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Emily Prudden and her schools

Pollitt, Phoebe Ann, Ph.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1994

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EMILY PRUDDEN AND HER SCHOOLS

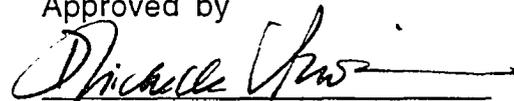
by

Phoebe Pollitt

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro
1994

Approved by

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael V. [unclear]", written over a horizontal line.

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In the late nineteenth century, many Protestant churches sent workers into the Appalachian mission field to establish churches and schools and more generally, to work for the betterment of the mountaineers. While many of these endeavors were plagued by paternalism, racism, and at times grew out of a desire to expand denominational influence, others were sincere and unselfish efforts to work on behalf of and with disadvantaged people. The motivations and impact of these missionary reformers has been debated for a century.

Few scholars have studied missionary education in Appalachian North Carolina with a specific focus on the decades around the turn of the century. Some broader research addressing missionary education in Appalachia and North Carolina educational history mentions this topic, but it has rarely been specifically explored. This study, a microhistory of a single missionary educator, Emily Caroline Prudden, and the thirteen schools she founded in Appalachian North Carolina in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, adds detail and refinement to the broader scope of scholarship currently available. Because Prudden worked in both

African-American and white communities as well as with a variety of denominations, her story provides a multidimensional examination of turn-of-the-century educational missionary activities.

A close study of Emily Prudden and her schools reveals a significant contribution to the people of western North Carolina in the decades following Reconstruction. From 1884 when she opened her first school, until her death in 1917, she contributed unceasingly to the educational welfare of thousands of North Carolina children. By doing this, she opened the door to literacy and job skills that would have remained closed for many years.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER 1
EMILY PRUDDEN AND HER SCHOOLS

Introduction

Every life, institution, and event is polysemous--that is to say, each holds multiple meanings simultaneously. When history is written, it is often as reflective of the historian as it is of the subject. Which "facts" about the topic are included, how they are arranged, and what conclusions (if any) are drawn vary widely depending on the past experiences, political persuasion, and purposes of the historian. Such is the case regarding the movement of Yankee schoolmarms into the South from the beginning of the Civil War through the beginning of the twentieth century. These mainly young, white, educated Protestant women have been vilified by some historians and lauded by others. Were they the "sainted souls" of W. E. B. Du Bois (1903, p. 100) or the "dangerous fools" of W. J. Cash (1941, p. 140)? A scholarly debate concerning the motivation and impact that these teachers had on their adopted communities has ensued for over a century. Their place in history has yet to be resolved.

Relatively unexplored areas exist in the historical record concerning the work of missionary educators in the late nineteenth-century South. Many historians such as Butchart (1980) and Jones (1980) have studied Northern missionary teachers working with African Americans during the Civil War and Reconstruction era. Fewer, notably Klotter (1980) and Whisnant (1983), have written about Appalachian educational missionaries. Other scholars such as Link (1986, 1992), Leloudis (1989), and Knight (1916) have researched turn-of-the-century Southern public education emphasizing the rise of and roles played by governmental and philanthropic educational bureaucracies.

There is a virtual void in the literature regarding the northern educational missionary work with African American and Appalachian communities in North Carolina from 1880 through 1910. This dissertation seeks to partially fill the gap in the historical record by using Emily Prudden and her schools.

Educational Missionary Work with Southern African Americans

From the time of the arrival of the first groups of Yankee schoolmarms tending to their perceptions of the spiritual, educational, and physical needs of escaping slaves in Virginia and South Carolina in 1862, antithetical opinions have been voiced about

their true mission. While Freedman's Bureau inspector John Bradshaw wrote to the Bureau's director O. O. Howard that he was encountering "a band of missionaries who [had] come from the Christian homes in the land--following the example of their Divine Master--going about doing good" (Swint, 1941, p. 43), the Wilmington, North Carolina *Dispatch* (1868) editorialized,

The worst of all the curses which we have been called upon to submit to, however, is the insupportable, intolerable nuisance of the schoolmarm in our midst. . . . We could stand anything else that was sent; but when the benevolent societies of Boston sent out emissaries, we felt we should sink under this, the last, the worst of all our punishments. . . . (in Swint, 1941, p. 42)

These discordant views of missionary teachers and their work did not disappear with the teachers a decade after the Civil War, but rather have been echoed by historians for over a century. In 1941 two books were published that continued the debate. W. J. Cash in *The Mind of the South* characterizes Yankee schoolmarms as "generally horsefaced, bespectacled and spare of frame . . . of course, no proper intellectual, but at best a comic character, at worst, a dangerous fool" (p. 140). Cash goes on to accuse northern Reconstruction-era teachers of "meddlesome stupidity" and the cause of continued [white] southern resistance to national reconciliation. However, Henry Swint's 1941 publication, *Northern*

Teachers in the South describes these same teachers as “. . . devout, sincere, idealistic. . . the very best of Northern culture” (p. 46).

The civil rights movement of the 1960's and 70's created a new interest in the history of education for African Americans. Some historians reexamined the work of the northern white volunteer teachers who had come South during Reconstruction to help African Americans. McPherson (1964) and Rose (1964) published books that were generally sympathetic to the teachers, their motivations, and their accomplishments. Likewise, Gerda Lerner's *Black Women in White America* (1972) describes the efforts of the missionary educators as “a great social experiment” (p. 93). Not only does Lerner praise these teachers, but she enlarges their traditional image (white, Yankee, female) to include both former slaves as well as northern and southern free born African-American women.

In contrast to McPherson, Rose, and Lerner, a less complimentary view of the teachers and their activities emerged in the 1980's. *Soldiers of Light and Love* (1980), Jones's study of missionary teachers in Georgia during Reconstruction, argues that in general, the Yankee schoolmarm went South with the idea of social guardianship. Jones explains that the teachers felt, through their own self-sacrifice, they had “the duty and the ability to rectify certain moral and institutional evils” (p. 211). She finds, however,

the teachers were “culture bound” to “Yankeeize” the freed people with a curriculum and instructional methods alien to the former slaves (p. 4). Jones contends the teachers wanted to create “Ebony Puritans” and remains ambivalent as to the ultimate value of the missionary education movement during Reconstruction.

In his book, *The Education of Blacks in the South* (1988), Anderson writes bitterly of the failure of northern and southern black leaders and their white supporters to provide a suitable education for the majority of southern black children from Reconstruction through the Great Depression. According to Anderson, monetary and educational expectations were too low to support anything other than training for subordinate roles in southern society. Butchart (1980) argues that the northern teachers arrived with willful intentions to distract the freed people from “. . . a revolutionary reordering of national and regional priorities” (p. 206) that was needed in order to upgrade their lives with misguided education. He states that the education provided by benevolent societies was not “merely inadequate,” but also “utterly inappropriate” (p. 9).

Richardson’s recently published study lends a more sympathetic view towards the northern-sponsored missionary educational endeavors in the mid to late 1800’s. Richardson’s broad

approach covers the entire South for over thirty years. The book, *Christian Reconstruction in the South* (1986), details the work of the American Missionary Association (a northern benevolent association) and its schools for southern blacks from 1861 to 1890. Richardson devotes a chapter of the book to "Yankee Schoolteachers" and says of them:

They were much the same as other people: selfish and selfless, cowardly, courageous, understanding, and arrogant. But whatever their human failings, they were as a group far more sympathetic to blacks than the country at large. (p. 163)

In addition to Richardson's comprehensive work, Jacoway (1980) and Drago (1990) have each produced an institutional history of a mission school. Jacoway's book, *Yankee Missionaries in the South*, is the story of Penn School on the sea island of St. Helena, South Carolina. Unfortunately, due to the lack of primary and secondary sources, the period from the end of Reconstruction through 1900 is covered on a single page. However, Jacoway summarizes the motivation of the white supporters of Penn School as "paternalism, and self-satisfied control of black lives. . . the whole program was a response to white needs rather than black" (p. 10). Drago's *Initiative, Paternalism and Race Relations: Charleston's Avery Normal Institute* is organized in a chronological rather than thematic manner. While Drago offers rich descriptions of

a few teachers in the school's one hundred year history, he has very little to say about them collectively.

This latest round of scholarship tends to cast these primarily Reconstruction-era missionary teachers in their efforts at uplift and social change as pious, misguided do-gooders, somewhere between merely meddlesome and culturally and racially dangerous. Indeed, Jones asserts, "Yankee teachers rarely saw [their African-American students] as equals in any meaningful sense of the word; freed people were malleable beings to be 'elevated'" (p. 9). Klotter (1980) is even more disparaging regarding the missionary teachers of African Americans. He finds their discontent with the progress of their students as well as the students' lack of malleability as catalysts for the subsequent missionary education efforts in Appalachia. Klotter argues that the poverty among white mountaineers "allowed some reformers to turn with a clear conscience away from blacks" in order to aid an Appalachia that was characterized by its "whiteness" (p. 293).

Missionary Educational Work With Appalachians

By the mid-1870's, with the end of the federal Reconstruction program, the disbanding of the Freedman's Bureau, and the drastic decrease of philanthropic funding to support teachers and their work

with former slaves, many missionary teachers returned to their previous homes. A few continued to work in their new communities building and consolidating schools and colleges with and for former slaves and their children. Other missionary teachers sought new mission fields--one of these was the primarily white Southern Appalachian region.

Shapiro, in *Appalachia on Our Mind* (1978), was one of the first historians to address the phenomenon of mission or settlement schools in Appalachia during the late 1800's. While his work predates that of Jones and Butchart, he makes similar charges of cultural insensitivity and self-serving motivations on the part of teachers and their sponsors. In the chapter, "Home Missions," he writes,

It was in this context of denominational competition and the search for unexploited mission fields that the benevolent work among the "mountain whites" of Appalachia had its origins. . . . (p. 32)

Whisnant in *All That is Native and Fine* (1983) repeats the now familiar charges of paternalism and elitism when discussing missionary teachers. He claims the work of missionary teachers was fraught with cultural conflict, linked to conservative concepts of social change and based on naïveté and a poor understanding of the relationship between culture, politics, economic power, and social

change. Ostwalt (1990), however, voices a different view. While acknowledging many teachers' cultural and religious bias, he finds their intentions honorable. He writes,

. . . reform minded societies recognized the absence or scarcity of public funds for education in the isolated Appalachian regions and turned their sights towards providing educational opportunities where there were none. (p. 22)

In contrast to scholars' criticism of Appalachian mission schools and teachers, several teacher biographies, institutional histories, and memoirs written by mission school alumni provide a radically different picture. For example, Myers's *Angel of Appalachia: Martha Berry* (1968) and Kane's *Miracle in the Mountains* (1956) about Berea College pay homage to the missionary teachers and the schools they founded.

Though brief, this review of literature demonstrates the complexity and polysemy present in the historical accounts of Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction era benevolent missionary teachers in the South. However, no matter which view(s) one holds, there is unanimous agreement that those teachers had an appreciable impact on southern education.

Purpose of the Study

This study, a microhistory in a biographical/institutional context of Emily Prudden and the thirteen schools she founded in North Carolina, contributes to the ongoing debate regarding the role of missionary teachers and their intentions. Prudden's work in both the African-American and Appalachian communities of North Carolina around the turn of the century provides insight into a scantily studied geographical region and time period. Using Emily Prudden and her schools, this author contends that at least *some* missionary teachers exhibited Christian humility, not elitism; were welcomed--indeed, invited--into communities, not perceived as meddlesome; and furthered racial, cultural, and geographic pride rather than denigrated it. The life and work of Emily Prudden has been ignored for almost a century. This focused study adds to the literature of women's history, North Carolina history, and educational history by exploring Emily Prudden and her schools.

Mode of Inquiry

The research conducted for this study consists primarily of library and public record research, oral histories, and site visits. In order to gain knowledge about Prudden and her schools, local and denominational history books and journals were studied. In addition,

newspapers were consulted when available. County courthouses were searched for deeds and other documents related to Prudden's schools. Furthermore, the author attempted to find living alumni (or their children) for interviews in order to obtain first-hand accounts of the schools and of Prudden herself. Site visits to the individual schools helped to locate artifacts and to get a sense of school locations and their surrounding communities.

Organization of the Dissertation

A review of the relevant professional literature is the primary component of Chapter 1. In Chapter 2 the author provides a background for a better appreciation of Emily Prudden and her schools by presenting a brief outline of the educational history of North Carolina, followed by brief discussions of the role of women and Protestant social gospel ideology during the late nineteenth century, as well as a look into Prudden's life.

Commonalities in curriculum, financing, teaching staff, and location among Prudden's schools are discussed in Chapter 3. Since the schools did not have discernible differences attributable to race, religious sponsorship, or geographic location, they are explored individually in Chapter 4. Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL BACKDROP

Introduction

In order to understand Emily Prudden and her schools, brief discussions concerning the history of schooling in North Carolina for African Americans and females, the role of women in nineteenth-century America, the significance of the emergence of Protestant social gospel ideology during the last half of that century, and a brief sketch of Prudden's early life are necessary.

Overview of North Carolina Educational History

Antebellum Era

In antebellum North Carolina, race and social status controlled who could or could not receive formal education. African Americans of all social classes had no access to the public school system before the Civil War; class distinction was secondary to the overriding factor of race. In 1831 in the aftermath of Nat Turner's slave rebellion in Virginia, the North Carolina legislature criminalized teaching slaves to read and write, even by their

masters. A handful of private schools served free African-American children in the antebellum era, but most free and enslaved black children obtained basic literacy skills through informal means, if at all (Franklin, 1943; Rawick, 1941). While antebellum African Americans faced severe limitations in access to education and literacy, educational opportunities available to white females varied with social class. Daughters of wealthy white families were usually educated either at home by tutors or in private schools. These schools and academies were the first and only formal educational facilities available to females in North Carolina until 1840 (Knight, 1916 and 1920). After the passage of the Common School Law in 1839, public education began making an impact on white working class families in most areas of the state (Knight, 1916; Smith, 1888). By 1846 every county in the state had at least one public school for its white children to attend (Noble, 1930). These types of schooling coexisted with little formal overlap or interplay.

Education During the Civil War

The Civil War brought change to every aspect of life in North Carolina. Freed African Americans founded and attended school legally for the first time in thirty years. Many white public and private schools continued despite the ravages of war and a wartime

economy. In Union-held territory, the existing common schools were disbanded and schools for African Americans and children of white Union supporters were started (Noble, 1930). The public school system continued to exist and educate white children in Confederate-held North Carolina throughout the war (Noble, 1930). The number of schools held and the number of pupils enrolled in public schools steadily declined as the war continued (Knight, 1916; Noble, 1930). The fate of many smaller private schools for girls is not known, but many of the larger schools in Confederate North Carolina remained opened during the war.

Education During Reconstruction

The period of Reconstruction continued the social and political upheaval started by the Civil War. Much of North Carolina lay in ruins; war and disease claimed human losses; the economy was devastated by the five years devoted to the use of Confederate currency. As a result of the dangerous combination, social chaos prevailed. The North Carolina public school system, which served only white children before the war, was disbanded (Knight, 1916).

During Reconstruction, the federal government, through the Freedman's Bureau, promoted schooling for newly freed African Americans. In addition to the Freedman's Bureau, many philanthropic

organizations and churches sent money, supplies, and teachers to the state (McPherson, 1964). Most of the teachers who came to North Carolina during this time were Northern, white, religious, educated, socially concerned women. While the initial aim of most of these groups was African-American education, the poverty and need among white children were also evident. Soon, some of these organizations had programs for white as well as black children (Cashman, 1990).

African American Education During Reconstruction

The educational work started in Union-held North Carolina during the Civil War on behalf of the newly freed slaves grew rapidly during Reconstruction. In addition to primary education, the first colleges in North Carolina opened to blacks were founded during Reconstruction. These schools initially prepared students for careers in teaching and the ministry. Shaw, St. Augustine's, Biddle (later named Johnson C. Smith), Livingstone, and the all-female schools of Bennett and Scotia (later named Barber Scotia) were begun during Reconstruction (Knight, 1916; Smith, 1888).

Although the War was over and slaves had been declared free, fighting and ignorance were not absolutely abolished. Many white people in North Carolina were unhappy with the Reconstruction plan. The Ku Klux Klan formed and perpetrated violence against people

working for freedom and racial equality. Schoolhouses were an easy target for Klan violence. Teachers associated with the Freedman's Bureau and/or black education were also marked by the Klan. Alonzo B. Corliss (in some accounts spelled Collis), a white Quaker teaching African Americans in Burlington, was cruelly beaten and whipped by Klan members and ordered to leave the state within ten days (Walker, 1979). Schoolhouses designated for African Americans in Rowan, Davie, and Iredell counties were threatened by the Klan (Foner, 1988). Another disturbing event caused by the Klan involved a white couple who had donated an acre of land for an African-American schoolhouse. Once the school was built, they were forced to burn it to the ground in front of an audience of Klansmen (Myerson, 1978).

Despite violence, insufficient supplies, inadequate facilities, and poor pay, a few black and white, Northern and Southern, men and women continued to teach African Americans during the Reconstruction period. For all the good the missionary schools did in spreading education to the poor rural and black North Carolinians, they could not reach *every* child in need of an education. Citizens and leaders began to realize that if all the children of North Carolina were to receive an adequate education, the state government would have to play a major role.

Public Education During Reconstruction

The major funds for the antebellum North Carolina Public School system had been housed in banks that had invested heavily in Confederate securities during the War. North Carolina repudiated its War debts, thereby virtually bankrupting the major banks and, consequently, the school system. A law passed by the legislature in 1863 making local tax support for schools optional was still in effect (Knight, 1916; Noble, 1930). There was fear that the Reconstruction legislature would integrate public schools. By the spring of 1865 the antebellum public school system was defunct. The issues of integration and financial support had to be resolved before the public schools could reopen.

In 1866, the legislature, which was comprised of many of the same men who served in the antebellum legislature, authorized localities to establish tax-supported private academies. County schoolhouses could be used by these private organizations. But while accepting black taxpayers' money, the academies could bar blacks from enrolling in school. This law was representative of the many "Black Codes" passed by the legislature under Presidential Reconstruction (Noble, 1930). A new state legislature was elected in 1868 which included blacks, recently arrived Northerners, native

white Union sympathizers, and native white Confederate sympathizers. This legislature seemed more promising in its abilities to offer more representation for all the people.

A Constitutional Convention was held in Raleigh in January 1868. A new Constitution was drafted so that North Carolina could be readmitted to the Union. Article IX of this Constitution dealt with the resumption of public schools. This Article declared that "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged" (in Noble, 1930, p. 295). The question of school integration was dealt with by instituting a separate but equal policy which stated that . . . "the interests and happiness of the two races would be best promoted by the establishment of separate schools. . ." (in Noble, 1930, p. 296). S. S. Ashley, a white man from Massachusetts, was elected Superintendent of Schools. J. W. Hood, an African-American man from Pennsylvania, was appointed the Assistant State Superintendent (Smith, 1888).

When the legislature met in 1869, the issue of school financing was addressed. A school law was adopted providing two mechanisms for public school financing. The first was a poll tax of \$1.05 on all male citizens between the ages of twenty-one and fifty.

Seventy-five percent of this tax was used to support the public school system. In addition to this, the legislature appropriated \$100,000 to support the schools (Noble, 1930). In the fall of 1869, public schools in some parts of the state reopened for white children. Furthermore, state supported schools opened for blacks for the first time. The white taxpayers in Alaska Township, Macon County, were so determined to separate the races in the classroom that they hired a private tutor for the single black school-age child, a girl, living there (Noble, 1930). Nevertheless, in 1870 about 38% of the eligible school population in North Carolina was in attendance (Noble, 1930).

While "urban" public schools were multiplying and beginning to include higher grades, many black and rural white communities in the state were still without adequate facilities or teachers for even primary education. The new Constitution mandated four-month terms for public schools. However, due to insufficient funding in many rural areas, the terms often lasted only ten to twelve weeks (Knight, 1916). Log cabins without electricity, running water, or adequate heat were commonly used as schoolhouses in the rural parts of the state. Although it appeared on the surface that North Carolina's public school system was flourishing--as it was, in some parts of the state--there were still many areas where children did

not have a school to attend (Thompson, 1981).

The Changing Role of Women After the Civil War

American women were drastically limited by law and custom in the public roles they could assume at the beginning of the nineteenth century. White and free black women had no independent legal standing; they were considered chattel of their husbands or fathers. These women had no direct legal control over their children, earnings, or property. No colleges were open to them and they were barred from entering professions. Women could not run for office, vote, or even participate in public speaking. The lot of most black women was even worse--they were slaves (Banner, 1974). However, things were to change drastically during the century.

Many factors, including, but certainly not limited to, increased urbanization, industrialization, and the spread and acceptance of Enlightenment ideology, contributed to the expanding role of women during the nineteenth century (Chaffe, 1972). Perhaps the greatest catalyst for change, especially for Southern women, was the Civil War. It has been said that war has always been a liberator of women. With most able-bodied men away in the military, women managed businesses, shops, farms, and plantations; they

administered, collected, and distributed money, food, clothing, and medical supplies for war relief; they attended to the sick; and they taught in the schools. Having come in contact with new responsibilities, many women were unwilling to return to their former positions. Due to the devastation of the land and economy, as well as the deaths and disabilities of so many men in the Civil War, many southern women could not return to their previous lives even if they wanted to (Pember, 1959; Scott, 1970).

After the War, female participation increased in almost every aspect of public life. Several western states granted women the right to vote (Chaffe, 1972). At least a few colleges and professional schools were training women in academic fields as well as law and medicine. Women were also writing and publishing their own newspapers, books, and magazines. For the first time in American history, white women were entering the work force and becoming financially independent. They were learning how to manage their own money. Although most of the work was low-skilled, low-paying factory work, women entered the public work force in record numbers--it had become a necessity for them to seek income. Nursing, social work, and home economics were emerging as professional fields which consisted largely of women. There were even a few female clergy and politicians (Wertheimer, 1977).

While some women took up the fight for the vote, equal rights, and entry into professions, other women joined benevolent and philanthropic organizations. Educational and philanthropic involvement allowed women to find alternatives to marriage and a means for financial support, self-fulfillment, and companionship (Fastenay, 1982). Many women sought to expand their activities in the public sphere without abandoning the values and concerns that characterized a more traditional view of women's roles. They wanted to clothe, feed, nurse, teach, and care for others less fortunate (Scott, 1991). These women sought to combine useful work, a pay check, and independence with the opportunity to shape a more humane society. Church home mission societies were an acceptable and accessible way to accommodate both aims.

The Social Gospel

During the early years of the nineteenth century, Protestant Christian revivalism swept the country creating the Second Great Awakening (Ostwalt, 1990). This fervor produced many changes in American religion including an evangelical interest in reforming society. Samuel Hopkins, a noted Congregationalist theologian and anti-slavery advocate of the late 1700's, developed the doctrine of

“disinterested benevolence” (Ostwalt, 1990, p. 20). Hopkins preached that sin consists of self-love while holiness manifests itself in disinterested benevolence. Therefore, Hopkins reasoned that it was the duty of Christians to work for the betterment of others. These selfless good works would be directed towards neighbors as well as those less fortunate members of society. Hopkins’s ideas were well received. His writings and sermons spawned a movement in the nineteenth century known as “Hopkinsism” and now often referred to as “the social gospel” (Hudson, 1987).

Many Protestant denominations of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century sponsored home and foreign missions to implement the social gospel (Luker, 1991). This work was characterized by “its stress on realizing the kingdom of heaven in this world” (McDowell, 1982, p. 1). The American South in the late 1800’s was a prime field for social gospel reformers. Working to extend God’s kingdom on earth, these often female benevolent workers endeavored to meet physical and social, as well as spiritual, needs. “Social gospel” inspired reformers believed that legislation and political solutions, while important, were insufficient to overcome the hatred and prejudices in southern society. They thought the primary problem was religious, moral, and

cultural in nature; or, according to Strieby, the Secretary of the American Missionary Association, the problem was in the “minds and hearts” of the white southern people (in Swint, 1941, p. 86-87). Ignorance and prejudice could be best fought with “light and love”--with education and the gospel (Luker, 1991, p. 30). Therefore, this philosophy often translated into providing schools for disadvantaged southern children. One of those reformers influenced by the social gospel message was Emily Prudden.

Since Prudden worked in a time when roles for women were expanding, she was able to bring about changes in ways that would have been unthinkable for a women just a few decades earlier. Prudden was able to travel alone, buy and sell property, hire workers and teachers, write about her endeavors, and remain single her entire life.

Education for poor and working-class girls was becoming commonly accepted in many parts of the country. In North Carolina’s rural and Appalachian counties, the dearth of schools had more to do with an elitist state government’s inadequate funding of schools than local opposition or lack of interest in schooling. The prevalence of social gospel theology in many Protestant churches and organizations motivated many young women to become teachers at mission schools. The zeitgeist of cultural, sociological, and

theological ethos that created the circumstances in which Prudden worked was restricted to late eighteenth-century America.

Emily Prudden's First Fifty Years

Family Origins

Although information is scarce regarding Emily Caroline Prudden's background and early life, enough is available to gain an insight to her benevolence and philanthropic activities. Prudden was born on June 13, 1832 on a farm near New Haven, Connecticut into an environment steeped in the ideology of the Second Great Awakening (Prudden, L., 1901). Her father, Joseph, was a deacon in the First Congregational Church of Milford. Most importantly, he was described by a great granddaughter as "liberal in aid of every Christian work. . . zealous in inaugurating the great missionary enterprises of the 1800's" (Prudden, L., 1901, p. 46). Emily Prudden's family was one with a strong tradition of Christian idealism and public service. For instance, she was a direct descendent of Peter Prudden, a noted Congregationalist minister and a founder of the colony of Connecticut. One of her cousins, Theophil Mitchell Prudden, was a prominent doctor, author, and teacher in New York City. Lillian Prudden, a niece, founded the Visiting Nursing Service of Connecticut (Prudden, L., 1901; "Miss Lillian. . .", 1937).

Influenced since birth by these religious and humanitarian traditions, it was almost inevitable that Emily Prudden would dedicate her life to spreading what is now frequently called “the social gospel.”

Childhood Experiences

In 1840, when Emily was only eight years old, her father Joseph died leaving his wife Charlotte to raise five children. She never remarried; instead, she managed the family farm and family businesses by herself. The Prudden family farm, *Wepawaug*, was just west of Milford, about ten miles from New Haven. Luckily, Joseph Prudden owned some property in New Haven and the rental income from this supplemented the family’s farm income (Prudden, L., 1901; Woodruff, 1949).

Undoubtedly, the biggest influence in Prudden’s life was religion. She was baptized on August 21, 1832 in the Orange Congregational Church. As a child she confessed her devotion to Christ and joined the church. At age sixteen, she received her first communion (Prudden, E., 1910). Prudden committed her life to spreading the joy and meaning she found in Christianity. Although she worked with people associated with a wide range of Protestant denominations throughout her lifetime, she remained a member of

the Congregational Church.

Local historians in the New Haven area believe that Emily Prudden attended the Fourth District Public School in Orange and that she later attended high school in New Haven. She apparently boarded at one of her father's properties in New Haven during her school years (E. Gesler, personal communication, June 5, 1990).

Around the age of seventeen, for reasons that are not clear, Emily became almost totally deaf. She writes that subsequent to her deafness she could not "enter the ways of large endeavor" (Prudden, E., 1914, p. 713). With her education in New Haven complete, Emily returned to *Wepawaug* to assist her aging mother on the farm (Woodruff, 1949).

Caring for Family

In 1856, when Prudden was twenty-four years old, an older sister, Jane Prudden Colton, died leaving a two-year-old son and newborn daughter. Colton's husband, Reverend Erastis Colton, entrusted the rearing of these children to Emily. Although she never married or had children of her own, Prudden spent most of her young adulthood raising her niece and nephew and caring for her widowed mother until she died in 1869 (Woodruff, 1949).

The records of the First Congregational Church in Milford, Connecticut reveal that Prudden and Jane Jeanette Colton, her niece, moved their memberships to the Congregational Church in Berea, Kentucky in 1878. Prudden was forty-six years old at that time and her niece was twenty-two. Though it seems likely that the two women traveled to Berea to teach, neither Berea College nor the Congregational Church there have preserved records with information about them.

Jane Colton married in 1878 and died in 1880. Prudden's nephew, then twenty-seven years old, was out on his own. Consequently, at age forty-eight, Emily Prudden was left without family responsibilities. She was almost totally deaf and suffered from arthritis so severe that she had to use two canes in order to walk (Thompson, 1981). She moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota so she could be near her sister Cornelia (Prudden, L., 1901). Prudden bought a house and joined the Plymouth Congregational church in Minneapolis; however, she did not remain there long (Prudden, E., 1991).

Prudden's Journey South

In 1882, an old school friend, Mrs. Samuel Loomis, asked Prudden to join the Loomis family in their educational missionary

work at Brainard Institute in Chester, South Carolina (Prudden, E., 1914). Brainard had been established in 1866 by the Board of Home Missions of the New School Presbyterian Church to provide education and social services to the newly freed slaves (Collins, 1976).

Prudden accepted the position of house mother to the girls boarding at the school. Looking back on her days at Brainard, Prudden wrote,

The girls in [Brainard] were taught in the public school. . . so for six hours daily I was free to visit the poor cabins, both colored and white, . . . [the children were] without advantage, no school, no church, no society. . . . I thought of my own school days, still a joy to remember and would say to myself, "You could build a home in some lovely place where every influence is pure and uplifting, and take fifteen girls and train them as your own, and send them out to live useful lives." (Prudden, 1914, p. 737)

Consequently, it was at Brainard that Prudden answered the calling that would extend until the end of her life. Over the next thirty years, she established sixteen schools for rural poor Appalachian children in North and South Carolina.

CHAPTER 3

COMMONALITIES AMONG THE SCHOOLS

Introduction

Each of Prudden's schools was uniquely situated in its own sociological, geographical, and historical context. However, commonalities among the schools existed in curriculum, location, religious emphasis, financing, teaching staff, the student body, and daily routine. These shared traits transcended the racial, religious, and gender specific natures of individual schools and reflected Prudden's religious and educational beliefs.

A Typical Day at School

Several accounts of "typical days" were written by visitors to Prudden's schools for use in various denominational magazines to give supporters a flavor of a particular school. These articles describe a remarkably similar routine from one school to another. Neither race, geographical location, size of enrollment, nor denominational affiliation seemed to have created a substantial difference in the daily procedures at these schools. The following

“typical day” is a composite of several of the above-mentioned accounts (A Day at Lincoln, 1919; A Visit to Lovejoy, 1908; Culp, 1942; Davenport, 1959):

Before sunrise, a group of female students met in the kitchen to prepare breakfast and to start the breadmaking for the day's meals. A few boys were up during cold weather, to start or stoke the fires. At 6:00 a.m. a wake-up bell rang and residents got dressed for a 6:45 breakfast.

The next bell at 7:30 marked the beginning of a work hour. Students scurried to the wood yard, farm, laundry room, chicken house, and kitchen to clean up and do the morning chores. A bell at 8:30 signaled the work period was over with a half hour remaining before devotions. After devotions, around 9:30, the first academic classes of the day began. Class periods lasted either thirty minutes or an hour. Except for a midday break for lunch, classes continued until 3:30.

Another work period ensued until 5:00 p.m. Supper was served at approximately 6:00 p.m. From 7:00 until 8:30 p.m., time was used variously for such activities as study hall, prayer meeting, club meetings, or guest speakers. At 9:00 or 9:30 p.m. a “lights out” bell sounded and students were expected to be in bed and quiet.

While this schedule appears taxing and regimented, there was also time for recreation such as ball games, hikes, and holiday celebrations. The available student memoirs report fond memories of these school days.

Curriculum

In keeping with the social gospel mission of the schools, Emily Prudden and her teachers concerned themselves with the total development of the children in their care. Their goal was to help each student realize a “larger, fuller life” (Hubbard, 1905). In order to accomplish this end, academic, spiritual, and vocational education were deemed important aspects of the curriculum. In contrast to accusations of racism leveled at missionary teachers by scholars such as Jones (1980) and Butchart (1980), the available evidences shows that Prudden and her supporters did not make philosophical or practical distinctions regarding curricula offered to students of different races. She considered all children God’s children and worked to provide the same quality of education in all of her schools.

Some current scholars have objected to the liberal arts curricula at mission schools as inappropriate to the circumstances of the students enrolled (Butchart, 1980; Jones, 1980). These same scholars and some of their colleagues (Anderson, 1988; Jacoway,

1980) also fault the manual labor model of curriculum as offered at Tuskegee or Hampton Institute for preparing students for second-class citizenship. However, as Richardson (1986) points out, mission schools could not have been too impoverishing or inadequate and still have produced African-American leaders such as James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Zora Neal Hurston, W. E. B. DuBois, Ida Wells-Barnett, A. Phillip Randolph, James Farmer, Thurgood Marshall, and Martin Luther King (p. 197).

Far from being unusual or culturally insensitive, the curricula at Prudden's mission schools had much in common with the curriculum of the North Carolina public schools. Academic, religious, and vocational training comprised the curricula in both public and mission schools around the turn of the century (Knight, 1916; Noble, 1930; Prudden, 1914). Because many students boarded at Prudden's schools, the curriculum did not begin or end with the ringing of a school bell; rather, all three strands of the curriculum permeated life at the mission schools. Therefore, the main curricular difference between the public and mission schools was the time spent absorbing--in fact, living--the curriculum. Prudden's schools paralleled public schools in many ways, but with the advantages of more time, better trained teachers, and more equipment, mission schools provided a greater depth and breadth

regarding curriculum than was possible in public school.

Academic Curriculum

At the turn of the century, most public schools were in session for about twelve weeks per year. Few standards existed for entry into the teaching profession--teachers' abilities ran the gamut from being graduates of the elementary schools in which they were teaching to having normal school or college training in pedagogy. Likewise, there was not a statewide standard course of study for students. However, by custom, the curriculum usually consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history (Noble, 1930). Until World War I, it was rare for the fine arts, foreign languages, or higher branches of science to be studied in the rural public schools (Zais, 1976).

In contrast to the public schools, all of Prudden's schools were in session at least eight months and were taught by high school, normal school, and college graduates (Dickerman, 1917). The academic curricula at these schools were more varied than that offered at the public schools in the same area. For example, a 1906 brochure for Saluda Seminary, a school for white girls in Saluda, North Carolina, specifies reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, health, physiology, history, composition writing and rhetoric, piano,

vocal music, and French as the curriculum (Osborne & Pace, 1981). In 1909, Lincoln Academy, a coeducational African-American school near Gastonia, North Carolina, offered geometry, civics, physical science, arithmetic, drawing, choral singing, social economics, chemistry, botany, principals of sanitation, ancient history, modern history, and English (A Day at Lincoln. . ., 1919). Perhaps Jones Institute, another school for white girls near Gastonia, had the most expansive course offerings. As early as the late 1880's this school offered both a primary and secondary course of study. The three year secondary course of study included instruction in spelling, reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, United States history, physiology, grammar, physical geography, algebra, general history, natural physiology, astronomy, rhetoric, botany, geometry, music, French, and Latin. By 1889, Jones Institute boasted 700 books in the library (Davenport, 1950). Unlike most rural public schools of the day, items such as maps, globes, pianos, and laboratory equipment were present in most of Prudden's schools.

Religious Curriculum

Protestant Christian religious influences were present in most schools in America until the Supreme Court ruled against organized prayer in public schools in 1962. Educating people to read the Bible

was the driving force behind schooling in colonial America. Indeed, in many elementary schools in the colonies, students learned to read by using portions of the Bible (Zais, 1976). The purpose of every college established in the colonies was to train clergy for the different denominations (Rudolph, 1962). Religion continued to permeate schools in the eighteenth century. Most private schools during that time were church related and supported (Zais, 1976). Although public schools were becoming less sectarian, according to Butts and Cremin (1953), they were by no means secular. During the nineteenth century, general Judeo-Christian ethos was inculcated into most common school students. Daily prayer, hymn singing, and Bible reading were all staples of public and private schools, including missionary schools (Butts & Cremin, 1953). The emphasis that Prudden and her teachers placed on religion and salvation only differed in degree from the public schools of the same era.

Religious training was of paramount importance in all of Prudden's schools. She and most of her teachers viewed a student's acceptance of Jesus Christ and the development of their Christian character as essential. Bible study and church attendance were mandatory (Buxton, 1989; Tobin, 1991). In addition, ecumenical (but Protestant) prayer meetings, devotions, hymn singing, and before meal prayers were part of the daily life of the schools (Cathcart,

1902; Tobin, 1991).

Prudden's ecumenicalism was reflected in the religious aspect of many of her schools. While all of Prudden's schools mandated quite a bit of religious activity, religious tolerance was expected and practiced. For example, a Lincoln Academy principal boasted in a report to the American Missionary Association magazine, "We have all the leading denominations, including Catholic, represented in our boarding family" (Hart, 1908, p. 15). In addition, for years, the students and staff at Saluda Seminary participated in the town's religious life which included attendance at the once-a-month Sunday preaching by the Episcopal, Baptist, and Methodist itinerant preachers. On the fourth Sunday, services were held at the school (Hubbard, 1903).

Prudden's emphasis on religious education was typical of public and private schools of the era. However, the ecumenicalism demonstrated at most of Prudden's schools was progressive at a time when religious differences occasionally divided families and communities. The presence and acceptance of varied religious beliefs at the schools does not appear to have hampered enrollment or community support for the schools.

Vocational/Industrial Curriculum

Some writers claim industrial education was unduly emphasized in mission schools and served to keep African Americans from advancing in southern society after the end of the Civil War (Anderson, 1988; Jacoway, 1980). As was the case with academic and religious education, vocational education was becoming an integral part of public school education as well as missionary education during the 1800's. The increasing prevalence of vocational education in the 1800's can be attributed to multiple causes.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, educational philosophers such as Pestalozzi and Froebel introduced the idea of students being actively engaged in their lessons as opposed to the more common memorization and recitation instructional strategies (Zais, 1976). They advocated the "hands on" approach to learning that is still popular today. Pestalozzi, Froebel, Rousseau, and others felt that students learn the material more thoroughly and enjoy the learning process more by "doing" rather than reading about doing (Zais, 1976). These notions took hold in the curriculum of many public and private schools in the late 1800's.

During the same time, an increase in scientific knowledge in applied fields such as botany, agriculture, and chemistry led to demands from farmers and merchants for a more utilitarian college

curriculum than the traditional classical approach (Rudolph, 1962). In response to these demands, colleges such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Rensselaer Polytechnical Institute specializing in applied technologies opened before the Civil War (Rudolph, 1962). Breakthroughs in technology and improved farming methods originated in these new colleges and demonstrated the value of vocational education. The Morrill Act was passed by the United States Congress in 1862 providing a funding mechanism for states to establish public colleges to train students in the newest ideas and methods in the agricultural, technical, and mechanical disciplines (Rudolph, 1962).

After the Civil War, the germ theory of disease and new knowledge concerning the importance of proper nutrients and vitamins in the diet were gaining acceptance. Teaching female students to use sanitary principles in housekeeping, to care for the sick, and to prepare and preserve nutritious foods became cornerstones in the disciplines of nursing and home economics. Improved health, farming methods, and industrial technology demonstrated the value of vocational education (Rudolph, 1962).

For these reasons, vocational programs were included in most high school and college curricula by the early part of this century (Zais, 1976). While all of Prudden's schools mandated vocational

training, they were again keeping pace with, and sometimes predating, the learning opportunities available in public schools in the region. Essentially identical vocational programs were offered at Prudden's black and white schools. There is no evidence to suggest Prudden's schools' vocational programs treated black students as inferior to white students. Vocational programs were, however, sharply delineated by gender. All the girls studied cooking, sewing, housekeeping, and care of the sick by means of lecture and practice. Boiling, steaming, stewing, and baking comprised the curriculum of cooking. Sewing class meant learning skills such as the use of the sewing machine, plain stitching, making buttonholes, hemming, gathering, darning, and patching. Instruction in caring for the sick included content in food and medicine for the sick, outward applications, bandages, massage, symptoms, and emergencies. Housekeeping was the last area of homemaking to be learned. To apply principles of sanitation in all aspects of daily life, students cleaned the bedrooms, hallways, and kitchens in the schools. They also worked in the laundry, served in the dining room, and washed dishes after meals (Thompson, 1981).

The boys studied carpentry, farming, and animal husbandry. No documents are available that show any deviation from this pattern (A Day at Lincoln. . ., 1919; Freeman, 1985).

Professional vocational classes were also offered at many of Prudden's schools. Teacher training was emphasized at all of Prudden's schools where secondary students were enrolled. In response to technological advances and in an effort to teach marketable skills, courses in stenography, printing, and typewriting were added at some schools in the early twentieth century (Davenport, 1959; Osborne & Pace, 1981).

Industrial or vocational education often involved much more than the label connotes. Many academic skills were woven into vocational classes. A single example illustrates this widespread phenomena. At Lincoln Academy, more than methods of food preparation was covered in the study of cooking. During the week when students studied "breakfast," they prepared several different breakfast menus. They compared the monetary costs of each menu as well as the amount of time and effort needed to prepare each breakfast. Next, they calculated the nutrient values of each breakfast menu to ensure it met daily vitamin and caloric needs. Finally, they prepared and presented the best menu under consideration to the student body (A Day at Lincoln. . . , 1904). While this week of class is categorized as industrial education, skills in mathematics, science, and higher order thinking, i.e., analysis, making and defending choices, were an integral part of the lesson.

Instruction

While instructional strategies varied with each teacher and subject area, at least some teachers expressed philosophies and used methods currently in vogue in the field of pedagogy. Alva Hart, the principal of Lincoln Academy, wrote to the *American Missionary* in 1916 that the aim of the teachers was not to teach subjects alone, but to teach the students “how to think. . . . We are not teaching English and History. . . but boys and girls by means of English and History” (p. 352). His writing in 1916 foreshadows the current emphasis on individualization:

One can use no certain method for every pupil, and every problem that comes up is an original one and the teacher must find an original way to solve it” (p. 353).

Prudden herself was somewhat of a pedagogical pioneer. One student recalled that a portion of Prudden’s French class consisted of a monthly meal at Prudden’s cottage on the Skyland Academy school grounds. The girls in the French class arrived in time to set the table. From the time they entered Prudden’s home until they departed, they were only allowed to speak French. The students enjoyed these luncheons (Tobin, 1991).

Curriculum and instruction at Prudden’s schools was similar to that used in public and other private institutions at the time. They reflected commonly accepted knowledge and pedagogical principles.

When Prudden's schools became part of the public school system, as was the case with Elk Park Academy, Hudson School, Douglas Academy, Mt. Herman Academy, Lincoln Academy, Southmountain Institute, and Saluda Seminary, few changes, if any, in curriculum or instruction occurred (Prudden, 1914). While some historians have argued that mission school curriculum was culturally insensitive to the students and families that they served, this does not appear to be the case with Prudden's schools.

Location

Few scholars have written about the placement of mission schools. Richardson (1986) informs his readers that the American Missionary Association established schools in "areas where no other educational opportunities were available" (p. 113); however, he does not elaborate. Shapiro (1978) makes the erroneous statement that ". . . day schools, boarding schools, academies, and normal schools were established as convenience [for teachers and administrators] dictated. . ." (p. 53).

In the nineteenth century, large areas of North Carolina, as well as the rest of the South, had no public schools. In North Carolina in 1882 there were over two thousand school districts on paper in which no school was being held (Thompson, 1981). There

were neither enough teachers nor money allocated to support a public or mission school for every child in the state. Emily Prudden, working without organizational backing or restrictions, appears to have followed her own instincts in situating her schools.

Convenience was clearly not a criterion.

The locations of Prudden's schools shared three characteristics. First, Prudden located all of her schools in the mountain or foothill counties of North and South Carolina (Thompson, 1981). She seems to have been drawn to the life of the Appalachian Mountains. Perhaps they reminded her of the time she spent with her niece in Berea, Kentucky. Even in retirement, Prudden chose to live in Blowing Rock, North Carolina--one of the most mountainous locations of any of her schools (Prudden, 1914).

Secondly, Prudden always located her schools on high ground. For instance, the two schools she established in piedmont Gaston County were both located at the base of Crowders Mountain, the county's highest point. Oberlin Home, in the foothills county of Caldwell, was situated at the top of Lick Mountain (Culp, 1942). Golden Valley Institute, situated in foothills Rutherford County, was located in the South Mountain range (Freeman, 1985).

Finally, Prudden chose to locate her schools in sparsely populated, rural areas. While some of the school sites are now mid-

sized towns with city governments, newspapers, and public schools, a century ago they were rural communities with few, if any, public services. The schools were frequently located in places not found on any map (Dickerman, 1917).

Financing the Schools

The costs of building schoolhouses and dormitories, hiring teachers, feeding students, and buying supplies were of major concern to missionary educators. Many of the families of the students attending Prudden's schools could not afford the costs of tuition and expenses (Alexander, 1956; Culp, 1942; Freeman, 1985). Prudden used a variety of cost saving techniques in order to keep her schools financially solvent. Students, teachers, parents, benefactors, and Prudden worked together to offer affordable education.

Land and Buildings

Since Prudden's schools were located in remote areas, the costs of land and labor were low. Buildings were constructed for utility, not aesthetics, thus minimizing the costs. Several schools were started with a single building. As the number of pupils grew, more buildings were added. This way, there was no unused space and

no wasted room (Prudden, 1914).

Parents and interested community members often worked together to supply property, materials, and labor needed to construct the buildings (Prudden, 1914). For example, the land and the buildings for All Healing Springs, Prudden's first school, were donated by parents (Davenport, 1959). Likewise, parents and concerned community members donated land, timber, money, and labor to build the schools in Hudson (Mountain View Academy), Saluda (Saluda Seminary), and Lawndale (Douglas Academy and Clarkson Home) (Prudden, 1914; Ross & Ross, 1993). R.P. Pell, a white Presbyterian missionary and minister in Appalachian North Carolina, asked Prudden to join his work in Elk Park, North Carolina by starting a school for white girls. This endeavor was given financial support by the Presbyterian Church (Ostwalt & Pollitt, 1993). The American Missionary Association, the home mission branch of the Congregational Church, paid for the initial land and buildings for the Saluda Seminary. The other seven schools were founded on Prudden's slim inheritance and a prayer (Thompson, 1981).

Staffing the Schools

Another way costs were minimized was to have few paid

employees. The staff usually included only the teachers and sometimes a cook. Students were expected to work an hour or two each day around the school, so hiring additional staff was unnecessary (Culp, 1942; Davenport, 1950; Freeman, 1985). These chores were considered a part of the vocational curriculum. Some students worked extra hours to barter for tuition expenses (Thompson, 1981). Many of the coeducational schools had farms which provided milk, meat, and vegetables (Freeman, 1985). At these schools a farm manager was frequently employed.

Often teachers were motivated to work in the missionary schools out of a religious "calling" rather than financial reasons. While mission school teacher salaries were comparable to public teacher salaries, mission teachers were committed twenty-four hours each day, seven days a week. Therefore, their hourly wages were much less than those of public school teachers (AMA annual reports, 1890-1910; Noble, 1930). In addition, many teachers contributed to fundraising by writing tracts and articles about their work to solicit funds from denominational associations and philanthropic individuals (Buxton, 1989; Richardson, 1986).

Supplies

In an effort to help students attending mission schools as well

as the mission schools themselves, many benefactors sent used clothing, household items, and school supplies to the schools. Most of Prudden's schools had second-hand shops which were open on Saturday (Cathcart, 1899; Peck, 1917). People in the community, as well as the students, were urged to shop at the school store. Many of these stores bartered handmade goods such as quilts, baskets, knives, furniture and foodstuffs from local residents in exchange for the used clothing and other goods sent from the North. Parents who could not afford the typical tuition of four-to-five dollars per month were encouraged to barter foodstuffs and useful items in exchange for tuition (Cathcart, 1907). Benefactors of the schools also donated school books, maps, globes, and other supplies to the schools (Peck, 1917).

Denominational Support

Once Prudden's schools were established, she turned them over to either religious organizations or the public school system. This transfer ensured the financial backing necessary to keep the school in operation (Thompson, 1981). The hard work of the students, the teachers who worked for low pay, northern donations, local bartering, and ultimately, support from denominations, worked relatively well as a financial strategy for Prudden's schools.

The Teachers

Introduction

The teachers at Prudden's schools defy easy categorization. Sharing a social gospel philosophy (see Chapter 1), the teachers chose to work in mission schools with lower pay and longer hours than public school employment. According to available records, they were all Protestants with at least a high school education (Davenport, 1959; Culp, 1942; Buxton, 1989; Freeman, 1985). Teachers working within a specific school usually shared traits of race and religion. However, geographic origins, gender, age, educational background, and class varied even when teachers were from the same denomination but at different schools.

Race

One enduring fallacy about mission teachers is that they were exclusively white. Many were white teachers and they left many more diaries, articles, and memoirs than did the African-American mission teachers. At Prudden's schools only white teachers were placed at white schools while white and black teachers worked in the African-American schools. In many cases, especially in the African-American schools, the teachers were drawn from the local

community or nearby towns (Culp, 1942; Davenport, 1959; Ross & Ross, 1993; U.S. Census, 1900). As far as can be determined, the faculties at Lovejoy Institute, Douglas Academy, Clarkson Home, and Mt. Herman Academy were primarily educated, local African-American adults who wanted to help the children of the community by providing literacy and education (AMA reports, 1900-1910).

For approximately the first twenty years at Lincoln Academy, the faculty was comprised of all white teachers. However, from around 1910 until 1955, a majority of the teachers and administrators were black (Smith, March 21, 1957). Except for Prudden, Douglas Academy and Clarkson Home in Lawndale, North Carolina began and ended with all African-American faculties and administrators as did Mt. Herman Academy in Brevard, North Carolina (Ross & Ross, 1993; F. Hall, personal communication, Aug. 10, 1991). The Krimmer Mennonite denomination sent white, Russian immigrant teachers to the black Salem School and Orphanage in Elk Park in 1900. When the school expanded, two local African-American women were hired as teachers (Ostwalt & Pollitt, 1993). The available records do not reflect teachers of any other race or ethnic group working at any of Prudden's schools.

Geographic Origins

Another common misconception concerning mission school teachers is that they were Northerners. Annual records of the American Missionary Association (AMA) from 1892-1910 show that in both of Prudden's schools managed by the AMA for white students (Saluda Seminary and Skyland Institute), and at Lincoln Academy (an AMA school for black students), the faculty was about evenly divided between teachers from New England and other Northern states and teachers from the mid- and far-west. There were also a few teachers from North Carolina and Tennessee (AMA Annual Reports, 1892-1910).

White North Carolinians, along with Prudden, comprised the initial teaching force at Oberlin Homes, a white school in Caldwell County operated by the Methodist Women's Home Mission Society (Culp, 1942). At least one Methodist woman from Ohio joined the faculty there.

The white schools in Elk Park and Hudson became public schools within a few years of their founding; they were taught primarily by white North Carolinians both before and after they became public institutions (Woodside, 1952). The teachers at Mt. Herman Academy in Brevard, Prudden's only non-denominational school, were, as far as the records show, all from North Carolina or

Tennessee (AMA Annual Reports, 1909-1910; F. Hall, personal communication, Nov. 21, 1990).

Both the white school at Golden Valley and the black school at Mill Springs, sponsored by Christian and Missionary Alliance, probably had teachers from outside the South. When Golden Valley Institute came under the Southern Baptist umbrella, it was staffed by women recruited from the Southern Baptist Seminary (Freeman, 1985). Their hometowns are unknown, but it is likely they were southerners.

Records show that at least some of the teachers at All Healing Springs, which soon became Linwood College, were graduates of Due West Female College in Due West, South Carolina (Davenport, 1959). Although these teachers' birthplaces are not known, it is most likely they were from South and/or North Carolina. The majority of teachers in many of Prudden's schools were southerners, not northerners.

Gender

While the term "schoolmarm" fairly characterized the faculties at Skyland Institute, Saluda Seminary, Lincoln Academy, and Oberlin Homes for many years, male teachers were present on most of Prudden's campuses by the turn of the century. Since

Prudden established most of her schools for girls, women were usually the first teachers and administrators. As the schools were given over to various denominations, the exclusively female character of the schools changed.

The men who chose to work in Prudden's schools were almost always given the principalship (Davenport, 1959; Ross & Ross, 1993). Many white men who worked in these schools were clergy (Hart, 1916; Ross & Ross, 1993). More black men than white worked in Prudden's schools. Perhaps they accepted these teaching jobs because job opportunities for black men were more restricted in the society; or perhaps some perceived the work as an important way to help their race, thereby choosing the work on principle.

By 1888, just four years after it was founded as a girls' school, the principalship of the All Healing Springs School was held by a man. Male clergy would continue to be in charge of this school until it closed in 1921 (Davenport, 1959). At the white Elk Park Academy, men joined the initial female teachers within a few years (Woodside, 1952). Likewise, the Krimmer Mennonites sent married couples to teach in the Salem School at Elk Park (Richert, 1984).

The Christian and Missionary Alliance denomination sent married couples as well as single male and female teachers to their schools in Mill Springs and Golden Valley (A Visit to Lovejoy, 1908).

Oberlin Homes in Caldwell County, run by the Methodist Women's Home Missions Society retained an all female staff for many years. It was not until the school moved to Misenheimer and became the forerunner of Pfeiffer College that men were hired to teach at the school (Culp, 1942).

Religion

As has been noted earlier, all the teachers shared a belief in Protestant Christianity. This commonality was stretched to include beliefs and practices of the Krimmer Mennonites, Southern Baptists, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. While this ecumenicalism is laudable, for unaddressed reasons Prudden never turned a school over to Jews, Catholics, or Atheists.

Class

The class background of most of the teachers in Prudden's schools is unknown. However, some assumptions can be made which, if true, imply that the class background of the teachers was probably as diverse as their race, gender, and geographic origins.

Many teachers at the All Healing Springs School were college graduates (Davenport, 1959). This was somewhat uncommon for both

men and women in the 1880's and '90's. Therefore, most of these teachers probably came from middle- or upper-class families. The same is true of the early teachers at Saluda Seminary and Skyland Institute (AMA Annual Reports, 1887-1900). These two schools eventually hired some of their own graduates as teachers, who came from a rural lower-class background.

Graduates of Prudden's first school for African Americans, Lincoln Academy, were hired as teachers when Douglas Academy, Clarkson Home, and Mt. Herman Academy opened (G. Hall, personal communication, Oct. 22, 1989; C.G. Johnstone, personal communication, Feb. 3, 1990; Ross & Ross, 1993). These teachers were probably the children of slaves and grew up as sharecropper children. They were from extremely modest economic circumstances.

The Teachers' Lives

Most of Prudden's schools were boarding schools. A family atmosphere prevailed where teachers were not only teachers, but also role models, confidantes, and substitute family (Emerson, 1913; Peck, 1917). At most of Prudden's schools teachers lived on the campus in teacherages. They were responsible for their students 24 hours each day. Teachers were also accountable for the academic,

vocational and spiritual programs (Freeman, 1985; Prudden, 1914).

Mission teachers varied greatly in personal characteristics, motivation, length of service, and ability. Unfortunately, many of the people who labored long and hard to improve the education and vocational opportunities for the children the State neglected are now forgotten.

Students

Poor, rural, African-American, and Appalachian children have not been the topic of much historical study. Vital statistics such as birth and death records and census records in rural late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century North Carolina are sketchy, at best. Most areas in which Prudden operated schools had no newspapers. Therefore, only minimal information about a limited number of students enrolled in her schools is available in existing records.

Through enrollment figures published in various missionary magazines and supported by local histories and census figures, it can be approximated that in the years between 1890 and 1912, at least 1000 students per year were enrolled in Prudden's schools. Saluda Seminary had 69 pupils in 1892, the year it opened. By 1900 the enrollment had increased to 137, and in 1910, there were 158 students. Similarly, Lincoln Academy reported 148 students in

1892; 199 in 1894; 251 in 1901; and 345 in 1910 (AMA annual reports, 1892-1910). The few statistics available for Douglas Academy show a steady enrollment in the eighties for the years 1905-1908. Statistics for Clarkson Home show steady figures in the sixties before it was tragically burned down (AMA annual reports, 1905-1908). The AMA records also reflect that Golden Institute, before it was turned over to the Christian and Missionary Alliance, served 91 Rutherford County children in 1906.

Much more is known about the students in aggregate. Even at this level, they defy easy categorization. Race, gender, age, and religious affiliation are obvious differences among the students. Although most were residents of the rural foothills and mountains of North and South Carolina counties, students at Mt. Herman Academy and Hudson School were primarily town dwellers. In general, the students shared a background of economic poverty, but many students at Jones Institute (later Linwood College) and Elk Park Academy were from relatively prosperous families (Davenport, 1959; Woodside, 1952). Most of the students were youngsters in elementary and primary grades, but several schools served high school aged and older students (Davenport, 1959; Osborne & Pace, 1981).

Every alumni/alumnae recollection available reflects positively on the schools, the teachers, and the education received at the schools. This holds true regardless of race, gender, religious affiliation, or alma mater of the student. As far as can be discerned from the records, the schools were a major positive influence on the lives of many--if not most--of the students enrolled.

CHAPTER 4

THE SCHOOLS

Introduction

Despite the characteristics shared by all of Prudden's schools, each one was unique in adapting to local needs and mores. A brief history of each school demonstrates this responsiveness to local conditions. However, some of the schools' histories are more colorful than others.

The All Healing Springs School

In the 1880's in Gaston County, North Carolina, most people earned a living by farming or sharecropping (Separk, 1949). In stark contrast to this way of life was the All Healing Springs resort. Twelve natural springs at the base of Crowders Mountain contain such chemicals as iron, arsenic, sulfur, lithia, potash, and magnesia (Drink of Water. . . , 1976). These springs were said to cure a variety of ailments. People traveled hundreds of miles to bathe in the healing waters.

During the 1880's, the Francis Garretts owned the springs and built a resort complex around them. The complex included a hotel, an amusement pavilion equipped for bowling, billiards, and gymnastics as well as a grand ballroom. However, in 1884, Gaston County did not have a public school close enough for the Garretts' children--all daughters--to attend. Because they did not want to send their daughters away to boarding school, in the spring of 1884, the Garretts offered fifty acres of land to anyone who would establish a school for their girls and the other white girls living near All Healing Springs (Thompson, 1981). After becoming aware of the Garretts' offer, Prudden and the Garretts agreed upon a plan for a school. In the fall of 1884, All Healing Springs School opened its doors ("All Healing," 1884). Prudden recalled the founding of her first school for a brief autobiographical sketch in the *American Missionary*:

. . . I went to All Healing Springs at the foot of Crowders Mountain, North Carolina, and secured a fine site of fifty acres and contracted for a large building, spending my summer in a log cabin, with one friend until September fifth. At that date we opened, though the kitchen floor was not down, and we walked to the cook stove on planks in a few weeks we had 50 at the table, and many day pupils beside. They would come to our door and say "We have come to school." I would take them all, buy more beds, tables, dishes, and school books. When we had 40 we were using one large room for school, I proposed to my youngest teacher that she should give up her front room and I my front parlor and bedroom, to make room

for 10 more. . . . (Prudden, 1914, p. 737)

The school was a success. Increasing enrollment necessitated expansion into a second building. This second building, erected during the summer of 1885 provided both classroom and dormitory space. Sixty girls were enrolled in the fall of 1885 (Prudden, 1914).

In order to cover the costs of providing schooling for an increasing number of students, Prudden turned to an old friend and philanthropist for financial help, Judge Edwin Jones of Minneapolis, Minnesota (Prudden, 1914). Judge Jones gave generously to Prudden's school and subsequently, the school was named Jones Seminary. It was considered by many to be the best school in the county (Separk, 1949). The aim of Jones Seminary was to provide a Christian education for young white women and train them to be teachers. An elementary school was created for the dual purposes of providing basic education for local white children and supplying pupils for the prospective teachers (Davenport, 1959).

In 1887 Prudden deeded the All Healing Springs School to Judge Jones to continue as a seminary for white girls. In October 1888 Judge Jones sent the Reverend Cyrus A. Hampton, a retired Presbyterian minister from Ramsey County, Minnesota, to assume principalship of the school (Davenport, 1959). According to the 1888-89 catalog for Jones Seminary, Reverend Hampton served as

principal while Mrs. C.A. Hampton was assistant principal. Mrs. S.K. Jones, Miss L.S. Cathcart, Miss S.R. Caldwell, and Miss Helen Hampton comprised the faculty. Most, if not all, of these Minnesota teachers were of the Presbyterian or Congregationalist faith (Davenport, 1959).

Curriculum

Jones Seminary offered a primary school for children as well as a three-year, secondary course for "young ladies." A wider variety of classes were offered at Jones Seminary than were available in the public schools in either Gaston County or most of rural North Carolina at that time (Russell, 1991). The three-year, secondary course of study included instruction in spelling, reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, United States history, physiology, grammar, physical geography, algebra, general history, natural physiology, astronomy, rhetoric, botany, geometry, music, French, and Latin. By 1889 there were 700 books in the library (Davenport, 1959).

When Judge Jones died in January, 1890, the school continued to operate with the benevolence of the Jones heirs and the direction of Reverend Hampton. The annual reports from the U. S. Bureau of Education offer incomplete but interesting statistics concerning

Jones Seminary during the early 1890's. During the 1891-92 school year, there were 30 female secondary students, 6 college preparatory students, 118 elementary students, and 6 graduates. The annual report shows that during 1892-93 Jones Seminary boasted one male and 6 female teachers, 101 female secondary students, and 8 graduates. During 1893-94 there were 90 female students, 16 of whom were preparing for scientific education (Davenport, 1959).

Change of Ownership

When Reverend Hampton died in 1899, the Jones heirs offered the school to the Associated Reformed Presbyterian (ARP) Church in Due West, South Carolina. The church was already involved in female education through their sponsorship of Due West Female College (Davenport, 1959). The ARP accepted the offer but closed the school for the academic year 1899-1900 to reorganize. When the school reopened in the fall of 1900, it was under the direction of the Reverend A.G. Kirkpatrick. By this time a state supported elementary school had been established nearby so the primary department of Jones Seminary was discontinued (Davenport, 1959).

The school prospered as a secondary and normal school. When a college course of study was added in about 1914, the name of the

school changed once again. Jones Seminary became Linwood College. Linwood was considered a fine college for the daughters of white middle class and upper class families to attend (Separk, 1949). Though it retained primarily a focus on teacher training, courses leading to degrees in the liberal arts and religious studies were available. Male students were accepted about this time (Cope & Wellman, 1961).

Just before 1920, the school experienced financial difficulty. Dr. Lindsey, the college president at that time, attempted to raise \$50,000 in bonds during the summer of 1919. Apparently he was not successful and the school closed its doors forever at the end of the 1920-21 term (Separk, 1949).

Skyland Institute

Introduction

In the last years of the nineteenth century, the Watauga County school system, which served the Blowing Rock area, was floundering. In 1880 in Watauga County, there were 1,618 children enrolled in public school. They were taught by 34 teachers (a ratio of one teacher to every 47 students). The total county expenditure for education was \$1,882.89--roughly one dollar per pupil. Prior to 1900 teachers did not need to be certified to teach in North Carolina.

Some of the early Watauga County teachers had considerable training, while the training of others was severely limited. In 1885 the school term was fifty days (Whitener, 1949).

Prudden Comes to Blowing Rock

During a summer vacation from her All Healing Springs School in 1885 Emily Prudden first visited Blowing Rock. She chronicled her impressions of the area when she wrote,

In the deep valleys, were the homes of poor, unlearned but interesting people, shut out from all that makes life rich and lovely, no school, no church. . . here are a people more needy than the dwellers on the plains. They must have a school. (Prudden, 1914, p. 738)

The following summer, Prudden bought a thirteen-acre tract of land for a new school and named it Skyland. During the summer months of 1887 she supervised the construction of the "Home" which opened in September and served the dual purposes of dormitory and classroom building (Prudden, 1914). According to Mr. D.P. Coffey (in Coffey & Howe, 1984), the son of two Skyland graduates and a lifelong Blowing Rock resident, the Home was a three-story wood frame building with a stairway in the center. On the bottom floor, Miss N. S. Dennis taught the primary children in the West Room while Miss Annette Jackson taught the higher grades in the East Room. The middle floor housed the girls and teachers; the third floor attic

housed the younger brothers of some of the girls enrolled at Skyland. The dormitory rooms were large with three or four beds and a cook stove in each room (Coffey & Howe, 1984).

Growth at Skyland

The school thrived. Prudden deeded the school to the American Missionary Association in 1888. In 1889 there were 65 boarding students as well as 65 day students. There were four teachers and a principal making the adult-to-pupil ratio about 1 to 26. The school term was eight months long, from October to May (Prudden, 1914). In order to meet the needs of the expanding enrollment, a second building which consisted of two large rooms--the Boarding Hall--was erected in 1888 across the turnpike road from Skyland Hall.

Cultural Insensitivity: The Nebraska Letter

The AMA relied heavily on donations to keep their schools open. To this end, it encouraged teachers to write about the poor conditions in which their pupils lived and of the good works of the AMA schools in these underprivileged communities. In addition to publishing these reports in *The Missionary* they were circulated to various individuals and organizations which might be interested in supporting the work of the AMA. These letters, written largely as

supporting the work of the AMA. These letters, written largely as fundraising propaganda, did not accurately portray all segments of Appalachian society. Sometimes tensions resulted when the letters were made public to residents living near the schools. One such incident occurred at Skyland Institute in 1892. In that year, Annette Jackson, a teacher at Skyland, wrote a letter to a friend in Nebraska. Her letter was not intended for publication; but the friend was so moved that she sent it to her local paper, the *Hemingford Guide*, to be reprinted for all to read. In part, the letter read,

I think you are of the opinion that I am in a colored school. No, it is work among the mountain whites, many as low down as the Negroes. . . . There is only one Union man in the country here, and he, poor man, finds life scarcely worth living, he is so ill treated and ostracized You cannot imagine the filth many [students] live in at home. Houses with no windows, no stoves, all the family living and sleeping in one room, some half clad, such wretchedness as to make one's heart ache. . . . And most of all, [the students] have no ancestry of honesty and truthfulness back of them. . . many of [the older members of the community] are shiftless, lazy, and careless. It is not uncommon for a man to have had three or more wives. The women hoe all day, do the housework, raise a family, chop the wood, milk, etc., and the men loaf, visit and pretend to work a little, so one man can easily outlive several wives. . . . we [teachers] long to see friends and hear other talk than 'reckon,' 'heap,' 'right smart,' 'plumb,' 'tote,' etc." (in Buxton, 1989, p. 112)

A Nebraska man who had lived in Western North Carolina for fifteen

years sent a copy of the Nebraska paper to the *Lenoir News Topic*. The town of Lenoir is situated eighteen miles from Blowing Rock and the *Lenoir News Topic* often published news of Blowing Rock and Watauga County. The *Topic* published excerpts from the letter with the following editorial comment:

Provide yourself with a bottle of camphor, for fear you become sick; get as comfortable a seat as possible and prepare to read one of the most slanderous and libelous articles that has ever been published on the people of Western North Carolina. . . . written by Annette Jackson, a teacher in Skyland Institute at Blowing Rock, and for malicious misrepresentations, and slanderous intent was never surpassed by anyone who has such a scant stock of brains as is possessed by this light headed silly Nebraska school teacher. ("The Nebraska Letter," 1892)

Soon after this March 2, 1892 issue of the *Topic* reached Blowing Rock, an impromptu committee composed of Ben Green, Filmore Coffey, H. C. Marten, Charles Carter, I. N. Corpening, and Mrs. Ingle went to Skyland Institute to discuss the matter. Miss Jackson admitted writing the letter, stating it was private correspondence and not intended for publication. Jackson was not as contrite as the committee expected or wanted (Buxton, 1989).

At least 35 paying pupils were withdrawn from Skyland in the week following the publication of the "Nebraska Letter." Prudden (1892) quickly wrote a letter to the editor of the *Topic* in which she

praised her Appalachian neighbors for the patriotism at the Battle of King's Mountain during the American Revolution. In her letter, she described the residents of Blowing Rock as "cordial, interesting, good people" (March 23, 1892, p. 3). Prudden returned to Blowing Rock from a school in Trout, North Carolina to act as an ambassador for the school. Several community meetings were held and eventually, most of the citizens' anger dissipated. As for Annette Jackson, she remained at Skyland through the end of the school year. She was then replaced by Ellen Dorsett who remained there for the next ten years.

Skyland No Longer Needed

No other serious controversies are recorded in local newspapers or memoirs of students or teachers. Gradually, both North Carolina and Watauga County increased the number of public schools, the quality of teachers, and the length of the school term. By 1910 Skyland was outliving its usefulness. The AMA asked Prudden to return to Blowing Rock to help close the school. Prudden served as principal of Skyland for its last two years of existence, 1910 to 1912. The buildings were demolished. Some of the timber is believed to have been used in the construction of two of Blowing Rock's landmarks--the Farmhouse Restaurant and the Palace at

Tweetsie Railroad (Summerville, undated).

Lincoln Academy

While Prudden was teaching in Gaston County at All Healing Springs, she was disturbed because the children of the black workers at the resort could not attend her school. To remedy the situation, she obtained an abandoned log cabin close to the resort. After the white girls were dismissed from class at All Healing Springs, Prudden would ride a donkey across Crowders Creek to the cabin and hold school for local black children and adults. This was the beginning of Lincoln Academy (McDowell, 1985).

While Prudden was in Blowing Rock at Skyland Academy, her thoughts returned to the African-American students she left behind near All Healing Springs. She wrote in her autobiography that she felt she “had not done for the least of Christ’s brethren” (1914, p. 739). As soon as Skyland Academy was running smoothly, Prudden returned to Gaston County and bought land for Lincoln Academy, her first school for African-American girls (Prudden, 1914).

Isabel Mauney, a former student at Lincoln, credited many local African Americans for supporting Lincoln Academy in its early days (Smith, March 21, 1957). Wesley Wellmon, Wesley Mauney, Titus Whitworth, M. Torrence, the Webbs, the Roberts, the McNairs, and a

Mr. Clark were instrumental in getting community support and involvement for Lincoln. Isabel Mauney's own grandfather, Jack Wellmon was "thrilled over the movement and did all he could to foster the cause. He rode all over Western North Carolina canvassing for students" (in Smith, March 21, 1957, p. B-3). In the summer of 1888, a 16x20 foot building was erected and used as a dormitory, classroom building, dining hall, and chapel. The building was completed in time for a short term of school that winter (Prudden, 1914). The next year, Alice Peck, a white teacher formerly at Berea College in Kentucky, took charge of the school. There were approximately 25 boarding pupils and about the same number of day students. Peck was joined soon by Lillian Cathcart who would be principal of Lincoln Academy for the next 25 years (Smith, March 27, 1957). By the early 1890's the school was growing in number and reputation (Cope & Wellman, 1961).

Local White Reaction

The excitement felt on campus over the success of Lincoln Academy was not universally shared in the surrounding white community. Teachers and students suffered some verbal harassment from local hostile whites. Prudden wrote about this situation,

As I could not stay by the school I committed it to the Lord for His keeping and blessing more utterly than any

other work I ever attempted. I sometimes think the grasp of faith I then had in the power and willingness of the Lord to bless has had something to do with the great advancement there. (in Cathcart, 1902, p. 135)

She continues in her autobiography,

The white people protested at my doing this: "Miss Prudden, you can make nothing out of these lying, good-for-nothing Negroes." One white man whose children I had especially favored. . . said "I used to think Miss Prudden a good Christian, but now I don't think her a Christian at all." I trembled for the safety of the new Home, and I gave it to the Lord with absolute trust that He would guard and bless it. (p. 739)

Apparently, Prudden's prayers were answered. Lincoln continued to grow and prosper for many decades without reports of any violent or racist incidents.

The Cathcart Years

When Prudden deeded the school to the AMA in 1890, Lillian S. Cathcart assumed principalship. Under her tenure, boys were admitted, more land was secured, and more buildings were constructed. Room, board, laundry, and tuition costs were \$4.00 per month and later were raised to \$4.50. Lincoln Academy was unable to accept all the students who applied for admission. Preference was given to students from areas with no educational alternatives. Lincoln not only continued but prospered as the years passed

(Cathcart, 1907).

A report about Lincoln Academy in the fall 1894 *American Missionary* magazine informs its readers that

. . . The purpose originally was to have a small school among the absolutely neglected colored people of the remote district. Students packed the building, and insisted upon remaining in it. The growth of the school could not be prevented. . . . This school is sending forth well trained teachers from its normal grades. It has added a college preparatory grade, and has graduated from the Bible course at least one for the gospel ministry. (Lincoln Academy, 1894, p. 212)

By the turn of the century, over 40 Lincoln graduates were employed as teachers in surrounding counties. It was reported that in one county only one or two black teachers were not Lincoln alumna (Cathcart, 1902). Cathcart wrote in 1902 that hundreds of black students in western North Carolina were being taught by Lincoln graduates.

The school continued to grow and prosper during the next few decades. Thousands of black students from all over western North Carolina received their high school and normal school education while boarding at Lincoln. From the 1930's to the 1950's, Lincoln also served as one of the few southern interracial meeting sites for groups such the the YMCA/YWCA and the United Christian Youth Movement, a national interdenominational, interracial organization

for college students (Cope & Wellman, 1961).

In 1955 Gaston County opened a new high school for its African-American students in nearby Dallas. At that time, the AMA discontinued its boarding operation at Lincoln and the Academy's doors closed forever ("Lincoln High School," Oct. 2, 1957). It stood in ruins for many years. Today the buildings no longer exist and the grounds are part of a golf course.

Saluda Seminary

By 1890 Prudden's success in establishing schools was apparent to the Executive Board of the American Missionary Association. All three of her schools, Jones Institute, Skyland Academy, and Lincoln Academy were growing in enrollment and reputation. After deeding Lincoln Academy and Skyland Institute to the AMA in the late 1880's, their leadership encouraged Prudden to establish another school for "mountain whites" using AMA resources (Prudden, 1914). After a year-long search for reasons not clearly specified, Prudden chose Saluda, North Carolina as the site for the new school. She noted in her autobiography that the town and district of Saluda had been holding school in an open pen prior to the erection of her new school. Saluda Seminary, as the school was named, operated as an AMA school from 1891 to 1921. The education

of approximately 2,000 students took place within its walls (Osborne & Pace, 1981).

Saluda Seminary's Beginnings

Prudden purchased a tract of land for Saluda Seminary in June, 1891 and started school only four months later. As was the case at Jones Institute, the building was barely ready to accommodate students when it opened. Despite the rapidity of events and lack of time to advertise the school, over 50 girls enrolled on opening day in October, 1891. By November--just one month later--the enrollment had increased to 150 students. Clearly, there was a great need for a school in Saluda (Prudden, 1914).

Apparently the school ran smoothly for many years. Saluda graduates were accepted into well-respected colleges and graduate schools. One Saluda student was the recipient of a Rhodes Scholarship (Osborne & Pace, 1981). The scholastic standards were high and attracted students from all over the Carolinas. The school was plagued, however, with one chronic problem--overcrowding. Unfortunately, many applicants could not be accepted due to the lack of classroom and dormitory space.

Community Cooperation

Local acceptance and appreciation of the mission school was profoundly expressed in 1908. In that year, the citizens of Saluda presented several acres of valuable land to the AMA and promised to raise one thousand dollars for the construction of a new dormitory. Ryder Hall was erected in 1909, almost doubling the capacity of the school (Burrage, 1910).

The new building brought only temporary relief to the problem. According to George Burrage, principal at Saluda Seminary in 1913, the reputation of the school continued to attract students from an ever widening geographic base in increasing numbers. While Burrage praised the construction of Ryder Hall, he concluded the school was rapidly outgrowing its present accommodations after only four years (Burrage, 1913). So in 1919 Saluda Seminary was celebrating the opening of yet another new classroom building (Hollister, 1920).

Saluda Seminary Becomes a Public School

The AMA only intended to sponsor mission schools until state and local governments could (and would) assume the responsibility of educating local children. By 1920 the AMA was facing a situation characterized by both decreasing financial donations and increasing interest and ability of state and local governments to provide

adequate public education. Saluda was one such case. Therefore, the newly appointed AMA principal, F. M. Hollister began the task of turning Saluda Seminary over to the Polk County Board of Education. Recalling the early days of the school, he wrote in the *American Missionary* in 1920,

In the early days it was the only school in the region. Children, older boys and girls, even young men and women came for miles eagerly seeking the education so freely offered. Now we share our work with a first class state high school at the county seat thirteen miles away and two other high schools of the second class in the county, besides several denominational schools similar to Saluda. (p. 33)

Local reaction to the AMA's decision to turn Saluda over to the public school system revealed sorrow and regret. This is perhaps best illustrated by a resolution passed by the Saluda Board of Trade on May 20, 1921:

Resolved: That we, the Saluda Board of Trade, representing the citizens of this community, desire to convey to the American Missionary Society our unfeigned regret on learning of its decision to discontinue the operation of Saluda Seminary. We realize however the justice of the position taken by those responsible for the expenditure. . . in the removal of the institution to other fields where the need exists in excess of that ruling in our community, and, at the conclusion of the work of the Association here, we desire to place upon the record our warm appreciation of the splendid services rendered by the Saluda Seminary during the period of its existence. (in Hollies, July 21, 1921, p. 158)

Saluda Seminary became a public school. The AMA-constructed buildings and grounds served the community well for several decades. Eventually, the buildings were replaced with more modern facilities (Osborne & Pace, 1981).

Altamont

Due to the lack of surviving records, some of Emily Prudden's activities are difficult to understand. In her brief autobiography, many details are mottled. Without newspapers of the time, entries in local history books, or recorded deeds relating to a given school, one is left largely with conjecture as to motivation and events. Such is the case with Prudden's season in Trout/Altamont, North Carolina.

Whether Prudden was invited or simply took it upon herself to teach school in this tiny Blue Ridge crossroads community will probably never be known. It is also unclear why her association with the school only lasted one term. However, the experience in Trout/Altamont was important enough to Prudden for her to include it, albeit briefly, in her memoirs.

In 1891 Emily Prudden and two unnamed teachers moved to the rural settlement of Trout, located "fourteen miles from everywhere, twenty-six miles from Blowing Rock" (Prudden, 1914, p. 740).

Because a new union church, used alternately by Methodists and Baptists, had recently been built, Prudden and the teachers were able to set up housekeeping in the old log church. They began calling the town "Altamont" (Prudden, 1914, p. 740). Living conditions were primitive although not altogether unpleasant. Prudden (1914) recalled the poorly constructed building was no match for the weather. The building let in

. . . torrents of rain, ending [the] fires, and snow. . . sifted down on [their] papers as [they] wrote, and moistened [the] beds and cooled [their] faces in the night season.
(p. 740)

However, Prudden admits, "We enjoyed it" (p. 740).

According to the single entry in a local history book concerning Prudden's work in Altamont, the school, known as Owl Den School, was held in the union church. Prudden described it as "a large fine school" (Prudden, 1914, p. 740). Local people remember Prudden giving out Bibles as a reward for good academic work. Prudden herself recalled giving away 500 bags filled with candy, nuts, raisins, and crackers at Christmastime. She was pleased with the number of conversions to Christianity among the residents of Altamont during her stay (Prudden, 1914). Despite the seemingly positive reception in the community and the lack of public schools in the area for another decade, Prudden moved on. The questions of how

Prudden came to spend a year in Altamont/Trout, why she left, and who--if anyone--ran the Owl Den School after she was gone, will remain unanswered.

The Elk Park Schools

Reverend Robert Payne Pell, an ordained Presbyterian minister destined to spend many years as an Appalachian missionary, came to Elk Park in Mitchell (now Avery) County around 1890 to establish a church (Woodside, 1952). With the building completed and a growing congregation, Reverend Pell and many local white residents decided it was time to begin a school as there were no public schools available for Elk Park children to attend. Pell invited Prudden to come to Elk Park to assist in this effort and she agreed. Soon, over 300 white children attended the new Elk Park Academy. Five missionary workers came from Cleveland, Ohio to help Prudden teach school (Prudden, 1914). Around 1900 Elk Park Academy became part of the public school system of Mitchell County.

In 1894, Prudden purchased four acres of land and built a school for the black children living near Elk Park. A later missionary teacher at the new school wrote that

When [Prudden] bought the piece of land for the school for the colored people, no one knew for what purpose it was intended. Therefore she was able to select a lovely hillside which overlooked the whole town of Elk Park.

The fine building and location for the colored people caused so much hatred and jealousy among the white people that they succeeded in frightening away the early occupants and Miss Prudden could no longer get teachers for the school. (Wiebe, 1950, p. 5)

There is no record of the abuses suffered by the early teachers, and Prudden, in her autobiography, avoided discussing this period by saying the suffering and distressing side of their work would appear in their "tear book," if it were ever written (Prudden, 1914, p. 741).

Committed to providing schooling for the African-American children around Elk Park, Prudden "sent a call westward" (Wiebe, 1956, p. 5) for Christian teachers who could be financially supported by their home church to come and teach in the African-American Elk Park school.

Peter Wiebe, a white Mennonite missionary working in Flat Lick, Kentucky, heard about Prudden's call. He informed the Krimmer Mennonite leadership of the need for teachers in Elk Park (Richert, 1984). The Krimmer Mennonite Conference decided to expand their missionary program in the southern Appalachians and asked for a married couple to teach and preach in the North Carolina mountains. Henry and Elizabeth Wiebe, Mennonite missionaries, decided to go (Richert, 1984).

The Wiebes set out for Elk Park in the spring of 1900. Unfortunately, by the time they arrived, the schoolhouse had been

rented to a white family. Prudden arranged for the Wiebes to teach summer school about forty miles away, near Hudson in Caldwell County. In the fall of that year, the Wiebes returned to Elk Park ready to start a new school term with the African-American children (Wiebe, 1950). On the second morning of school a note was attached to the Wiebe's door which read:

We the citizens of Elk Park will not allow a white man to stoop so low as to teach niggers. They have enough of their own color to teach them. Your time is up today.
(Wiebe, 1950, p. 6)

After much prayer and conversation, the Wiebes decided to keep the school open. This proved to be a good decision, for although there was name calling and rock throwing, neither the students nor the Wiebes was seriously injured. After school was adjourned in the spring of 1901, the Wiebes traveled to Kansas with plans to change their mission field. However, a petition arrived in Kansas from the African-American citizens of Elk Park urging the Wiebes to return and reopen the school. The Weibes returned and the denomination bought the schoolhouse and eight acres (Wiebe, 1950).

It was during the second year of the school that the orphanage began. As Mrs. Wiebe recalled,

After we were back a few days a colored boy, twelve years of age, came to our place and begged to stay with us. He was sick, poorly clad and homeless. We didn't know just what to do, but we couldn't turn him away, for

judging from appearances he had not long to live. . . . before long another homeless child arrived. . . the homeless children kept coming. . . ." (Wiebe, 1950, p. 6)

After conferring with the Mission Board, the decision was made to start an orphanage.

Two local African-American women, Alice Garnett and Gertrude Sapp, were added to the teaching staff along with a Mennonite couple, the Tschetters, from Kansas (Richert, 1984). Despite the missionaries' Christian orientation and hard work on behalf of orphans and children, local acceptance was not forthcoming. A white Mitchell County citizen expressed local white sentiment to the Salem School and Orphanage when he recalled, "We boys would often decide that we would run [Tschetter] out of town, but you can't hurt a man who prayed like he did" (Woodside, 1952, p. 25).

The Wiebes left Elk Park in 1908. The Tschetters, with Garnett and Sapp, continued the mission for another four years, but in the end, the remote location and enduring local hostility overcame them (Ostwalt, 1990). After Salem School and Orphanage closed in 1912, the Krimmer Mennonite Conference maintained a presence in the area but changed its focus to establishing Mennonite churches throughout the region (Ostwalt, 1990).

Mountain View Academy

As Emily Prudden founded an increasing number of schools in western North Carolina, her reputation grew. In 1892 while Prudden was busy with the schools in Elk Park, a group of parents from Hudson, North Carolina, in Caldwell County, contacted her about helping them establish a school for their children (Prudden, 1914). Although extant records are not definitive as to how the Hudson parents became aware of Prudden and her schools, it seems likely that some of the Hudson families heard about or had sent their daughters to Skyland Academy in nearby Blowing Rock. Furthermore, in 1892 Prudden had been lauded in the local newspaper, the *Lenoir News Topic*, for the quality of education provided at Skyland (Skyland Institute, March 23, 1892, p. 3).

Prudden worked with parents and community members through a cooperative experience, much like today's Habitat for Humanity. Local people were expected and enabled to help meet their own needs rather than be charity recipients. In this spirit, Prudden offered to supply the materials for a school building at Hudson if the local citizens provided the labor. They agreed, and in a few short months Mountain View Academy opened its doors (Prudden, 1914). The building was a 40x60, two-story structure. Classrooms and an auditorium occupied the first floor while the second floor was

reserved for living space for the teachers and a few boarding students. Prudden, along with Miss Ellen Green, Miss Alice Clark, Miss Hattie Gilliatt, and Miss Minnie Powell were the early teachers at Mountain View. Although some students boarded, most of the pupils were day students from the surrounding area (Teachers in Early Hudson. . . , 1985).

Around the turn of the century, as was a common practice at that time, the Mountain View Academy building was used for both public and private schooling. The building was rented by the county to house the three-to-four-month public school term. For families who were willing and able to enroll their children for a longer term, and for children who received scholarships from the Home Mission Society of the Congregational Church, another three or four months of "private" schooling was available (Mountain View Academy, 1985).

With the improvements in public education in North Carolina, Caldwell County and Hudson in the early years of the twentieth century, the need for private education diminished. By 1904 Mountain View Academy was consolidated with several small schools in District Two of Caldwell County and became a part of the public system. In 1912 the old wooden building was replaced by a new brick facility (Mountain View Academy, 1985).

Oberlin Home

Oberlin Home was both Emily Prudden's greatest success and biggest failure. The school spawned Pfeiffer College in Meisenheimer, North Carolina--a four-year, church-related institution. However, it was also the only school in which controversy led to murder. Due to these remarkable events, there are many more records relating to Oberlin Home than any of Prudden's other schools.

While in Caldwell County helping parents establish Mountain View Academy, Prudden became aware of a remote settlement of white citizens in the nearby Brushy Mountains (Prudden, 1914). Since there were no public schools close enough for their children to attend, she decided to start a school for them on Lick Mountain. Prudden named the school Oberlin Home and School in honor of John Frederick Oberlin, a French priest who devoted his life to improving the lives of his neighbors among the mountains of Alsace, France (Culp, 1942). Prudden became aware of a large farm for sale on Lick Mountain through an advertisement in the local newspaper (Russell, 1978).

About 50 students per year attended the school in the early years of operation. Approximately half were day students and half boarded at the school due to the long distances and poor roads in the

Brushy Mountain section of Caldwell County (Alexander, 1956). A former student reported that although life was busy and regimented at Oberlin Home, it was also interesting. According to Robinson (1936), on Sundays there were church services held by visiting ministers; on Tuesday evenings formal student debates were held; on Wednesdays their principal related personal experiences and told the students of her travels; and on Friday evenings, the students reported their reading for the week.

The school grew for a number of years. Facilities, teachers, and students were added. Following her pattern of founding a school and then turning it over to another organization to operate, in 1903 Prudden gave Oberlin Home to the Methodist Women's Home Mission Society (MWHMS) (Minutes of the 22nd annual. . . , 1903). Lizzie Kennedy, a white teacher from Bessemer City, North Carolina, and Mary Frances both worked with Prudden for many years at Oberlin Home and stayed on through the change in administrations. They were joined by Miss May Pauline Abbott, a Methodist teacher from Cincinnati, Ohio (Russell, 1978). Mrs. Mary A. Mitchell of Dayton, Ohio and a member of the MWHMS, gave \$1,500 for upgrading and enlarging the facilities at Oberlin Home. The name of the school was changed to Mitchell School in honor of Mrs. Mitchell for her

generosity. Enrollment at the school continued to grow (Russell, 1978).

Abbott spent the summer of 1904 back home in Cincinnati, Ohio (Russell, 1978). In an effort to raise money to further enlarge the school and fund community uplift projects, she gave speeches and interviews to local groups about her work with the North Carolina mountaineers. Due at least in part to make her case more appealing and particularly because she did not understand her new neighbors, she painted a grim and largely false picture of life in the Brushy Mountains. In August, 1904, Abbott gave an interview to the *Cincinnati Star*, a local newspaper. The following excerpts from the interview demonstrate the paternalism exhibited by this missionary teacher:

The conditions of this little mountain community are almost unrealizable to the people of a civilized country. The people know. . . nothing. . . of civilization. . . . They are proud people and only by treating them as equals and with the respect due them can they be reached. . . . It was simply marvelous to me how right here in [the]. . . United States these people have lived in the ignorance of isolation so long unknown. The chief diversion in the lives. . . was when straggling politicians drove through. . . and told the men to vote. . . . they vote Republican thinking they are voting against slavery. . . . These mountaineers never see a newspaper or a magazine. . . . They have simply toiled on their hands to raise enough to eat and wear. . . . Into this mountain country I went. . . last winter to bring civilization. . . . ("Simmerings of a Simpleton," 1904)

A man from Caldwell county who was traveling through Cincinnati saw Abbott's interview in the newspaper. He gave the *News Topic*, the local North Carolina newspaper, a copy of the *Star*. The editors of the *News Topic* promptly reprinted the interview, in full, along with a scathing editorial.

When Abbott returned to Caldwell County she vigorously denied her statements as quoted in the *Cincinnati Star*. She claimed she was misrepresented in the interview (Abbott Denies Charges, Sept. 9, 1904, *Lenoir News Topic*). On September 9, 1904, several angry and armed Caldwell County men came to the school demanding that Abbott leave the county. Other men came to defend Abbott and the school from the vigilantes. There was shooting and several men were hit. Although no one died on the scene, Mr. Martin, a defender of the school, died a few days later of wounds inflicted during the gunfight (Ugly Affair, Sept. 16, 1904, *Lenoir News Topic*).

The school closed and Abbott fled Caldwell County dressed as a man (Russell, 1991). Two MWHMS teachers, Miss Emily Bartholomew and Miss Ellsworth Apperson, were sent to reopen and manage the Mitchell School in the fall of 1905 (Russell, 1978). Things were going smoothly until a 2:00 a.m. fire on January 14, 1907 completely destroyed the dormitory (Russell, 1978). All 35 students and two teachers safely escaped and took refuge in the

school building. It was widely assumed that the fire was intentionally set by those still angry over Abbott's interview and its consequences (Alexander, 1956). Fearing for the students' and teachers' safety after this suspicious fire, the MWHMS decided to move the school into Lenoir.

In the summer of 1909, the executive board of the MWHMS decided to accept an offer to land in Misenheimer, a town located in Stanly County, North Carolina. Here, they could rebuild and expand the school. Twenty-two pupils and teachers, along with all the school's supplies and equipment, were moved free of charge by the Southern Railroad on February 2, 1910 to start anew at Misenheimer. The school grew and evolved into Pfeiffer College (Russell, 1978).

The Lawndale Schools:

Douglas Academy and Clarkson Home

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Cleveland County denied free public education to its African-American citizens (Huggins, 1946). The Wells brothers of the Cleveland County town of Lawndale, both former slaves, wanted their children to have a better life than they had experienced (Ross & Ross 1993). One way to accomplish this goal was to ensure their children received a good

education. To this end, in the 1890's, James Wells sent his daughters to study and board at Lincoln Academy in nearby Gaston County (Smith, March 27, 1957). The Wells family must have been very pleased with the school and with Emily Prudden. Wells apparently did not want other black families in the Lawndale area to be separated in order for their children to obtain an education. Around 1900, he contacted Prudden and offered to donate land, building materials, and labor for a school in Lawndale if she would equip the school and supply teachers (Prudden, 1914). Prudden quickly agreed. During the summer months of 1901 "the fine, large, Douglas Academy" was erected (Prudden, 1914, p. 742).

Douglas began as a girls' school. Misses Isabelle and Florence Wells, James's daughters and Lincoln Academy graduates, were the first teachers. Isabelle Wells taught the younger children while her sister Florence taught the higher elementary grades. Prudden and James Wells acted as directors (B. Ross, personal communication, Dec. 8, 1992). Other early teachers include Mrs. Clarkson, Mrs. Harrison Neal, Miss Lula Walls, Miss Hester Ward, Mrs. Sheila Williams, and Miss Lizzie Blanton. There were between 80 and 90 boarding students and about 150 day students in the early years (History Committee pamphlet, 1980).

Jim Wells, James's brother, wanted to do for the boys of the

community what his brother had done for the girls. He made similar arrangements with Prudden and the next year Clarkson Home for boys opened down the road from Douglas on fourteen acres of land (Deed BBB/555 recorded in Cleveland County). The boys lived at Clarkson but attended class at Douglas (B. Ross, personal communication, Dec. 8, 1992). Unfortunately, about three years later Clarkson burned to the ground. Luckily, no one was hurt (Prudden, 1914). Within a matter of days people in the Lawndale community built a new boys dormitory on the Douglas Academy property (History Committee pamphlet, 1980).

The AMA supported the school as long as it could, but due to declining donations, the AMA in concert with the local trustees of Douglas Academy, deeded the school to Western District Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1918 (Deed YY/447 recorded in Cleveland County). The Methodist Episcopal Church also sponsors the primarily African-American female Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina. This proved to be a successful merger for several Douglas students attended Bennett College and several Bennett graduates taught at Douglas Academy (Ross & Ross, 1993).

In the 1920's Cleveland County assumed responsibility for educating its African-American children. Douglas Academy became the segregated black public school (Huggins, 1946). Hundreds of

African-American children were educated at Douglas Academy and Clarkson Home in the twenty-year gap between the founding of the school and the assumption of educational responsibility by local government (History Committee pamphlet, 1980). Although the old Douglas buildings have been torn down due to age, the spirit of Douglas and memories of the founders and early years live on in an active alumni association.

Golden Valley Institute

In its first thirty years of existence in Golden, North Carolina in Rutherford County, the Golden Valley Institute (GVI) was under the sequential sponsorships of the AMA, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, private ownership, Southern Baptists, and finally, the state of North Carolina (Freeman, 1985). Perhaps due to its many metamorphoses, this is the only one of Prudden's schools to spawn two institutions still in existence. One, Toccoa Falls College is a Christian and Missionary Alliance supported, four-year liberal arts college in Toccoa Falls, Georgia. The other is Southmountain Institute, a state-supported home for troubled adolescents near Nebo, Burke County, North Carolina.

While at Douglas and Clarkson, Prudden "was casting longing eyes" at the Southmountain range located about twenty miles north

of Lawndale in adjacent Rutherford County (Prudden, 1914, p. 747). In the spring of 1903 during a short trip to explore the range, Prudden met Joseph Grayson. He had long been interested in securing a school for the children of Golden Valley, and offered Prudden thirty-five acres of land adjoining Fairview Baptist Church for a school. He also promised timber and told her he knew of others in the community who would give timber and labor for the building (Grayson, 1980). Prudden accepted this offer, and in the fall of 1903, the school opened its doors. Enrollment was open to boys and girls aged five to twenty-five or older--anyone who had not had the opportunity to gain the equivalent of a high school education (Grayson, 1980).

In 1904, with an enrollment of 91 students, Prudden deeded the school to the AMA (AMA annual report, 1904; Deed recorded in Rutherford County Deed Book #81, p. 106, county courthouse). Suffering from a lack of funds with which to operate the school, the AMA deeded the school back to Prudden in 1906. Since Prudden's mission was to found schools not to run them, she looked for a denomination to take over Golden Valley Institute. At the same time, Reverend Richard A. Forrest, a Christian and Missionary Alliance minister wanted to start a school and seminary for his denomination (Moothard, 1956). He somehow heard about the school at Golden, and

in 1907, bought the school from Prudden. GVI, under the tutelage of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, served the dual roles of providing basic literacy and education to the local children, as well as training young adults from across the southeast for careers in the ministry, home and foreign mission work and Christian education (Scripture, 1955).

Although the school experienced growth, in 1911 Forrest decided to purchase the Haddock Inn in the mountains of Georgia and move the school there. The precise reasons for the move are lost to history. Forrest and his associates went on to build Toccoa Falls College, a well-respected four-year liberal arts school, in Toccoa Falls, Georgia (Moothard, 1956).

Meanwhile, the elementary portion of the school at GVI continued successfully under the leadership of L.U. Snead who bought the building and grounds from Forrest in 1911. Snead was a Southern Baptist. He and the school received support from the adjacent Fairview Baptist Church congregation as well as from the regional Southern Baptist Association. In 1918-1919 an influenza epidemic swept the globe. Rutherford County was not spared the ravages of this disease, and many children were orphaned due to the influenza virus. Some of these orphans asked Snead if they could take up residence at the school (Grayson, 1980).

Not wanting to turn them away, but unable to care for so many children himself, he turned to the training school of the Southern Baptist Convention asking for two women to help out with the orphaned children. Bertha B. Moore responded to his appeal for help and became a housekeeper, house mother, and substitute parent to the boys and girls in the boarding department. In a short time, Ora Hull, who had been Moore's roommate at training school, came to assist Moore and Snead. Around 1919 Snead offered to sell Moore and Hull GVI for \$500.00. They went to all the Baptist churches in the surrounding counties asking for donations to keep the school open. Enough money was raised to purchase the school, and under its fourth administration 65 boys and girls attended the 1919-1920 session of GVI (Freeman, 1985).

Keeping the school in operation proved financially difficult for Hull and Moore. A public school, Fairview Elementary, was built nearby, taking many of the paying students off the rolls of GVI (Grayson, 1980). According to *South Mountain Inc. 1903-1984* by Freeman (1985), during the 1920's, in a move reminiscent of Prudden's school forty years previously,

The school solicited and received large quantities of used clothing, which were worn by pupils, or exchanged for cash or food, or converted into strips for making rag rugs. . . . (p. 5)

In the early years of the Great Depression of the 1930's, GVI continued to struggle financially trying to educate and house needy children. Many parents were not able to make tuition payments. The buildings and grounds needed so much repair they became unsafe. In 1934 the North Carolina State Board of Welfare refused to let the school admit any students due to the unsafe conditions. The Education Board of nearby Burke County offered the owners new equipment and 154 acres of land if GVI would relocate to the Shortoff School grounds near Nebo, North Carolina. Moore and Hull accepted the offer. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration remodeled the old Shortoff School and added a dormitory. Around that time, the name of the school was changed to Southmountain Institute (SMI). After World War II, the educational functions of SMI were turned over to the Burke County public school system (Freeman, 1985). SMI continues to operate as a safe home for children who are abused or neglected by their families (Freeman, 1985).

Lovejoy Academy

Around 1905 a group of parents in the Mills Springs area of Polk County, North Carolina offered to donate eight acres of land, labor, and materials if Prudden would help them establish a local school (Prudden, 1914). Some African-American Mills Springs area

children had attended Lincoln Academy. Some parents were probably also aware of Prudden's work because of the Saluda Seminary for white girls she founded in Polk County a decade earlier. Regardless of how they knew about Prudden, they were familiar with her schools and what she had to offer.

In 1914 Prudden wrote in her autobiography that she felt "constrained to help them" (p. 747) to start a school. A large building consisting of both classroom and dormitory space was opened in the fall of 1905 (Mullen, 1905). The building accommodated about forty boarding students as well as the teachers. Prudden turned the school over to the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) for educational and financial support. Under the auspices of the CMA the school grew and prospered ("A Visit to Lovejoy," 1908).

In 1910 or 1911, a school in Boyton, Virginia was offered to the CMA for the purpose of educating black youngsters. For reasons that are not recorded, the CMA decided to sell the buildings and grounds of Lovejoy Institute to the Methodist Church North and concentrate its efforts on the new Boyton Institute (A Report from Boyton, June 1911).

Lovejoy Institute enjoys only slight mention in local history books. Shortly after the Methodists bought Lovejoy, perhaps to use

as an orphanage, it was destroyed by fire (Jackson, 1976). Some local African-American residents believe that hostile, local whites burned the school because it was better than the public school opened to white children at the time (D. Jackson, personal communication, July 10, 1992). In a move remarkable for its responsiveness and uniqueness compared to nearby local governments, after the fire, the Polk County Board of Education built the publicly supported Stony Knoll Elementary School for African-American children in grades one through seven. The first high school in Polk County for black students opened in 1945 (Jackson, 1976).

Mt. Herman Academy

In the early 1900's, the situation for African-American children in the town of Brevard in Transylvania County, North Carolina, was similar to that in most western North Carolina counties. While local white children could attend tax-supported public schools, no provisions were made for the education of black children. To help remedy this situation, in 1909, Prudden started her last school, Mt. Herman Academy (Prudden, 1914).

Wilke Carpenter, a Lincoln Academy alumna and former teacher at both Douglas and Lovejoy Academies, was living in Brevard, North Carolina (McCrary, 1984). In 1907 Carpenter married James Hill

Johnstone, a medical student in Knoxville, Tennessee. In 1909 the couple moved to Brevard and Dr. Johnstone set up a medical practice (C.G. Johnstone, personal communication, 1990). The lack of educational facilities for African-American children around Brevard probably prompted Johnstone, who had two small children by that time, to contact her old teacher and colleague, Emily Prudden, to get help setting up a school. The Johnstones built a seventeen-room house across the street from the proposed school site in order to board students from the school. Coragreen Johnstone, Wilke Johnstone's daughter, remembers Prudden being at their house for extended periods during the first years of Mt. Herman Academy's existence (C.G. Johnstone, personal communication, 1990).

On a half acre lot in the African American section of Brevard, Prudden erected a wood frame school building consisting of four rooms. There was no indoor plumbing, but there was a water fountain outside the building. Each classroom had a coal burning heater and the boys were responsible for keeping the fires going. Partitions between three of the classrooms could be removed to make an auditorium.

Martha Slowe of South Carolina was hired as the first principal. Initially, the school served children from kindergarten through the high school grades. Since there was no state or

denominational support for this school, parents were required to buy textbooks for their children (McCrary, 1984).

Dr. Johnstone died in 1912. His widow dedicated the rest of her life not only to her own children, but to educating the black children of Transylvania County. On Martha Slowe's departure from Mt. Herman Academy, Carpenter became principal of the school, a job she would keep the rest of her career (McCrary, 1984).

Neither the state of North Carolina nor Transylvania County contributed financially to Mt. Herman Academy. The school never had a denominational sponsor. It was supported by the African-American citizens of Transylvania County and whatever philanthropic donations they could get. One philanthropy concerned about the state of schoolhouses in the south was the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Johnstone spearheaded the drive to get Rosenwald Funds for Mt. Herman Academy so the building could be enlarged and upgraded. Carpenter was so successful in obtaining Rosenwald money that the school is remembered as the Rosenwald School (Hall, F., personal communication, Nov. 21, 1991).

In the 1920's and 1930's, the Rosenwald School served as a social center for the community as well as a school. At night the school was used to show movies, plays, and other entertainment. It also served as a public meeting house. Winning athletic teams from

the school provided pride and cohesion for the African-American community around Brevard. In the early 1930's, government sponsored adult education classes were offered at the school (Hall, F., personal communication, Nov. 6, 1990).

Unfortunately, in 1941 the Rosenwald School mysteriously burned down. For seven years, black children around Brevard attended school in various churches in their community. If they wanted a high school education, Transylvania County paid part of their tuition at boarding schools such as Lincoln Academy. It was not until the 1960's that black high school students could obtain a public school education in Transylvania County (McCrary, 1984).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The academic focus on multiculturalism in the late twentieth century gives the impression that society was homogeneous until recently. In particular, and despite the efforts of numerous scholars, the myth persists that the Appalachian region is a static and uniform society comprised of poor, white mountaineers. But the social and cultural fabric of the region is much more complicated than some are willing to admit. Its history is replete with examples of multicultural encounters and incidents of cooperation. Emily Prudden was a catalyst for some of the most ecumenical and socially complex endeavors undertaken by nineteenth century religious and social reformers in Appalachian North Carolina.

A close examination of Emily Prudden and her schools contradicts many currently accepted truisms regarding missionary educators and education in the late nineteenth-century South. Prudden's work with local African-American leaders in founding and managing schools calls into question the frequent charges of racism

leveled against missionary teachers by many scholars. Her actions and available writings also question the presumption that paternalism was inherent in late nineteenth-century efforts of reform. When parents requested Prudden's assistance, she established schools without regard to race, religious affiliation, geographic situation, or economic status of the community. Her work was unique because she did not have an affiliation to a specific organization as did most missionary teachers. Instead, Prudden worked with individuals and communities and only had an allegiance to bringing education to neglected communities.

Prudden's work differed radically from the typical Protestant home mission worker as described by Klotter (1980), Shapiro (1978), and Whisnant (1984). Klotter (1980) contends many missionary teachers in Appalachia were racists. The years between the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the twentieth century are typically described by historians as "the nadir" for black Americans (e.g., Meier, 1971). During this time segregation laws were enacted, black men were disenfranchised, and lynching became a common occurrence in the south. Whites who were publicly sympathetic to the plight of African Americans were rare, and at times, mistreated by other whites. Yet, Prudden chose to work and live in African-American communities and homes while starting

Lovejoy Academy, Douglas Academy, Clarkson Home, and Mt. Herman Academy. At a time when local, state, and federal governments were doing little to benefit African Americans, Prudden opened half of her schools for these students. It is estimated that after the Civil War about 90% of the African-American population in North Carolina was illiterate (Franklin, 1943). By becoming literate, numerate, and learning vocational and life skills, graduates of Prudden's schools were better prepared than most African Americans in North Carolina to guard their few economic and political rights, secure employment opportunities, and increase their general quality of life.

Not only did Prudden open half of her schools for African Americans, but as soon as was possible, she hired African-American teachers and administrators who were frequently alumni of her own schools. Lincoln Academy graduates taught at and managed Douglas Academy, Clarkson Homes, Lovejoy Academy, and Mt. Herman Academy. Administrative positions were not readily available to these educators in most public or mission schools of the era. In addition to providing professional employment for African-American adults, these educators served as role models for students. Prudden's schools were among the earliest, if not the earliest, to integrate teaching staffs in North Carolina. Prudden and two Lincoln

alumna, Florence and Isabelle Wells, shared teaching responsibilities at Douglas Academy in 1906. Salem School and Orphanage had an integrated teaching staff by 1908, and Lincoln Academy soon followed.

Another measure of Prudden's lack of racism is found in the curriculum. Course offerings, vocational programs, and religious studies were not differentiated by race. The curricula at Prudden's schools were similar and colorblind. Prudden did not believe that one race needed more or different education than another. She probably reasoned that having a common educational experience would lead to increased understanding and acceptance between the races. While differences existed among the schools, they were reflective of local culture and denominational sponsorship.

As has been noted earlier in the text, African-American parents repeatedly donated land, timber, labor, and supplies to the schools. These parents were former slaves and had not acquired great material wealth. To give away valuable resources was an act of faith and trust in Prudden and what she had to offer.

Instead of a focus on racism, Whisnant (1984) and Shapiro (1980) emphasize the paternalism they found among Appalachian missionaries. While two incidents of paternalism have been recorded at Prudden's schools (the "Nebraska letter" at Skyland and

the interview with the *Cincinnati Star* at Oberlin Home), Prudden was not involved in either situation. Furthermore, out of 13 schools that existed for a cumulative total of over 300 years and employed in aggregate more than 200 teachers, it is remarkable that only two incidents of paternalistic behavior were memorable enough to document. In fact, every student memoir and interview in the extant records reveals fond memories and positive reflections on the various schools.

Prudden's management decisions are partially responsible for the positive recollections of those involved with her schools. Many of the schools began as a response to local requests for help. Land and labor were donated, giving local people some measure of ownership of the schools. At Douglas Academy, Clarkson Home, Saluda Seminary, and Mt. Herman Academy, local residents served on the boards of directors of the schools. Qualified local people and graduates of the schools were frequently hired as teachers. For instance, many teachers at Prudden's first school, All Healing Springs, were graduates of Due West Female Seminary in Due West, South Carolina. These teachers shared geographic, religious, gender, racial, and to some degree, class backgrounds with the All Healing Springs students. The first teachers at Douglas Academy were from Lawndale, North Carolina. They attended Lincoln Academy to receive

an education and then returned home to teach children of relatives and neighbors. Gabriella Blair, a Skyland alumna, taught for several years at her alma mater. Lizzy Kennedy, the lead teacher at Oberlin Homes, a Methodist school for white children in Caldwell County, was a Methodist from nearby Bessemer City. At these schools, as at most of Prudden's other schools, there was cultural harmony between the students, teachers, and surrounding communities.

Compulsory attendance laws and child labor laws were not passed in North Carolina until years after Prudden established her final school (Noble, 1930). Children did not have to attend any school and often were expected to work to provide financial support for their families. If paternalism, elitism, and cultural condescension were prevalent in Prudden's schools, it is improbable that thousands of students would have opted to attend. Every one of Prudden's schools had maximum enrollment for the available facilities and teachers.

Elk Park Academy, Mountain View Academy, Golden Valley Institute, and Saluda Seminary all began as mission schools for white mountain children. These schools were so well accepted in their respective communities that they became public schools as soon as conditions allowed. During the time these schools were run by missionary boards, local community members built the initial Elk

Park Academy building, donated land and one thousand dollars towards the expansion of Saluda Seminary, and rented the Mountain View Academy for a four-month public school term until the county could provide a longer school session.

Examples of community/school cooperation did not cease with building and real estate. Many of the schools had ongoing “mothers groups” where local mothers would meet on a regular basis with teachers from the schools so they could learn about child rearing, nutrition, and sanitation. Other examples of community/school cooperation include the well-attended adult education classes held at Mt. Herman Academy and the regularly scheduled sporting events between Skyland Academy teams and town teams in Blowing Rock.

The schools also frequently served as religious centers in their respective communities. Lincoln Academy spawned a Congregational church that is still active and growing 25 years after the school’s closing. The students at Lovejoy Academy taught Sunday School in the local church for many years. As a result of Prudden’s work in Elk Park a century ago, western North Carolina and east Tennessee have the only six African-American Krimmer Mennonite churches in the world.

Perhaps Prudden’s feelings for her students and Appalachian North Carolina were most profoundly expressed in her decision to

live out her life in Blowing Rock after her retirement. At age 80 when she could no longer physically do the work she loved, she remained in the place she loved. Prudden was not merely visiting the Appalachian south, she had made it her home. She had given up a comfortable life in the northeast in order to work in Appalachia and the rural foothills of North and South Carolina. Many of her best friends were former students and colleagues. After Prudden died, laudatory obituaries appeared in many western North Carolina newspapers praising her for her pioneering school work. She had been accepted and well loved by those notoriously skeptical of "outsiders."

Prudden's schools provided literacy and job skills for thousands of North Carolina young people during an era when public education was unavailable to them. She crossed geographic, racial, cultural, and religious boundaries to help "all God's children" (Prudden, 1914, p. 737) during a time when inclusiveness and multiculturalism were not politically correct. Although it was unusual for any turn-of-the-century woman to be successful in endeavors such as Prudden's, her accomplishments are even more remarkable when one realizes these schools were begun while Prudden was between the ages of fifty-two and seventy-seven, orthopedically impaired, almost totally deaf, and without familial

or institutional support. Emily Prudden and her schools are worthy of remembrance.

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Appendix A:
SCHOOL STATISTICS
(listed chronologically by school)

1. School Name(s): **Jones Institute, All Healing Springs School, Linwood College**

Years as Mission School: 1884-1921

Religious Affiliation: Associated Reform Presbyterian

Location: All Healing Springs, near Crowder's Mountain (Gastonia, North Carolina); Gaston County

Race: White

2. School Name: **Skyland Academy**

Years as Mission School: 1886-1912

Religious Affiliation: AMA Congregational

Location: Blowing Rock, N.C.
Watauga County

Race: White

3. School Name: **Lincoln Academy**

Years as Mission School: 1888-1955

Religious Affiliation: AMA Congregational

Location: (see #1); Gaston County

Race: African American

4. School Name: **Saluda Seminary**
- Years as Mission School: 1891-1922
- Religious Affiliation: AMA Congregational, then public school
- Location: Saluda, NC; Polk County
- Race: White
5. School Name: **Elk Park Academy**
- Years as Mission School: 1892-ca. 1900
- Religious Affiliation: Presbyterian, then public school
- Location: Elk Park, NC; Avery County
- Race: White
6. School Name: **Salem School and Orphanage**
- Years as Mission School: 1893-ca. 1912
- Religious Affiliation: AMA Congregational, 1893-1900
Krimmer Mennonite, 1900-1912
- Location: Elk Park, NC; Avery County
- Race: African American

7. School Name: **Mt. View Academy**
- Years as Mission School: mid-1890's-1904
- Religious Affiliation: None; parent-supported, then public school
- Location: Hudson, NC; Caldwell County
- Race: White
8. School Name(s): **Oberlin Home, Mitchell School, Pfeiffer College**
- Years as Mission School: late 1890's-present
- Religious Affiliation: None known until 1900; 1900-present, Methodist
- Location: Founded at Lick Mountain, Draco, NC; Caldwell County
Currently located in Meisenheimer, NC
- Race: Founded as a white school; now open to all races
9. School Name: **Douglas Academy**
- Years as Mission School: ca. 1904-1960's
- Religious Affiliation: AMA Congregational
- Location: Lawndale, NC; Cleveland County
- Race: African American

10. School Name: **Clarkson Home**
- Years as Mission School: 1906-1909
- Religious Affiliation: AMA Congregational
- Location: Lawndale, NC; Cleveland County
- Race: African American
11. School Name(s): **Golden Valley Institute,
Bunker Hill Academy,
Southmountain Institute,
Taccoa Falls College**
- Years as Mission School: ca. 1906-present
- Religious Affiliation: AMA Christian and Missionary Alliance; Southern Baptist
- Location: Bunker Hill, NC; northern Rutherford County (now Nebo, NC, Burke County); later, Taccoa Falls, Georgia
- Race: Founded as a white school; now open to all races
12. School Name: **Lovejoy Academy**
- Years as Mission School: ca. 1906-1916
- Religious Affiliation: Christian and Missionary Alliance
- Location: Mill Springs, NC; Polk County
- Race: African American

13. School Name: **Mt. Herman Academy**
- Years as Mission School: 1909-1940's
- Religious Affiliation: none
- Location: Brevard, NC; Transylvania County
- Race: African American

Appendix B:

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

(available names listed chronologically by school)

Jones Institute/All Healing Springs/Linwood College

Teachers:

1884

Emily C. Prudden

Miss Atwater

1888

Rev. C.A. Hampton, Principal

C.A. Hampton

Lillian Cathcart

S.K. Jones

S.P. Caldwell

Helen Hampton

1900

Rev. A.G. Kirkpatrick, President

Willie K. Douglas

*Statia Wideman

Bessie P. Simonton

*Grace Kirkpatrick

Dora Holst, matron

(*Graduates of Due West Female College, Due West, S.C.)

1903

Dr. A.T. Lindsay, Principal

Students:

Algood, Leila

Abernathy, Mary

Anthony, Bessie

Blackmon, Marjorie

Brakefield, Daysie

Braxley, Kate

Blackwood, Lessie

Bitzer, Lizzie

Bryant, Eva

Baker, Maud

Brown, Addie

Bookout, Hattie

Carson, Florence

Carson, Nannie

Crawford, Amelia

Crawford, Janie

Crawford, Maggie

Crawford, Enola

Davis, Myrtle

Douglas, Ben (former Charlotte mayor)

Faulkner, Mary

Faley, Sallie

Falls, Willie

Falls, Belle Oats

Ferguson, Belle

Foy, Bright

Foy, Chester

Foy, Cory

Forbes, Mamie

Friday, Mary Beth Rowan

Gamble, Daisy

Students, cont.

Bamble, Johnnie	Grier, Addie	Grier, Nell Brown
Hahn, Alma Heath	Hahn, George	Hardee, Hattye
Hayes, Annie P.	Hicklin, Mary	Johnson, Louise
Jones, Ora	Kirkpatrick, Adele	Kirkpatrick, Moffett
Kirkpatrick, George	Leslie, Cleo	Lipscomb, J.N.
Lynn, Emma	Moss, Alice	Miller, Minnie
Montgomery, Kate	Neal, Helen	Nielle, Stella
Nielle, Jennie	Nielle, Dorcas	Nickles, Belle
Oates, Leila	Oates, Sadie	Pearson, Lester
Pearson, Alleine	Pearson, Sallie	Pearson, Mable
Peoples, Belle	Pichette, Antha B.	Rea, Ada
Riddle, Helen	Robinson, Amy	Robinson, Hattye S.
Rhyne, Fred	Ross, Della	Russell, Georgia
Russell, Jessie	Simonton, Emme	Shealey, Ethel
Smith, Alma	Thompson, Angie	Thomas, Lottie
Walker, Mary	Whitesides, Hazie	Whitesides, Janie
Whisnant, Jamie	Whittle, Annie White	Wilson, Bessie
Wilson, Carrie	Wilson, Nannie	

Skyland Academy

Teachers:

1886

Susan F. Hinman

1889Emily Prudden, Principal
Mary KelleyAbbie Perkins
Anna Wilson1892Annette Jackson, Principal
Claire Woodbury

N. S. Dennis

1893Annette Jackson, Principal
Minnie HolliesClaire Woodbury
Ella Huston1894Annette Jackson, Principal
Claire WoodburyAnges Ruth Mitchell
N. S. Dennis1899Ellen Dorsett, Principal
M. L. DouglasOlena Keyes
Ellen Fisher1900Gertrude Sammons, Principal
Zelma Swift
Ellen FisherMinnie Powell
Grace Bennett

1901

Ellen Dorsett, Principal
Bessie Penrose

Minnie Powell
Annie Knox

1902

Ellen Dorsett, Principal
Ruth Sargeant
Rosalie Haynes

Mary Westgate
Carolyn Church

1903

Ellen Dorsett, Principal
Ruth Sargeant
Rosalie Haynes

Theresa Soule
Carolyn Church

1904

Ellen Dorsett, Principal
Evalyn Eddy
Rosalie Haynes

Annie Creelman
Carolyn Church

1905

Ellen Dorsett, Principal
Grace Sutor

Kate Reid
Rosalie Haynes

1908

Alice Flagg, Principal
Ester Ruth Robards
Annie Beatty

Carrie Baker
Carrie Michael

1909

Mary Parsons, Principal
Eola Pendley

Elizabeth Parsons

1910

Mary Parsons, Principal
Miriam Perkins

Elizabeth Parsons
Eola Pendley

Other Early Teachers

Miss Boone
Elizabeth Kennedy
Miss Douglas
Mrs. Fisher
Gabrielle Blair

Abby Perkins
Miss Boyd
Miss Keyes
Miss Holly

Students:

D.P. Coffey (former mayor of Blowing Rock)	Cinda Hollar
Texie Horton Barlow Russell	Stella Kerley
Mary Vaughn	Alma Kerley
Illa Oxentine (nurse)	Henry Hayes
Logan Farthing	Frank Coffey
Betty Coffey	Lula Coffey
Hattie Coffey	Rose Coffey
Gabrielle Blair	Ann Coffey Brown
Richard Taylor	Clarence Weedon
	Cora Blair Suddreth
	Letch Oxentine
	Charlie Dobbins
	Bob Coffey
	Luda Perry Coffey
	Hattie Young Brown

Lincoln Academy

Teachers:

1889

Emily Prudden, Principal	Alice Peck
Jennie Rawls (?)	Mary Lee (?)
Agnes Davis (?)	

1892

Lillian Cathcart, Principal	Mary Newton
Clara Peters	Katherine LaGrange

1893

Lillian Cathcart, Principal	Mary Newton
Isadore Caughey	Susie Cathcart

1894

Lillian Cathcart, Principal	Isadora Caughey
Mary Newton	Susie Cathcart
Nellie Cooley	Laura Clelans

1899

Lillian Cathcart, Principal	Mary Newton
Susie Cathcart	Isadora Caughey
Mary Culver	Claire Vaughn
Emma Strong	

1900

Lillian Cathcart, Principal	Mary Newton
Mary Towle	Mary Culver
Rosa Schwartz	Emma Strong
Isadora Caughey	

1901

Lillian Cathcart, Principal
 Bertha Ranslow
 Teachers, cont.

Mary Newton
 Mary Culver

Lulu Croton
 Emma Strong

Irene Lockwood
 Isadora Caughey

1902

Lillian Cathcart, Principal
 Bertha Ranslow
 Emma Strong

Mary Newton
 Mary Culver
 Isadora Caughey

1903

Lillian Cathcart, Principal
 Ellen Kellogg
 Jessica Paddock
 Emma Strong

Cora Herron
 Sara Mead
 Anna Daniels
 Mary Newton

1904

Lillian Cathcart, Principal
 Grace Jenkins
 Marcia Burbank
 Emma Strong
 Mary Newton

Carrie Parkhurst
 Sara Mead
 Anna Daniels
 Grace Lord

1905

Lillian Cathcart, Principal
 Fannie Brooks
 Sybil Reynolds
 Mabelle Aldrich
 Elizabeth Burns

Greta Rietman
 Sara Mead
 Clara Boyd
 Emma Strong

1907

Lillian Cathcart, Principal
 Fred Handy
 Edith Murray
 Clara Boyd
 Emma Strong

Greta Rietman
 Katherine Maynard
 Sybil Reynolds
 Mabelle Aldrich
 Elizabeth Burns

1909

Lillian Cathcart, Principal
 Myra Cowles
 Mabelle Aldrich
 Sybil Reynolds
 Emma Strong
 Lilla Twitty

Clara Standish
 Margaret Dick
 Mable Tooze
 Gertrude Newton
 G.H. Lemon
 Robert Armstrong

1910

Lillian Cathcart, Principal
 Clara Standish
 Mabelle Aldrich
 Agnes Stevens
 Emma Strong
 Robert Armstrong
 Mrs. J.C. Sloan

G.H. Lemon
 Geraldine Kellogg
 Sybil Reynolds
 P.R. DeBerry
 Lilla Twitty
 Rev. P.R. DeBerry

Other Teachers:

Grace Johns
 J.H. Twitty
 Zulia Wellman (Lincoln grad.)
 Isabelle Burnnell
 Martha Brown
 Rev. Alva Hart
 Jessie Murdoch
 Rev. S.W. Sawyer

Carl Roberts
 Lucille Morgan
 Clifton Roberts (Lincoln grad.)
 Beatrice Domines
 Alma Sparr
 Alva Hart
 Margaret Matthews

Students:

William Borders
 Mildred Wellmon Avery (County School Supervisor)
 Rev. Russel J. Shipman
 Dr. Cleveland Floyd (Dentist)
 Walter E. Ricks (Attorney) William Womble (Teacher)
 Wilkie Carpenter (Teacher at Lovejoy and Principal at Mt. Herman)

Students according to the 1900 census:

Catherine Neeley	Mattie Pealer	Violet Petty
Mary Briscoe	Florence Wells (Teacher at Douglas)	
Isabelle Wells (Teacher at Douglas)		Eller Wells
Webb Welborn	Vergial Davidson	Thomas Allen
Lasenia Diakey	Olivia Johns	Daller Jacobs
Lizzie Reed	Violet McGee	Resina Hill
Lizzie Henry	Emmaline Wilson	Emmur Costner
Adir Smith	Doavil Blackwill	Mabel Aldrich
Martha McDaniel	Sybil Reynolds	Octiva Healley
Catherine Lemon	Georgia Williams	Will Armstrong
Duella McRoy	Susie Lassiter	Dulana DeBerry
Perfect DeBerry	Oler Rankins	Janette Sloan
Dulcina B. Torrence	Flossie Johnson	Jessie Reed
Gussie Ware	Zulia Wellman	Jacob Webber
Clifton Roberts	Carl G. Roberts	Loney Lynan
Willie Roberts	Joseph Henry	Cornelious Forney
Sallie Moore	Fisher Gingles	

Saluda Seminary

(All white faculty)

Teachers:

1892Mary Parsons, Principal
Miss M.A. PostMabel Atkins
Jamie Monroe1893Mary Parsons, Principal
Alice WrightmanM.A. Post
Sarah Hollies1899Fidelia Sheldon, Principal
Laura VerramMaud Summers
Sarah Hollies1900Fidelia Sheldon, Principal
Maud SummersJean Butler
Anna Miner1901Fidelia Sheldon, Principal
Edith Hall
Luera WoodruffJean Butler
Ella Miller
Anna Miner1902Fidelia Sheldon, Principal
Leura Woodruff
Isa TracyEsther Barnes
Edith Hatfield
Anna Miner

1903

Fidelia Sheldon, Principal
 Mary Hubbard
 Elizabeth Stone

Esther Barnes
 Isa Tracy
 Estelle Clifford

1904

Fidelia Sheldson, Principal
 Mary Hubbard
 Elizabeth Stone

Delia Leavens
 Mary Butler
 Estelle Clifford

1907

Susan Glass, Principal
 Harriet Jenney
 Margaret Eshbaugh

Delia Leavens
 Annie Creelman
 Annie Uniacke

1909

George Burrage, Principal
 Nina King
 Manie Hunt
 Menia Wanzer

Mrs. George Burrage
 Annie Creelman
 Esther Robards
 Annie Uniacke

1910

George Burrage, Principal
 Nina King
 Harriet Gilbert
 Ellen Kirkpatrick
 Edith Edwards

Mrs. George Burrage
 Elizabeth Lewis
 Blanche Gillette
 Helen Loveland
 Manie Hunt

Students:

Brian Bollich (Rhodes Scholar)

Elk Park Academy

Prudden mentions she started the school in 1893 with five workers; however, she does not list any names. She states that five women came from Cleveland, Ohio the following year to help with the school. Within a few years of its founding, the Elk Park Academy became a public school in the Mitchell County School System.

Salem School and Orphanage1900-1908

Henry and Elizabeth Wiebe

1904-1912

Jacob and Katherine Tschetter

190?-1912

Alice Garnett (Elk Park)

Gertrude Sapp (Elk Park)

Miss Klassen

Students (listed in the 1910 census):

Tom Avery

Steve McPearson

Gaither Moore

Harry McKesson

Harteman Avery

Julia Avery

Lillie Moore

Ray Carson

Fred Avery

(Rev.) Rhonda Horton

Patsy Moore

Willie Churchcliff

Roman Avery

Lusion Brown

Garner Avery

Zinnia Moore

Rebecca Carson

Myrtle Horton

Fred Horton

Mountain View Academy

Early Mission Teachers:

Alice G. Clark	Hattie Gilliatt
Minnie Powell	Ellen Greene
Henry Wiebe	Elizabeth Wiebe
Prof. E.B. Phillips	

Early Hudson Elementary Teachers:

Rev. Lafayette	Mrs. L. Bolick
Frances Wright	J.F. Goodrich

Students:

Mary Beulah Throneburg

Oberlin Home

Teachers:

Elizabeth Kennedy
Emily Bartholomew
M. Pauline Abbott

Mary Frances
Ellsworth Apperson

Students (in Caldwell County):

Mrs. Eddie Lee Hatley Beane
Magdalene Barlow
Flossie Lackey
Pearl Johnson Totten
Edgar Tolbert
Ivey Craige

Mrs. J.C. Martin
Rose McCray
Mrs. A.E. Cobb
George E. Ballew
Oscar Ballew

Douglas Academy

Teachers (all African American):

1905

Wilkie Carpenter	Nettie Smith
Emma Blackwell	

1907

Florence Mills	Nettie Smith
Maggie Perler	

1908

Rev. Paul LaCour	Mrs. Paul LaCour
Florence Wells	

1909

Rev. Paul LaCour	Mrs. Paul LaCour
Florence Wells	Isabelle Wells

1910

Rev. Paul LaCour	Mrs. Paul LaCour
Florence Wells	Isabelle Wells

Douglas High School Teachers:

James Jones	A.D. Belton
Geneva Blair	Geraldine Weathers
Reverend Frazier	Hester Ward
Lula Walls	Ms. Dillingham
Dr. Kess	J.W. Borders (Lincoln grad.)
Mattie Peeler (Lincoln grad.)	
Harrison Neal	Mrs. Clarkson

Douglas High School Teachers, cont.

Lizzie Blanton	Rev. Cherry
Pete Johnson	Sheila Williamson
George Dye	Sheila W. Gordon
Elizabeth Baker	

*Students (Douglas and Clarkson Students):

Thomas B. Elmore	Robert L. Hector
James Haynes	Flossie Lipscomb
Milton "Bud" Ross	Vashire Ross
Bozo Roberts	Luther Ross
Idell Norris Hill	Luciana Cates
Annie Cates	Gretchen McClure
Marian McClure	Salemma Hawk Turner
Lillie Hawk Oliver	Dr. Alice Harshaw

**"There were Wells, Neals, Shufords, Wilsons, and others who attended" (Ross & Ross, 1993).

Trustees, Parents, and Interested Community Members (1918):

A.H. Newsome	R.B. Rhyne	Jackson Neal
R. Smith	J.A. Williamson	E.S. Beam
N.M. Black	D.T. Thompson	W.M. Mauney

Clarkson Home

Teachers (all African-American):

1905

C.C. Forney
Florence Mills
Mrs. John Wells

1907

B.B. Allen
Lizzy Henry
Lizzie Blauton

Students:

(See page 139)

Golden Valley Institute/Bunker Hill
Academy/Southmountain Institute/Tacooa Falls College

Early AMA Teachers:

1906

Evie Shankle
Bert Swanson
Mary Early

Other Early Teachers and Supporters:

Irene Harrill	Ora Hull
Bertha B. Moore	Lucy Brown
Mayme Haggard	Grace Jefferson
Bessie Brene	Miss Mullinger
Johnny Boatright	Fannie Featherstone
Biddle Haynes	Imogene Wilson
Etta Byler	Emma Lamb Williams
Mina Lois Russell	Nannie Newsome
Myrtle Allred	Birdie Burnett
Paul Smawley	Ruth Richards
Cleo Hunt	Margaret Bridges
E. Gladys Denham	Mr. Baker
Alma Bridges	Everette Bridges
Azalia Roberts	Rev. Covert
Carrie Rayburn	Beth Topping
Dr. Forrest	Jane Habink
Dorothy Bicknell	Ella Rose
Mildred Moore	Mr. Fisher
Rev. W.C. Hart	Fannie Mae Hall
Virginia Keefer Streeter	Boyd Keefer

Students:

J.F. Dunn

Lovejoy Academy1906-1911

Teachers:

Mary Mullen, Principal
Mr. Lewis
Ivy Smith
Miss Taylor
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Johns
Serena Brown

Emily Prudden
Miss Espey
Mr. and Mrs. Shuman
Mr. Robinson
Mr. Collette
Mrs. Smoot

Students:

Della Jackson, M.A.

Susie M. Taylor

Mt. Herman Academy

As far as can be determined, all faculty were African-American at the Mt. Herman Academy. These teachers probably worked from 1909 to about 1912:

John Walker	Mr. Mills
James Johnstone	Miss Batenboro
Wilke Carpenter Johnstone	Mrs. Watson
Annie Swepson	Evangeline Colors
Miss Hargrave	Flora Powell

Early Students:

Cam (or Kam) Mills	Loretta "Moms Mabley" Aiken
George "Labe" Aiken	Marjorie Aiden (Kirkland)
Mose Kemp	Elisha Kemp
Looney Lloyd	Teena Bailey
Cope Taylor	Charles Erwin
Mary Erwin (Smith)	Hattie Erwin
Sam Benjamin	Phyllis Benjamin
Trilby Benjamin	Alfred (Alf) Benjamin
Coragreen Johnstone	Dovey Lloyd
Charles Lloyd	Edward Mills
Ethree Mills	Annie Bell Mills
Van Buren Mills	Loretta Mackey
Congray Killian	Annie Bell Killian
Frank Whitesides	Flora Bailey (Aiken)
Mable Kilgore	Maecellus Mills
Roxie Hall (Ellens)	Emma Anderson
Alfred Anderson	Mabel Armstrong
Mabel Sharp	Eliza Sharp
Isabel McFall	Arthur McFall
Grover Benjamin	Avery Benjamin
Kendrick (K.C.) Mackey	Isaac Bailey
Hough (H.P.) Sharp	Jimelle Hall
Nathaniel Hall	Eva Holmes
Flora Weaver	Elsie C. Jones
Van Buren Mills	

Appendix C:

Enrollments 1890-1910

(when available)

Enrollment records at most of Prudden's schools are at best incomplete. If many schools ever kept attendance figures, they have been lost to history. Some school enrollment figures are reported for only one or two years between 1890 and 1910. Despite the sketchy nature of available data, a cumulative enrollment of almost 8,000 students can be retrieved from various records.

<u>School</u>	<u>Year(s)</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
Jones Seminary*	1884	50
	1891-92	154
	1892-93	101
	1893-94	90
	1900	234
	1901	279
	1903	213
	1904	293
	1905	314
	1907	372
Lincoln Academy**	1892	148
	1893	183
	1894	199
	1899	202
	1900	234
	1901	279
	1902	251
	1903	213
	1904	293
	1905	314
	1907	272
	1909	295
1910	354	
Saluda Seminary**	1892	69
	1893	92
	1894	107
	1899	128
	1900	137

Saluda Seminary, cont.

	1901	144
	1902	123
	1903	134
	1904	146
	1906	142
	1907	124
	1909	148
	1910	156
Elk Park†	mid-1890's	300
Salem School††	1906	15
	1910	19
Oberlin Home	late-1890's	≈50
	1908	35 (22 went to Meisenheimer)
Douglas Academy**	1905	88
	1907	63
	1908	85
	1909	125
	1910	102
Clarkson Home**	1905	69
	1907	62
Golden Valley**	1906	91
	1907	30
	1909	25
	1931	55
	1936	75
Mountain View Academy	1903	60
Skyland**	1889	65
	1892	90

Skyland, cont.

	1893	112
	1894	112
	1899	112
	1900	97
	1901	122
	1902	83
	1903	86
	1904	108
	1905	54
	1908	42
	1909	62
	1910	64
Mt. Herman Academy	1910	30

GRAND TOTAL: 7,716 students

*Jones Seminary catalog, 1900

**AMA records

†Prudden, 1914

††Wiebe, 1950

Appendix D:
TEACHER STATISTICS

The lack of extant records prohibits any conclusions about the nature of Prudden's teaching force. However, using available records for the year 1905, some information can be gleaned:

<u>School</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Geographic Origin</u>
Douglas	3	F	AA	North Carolina
Clarkson	3	1 M	AA	North Carolina
		2 F	AA	North Carolina
Lincoln	9	F	W	1-Minnesota 3-New York 1-Connecticut 1-Ohio 1-Massachusetts 1-Michigan 1-Illinois
Skyland	4	F	W	2-Illinois 1-Ohio 1-North Carolina
Saluda	6	F	W	2-Massachusetts 1-Wisconsin 2-Connecticut 1-New York
Salem School and Orphanage	6	2 M	W	Kansas
		2 F	W	Kansas
		2 F	AA	North Carolina

Oberlin Homes	(Temporarily closed)
Elk Park Academy	(A public school by 1905)
Mt. View Academy	(A public school by 1905)
Mt. Herman Academy	(Not in existence in 1905)
Lovejoy	(Not in existence in 1905)
Jones Seminary	(Numbers unknown, but all white faculty)

TOTALS: 28 Women (90%)
3 Men (10%)

8 African-Americans (25%)
23 White (75%)

9 from North Carolina (25%)
22 from outside North Carolina (75%)