

University of North Carolina Asheville

Beginning at Jerusalem in the Regions Beyond:

Edward O. Guarrant and the Southern Home Mission Movement

A Senior Thesis Submitted to  
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In 1891, the *American Missionary*, a Congregational magazine published in New York, featured several stories about missionary work in southern Appalachia. In one story, a young evangelist recounted finding a woman shivering, surrounded by several small children and abandoned by a faithless husband, whom he called a “lazy drunken brute.” After cutting some wood for the woman and her family, and building a fire, he asked the woman if he could hold a service in her home. “I’d love to have meetin’ every Sunday,” the woman told the missionary, “I hev only been to meetn’ twice in twelve years. It is jest the hope I hev in wut you hev been a readn’ thar that keeps me up. . . . I do hope the Lord’ll take me up at last for all I’ve suffered.”<sup>1</sup> Literature such as this was typical during the Progressive Era, as hundreds, if not thousands, of missionaries converged upon Appalachia to bring the message of the Gospel and to enact social change. Following the Biblical injunction “that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem” (Luke 24:47, King James Version), many Home Missionaries, such as Edward O. Guerrant, argued that American missionary enterprises should start with groups within the United States, before branching out to foreign lands.<sup>2</sup> Many areas within Appalachia, often identified as the “regions beyond,” were deemed in need of special attention.

According to some historians, major northeastern denominations dominated the Appalachian Home Mission movement. These historians contend that these denominational missionaries, trying to impose their version of “civilized” Christianity upon Appalachian people,

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<sup>1</sup> “Highways and Byways,” *The American Missionary* 140, no. 3 (1891): 99-102.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Spaulding in *Men of the Mountains: The Story of the Southern Mountaineer and His Kin of the Piedmont, with an Account of Some Agencies of Progress among Them* (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1915), 296.

contributed to the stereotyping and perceptions of mountain people as “other.”<sup>3</sup> By painting the Home Mission movement with such a broad brush, however, these historians have fallen prey to their own criticism of the movement itself. The story of the Home Mission movement in Appalachia is far more complex and nuanced, representing a wide variety of denominations and interests, both northern and southern. As demonstrated by the story of Edward O. Guerrant and his work in Appalachia, the Home Mission movement reflected not only the growing social concerns of American society and its churches, but also the diverse religious climate of the age, the post-bellum social forces, as well as the active participation of Appalachian populations.

Historians have often identified Guerrant as a culprit in religious imperialism, and as such complicit in industrial colonization. Though it is true that mission movements by their very nature are meant to spread the religious values of one culture to another, it is not true that Guerrant represented industrial forces. Neither for that matter was Guerrant a member of the northeastern elite, nor did he represent social Christianity. Rather, Guerrant was a southerner, a former bluegrass Confederate officer who served in Appalachia during the Civil War, and who gave up a lucrative medical practice to pursue evangelism in the mountains during the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> It is hard, therefore, to ascribe to Guerrant the same motives as those of a northeastern social gospeller or an industrialist.

Elizabeth R. Hooker’s 1933 study of Appalachian religion and missionary work was one of the first to criticize Guerrant. Hooker chastised Guerrant for his failure to appreciate

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<sup>3</sup> Historians have used the terms “other” or “otherness” to describe how many Americans, especially between 1870 and 1900, saw Appalachia as a “peculiar land with a peculiar people,” e.g. Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

<sup>4</sup> J. Gray, McAllister, and Grace Owings Guerrant. *Edward O. Guerrant: Apostle to the Southern Highlanders* (Richmond, Va.: Richmond Press, 1950).

traditional mountain religion, and for his description of Appalachia as “practically without the gospel.”<sup>5</sup> However, it is interesting to note that Hooker echoed Guerrant’s claim of religious destitution in isolated areas of the Cumberland Plateau, noting that many areas had no religious organization whatsoever.<sup>6</sup> As a northerner, Hooker also appeared to be more critical of southern-initiated home mission movements, leading one to suspect bias in her analysis of Guerrant. Giving short shrift to southern missionary forays into the mountains during the 1870s, Hooker noted that the first mission to mountaineers was initiated in Concord, North Carolina by the Ladies Home Mission Society, of the northern Presbyterian Church (PCUSA).<sup>7</sup> Hooker’s assertion that the PCUSA instituted the first mission in Appalachia, however, loses credibility because of her questionable map skills. Concord is not in the mountains, but is located northeast of Charlotte in the North Carolina Piedmont.

During the mid-1970s to early 1980s, a host of scholars, many of whom were natives of Appalachia, began to re-examine historical models of the region. Kenneth Noe identified Henry D. Shapiro and David E. Whisnant as developers of the neo-Marxist colonial model which began to be called Appalachian Revisionism.<sup>8</sup> Shapiro and Whisnant made significant contributions to the study of the development of stereotypes that persist to the present day, and that also contributed to the study of the Home Mission Movement. Both Shapiro and Whisnant identify Guerrant as one of the Home Missionaries who played a crucial role in developing stereotypes

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<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth Hooker, *Religion in the Highlands: Native Churches and Missionary Enterprises in the Southern Appalachian Area* (New York: Home Missions Council, 1933), 200-201.

<sup>6</sup> Hooker, 75.

<sup>7</sup> Hooker, 199.

<sup>8</sup> Kenneth Noe, “Appalachia before Mr. Peabody: Some Recent Literature on the Southern Mountain Region,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 110, no.1 (2002): 5-34. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org>. The neo-Marxist model, as it pertains to Appalachia, asserts that industrialists came into the region to exploit its

and in defining Appalachia in terms of an “other” America, an America of ignorance, poverty and in need of uplift.<sup>9</sup> That Guerrant played a role in defining Appalachia in this way is undoubtedly true. Much of the literature generated by Guerrant’s Society of Soul Winners as well as other missionary societies during this time described Appalachia as a region different from urban America and in need of help. However, it is important to keep in mind that the Society of Soul Winners, as well as other Home Missionary societies, generated such literature in part because they were competing in the missionary market-place for funding. Appalachia was only one of many areas that churches targeted for mission work within the United States.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, foreign missions and missionaries were often considered more exotic and worthy of donations.<sup>11</sup>

Depictions of Appalachians by Guerrant and other Home Missionaries reflect what was quickly becoming an almost elitist preoccupation with anything that was other than “good breeding.” In other words, eugenics, which in the early-twentieth century was considered a legitimate science, often dominated national attention and became widely respected and popular in academia, even among such notable public figures as Alexander Graham Bell, Leonard

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natural resources. As a result, the region erupted into class warfare. Missionaries are identified as complicit in incorporating Appalachians into capitalist society and for the region’s ensuing poverty.

<sup>9</sup> Shapiro, xiv; David E. Whisnant, *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

<sup>10</sup> Samuel L. Morris, *At Our Own Door: A Study of Home Missions with Special Reference to the South and West* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904). PCUS Home Missions targeted a wide assortment of groups and areas, including Florida, Indian Territory, New Mexico, Arizona, Arkansas, Southern California, and Texas. Besides Whites, the PCUS also reached out to Blacks, American Indians, Japanese and Hispanic New Mexicans.

<sup>11</sup> “A Seer’s Vision: A Report of the Assembly’s Home Mission Work in the Year 1900,” *Christian Observer* 84, no. 23 (June 3, 1896):16.

Darwin, and Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>12</sup> Even Guerrant was identified along ethnic lines, despite being a fifth or sixth generation American. Guerrant's dark complexion, black hair and eyes, physiology and energetic mannerisms were often described as a reflection of his French Huguenot heritage – and, on at least one occasion, he was construed to be speaking with a slight French accent.<sup>13</sup> The scientific literature of the era supported similar views, such as the essay, *The Anglo-Saxons of the Kentucky Mountains: A Study of Anthropogeography*, by the noted geographer Ellen Churchhill Semple, who studied races of people and their relationship and adaption to their environment.<sup>14</sup> It is hardly surprising, then, that Guerrant and other missionaries would often depict and or defend highlanders in racial or ethnic terms, such as people coming from “noble stock,” such as Anglo-Saxons, Scots-Irish, German or Huguenot.<sup>15</sup>

In her 1995 book, *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History*, Deborah Vansau McCauley is especially vituperative against the Appalachian Home Mission movement, censuring it as an imperialistic crusade by America's dominant Protestant denominations to erase and absorb indigenous Appalachian mountain religion and culture.<sup>16</sup> Singling out Guerrant as a prime instigator in her Mountain-religion versus mainline-Protestant denomination paradigm, McCauley also castigates him for his descriptions of mountain people as “unchurched” and

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<sup>12</sup> Dolan DNA Learning Center, Cold Springs Harbor Laboratory, “Leading Eugenicists,” *Eugenics Archive*, <http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/static/themes/14.html>.

<sup>13</sup> William Frost Bishop, “Dr. E.O. Guerrant at Union Seminary,” *Christian Observer* 93, n. 32 (August 9, 1905): 20-21; *Tazewell Republican*, Thursday, August 17, 1911.

<sup>14</sup> Ellen Churchhill Semple, “The Anglo-Saxons of the Kentucky Mountains: A Study of Anthropogeography,” *The Geographical Journal* 17, no. 6 (June 1901): 588-623.

<sup>15</sup> “A Remarkable Work” *Mount Vernon Signal*, Friday, November 23, 1906.

<sup>16</sup> Deborah Vansau McCauley, *Appalachian Religion: A History* (Urbana: University Press of Illinois, 1995), 9.

“other.”<sup>17</sup> McCauley makes a positive contribution to the literature, however, by elucidating the origins of Mountain religion and by explaining the Mountain religious experience.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, by focusing exclusively on a narrow definition of Appalachia, by refusing to acknowledge the history and ties of evangelicalism and denominationalism within Appalachia and Kentucky, and by applying a victimization mentality, McCauley overly-simplifies not only Guerrant’s particular mission to Appalachia, but also the many nuances of the Home Mission movement.

Other historians have tended to see Guerrant as simply an extension of the southern Presbyterian Church (PCUS), ignoring the religious and social ferment of Kentucky, as well as national religious movements of the era. J. Wayne Flynt uses both Guerrant and the Society of Soul Winners as examples of the conservative social outreach of the southern Presbyterian Church.<sup>19</sup> William Link, along with Davis H. Yeuell and Marcia Myers, identifies Guerrant with the PCUS. Link saw Guerrant as an example of southern Presbyterian paternalism. Yeuell and Myers, on the other hand, saw Guerrant’s ministry as an evangelistic effort that was already a part of the Presbyterian tradition.<sup>20</sup> Mark Huddle astutely observes, however, that

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<sup>17</sup> McCauley, 412.

<sup>18</sup> McCauley, 6-15.

<sup>19</sup> J. Wayne Flynt, “Feeding the Hungry and Ministering to the Broken Hearted’: The Presbyterian Church in the United States and the Social Gospel,” *Religion in the South*, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 83-137.

<sup>20</sup> William A. Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Davis H. Yeuell and Marcia Clark Myers, “The Presbyterians in Central Appalachia,” *Christianity in Appalachia*, ed. Bill J. Leonard (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999) 189-207. See also Martha Crowe, “A Mission in the Mountains’: E.O. Guerrant and Southern Appalachia 1839-1916,” *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History*, 68 (1990): 46-54; Marc S. Sherrod, “The Southern Mountaineer, A Presbyterian Home Missions, and a Synod for Appalachia,” *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History* 71 (1993): 31-40; Lisa Marie Wilson, “Edward O. Guerrant: An Appalachia Ministry,” (Master's Thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1993).

denominational lines were often blurred, especially in the mountains. Huddle also challenges historians to take a deeper look at Guerrant's ministry.<sup>21</sup>

Guerrant's ministry, like that of many social gossellers, developed out of the unique social, political and religious milieu in which he grew up and lived. However, for Guerrant, the religious atmosphere of Kentucky was very different from the backgrounds of missionaries who grew up in the north. Kentucky's religious climate had been molded by the revivalist movements beginning with the Great Revival at Cane Ridge, Kentucky in the early nineteenth century. John Boles calls the Great Revival a watershed in the history of the southern church.<sup>22</sup> Distinguishing the southern church from the North was the development of evangelical pietism, which focused on individual salvation.<sup>23</sup> Churches, both during and after the revival, tended to divide over the emotional excess of many worshippers, and over new theological understandings of salvation. For instance, the Presbyterian Church was split, with the more liberal wing further dividing between Cumberland Presbyterians and "Christians."<sup>24</sup> The year before Guerrant's birth in 1837, the Presbyterian Church on a national level again split over the Old School and New School controversy. The Old School was, for the most part, against what were perceived as innovations instigated by northerners which departed from traditional Calvinism. New Schoolers, on the other hand, focused on God's goodness, and humankind's ability and need to

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<sup>21</sup> Mark Huddle, "Home Missions Revisited: Edward O. Guerrant and the 'Discovery' of Appalachia," forward to *The Galax Gatherers: The Gospel Among the Highlanders*, by Edward O. Guerrant (Richmond, Va.: Onward Press, 1910; reprint Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), xi-xxvi.

<sup>22</sup> John B. Boles, *The Great Revival: Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 183.

<sup>23</sup> Boles, 183.

<sup>24</sup> Boles, 100; Louis B. Weeks, *Kentucky Presbyterians* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1983), 43-50.

enact moral reform, which often included the abolition of slavery. Kentucky Presbyterians, for the most part, sided with the Old School.<sup>25</sup>

Guerrant's early life and the Civil War played a large part in his development as a mountain missionary. In the fall of 1856, Guerrant left home to enter Centre College in Danville, Kentucky, where he came under the influence of prominent and often contentious Presbyterian thinkers such as the ministers Robert J. Breckenridge and Stuart B. Robinson. In the spring of 1857, Guerrant was affected by the preaching of Robinson and experienced a life-changing conversion. Graduating with honors in the spring of 1859, Guerrant commenced teaching near Sharpsburg, Kentucky, hoping however to enter seminary and become a minister. In the fall of 1860, he entered Danville Seminary.<sup>26</sup> However, the Presbyterian Church, like the entire state of Kentucky, was in turmoil. By contrast, a friend of Guerrant wrote him about Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina, "We have none of the brawls among brethren like we had in Dan[ville] last winter. . . . The brethren [here] love one another."<sup>27</sup> Indeed, the fractured Danville Seminary community was indicative of the developing strife within the Kentucky Presbyterian Church.

Internal divisions within that Church were deep and long-lasting. The conflict between Breckenridge and Robinson illustrates the nature of the turmoil. Breckenridge was a staunch Unionist. Robinson, on the other hand, supported the Confederacy.<sup>28</sup> Robinson subsequently left Danville to take up a pastorate in Louisville.<sup>29</sup> The day Fort Sumter fell in April of 1861,

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<sup>25</sup> Weeks, 70.

<sup>26</sup> McAllister, 13-26.

<sup>27</sup> McAllister, 24.

<sup>28</sup> Weeks, 83.

<sup>29</sup> Weeks, 83.

Danville Seminary, at the time under Breckenridge's leadership, was tossed into confusion. Sympathetic to the southern cause, Guerrant left for home on April 14 and again took up teaching.<sup>30</sup> Like many young men of the time, Guerrant felt that his duty lie in supporting his country during the war, and for Guerrant his "country" meant Kentucky. In January 1861, Guerrant traveled through the Cumberland Mountains to join the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of Kentucky Mounted Rifles.<sup>31</sup>

The Civil War was pivotal for Guerrant. Unlike many northern Home Missionaries who may have been influenced or motivated by the writings of so-called color writers during the 1870s, Guerrant's experience with Appalachia was first-hand.<sup>32</sup> Traveling throughout Appalachia, first as an assistant adjutant to Brigadier General Humphrey Marshall and then as assistant adjutant to General John Hunt Morgan, Guerrant's eyes were opened to a whole new world.<sup>33</sup> Isolated areas in the mountains did not have the church buildings or amenities to which Guerrant was accustomed.<sup>34</sup> The "tall sublime grandeur" of mountain peaks and sheer cliffs inspired him, but stood in contrast to the grim poverty of many mountaineers. While traveling in February of 1862 along the Quicksand, a tributary of the Kentucky River, Guerrant expressed incredulity at the neediness he witnessed. He wrote in his journal:

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<sup>30</sup> McAllister, 12- 30; Edward O. Guerrant, *Bluegrass Confederate: The Headquarters Diary of Edward O. Guerrant*, eds. William C. Davis and Meredith Swentor (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999). Guerrant enlisted with Brigadier General Marshall's brigade February 12, 1865, then after a bout of sickness, and General Marshall's resignation, his brigade was eventually assigned to General John Hunt Marshall's Division of Cavalry in the spring of 1864.

<sup>31</sup> McAllister, 30.

<sup>32</sup> After the Civil War a new genre of literature developed called "color-writing." Color writers explored regions, dialects, and customs throughout the United States. Often the literature was a blending of realism and romanticism. See, Henry D. Shapiro in *Appalachia on Our Mind*.

<sup>33</sup> Guerrant, *Bluegrass Confederate*, 12.

<sup>34</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, "The Reason Why," *Christian Observer* 97, no. 12 (July 7, 1909): 12.

Mr. Williams *lives* on South Fork of Quicksand or rather there is his local habitation & where he draws his vital air. – in no other respect can he be said to *live* . . . . In a family of 10 or a dozen members with only one bucket & that a *churn* with only *one* cooking utensil & that *half* a skillet – with only 4 chairs & three of them broken legged & bottomless – with no spring but the muddy branch - & no cow but the spring – with only one fire-place for a dozen visitors & a large family around which crowded girls half frozen & boys half naked – the smallest children in midwinter bare-footed & the largest bareheaded.<sup>35</sup>

Though not all Appalachians suffered the poverty of the Williams family, many did, and it made a lasting impression on Guerrant.

Mountain culture confounded him. Guerrant was astounded at the sheer numbers of “flaxen-headed” children, many of whom smoked and chewed tobacco.<sup>36</sup> In one instance, Guerrant wrote that he would never forget the three-year-old girl “who *swore oaths* that would shock the nerves of a strong man.”<sup>37</sup> The ever-present fear of native union guerrillas, also known as bushwhackers, which came like “rain or thunder from a cloudless sky,” was a constant menace, but did not seem to create long-lasting bitterness. On the contrary, after passing the flaming residence of a bushwhacker, Guerrant deplored the actions of his commander, General Morgan: “This is fiery retribution – The General says this shall be our country or nobodys. Such warfare is speedily rendering it nobodys. It may be *just* – but it is not *generous*. Justice should lean – if lean at all, to mercy’s side.”<sup>38</sup> Despite the cultural shock and constant fear of bushwhackers, Guerrant developed a love and respect for the mountaineers, many of whom were comrades-in-arms, which persisted throughout his life.<sup>39</sup> Nor was Guerrant the only Confederate

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<sup>35</sup> Guerrant, *Bluegrass Confederate*, 18. Emphasis in original.

<sup>36</sup> Guerrant, *Bluegrass Confederate*, 145.

<sup>37</sup> Guerrant, *Bluegrass Confederate*, 235. Emphasis in original.

<sup>38</sup> Guerrant, *Bluegrass Confederate*, 245. Emphasis in original.

<sup>39</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, *The Soul Winner* (Lexington, Ky.: John B. Morton & Co., 1896).

to be so moved. “Uncle Ben” Bigstaff, a scout with Morgan’s men, and who is mentioned in Guerrant’s Civil War journal as a “good soldier,” traveled as a lay evangelist throughout eastern Kentucky in the years following the war.<sup>40</sup> Followed by a menagerie of animals that he would distribute to the needy, Bigstaff mixed the “business of life” with the evangelistic message of the Gospel.<sup>41</sup>

After the war, Guerrant’s ardor to be a minister appeared to have cooled. The effect of war had been painful. Because Kentucky was a border state and was much of the time under Union control, Confederate bluegrass soldiers did not have the luxury of furloughs home or consistent mail from loved ones. In June of 1864, Guerrant was finally able to visit home only to find that his beloved brother Marshall had been buried the day before. Guerrant lamented, “O my brother, my brother! A grief deeper than a fountain of tears, and the power of language wrings my heart for thee!”<sup>42</sup> In less than a year the war ended and with it the hopes of the

Philadelphia and Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York, Guerrant established a thriving medical practice in Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, enabling him to marry his wartime sweetheart Mary DeVault from Leesburg, in eastern Tennessee. Their union was to produce ten children. For the first time in his life, his daughter wrote later, Guerrant was in “easy circumstances.” And yet, the call of the mountains was never far off. Guerrant spent days at a time traveling through the mountains to give medical aid to mountaineers. Then, during the summer of 1873, a severe case of typhoid brought him to the brink of death. Guerrant promised that if God spared his life he would enter the ministry.<sup>44</sup>

As his health returned, Guerrant immediately set about to fulfill his vow to God. Settling accounts, situating his family, and with Mary DeVault Guerrant’s full support, Guerrant entered Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, early the following September. While at Union, Guerrant impressed his fellow students and professors with his gift for oratory and storytelling. Dr. Samuel H. Chester, a fellow classmate, wrote of Guerrant some years later: “The great man of our class was Edward O. Guerrant, the mountain evangelist. With an eloquence that could have commanded the highest position in our church, he chose to give his life to the hardest kind of mission work in the mountains of Kentucky and North Carolina.”<sup>45</sup> Guerrant became ill and left Union before graduating, but he was ordained for ministry by West Lexington Presbytery and commenced pastoring three churches. Guerrant considered foreign mission work as possibly the best use of his gifts as a doctor and a minister. Mary, however, reminded him of the thousands of unevangelized in Kentucky for whom no one was reaching.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> McAllister, 52-61.

<sup>45</sup> McAllister, 64-73.

<sup>46</sup> McAllister, 72-75; Guerrant received his D.D from Austin College in 1884. See, McAllister, 97

Much of eastern Kentucky during this time period could hardly be described as bucolic. While much of the North exalted in victory and prosperity, ugly violence instigated by Civil War loyalties, political and commercial power-plays, retribution, and lawlessness disturbed many areas throughout eastern Kentucky.<sup>47</sup> In fact, all of Kentucky was increasingly characterized as violence-prone, as national news headlined riots, murders, lynchings, and assassinations between 1860 to the end of the century.<sup>48</sup> Northerners and northern-based denominations often considered the social problems of Kentucky and Appalachia a result of a flawed southern social structure. Appalachians, unlike other poor white southerners, were often seen by northern-based groups as casualties of the slave-system and therefore worthy of uplift.<sup>49</sup> Bluegrass Kentuckians, seeing Appalachians as their “kith and kin,” perceived social disorder and poverty in eastern Kentucky as a reflection upon all Kentuckians.<sup>50</sup> Guerrant’s impetus for entering Appalachia, therefore, was very different from those of northeasterners.

Guerrant might have settled down to a comfortable pastorate, but his concern for the mountains and the troubles he witnessed there continued to tug at his heart. Guerrant and other religious people, including many mountain people, felt that the “peaceful message of the Gospel” was the best way to alleviate what they saw as social disintegration.<sup>51</sup> Appointed to the Committee of Home Missions, Guerrant admonished the Kentucky Synod in Covington for its

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<sup>47</sup> John Ed Pearce, *Days of Darkness: The Feuds of Eastern Kentucky* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994).

<sup>48</sup> Numerous headlines of the time. See New York Times 1880-1920. See also James C. Klotter, *Kentucky Portrait in Paradox, 1900-1950* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1996), 51-73.

<sup>49</sup> “Helping Mountain Whites: Home Mission Work of the Presbyterian Church,” *New York Times*, November 27, 1892. This is only one of many articles written during this time period which describe northern views and justifications about Home Mission work in Appalachia.

<sup>50</sup> Spaulding, 245.

<sup>51</sup> Passie Fenton Ottley, “Religion versus the Feud,” first printed in the *Atlanta Journal*, reprinted in the *Mt. Sterling Advocate*, February 26, 1901.

culpable neglect in not promoting evangelism throughout the state, especially in western and mountainous eastern Kentucky. Many in the Synod, however, did not appreciate the “young upstart’s” rebuke. Guerrant wrote of the event years later, “I remember what a storm it raised, and the young preacher might have been overwhelmed, but for the timely aid of Dr. Stuart Robinson, who came to his rescue and championed the cause.”<sup>52</sup> Guerrant’s admonishment and exhortation proved to be prophetic.

In 1878, troubles in Breathitt County exploded into a full-fledged feud, resulting in the murder of Judge John Wesley Burnett as well as several others, prompting the governor of Kentucky to call in troops to quell the violence. In an interview years later, Guerrant described entering Jackson, the county seat of Breathitt and meeting Jerry Little, who was a former Confederate comrade as well as a key figure in the violence. Little, who had already killed seventeen men, offered Guerrant protection from his rival, the former Union sympathizer Captain Bill Strong. Guerrant, however, told Little that he wanted to “preach the gospel of peace.” Later that evening at an evangelistic service, Guerrant related later, “More than one hundred people were baptized,” including several members of the rival factions, among them Jerry Little.<sup>53</sup> According to one news announcement about his death in 1891, Little “had reformed, joined the church, and was leading a peaceful and quiet life.”<sup>54</sup> The perception of many was that the Gospel had worked.

In October 1881, shortly after the death of Stuart Robinson, the Kentucky Synod appointed Guerrant, who was by then the successful pastor of Louisville’s First Presbyterian

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<sup>52</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 119-121.

<sup>53</sup> “Religion vs. the Feud,” *Mt. Sterling Advocate*, Tuesday, February 26, 1901.

<sup>54</sup> “Crushed To A Jelly: Jere Little, the Kentucky Outlaw, Accidentally Killed,” *The Evening Bulletin*, December 31, 1891.

Church, to be the Synod's evangelist for eastern Kentucky. Guerrant left his pastorate and for the next four years traveled throughout eastern Kentucky, often on horseback, as an emissary of the PCUS, with the stated goal to extend the reach and influence of the PCUS.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, Guerrant's first aim was to proclaim the Gospel, allowing converts to choose their own church affiliation and method of baptism.<sup>56</sup> In one humorous anecdote, Guerrant described the baptism of "Aunt Ferraby Noble," who had to be immersed twice, "because she said the water in Leatherwood creek was not deep enough."<sup>57</sup> Guerrant, as a Presbyterian, did not believe in full immersion but in sprinkling. The immersion of "Aunt Ferraby Noble" is illustrative of Guerrant's sensitivity to the wishes of those he evangelized.

Besides Guerrant and Bigstaff, many individuals and groups worked in the mountains, belying the contention of many historians that Home Missionaries were primarily social gospellers unduly influenced by writers of local color or by industrial interests. The non-denominational Kentuckian George O. Barnes, known at the time as "the mountain evangelist," traveled from town to town in eastern Kentucky from 1878 to 1882. Barnes, a former protégé of the evangelist Dwight L. Moody, entered the mountains for the purposes of evangelism and faith healing.<sup>58</sup> Guerrant also complained of the influx of Mormon missionaries into the region, writing: "I have met them in the most distant and inaccessible parts of the mountains. . . . They

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<sup>55</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 119.

<sup>56</sup> McAllister, 119; Guerrant, *Soul Winner*, 176, 197.

<sup>57</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 251.

<sup>58</sup> Price. George O. Barnes, a former Presbyterian minister, was defrocked in 1866 because he did not subscribe wholly to the Westminster confession. He was later accused of universalism. Whether Guerrant knew Barnes personally is unknown. In 1882, however, a news account reported that Guerrant went to one of Barnes' evangelistic meetings and approved of his sermon, describing it as "good Presbyterian one." See "Barnes Notes: What People Say and Think of Him," *Bourbon News*, March 17, 1882. Guerrant most likely knew Barnes' biographer W.T. Price. Both Guerrant and Price served under John Hunt Morgan and both attended the same reunions after the war.

have more missionaries in Kentucky than all other denominations together.”<sup>59</sup> A 1905 article, published in the *Kentucky Irish American*, described not only the work of Catholic priests who endeavored to find their “lost flocks” and begin Catholic missions within the region, but also complained of competing missionary interests: “All denominations are represented, even the Salvation Army, though Baptists are in the majority. . . . Protestants have spent much money and energy in capturing the mountains and strengthening their stronghold. But that was before the Catholic priest made his appearance and spread the light of the one true faith.”<sup>60</sup> Besides Catholics, Mormons, and a variety of Protestant denominations, missionaries were also represented by differing streams of religious thought within denominational structures.

The religious climate, and thus the Home Mission movement, in the latter nineteenth century was anything but homogeneous. The era was one of religious ferment in which many movements inspired thousands of people throughout the United States. Even as the Social Gospel and Biblical Higher Criticism were elucidated in the North, there were other strands of religious expression.<sup>61</sup> The ministry of Dwight L. Moody, for instance, was a nation-wide sensation. Moody was anything but a social gospeller. Unlike social gospellers who advocated social regeneration, Moody preached individual regeneration.<sup>62</sup> In addition to his Presbyterian and Kentucky influence, Guarrant was very influenced by Moody, quoting him and the British Baptist Charles Spurgeon, extensively in his book *The Soul Winner*, which was published in

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<sup>59</sup> Edward O. Guarrant, *Galax Gatherers: The Gospel Among the Highlanders*, (Richmond, Va.: Onward Press, 1910), 119.

<sup>60</sup> “Mountain: Catholics Will Celebrate First Anniversary of Church’s Dedication,” *Kentucky Irish American*, Saturday December 2, 1905, 1.

<sup>61</sup> George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1991), 32; Huddle, xxvii-xxx.

<sup>62</sup> Marsden, 32.

1896.<sup>63</sup> Though it cannot be ascertained if Guerrant ever saw Moody in person, it is known that Moody held a “Great Campaign” throughout the Southeast and into the Midwest in 1875, as well as a six-week campaign in Louisville, Kentucky in 1888.<sup>64</sup>

Moody’s influence on Guerrant should not be underestimated. Guerrant was undoubtedly motivated by the Holiness movement as expressed by Moody’s experience at Keswick, England. This movement, also known as the Higher Life movement, unlike Arminian strains of the Holiness movement which emphasized man’s freewill, was more appealing to people of the reformed faith. Moody, who Vinson Synan calls the most influential promoter of the Higher Life movement, promoted the “second blessing” or infilling of the Holy Spirit as a means of service, rather than as a means of perfection.<sup>65</sup> Guerrant, in *The Soul Winner*, devoted a chapter to the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Guerrant argued that baptism in the Holy Spirit was not confined to the apostolic age, nor was it the same as conversion. He asserted, “This baptism of the Holy Ghost, for service, is subsequent to and independent of [God’s] work in regeneration.”<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Guerrant avowed that successful evangelism could only be accomplished with the infilling of the Holy Spirit. At a revival in Richmond, Virginia, the *Richmond Dispatch* reported that Guerrant preached a sermon on the Holy Spirit, and encouraged the people to “importune

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<sup>63</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*.

<sup>64</sup> Dwight Lyman Moody, *The Gospel Awakening.* "Comprising the Sermons and Addresses, Prayer-Meeting Talks and Bible Readings of the Great Revival Meetings Conducted by Moody and Sankey ... with the Proceedings of Christian Conventions of Ministers and Laymen ... Also the Lives of D.L. Moody, I.D. Sankey [et al.]" (Chicago: F.H. Revell, 1883), 34. Major Whittle, who accompanied Moody in his early Southern campaign, was mentioned specifically by Guerrant in *The Soul Winner*, page 70. Whittle served as provost marshal on the staff of Union General O.O. Howard. General Howard was well-known for heading the Freedman’s bureau during reconstruction, and for establishing the integrated institution, Howard University in Washington D.C. Howard also accompanied Guerrant on a tour of eastern Kentucky during the fall of 1902.

<sup>65</sup> Vinson Synan, *In the Latter Days: The Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the Twentieth Century* (Fairfax, Va.: Xynon Press, 2001), 45.

<sup>66</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 24-25.

God in the same manner as did the disciples at Pentecost,” so that the church could be blessed.<sup>67</sup>

Guerrant, like Moody, believed that the Holy Spirit was key to service and empowerment.

Guerrant’s preaching style was also likened to Moody’s. According to the *Mt. Sterling Advocate*, Guerrant’s preaching style while in Greenville, South Carolina, had “the same fire, the same tenderness and earnestness, the same aptness of illustration, the same unconsciously artistic method of leading to and using beautiful climax.”<sup>68</sup> It is revealing that Guerrant subtitled his missionary organization, The Society of Soul Winners, with the name “America Inland Mission” after the China Inland Mission, founded by Moody’s friend Hudson Taylor.<sup>69</sup>

Perhaps Moody’s influence also helped Guerrant appreciate mountain worship. Guerrant gloried in many Appalachian worship services. In one of many of Guerrant’s experiences, he exulted about the emotionalism of Appalachians during one meeting:

It was Pentecost on Quicksand. The shouting drowned the weeping, and rolled across the river and up the mountains to heaven. . . . I shall never forget the scene. Some of the faces of those poor women were transformed into beauty by a touch of divinity. They talked with God, and their faces shone like Moses! I have often witnessed great demonstrations of God’s power, but this experience stands conspicuous above them all, like Pentecost of old. I thank God I was there.<sup>70</sup>

In such instances, Guerrant, unlike many northerners, did not criticize or condemn the emotionalism of mountain worship, but appeared to actively encourage it.

This is not to say, however, that Guerrant appreciated all forms of mountain religion. In 1877, for instance, Guerrant called many mountain preachers “blind leaders of the blind . . .

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<sup>67</sup> *The Richmond Dispatch*, March 29, 1900, 8.

<sup>68</sup> “Rev. Guerrant,” *Mt. Sterling Advocate*, Tuesday, March 27, 1900, 1. This was reprinted from an unnamed Greenville, South Carolina newspaper.

<sup>69</sup> Guerrant, “The Reasons Why.” *Christian Observer* 97, no. 27 (July 7, 1907):12.

<sup>70</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, “On the Upper Quicksand,” *Christian Observer* 87, no. 36 (September 6, 1899): 10; See also Guerrant’s description of worship on Bear Creek in *Soul Winner*, 188 and 216.

dispensing doctrines so diluted, that it is questionable whether enough of the gospel truth is conveyed to save the soul.”<sup>71</sup> Guerrant did not necessarily have a problem with the lack of education of many mountain clergy, because he supported and praised several mountain preachers who had little or no education.<sup>72</sup> Guerrant’s problem instead concerned ultra-Calvinism, the misquoting of scripture, and a laxity of morals among some mountain clergymen. Elizabeth Hooker described a common misquotation of scripture, which may have caused Guerrant trouble: “They would quote from memory a segment of scripture, such as ‘Continue in sin that grace may abound’ leaving out the rest of the scripture verse which reads: ‘Shall we continue to sin that grace may abound? God forbid.’”<sup>73</sup> Guerrant also described one preacher who came to a meeting with his head swathed in a bandana. When asked why his head was covered, the preacher replied that he had stolen some hogs and had a hole shot through his ear when he was caught.<sup>74</sup> Possibly too, Guerrant did not understand the difference between preachers of the mountains and those of the bluegrass. John Campbell observed that in many mountain congregations preachers were “called” not to serve as priests but as prophets. As prophets it was the duty of mountain preachers to protect their “flocks” vigorously.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, Guerrant endeavored to “get along” with many indigenous mountain preachers, asking several to attend and to participate in evangelistic meetings.<sup>76</sup> In one instance that

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<sup>71</sup> Guerrant, *Soul Winner*, 123.

<sup>72</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, “Proctor Bill,” *Christian Observer* 94, no. 3 (January 17, 1906): 9; Guerrant, *Galax Gatherers*, 27.

<sup>73</sup> Hooker, 170. Hooker takes this verse from Rom. 6:1 (KJV).

<sup>74</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, “In the Mountains,” *Christian Observer* 86, no. 33 (August 17, 1898):10.

<sup>75</sup> John Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921), 181.

<sup>76</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, “From the Mountains of Kentucky,” *Christian Observer* 85, no. 31 (August 4, 1897): 31.

Guerrant related, “Old ‘Uncle Jimmie’ Williams sat on the front plank, and seconded” Guerrant’s remarks and “sometimes added a few of his own.” Guerrant, however, further stated, “Uncle Jimmie’ was an old orthodox hardshell Baptist, we got along without breaking up the meeting.”<sup>77</sup>

By 1885 Guerrant’s poor health and the needs of his large family forced him to resign as synodical evangelist. Guerrant reported to the Synod: “Under my ministry, 2,707 persons [were] added to the Presbyterian Church, twenty-three churches organized, fifteen offered for the Gospel ministry, fourteen churches dedicated and \$16,781 raised for the building of churches and support of evangelists and candidates for ministry.”<sup>78</sup> Although Guerrant was supposed to settle down and pastor two churches, one in Troy and the other in Wilmore, Kentucky, he continued to engage in evangelism. In 1890, Guerrant was again called by the Synod to give half of his time as “evangelist at large,” especially to those in who lived in the mountains.<sup>79</sup> Guerrant was exceptionally successful. He was so successful that the Synod of Kentucky, unable to keep up with the costs of maintaining his new works during the depression of the 1890s, asked him to slow down and retrench. Unwilling to let up, however, Guerrant resigned his position as synodical missionary, and on December 5, 1897 at the age of sixty, created the para-church and non-denominational organization called the Society of Soul Winners.<sup>80</sup>

The founding of the Society of Soul Winners, or America Inland Mission, in contrast to the Social Gospel movement, in many ways encapsulated the growing evangelicalism of the age.

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<sup>77</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 236.

<sup>78</sup> McAllister, 101.

<sup>79</sup> McAllister, 102.

<sup>80</sup> “The Mission Work Among the Highlanders of Kentucky,” *Gleanings from Bee Culture* 42, January 1, 1914.

Its purpose, unlike those organizations that promoted the Social Gospel, was not to usher in a new age, but was rather to save as many people as possible in a world that Moody termed, “a wrecked vessel.”<sup>81</sup> Evangelicals worked vigorously to establish schools and missions and to establish and promote interdenominational cooperation for the purpose of saving souls.<sup>82</sup>

Crossing denominational and sectional lines, the Society of Soul Winners was founded to be an auxiliary organization to all evangelical agencies that worked in the “regions beyond” churches, schools, and railroads, and to be “wholly dependent for success upon faith and prayer.”<sup>83</sup>

Beginning only with Guerrant and \$360 in 1897, within ten years the Society had 362 workers, established fifty-five schools, one orphanage, and a medical clinic.<sup>84</sup> As early as 1902, donations were coming from all sections of the United States, as well as from Cuba, South America and China.<sup>85</sup> Rather than focusing exclusively on eastern Kentucky, Soul Winners expanded to isolated regions in the mountainous areas of Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee.<sup>86</sup>

Differing from most social gospellers, evangelicals such as those in the Society of Soul Winners promoted individual salvation rather than emphasizing social change.<sup>87</sup> One telling aspect of the evangelical nature of Guerrant’s work was his exhortation to new evangelists to respect mountain culture and to try not to change it. “Don’t undertake to teach morals or manners,” Guerrant wrote, “that is not the Gospel. Let them have their way of dressing, cooking,

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<sup>81</sup> Marsden, 22-23.

<sup>82</sup> Marsden, 5.

<sup>83</sup> Guerrant, “The Reasons Why”; McAllister, 138-139.

<sup>84</sup> McAllister, 142.

<sup>85</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, et. al. “The Macedonian Cry: The America Inland Mission,” *Christian Observer* 90, no. 18 (April 30, 1902): 15.

<sup>86</sup> Guerrant, “The Macedonian Cry.”

<sup>87</sup> Marsden, 29.

talking and eating. You try to save their souls, and let others look after the non-essentials.”<sup>88</sup> The reality, however, was that mountain life and culture was often different from what non-indigenous missionaries were accustomed. Dogs and crying babies, mentioned both by Guerrant and Barnes, often disrupted meetings and were only a few of the cultural differences that missionaries found in the mountains. Guerrant challenged young ministers to learn self-control and find patience for such disruptions.<sup>89</sup>

Though Guerrant began as a Kentucky missionary employed by the PCUS, his organization in 1897 embraced a broad variety of evangelical denominations. For example, the northern Presbyterian Harvey S. Murdoch, the Methodist Henry E. Partridge, and George and Ada Drushal from the Church of the Brethren, are to name only a few.<sup>90</sup> Besides different denominational interests, workers also reflected a broad variety of backgrounds. Like many Home Mission enterprises, Guerrant employed many single young women. However, he also employed couples and families such as the Sanders, the Parmalees and the Judds, as well as young single men, widows and older women.<sup>91</sup> Workers came from all over the United States, including mission schools in New York and Chicago.<sup>92</sup> Some workers came from Canada, and several others had previously worked in foreign missions.<sup>93</sup> Many of the workers, such as J.

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<sup>88</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 100.

<sup>89</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 94.

<sup>90</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, et. al. “The America Inland Mission: Annual Report for the Society of Soul Winners,” *Christian Observer* 94, no. 18 (March 2, 1906):15; Albert T. Ronk, *History of the Brethren Missionary Movements* (Ashland, Ohio: Brethren Publishing Company, 1971), 39-43.

<sup>91</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, et. al. “The Society Soul Winner Annual Reports,” *Christian Observer*, (1899-1910); J. Hershey Longnecker, *Memories of the Congo: Tales of Adventure and Work in the Heart of Africa; with a Final Chapter on the Congo Past and Present* (Johnson, Tenn.: Royal Publishers, 1964), 3-5.

<sup>92</sup> Guerrant, “The Macedonian Cry.”

<sup>93</sup> Guerrant, “The Macedonian Cry.”

Hershey Longnecker, eventually became missionaries overseas.<sup>94</sup> Other workers, such as James Alexander Bryan, also known as “Brother Bryan of Birmingham” began their ministries with Soul Winners and became well known ministers in other areas.<sup>95</sup> The name of one worker, “Gertrude Goldstein,” suggests the difficulty of trying to label the typical Soul Winner missionary.<sup>96</sup>

Denominational lines during the era were not always clearly drawn, and Soul Winner’s missions were no exception. Church buildings were often built for the use of all denominations.<sup>97</sup> Neither was it uncommon for a variety of denominations to hold joint meetings. Often pastors of one denomination would ask the pastor of another denomination to preach at their service. For instance, a Presbyterian missionary stationed at Happy Top, a Soul Winners’ enterprise, asked the Rev. Thomas P. Roberts, a Wesleyan Holiness Pastor from Wilmore, Kentucky – Guerrant’s home town – to hold a revival at his mission.<sup>98</sup> When Guerrant turned the organization over to the PCUS, J. Hershey Longnecker, after working “far back in the mountains of Breathitt County,” Kentucky, had to decide between becoming a Presbyterian or Methodist preacher. After studying for months, he decided to become a Presbyterian and entered Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Longnecker, 3-5.

<sup>95</sup> Hunter B. Blakely, *Religion in Shoes: Brother Bryan of Birmingham* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1934). Brother Bryan reportedly became well known in Birmingham Alabama for his ministry to the poor and for his advocacy of Black civil rights. See, Wayne Flynt, “The Divided Religious Mind of Birmingham,” *From Civil War to Civil Rights – Alabama 1860-1960*, ed. Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987), 227, 264-265.

<sup>96</sup> Guerrant, “The Macedonian Cry.”

<sup>97</sup> Guerrant, *Soul Winners*, 176, 197.

<sup>98</sup> Thomas P. Roberts, *Highlights in My Life and Ministry in Old Time Revivals*, (1952), Digital Publication by Holiness Data Ministry, 1997. wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/0401-0500/HDM0475.PDF.

<sup>99</sup> Longnecker, 3.

Guerrant and the Society of Soul Winners received much support from southern Presbyterians. Nevertheless, there were some rumbles of discontent. After touring several Soul Winner missions in 1903, Rev. Edward Payson Davis extolled the work of Soul Winners in a letter to the *Christian Observer*, a PCUS weekly periodical. Firing off a letter of rebuttal, C.T. Thomson, the chairman of Home Missions for the West Lexington Presbytery in Kentucky, took issue with Davis' assessment that all of the churches in Breathitt County were organized by the Society of Soul Winners. Thomson was irritated that churches ostensibly organized by the PCUS were attributed to Guerrant or the Society of Soul Winners. Technically correct, Thomson listed all the PCUS enterprises in Breathitt for the *Christian Observer*, ignoring that Guerrant, while synodical evangelist, had a hand in establishing them all, and that Soul Winners in many cases continued to support these Presbyterian endeavors.<sup>100</sup> Another article in the *Christian Observer*, while not targeting Guerrant or Soul Winners per se, cautioned members of the PCUS against contributing to para-church or auxiliary organizations when it was the duty of Presbyterians to contribute to their own denomination's Home Mission fund.<sup>101</sup> Thus, many missionaries such as the independent thinking Guerrant, did not always toe the denominational line when evangelizing mountain people.

Mountaineers, who have often been portrayed by historians as casualties of missionary enterprises, were hardly passive victims of evangelical imperialism. Undoubtedly, with the influx of many kinds of missionaries and enterprises, mistakes and cultural assumptions were bound to be made. Nevertheless, many Appalachians welcomed missionary endeavors. Accounts described Guerrant's meetings overflowing with mountaineers - men, women, young

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<sup>100</sup> C.T. Thomson, "A Correction," *Christian Observer* 91, no. 39 (September 30, 1903):11.

<sup>101</sup> S.M. Neel, "Promiscuous Contributions," *Christian Observer* 98, no. 10 (March 9, 1910):11.

and old, who would sometimes travel miles barefoot to hear the evangelist. After one meeting in 1898, near Crocketsville in Breathitt County, Guerrant wrote, “The people began to assemble at eight o’clock and at nine the tent was full, and a hundred stood outside. I suppose there were 600 to 700 people present – some said 1,000.”<sup>102</sup> Guerrant wrote many times of people who would stand in the rain for hours to listen to his messages. The very nature of Guerrant’s work, which was in isolated areas of Appalachia, however, makes it difficult if not impossible to find unbiased accounts which corroborate his narrative. Nevertheless, Guerrant had only accolades to describe Appalachians – whom he characterized as a better and more attentive audience than that of city folk.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, many Appalachians also took active roles in building missions, schools and churches. Guerrant related that the people of Crocketsville worked and built their own church. When Guerrant visited a year after his protracted meetings, he was amazed to find a neat frame building. “We could hardly believe it,” Guerrant attested, “but it was there, with the Sun, Moon and Stars painted over the door; a large nice frame church building, the first in this country, and the only one built *entirely* by the *inhabitants*.”<sup>104</sup> Despite their poverty, many mountaineers contributed to schools and churches. Incredulous, Guerrant described one old man with a large family, including a blind son, who promised to give any land he owned and \$150 to have a good school and church.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, if mountaineers could not give large amounts of cash they often contributed land, lumber and labor.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Guerrant, “In the Mountains.”

<sup>103</sup> Guerrant, *Galax Gatherers*.

<sup>104</sup> Guerrant, *Galax Gatherers*, 99. Emphasis in original.

<sup>105</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, “Jett’s Creek,” *Christian Observer* 94, no. 50 (December 12, 1906):15.

<sup>106</sup> Guerrant, *Galax Gatherers*.

American Inland Mission was not exclusively represented by “outsiders,” but also employed residents of Appalachia. The mountain preacher “Proctor Bill” Little, for example, a former convict with little schooling, was hired by the Soul Winners. Guerrant honored Little’s preaching more than that of many university-trained ministers: “I wish all men were as earnest as these humble heralds of the hills, and as eloquent.”<sup>107</sup> Guerrant also said of Little’s mountain home, “His home is a model Christian home. I never knew of a better ordered one.”<sup>108</sup> Dan McIntosh, who was converted in one of Guerrant’s meetings, became an evangelist and traveled throughout the mountains to spread his new-found faith.<sup>109</sup> Guerrant also employed Lewis Hensley, who had on his own developed Sunday schools which were attended by up to one hundred students.<sup>110</sup> Likewise, Guerrant employed mountain women, and of one he wrote: “The [Sabbath] school was led by a native woman, who ‘did what she could’ which is more than most of us do. She sang with all her heart, and the others from *eight* to *eighty*, with all their might. It was better music than much which costs ten thousand a year. It reached up to God in heaven.”<sup>111</sup> Perhaps the most famous of Guerrant’s mountain missionaries was Leonora Whittaker. Catherine Marshall popularized the story of her mother Leonora Whitaker’s Home Mission work in the novel *Christy*. Whitaker, who was raised in rural western North Carolina, and went to a mission school, volunteered to be a school teacher at Ebenezer Mission near Del Rio, Tennessee

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<sup>107</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, “A Visit to Shoulder Blade,” *Christian Observer* 93, no. 27 (July 5, 1905):10.

<sup>108</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 185.

<sup>109</sup> Guerrant, *The Galax Gatherers*, 30.

<sup>110</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, “Puncheon Camp,” *Christian Observer* 87, no. 52 (December 27, 1899); Guerrant, *Soul Winner*, 201.

<sup>111</sup> Edward O. Guerrant, “For Information,” *Christian Observer* 93, no. 35 (August 31, 1904):15. Emphasis in original.

in 1909.<sup>112</sup> Such accounts reveal that many mountain people not only encouraged, but actively supported Guerrant's missionary endeavors.

Nevertheless, mountain work was challenging. Though many mountaineers welcomed missionaries, others were hostile. George O. Barnes described in his diary the hostility he and his daughter Marie encountered when they visited Jackson, Kentucky, in 1879. Both he and Marie had to walk through a gauntlet of armed "scowling and scoffing" men when they were on their way to an evangelistic service. Barnes wrote that during the meeting some of the men would sit on the floor and play cards, while others would "go out and fire off their pistols."<sup>113</sup> In 1897 Guerrant described the difficulty confronting many missionaries. "The ministers who go there," he revealed, "must be willing to know how to endure hardness." Guerrant explained, "They will be abused and denounced. The enemies of the work have accused me of everything under the sun." Many workers, in fact, gave up, after finding the work too difficult.<sup>114</sup>

Enduring "hardness" or difficulty for Guerrant, however, was not only found in his missionary work, but was also encountered in his personal life. Short of stature and slender, Guerrant had never been a robust man. Poor health continually plagued him. He suffered from intense headaches, bowel problems, and rheumatism.<sup>115</sup> Nor was he a stranger to emotional pain. Besides the loss of his parents and all of his siblings except one, Guerrant also suffered the loss of his daughter Lucy to tuberculosis in 1907.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, despite the hardships, Guerrant

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<sup>112</sup> Marshall, Catherine, *Meeting God at Every Turn: A Personal Family Story* (New York: Chosen Books, 1981; Bantam Books, 1982), 17; Catherine Marshall, *Christy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967).

<sup>113</sup> Price, 192.

<sup>114</sup> McAllister, 136.

<sup>115</sup> McAllister.

<sup>116</sup> "Guerrant," *Mt. Sterling Advocate*, March 29, 1907.

continued working in a whirlwind of service, pastoring churches, holding revivals throughout the South, editing his periodical *The Soul Winner* and pursuing fundraising.<sup>117</sup> Guerrant became so well-known throughout Kentucky and the South at the time that one writer commented that “to not know Guerrant is to argue yourself unknown.”<sup>118</sup>

By 1911 Guerrant was tired. He transferred responsibility for the Society of Soul Winners to the PCUS General Assembly – with the provision that he would continue fundraising and evangelizing as he was able. Many of the missions and schools supported by Soul Winners, however, did not transfer to the PCUS, illustrating further that Soul Winners was not a single denominational enterprise. Witherspoon College in Buckhorn, Kentucky, for instance had transferred a few years earlier to the PCUSA.<sup>119</sup> Riverside Institute of Lost Creek, Kentucky, founded by the Drushals and aided by Soul Winners, transferred to the Church of the Brethren in 1907.<sup>120</sup> The fate of other mission stations and schools is less clear. At the time that the PCUS reluctantly took over Soul Winners, there were forty-two schools and 129 teachers. The PCUS, however, only assumed responsibility for seventeen schools and their missions, as well as an orphanage in Highland, Kentucky. Presumably, other denominations assumed responsibility for the remaining schools and missions. The PCUS’ General Assembly Report of 1911 referenced a recommendation allowing that to happen.<sup>121</sup> Despite handing control of the Society of Soul

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<sup>117</sup> McAllister.

<sup>118</sup> “Dr. Guerrant in Florida,” *The Hazel Green*, Thursday, February 3, 1898.

<sup>119</sup> Cleland B. McAfee, “A Man, a Field and a Work,” *The Assembly Herald* 12, no.1 (Philadelphia: Assembly Herald, 1906), 602. The PCUSA assumed control of Witherspoon College in 1905.

<sup>120</sup> Ronk, 39-43.

<sup>121</sup> R.E. Magill, et. al., *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1911) 36, 44, 58, 90. Recommendations for the Assembly’s Executive Committee included this proviso on page 36: “That we turn over to other denominations any part of this work, or any special fields which belong to these denominations and are served by their ministers or workers.” In 1914, the PCUS also expressed its reluctance in taking over Soul Winners, because of the burden it

Winners over to the General Assembly, Guerrant continued actively to promote work for the Society of Soul Winners until 1916. Working until the end, Guerrant died in his sleep April 1916 at the age of seventy-nine. The American Medical Association attributed his death to diabetes.<sup>122</sup> Despite Guerrant's death, however, the Society of Soul Winners continued to operate until the late 1920s, working to provide education and resolve issues that many mountain people faced.

Guerrant and other missionaries had hoped that the Gospel through individual regeneration would ameliorate the social problems and violence in many areas throughout Appalachia. Social problems, however, did not disappear overnight. In 1909, Rev. Frank Talmage, after visiting a Soul Winner's mission for a sporting event related, "Because a wrestling match went wrong, pistols were drawn and women were wringing their hands and weeping, and the grave was almost ready to open."<sup>123</sup> Mission work was hard, and the turnover for missionaries was high. Besides the low pay, loneliness, and isolation, mission workers, before mission houses were built, lived in whatever was available whether it was in a shed open to the weather, or with a hospitable mountain family.<sup>124</sup> Guerrant described the qualifications of a mountain worker for aspiring missionaries: "They have got to love everybody, got to know everything, got to stand all sorts of abuse, keep cool, and never lose their temper, no matter whatever occurs. Eat like Elijah at the hands of the ravens, whatever comes to them. But with

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placed upon the Executive Committee. See *Minutes of the Fifty-Fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1914), 8.

<sup>122</sup> *Journal of the American Medical Association* 66 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: American Medical Association, 1916), 1564.

<sup>123</sup> Frank Talmage, "The Gospel Among the Mountaineers," *Christian Observer* 98, no. 46 (November 16, 1910): 4-6.

all its hardships it is a glorious work.”<sup>125</sup> Sometimes the social conditions made it very hard for native missionaries as well. For instance, A.C. Adams, a native school teacher, and his family were threatened during the Jett-White feud in 1903 to give perjured evidence. Adams did so, but later tearfully confessed his guilt to the jury.<sup>126</sup>

Many mountaineers felt that the Gospel did have some impact on violence. Born in Wolfe County, Kentucky in 1890, “Bulldog Charlie” Wireman, a Wesleyan Holiness preacher, praised “Uncle Ben” Bigstaff and Guerrant, asserting that it was they and the missionaries who followed them that “stilled the crack of the rifle” in eastern Kentucky. Wireman wrote that Guerrant was,

A little man with the force of a giant.[sic] Dramatic, inspired, brilliant, he might have gone to the greatest churches in the land. Instead, he went into the footsteps of “Uncle Ben.” Where they went was the wildest of mountain country. They went to ‘shoot-in’ matches’ where they outdid the mountaineers. They talked the mountain language. They built a faith in themselves which was followed by a faith in what they taught.<sup>127</sup>

Wireman, as other evangelical-minded mountain Christians, did not see Guerrant or his ministry as one that was oppositional to mountain Christianity, but rather as one that was complementary to it. Nor did they always see missionary work as a colonizing force of industry, or one that was bent on erasing indigenous culture.

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<sup>124</sup> As late as 1922, numerous accounts list the poor living conditions of some Soul Winners missionaries. See Homer McMillan, *Unfinished Tasks of the Presbyterian Church* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1922), 105-108; Edward O. Guerrant, “Glencairn,” *Christian Observer* 97, no.1 (January 7, 1903):10.

<sup>125</sup> McAllister, 136.

<sup>126</sup> Numerous newspapers give an account of the Jett White trial, *The Mt. Sterling Advocate*, Wednesday, March 2, 1904. A.C. Adams is identified several times by Guerrant as a worker in his mission, see *The Galax Gatherers*, and Annual America Inland Mission Reports in *Christian Observer* 1900-1910. Curtis Jett, of the Jett-White Feud, was converted in prison through the auspices of the Christian Endeavor Society, which was closely affiliated with the Society of Soul Winners. Jett later became a Wesleyan Holiness minister. See, Curtis Jett, *From Prison to Pulpit: Life of Curtis Jett* (Louisville: Pentecostal Publishing Company, [c.1919]) Kentucky Digital Archives, kdl.kyvl.org.

<sup>127</sup> Charles Little Wireman, *Kentucky Mountain Outlaw Transformed* [c.1950], Holiness Data Ministry, 1997. wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/0101-0200/HDM0180.PDF.

Some missionaries had at first hoped that industrialization would help ease Appalachia out of poverty. Increasing industrialization, however, began to worry Guarrant and those workers who recognized that mountain people were at risk of not only losing their land and homes, but also their way of life.<sup>128</sup> Social problems that had been common to inner cities were increasingly more common to many areas within the mountains. In 1911, a medical missionary was reported in the *Medical Herald* as writing and seeking advice for the many mountain women who were “literally honeycombed with venereal and tubercular infection.”<sup>129</sup> The Gospel and schools appeared to Guarrant and others to be the best mediator between mountaineers and capitalist interests.

Guarrant was quite influential in the Home Mission movement to Appalachia. Several of the schools that Guarrant helped to found, including Stuart Robinson, Highland Institute, Witherspoon College, and Riverside Institute, lasted well into the twentieth century, providing education for both boys and girls in areas that may have had little in the way of educational opportunities.<sup>130</sup> Witherspoon is now known as Buckhorn Family and Children’s Service and is dedicated to helping families and children rebuild damaged lives.<sup>131</sup> Stuart Robinson continued to serve youth in Blackey, Kentucky until 1956, when it closed and was bought by Calvary Campus.<sup>132</sup> One of Stuart Robinson’s most famous graduates is the well-known poet-laureate

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<sup>128</sup> C.S. Burnett, “Mountain Regions of Kentucky Have Much Interest – People Intensely Religious at One Time Have Gradually Withdrawn From the Church,” *Palm Beach Post*, Wednesday, September 27, 1916.

<sup>129</sup> Henri G. Bogart, “The Menace of Clandestine Prostitution,” *Medical Herald* (Kansas City, Mo.: Kansas City Medical Index Lancet, 1911), 492.

<sup>130</sup> Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterian Missions in the Southern United States*, (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1934), 230.

<sup>131</sup> Buckhorn Children and Family Services, “History,” [www.buckhorn.org](http://www.buckhorn.org).

<sup>132</sup> Calvary Campus, “History,” [www.calvarycampus.org](http://www.calvarycampus.org).

Gurney Norman.<sup>133</sup> Many students went on to teach at other mountain schools. In 1928, Henry W. McLaughlin asserted that most teachers in Letcher County Kentucky had been educated at Stuart Robinson.<sup>134</sup> After Guerrant's death, his son, E.P. Guerrant followed in his father's footsteps, founding a hospital for mountaineers in Winchester, Kentucky.<sup>135</sup> Several of the churches Guerrant helped organize continue to this day, including Buckhorn Presbyterian Church, and Guerrant Memorial Church in Jackson, Kentucky. Possibly one of the reasons for Guerrant's success was his identification with mountaineers. Guerrant wrote, "I went among them as one of them; eating their food, sleeping in their cabins, speaking their language, learning their wants and working for their salvation."<sup>136</sup> Guerrant loved and respected the mountain people, defending them against those who would call them degenerate, and lazy.<sup>137</sup> Perhaps Guerrant's success lay in the medical clinics he brought to the mountains, or even the emotional style he brought to his preaching.<sup>138</sup> No doubt, however, Guerrant would ascribe his success to the "earnest prayer" that he and others engaged in before every meeting.<sup>139</sup>

Guerrant and Soul Winner Missionaries, as well as many of the mountaineers they served, unlike many modern historians, did not see their work as problematic. As individuals they were often dedicated men and women, who felt "called" and who saw a need in the

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<sup>133</sup> George Brosi, "Gurney Norman," *Appalachian Heritage: A Literary Quarterly of the Appalachian South*, <http://community.berea.edu/appalachianheritage/issues/summer2005/gurneynorman.html>.

<sup>134</sup> Henry W. McLaughlin, *Christ and the Country People* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1928), 62.

<sup>135</sup> McLaughlin, 73.

<sup>136</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 99.

<sup>137</sup> Many of the articles written by Guerrant contain this qualifier "They are not degenerate as some suppose." See *Christian Observer* 1894-1910.

<sup>138</sup> "Falcon's Letter: A Graphic Description of Breathitt County from a Religious Standpoint," *The Hazel Green*, Wednesday, August 5, 1885.

mountains of Appalachia they felt they could meet. Many, if not most, felt a “call” from God, and left the comfort of home and familiar surroundings to spend their lives in the service of others. The characterization of missionaries as northeasterners, social gospellers, or as women who had no other opportunities available to them, rings shallow. The composition and motivations of the missionary force were as diverse as the mountaineers they served.

Furthermore, Appalachians, as a part of American culture, and through out-migration, have contributed to what America and its culture is today. By studying the variety of Home Mission movements in Appalachia, we can gain a better understanding not only of religious forces and missionaries during the era, but also a better understanding of whom it was that the missionaries served, and consequently a better understanding of ourselves.

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<sup>139</sup> Guerrant, *The Soul Winner*, 45-48.

## Primary Source Bibliography

### Books

Campbell, John C. *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921.

Campbell's study detailed mountain life in the early twentieth century. Particularly enlightening are his detailed descriptions of mountain religion, as well as his criticisms of Home Missions.

Blakely, Hunter B. *Religion in Shoes: Brother Bryan of Birmingham*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1934.

This hagiographic biography describes the life and ministry of James Alexander Bryan, a beloved and honored minister in Birmingham, Alabama, during the first half of the twentieth century. Bryan is remembered as an advocate for the poor and for Civil Rights for Blacks. One chapter describes the influence of Edward O. Guerrant on Bryan during Bryan's early ministry as a Soul Winners missionary in eastern Kentucky.

Guerrant, Edward O. Eds. William C. Davis, and Meredith Swentor. *Bluegrass Confederate: The Headquarters Diary of Edward O. Guerrant*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999.

This compilation of Edward O. Guerrant's Civil War diaries was published primarily to provide insight about the Confederate Civil War experience in the mountains of Appalachia. Nevertheless, it also provides valuable insight into how Guerrant viewed the mountain people before he felt the call to the mission field. Notable are his descriptions of the poverty and the isolation of mountaineers *before* the publications of colorists.

--- *The Galax Gatherers: The Gospel Among the Highlanders*. Richmond, Va.: Onward Press, 1910.

Edward O. Guerrant wrote this book for the purpose of fundraising. The book serves as a compilation of Guerrant's and Soul Winners missionary experiences in Appalachia, spanning from the 1880s into the twentieth century, as well as Guerrant's views of the highlanders as co-workers in the field. Though Guerrant uses stereotypes of Appalachia that were current at that time, he also provides a very positive glimpse of Appalachians and Appalachia. This book, unlike the 2005 reprint, includes photographs, illustrations, and a hand-drawn map of Soul Winners missions.

--- *The Soul Winner*. Lexington, Ky.: John B. Morton & Co., 1896.

This important work describes, in Guerrant's own words, his early evangelistic work as well as his theology. Unlike many other works written by Guerrant, this book was not written for the purpose of fundraising but to train future ministers for evangelistic work.

Hooker, Elizabeth R. *Religion in the Highlands: Native Churches and Missionary Enterprises in the Southern Appalachian Area; With a Section on Missionary and Philanthropic Schools by Fannie Dunn*. New York: Home Missions Council, 1933.

Hooker's project was commissioned by the Federal Council of Churches, with the goal of finding more effective means of using Home Missions. Hooker provides not only a glimpse of Home Mission efforts and Appalachian religion during the early part of the Great Depression, but also includes a short history, as Hooker understood it, of Home Missionary enterprises.

Longnecker, J. Hershey. *Memories of the Congo: Tales of Adventure and Work in the Heart of Africa; with a Final Chapter on the Congo Past and Present.* Johnson, Tenn.: Royal Publishers, 1964.

Longnecker was a Soul Winner's Missionary in eastern Kentucky before becoming a missionary to the Congo. The first chapter in this book mentions Guerrant, and describes the reasons Longnecker became a Soul Winner missionary.

Magill, R. E. et. al. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1911.

Minutes of the southern Presbyterian Church's annual meeting on May 18, 1911, which discusses theological issues that confront the church as well as the Home Mission field. Included is Guerrant's transfer of the Soul Winner's Society to the Presbyterian Church.

Marshall, Catherine. *Christy*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967.

This fictional book is based on the life of Leonora Whittaker who was born and raised in Dillingham, North Carolina. The character "Dr. Ferrand," in the novel, is based on the life of Edward O. Guerrant.

--- *Meeting God at Every Turn: A Personal Family Story*. New York: Chosen Books, 1981; Bantam Books, 1982.

In the first chapter of this book, Marshall gives a short biography of her mother Leonora Whittaker. Whittaker and her husband John Wood both served at Ebenezer Mission outside of Del Rio, Tennessee. Marshall identifies Guerrant as "Dr. Ferrand" in the book *Christy*.

McAllister, J. Gray, and Grace Owings Guerrant. *Edward O. Guerrant: Apostle to the Southern Highlanders*. Richmond, Va.: Richmond Press, 1950.

This sympathetic and uncritical look at the life of Edward O. Guerrant was written by his daughter Grace Owings Guerrant and the Reverend. J. Gray McAllister. The only comprehensive biography written about Edward O. Guerrant, it serves as both a primary and secondary source. The book describes his life growing up, factors in his decision to become a missionary to the highlanders, his life as a doctor, pastor, and as a missionary.

McLaughlin, Henry W. *Christ and the Country People*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1928.

Not a book about Appalachia missions per se. Nevertheless, McLaughlin detailed some of the developments of Presbyterian missions after Guerrant's death. He also mentioned Guerrant's son E.P. Guerrant and his work at the Guerrant clinic in Winchester, Kentucky.

McMillan, Homer. *Unfinished Tasks of the Presbyterian Church*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1922.

McMillan writes a good description of Soul Winner's Missions in the early 1920s. He also includes a description of Guerrant's ministry, including the establishment of medical clinics and schools.

*Minutes of the Fifty-Fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1914.

This report includes the status of Home Missions, including those absorbed from Soul Winners enterprises. The report complains that taking on Soul Winners' missions put a huge burden on the Executive Committee and was not of their seeking.

Moody, Dwight L. *The Gospel Awakening." Comprising the Sermons and Addresses, Prayer Meeting Talks and Bible Readings of the Great Revival Meetings Conducted by Moody and Sankey ... with the Proceedings of Christian Conventions of Ministers and Laymen ... Also the Lives of D.L. Moody, I.D. Sankey [et al]*. Chicago: F.H. Revell, 1883.

This book describes the work and theology of Dwight Moody. For the purposes of this paper it also includes a brief description of Moody campaigns in the South. Interestingly, the book also describes Moody's relationship with Major D. W. Whittle, who served under General Otis O. Howard under the war. Howard later toured with Guerrant to observe Soul Winners missions in eastern Kentucky. Guerrant references Whittle in his book *The Soul Winner*.

Morris, Samuel L. *At Our Own Door: a Study of Home Missions with Special Reference to the South and West*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904.

This book describes the Home Mission Work of the Southern Presbyterians at the turn-of-the-century. Appalachia is mentioned as one component of Home Mission work.

Guerrant is quoted, but the author does not go into detail about the Society of Soul Winners, or Guerrant's work.

Price, William Thompson. *Without Scrip or Purse: or the Biography of George O. Barnes*. Louisville: W.T. Price, 1882.

George O. Barnes, a contemporary of Guerrant, was one of the early evangelists and faith healers who entered eastern Kentucky. Several diary entries are included within the book describing the issues of evangelization. The author, William Thompson Price, like Guerrant, was also a member of Morgan's Brigade during the Civil War.

Spaulding, Arthur W. *The Men of the Mountains: The Story of the Southern Mountaineer and His Kin of the Piedmont; with an Account of Some of the Agencies of Progress among Them*. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1915.

Spaulding, a leader in the Seventh Day Adventist Church, and founder of the Fletcher Institute in Fletcher, North Carolina, described in detail many of the Home Mission movements, including the Society of Soul Winners within the Southern Appalachians, as well as origins of the mountaineers, history and geography of the area. Interestingly, Guerrant wrote Spaulding and praised this book as one of the best books written about residents of Appalachia.

Thompson, Ernest Trice. *Presbyterian Missions in the Southern United States*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian committee of publication, 1934.

In this older book, Thompson, a southerner, describes the Southern Home Mission movement as primarily a response to the deleterious effects of the Civil War and reconstruction. This book is useful as a primary source in understanding how southerners viewed the Home Mission Movement, and as a secondary source describing missionary efforts in Appalachia before and after the Civil War.

### **Journal Articles**

*American Medical Association* 66, no. 2 (April 13, 1916): 1564.

Because Guerrant was a doctor, this medical journal includes a short obituary about his death in 1916.

Semple, Ellen Churchhill. "The Anglo-Saxons of the Kentucky Mountains: A Study of Anthropogeography." *The Geographical Journal* 17 no. 6 (June 1901): 588-623.

This journal article serves as an example of racial ideas of the time that were promoted by the scientific community. Ellen Churchhill Semple in this example studies the race of Appalachians and their relationship with and their adaption to their environment.

Bogart, Henri G. "The Menace of Clandestine Prostitution," *The Medical Herald* 30 (1911), 490-496.

Bogart, who was a eugenicist, in this article, mentions a minister-turned-doctor serving in Appalachia, who writes about the prevalence of venereal and tubercular disease in the mountains. Appalachia is cited as an example of the spread of venereal disease throughout the nation, even into the "sylvan mountain recesses."

McAfee, Cleland B. "A Man, a Field and a Work," *The Assembly Herald*, 12, no.1 (1906):602-603.

In this PCUSA periodical, McAfee describes the call and ministry of Harvey S. Murdoch. Murdoch, a Northern Presbyterian, originally from Alabama, and minister in Brooklyn, was impressed by Guerrant's description of mountain work. Murdoch left Brooklyn and devoted the rest of his life to serving in eastern Kentucky. Murdoch helped found Witherspoon College.

### **News Articles and Periodicals**

Burnett, C.S. "Mountain Regions of Kentucky Have Much Interest – People Intensely Religious at One Time Have Gradually Withdrawn From the Church." *Palm Beach Post*, Wednesday, September 27, 1916.

In this article, written after Guerrant's death, C.S. Burnett, a missionary from the Society of Soul Winners, decries coal mines and other industry coming into the mountains.

Christian Observer, Louisville, Ky.: Converse & Co, 1894-1910.

A Southern Presbyterian weekly periodical published in Louisville, Kentucky, describes the cultural fears, theological squabbles, as well as hopes and dreams of southern Presbyterians. This periodical, provides context for the Society of Soul Winners, reflects Guerrant's acclaim within the church, and describes a few tremors of discontent with the Society of Soul Winners. It also includes numerous articles written about and for the Society of Soul Winners.

*The Hazel Green Herald*. Hazel Green, Ky.: Spencer Cooper, 1885-1917. Chronicling America, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>, and Kentucky Digital Library, <http://kdl.kyvl.org/>.

The *Hazel Green Herald* was Wolfe County's first newspaper. Several articles describe Home Missionary and evangelical work in eastern Kentucky. Guerrant and Soul Winners are featured in many of them.

"Highways and Byways," *The American Missionary*, 140, no. 3 (The American Missionary Association, March 1891). *The Making of America*, <http://www.cornell.edu>.

“Highways and Byways” is only one example of Home Missionary literature that was generated about Appalachia in the Northeast during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

“Crushed to A Jelly: Jere Little, the Kentucky Outlaw, Accidentally Killed.” *The Evening Bulletin*, Maysville, Ky.: Rosser & McCarthy, December 31, 1891. Chronicling America, <http://www.chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>.

This small article describes the death of the feudist Jerry Little. Little was converted by Guerrant and evidently led a peaceful life until his death several years later.

“Mountain Catholics Will Celebrate First Anniversary of Church’s Dedication. A Missionary Tells of the Fervor of His Scattered Flock. Bishop Maes Has Twice Administered Confirmation at Beattyville.” *Kentucky Irish American*. Louisville: William M. Higgins, December 2, 1905. Kentucky Digital Library, <http://kdl.kyvl.org>.

This front page article describes the work of the Catholic Church in the mountains. It laments that Protestant church denominations of every type, including the Salvation Army, are working in the mountains.

“The Mission Work Among the Highlanders of Kentucky.” *Gleanings from Bee Culture* 42, January 1, 1914.

This children’s periodical includes an interesting fund-raising letter from Dr. Guerrant, describing the beginnings of the Society of Soul Winners, including his resignation as the Kentucky Synod’s evangelist in 1897.

*Mt. Sterling Advocate*, Mt. Sterling, Ky.: Harris and Mason, 1890-1915. Kentucky Digital Library, <http://kdl.kyvl.org>.

A central Kentucky Newspaper, featuring many interesting articles of the era including Home Mission and evangelical work, as well as social issues of the time. Guerrant is featured in several stories. This newspaper is currently in print today.

Mahon, L.B. “What He Gave.” *New York Observer* 88, Thursday, February 3, 1910.

One of the few news articles about “Uncle Ben” Bigstaff. The article briefly describes Bigstaff’s history as a scout for General John Hunt Morgan, his entry into the mountains of Kentucky, as well as how he conducted his missionary work.

*The New York Times*. New York: H.J. Raymond & Company, 1890-1915.

The New York Times reported on events of national significance, and Kentucky was often reported on during this time period as a violent place to visit or to live.

“A Remarkable Work.” *Mount Vernon Signal*. Mt. Vernon, Ky.: James Maret, November 23, 1906. Kentucky Digital Library, <http://kdl.kyvl.org>.

In a feature article, the author writes glowingly of the *Soul Winner's Society*. The article also discusses the schools, medical clinics and churches established by the society.

*The Richmond Dispatch*. Richmond, Va.: Dispatch Co., March 29, 1900. Library of Congress, <http://chronicalingamerica.loc.gov>.

One in a series of articles that describes Guerrant's evangelism in the City of Richmond, Virginia. In this particular article Guerrant's sermon on the “Power of the Holy Spirit” is reported.

*The Semi-weekly Bourbon News*. Paris, Ky.: Bruce Champ, 1882-1883. Library of Congress <http://chronicalingamerica.loc.gov>.

This central Kentucky newspaper has several reports of the ministry of George O. Barnes, the “Mountain Evangelist.” There is also an article about *Without Scrip or Purse*, and its author William Thompson Price. Price is described as having belonged to Zeke Clay's unit of Morgan's brigade, or “Morgan's Raiders.”

*Semi-weekly Interior Journal*. Stanford, Ky.: W.P. Walton, January 8, 1895. Kentucky Digital Library, <http://kdl.kyvl.org>

One of many articles that reports Guerrant's use of vacation as an opportunity to evangelize.

*Tazewell Republican*, Thursday, August 17, 1911. Kentucky Digital Library, <http://kdl.kyvl.org>

One of several articles reporting on a series of lectures given by Guerrant in Tazewell, Virginia. The author of the particular article describes Guerrant as being of Huguenot descent and speaking with a slight French accent.

### **Electronic Books and Websites**

Jett, Curtis. *From Prison to Pulpit: Life of Curtis Jett*. Louisville, KY: Pentecostal Publishing Company, [c. 1919]. Kentucky Digital Library. <http://name.kdl.kyvl.org/b92-4226783421>

Curtis Jett was arrested for murder and sent to prison during the Jett-White Feud in Kentucky. Though Jett does not mention Guerrant or the Society of Soul Winners, he does describe the influence of the Christian Endeavor Society, and his subsequent conversion while in prison. Jett, who was originally sentenced to life in prison, is later released for good behavior. After his release he attended Asbury Theological Seminary in Wilmore, Kentucky and became a Wesleyan Holiness minister. In this book he decries the violence in eastern Kentucky.

Roberts, Thomas P. *Highlights in My Life and Ministry in Old Time Revivals*, Wilmore, Ky., 1952, republished as a Digital Publication by Holiness Data Ministry in 1997. [wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/0401-0500/HDM0475.PDF](http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/0401-0500/HDM0475.PDF) (accessed August 15, 2010).

This is a copy of a book originally published in 1952. Roberts, also known as “Nighthawk Tom” was a successful Wesleyan holiness minister who worked in central and eastern Kentucky. He mentions being asked to hold a revival at the Presbyterian mission at Happy Top, Kentucky.

Wireman, Charles Little. *Kentucky Mountain Outlaw Transformed*. Apollo, Pa.: West Publishing Company, [c.1950]; republished as a Digital Edition by Holiness Data Ministry, 1997. [wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/01010200/HDM0180.PDF](http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/01010200/HDM0180.PDF) (accessed August 15, 2010).

This book, originally published in the 1950s, is the autobiography of Charles Little Wireman. Charles Wireman, also known as “Bulldog Charlie” was a Wesleyan holiness preacher, who was born in Wolfe County, Kentucky in 1890. Wireman describes the ministry of “Uncle Ben” Bigstaff, Guerrant and other Home Missionaries as helpful for quelling violence in eastern Kentucky. Note that Wireman spells the names of Bigstaff and Guerrant as Biggerstaff and Guerrand.

## Secondary Sources Bibliography

### Books

Boles, John. *The Great Revival: Beginnings of the Bible Belt*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996.

This is a comprehensive description of the Cane Ridge Revival in the early nineteenth century. Boles links the revival to southern evangelicalism.

Hooker, Elizabeth R. *Religion in the Highlands: Native Churches and Missionary Enterprises in the Southern Appalachian Area; With a Section on Missionary and Philanthropic Schools by Fannie Dunn*. New York: Home Missions Council, 1933.

Hooker was commissioned by the Federal Council of Churches to find more effective means of using Home Missions. Her study is invaluable because it provides a “snap shot” of missionary activity as well as native Appalachia religion toward the end of the Home Mission era. As a secondary source, Hooker’s analysis of the Home Mission movement during the Progressive Era is open for critique.

Klotter, James C. *Kentucky Portrait in Paradox, 1900-1950*. Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1996.

Klotter examines many issues of Kentucky beginning at the turn-of-the-century until 1950. Particularly revealing are the social issues and violence that permeated all of Kentucky – not just the mountainous east – during the early part of the century.

Link, William A. *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism 1880-1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Guerrant, in this book, is identified as the person who popularized the notion of saving souls by Bluegrass missionaries. Other influential Christian leaders, such as Robert F. Campbell, from Asheville, are listed. Link argues that paternalism undergirded the missionary movement and was represented mostly by crusading women, who having nothing better to do, attempt to alter the behavior and civilization of mountaineers.

Marsden, George M. *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1991.

This book presents a historical overview of fundamentalism and evangelicalism in American culture. Marsden briefly describes Dwight L. Moody’s belief in premillennialism.

McAllister, J. Gray and Grace Owings Guerrant. *Edward O. Guerrant: Apostle to the Southern Highlander*. Richmond, Va.: Richmond Press, 1950.

This sympathetic and uncritical look at the life of Edward O. Guerrant was written by his daughter Grace Owings Guerrant and the Reverend. J. Gray McAllister. This comprehensive biography written about Edward O. Guerrant serves as both a primary and secondary source. The book describes Guerrant's life growing up, factors in his decision to become a missionary to the highlanders, his life as a doctor, pastor, and as a missionary.

McCauley, Deborah Vansau. *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Ostensibly a book about mountain religion as opposed to denominational religion, McCauley sharply criticizes the Home Mission Movement, singling out Edward O. Guerrant, for assuming an imperialistic stance toward the mountain religious tradition. The book is useful for its description of mountain religion.

Pearce, John Ed. *Days of Darkness: The Feuds of Eastern Kentucky*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994.

Pearce describes the social upheaval in eastern Kentucky during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Ronk, Albert T. *History of the Brethren Missionary Movements*. Ashland, Ohio: Brethren Publishing Company, 1971.

Ronk includes a description of George and Ada Drushal, who were former Soul Winner Missionaries. Characteristic of much denominational literature, Ronk does not link the Drushals, or Riverside Academy to the Society of Soul Winners, but rather, identifies Riverside as solely instituted by Church of the Brethren.

Shapiro, Henry D. *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Shapiro criticizes the Southern Home Mission movement and describes it as a response to Northern missionary encroachment. Shapiro also describes how Home Missionaries exploited the colorists' stereotypes of Appalachia. Shapiro does not focus on Guerrant and the Society of Soul Winners, but does mention them briefly.

Synan, Vinson. *In the Latter Days: The Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the Twentieth Century*. Fairfax, Va.: Xynon Press, 2001.

In this book Synan writes about the holiness and charismatic movements during the twentieth century. He also provides a detailed description of Moody's involvement with

the Higher Life Movement, as well as an excellent description of the empowerment of the Holy Spirit for service.

Thompson, Ernest Trice. *Presbyterian Missions in the Southern United States*. Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian committee of publication, 1934.

In this older book, Thompson, a southerner, describes the Southern Home Mission movement as a response to the deleterious effects of the Civil War and of reconstruction. This book is useful as a primary source in understanding how southerners viewed the Home Mission Movement, and as a secondary source describing missionary efforts in Appalachia before and after the Civil War.

Weeks, Louis B. *Kentucky Presbyterians*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1983.

This book details the history of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, including the various divisions, schisms and challenges of the Presbyterian Church.

Whisnant, David E. *All That Is Native & Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

Whisnant argues that missionary endeavors throughout Appalachia used cultural nuances as the basis of judgments and agendas. Whisnant also argues that the Home Mission movement irretrievably changed indigenous culture. Whisnant specifically mentions Guerrant, arguing that he influenced May Stone and Katherine Pettit, who established the Hindman Settlement School.

### **Essays and Journal Articles**

Crowe, Martha. "'A Mission in the Mountains': E.O. Guerrant and Southern Appalachia 1839-1916." *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History* 68 (Spring 1990):46-54

In this journalistic essay, Martha Crowe portrays Guerrant as a Presbyterian with "grit" and "determination."

Flynt, Wayne. "The Divided Religious Mind of Birmingham." *From Civil War to Civil Rights Alabama 1860-1960*, edited by Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, 257-278. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987.

In this essay Flynt mentions the ministry of James Alexander Bryan in Birmingham, Alabama. Bryan, who began his ministry with the Society of Soul Winners, advocated for the civil rights of Blacks, and for compassion on the poor.

Flynt, J. Wayne. "Feeding the Hungry and Ministering to the Broken Hearted': The Presbyterian Church in the United States and the Social Gospel, 1900-1920." *Religion in*

*the South*, edited by Charles Reagan Wilson, 83-137. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985.

Flynt argues that though the Southern Presbyterian Church was the most conservative, and hence the most hostile to the Social Gospel, it did, however, engage in social outreach through the auspices of organizations such as the Soul Winner's Society. Flynt points out that although Edward O. Guerrant's organization was primarily to save souls it never disengaged from "the social workings of mountain life."

Huddle, Mark. "Home Missions Revisited: Edward O. Guerrant and the 'Discovery' of Appalachia." *The Galax Gatherers: The Gospel Among the Highlanders.* Reprint Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005. xi-xxxvi.

Mark Huddle offers an interesting introductory essay in the reprint of *The Galax Gatherers*. Huddle points out potential flaws with much of the history written about Guerrant and the Home Mission movement.

Noe, Kenneth. "Appalachia Before Mr. Peabody: Some Recent Literature on the Southern Mountain Region." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 110, no.1 (2002): 5-34. *JSTOR*. <http://www.jstor.org/>.

This article describes historical research and literature about Appalachia. It does not describe Guerrant or the Home Mission movement per se, but does provide an excellent overview on what historians have written on many aspects of Appalachian history.

Sherrod, Marc S. "The Southern Mountaineer, A Presbyterian Home Missions and a Synod for Appalachia." *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History* 71 (1993): 31-40.

Sherrod details the creation of the Synod of Appalachia. Guerrant is mentioned as a prime instigator of the Presbyterian presence in the Home Mission Movement.

Yeuell, H. Davis, and Marcia Clark Myers. "The Presbyterians in Central Appalachia," *Christianity in Appalachia*. Edited by Bill J. Leonard, 189-207. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999.

This essay describes the presence of the Presbyterian Church in Appalachia as well as its influence on the Home Mission Movement. Davis and Myers argue that neither northern nor southern Presbyterians entered the Appalachians with a missionary movement in mind; rather the movement was part of an evangelistic effort that was already inherent in the Presbyterian evangelical tradition. Davis and Myers write that movement was also the result of individuals who were caught up in the missionary zeal of the period. The essay briefly mentions Guerrant as an example of the Southern Presbyterian's entrance into the Appalachian Home Mission field.

### **Master's Thesis**

Wilson, Lisa Marie. "Edward O. Guerrant: An Appalachia Ministry." Master's Thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1993.

Wilson focuses on Guerrant's ministry as it pertained to the Presbyterian Church. She mentions Guerrant's use of Spurgeon's and Moody's writings.

### **Web Sources**

Brosi, George. "Guerney Norman." *Appalachian Heritage: A Literary Quarterly of the Appalachian South*.  
<http://community.berea.edu/appalachianheritage/issues/summer2005/gurneynorman.html>.

This short article describes the life of Guerney Norman, a graduate of Stuart Robinson.

Buckhorn Children and Family Services, "History," <http://www.buckhorn.org>.

This is a short history of Buckhorn, also known as Witherspoon Academy, and its evolution into Buckhorn Children and Family Services.

Calvary Campus, "History," <http://www.calvarycampus.org>.

Calvary Campus' location is the prior location of Stuart Robinson, which closed in 1956. The website briefly mentions the history of Stuart Robinson.

Dolan DNA Learning Center, Cold Springs Harbor Laboratory. "Leading Eugenicians."  
*Eugenics Archive*. <http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/static/themes/14.html>.

This website lists primary source documents of leading eugenicians in the early twentieth century and serves as an example of the pervasiveness and acceptance of racial ideologies during the Progressive Era.