Harvard University, including the graduate department, is paying out more than fifty thousand dollars a year to students who need aid to compass their education. The actual figures show that the average graduating class in colored colleges is not more than three. Why not stimulate them with scholarship, and put them on equal footing with white institutions?

The ladies missionary societies and other sources donated $1,209 to Knoxville College for student scholarships in 1893. The Women's Auxiliary Board of the United Presbyterian Church also provided assistance to the college by paying all the salaries of the female industrial teachers, amounting to approximately $5,000 per year. Such donations allowed Knoxville College to continue to offer services to students, who in spite of the advantages of room and board at a low rate, tuition virtually free, and remuneration for extra work, were still unable to afford all the expenses of attending college.

In 1894, Knoxville College enrolled 286 students, forty-five of whom had been given scholarships by the state of Tennessee. The attendance patterns of the students were improving, with more students remaining enrolled the entire


402 Ibid.


404 Ibid., p. 531.
term. The levels of scholarship had increased, though the academic work was at a lower level than that required of most colleges.405

In spite of the prominence given to such industrial training, the Board of Freedmen's Missions once again attempted to organize a department of theology at Knoxville, pursuant to the recommendation of the 1893 general assembly.406 The Reverend Mr. J. R. Millin was elected to direct the new department, whose course of study covered three years and included classes in Hebrew, systematic theology, Fisher's Catechism, English Bible with Kerr's Introduction, New Testament Greek, and church history. "Seven students volunteered to take such branches of the course as would not interfere with the successful prosecution of their college studies."407 By 1895, only two students, one a white man, had enrolled in the Theological Department. The seven students who enrolled in 1894 chose either to complete their college work or to engage in teaching.408

In 1896, the second of two destructive fires occurred at Knoxville. The first fire took place in February of 1894 and

405Ibid., pp. 530-531.


407Ibid., pp. 532-533.

destroyed the college building and the Young Men's Dormitory. 

The second fire totally destroyed Elnathan Hall, the large dormitory for girls and general boarding hall. The building was partially insured, but the $10,890 insurance check had to be used to settle part of the approximately $25,000 in debts owed by the Board of Freedmen's Mission. Despite the continuing indebtedness, the board rebuilt both of these facilities.

More encouraging news came in 1896 of the increasing number of Black principals at the schools and the progress of the programs at Knoxville College. Seven of the eleven schools had Black principals, all of whom had Black assistants. The three remaining schools employed from one to three Black teachers. All of these Black leaders had been educated in the mission schools sponsored by the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Knoxville College had two Black teachers in the Medical Department which had been organized in 1896 to provide physicians of high moral and religious character. The medical curriculum covered four years of study and was operated at little cost to the board because the teachers donated their services until sufficient fees could be generated. In 1897, five students were enrolled in this department. The Theological Department had only four


students and was still having difficulty attracting qualified students. The Industrial Department continued to prosper with the extramural funding from the state of Tennessee and strong public support.  

By 1898, the Board of Freedmen's Missions had organized eight Black congregations which contributed an average of three dollars per member to the boards of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. These contributions were in addition to the funds raised for congregational and other general purposes. Because the total membership of all of the Black congregations was less than six hundred, their donations represented small but symbolic statements of the commitment of Black Presbyterians to self-help, and to support of missions beyond the wall of their local churches. Often, the Black congregations gave proportionally more monies to the support of education and the other missionary projects of the church than many of their white counterparts.

In 1898, thirty-three of the seventy-nine ministers and teachers employed by the Board of Freedmen's Missions were Black, all graduates of the mission schools. This was good news for a church which had set as a goal the transfer of the schools and congregations to Black leadership as soon as possible. Other good news came from the graduation of four students from the Theological Department of Knoxville.

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411Ibid., pp. 330-332.

College. So great was the need for additional Black ministers that the board enlarged the department. "There are open doors ready to be entered as soon as men of consecrated talent and ability are ready to enter them."

In 1899, the Board of Freedmen's Mission restated its goal of Black leadership in the operation of the mission schools and congregations in its annual report to the general assembly.

The policy now of the Board is to provide teachers and preachers as far as possible for all the missions from their own race. In pursuance of this policy the Board employs at present four ordained colored ministers, four colored licentiates and thirty colored teachers. Eight of our missions have colored principals and teachers exclusively, and in three others missions from one to four colored teachers are employed.

Knoxville College, the only postsecondary mission school, continued to have a white president. In 1899, the Reverend Dr. R.W. McGranahan, another white individual, became president of Knoxville College.

As of 1899, Knoxville College enrolled 260 students, and was organized into four academic departments. The Theological Department still suffered from the lack of interested and qualified students, and only one second-year student was enrolled for the 1898-1899 school term. In an effort to increase the enrollment of the department, students were allowed to enroll tuition free in English Bible and other

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413 Ibid.

classes leading into the regular theological course. The Medical Department, which had suspended operations for two years, resumed with six students. The College Department was organized to coordinate all the academic work of the institution, from the classical and scientific courses to the primary grades. The Industrial Department continued to be subsidized by the state of Tennessee for the instruction of students in the agricultural and mechanical trades. In 1900, Knoxville College received ten of the sixty-six state normal scholarships furnished by Tennessee to Black young men and women to attend any of the recognized Black institutions.  

415 Industrial education continued to enjoy the favor of philanthropists and other groups interested in Black education.

No part of the work of the college is of more importance for the future welfare of its students than this industrial education, and benevolent people throughout the Church could find no better place for some of their benefactions than to give to this students' fund to help these young people to help themselves in preparing for the ordinary occupations of life.  

416 The year 1900 also marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Knoxville College and the first year of its incorporation. This action granted to the trustees of the college the power to confer degrees in order that graduates, particularly in medicine, could have standing as

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415 The Board of Freedmen's Missions, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, X (Pittsburgh, 1900), 75.

legal practitioners. All other powers were reserved by the Board of Freedmen's Missions.\textsuperscript{417} That year three students graduated from the Medical Department and one from the Theological Department.\textsuperscript{418}

In 1901, the "Report" to the general assembly illustrated the pivotal role Knoxville College played in the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church of North America to Black people. The college not only supplied all the teachers for the twelve other mission stations in Tennessee, and Alabama, but its president served as the liaison between these schools and the Board of Freedmen's Missions.

The principal in each of the stations makes his monthly report to the president of the college, who summarizes the reports for the Freedmen's Board. The president of the college visits the stations once or twice a year, and the workers in the missions all attend the Summer Bible School at Knoxville College in June of each year after commencement.\textsuperscript{419}

The efforts of Knoxville College to prepare its students for the professions suffered with the closing of the Medical Department due to lack of monies for proper equipment and facilities. "The work could not be done as it ought to be done, and it is desired that every department that is

\textsuperscript{417}The Committee on the Board of Freedmen's Missions, "Report," (Pittsburgh, 1900), 33.

\textsuperscript{418}The Board of Freedmen's Missions, "Report," (Pittsburgh, 1900), p. 75.

\textsuperscript{419}The Board of Freedmen's Missions, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, X (Pittsburgh, 1901), 303.
maintained must be maintained first-class." All other departments fared better and the assembly was asked to assist in the purchase of more land for the Industrial Department.

In 1902, the "Report" to the general assembly was full of the grave financial condition of the Board of Freedmen's Missionaries. Only $30,155 of the $55,000 which had been appropriated for the year had been collected.

From the beginning of the year the receipts were small and slow. Scarcely one month passed in which it was not necessary to borrow money to meet the expenses incurred in the preceding month, and on one occasion, nearly the entire amount of salaries and expenses for the month had to be borrowed. The amount received from legacies, and other irregular sources was smaller than in former years. Appeal after appeal was sent out, bringing but little relief.

While it was not unusual for the funds collected to be less than the amounts appropriated, due to the expansion of ministry into new areas and the cumulative results of insufficient operating capital, the board was now in debt for $25,052, on which they were forced to pay approximately $2,000 annually in interest. Pleas for help were made to the assembly.

Does this indicate that the United Presbyterian Church, which in the days of her weakness and poverty was the fearless and self-sacrificing advocate of the black man's civil and religious rights, has in the day of her great strength and of her vast and rapidly accumulating wealth delibe-

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420 Ibid., p. 304.
421 Ibid., pp. 304-305.
rately decided to be blind to his great need and
deaf to his most pathetic appeals?423

The assembly responded to the pleas with a directive to each
presbytery to bring before their congregations the dire
financial conditions of the Board of Missions for Freedmen's.
Furthermore, in addition to the regular contributions to the
Freedmen's Missions, the congregations were requested to
gather a special collection on the third Sunday of October to
retire the debt of the board.424

In spite of the financial difficulties of its governing
board, Knoxville College prospered and enrolled 303 students,
who came from seventeen states and Central America. The
Industrial Department continued its relationship with the
University of Tennessee and received $4,000 in federal funds
for the education of Black students. This department was also
subsidized by the Women's Board of the United Presbyterian
Church of North America, who paid the salaries of the sewing
and domestic science teachers, and furnished monies for
student work-study scholarships. Scholarships to Knoxville
College, covering free board and tuition, were available to
the valedictorians at each of the preparatory schools
supported by the Board of Freedmen's Missions. The college
was also awarded five hundred dollars from the Southern
Education Board to conduct a summer school for Black teachers.

423 The Committee on the Board of Freedmen's Missions,
"Report, Minutes of the General Assembly of the United
Presbyterian Church of North America, X" (Pittsburgh, 1902),
610-611.

424 Ibid.
The school was in session for six weeks, and used as instructors some of the lecturers who were conducting a summer school for white teachers at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.  

By 1903, the Board of Freedmen's Missions had reduced the $25,052 debt to $18,400, while paying all the expenses for the year out of the $56,800 received from the regular contributions, special collections, and legacies. Knoxville College had grown to 407 students, but at the dismay of the board, still had no endowment. Overall, the board reported a much better year than 1902, and took the occasion to comment on the state of race relations in the country.

This is a time when no backward step should be taken. The very marked movements pertaining to the relations between the races and to the status of the colored race, movements which seem beyond the control even of constitutional law; call, by acknowledgement of the best, north and south, for increased devotion to the uplift of the whole colored race as apparently the only solution to the present problem. In this work our Church, with its marked anti-slavery history, should hold no second place.

The board noted the retrenchment of the judicial authorities from the protection of equal rights for Black people since the United States Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson, which had established the legality of separate
accommodations for white and Black people.428 Despite the racial tensions, the work of the Freedmen's Board continued to attract favorable attention from the white people of the South. In 1904, the citizens of Knoxville pledged $1,200 to the construction of an agricultural building for Knoxville College, a very significant demonstration of the support of Black education by the white people of Knoxville.

It was the occasion of testing the real sentiment of the Southern people regarding the work our Church is doing, and surely there is great reason to thank God and take courage. It is a practical witness of the best element of the South towards any earnest effort to make of the colored people the best citizens. The expressions concerning our work by those before whom the matter was laid for their contributions were most kindly and hearty. Surely such a testimony as this in such a practical way is worth vastly more than the cheap talk of the negro haters who love to see their names in print.429

The year 1904 marked the forty-first anniversary of the establishment of the Board of Freedmen's Missions, which now employed 118 missionaries, the majority of whom were Black. The board provided education for 3,331 students in sixteen schools, and supervised the work of eleven organized Black congregations, and four unorganized mission posts. The Black congregations contributed $4,517 in benevolences in 1904.430 The philosophy of self-help was as much a part of the program of assistance for Blacks in the United Presbyterian Church

428Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 1138 (1896).
430Ibid., p. 71.
as in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The year 1904 also marked the twenty-eighth anniversary of the founding of Knoxville College. During this period, the college had served some 3,200 students and their families and had graduated 283 students. The college furnished the faculties for the United Presbyterian Church of North America mission schools in Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina, the schools of other denominations, and the public schools. Knoxville students were also prepared for the professions of ministry, medicine, and others. The board was quite proud that, "Of all her graduates and those who have been in attendance for any considerable time, not one of the Knoxville College students had ever been arrested for a crime." 431

By 1904, the curricula of Knoxville College reflected three main types of education: intellectual, religious, and industrial. The board was quite adamant that while industrial training had received much support over the years, the literary or intellectual, and religious standards of the college had not suffered.

We believe that Knoxville College is correlating the literary with the industrial better than any other school in the South. There is no inconsistency between the highest literary training and the most thorough industrial. 432

The Literary Department enrolled 339 students and included training in the theological, college, normal, and model or

431 Ibid., p. 72.
432 Ibid.
laboratory schools. The work in the College School was the same as that of colleges for white students, with the exception of the emphases placed upon the study of English and the more practical subjects. The Normal School was much like a white preparatory school, with the exception of its classes in model teaching and the special study of pedagogy. Of the twenty-eight teachers in the Normal School, the state of Tennessee paid the salaries of seven and the Women's Board of the Church paid the salaries of five. The Industrial School was the most expensive to operate, but received subsidies from the state of Tennessee and the Women's Board of the church.433

In 1905, the "Report" of the Board of Freedmen's Missions to the general assembly spoke of the race problems in America, and of the contributions the board was making in the elimination of racial antagonisms. The religious teaching of the church was seen as the solution to the uplifting and the assimilation of the Black race into the economic and political mainstream. The board also defended the heavy industrial emphases of its mission schools.

It would seem a self-evident truth that in the education of a race, the most of whose people are to be toilers with their hands, industrial training must have a large place.434

433Ibid., pp. 72-75.

Industrial education not only provided students with skills for earning a livelihood, but it allowed them to earn a portion of their educational expenses, thus saving the board large sums of money in the erection of buildings and the general support of the schools. The board maintained that the mission schools also "trained the heart, educated the mind, and saved the soul."435

The year 1905 was a very prosperous one for Knoxville College, which by now enrolled 470 students from twenty-three states and Central America. The new agricultural building had been constructed with bricks made in the college brick yard. Other additions to the physical plant included a home for the president, an enlargement of Elnathan Hall, a laundry room equipped with steam machinery and drying rooms, and improvements to the brick yard to increase its capacity and to provide more employment to students. Most of the work was done by the industrial education students.436

So outstanding was the reputation of Knoxville College that the 1907 minutes contained this statement.

If the United Presbyterian Church had nothing else to show for her work among the negroes than what has been accomplished at Knoxville, she would have

435Ibid., p. 292.

received abundantly for all the outlay of the years in all the fields.437

The location of the college was praised as an excellent choice, for no other Black institution was nearer than Nashville, Tennessee, on the west; Atlanta, Georgia, on the south; and Raleigh, North Carolina, on the east. The city of Knoxville also enjoyed better race relations than many other Southern cities of its size. The racial harmony was attributed to the influence of the college.438

The college added a program for the training of nurses on January 1, 1907. A hospital was built by means of a gift of $3,000 in the memory of Eliza B. Wallace, one of the early teachers. Students provided much of the work on the building, and reduced the cost significantly.

It is a two-story brick, made of brick manufactured in the college brickyard and the mason work was done by our students. The hospital has all modern conveniences and is already filling a very large and important place for the colored people, not only in Knoxville but in all the surrounding country.439

The field of nursing was one of the most lucrative careers open to Black women and offered them the opportunity not only to provide much needed services to Black people, but, "to


439Ibid., p. 937.
contribute to a better feeling between the races as competent young women take their places in white families as trained nurses." Other capital improvements in 1907 included the six residences for faculty members which were all built by students on summer vacation.

In 1908, the Second Synod sent a memorial to the general assembly requesting that the charter of the Board of Freedmen's Missions be amended to allow the board to serve the increasing numbers of Black people who were migrating to Northern cities. The assembly refused the request, reaffirming its policy of not competing with the public schools in the provision of educational services to Black people.

Inasmuch as our colored people have in the cities of the North educational privileges equal to the best, and since the needs of these children of United Presbyterian faith and training may best be subserved by the usual Church methods, mindful of the history and traditions of the United Presbyterian Church and its honored predecessors, it is the judgement of this Assembly that the shepherding of our colored people in the North should be referred to the presbyteries within whose bounds they may be located.

This response also affirmed that the presbyteries had the same responsibility to Black Presbyterians as they did to white Presbyterians.

In 1908, the Board of Freedmen's Missions again pleaded with the general assembly for deliverance from deplorable conditions.

440 Ibid.
441 Ibid.
442 The Committee on Freedmen's Missions, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, XII (Pittsburgh, 1908), 32.
financial difficulties. The board had begun the year with an interest-bearing debt of $20,000, its treasury overdrawn by $9,500, and overdue insurance payments of $2,000 for a total indebtedness of $31,500. Though the 1907 general assembly had appropriated $84,000 for the Board, the total income from all sources was $59,804. Furthermore, the board had received $1,886 less in donations from the church in 1908 than 1907, a pattern unlike the Boards of Foreign Missions and Home Missions, which had increases of $31,153 and $6,456 respectively. The assembly was advised that if the donations did not increase substantially, the board would be forced to retrench its activities in the South, including reducing the salaries of the missionaries, who were already compensated at half of the rate paid missionaries in Northern assignments.443

Knoxville College was spared from some of the financial difficulties of the Freedmen's Board because of its status as the only mission institution providing higher learning. Furthermore, the Industrial Department generated income for student scholarships, and was heavily supported by extramural funding. Of the thirty-four salaried employees of the college, eight of the industrial education teachers received their salaries from the Women's Board of the church. The University of Tennessee contributed $7,500 for the exclusive use of the Industrial Department, and agreed to increase this figure by $1,250 per year, until the payment

443 Ibid., p. 31.
reached $12,500. Knoxville College was also the recipient of a $10,000 matching grant from the Andrew Carnegie Foundation for the construction of a desperately needed library and classroom building. The funds to match the grant were provided by the Semi-Centennial Financial Campaign of the United Presbyterian Church of North America.444

In 1909, the church rallied to the cause of the Board of Freedmen's Missions and contributed a total of $89,225, which was sufficient to cover all operating expenses, but the year still ended with a debt of $20,000.445 The financial support from the church was particularly meaningful this year for the general assembly was held on the campus of Knoxville College. This was the first time that the assembly had met in the South and the first visit for many of the commissioners to any of the mission schools. The hosting of the assembly also resulted in a closer relationship between the white congregations of the city and Knoxville College.446 Because the majority of the congregations of the United Presbyterian Church of North America was located north of the Mason-Dixie line, some of the native whites had viewed the mission school with suspicion, resentment, and hostility.

In 1909, the Carnegie Library Building was constructed, and it provided magnificent accommodations for the library

444Ibid.


446Ibid., p. 396.
and six badly needed classrooms. All the construction work was done by students in the Industrial Department.

The plans, drawings and blue prints were made by a student. The brick was made on the College brickyard entirely by students. The brick masonry was all done by students, even a student being foreman. The carpentry work was done by students under a foreman. The gravel roof and artificial stone for sills and steps were made by students.447

Such efforts helped to reduce the cost of operation of the college and to fulfill the self-help philosophy of the board.

The ideal . . . has been that it might be possible for every young man or woman desiring an education, to earn, when necessary, a large part of his or her expenses by work that is offered on the grounds through the summer and during the school year.448

Such work-study scholarships made the Industrial Department a prominent part of the curricula. Students not only worked to learn, but learned how to work in the occupations most accessible to Black people.

By 1910, Knoxville College had graduated 350 students, or approximately one-seventh of the total number of students who had ever attended. The information in Table IV presents the results of a follow-up study on those who had earned diplomas or degrees from the Normal or College Departments.449

447Ibid., p. 398.
448Ibid., p. 400.
TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS OF KNOXVILLE COLLEGE GRADUATES
1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principals</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College President</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministers</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentists</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.M.C.A. Secretaries</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Employees</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored Missionary Work</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Work</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>350</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1910, Knoxville College enrolled almost 500 students from twenty-plus states and three foreign countries. Of the 300 older students who had made professions of faith, 120 were members of the Baptist Church, seventy-nine of the Methodist, sixty-eight of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, nineteen of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., seven of the Congregational Church, four of the Roman Catholic Church, three of the Disciples of Christ Church, and one of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Because of the small number of Presbyterian students enrolled, the Board of Freedmen's Missions regarded its ministry at Knoxville College as "essentially altruistic and far reaching because the greater part of the fruit is borne on ecclesiastical
trees other than our own."

Such was also the attendance patterns at all of the missionary schools sponsored by the Presbyterian Churches. Black Presbyterian students were in the minority and even those students who changed to Presbyterianism while in attendance, often found it difficult to maintain their affiliations after leaving the schools.

The years 1863 to 1910 established the philosophy and practices of the ministry to Black people by the United Presbyterian Church of North America. This church was the first Presbyterian group to boldly come to the aid of Black people in their struggle for freedom. In 1863, the United Presbyterian Church provided food, shelter, and clothing for 10,000 Black refugees who had sought freedom behind the Union Army lines in Nashville, Tennessee.

From this brave and dangerous beginning, the church established a network of Black schools and congregations in the states of Tennessee, Alabama, Virginia, and North Carolina, which brought the Gospel, education, and self-reliance to the ex-slaves and their descendants. Inherent in the program of evangelism and education of the church was the belief that Black leaders could best educate and preach the Gospel to other Black people. By 1910, the majority of the teachers and administrators in the Board of Freedmen's Missions schools and congregations were Black.

450 Ibid., p. 714.
451 Loetscher, p. 152.
Knoxville College, from its establishment in 1875, became the center of the educational efforts. It supplied teachers, preachers, and workers not only for the other missionary schools supported by the church, but for the public school systems in the surrounding states. The industrial education emphasis, from the early development of the sewing department, to the agreement with the University of Tennessee to train Black students in the agricultural and mechanical arts, was one of the most prominent features. The Board of Freedmen's Missions viewed spiritual enlightenment and industrial training as the things essential to the uplifting and welfare of the Black race.

In 1913, the first effort toward accreditation or standardization of courses appeared in the annual report of the Freedmen's Board to the general assembly. On November 7, 1913, Knoxville College hosted a group of educators from all the leading Black colleges.\(^452\) Representatives from Fisk University, Howard University, Talladega College, Wilberforce University, Hampton Institute, Virginia Union University, Morehouse College, and Knoxville College agreed on uniform standards for entrance requirements, awarding of college degrees, and transfer of credits. The Association of Colleges for Negro Youth, which was formed as a result of this effort, served as the Black equivalent of a national

\(^{452}\)The Board of Freedmen's Missions, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XIII (Pittsburgh, 1914), 806.
accreditation association. Membership in the association became a mark of distinction.453

In 1914, Knoxville College lost its annual state appropriation of $10,000 for the industrial education of Black students.454 In 1912, the state established Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School at Nashville to provide preparatory education and training in the agricultural and mechanical arts to Black students. The state and federal funds which formerly went to Knoxville College were used to support the new institution.455 Knoxville College continued the Industrial Department for a period, despite this significant loss of funds.456

Another significant occurrence of 1914 was a cooperative project which involved all three Presbyterian Churches, the United Presbyterian Church of North America, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. The white congregations from the Presbyterian Church, U.S. and the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. in Knoxville employed a Black Knoxville College graduate as missionary to the Black congregations of the city. The project was one of the few

453Whetstone, p. 10.


455Jones, p. 541.

cooperative ventures carried out by the three churches in their ministries to Black people.457

Throughout the history of Knoxville College, the religious education of students was given the same or higher priority as their academic instruction. All boarding students were required to actively participate with the Black congregation located on the campus. The Bible was used daily throughout the curricula, with all classes having either a Bible lesson, prayer, or both. All efforts were taken to prepare and strongly encourage students to conduct Sunday School classes and other religious work when they returned to their homes.458 Furthermore, the Board of Freedmen's Missions regarded the primary end of Knoxville College and the other mission schools as "not simply the reduction of the appalling illiteracy among Negroes, but to teach the Gospel of Jesus Christ."459 The purpose of the schools operated by the board was "not to make the Negro smart, but to make him good."460 The supreme need of Black people was regarded to be spiritual leadership.

During World War I, the graduates of Knoxville College made outstanding contributions to both the war efforts, and

457Ibid., p. 807.


460Ibid.
the resolution of the post-war racial strife prevalent in many American communities. Many of the Black principals and pastors of the mission schools and congregations were given special training to serve as community leaders for the elimination of racial tensions. The mere presence of a mission school or congregation often contributed to improved relationships between Blacks and whites in the surrounding area. The Board of Freedmen's Missions attributed their "unceasing emphases on personal character and service as the supreme aims of life as the factors which made the Black leaders educated in mission school safe, sane, and most helpful to their communities." 461

By 1919, Knoxville College had graduated over 700 such leaders, male and female, for Black communities across the country. The college continued to be the only mission school operated under its own charter which enabled it to grant degrees and exercise all the functions of a standard college. The charter also provided for two faculty members to join the nine members of the Freedmen's Board as the Board of Trustees for Knoxville College. The college continued to be ranked among the very best of the higher education institutions for Black students. The faculty evidenced the strong missionary spirit which pervaded the institution, for though they were paid much less than their colleagues at comparable institutions, the majority of them had long periods of service. Due in part to the generosity of such

461 Ibid.
faculty members and the management of the board of trustees, the finances of the institution were reported to be "kept in the most approved manner."462

The Women's Board was also responsible for the financial health of Knoxville College and the other mission schools. This group financed the industrial work of young women, supplied the matrons for the dormitory and the cooking department, and operated the hospital. The Women's Board worked very closely with the Freedmen's Board in the operation of its own mission schools, and the construction of necessary facilities at the schools operated by the Freedmen's Board.463

In 1921, a generous gift from the Rockefeller Foundation also contributed to the financial health of Knoxville College. The gift of $125,000 was the largest single gift ever made to a mission school by a source external to the United Presbyterian Church of North America. It symbolized the endorsement by the wider community of the high ranking, efficiency, financial management, and overall operation of the college.464 The gift was eventually matched with proceeds from the New World Movement financial campaign and


464 Ibid., pp. 353-354.
friends of Black people to provide an endowment of $500,000 for the Knoxville College.465

In 1923, the general assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America approved the consolidation of the Boards of Home Missions, Freedmen's Missions, and Church Extensions to form the new Board of Home Missions.466 The educational and religious ministry to Black people was carried out by the new Department of Work Among Negroes. One of the first tasks of the new administrative unit was to respond to queries of why more Blacks had not become members of the United Presbyterian Church of North America after sixty-two years of evangelism. The majority of Blacks were affiliated with the Baptist and Methodist Churches and some exhibited strong prejudices against other white denominations, particularly the Presbyterians because of their positions on the issue of slavery. The majority of the Blacks who were favorably disposed to Presbyterianism were members of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., a church which benefited from the locations of its Black congregations in the Black population centers of North and South Carolina. Despite the relatively small percentage the 1,200 Black communicants represented in the total membership of the


United Presbyterian Church of North America, this branch of Presbyterianism was the first to raise the cry for emancipation of the slaves and to minister to the freed persons. It had sought to serve those Black communities most in need of educational and religious services, regardless of the strong prejudices against Presbyterianism in those locations.467

Knoxville College held its place at the apex of the work of the Department of Work Among Negroes, the administrative successor to the Board of Freedmen's Missions. The collegiate and preparatory departments now had separate faculties and all efforts were directed toward satisfying the requirements for accreditation as an A-1 college by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Consistent with the long standing policy of not competing with the public schools, the department acknowledged that the attitude of the South toward Black education was changing and the time was at hand when much of the elementary educational work should be turned over to the states. Knoxville College was designated as one of the four mission schools to be retained permanently as "distinctive Christian schools and developed as first class in every way with increasing emphases on Bible teaching and religious culture."468 Reductions in the number of schools were also mandated by increased costs of


468 Ibid., p. 399.
operations due to the necessity to substantially increase the salaries of Black teachers to comparable levels paid to them in public schools.

It is not an uncommon thing in some of our schools for state schools, in their pressure for well-qualified teachers, to offer our teachers an advance of from $50 to $75 per month over what they are getting. Some states have a fixed rate for colored teachers that is more than double what it was five years ago. Under these circumstances we have had to make great advances in the salaries that we pay our teachers.469

The missionary zeal, which had resulted in an outstanding faculty at Knoxville College in spite of the low salaries, was no longer sufficient. The Department of Work Among Negroes was forced to compete with other Black schools and colleges for teachers who had been educated by missions schools.

In 1928, the Board of American Missions replaced the Board of Home Missions in the second major reorganization of the boards of the church in three years. As was done in 1925, the Board of Freedmen's Missions was continued only as a legal entity to satisfy the conditions of the charter of Knoxville College and to protect all income and legacies held for the ministry to Black people. The Department of Work Among Negroes maintained responsibilities for the educational and religious ministries to Black people.470

469 Ibid., p. 401.

Also, as a part of the 1928 reorganization, the charter of Knoxville College was amended to provide for a governing board of fifteen members: nine selected from those appointed by the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America as members of the Board of Freedmen's Missions, two members of the faculty of Knoxville College, two members of the Alumni of Knoxville College, and two local citizens of Knoxville. Particularly significant in this change was the inclusion of Blacks and local citizens on the governing body of the college. The change assured a voice in the decision making to Blacks and Southerners, and more importantly, transferred the actual governance of Knoxville College from the Department of Work Among Negroes to an autonomous board of trustees, as described in the following account.

Changes in the by-laws are to be made to provide for two meetings each year, January and June, at the college. At these meetings the entire business of the college shall be transacted, the control being entirely in the hands of the trustees. It was also decided that the endowment of the college which is now being held in trust by the Board of Freedmen's Missions be transferred on July 1 to the trustees of the college and the titles to the property which now is largely in the name of the Board of Freedmen's Missions shall be vested in the College Board.

This charter amendment made Knoxville College significantly less dependent on the Department of Work Among Negroes for


472 Ibid., p. 109.
its operation. The church still appointed nine of the fifteen members of the independent board of trustees which maintained the peculiar tie relating Knoxville College to the church.

By 1928, the college had dropped its elementary program because better opportunities for the education of Black children in the South made these grades unnecessary. Nearly 400 students were enrolled in the preparatory and college programs.\footnote{Ibid., p. 102.} In appreciations for the education provided them, the college received property valued at $40,000 and the funds for the construction of a gymnasium from the alumni.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 109-110.} Knoxville College has been the recipient of many other gifts from the students it prepared to serve as leaders for Black communities.

For fifty years practically all the teachers for the colored people in the South were supplied by the schools maintained by Northern churches and philanthropy. Practically every Negro leader in those fifty years gave credit for his training to one of such schools.\footnote{Ibid., p. 104.}

The patriotism and religious orientation of the majority of Black people were also attributed to the influences of these missionary schools.\footnote{Ibid., p. 104.}

It was also in 1928 that a survey of the contributions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America to the...
educational attainments and religious developments of Black people was completed by the Department of Work Among Negroes. An increasing number of Southern states had assumed responsibility for the education of Black students, particularly at the elementary levels. This changed the emphasis of the educational work of the department from an humanitarian and missionary focus to one which competed unnecessarily with the public schools in some areas, contrary to the long standing policy of the Department of Work Among Negroes and its predecessor, the Board of Freedmen's Missions. Further, a reduction in income for the operation of the mission schools had required the department to cut its budget by 20 percent and to develop guidelines to determine which mission schools would be continued. The following deciding principles were adopted.

a. That each mission be examined as to whether the provision made by the state for education alters the need for it.

b. That study be made whether our continuance of any mission serves as a deterrent to the state in making provision through public funds for the education of its youth.

c. That in general our work shall not duplicate the work being done by the state in a given community, especially in grades one to seven.

d. That the chief mission of our work in the future shall be the giving of the Christian emphasis in college and secondary work, as a preparation for Christian Service.

e. To this end selection shall be made of the schools where the largest result can be secured in this line, with the purpose of maintaining them in an efficient manner.
f. That others shall be discontinued as rapidly as adjustments can be made with the state so that communities that we have been serving shall not be left without proper school opportunity.

g. That when a school is discontinued the question of continuing the religious work as a church shall be determined to the number of church members and adherents and also whether their spiritual interests can be served by other existing churches.

h. In selecting missions that shall be permanent attention shall be given to the fact of the co-operation of the Women's Board throughout the years and one of the Women's Board Missions should be selected as permanent.

i. That the adjustments made necessary this year on account of reduced budget shall be made without crippling the ones that will be expected to be permanent.

The department also agreed that no further schools would be established for Black students. Knoxville College and Thyne and Henderson Institute, two high schools, were selected to be maintained to satisfy the need of the Black race for Christian education.

These retrenchment efforts referred to above were necessitated in part by the continuing debts incurred by the Department of Work Among Negroes. In addition to reducing its budget for 1928 by 20 per cent, the department was also forced to cancel fire insurance on "property that would not be rebuilt if it were burned and property where the premium charge is excessive." Despite these cost-saving measures, the debt level stood at $54,541. Contributing to this figure

477ibid., pp. 105-106.
478ibid., pp. 107-108.
479ibid., p. 110.
were gifts of securities which had defaulted because of the stock market crash.480

The financial position of the Department of Work Among Negroes and the United Presbyterian Church of North America continued to suffer due to the effects of the economical depression affecting the country. This precipitated a restatement of the policies governing the educational program for Black students.

1. That our college at Knoxville, which has been recognized as one of the leading institutions in the South, shall be developed and strengthened and maintained as an A class College.

2. That three schools of secondary grade, Chase City, Virginia; Henderson, North Carolina; and one of the Wilcox County, Alabama, group should be maintained permanently as feeders for the college and for their religious training in their sections.

3. That the elementary work in all the missions should be turned over to the state as soon as the public school system would adequately provide for the children of these communities.

4. Wherever it is possible to co-operate with the state, county, Rosenwald or other funds in sharing responsibilities for education in the grades or high school work without sacrificing in any way our right to teach the Bible or give religious guidance and training for Christian leadership, this shall be done.

5. That our religious work be carried on and developed whether the school work was closed or not.481

The department cautioned the church that consistent with the principles referenced above, it had reduced its operation to

480 Ibid., p. 111.

the full limit possible without actual abandonment of the entire work. In 1932, the income from the church, private donations, interest, dividends, and legacies was $331,448. Approximately $12,000 of this amount went to Knoxville College. Another factor contributing to this state of financial exigence was the decision to reduce the budgets of the Departments of Work Among Negroes, Aliens and Mountain Work in order to enable the Board of American Missions to expand the number of new congregations among "the American-speaking white classes of society." It was determined that an increase in the number of white congregations was necessary and fundamental to the health of the United Presbyterian Church of North America.

By 1935, the budget of the Department of Work Among Negroes had been decreased to $40,000, due to the financial depression, the policy of targeting funds for the development of white congregations, and the reductions in the number of missionary schools. The Department of Work Among Negroes was forced to take such austerity measures as cuts in salaries of faculty and staff, increases in the work assignments of teachers, termination of faculty, and reductions in the length of the school year. The department again warned the

482Ibid., p. 95.


484Ibid., pp. 89, 91.
church that the ministry to Black people which had begun in 1863 was not completed and was in danger of being aborted due to lack of proper financial support.

The need for the Christian emphasis in education these days is intensified by the fact of subtle and persistent propaganda among the Negroes to turn them against our government and Christianity. Taking advantage of the injustices that the Negro has suffered from slavery on, Russian communism and extreme radicalism are concentrating on the Negro to win him to their cause. . . . The church must continue to prove that she is the friend of the lowly and the despised and must continue the teachings of Jesus as the one hope for any people.485

The Gospel of Christ continued to be viewed as the primary vehicle for the elevation of Black people to their proper places in the social system, and it was deemed incumbent on the United Presbyterian Church of North America to evangelize not only to white American-speaking congregations but to Black and other disenfranchised peoples.

Despite these retrenchments effecting the overall educational ministry to Black people, Knoxville College continued to prosper and to maintain its first-class standing according to the ranking by the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth. The college received a $12,000 appropriation from the church to complement the income from its endowment and other sources. In October, 1937, the Reverend Dr. Samuel

M. Laing was chosen as president by the board of trustees to replace the retiring Dr. J. Kelly Giffen. 486

By 1939, the Department of Work Among Negroes had relinquished to state authorities, and the Women's Board of the church all elementary work, except for one school in Alabama. The state and county government participated in the funding of the two remaining high schools which enrolled a total of 555 students and served as feeder schools for Knoxville College. The college now enrolled 292 students, having eliminated its secondary program. It was debt-free and operated on a balanced budget. 487 The reports to the general assembly by the Department of Work Among Negroes lamented that the work of Knoxville College was hampered by the lack of an "A" rating.

Because of the high position it has attained and the honor it has brought to the Church, its future should be maintained in such a way that it will provide the best possible Christian training for true leadership of the Colored people, and it should have such a standing in the list of accredited colleges in its field that its appeal to the Colored youth should be as strong as that of any other institution of its kind. 488

To satisfy the requirements for an "A" rating by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Knoxville College needed


488 The Department of Work Among Negroes, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XX (Pittsburgh, 1940), 89.
to upgrade its facilities, increase the salaries paid faculty, and expand the number of faculty members with earned doctorates.489

In 1941 the Department of Work Among Negroes reported to the church that though there were still great measures of antipathy to the progress of Blacks in both the North and South, the feelings were softening. "The Interracial Committee has secured a larger acknowledgement of the Negro rights, and a decree from the Federal Courts will secure the ultimate equalization of Negro and White schools and teachers."490 Also, aided by groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Black people were developing greater racial consciousness and making new demands on whites for greater social, economical, educational, and political parity. The church again reiterated that the solution to such problems lay in the application of the principles of Jesus Christ and that no plan, whether of society or government, could be successful if it did not have as its foundations the principles of the Gospel.491

Knoxville College continued to represent the major response of the United Presbyterian Church of North America to the training of Black leaders for the resolution of the

489Ibid.

490The Department of Work Among Negroes, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XX (Pittsburgh, 1941), 402.

491Ibid.
racial problems. The College received $12,000 of the $32,000 annual budget set aside for work among Black people. In 1941, the board of trustees took a very significant step when it named Dr. John A. Cotton, a Black man, as interim president of Knoxville College. Dr. Cotton had served as principal and pastor of the mission school and congregation at Henderson, North Carolina for over thirty years. His appointment was celebrated by the Knoxville College community as shown in the following account.

His presence on the campus has had a most salutary influence, for out of discouragement has come optimism, and out of apparent chaos has come order. There is among the student body and teaching force a feeling of good will which augurs well for the future of the school, and among the alumni there is a spirit of cooperation such as has not been manifested for a long time.492

Under the leadership of Dr. Cotton, the curricula were expanded to return to some of the earlier emphases on the industrial education of students. Courses in the domestics and practical arts were developed and a local fund-raising campaign was launched to provide funds to upgrade the academic programs and facilities.493

By 1942, Knoxville College was suffering the effects of World War II. The enlistment of students in the military, the lure of high wages offered by the defense industries, plus the uncertainty of the future all contributed to loss of students and faculty members. The fight for democratic

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492 Ibd., p. 403.
493 Ibd.
ideals on foreign shores by Black men from Knoxville College who were denied many of these liberties in their homeland was addressed in the "Report" of the Department of Work Among Negroes to the general assembly in 1942.

In the light of our determination to fight to victory the most powerful conspiracy from without that has ever threatened our democratic institutions, we need to re-examine our own inner life to discover whether we have a democracy which is worth fighting for. Certainly it is in order to look ourselves squarely in the face. If in the normal life of the country, in our economic scheme, in our political world and elsewhere it is still possible by unjust discrimination to deny the Negro that which is his right, there is no wonder that of late he should furnish the fertile soil for the preaching of political heresy. Nor should we be surprised that a large number of Negroes, especially among the younger group, should turn away from the ideals of democracy to the blandishments of communism.494

The department was also concerned that young Black people, such as those educated by Knoxville College, not become impatient with the political order. Despite the progress made since emancipation in 1863, Black people were still denied most of the rights and privileges of first-class citizenship. The 1942 "Report" also noted that three Knoxville College students were enrolled in seminary at Pittsburgh-Xenia Seminary, a white institution related to the church. The theological program at Knoxville had been dropped because of insufficient enrollment.495

495Ibid., p. 762.
By 1943, Dr. Cotton had resigned due to failing health. After prayerful deliberations, the board of trustees elected Dr. William Lloyd Imes, another Black man, as president of Knoxville College.

... the Board had to face the question as to whether the president of Knoxville College should be, as he had been up to Dr. Cotton's time, a man of the white race, or whether it should heed the growing insistent demand that he be, as in the case of many colleges for Negroes, a man of their own race. After very much serious thought, the Board felt that the time was now ripe to put a Negro in charge of Knoxville College. Of the many candidates whose names were before the committee, Dr. William Lloyd Imes, the then pastor of St. James Presbyterian Church of New York City, was from the first the almost unanimous choice, and at the regular meeting of the Board at Knoxville in November, the unanimous choice for this position.496

Dr. Imes had been a student at Knoxville College and his parents had been missionaries at the church school in Prairie, Alabama. The election of a Black man as the president of Knoxville College fulfilled a long-standing goal of the Board of Freedmen's Missions and its successor that the mission schools and congregations be turned over to Black leadership as soon as such was educated.497

In 1944, under the guidance of Dr. Imes, Knoxville College repaired and renovated many of the buildings which significantly improved the appearance of the campus and boosted the morale of faculty, students, and alumni. To

496 The Department of Work Among Negroes, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XX (Pittsburgh, 1943), 1037.
497 Ibid.
reduce the serious financial stringency brought on by the war and resultant decline in enrollment, the Knoxville College joined with twenty-six other Black colleges in forming the United Negro College Fund. This organization sought to raise $1,500,000 to be divided among the participating institutions to supplement their operating budgets.498 The total amount raised was $900,000, $15,000 of which went to Knoxville College.499

In 1945, Knoxville College received $5,000 as its share of the White Gift Offering collected for the six colleges of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Despite this assistance and the money from the United Negro College Fund, which could only be used for non-recurring expenses, the college still struggled to satisfy its financial commitments. The church was asked to increase the endowment funds so that the income generated would free the institution from dependence on annual solicitations.500

By 1946, the Department of Work Among the Negroes reported that due to better economic conditions in the South, and the public schools assuming greater responsibilities for the education of Black youth, the church would soon turn over to public officials all the elementary and...

498The Department of Work Among the Negroes, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XXI (Pittsburgh, 1944), 94.

499Ibid.

500Ibid.
secondary work. It was also determined that the efforts of the United Presbyterian Church of North America and other religious groups needed to be upgraded in order to provide Black students with better opportunities for postsecondary learning. The separate public colleges provided for Black students were not sufficient to satisfy the demand for higher learning of the returning war veterans and other students. The Board of Trustees of Knoxville College established the attainment of an "A" accreditation rating by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools as the primary goal to enhance the institution. It approved recommendations which called for a student limit of 300, modified curricula, a higher standard of teachers, salary levels in compliance with the requirements of the Southern Association, and a long-range program of renovations and repairs on the buildings.501

In 1947, Dr. Imes resigned as president of the college and Dr. J. Reed Miller was elected as his successor.502 Improvements continued to be made in the facilities, the library, and the faculty to meet the requirements for accreditation at the highest level. Funds for the improvements came from the alumni, the United Negro College Fund, a church-wide fund raising campaign; and the sale of proper-


ties from discontinued mission schools. Finally, in the fall of 1949, Knoxville College received the coveted "A" rating from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

In 1951, the Department of Work Among the Negroes was changed to the Education Department because the Black congregations had been transferred to the unit responsible for white congregations and other presbyterian matters. The new department was primarily responsible for the liaison between the church and the two remaining mission schools: Knoxville College and Arlington Literary and Industrial School at Annemanie, Alabama, a secondary school.

Also, in 1951 the board of trustees for Knoxville elected the first non-clergyperson and experienced college administrator, Dr. James A. Colston, as president. The college was greatly in need of renovation to its heating system, re-equipping of the science building, and an upgrading of its academic standards. The enrollment now stood at 250 students. One of the first acts performed by

503 The Department of Work Among the Negroes, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XXII (Pittsburgh, 1948), 104.

504 The Department of Work Among the Negroes, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XXII (Pittsburgh, 1949), 469.

505 The Education Department, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XXII (Pittsburgh, 1951), 1284-1285.

506 Ibid., pp. 1285-1286.
Dr. Colston was to increase the number of students to 301 and to replace unqualified professors with others with advanced degrees. Faculty salaries were increased and student services were upgraded to satisfy the requirements of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Two church agencies, the Education Department of the American Mission Board and the Women's General Missionary Society, substantially increased their support to the college to pay for these improvements. Overall, the college was in a better physical, spiritual, and academic condition than it had been for many years.507

By 1954, the Department of Education reported with pride that Knoxville College had reclaimed much of the high standing which had characterized its early years, as described in the following account.

Whereas four years ago there was serious consideration given to closing the college, today it takes its place among the leading colleges of its type in the south. Knoxville College commands the respect and the support of the church.508

The enrollment of the institution now stood at 408 students, "brought about by the attainment of higher academic standards, a much improved physical plant and an intensive recruiting program."509 Students came from twenty-two

507 The Education Department, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XXIII (Pittsburgh, 1952), 136-137.


509 Ibid.
states, the District of Columbia, the Gold Coast, West Africa, and Japan. The Young Memorial Fine Arts Hall and a building for faculty housing were dedicated in 1953. Renovations were made to the dormitories, the administration building, the library, and the gymnasium. Funds for the remodeling came from the United Negro College Capital Fund, special gifts, and the Education Department of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, which in 1954 contributed $48,000 to the budget of Knoxville College.

By 1955, consistent with the ruling of the United States Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public education, the charter of Knoxville College was amended to remove all restrictions according to race. Though the college had been established for the education of Black students, it had admitted Black and white students throughout its history. By 1957, the endowments of the college had increased to $800,000, a Teachers' House was built, and $264,000 had been raised by the people of Knoxville, friends of the College, and others to erect a new science building to replace the one destroyed by fire in 1956. Knoxville College now enrolled 450 students, despite selective entrance requirements which were increased each year. The college was operated on a balanced budget on the income provided from its endowment, the Education Department and the Women's General Missionary

510 Ibid.

511 The Education Department, "Report," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, Appendix, XXIII (Pittsburgh, 1955), 1389.
Society of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, student tuitions and fees, and other gifts.  

It was also in 1957 that the last reorganization occurred in the administration of the mission schools by the United Presbyterian Church of North America. The schools which had been operated by the American Missions Department of the Women General Missionary Society were now turned over to the Education Department of the Board of American Missions. The Education Department approved the transfer of the Appalachian schools to the counties of Morgan and Menifee in 1957. The only mission schools which remained under the direction of the Education Department were those which served Black students, and included Knoxville College, Arlington Institute, Miller's Ferry School, Camden Academy and Prairie School.  

In 1958, the United Presbyterian Church of North America merged with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to become the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. This resulted in the consolidation of the Board of American Missions of the former United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Board of National Missions of the former Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The Black mission schools of the predecessor churches, Barber-Scotia College, Knoxville College, Mary Holmes College, and the elementary and secondary schools,


513 Ibid., pp. 517, 520-521.
were now administered and funded through the Department of Educational and Medical Work under the new Board of National Missions. Johnson C. Smith University, a former mission school which became independent in 1938, was related to the new church as an independent college through the Board of Christian Education. From 1958 until 1983, the role of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in the governance of Knoxville College is presented in the section on the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Summary
From 1867 to 1892, the three Presbyterian Churches established the institutions which are today known as Barber-Scotia College in Concord, North Carolina; Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina; Knoxville College in Knoxville, Tennessee; Mary Holmes College in Westpoint, Mississippi; and Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. These five colleges represent the efforts of the Presbyterians to educate and evangelize Black people. At a time when Southern states were either unable to or refused to provide for the education of Black students, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the United Presbyterian Church of North America established mission schools to prepare Black people for full participation in American society. The three churches were

responsible for a network of over 200 parochial schools which extended throughout the South. From 1920 to 1954, all three churches reduced the number of missionary schools as Southern states provided opportunities for Black students to be educated. The reductions were also caused by lack of financial support by the congregations, a factor which continually plagued the schools. From 1954 to 1984, all three churches wrestled with the dilemma of their continued support of segregated schools when the judicial process had made public and private white institutions accessible to Black students. The churches also struggled to make the Black colleges, which from their founding had been heavily dependent on the Presbyterian churches for their financial support and overall administration, independent colleges governed and financed by local boards of trustees. There were many similarities and differences in the operations of the missionary schools by the three churches. The information in Chapter Five examines some of the significant polices and practices which determined the relationships of the churches to their Black colleges.
CHAPTER IV

THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE OPERATIONS OF THE THREE CHURCHES

Introduction

The general assemblies of all three Presbyterian Churches established executive agencies to manage the ministries to Black people between their annual meetings. In the period from 1867 to 1923, the policies and practices of these agencies determined the missions of the institutions and their relationships to the churches, which differed from the relationships of the white colleges related to the churches. The black colleges and mission schools were related to the churches at the general assembly or national level. The white colleges were related to the churches at the synod or regional levels. The principal responsibilities of the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, and the Executive Committee of the Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., were to carry out the actions of the assemblies and to raise funds. The administrative styles and practices of the three units varied but they all wrestled with the problems of educating a
Black population that was 70 per cent illiterate, of evangelizing ex-slaves who were more favorable to other denominations because of the positions of the Presbyterian Churches on slavery, and of soliciting adequate financial support for the ministry to the emancipated slaves. The religious and educational ministries to Black people were viewed with hostility and indifference by a great majority of the members of all three churches.

In the period from 1924 to 1954, the Division of Missions for Colored People of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Department of Negro Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the Department of Work Among Negroes of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, reduced their numbers of mission schools as Southern states assumed greater responsibility for the education of Black students. In some cases, the states subsidized the Division of Missions for Colored People, and the Department of Work Among Negroes for their operation of schools in areas where no public instruction was offered. There was no mention of state or federal subsidy for the schools operated by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Both the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America established policies that forbade the mission schools from competing with the public schools. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S. did not have such a policy, nor did it operate the large numbers of elementary and secondary mission schools as the other two Presbyterian Churches.
As soon as the Southern states assumed their responsibility for the education of Black students, the mission schools of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America were closed or turned over to the public authorities.

During the period of 1955 to 1983, the Program Agency and the Board of American Missions, and their predecessors from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America struggled to make the mission schools independent of their control and financial support. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America merged in 1958 to become the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Independent boards of trustees replaced advisory boards but they were not willing to assume responsibilities for the mortgages on the properties of Barber-Scotia College, Knoxville College, and Mary Holmes Colleges. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S. approved an independent board of trustees for Stillman College in 1950. From 1950 to 1983, the college had direct access to the general assembly of the church.

The Position of Religion

The emphasis on religion as the liberating force to lift Black people out of the abyss caused by their enslavement was a similarity in the operations of all three churches. Because religion and education were inseparable to Presbyterians, systems of mission schools were established to teach
Black people to read, write, maintain Christian homes, and to aid in the evangelization of Black people. The preparation of men to serve as preachers for new Black congregations was one of the primary goals of these schools. It was deemed essential to have educated Black ministers to retain and attract Black people to the church. The preparation of teachers was also a major goal in the establishment of these schools. The mission schools became the major thrust of the ministry to Black people.

Another similarity was the organization of Black congregations in conjunction with the establishment of the mission schools. The congregations provided laboratories for the ministerial candidates to preach and for the normal students to teach. During the period from 1867 to 1950, Black schools and congregations were supervised by the same agencies. As the schools matured and as the churches integrated their work to Black people with other domestic missions, the Black congregations were transferred to the jurisdiction of the presbyteries.

Despite the split of the Presbyterian Church over issues of doctrine and slavery, there were little differences in their emphasis on religion in the ministries to the emancipated slaves. All three churches spoke out against the legal and economic injustices suffered by Black people. The most significant difference was the insistence on a separate Black Presbyterian Church by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Although the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United
Presbyterian Church of North America did not support the segregation of Black people in a separate church. Black congregations and presbyteries were organized along racial lines in all three churches.

The Structures of the Churches

During the period of 1867 to 1923, the organizational structures established to manage the ministries to Black people were similar in all three churches. The Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America were both incorporated to supervise the educational and religious ministry to Black people. These boards were responsible for the development of systems of schools that extended through several states and employed full-time corresponding secretaries and other staff to supervise the fund-raising efforts, the purchase of property, the deployment of missionaries and teachers, and the selection of new mission posts.

Unlike the Northern Presbyterian Churches, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. did not develop a system of mission schools for it sought only to educate Black ministers in order to carry out its plan for the establishment of a separate Black Presbyterian Church. Tuscaloosa Institute initially provided only theological education, and added academic instruction only when it became impossible to recruit students capable of such advanced study. The Executive Committee of the Institute for the Training of
Colored Ministers performed many of the same functions as the Board of Missions for Freedmen and the Board of Freedmen's Missions on a much smaller scale, due to its unwillingness to undertake any expansion until necessary funds were received. Tuscaloosa Institute received the majority of the attention of the executive committee due to its role as the only mission college, though the executive committee supervised four Black elementary and secondary schools for a period.

From 1867 to 1983, the organizational structures underwent many changes as the three churches struggled to find the most appropriate configurations to carry out their educational ministries to Black people. Some argued that the ministries to Black people should be a part of the overall domestic efforts, while others contended that the ministries needed the recognition and access to the general assemblies afforded by their separate boards or executive committees. Although the three churches were separate, they shared similarities in organizational structures and tended to reorganize in approximately the same time frames. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and its successor, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. established the following administrative agencies to interface directly with Barber-Scotia College, Johnson C. Smith University, Mary Holmes College, and its other mission schools: the Committee on Freedmen in 1865, the Freedmen's Department of the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions in 1869, the Committee of Missions for Freedmen in 1870, the Board of Missions for
Freedmen in 1883, the Division of Missions for Colored People in 1923, the Unit of Work for Colored People in 1936, the Department of Educational and Medical Work in 1958, the Department of Education in 1962, the Program Agency in 1973, and the Committee on Minority Education in 1980. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S. established the following agencies for overseeing Stillman College: the Executive Committee of the Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers 1878, the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization in 1891, the Department of Colored Work in 1911, the Department of Colored Evangelization in 1914, the Department of Negro Work in 1923, and an independent board of trustees with direct access to the general assembly in 1950. The United Presbyterian Church of North America and its successor, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. established the following agencies to supervise the activities of Knoxville College and the other mission schools: the Board of Missions to the Freedmen of the South in 1863, the Board of Freedmen's Missions in 1876, the Department of Work Among Negroes in 1923, the Education Department in 1951, and the Department of Educational and Medical Work in 1958, the Department of Education in 1962, the Program Agency in 1973, and the Committee on Minority Education in 1980. The numerous organizational changes created confusion for some of the supporters of the mission schools. One of the reasons that Johnson C. Smith University cited for wanting to be an
The independent college was the many organizational changes occurring in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

One of the primary differences between the agencies established by the three churches was their involvement in the day-to-day operations of the colleges as measured by the annual reports to the general assemblies, particularly in the period after 1910. Due in part to the large numbers of mission colleges and schools under its jurisdiction, the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and its successors gave very little detail on the curricula, faculty, and program of the individual schools. The Executive Committee on the Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America reported in greater detail on the faculty, academic programs, and overall condition of Stillman and Knoxville Colleges.

The Solicitation of Funds

Throughout the period from 1867 to 1983, the churches encountered difficulties in raising funds to support the educational and religious ministries to Black people. During the period of 1867 to 1923, the churches were often scolded for their poor support of a charge that had been given them by God: the spiritual and moral uplifting of Black people. The general assemblies customarily approved the solicitations of sufficient funds, but the actual collections usually averaged less than half of the appropriations. The
Board of Missions for Freedmen and its successors in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., were continually plagued by deficit spending. The Board of Freedmen's Missions and its successors in the United Presbyterian Church of North America operated without significant indebtedness until 1900, and although it was much more conservative than the Board of Missions for Freedmen, they too were plagued with deficit spending. The Executive Committee of the Institute for the Training of Colored Ministers and its successors were the most conservative of all three agencies and incurred the least indebtedness. However, the executive committee also provided the smallest educational services to the Black community.

From 1867 to 1983, the churches were reminded that the fate of white people was interwoven with that of Blacks, and the churches must seek to assist the oppressed and poor. All three churches wrestled with the uncertainty over the annual offerings and other solicitations, the lack of adequate endowments for the schools, and the increasing competition for decreasing mission dollars. The educational ministry to Black people was supported by only a small minority of members in all three churches. Some members supported the mission schools because of feelings of paternalism and desires to maintain racially-segregated Presbyterian colleges. Others considered the mission colleges as anachronisms which impeded the integration of Black and white schools. However, despite the periodic financial campaigns
in all three churches that yielded millions of dollars, none of the churches was able to provide sufficient endowment and operating funds to place the mission colleges on secure financial footholds. Due to the uncertainty of the financial support of the churches, and the paternalistic management practices of the agencies charged with overseeing the colleges, the mission schools often survived from one financial crisis to the other, relying on the generosity of the small minority of supporters and the fiducial obligations of the churches.

Throughout the period from 1867 to 1983, the contributions of Black people to the mission schools were regarded as essential by all three churches. These contributions were important parts of the fund-raising efforts of all three churches as they symbolized self-reliance, spiritual maturity, and economic prosperity of a people almost decimated by slavery. From 1964 to 1983, increasing numbers of Black students opted to attend predominantly white institutions. The mission colleges suffered losses in the most valuable commodity the Black congregations provided, highly motivated and academically prepared students.

The Focus of the Curricula

During the period of 1867 to 1923, all three churches were faced with the dilemma of educating a Black population that was 70 per cent illiterate, who needed to learn to read and write before learning the Bible and Presbyterian doctrines. The curricula of the mission schools operated by
the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America were similar in that they provided for elementary education before introducing the students to advanced theological study or other educational work.

The policies of the Executive Committee of the Colored Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. were quite different from the Board of Mission for Freedmen and the Board of Freedmen's Missions. The executive committee restricted admissions to Stillman Institute to students who met prescribed academic standards for admissions. Furthermore, students who were unable to pay their expenses or be under the care of a presbytery which could were denied admittance. The Board of Missions for Freedmen and the Board of Freedmen's Missions did not deny educational services to students who were unable to pay the small tuition fees.

Although most of the missionary teachers were trained in the liberal approach to education and utilized it in their work in the mission schools, industrial education programs were developed in all the mission schools to respond to public demands, and to allow students to earn some of their educational expenses. The emphasis on industrial education was greatest at Knoxville College, which received state and federal funds to educate Black students in the industrial arts, and least at Stillman College, which placed its focus on the courses needed to prepare ministers.
From 1923 to 1983, all three churches were less involved in the curricula of the colleges as measured by the annual reports to the general assemblies. As the colleges developed, there was proportionally less involvement by the churches in the day-to-day operations. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America made more detailed reports to the general assemblies on the developments of Stillman College and Knoxville College than the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. did for its colleges.

The Selection of Faculty and Administrators

All three churches had similar selection criteria for faculty, which emphasized religious training and missionary commitment. The administrators of the schools were ordinarily preachers who, with the teachers, were compensated very minimally for extremely harsh working conditions. White workers were particularly affected because they were often ostracized by other whites and suspicious Blacks. The Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Board of Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America very early established policies calling for the operation of the mission schools by Black teachers and administrators as soon as they were available. The Board of Mission for Freedmen and its successors nominated Black presidents for Johnson C. Smith in 1892, Barber-Scotia College in 1932, and Mary Holmes College in 1957. The Board of Freedmen's Missions nominated the
The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the United Presbyterian Church of North America had many similarities in the operations of their educational ministries to Black people. The Southern Church, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., was most different from the two Northern churches, in the numbers of schools established, admission practices, policies on employment of Black people, and competition with the public schools. Overall, the three churches had more similarities than differences in their educational ministries to Black people.

The extent of the educational ministry was directly related to the size of the church; with the largest, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., responsible for the greatest number of schools; and the smallest, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., responsible for the least number of schools. The work of all three churches suffered because of lack of financial support, and the lack of the endorsement of the ministry by the majority of their congregations.
Beginning in 1950, the churches attempted to make the Black mission colleges independent of the financial and administrative support of the agencies of the general assemblies by replacing the advisory boards for the colleges with autonomous boards of trustees. Three of those boards were not able to assume responsibility for the heavy indebtedness on the properties and still relied on the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (the result of the 1958 merger of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America) for major financial support. Despite valiant efforts by the staff of the churches, the continued commitment of a small percentage of Black and white congregations who contribute to the fund-raising efforts, and the loan guarantees and emergency financial awards made by the churches, Barber-Scotia College, Mary Holmes College, and Knoxville College are still financially dependent on the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) for mortgage indebtedness and operating support. Stillman College also still receives proportionally more assistance from the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) than independent white colleges. Johnson C. Smith University became an independent college in 1938 and is least dependent on the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) for financial assistance.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this case study was to examine the roles of the agencies of the general assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the United Presbyterian Church of North America in the administrative and financial support of Barber-Scotia College, Johnson C. Smith University, Knoxville College, Mary Holmes College, and Stillman College. The roles of these agencies in the transition of these colleges, from dependent mission schools to independent institutions governed and financed by their own boards of trustees, were analyzed. While the agencies have been successful in transferring control of the colleges to independent boards of trustees, they have not been completely successful in severing fiducial property obligations for some of the colleges, nor have they fully implemented guidelines calling for the support of education for minority students rather than general provision of funds to minority institutions. With the development of autonomous boards of trustees, the agencies of the churches have been removed from the administration of the colleges, from access to such internal
information as enrollment figures and projections, findings from external evaluations by regional and national accrediting groups, and management of the general operating, endowment, and other finances.

The Presbyterian Churches established Barber-Scotia College, Johnson C. Smith University, Knoxville College, Mary Holmes College, and Stillman Colleges as mission schools to meet the religious, educational, and economic needs of the emancipated Black slaves. Though the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the United Presbyterian Church of North America disagreed over the issues of slavery and doctrine, they all agreed that they had moral responsibilities for the spiritual, educational, and economic uplifting of Black people. The administrative and financial patterns of the three churches were very similar. All treated the mission schools as remedial temporary measures necessitated by the refusal of Southern and border states to provide adequately for the public education of Black people, and to satisfy the demand for educated Black clergy to attract Black members to the Presbyterian denomination. Though the general assemblies approved numerous resolutions of support for the work by the predominantly white churches, the Black schools did not receive the support of the majority of Presbyterians at the synod, presbytery, or congregational levels.

In the early development of these schools, from 1867 to 1922, the churches gave great attention to the administrative
and financial needs of the institutions. During the period from 1924 to 1949, the churches pared down the number of elementary schools and concentrated on providing secondary and higher education for Blacks, areas still not sufficiently covered by the states. During the period from 1950 to 1983, the churches struggled with strategies to make the schools independent of their administrative and financial support. These actions were taken as a result of the declines in the memberships of the churches and the resultant decreases in monies available for mission support. Furthermore, some questioned the continuing need for the Black mission colleges, or the significant financial assistance they received from the churches because judicial decisions had provided Black students access to all institutions receiving state and federal funds. Others stated that the churches could now best support Black higher education by direct financial assistance to students through scholarships and loans, rather than maintenance of institutions that suffered from poor locations, years of physical and financial neglect, and high turnover of personnel. The predominantly white public junior colleges and universities enrolled the majority of Black students, and offered facilities and programs superior in quality and quantity to those at the mission colleges.

Throughout the period covered by the study, and despite the well formulated policies and plans of action that appeared in the minutes of the general assemblies, the churches appeared undecided on the relationships they desired
with the mission colleges. Feelings of indifference, resentment, and hostility by the majority of the members contributed to the institutions being treated as step-children. They were members of the Presbyterian family but were not perceived by the majority of the members of the churches as entitled to the same support as the white church-related colleges. Even among the small group of supporters of the Black colleges, feelings of paternalism often contributed to lowered expectations of the abilities of Black people and institutions to exceed levels of margin- ality. These attitudes became self-fulfilling prophecies as the colleges were provided just enough financial assistance to remain open, and not held accountable to the levels of excellence reflected in the study papers of the churches, or expected of the white church-related colleges.

Another contributing factor to the climate of margin- ality surrounding these institutions was the unwillingness of the Presbyterian Churches to be labeled racist or insensitive by withdrawing funds or closing any of the remaining mission colleges. The decision to restore funding to Barber-Scotia College and Ganado College was due in part to the strong protests of the supporters of the colleges, the reluctance of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to pay off immediately multi-million dollar mortgages, and the recognition that the poor location and maintenance of the facilities of the colleges rendered them unattractive for other than their current uses. Although the supporters of the
Black mission colleges have been able to thwart any efforts to close any of the remaining institutions, they have not been able to mobilize the human and financial resources necessary to move Barber-Scotia College, Mary Holmes College, and Knoxville College beyond day-to-day survival. Some leading educators and church administrators support the premise that Black students do best in institutions that provide psychologically safe environments. However, institutions that are beset with financial worries which threaten their accreditation status, which make a mockery out of pay day, which make budgeting impossible because of a lack of sufficient income, which are not able to pay utilities, which are not able to conduct business with vendors except on a cash basis, are first of all consumed with survival and often the educational and social needs of "high risk" Black students must take a low priority.

Conclusions

The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has a history of support of higher education in general and Black higher education in particular. With the development of Ashmun Institute in 1856, the predecessor of Lincoln University, the Presbyterian Church embarked on a course that was uncharted, evangelical, controversial, expensive, and unceasing. The mission schools provided education not only for Black students, but improved the quality of life of the surrounding communities. Barber-Scotia College, Johnson C. Smith University, Knoxville College, Mary Holmes College, and
Stillman College are the remaining institutions of over 200 mission schools developed by the Presbyterian Churches to lift Black people out of the educational and economic abyss caused by their enslavement.

The major findings of this study led to the following conclusions.

1. The Black colleges of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) have never received the support of the majority of the white congregations, and their support by Black congregations has eroded as more Black students attend predominantly white colleges and universities.

2. The predecessor churches of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., conducted numerous studies and expended considerable sums of monies on efforts to strengthen the administrative and financial positions of Barber-Scotia College, Knoxville College, Mary Holmes College, and Stillman College, but experienced little success in implementing the findings of these studies.

3. Although the predecessor church of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., adopted policies which targeted financial assistance to students rather than general support to institutions, considerable church funds are still designated for institutional support.

4. The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has determined that minority education shall be one of the priorities of
its mission program, but has not determined how the current Black colleges will relate to the church, or what will be the role of the church in addressing the financial exigencies of Barber-Scotia College, Knoxville College, and Mary Holmes College.

5. The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) is faced with the dilemma of designing new patterns of educational ministries with Black and other minority communities while most of the available funds are being utilized to maintain the remaining mission institutions at subsistence levels.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made to identify ways in which the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) can improve its support of Black higher education:

1. Affirm the necessity for and provide sufficient financial support to establish minority education as one of the highest priorities of the church;

2. Access its commitment to the education of Black students and the general support of Black institutions with the willingness to place the interests of students above that of institutions, denominational pride, alumni loyalty and pressures, or mortgage indebtedness;

3. Determine the number and locations of those Black institutions that are best able to provide high quality academic and extracurricular service to disadvantaged students from diverse backgrounds and target all institutional assistance to those schools;
4. Provide sufficient endowment funds, operating monies, assistance in student and faculty recruitment, and other services which would enable those schools to develop high-quality academic and extracurricular programs;

5. Assume a proactive role in reviewing the results of accreditation visits, enrollment records, annual audit reports, graduation and placement records, attrition and retention rates, personnel turnover, and other indicators of the relative health of its Black colleges;

6. Recognize the large number of Black students attending predominantly white institutions and develop programs to provide necessary financial and psychological support to such students.
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