University of Kentucky
UKnowledge

Higher Education Education

3-3-2006

Berea College: An Illustrated History

Shannon H. Wilson

Click here to let us know how access to this document benefits you.

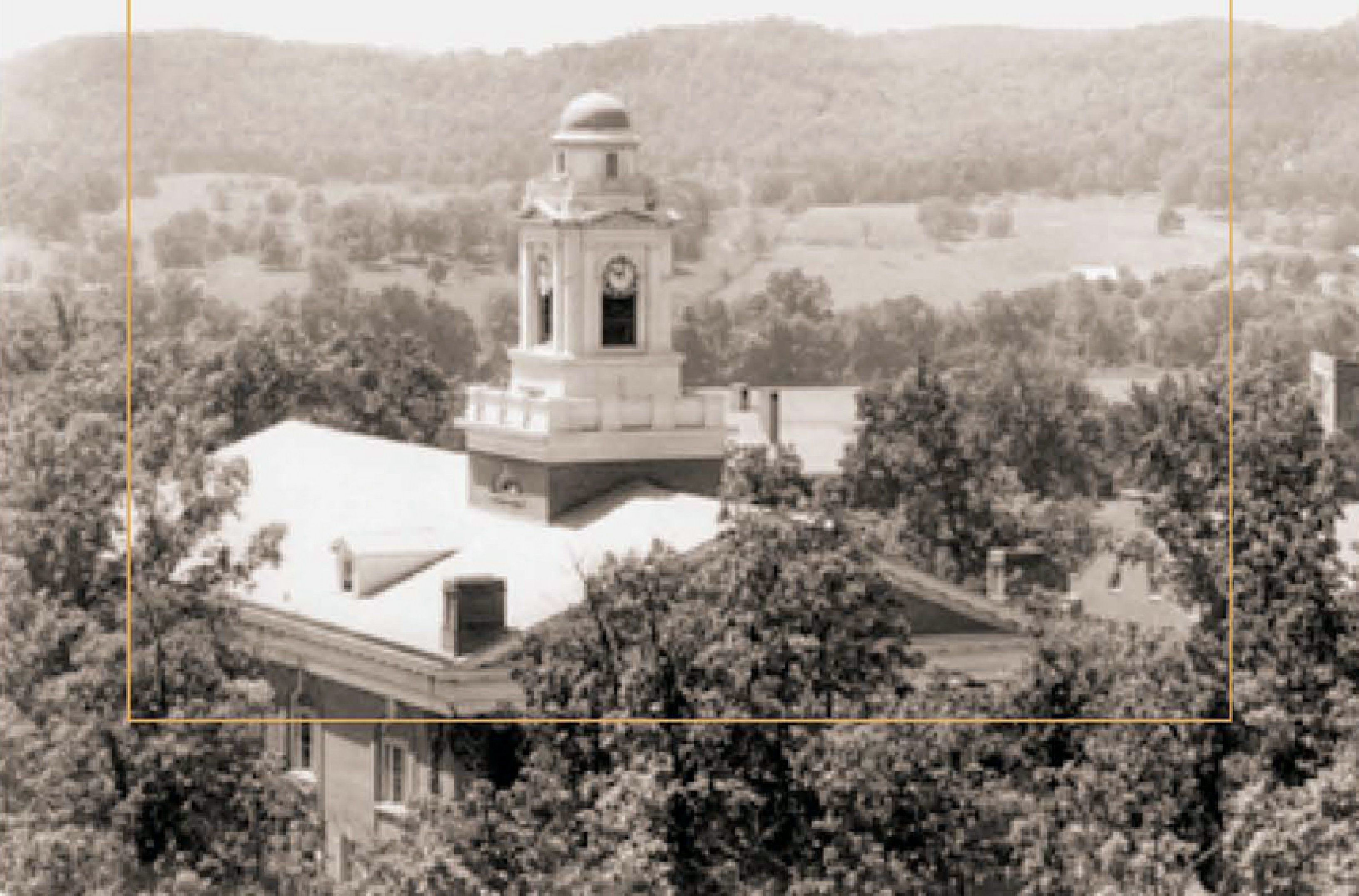
Thanks to the University of Kentucky Libraries and the University Press of Kentucky, this book is freely available to current faculty, students, and staff at the University of Kentucky.
Find other University of Kentucky Books at uknowledge.uky.edu/upk. For more information, please contact UKnowledge at uknowledge@lsv.uky.edu.

Recommended Citation
Wilson, Shannon H., "Berea College: An Illustrated History" (2006). *Higher Education*. 15.
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk_higher_education/15

BEREA COLLEGE

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

Shannon H. Wilson



Berea College

BEREA COLLEGE

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

Shannon H. Wilson

The University Press of Kentucky

Publication of this volume was made possible
in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Copyright © 2006 by The University Press of Kentucky

Scholarly publisher for the Commonwealth,
serving Bellarmine University, Berea College, Centre
College of Kentucky, Eastern Kentucky University,
The Filson Historical Society, Georgetown College,
Kentucky Historical Society, Kentucky State University,
Morehead State University, Murray State University,
Northern Kentucky University, Transylvania University,
University of Kentucky, University of Louisville,
and Western Kentucky University.
All rights reserved.

Editorial and Sales Offices: The University Press of Kentucky
663 South Limestone Street, Lexington, Kentucky 40508–4008
www.kentuckypress.com

10 09 08 07 06 5 4 3 2 1

All photographs, unless otherwise noted, are from
the Berea College Archives.
Design by Gary Gore Book Design

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Wilson, Shannon H.
Berea College : an illustrated history / Shannon H. Wilson.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8131-2379-0 (alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8131-2379-8 (alk. paper)
1. Berea College—History. 2. Berea College—Pictorial works.
I. Title.
LD393.W55 2006
378.769′53—dc22
2005030641

This book is printed on acid-free recycled paper meeting
the requirements of the American National Standard
for Permanence in Paper for Printed Library Materials.

Manufactured in the United States of America.

Member of the Association of American University Presses

For Janey

Post Nubila Phoebus

Contents

Preface ix
Introduction 1

1.
The Witness to
Impartial Love
9

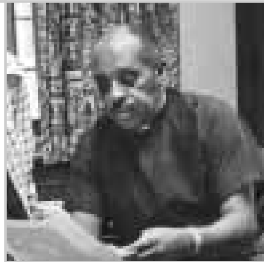
2.
Forecasting
the Millennium
33

3.
Working for
God and Humanity
57

4.
The
Telescope and
the Spade
75

5.
Bristling
with History
103

6.
More Than
an Ordinary
College 129



7.
A College
of History and
Destiny
161

8.
New Magic in
a Dusty World
179

9.
Continuing
to Be and to
Become
201

Appendix One:
The Great Commitments
of Berea College 221

Appendix Two:
Constitution, Charter, and
Bylaws of Berea College
222

Notes 225
Select Bibliography 237
Index 241

Preface

For over twenty years, the history of Berea College has been my history. First as a student, and now as the college archivist, I have become intimately acquainted with the remarkable people and events that make up Berea's story. Early in my career, an alumna introduced me to her husband with the best compliment I have ever received. "This young man," she said, "knows the old days as if he had been there himself." If I know anything at all about Berea, it has less to do with my own memory and more to do with the incredible record left behind by the college's students, faculty, and staff. The legacy of letters, diaries, photographs, buildings, official records, and other materials is so vast that no single volume can easily contemplate all their implications. This book is perhaps best thought of as a prologue to a much larger historical project.

The history of Berea College has been related in different ways throughout the years, from publicity literature to narrative histories, from scholarly essays to historical pageants. "To some," President William G. Frost wrote of Berea, "its story sounds like a chapter from the Old Testament, to others like a dime novel." Elisabeth Peck's *Berea's First Century*, published for the college centennial in 1955 and subsequently revised by Emily Ann Smith for the school's 125th anniversary in 1980, is the only full-length narrative of the college's history. Following a thematic approach, Peck's work is very useful for establishing the passage of presidential administrations and institutional programs. Nevertheless, Peck's history is celebratory rather than critical. "I wanted Mrs. Peck to write a nice history of the college for the centennial," President Francis Hutchins remarked, "and she did."

In recent years, however, several scholars inside and outside Berea have examined the school's history in a more probing manner. Important work has emerged that explores in depth not only the college's founding and interracial commitment, but the role of women at Berea and the institution's role in the Appalachian region. With the approach of the college's sesquicentennial, the time seems right for a "new" history of Berea. The intent of this history is to build on recent scholarly interpretations of the college and to point the way to future research. The basic questions examined in this book are "What kind of institution are

we called to be? What has it been like to live and work at Berea College? What difference has this independent and, at times, radical institution made in the lives of the people of the South, the Appalachian region, and the nation?" The answers to these and other questions are found not only in the accomplishments of presidents and the raising of buildings, but in the stories of students and teachers, of literary societies and sports teams, of famous donors and ordinary people who have borne witness to the college motto, "God has made of one blood all peoples of the earth."

My primary charge in writing this book was to "tell the story" of Berea College, a story that is truly distinctive. Many colleges and universities claim their own distinctive stories, so I looked for ways to distinguish among these heroic sagas. I was particularly attracted to the sociologist Burton Clark, who has offered in his book *The Distinctive College* a classic definition of institutional saga. Such a story "tells what the organization has been and what it is today," Clark writes, "and hence by extension what it will be tomorrow. In the saga we look to the history and presence of the willed creation. The institutional saga is a historically based, somewhat embellished understanding of a unique organizational development" (235). The principal bearers of the saga at Berea have been the presidents of the college. There have been only eight presidents in Berea's history; consequently, I have organized this study according to the varying spans of their administrations. Each chapter examines two or three salient events in each administration that confirm, enhance, or deny the core values of the college. The experiences of students, faculty, and staff are also used to examine the impact and understanding of the saga throughout the college's history.

In *Berea College: An Illustrated History,* the remarkable saga of the school is described in both words and photographs. I have tried to let the past speak for itself, because the voices of students, teachers, and administrators themselves offer ample evidence for the compelling story of Berea College. Although I do not pretend that this book is either comprehensive or definitive, I hope that all of us who are heirs to the vision of John G. Fee will find new inspiration in our work to build for the rest of Berea's second century.

I wish to express my gratitude to Berea president Larry D. Shinn for the invitation to write this book and for his constant support during the writing process; to President Shinn and members of the Administrative Committee, who granted extended leave and financial support in order for me to research and prepare the manuscript; to Dr. David Potts for his wise and patient counsel in his reading of the early chapters; to Joanna Juzwik McDonald, who first copyedited my initial chapters and improved my writing; to Dr. Janice Blythe for

reminding me that hours of thinking without actually writing anything is still a good day's work; to Gerald Roberts, David Nelson, Eddie Broadhead, Tom Chase, and Johnnie Ross, whose active interest in the book was a great source of encouragement; to the Reverends Scott and Lois Howard for their interest and prayerful support; to the members of the Saturday Morning "Old Boys Club," who acted as a sounding board for my work. My gratitude also to Julie Sowell, Linda Reynolds, Bridget Carroll, and Tim Jordan in Public Relations for finding photographs and for their interest in the project; to Anne Chase and the staff of Berea's Hutchins Library, who have put up with me for the last three years; and to Brunner Studio for their reproduction of the photographs in this book. Thanks especially to Steve Gowler, Harry Rice, Grace Sears, Laura Heller, and the students of Special Collections and Archives, who have encouraged me, processed collections that supported my research, and taken up the slack during my long absences. No words can adequately express my gratitude to my mother, Bobbie Lee Wilson, who always believed in me; to Jim Dickinson, Tim Combs, and John and Carrie Rankin for their faithful support; to my children, Erik and his wife, Ann; Case; and Graff, who have all cheerfully endured their father's mood swings during the writing process; and to Janey, whose love for me is life's greatest blessing.

Introduction

All organizations have a social role, but only some
have seized their role in a purposive way that we can call a mission.
Then among those that have been strongly purposive, only some are able to sustain
and develop the mission over time to the point of success and acclaim.
The mission is then transformed into an embracing saga.
We are able to speak then of colleges . . . that become legendary,
even heroic figures on the national stage.

BURTON CLARK, *The Distinctive College*

THERE are many who believe that Berea College is one of America's most distinctive colleges because of its remarkable history and ideals. Since 1855 many supporters and members of the Berea College community have experienced the heroic and legendary claims made for and by the institution. This history of Berea College is an attempt to provide readers with a broad examination of the founding ideas that have continued to inform the development of the institution. Consequently, this book is not intended as a "comprehensive" or "definitive" study; it is instead an exploration of the personalities, events, and other elements that have affirmed, enhanced, or—at times—denied the basic principles of the college.

Berea College was founded by John G. Fee, a Kentucky slaveholder's son. He became convinced that slavery was a tremendous moral and spiritual evil. Fee preached a "gospel of impartial love" that defined not only the early programs and policies of the college but the emerging village of Berea as well. He envisioned a school that would educate "not merely in the ordinary branches of learning but in love as first in religion and justice as first in government." Berea was thus designed as a breeding ground for reformers. The college "would be to Kentucky what Oberlin is to Ohio," Fee observed in 1855, "antislavery, anti-caste, anti-rum, anti-sin."

The college's constitution and bylaws of 1859 gave substance to Fee's ideas. The opening words of the constitution, "In order to promote the cause of Christ," articulated the foundational aim of the school. The practical application of this aim was "to furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character." In this view, excluding students on the basis of color or gender was not possible, since Fee and his colleagues believed that God alone was the creator of "all peoples of the earth." Since character was the chief qualification for admission, then education would be placed within reach of all who desired its benefits. Consequently, schooling at

Berea could be had "at the least possible expense, and all inducements and facilities for manual labor which can reasonably be supplied by the Board of Trustees shall be offered." The college deliberately welcomed the poor who sought learning and provided work opportunities to help disadvantaged students realize their dreams.

The second bylaw established another characteristic of Berea by asserting, "This college shall be under an influence strictly Christian, and as such, opposed to Sectarianism, Slaveholding, Caste, and every other wrong institution or practice." The term "Christian" was not specifically defined in terms of baptism or other "theological tenets on which Christians differ"; but it was assumed that Christians would be marked by "a righteous practice and Christian experience." For Fee and his abolitionist supporters, slavery, sectarianism, and exclusion on the basis of social and economic differences were examples of "wrong" institutions and practices that promoted schism and disobedience to God. These sins, left unamended, would prevent Berea from being a place of acceptance, welcome, and love.

The administration of Berea's first president, Edward Henry Fairchild (1869–89), gave institutional form to Fee's dream of an interracial, coeducational school. The first collegiate class (of five members) was admitted in Fairchild's inaugural year, joining students in the Primary, Intermediate, Preparatory, Normal, and Ladies' Departments. Fairchild asserted that Berea was a school for both sexes, citing advantages that enhanced women's learning and social culture in general. Berea would welcome "all races of men, without distinction," Fairchild observed, adding that Berea assumed that African Americans were to have the same civil and political rights as whites. He boldly claimed, "Freedom and education do not tend to evil." Berea was a school for the poor, and Fairchild encouraged anyone who was willing to work for an education to "come on." The college would be "intensely religious" and have no purpose "but the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom." Fairchild's administration witnessed the development of a curriculum (based largely on that of Oberlin), the beginnings of significant fund-raising and endowment, as well as construction of the first substantial buildings, such as the College Chapel, Howard Hall, and Ladies' Hall, which were symbols of Berea's strength and purpose in themselves. During Fairchild's era Berea was a thoroughly coeducational and integrated community with bright prospects.

After Fairchild's death in 1889, William B. Stewart became Berea's second president in 1890. A Baptist minister from Toronto, Canada, Stewart was the principal of an academy in Winchester, Kentucky, and had served as a trustee at Berea College. Stewart's views reflected Fee's perspective in that Berea offered a Christian education. Berea's work was "to impart liberal culture; but that culture must be Christian. By the study of languages and literature, of mathematics and sciences, of history and philosophy, it aims to develop intellectual power; and by teaching its students of Christ and training them for Christ, it aims to produce noble character." The Bible Department was added to the other curricular offerings, and students continued to be accepted without distinction by class or color. But Stewart's administration was racked with dissension

within the faculty and among donors as well. Fueling this discontent was E. P. Fairchild, the treasurer and Henry Fairchild's son, who encouraged rumors that Fee and Stewart intended to promote religious tests affirming immersion as the only proper form of Christian baptism. Fee condemned the American Missionary Association (AMA), one of the college's principal supporters, as an agent of sectarianism. Fairchild believed that Fee's views threatened the future financial security of the college. Stewart resigned in protest of trustees being added to Berea's board, which would have tipped the balance of power away from Fee and into the hands of Fairchild's supporters. This waning of Fee's influence in the college's affairs would have significant consequences in the years that marked the administration of Stewart's successor, William Goodell Frost.

Frost inherited an institution riddled with financial woes and internal dissension. Fully committed to Berea's interracial mission, Frost nevertheless found that financial support for interracial education was in decline. Still, he affirmed the words of the charter—"to promote the cause of Christ"—as the supreme aim of the school, "that character and moral worth shall be the sole criterion of merit" for admitting students. "Berea College," he argued, "stands as an object lesson to the world—a demonstration that what is right is also practicable." Frost influenced every aspect of campus life, from building design to curricular reforms to student rules and regulations. He plunged immediately into fund-raising efforts, promoting the needs of a recently "discovered" region he termed "Appalachian America." By 1895 there was no mention of Berea's interracial work in publicity literature, and admissions policies eroded the number of blacks attending the school. John G. Fee, before his death in 1901, wondered aloud if Berea was "degenerating" into "a mere white school." In 1904, when Kentucky outlawed interracial education and forced Berea to segregate, Frost and the trustees agreed to make Berea a school serving Appalachia and supported the transfer of African American students to other institutions. His curricular reforms emphasized "short courses" to "gather the multitudes who will otherwise be untaught, hold them for a longer or a shorter time according to their capacity, and give to each youth a bent in the upward direction." The result left the College Department as one of the smallest on campus and unaccredited by outside agencies. Yet when Frost retired in 1920, he could justifiably claim that Berea had "placed Appalachia on the world map," and he had achieved a level of financial security for the college that few could have imagined in the school's early days. Nevertheless, the institution's enforced segregation changed forever the character of Berea.

William J. Hutchins served Berea from 1920 to 1939. He had studied Greek under Frost while a student at Oberlin and succeeded his old teacher at Berea. Hutchins recognized the remarkable changes in Appalachia and the United States in the wake of World War I, noting, "We who work in Berea today inhabit a world and minister to a world radically different from that in which our predecessors lived, even a score of years ago. Adaptation, which has been the very watchword of Berea, will force upon us changes of emphasis and possible changes of method." This change in emphasis would be

demonstrated in the abandonment of Frost's program of education in "small packages" and the consolidation of the Vocational and Normal programs into the College Department. For most of his career, Hutchins would be harassed by Frost's running commentary on each new program that Hutchins introduced. Despite this unfriendly oversight, Hutchins resolved that Berea's essential task of educating mountain youth was "changeless." He declared that the college would help overcome the "intellectual hurdles before which the majority of American boys and girls must be halted forever," and he encouraged students to challenge themselves and "reveal . . . the far-off flying goal of a liberal education." The liberal arts became the foundation and outlook of a Berea education, allied to the labor program in which students would altruistically find "their highest, their true selves." Students at Berea were educated for the purpose of "Christian American citizenship," which embraces a vision of God "who hates sham and mere words and formalism and sectarianism, a God of impartial love." William J. Hutchins in many ways is the architect of Berea as a *college,* rather than a collection of "allied schools" that included the College Department. The mission of Berea to balance academic excellence and labor as well as to provide an education to those who have had the least educational opportunity made Berea faculty and staff nothing less than "co-workers with God."

Francis Hutchins succeeded his father in 1939. Berea now consisted of the college and the Foundation School, which was divided into a high school and a junior high. Students in the last two years of college were organized into the "Upper Division," and students in the last two years of high school and first two years of college constituted the "Lower Division." Complaints about the workability of this system remained unresolved until after World War II, which brought about its own set of changes. The most obvious difference was the presence of the Navy V-12 program, which, besides bringing about significant changes in the social rules, introduced religious diversity on campus. The college also welcomed Japanese American students, which caused no little hostility in the town of Berea. Throughout all the stresses and strains brought about by the war, the college continued to ponder curricular and administrative reforms. These considerations resulted in a new curriculum in 1947, along with the dissolution of both Upper and Lower Divisions. Thus the college was separated from the Foundation School. In 1950 the Day Law, which had forced Berea to segregate in 1904, was amended and Berea became the first undergraduate institution to reintegrate, beginning a long process of reclaiming the original intent of Berea's mission. Hutchins increased the number of college faculty from 69 to 136 and enrollment from 860 to 1,460. When Francis Hutchins retired in 1967, Berea embodied his vision of meeting the needs of Appalachian communities. "The core of our curriculum," he noted, "must always be those cultural subjects which will enable us to think, and understand the world in which we live."

The world in which Willis Weatherford would lead Berea in 1967 was inherently complex. Issues surrounding the war in Vietnam and the Civil Rights movement affected Berea as they did other colleges and

universities throughout the United States, yet Berea College and its students responded in ways that seemed uniquely Berean. In an era of remarkable social change, Willis Weatherford put forward the Great Commitments as a guide for curriculum, student life, fund-raising, faculty development, and other aspects of campus life. "No single person," Weatherford observed, "can chart the future of a great institution; this is a corporate task for faculty, staff and trustees, being mindful of student opinion. Furthermore, Berea is such a distinctive institution that the direction of educational policy can be developed only with a complete understanding of its unique combination of purposes." Weatherford reaffirmed Berea's commitment to an education that served a changing Appalachian region, with particular attention to black student recruitment, "to prepare *all* our students for leadership in a democratic society where true equality will become increasingly a political necessity as well as a moral obligation." Echoing William Hutchins's concept of Christian American citizenship, Weatherford asserted that Berea would provide education for leadership, an education that was informed by the breadth of the liberal arts and motivation for service. This educational experience would foster moral and spiritual growth, and Berea would create "an atmosphere within which students may develop in spiritual sensitivity as well as in intellectual acumen." Weatherford's administration affirmed innovative service to the Appalachian region, increased faculty roles on campus, enhanced commitment to the labor program, and focused sensitivity to the college's Christian history.

John B. Stephenson succeeded Weatherford in 1984. A noted Appalachian scholar, Stephenson created a number of programs emblematic of his interests, such as the Brushy Fork Institute for leadership development; the Black Mountain Youth Development Program for serving African American youth in Appalachia; and the New Opportunity School for Women. The creation of these and other programs that reported directly to the president caused concern among some faculty, which led to a tempestuous and at times polarizing relationship between the president and the faculty. The faculty governance structure itself was changed, and the curriculum was also revised in an attempt to provide a more integrated and comprehensive learning experience that was rooted firmly in the values of the Christian faith. The Great Commitments were reaffirmed, with the addition of a commitment to "a democratic community dedicated to education and equality for women and men"; one result was the creation of an Office for Women's Studies. A spiritually sensitive person, an elder in the Presbyterian Church, Stephenson was deeply concerned about how the college articulated its Christian commitment. His wide interest in international issues led to significant support of foreign travel for students and a cooperative agreement with the Dalai Lama for educating Tibetan students living in India and Nepal. Stephenson's legacy at the end of his administration in 1994 was his commitment to the Appalachian region and the college's innovative efforts to remain true to its mission.

In July 1994 Larry D. Shinn became Berea's eighth president. He inherited a college with a strong sense of mission and a healthy endowment, but also a faculty at

odds with administrative leaders and potential probation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS). Shinn activated the Strategic Planning Committee, a component of the earlier revision of campus governance, in part as a response to the SACS findings, but also as a means to adapt the college's mission on the eve of a new century. Shinn's concern was that faculty, staff, and students take ownership of Berea's *whole* mission, not just aspects of it. He cited Dean Louis Smith's observation that Berea must "both be and become," that is, remain faithful to its distinctive claims and heritage, yet adapt to a rapidly changing world. Strategic planning took into account not only the issues and tensions present on campus, but also the issues present in the larger society that might affect the institution, such as the impact of technology on teaching and taking responsibility for coping with environmental problems. Emphasizing the Berea traditions of labor, learning, and service, Shinn supported the development of the Sustainability and Environmental Studies (SENS) program and the Center for Excellence in Learning Through Service (CELTS) as examples of innovation that was faithful to Berea traditions. Studies of campus governance and the college's Christian commitment also reflect Shinn's concern that the whole institution, faculty, staff, and students, take responsibility for the mission of Berea as it evolves in the college's second century.

This book is arranged by presidential administrations in large part because the presidents are the principal bearers of Berea's story. Nevertheless, Berea's enterprise is the result of the work of many people: students, faculty, staff, administrators, trustees, and donors. Through photographs, personal memoirs, and official records, the past speaks to the present day. The saga of Berea College, the mission of work, academic excellence, and selfless service, is the majestic cause that inspired the founders and those of us who claim to be their descendants.

Berea College

An early daguerreotype of John G. Fee. His conversion to the abolitionist cause set him on a collision course with his family, his native state of Kentucky, and the South.

The Witness to Impartial Love

John G. Fee and the Founding of Berea College

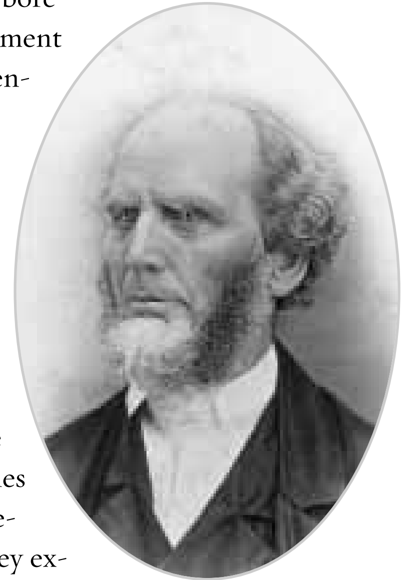
*[Berea] was founded by zealous missionaries before the war,
to meet the wants of the region. Notwithstanding its earnest advocacy of liberty,
and opposition to caste, it grew rapidly in reputation and efficiency.
It became so great a power, that leading men in this section of the State
said that it was endangering slavery and must be suppressed.
Accordingly the Teachers and leading Trustees were driven
from the State. In due time they returned.*

First Catalogue of Berea College

AMERICA in 1855 was a nation awash in excitement. Reformers denounced the evils of liquor and secret societies. Women's rights advocates such as Lucy Stone, Abbie Kelly Foster, and Antoinette Brown Blackwell gained a national hearing. For many reformers, however, slavery was the dominant issue. Amid border skirmishes between proslavery and "Free Soil" militias, the abolitionist John Brown joined his sons and became the leader of an abolitionist group in "Bleeding Kansas." Addressing an antislavery society gathering in New York City, Ralph Waldo Emerson estimated that $200 million was needed to purchase the freedom of every slave in the South. Frederick Douglass published *My Bondage, My Freedom*. In that year John G. Fee, his wife, Matilda, and others opened a school in Kentucky that attracted local attention for good teaching, lively preaching, and abolitionism. The values embodied in the school's constitution bore witness to the tremendous commitment and sacrifice of Berea's founding generation.

Roots

The founding of Berea College was characterized by several influences manifested in various reform efforts in nineteenth-century America. The first of these influences was personified in Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875). Beginning his career as a lawyer, Finney experienced an intense conversion while studying the Mosaic law. He embraced the New School Theology wing of Presbyterianism, which was less strict in interpreting Calvinist doctrines such as election and predestination. His preaching emphasized the mutual cooperation between the work of



Charles Grandison Finney. His revivals not only converted individual souls but also motivated social reform.

the Holy Spirit and the human spirit in conversion. His revival meetings were electrifying, featuring converts falling to their knees in tearful surrender, public prayers by women, and an anxious bench in front of the assembly for those under conviction of sin. These meetings connected conversion and revival to a sense of social reform and concern for others. Finney's linkage between the commonality of sin and the universality of grace demonstrated itself in a type of Christian egalitarianism.[1] John G. Fee was converted to abolitionism while attending Lane Seminary in 1842. Two classmates, John Milton Campbell and James C. White, were instrumental in Fee's reconsideration of slavery. They impressed two Scriptures with particular impact on Fee: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, . . . and your neighbor as yourself" and "Do unto others what you would have them do unto you." Fee was convinced that these principles were critical to his obedience to God. "Lord, if needs be," Fee prayed, "make me an abolitionist." Fee's conversion was total. "The surrender was complete," Fee recalled. "I arose from my knees with the consciousness that I had died to the world and accepted Christ in all the fullness of his character as I then understood Him."[2]

Lane Seminary, founded near Cincinnati in 1829, formed a second influence in the founding of Berea. Students performed manual labor in addition to their studies. New and Old School Presbyterians fought for control of the seminary, but New School views rose under the influence of the radical New York philanthropist Arthur Tappan and Lyman Beecher, the seminary's president. Lane was one of the first schools in America to admit African Americans. Under Beecher's leadership the school espoused a moderate view of the slavery question, encouraging gradual abolition and colonization, a movement that argued for the voluntary resettlement of African Americans in Africa.[3]

Lane's moderate position on slavery was directly challenged by one of Finney's more radical disciples, Theodore Weld. Already an advocate for temperance, manual labor, and education for women, Weld entered Lane as a recent convert to the abolitionist cause. In the spring of 1834 Weld organized an eighteen-day debate that changed the students' stance from gradual to immediate abolition. Students promoted pro-abolition views and began ministries among African Americans in Cincinnati. Fearing mob violence because of their proximity to proslavery sympathizers, the seminary trustees voted to restrain the students from any activity not approved by the faculty. The students rebelled and by 1835, 95 of the 103 students had left the school. Along with Professor John Morgan, who had also been expelled, some 75 of these students proclaimed themselves "Lane rebels."[4]

The rebels found refuge at Oberlin, which had been founded in 1831 by John Jay Shipherd. The school's ideals followed the ministerial example of the missionary John Frederick Oberlin (1740–1826). Working among the poor of the Vosges Mountains in France, Reverend Oberlin preached a gospel that featured a combination of fervent German Lutheran pietism and the social and educational theories of the French Enlightenment. John Oberlin was the first to train and employ women as teachers, and his campaign of social uplift led many

Oberlin College campus, 1860. Many of Berea's founders and early teachers were associated with Oberlin. All but three of Berea's presidents have been students or teachers at Oberlin.

mountain people out of ignorance and poverty. For his own part, Shipherd imagined clearing the Ohio wilderness for a communal settlement and manual labor institute. A women's department and seminary would be added as the school developed.[5]

The arrival of the Lane rebels transformed the emerging Oberlin school and colony. Shipherd visited the displaced Lane seminarians and, aided by donations from Arthur and Lewis Tappan, invited the exiles to Oberlin. Asa Mahan, a Cincinnati pastor who had supported the rebels, was named the school's first president. Finney was called as professor of theology, and Professor Morgan also joined the faculty. At Oberlin free speech was unconditionally guaranteed on all reform issues, and African American students were soon admitted. Oberlin was also the first coeducational college in the United States. The manual labor program helped students and the institute meet educational costs. In 1858 the school was formally designated as Oberlin College. Central to all Oberlin's early innovations was Finney's perfectionist theology of the conversion of sinners and Christian sanctification.[6]

The American Missionary Association also profoundly influenced Berea's beginnings. Formed in 1846 from four separate missionary societies, the AMA concentrated on home missions, work among Native Americans, missionary activities among blacks in the West Indies, and African missions. The Tappans were the principal philanthropists behind the AMA, and the association's first president was Joseph H. Payne, a Lane rebel and Oberlinite. George Whipple, principal and professor at Oberlin, was perhaps the association's most influential member, serving as both corresponding secretary and editor of its publication, the *American Missionary*. The AMA was distinctly abolitionist in character. Mission-

Otis Waters. Along with George Candee and William E. Lincoln, Waters was an Oberlin graduate. He taught schools in Berea and in neighboring Rockcastle County. His innovative methods let him use the short school terms to full advantage.

aries committed to their antislavery work were exhorted to "talk it, preach it, pray it, vote it."[7]

Until 1860 more than nine-tenths of all missionaries sent out by the association were Oberlin graduates. Three of Berea's earliest teachers (Otis Waters, George Candee, and William E. Lincoln) were Oberlin graduates and funded by the AMA. Berea College's founders, John G. Fee and J. A. R. Rogers, were supported in their rural pastorates by the AMA. The AMA would also hold funds in trust for the college as it reemerged after the Civil War.[8]

Berea's founders and ideals were rooted in the work of Finney, Lane Seminary, Oberlin College, and the American Missionary Association. Fee and Rogers embraced Oberlin's values of interracial coeducation, free speech, manual labor, and Christian perfectionism. All these grand ideas had found success in the relative safety of the North. Fee's great adventure now was to put these values into practice in the midst of slavery in his home state of Kentucky.

A Southern Abolitionist

Located in the middle of a sparsely inhabited wilderness, the fledgling school opened in 1855 in a one-room clapboard building, the old district schoolhouse. Berea enjoyed a good reputation, even among local slaveholders. This view continued despite the antislavery views held by Waters, Lincoln, and other northern men who taught in the school. Many people in Madison County were less sure of the school's founder, John G. Fee, however. Born September 9, 1816, in Bracken County, Kentucky, Fee attended Lane Seminary to prepare for the ministry and returned home convinced of the evil of slavery. He parted with the Presbyterian Church, in which he had been ordained, because that denomination was not sufficiently opposed to slavery. Unable to convince his family of his views, Fee was eventually disowned and disinherited by his slaveholding father for his abolitionist stance.[9]

Lacking support from a denomination or his family, Fee nevertheless enjoyed the devotion of his wife, Matilda Hamilton Fee. Zealous in support of Fee's cause, she was described by the abolitionist William Goodell as being as thoroughly abolitionist as her husband.[10] In 1844 Fee founded an antislavery church in the mountains of Lewis County and received financial support from the American Missionary Association. In addition, he pastored a number of "free" churches in rural Ohio River counties. He attended and participated in antislavery meetings in northern cities, where he was a popular speaker. Fee gained some reputation in the North as the author of abolitionist pamphlets and of a notable book, *An Anti-Slavery Manual,* published in 1848.

Fee also found a key source of support in the South. Cassius Clay, a prominent Madison County landholder, politician, and antislavery advocate, found in Fee an ally for free speech and a potential means of expanding his own influence in the mountains of eastern Kentucky, "where there were but few slaves and the people courageous." Clay had been converted to the antislavery cause in 1832 when, as a student at Yale University, he was deeply impressed by a sermon given by William Lloyd Garrison. Returning to Kentucky, Clay established an antislavery

newspaper, the *True American*, in 1845. Several of Fee's antislavery articles were published in the pages of Clay's newspaper. Clay had freed his own slaves by 1844, and his open opposition to the "peculiar institution" aroused bitter hostility and violence. Whereas Fee went about his circuit unarmed, Clay was physically prepared to defend his ideas, having a pistol and a bowie knife close at hand.[11]

Clay requested a boxful of Fee's *Manual* in 1853 for distribution in Madison County and later that year invited Fee to hold a series of religious meetings in an area of bottomland called the Glade, north of the Berea ridge. At the end of these meetings thirteen people formed themselves into a free and nondenominational church, inviting Fee in 1854 to become their pastor. Clay promised a ten-acre homestead, money toward a house, and additional land for a church and a school. With the approval of the AMA, Fee moved his small family and their belongings to Madison County in the fall of 1854. He named the place Berea after a town mentioned in Acts 17:11, a community in Thessalonica where Paul and Silas preached. These apostles found people who "were noble . . . and received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so."[12]

John G. and Matilda Fee. "This I found in her," Fee wrote of Matilda, "that affection, frugality and endurance, which few could have combined, and which greatly sustained me in the dark and trying hours that attended most of our pathway."

Cassius M. Clay. His early support of Fee would, in later years, cause Clay to claim that he was the true founder of Berea College.

Imagining a School

Not long after his arrival in the fall of 1854, Fee and George Candee, an Oberlin student who was assisting Fee's preaching efforts, were chopping wood near the new

Ruin of the Glade Church. From this place, John G. Fee preached his gospel of impartial love. This gospel built not only a religious community, but a school that threatened to turn society upside down.

homestead. As they worked, the two men "talked up the idea of a more extended school—a college."[13] This school would "educate not merely in a knowledge of the sciences, so called, but also in the principles of love in religion, and liberty and justice in government."[14] Learning, informed by the gospel, would make the nascent Berea College a school for reform.

Fee recognized the link between preaching and teaching, but he saw his primary mission in building churches rather than schools. "The Church of Christ, Union" was another preaching point for Fee on the long ridge that rose above the Glade, and it was here that people gathered to hear Fee's abolitionist gospel. "There was no purpose," Fee recalled of his church planting, "but in the midst of many privations and persecutions to preach and *apply* a gospel of *impartial love*, to preach Christ Jesus our Lord as a Saviour from all sin."[15] As new families began to settle in the area in response to the growth of the Glade church, however, the school Fee opened in 1855 became increasingly popular. In spite of increasing violence against Fee, who was repeatedly pulled from his pulpit and threatened with lynching, the founders remained undeterred in their purpose. Fee later observed that the middle-aged and the old would not willingly receive his impartial gospel. He believed instead that his message would find a hearing in the hearts and minds of young people whose "sensibilities had not been hardened by long-continued crime," the crime of slavery.[16]

As early as 1855 Clay and Fee had agreed that the school might be enlarged into a college. That fall Fee started to cultivate northern support. He declared in the *American Missionary* the need for an institution that "would be to Kentucky what Oberlin was to Ohio, antislavery, anti-caste, anti-rum, anti-

sin."[17] Writing to Gerrit Smith in 1856, Fee reported that he and others had "for months been talking about starting an academy, and eventually look to a college—giving an education to all colors, classes, cheap and thorough."[18] Talk moved closer to action in the spring of 1858, when John Almanza Rowley Rogers and his wife, Elizabeth, arrived. J. A. R. Rogers left a comfortable pastorate in Illinois to come to Kentucky with the idea of founding what he described as a "higher school." Rogers was extensively educated, a graduate of Oberlin College and Oberlin Seminary, and he had enjoyed success as both a teacher and a minister in Illinois, New York, Ohio, and Kentucky before coming to Berea. Under the influence of J. A. R. and Elizabeth Rogers, the school grew in popularity. Parents were invited to performances by the students each Friday afternoon, and in June 1858 the school gave a closing exhibition consisting of recitations, orations, dialogues, and songs. The little school was not yet a college, but the elements of one were beginning to appear.[19]

Steps toward creating an organizational framework were taken that fall. Fee invited some of his colleagues and neighbors to his study. There were nine men in all: Fee, Rogers, and Fee's cousin John Hanson, who ran a busy sawmill; three ministers—George Candee, Jacob Emerick, and J. S. Davis; and three local farmers—William Stapp, John

An early gallery of founders and presidents. From the beginning, Berea presidents such as Henry Fairchild and William G. Frost sought to identify themselves with the vision of Fee and Rogers.

Smith, and T. J. Renfro. Starting in September 1858, these men met regularly to discuss, debate, and draft the first constitution of the college. According to Rogers, the principal author, the committee considered three topics: Is there a demand for a college in this region? Are we the men called by God to carry it forward? Is it to be wholly for God, and not for our own glory? Their final draft, adopted after a three-day meeting in July 1859, articulated the fundamental characteristics of the school Berea should be. The constitution's summary of such practical matters as electing trustees, organizing an administration, and hiring a faculty is somewhat typical of other schools of the era. The characteristics that made Berea such a radical idea, however, are found in the preamble and in the bylaws. It is in these lines from Berea's first constitution that we find the opening text of Berea's saga.[20]

John G. Fee's study as sketched in 1878. The debates that resulted in Berea's first constitution were held here. The books on the shelves reflected Fee's particular interests in abolitionism, the Bible, and Christian baptism.

The charter begins, "In order to promote the cause of Christ." Fee and the other founders of Berea College were thoroughly biblical and evangelical. In contrast to most prevailing interpretations, the founding generation of Berea viewed the cause of Christ as an egalitarianism informed by such biblical references as Luke 10:25–37, "You shall love the Lord your God"; Acts 10:34, "God is no respector of persons"; and what became the college motto, "God has made of one blood all peoples of the earth" (Acts 17:17). The founders' evangelicalism ardently emphasized conversion by the Holy Spirit, receiving God's power to become holy, even as God is holy. This conversion would give a "new heart" to the believer, a heart motivated not by self-interest but by joyful service to God. Fee and Rogers argued that the believer should seek holiness, a sanctification of life that resulted in a perfect, sinless life. Given humanity's fallible nature, this quest might seem doomed, yet the founders saw the goal of holy perfection as a work of God's enabling grace.[21] Trust in God was the dominating feature of the school, according to J. A. R. Rogers. This trust, he noted, "was far from being perfect" but "it was genuine."[22] For Berea's founders, the "cause of Christ" was nothing less than the conversion of every person touched by Berea, and this conversion would lay the foundation for an ideal

society made up of Christians living together in love.

One institution for serving the cause was the college, which, in the words of the first bylaw, would "furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character, and at the least possible expense to the same. To promote this end all the facilities and inducements for manual labor . . . shall be offered to its students." This thorough education included Latin and Greek, physics, chemistry, astronomy, geography, history, literature, and rhetoric. As was true at Oberlin, music was an early feature of the curriculum. Elizabeth Rogers taught the students to sing. "Those songs," she wrote, "set the countryside afire."[23] Beyond the academics, there was also time for play. John Hanson sternly advocated physical education and lamented the colleges "who send out strong minds and strong purposes in weak bodies." He urged a program that balanced "good physical development" with "good mental development."[24] J. A. R. Rogers recalled that students and teachers alike joyfully entered into improvised sports under the sheltering trees.[25]

Study and play were balanced with work. During respites between studies students were employed clearing away the brush from around the school for creation of a playground and walking paths. "Those who had not yet begun to dig among Greek roots," Rogers observed, "dug away at those of the oak stumps."[26] Given that many students or their families could not afford even a modest subscription for the support of the school or its teachers, manual labor provided a means to that end. Labor was not merely a way to earn an education, however.

The first schoolhouse, built in 1855. Berea's early teachers delivered a thorough education, and Elizabeth Rogers taught the children to sing.

The founders saw work as healthful and as promoting values of independence, industry, and innovation. Work also blurred distinctions of class. Study, work, and leisure educated the whole person. Berea was designed to "discipline minds," Fee noted, "not merely to make students acquainted with science but also to educate their hearts and develop their consciences."[27]

The type of student Fee, Rogers, and the others desired was also distinctive. The language of the constitution was deliberate; all persons meant that *anyone,* regardless of color or gender, was welcome. Character was the measure for admission to the college. Although many abolitionists were uncomfortable with the idea of social equality between whites and African Americans, or even separated the issue of slavery from the issue of racism, Fee's commitment to a doctrine of impartial love demanded an egalitarianism that placed blacks and whites on equal terms.[28] "This course was taken," J. A. R. Rogers noted, "although it was known that it would be contrary to the prejudices of many, because it was right." Welcoming all persons, according to Rogers, followed Christ's holy example of associating with outcasts. Berea was "established especially to help the needy," Rogers wrote, and to exclude anyone who was modest and faithful was simply wrong.[29]

Matilda Hamilton Fee's commitment to abolitionism was equal to her husband's. She personally saved John Fee from would-be lynch mobs, and took in African American boarders when the school reopened in 1866. Her life was characterized by prayer and service to others. Matilda Fee also served as head of the Ladies' Board of Care, which supervised the lives of women students.

The founders' commitment to an educational egalitarianism was not limited to race. Heirs of Oberlin's legacy as the first coeducational college, the founders were clear in their commitment to provide education for women. Their reasoning that Christianity elevated everyone did not lead immediately to equality in education. The "Ladies' Course" was available only to women students; it provided three years of the classical curriculum but excluded Greek and prepared women to be wives, mothers, teachers, and interesting companions for future spouses. These educated women would, as the first teachers of their children, ultimately elevate humanity. "The tendency of Christianity," Fee wrote in 1869, "the true civilization, is to elevate [woman], to make her man's intellectual, social and moral equal—as God designed her."[30] In the years following the Civil War, Fee and Berea's first president, E. Henry Fairchild, would articulate powerful reasons why women should be educated on an equal basis with men, but the millennial day of equal roles in society envisaged by many reformers outside Berea would have to wait. Nevertheless, the fact that Berea would cheerfully welcome students regardless of race or gender was remarkable indeed, and as the founders saw it, "right."

The thorough, egalitarian education Berea offered was designed to take place in a particular environment. The constitution's second bylaw made clear that Berea "shall be under an influence strictly Christian, and as such, opposed to Sectarianism, Slaveholding, Caste, and every other wrong institution or practice." The Christianity the founders advanced was based on the two Great Commandments, the Golden Rule and Acts 10:34, "God is no respector of persons." Fee and the others were already clear in their opposition to slavery, but by opposing caste the founders showed their commitment to interracial education. It was not enough, Fee maintained, only to oppose slavery or to extend liberty to African

Americans. The equality of all persons, he argued, "is the great incentive to noble and virtuous conduct."[31] The sins of slavery and caste not only denied the will of God, but impeded the natural and inalienable rights granted by God to all humanity. This assertion of equality was for Fee rooted in both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. "The incorporation of the principle of impartial conduct to all, in institutions for the public good," Fee declared, "was to the founders of Berea College, the only course at once Christian, patriotic, and philanthropic."[32]

Sectarianism, not coeducation or interracial education, was the principal threat the founders saw to Christian union. In this regard Fee and the others meant not a single church organization, but a visible unity of purpose among Christians in advancing the mission of the church. Fee argued that "wrong" institutions and practices existed because members of different religious groups did not speak out against these sins for fear of disturbing their own denominations. "With the semblance of piety they would say, 'Peace is best,'" Fee complained, "and thus smother the truth."[33] The founders made clear that no sectarian test would be applied to trustees, presidents,

First Fee home. The Fee home not only housed John G. and Matilda Fee and their children, but it also served as a meeting place for trustees and faculty. Angus Burleigh and other African American students boarded here, too.

This list of Berea exiles has been attributed to Cassius Clay. The Fees, Rogerses, and Hansons are at the head of the list. Many of the exiles settled in southern Ohio.

professors, or teachers, only that candidates be competent to fulfill their responsibilities and have Christian experience and practice. To be antisectarian was to "oppose everything that causes schism in the body of Christ, or among those who are Christians."[34] The college, under this strict but egalitarian Christian influence, would strive to be a model of Christian education that embraced impartial love as its watchword.

Exile and Return

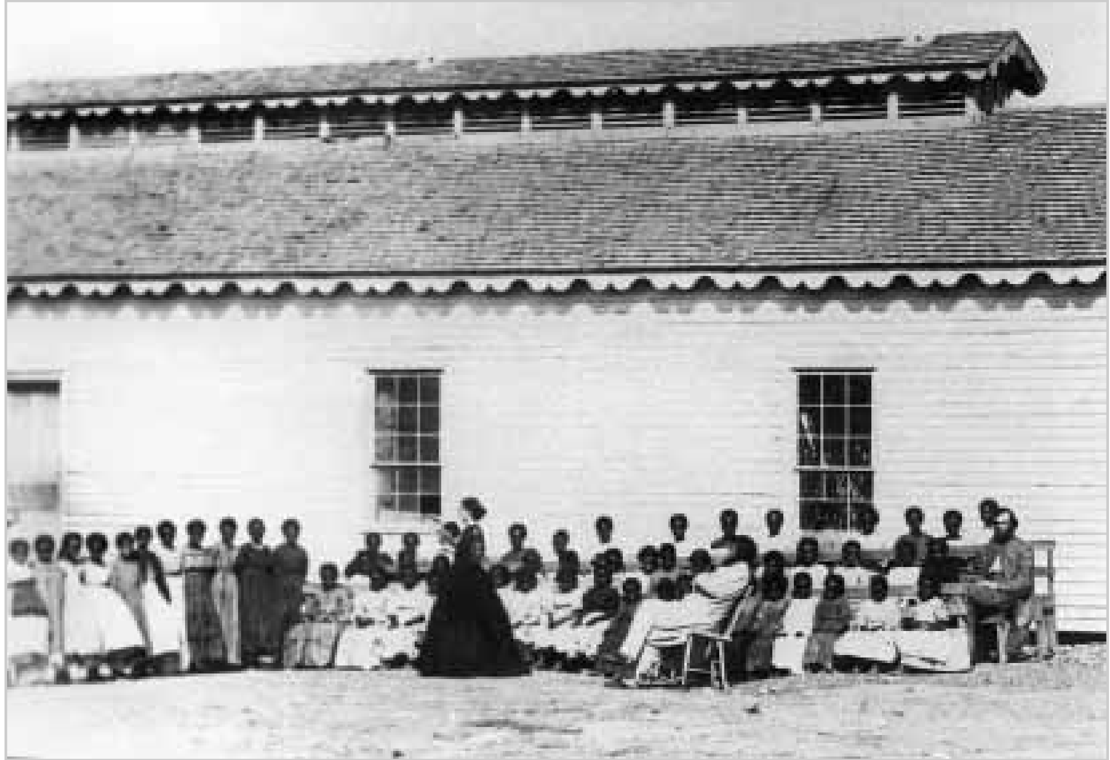
The proposed college constitution was duly adopted in July 1859. Lacking the ten members required by Kentucky law, however, the college was not yet legally incorporated. Nevertheless, the Prudential Committee, consisting of Fee, Rogers, John Hanson, and T. J. Renfro, was appointed to assume the personal responsibility of raising money, purchasing land, and financing buildings for the fledgling college. Fee went to Worcester, Massachusetts, to attend an AMA meeting and in November 1859 was invited to speak in Henry Ward Beecher's church in Brooklyn, New York. John Brown's raid on the Harper's Ferry arsenal in October had created an atmosphere of "intense excitement" that exacerbated every slaveholder's nightmare of an armed slave rebellion. In addressing the members of Beecher's Plymouth Church, Fee declared, "We want more John Browns; not in manner of action, but in spirit of consecration; not to go with carnal weapons, but with spiritual; men who, with Bibles in their hands, and tears in their eyes, will beseech men to be reconciled to God. Give us such men, and we may yet save the South."[35] Though this speech was accurately reported in the *New York Tribune*, the *Louisville Courier* account said only, "John G. Fee is in Beecher's church, calling for more John Browns."[36] Alarmed slaveholders in Richmond, Kentucky, the county seat of Madison County, assembled a vigilance committee of sixty-five men who called on the homes of J. A. R. Rogers and others in the Berea village, demanding that they leave within ten days. When appeals to Governor Beriah Magoffin failed, many of the Berea supporters and their families left the state.

Hurrying from New York, Fee met his own family, the Rogerses, and others in Cincinnati. As the United States moved to the brink of civil war, Fee, Rogers, and their families settled temporarily in Ohio.[37]

Despite tremendous personal peril, Fee and Rogers visited Berea on several occasions early in the war. By the spring of 1864 Fee had returned to his home on the Berea ridge. He spent much of his time during the war working about thirty-five miles away in Jessamine County at Camp Nelson, teaching and preaching among the African American soldiers stationed there. The military base had also become a refugee center for escaped slaves and their families fleeing from the war. These people lived in desperately miserable conditions, without adequate food or shelter. Some four thousand ex-slaves were at Camp Nelson and their potential excited Fee. "If there be a class of men in this nation which promises great good to this nation," he wrote, "in that class will be found these Kentucky colored soldiers."[38] Fee secured teachers for the soldiers, and enlisted aid for their families amid bureaucratic difficulties and hateful prejudice. He tested his own ideas of social equality by inviting Belle Mitchell, an African American teacher, to sit with him at dinner. Fee observed that the presence of the young lady at one of the tables in the common dining hall produced a "sensation."[39] White officers and white missionaries from the AMA either protested or left the hall. Asked to remove Mitchell from the building, Fee replied, "The young woman is fitted for her position; she is modest and discreet; she is a Christian, and as such, Christ's representative. What I do to her, I do to him."[40] But the experience proved bitterly disappointing for Fee. Increasingly isolated at Camp Nelson, he turned his hopes to the Berea school, which reopened in the fall of 1865. For Fee the legacy of Camp Nelson was twofold. First, ever the visionary, he resented the conservative ways of the camp's administration, noting with sadness the willingness of powerful whites to keep the newly freed blacks in an attitude of servitude. More hopefully, however, he saw the eagerness and determination of African Americans to learn and to work for an equal place in American life in the present moment, not at some distant future date. As the Civil War came to an end, Fee returned to the Berea ridge, determined to demonstrate the practicality of the founding ideal.[41]

Defenders of the Truth

In January 1866 the school opened as the Berea Literary Institute. New trustees were elected and the college was officially chartered with the filing of the constitutional articles in Richmond on April 5, 1866.[42] This allowed the Prudential Committee, on behalf of the board, to acquire a large tract of land owned by John G. Woolwine and to begin adding buildings to accommodate the expanding school. J. A. R. and Elizabeth Rogers resumed their teaching duties, assisted by W. W. Wheeler and his wife, Ellen, who had worked with Fee at Camp Nelson. The school was divided into two departments: the Primary Department, providing elementary education for children, and the Academic Department, offering secondary education to young people and adults. The most remarkable event took place in March, when the first African American students



American Missionary Association teachers with black students at Camp Nelson. Despite sincere efforts to educate African Americans, Fee was keenly disappointed at the lingering racial prejudice among his white coworkers.

were admitted to the school. On March 5, 1866, J. A. R. Rogers addressed the school, announcing that "from this hour the school was open to all."[43] According to Rogers, there was no little excitement when four black students entered the school the following day. "From the front window [of the boarding hall]," remembered Ellen Wheeler, "Mrs. Rogers and I watched the little black children enter on that memorable day, and watched until we saw the flight of the white boys and girls."[44] W. W. Wheeler noted in his annual report that attendance for the term had been low "on account of absence of 27 members who unceremoniously and in a disgraceful manner left the school at the end of two months on account of the presence of colored children who had been admitted to equal privileges with others."[45]

Nevertheless, the school continued into its next term (April 1866) and enrolled several black soldiers recently mustered out from the Union army. Among them was the remarkable Angus Burleigh, whom Fee had recruited at Camp Nelson. Born aboard ship on the Atlantic Ocean, Burleigh was the son of an English sea captain and a slave. He learned to read and, escaping from slavery, joined the Union army at the age of sixteen and enlisted at Camp Nelson. Burleigh recalled Fee's commitment to interracial education in his memoirs. Responding to Fee's inquiry as to his plans after the war, Burleigh replied that he might seek an education in Massachusetts. Burleigh vividly remembered Fee's persuasive declaration. "That is what I am here for," Fee said, "seeking young men and women to go to Berea and get an education. Also we are making arrangements so that every one will have an opportunity to work his way. You can be useful here in Ken-

Angus Burleigh. When this photograph was taken in 1931, Burleigh was Berea's oldest living graduate. Burleigh was among a group of soldiers recruited by Fee at Camp Nelson to attend Berea at the end of the Civil War. Graduating in 1875, Burleigh was a minister and lifelong witness to Berea's interracial mission.

tucky."[46] Though welcomed by Fee and the other teachers, Burleigh's presence caused another exodus of white students.

Still, the experiment was taking hold, not only in the school but in the emerging village as well. Fee, many of the resident trustees, and other local white supporters sold land to black settlers who were arriving in significant numbers. These new settlers, mostly from Camp Nelson, hoped to obtain schooling for their children. It followed in the minds of the founders that if black and white students could study side by side in the classroom, then their parents and extended families could live side by side as well. By 1870 some forty to fifty African American families had bought land in and around the village of Berea, their lots and parcels interspersed with those of whites. This remarkable policy of land purchase and ownership created nothing less than a fully interracial community.[47] "We shall form a *society,*" Fee declared, "radically different from the proud cast[e] feeling, sectarian society so general in the south."[48] In Fee's mind, Berea was a union of church, school, and community built upon the "practical recognition of the brotherhood of man." Such communities, Fee argued, would be a regenerating force in every country made up of true men and women.[49]

The school prospered under Rogers's principalship from 1866 to 1869. In 1866–67, the first full school year, 187 students attended: 91 were white, 96 were African American. This nearly equal racial ratio would continue well into the 1880s. As the students increased in number, so did the buildings, most of them constructed from lumber produced by John Hanson's sawmill. If the early classroom buildings were plain and simple in appearance, the complexities of academic and social life contained within their wooden walls amazed outsiders.[50] Through all the difficulties of this early period Rogers noted with satisfaction that "the delights of accomplishment and increased knowledge filled all with enthusiasm and hope."[51]

Linking Together Many Devoted Lives

When the college was officially chartered in April 1866, new trustees had to be elected to fill vacancies that had occurred during the war. Only four of the original constitutional signers remained—Fee, who served as

A view of Berea's early classroom buildings. As the number of students and courses grew, so did the number of these "box" structures erected with lumber from John Hanson's sawmill.

president of the board, Rogers, John Hanson, and Elisha Harrison. To these were added Morgan Burdette, A. J. Henderson, W. W. Wheeler, William N. Embree, A. J. Hanson, and John Preston. Two of Fee's Camp Nelson associates, the Reverend Abisha Scofield and the Reverend Gabriel Burdette, also joined the new board. Gabriel Burdette was Berea's first black trustee and served Berea until 1868. Morgan Burdette, Henderson, Preston, and Harrison were from the Appalachian region and local men. A. J. Hanson was John Hanson's brother, and both men were Fee's cousins. William Embree was Elizabeth Rogers's brother and Fee's son-in-law, Embree having married Laura Fee. Wheeler had been Fee's friend and coworker at Camp Nelson. Though Henderson and Preston served only briefly, the makeup of the board was significant because the trustees included northern and southern reformers, mountaineers, and African Americans, thus representing the reforming roots of the college and the principal constituencies who needed Berea.[52] Nearly all the trustees resided in Berea, a tangible indication of their commitment to the cause of the school.

The obvious source for teachers was Oberlin, and that school provided a number of instructors over the years to Berea. Of the fifteen early teachers Rogers names in his memoirs, at least ten were Oberlin-

The first chapel. Rogers lamented the chapel's undistinguished architecture, but this building bore witness to the spiritual center of the college's early work.

educated. Nine of the fifteen teachers were women, and at least five of these had attended Oberlin. Henry Clark, who came to Berea in 1868, was made professor of Latin, while Rogers was named professor of Greek.[53] The obvious connection between Berea's and Oberlin's theological and educational foundations made Berea an understandable outlet for the reformist thinking produced at Oberlin, and thus a natural choice for advancing early teaching and preaching careers. Furthermore, the presence of Rogers, Fee, Hanson, and others among the faculty ensured that the original intentions of the school would be advanced by the teachers. Besides qualifying in their ability to teach, Berea teachers had to demonstrate a proper Christian example to their students.

The presence of Union Church invigorated Berea's Christian commitment. The congregation met in the college chapel, and members, students, and faculty alike regarded Fee as their pastor. Students and community residents were enrolled in Sunday School classes taught by teachers and professors. In addition to his pastoral duties, Fee taught Christian Evidences at the college. Like the college and the town, Union Church was integrated. In these early days school, church, and community were all one. Students in all academic departments attended religious exercises each morning in addition to weekly religious lectures and

Bible study. From time to time revival meetings were also held on campus. "If there is any place," Henry Fairchild later observed, "where a life of energy, purity, meekness, love, faith and patience will redound to the glory of God, it is here."[54]

The curriculum at Berea reflected a close relationship between the school's commitments and the perceived needs of the college's constituencies. By 1869 there were five academic departments: the Primary and Intermediate Departments for the basics in reading, writing, and arithmetic; the Preparatory Department for advanced work, including Greek, Latin, mathematics, and science as well as courses in philosophy, history, and English; the Normal Department for preparing teachers; and the Ladies' Department, which included courses in English, Latin, French, algebra, logic, and philosophy. All departments were described as "thorough," but it was also clear that the academic emphasis was upon elementary education. This curriculum, however, was not that found in a seminary but was designed to meet the very real need for basic literacy among both African Americans and white mountaineers whose education had been either neglected or denied altogether.[55]

The varied curriculum had immediate applications. The founders quickly recognized the immense need for teachers among the freed blacks and mountaineers. Funding for public schools for blacks was minuscule. Mountain schools were notoriously episodic in their schedules and were frequently understaffed. Fee sought AMA support for the hiring and funding of black teachers in the belief that the example of African American teachers would dispel the spirit of caste.[56] Many Berea students taught school as a means of earning money for their own studies; they spent years in and out of school and in some cases never completed their degrees. The need for teachers was so great that they did what they could with what they had gained from Berea. "Not the least of the blessings of the school," Rogers noted, "have been the result of the work of the students while at Berea and when they went to their homes and elsewhere to teach and impart that knowledge and culture which they themselves had obtained."[57]

Obtaining financial support for providing these services to the region required considerable effort. Fee and Rogers wrote letters to individuals, produced items for newspapers, and occasionally, "when driven . . . by necessity, went to such persons as they believed would be glad to help in this work."[58] Much of the funding and promotional support came through the American Missionary Association, which paid the salaries of several Berea workers and published the letters and reports of Fee, Rogers, and others in the pages of the *American Missionary*. Abolitionist and antislavery luminaries such as the Union general Oliver Otis Howard, Horace Bushnell, George Candee, and Henry Ward Beecher also lent their names to the Berea enterprise. Of some 366 endowment subscribers listed before 1869, 354 were from New England and the northern Midwest.[59] Support from Kentuckians and other southerners was slight; Fairchild recalled that one South Carolina newspaper editor visited the campus and gave a flattering assessment of the school but dismissed the work of interracial education as "the work of Northern spite."[60] In defiance of such disdain and occasional predictions of disaster, Berea's experiment was working

Graduation arbor. Commencement audiences sheltered here to listen to student speeches and recitations as well as prominent speakers.

successfully. On a daily basis black and white students sat on the same school benches, studied the same textbooks, and ate meals together. "We have been meditating over that question year after year, how that thing was to be done," noted one northern minister, "and these men [at Berea] have gone and done it."[61]

The funding that was available was used to acquire land and to erect buildings, but Berea's teachers made numerous sacrifices in pursuing their work. The modest tuition charged in these early days was just as often paid in goods as in currency: a cow, baskets of eggs, weavings and needlework. Fee, Rogers, their families, and those of the other teachers were nevertheless undaunted by their financial condition and made the most of their situation. Rogers rejoiced in his personal library and in his numerous comforts. A local man visiting his home asked Rogers if he kept a bookstore. When Rogers said that all the books were his, the visitor observed, "I reckon it's a mighty lot of trouble to have to read all them books." This remark convinced Rogers that wealth and comfort were in the eye of the beholder.[62] For years to come Berea, its teachers, and its students would have to rely on the investment and goodwill of northern religious and radical reformers. Berea's experiment was attracting wide attention in northern philanthropic circles, but whether that attention would provide sustaining financial support for the long term was another matter.

Attendance at the college slowly increased, as did the organizing structures. In 1867–68 the student body grew to 307, a third of whom were white. Naturally, outsiders wondered with some alarm as to how such a "mixed" school would function. The

LITERARY & MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT!

The Anniversary Exercises of Berea Literary Institute will be held at Berea July 4th, commencing promptly at 10 o'clock A. M. The exercises of the morning will consist of Orations, Essays, &c., by the students, interspersed with Vocal and Instrumental Music.

In the afternoon, Chaplain Noble, of Louisville, W. C. Rogers, Esq., of Burkesville, Rev. E. M. Cravath, of Cincinnati, and Gen. Brisbin, of the U. S. A., have consented to address the students and citizens.

The Exercises will be held in a Bower, prepared for the occasion, near the school buildings.

During the recess at noon there will be a Basket Dinner.

W. W. WHEELER,
Chm'n of Com. of Arrangements.
Berea, June 27, 1867.

Register Print—Richmond, Ky.

Berea Commencement announcement. These exercises were a testimony to the school's commitment to a thorough education as well as tangible proof that the Berea experiment was viable.

first school catalogue (1867) promised that the institution would "be a nursery for Christ" and required students to bring recommendations with them certifying their good moral character.[63] The *Laws and Regulations of Berea College* asserted that the rules had not been "hastily or arbitrarily made" but were adopted on the basis of experience and to promote the students' best interests. Profanity, vulgar language, drinking, card playing, and other activities "calculated to injure the morals of the students" were strongly prohibited.[64] Social relations between men and women were strictly regulated, with prescribed calling hours and closely monitored activities. Students were expected to provide their own books, lights, fuel, furniture, and bedding when housed in campus buildings. Many students boarded with families in town.[65] The small campus population combined with the isolation of the town created a remarkable sense of shared community, with free interactions between students and teachers at picnics and at social gatherings in the homes of teachers and staff.

It is difficult to find student reactions to these rules and regulations, or more general commentary on campus life, from before 1869. There are some clues, however, in social organizations and gatherings on campus. The Men's Literary Society (which also included women among its nondebating membership) was integrated, and debate teams were evenly organized to include black and white members working together. Reform interests naturally informed the topics, which ranged from temperance to social equality. It was not unusual to see African Americans elected to positions of leadership by their white fellows or establish lifelong friendships across racial boundaries.[66] Melissa Ballard, an African American student who attended Berea in the late 1860s and early 1870s, recalled that both blacks and whites attended the county fair and commencement and all seemed to enjoy themselves.[67] Colonel Benjamin P. Runkle, an assistant commissioner for the

John Hanson's sawmill provided lumber for Berea's early classroom buildings and employment for students. An earlier sawmill was burned by a mob shortly after Hanson was exiled with the other founders in the winter of 1859.

Freedmen's Bureau in Kentucky, observed a chapel service that he described as "one of the most singular sights I ever witnessed . . . all shades and colors and conditions and all intent on one object, to escape from the bonds of ignorance." The students generally were poor, lived upon very little, and worked to meet their expenses. In the dining hall Runkle noticed two white boys who were waiting tables containing both black and white students. "And this they did cheerfully for six cents an hour to get money to pay their board."[68] These observations by Ballard and Runkle seem to affirm that students were taking Fee's vision as their own, and that their learning surpassed anything written in books. "Our school is a success—This is what many, North & South, did not expect," Fee wrote in the *American Missionary* in December 1866. "Many colored people have been afraid to come lest they too would be overwhelmed in the threatened ruin—so with many white families. When these shall see that other white children can be educated along with colored children and yet be intelligent, refined & efficient, then they will bring in their children."[69] Respectability in the South, according to Fee, would no

The boarding hall. From here, Ellen Wheeler and Elizabeth Rogers watched the flight of the white students from the schoolhouse when Berea was integrated in March 1866.

longer result from owning land and slaves, but from character and learning.

Fund-raising by Fee and the other founders promoted the college's mission of interracial education above all else. Publicity literature declared that the school was greatly needed for blacks who were "studying the sciences, fitting themselves for teaching, the work of the ministry, and other posts of usefulness."[70] Neglected by the wealthy plantation class, white mountaineers were notable for their devotion to the Union during the Civil War. "Having periled their lives for the Union, the least their grateful countrymen can do, is to give them those Christian Seminaries necessary to the full development of their manhood."[71]

Berea's sense of its history before the Civil War reinforced the commitments embodied in the school's constitution. Here was an institution of God's planting with local origins, standing for liberty for all persons, determined to be "emphatically" Christian in character, a transforming power in the South and the nation. "The untold amount of money and blood that has been expended for the preservation of the Union," the college proclaimed, "will not be allowed to be almost in vain, for the want of those Christian schools at the South necessary to cement the Union and make us all one homogeneous, happy people."[72]

John and Matilda Fee, J. A. R. and Elizabeth Rogers, John Hanson, and others from

the earliest days were still a forceful presence on the Berea campus in 1869. Having endured persecution and sacrifice for the sake of their gospel of impartial love, the founders and their families in many respects formed the first cadre of teachers and administrators, besides supplying a number of students from among their own children. Despite local resistance, the founders were successful in converting and encouraging nearby individuals and families to join in a Christian, evangelical, and egalitarian community. The college's constitution embodied the commitment of the founders to welcome all persons to the school on the basis of good moral character; to provide a thorough education balanced by work; to maintain a strictly Christian influence opposed to slaveholding, caste, and sectarianism; and to employ teachers and administrators who were agreeable to the college's fundamental principles.

This coherent view of Christian education was based upon the founders' commitment to glorify God and serve the world. As the theologian Dale Brown observed, "For the founders, however, allegiance to a higher law meant that the best way to serve the world may be to sometimes oppose the world."[73] Berea College from the start was intended to be different, at times radically so, from other colleges and to champion the cause of the poor, the disenfranchised, and the outsider.

John G. Fee. Undaunted by mobs in his opposition to slavery before the Civil War, Fee remained determined to establish civil and social equality for all now that Berea's experiment had begun.

Edward Henry Fairchild. The distinguished Oberlin graduate knew firsthand many of the obstacles to interracial education. His own abolitionist views made him the logical candidate to be Berea's first president.

TWO

Forecasting the Millennium

Edward Henry Fairchild, 1869–1889

'Tis well, for a people, not only to retrospect the past,
but having faith in the rectitude & stability of their institutions,
lay plans also for the future.

JOHN G. FEE, July 4, 1876

THE administration of Berea's first president, Edward Henry Fairchild, gave institutional form to Fee's dream of an interracial, coeducational school. He proclaimed that Berea would welcome all persons, regardless of race, who sought the advantages of education. Fairchild stoutly asserted that educating women and men together enhanced learning and culture. Established in the fall of 1869, Fairchild's administration inaugurated the development of a curriculum, the beginnings of significant fund-raising and endowment, the shaping of an interracial community, and the first substantial buildings that were symbolic of the college's stability and commitment. The first collegiate class, consisting of four men and one woman, was organized. The term "college" itself was something of a misnomer, however. Indeed, the most prominent campus feature was not the buildings, but the large groves of trees that hid them from view. Berea in these early days was, as Elizabeth Rogers wrote, "all in the brush, full of possibilities."[1]

Abolitionized

E. H. Fairchild, called Henry by his contemporaries, was elected to Berea's presidency in 1868 from Oberlin College, where for sixteen years he had been principal of the Preparatory Department, and where his brother James was president. Henry and James had formed Oberlin's first collegiate class in 1835, so Henry knew something about new beginnings. Born November 29, 1815, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Fairchild grew up in northeastern Ohio, where his father owned a small farm. By his own account, Fairchild became "deeply interested" in the antislavery question at the age of sixteen.[2] He was a twenty-one-year-old freshman when the Lane Seminary "rebels" entered Oberlin's seminary in 1835. Theodore Weld, the leader of the rebels, visited Oberlin and delivered twenty lectures on slavery. Weld's sermons had a profound influence on James and Henry Fairchild, among many others. "To listen to such an exhibition of the

Fairchild at Oberlin, 1860. He served as principal of Oberlin's Preparatory Department for sixteen years, and was a noted and effective speaker.

system of slavery," James Fairchild wrote, "was an experience to be remembered for a lifetime. . . . From first to last, through the evenings of three full weeks, the whole body of citizens and students hung upon his lips. . . . Oberlin was abolitionized in every thought and feeling and purpose."[3] Henry Fairchild was commissioned among the "Seventy," a group of students who traveled as abolitionist lecturers throughout the Midwest representing the American Anti-Slavery Society. During his three months of service he was threatened by mobs and ignored by preachers. "After speaking an hour amid a din of horns, tin pans, swearing, screeching, singing, and flying missiles," in Columbus, Pennsylvania, Fairchild "was driven from the house by burning brimstone."[4]

Henry Fairchild's experiences left him uniquely prepared to become Berea's first president. Like Fee and the other founders, Fairchild had been abused for his beliefs. He had taught black youth in a large "colored school" in Cincinnati, and he was present when Oberlin was integrated. Fairchild had been a teacher and an administrator at Oberlin, and during his last two years at the school he had raised more than eighty thousand dollars while serving as a fund-raiser. He declared in his inaugural address that the presidency of Berea College required "sound discretion, equanimity of temper, patient endurance, manly courage, living energy, scholarly attainments, divine illumination, moral power."[5] His whole life prior to Berea had been spent living out his conviction that, regardless of color, gender, or social status, a Christian education should be within reach of any who desired it.[6]

Men and Women of Blessed Experience

In his inaugural address Henry Fairchild forcefully defined the type of instructors needed to serve Berea College. Students would find opportunities for free discussion on important subjects, but they would also find teachers who advanced their own convictions with courage and integrity. Fairchild had no use for teachers who did not bravely maintain their commitments. Students would be spoiled, Fairchild argued, by those teachers who were "neutral, noncommittal, soulless, non-principled." Berea, he asserted, needed "earnest, positive, whole-souled men and women, who will live and act for a purpose infinitely higher than self-promotion or popular favor."[7] Fee, in his introductory address at Fairchild's inaugural, echoed the college's charter in affirming "that the teachers must be men and women who know Jesus Christ by blessed experience, and . . . as such lead their pupils to the Savior from sin."[8] Many colleges in the mid-nineteenth century selected their professors and teachers more for their embodiment of Christian ideals than for their academic credentials. Colleges with denominational ties, or institutions such as Berea and Oberlin that held to broader Christian perspectives, frequently hired professors who were ordained clergy or had some theological training. Of the nineteen members of the Berea faculty who served between 1869 and 1889, eight were ministers.[9] Fairchild saw devout men and women as the primary instruments for educating students both spiritually and academically. Fee himself cautioned that a spiritually informed education was crucial,

Berea's faculty, c. 1885. The presence of James Hathaway (top row, left) showed that Berea was serious about breaking social barriers between the races at all levels, not just among students.

lest knowledge alone become "an increased power with which to do evil."[10]

Members of the college faculty took their moral and religious roles seriously. Writing to the trustees in 1879, Professor LeVant Dodge rejoiced in the religious awakening of students, concluding that this "one work . . . far transcends that of all others."[11] Bruce Hunting, principal of the Preparatory Department, reported that the teachers in his department were earnest Christians who were not only competent teachers but a powerful moral influence. "I believe through the influence of these lady teachers," Hunting observed, "in the conversion to Christ of some of our most promising young people."[12] Lucia Darling, the "lady principal," reported, "Altho [*sic*] there have been very few conversions during the year I am glad to report the evident progress and growth in the Christian life which many have experienced."[13]

In addition to their comments on teaching and curricular development, teachers' reports included disciplinary decisions. Problems of violence, possession of guns and knives, lying, intoxication, and immorality were handled swiftly and decisively. Treasurer P. D. Dodge believed that such actions would promote the growth of morality and faithfulness within the student body. The trustees William Hart and Charles Lester commended the faculty for its efforts to reform rather than merely

William E. Barton. The 1885 Berea graduate was representative of a number of northern students who attended the College Department. He was devoted to Berea's service throughout his lifetime.

punish offending students.[14] This forbearance by faculty did not go unnoticed by William E. Barton, an 1885 Berea graduate who eventually became a Congregationalist minister, a Berea College trustee, and a notable Lincoln scholar. Barton described Bruce Hunting as "he who excuses failures and pardons breaches of the rules. He is the right man for that place; having not yet forgotten that he himself was once a boy, he is quite ready to overlook all reasonable offenses."[15]

Concern for a student's moral and spiritual welfare did not lessen the faculty's commitment to academic work. Because of the small number of college students, the faculty could give personal oversight to an individual student's progress. Angus Burleigh was regarded as having significant potential, but his progress slowed with his entry into the classical course. Like many other Berea students in these early days, Burleigh left school from time to time to earn money for expenses. In 1873 the faculty designed a program to help Burleigh graduate, but in 1875, some eight and a half years after entering Berea, Burleigh still needed to complete courses in political economy, botany, Christian Evidences, modern history, English literature, natural philosophy, pneumatics, German, and one term each of Latin and Greek. Having left school in 1875 for financial reasons, Burleigh was allowed to work independently and was granted his B.A. degree in 1878.[16] William E. Barton's own academic success did not elude faculty scrutiny either. In his case the faculty became concerned about his numerous extracurricular activities, such as speaking at temperance meetings and conducting prison services, so they limited his speaking engagements to one per month.[17] The faculty also excused some of Barton's academic deficiencies by allowing him to take special instruction or to substitute some classes for other requirements.[18]

The college's essential values also shaped the composition of the faculty. The college faculty was made up of men with advanced degrees, primarily master's degrees. The teachers in the other departments were almost all women, and this group held their own meetings. From time to time, this Board of Teachers and the college faculty would hold joint sessions. In 1883 President Fairchild reported that the "whole number" of teachers who had served Berea College was forty-nine, thirty women and nineteen men. Twenty-seven of these professors and teachers had been educated at Oberlin.[19] It is also significant that two African Americans, Julia Britton and James Hathaway, both served as faculty members during Fairchild's presidency. Born in Frankfort, Kentucky, Britton was Berea's first black teacher, serving as an instructor in instrumental music from 1870 to 1872. Julia Britton's talent was remarkable; she was also a student in the College Department from 1870 until 1874. Her parents died suddenly within months of each other in 1874, and Julia and her younger brothers and sisters left Berea as the family scattered. Eventually settling in Memphis, Tennessee, she married Charles Hooks and founded the Hooks Cottage School, the Hooks School of Music (where one of her pupils was the famous W. C. Handy), and the Orphans and Old Folks Home.[20] James Hathaway, born in slavery in 1854 in Mt. Sterling, Kentucky,

graduated in 1884 with honors from Berea's classical course. Fairchild immediately employed him as a tutor in Latin and mathematics, and Hathaway served Berea for nine years. In these remarkable days of Fairchild's administration, Berea proved that black teachers were as welcome as black students.[21]

A School Embracing All Grades

Berea saw education as a preparation for a life of Christian service. Henry Fairchild flatly declared that Berea College has "no other aim but the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom."[22] Through a faculty made up of devoted men and women, learning would reveal the wonders of God and fit students for selfless service to all humanity. Fairchild urged students to bring their friends from home back to school, to join Berea's "holy war with ignorance and sin." Fairchild further encouraged students to "study thoroughly, and wait patiently until you are fully equipped, and with Jesus as your leader, you will triumph."[23] Fearful that some Christian colleges had lost sight of their reforming zeal, J. A. R. Rogers cautioned Berea's faculty and trustees against dividing learning from the college's Christian foundation. "I feel more & more," he wrote, "that while a college simply as training the mind may not be of any very great moment, a *Christian* college is of priceless value." To avoid becoming merely a "seat of learning," Rogers challenged the faculty and trustees to be "ever learning more of Christ, & taking in more of His Spirit."[24] By maintaining a

Julia Britton. Her outstanding piano skills made her Berea's first African American instructor.

Berea students, c. 1887. With varying levels of skill and preparation, Berea students were full of exciting possibilities.

Christian context for education, Fee hoped to convince outside observers of the validity of his cause. "Berea College must succeed," Fee wrote, "because it is based on love."[25] In the end, Fee maintained that friends, donors, teachers, and administrators alike could rejoice in the gathering of young people whose minds were being opened to wider knowledge and Christian culture.[26]

Fairchild believed that a school for both sexes gave young women a more profound and thorough education. They could benefit in their advanced studies, Fairchild suggested, only when their teachers were college professors and their classmates were regular college students. Fairchild further denied the claim that "ladies reciting in the same classes with young men must operate as a drag upon them." Experience, Fairchild asserted, "would dissipate such notions." Coeducation also added the benefits of good order, decorum, and propriety. "Rowdyism," Fairchild assured his listeners, "the natural result of separating young men from the society of ladies, is almost unknown and impossible in a school of both sexes." Berea, like Oberlin, chose "civilization rather than barbarism," viewing women as equal partners in the learning enterprise.[27]

Fairchild clearly defined Berea's academic mission as one supporting universal education, that is, educational opportunity for all persons, regardless of color, gender, or social status. "Our aim is universal education. Our wishes," Fairchild declared, "will not be accomplished till the advantages of a common school education are as free as air to all the children and youth of the state."[28] The overwhelming number of students enrolled at Berea in this early period were in the elementary grades. The college freshman class that began its work in the fall of 1869 consisted of L. Wayne Cole, John G. Fee's son Burritt H. Fee, George L. Pigg, John D. Roberts, and Belle A. Pratt—5 students of the 307 enrolled. When Cole, Fee, and Pigg graduated in 1873, there were 18 students in the college of 247 enrolled throughout the school. Between 1869 and 1892, when William G. Frost became president, the number of college students was never higher than 42.[29]

Teacher training was essential to advancing the cause of universal education. "A chief aim," Fairchild observed, "will be to provide and thoroughly equip a large number of teachers for this and adjoining states."[30] Initially, a normal course had been arranged in 1867 within the Preparatory Department. In 1870 the curriculum required four classes in Latin, four classes in mathematics, seven science classes (including physiology, botany, astronomy, and chemistry), as well as classes in English and philosophy and lectures on teaching.[31] In 1883 the college promised an adequate normal course that consisted of a variety of courses, including geography, arithmetic, grammar, U.S. history, bookkeeping, composition, and rhetoric. Students completing the course could apply for a certificate that recommended them to potential employers.[32] "The mass of our students are now engaged in teaching during a portion of the year," noted the 1884 catalogue. "The calls upon us for teachers increase in frequency and urgency."[33]

Many students worked as teachers to earn money for schooling and to improve their communities. College catalogues reported that African American students were "studying the sciences, fitting them-

selves for teaching, for the work of the ministry, and other posts of usefulness." The "loyal white people" of the mountains also applied eagerly to Berea, since their own educational needs had suffered from years of neglect and indifference.[34] Between 1873, the year of the college's first graduates, and 1889, at the end of Fairchild's presidency, there were fifty-six graduates from the college, ladies', and normal courses. Of these, two were graduates of the Normal School. In all, twenty-two graduates became teachers, four became school principals or administrators, and two became professors.[35] Fourteen of these graduates were African Americans. Notable among these was John Bate, who built the school system for black children and youth in Danville, Kentucky.

A member of the class of 1881, Bate was born in slavery in Jefferson County, Kentucky, in 1854. Emancipated in 1863, Bate moved with his mother, two brothers, and a sister to Louisville, enduring poverty and homelessness when smallpox killed his brothers and disabled his mother so badly that she could no longer work. Bate was caught stealing by a white missionary, given a bath, and then enrolled in school. Among his favorite teachers was Kate Gilbert, who eventually came to Berea as an instructor in the Preparatory Department.[36] Frustrated at Gilbert's departure but determined to continue his education, Bate worked in a tobacco factory in 1870–71 and enrolled in Berea in 1872. He recalled in later years:

> The change from a tobacco factory in which men and women, boys and girls of German, Irish and Negro extraction were employed, and where sin in all its forms was dominant, to that of a Christian Institution was indeed radical, to say the least. It was some weeks before I could adjust myself entirely to this change but the personal kindness and unselfish devotion of the faculty members to the students, and especially to me, soon won my heart and started me cheerfully in my determination to secure a College education if it were possible. It was plainly evident that the men and women of Berea College at that time were making strenuous efforts and noble sacrifices in order to bring a Christian education to the young people living in a neglected section of the state.[37]

A log-cabin school. The episodic nature of public education made Berea's commitment to teacher training all the more significant.

Bate's career in Danville began with a one-room log cabin and six students. His salary for the five-month school term was sixty dollars. Urged by the proprietors of a black, private Baptist school to give up his "common school" and return to Berea, Bate devised a clever response. Observing in later years that he "always liked to fight in a nice way," Bate hired the daughter of "the colored Baptist minister to be my primary teacher." This woman brought ten children from the same congregation with her, and within two years the Baptist school passed

John Bate. The personal kindness and unselfish devotion Bate experienced at Berea characterized his own service in bringing educational opportunities to African Americans in Danville, Kentucky.

out of existence. "Don't you see," Bate noted with satisfaction, "you must always use diplomacy."[38]

When John Bate retired fifty-nine years later, in 1941, at the age of eighty-five, his log schoolhouse had matured into a substantial building of twenty rooms with a faculty of fifteen teachers and six hundred students. Bate attributed his success to the "band of Christian workers" at Berea "whose examples and teachings were exemplified in the lives and work of ministers, doctors, and teachers who are proud even to this glad hour to call Old Berea their Alma Mater."[39] Bate's "seven years of Latin, four years of Greek, and seven years of mathematics" had produced a remarkable educational leader.

LeVant Dodge. This Union army veteran joined Berea's faculty in 1874. An active member of the Grand Army of the Republic, a Union veterans' organization, he eventually rose to Kentucky department commander and regarded the integration of the Berea post as one of the great successes of his life.

Though President Fairchild and the college faculty wanted to send more graduates like John Bate into the region's schools, it was difficult to enroll students at the college level. Fairchild reported only 31 college students of 273 in 1878, citing poverty and the low state of common school education as the chief obstacles to increasing the student population.[40] W. E. C. Wright observed in 1888 that the "smallness of the advanced classes continues to be a matter of anxiety" and suggested that expanding laboratories and other facilities would encourage "the lower students to continue in school for the sake of reaching the higher grades, and also attract a more advanced class of students to come to Berea."[41] LeVant Dodge, professor of Greek and acting professor of mathematics, declared, "Our classical department is small, and must remain so, until we can get hold of a different class of students. . . . A movement to secure more students of natural abilities seems a demand of the hour."[42] Whatever the solution to expanding the College Department, however, the college faculty were certain that weakening advanced work would cause Berea to sink to the level of an academy. By pushing the work of the College Department, the faculty reasoned, the number of students would increase and Berea's influence in the state and the nation would also expand.[43] For Dodge, Wright, and other members of the College Faculty, expanded facilities supporting a "higher" curriculum would attract academically prepared students and possibly increase the overall size of the College Department.

Although the college curriculum followed the hitherto traditional emphasis upon Latin, Greek, and mathematics, Berea also made substantial provision for the teaching of natural science. Faculty members rejoiced in the availability of exhibits of fossils, rocks, and seashells, as well as the improvement of laboratory facilities and equipment. Charles G. Fairchild, professor of natural sciences and a son of Henry Fairchild, observed: "This department is one not only of thrilling and healthful interest but profoundly affects the material and moral prosperity of our [human] race. It is God's marvelous textbook but partially opened to us in these latter days: And it behooves our Christian institutions not to allow their attachment to the hereditary claims of linguistic and mathematical study so to absorb them that they too largely give over the study of physical science to materialistic atheists."[44] Clearly, at least to Fee and Charles Fairchild, science was yet another way to understand the mighty acts of God,

An early science class. Fairchild regarded the presence of women in college classes as beneficial not only to learning but also to good social relationships.

and this attitude was consistent with the views of numerous evangelicals throughout the United States.[45] The acquisition and exhibition of plants, rocks, and seashells, combined with laboratory experiments, revealed a commitment to "higher" branches of learning, an educational effort the faculty believed would "make Berea College, as we hope to see it, become the leading school of the region."[46]

Fund-raising for a Radical Experiment

"The pecuniary condition of the college is not altogether satisfactory," Henry Fairchild observed in his inaugural address, "yet it is not discouraging." He further noted that the college owned four hundred acres of land, possessed an endowment of $10,000, and held other property with an estimated value of $40,000. These assets contrasted with debts amounting to $3,500.[47] Fee had secured the endowment from the executors of the estate of Charles Avery, a Methodist minister. The executors proposed that they invest the fund and the proceeds be used by Berea College to promote "the education and elevation of the colored people of the United States and Canada."[48] Other donors provided gifts that endowed funding for student aid. These supporters included the Freedmen's Bureau, which provided tuition scholarships for the newly emancipated African American students. In addition, the antislavery advocates C. F. Dike and his uncle, C. F. Hammond, deposited large gifts with the American Missionary Association in behalf of Berea College, which resulted in a contribution of $30,000.[49]

Campus view, Fairchild administration. This campus scene shows Ladies' Hall (left); the chapel (center); and Lincoln Hall (right). The calm and genteel atmosphere conveyed in this image testified to the outside world that Berea's radical experiment was working.

The generosity of Avery, Dike, and Hammond formed a large portion of what was called the "Old Endowment." Between December 1880 and April 1881, largely through the efforts of Charles G. Fairchild, who acted as the college's financial agent when not teaching natural science, the college raised funds for what became the "New Endowment." Mrs. Valeria Stone, of Malden, Massachusetts, gave $10,000 to the AMA to be held in trust for Berea until the college could raise an additional $40,000.[50] The Stone Fund, which formed the basis of the New Endowment, reflected Berea's established, largely northern donor base. In July 1878 President Fairchild recommended that "strenuous efforts" be made to raise the endowment to $150,000, noting that the financial situation of the college was discouraging because many donors could not give large gifts, churches were paying off debts, and the country was still recovering from the Panic of 1873.[51] Support from Kentucky was not substantial, barely $2,500 in 1875, and virtually no donations came from the wider South.[52] Nevertheless, President Fairchild remained cautiously optimistic. "While there is much reason for encouragement," Fairchild reminded the college's trustees, "there is much occasion for prayer, economy, and earnest work."[53]

The raising of the New Endowment provided critical support for the college's mission, but by the mid-1880s many of Berea's best friends, such generous donors as Gerrit Smith, Lewis Tappan, and C. F. Dike, were dead. The only significant donor between 1881 and 1893 was Roswell Smith, president of the Century Company and founder of *Century Magazine.* His gift of Lincoln Hall, which housed classrooms, laboratories, the library, and a museum, met the college's need for academic spaces, but his generous example was exceptional.[54] The loss of these "fellow workers in this labor of love" and Fairchild's failing health imperiled Berea's

fund-raising efforts and raised doubts about the institution's future.[55]

The makeup of Berea's Board of Trustees changed little during Fairchild's administration. The African American presence among the trustees continued through the membership of Jordan C. Jackson, whose son, John H. Jackson, was Berea's first black college graduate. Exhaustion and ill health caused J. A. R. and Elizabeth Rogers to move to Shawano, Wisconsin, and Jackson lived in Lexington, Kentucky, but the rest of the trustees lived in and around Berea. Some trustees also served the college in other capacities. Fairchild and Fee were teachers; William Hart served as the college steward.[56] Fee continued in his capacity as president of the board, a tangible witness to the founding of the school and its ideals. The localized and at times contentious nature of the board caused George Whipple of the AMA to urge the election of E. M. Cravath, already an AMA trustee, as a trustee for Berea. Whipple suggested that Cravath's appointment would provide "an increased confidence and support from the North." Cravath's trusteeship, which began in 1868, also revealed the "deep interest" and influence of the AMA on Berea's affairs, particularly in promoting the college.[57]

Berea's trustees had to cope not only with a rapidly growing institution, but also with an emerging town. While the board on the one hand hired workers and erected buildings on campus, they also acted as a town council, laying out streets and pricing

The town's "business center." This photograph, taken in 1894, shows the emergence of the town of Berea. Just as the college was integrated, so were the town and its businesses.

land.[58] The trustees, for the most part, were not men of wealth or social prominence, and they were not in a position to broaden Berea's geographical base of support. Despite its connections with northern philanthropy, Berea remained a provincial enterprise, with the AMA as its primary advocate.

Discipline of Mind and Manner

Berea student culture was distinctive. The campus was made up of men and women, black and white, set in an isolated, rural area—on the face of it, not a promising plan for success. Supported by the efforts of Fairchild, the trustees, and northern donors, students worked within a vast array of rules and regulations. Fairchild observed that the college's discipline would be kind and parental in nature. "Young people, in the main, intend to do right," Fairchild declared in 1869. "We wish them to feel that they are controlled by their own good judgment rather than by force of rigid rules. . . . But such rules as we have must be obeyed."[59] Character was an important factor in admission to the college, and Berea's regulations were intended to foster that character. According to Fairchild, students who exercised discipline and self-control would make the most of Berea's opportunities.[60] Despite the fears of Berea's critics, the students produced a social life that was, as the historian Marion Lucas observed, "remarkably active, open, equal, and integrated."[61]

The faculty tightened their supervision of student academic progress in 1874 by asking the clerk of the faculty to maintain "full & complete" records on each student, noting grades in recitations and examinations and attendance. "This record, carefully continued from year to year," the faculty concluded, "will furnish a pretty full history of a student's course, and more or less certain index to his character for energy and promptness."[62] Class rank was also determined "by work *actually completed.*" This explains Burleigh's extended progress toward graduation and Barton's having to take special instruction to meet his requirements. "A proper regard for the rule," reported Henry F. Clark, clerk of the faculty, "may do much to promote thoroughness in all the higher departments of the school." Such a rule could "hardly fail," Clark continued, "to foster a spirit of energetic, persistent study as classes never attain who gain the idea that *destiny* will carry them surely through . . . , in spite of occasional neglect."[63] Berea's careful oversight of student academic and social life was motivated by the desire to prove that the college's ideals were practical and realistic, rather than naive and utopian. Yet, even in this early period of the college's history, students would resist the paternalistic efforts of the institution.

The students themselves built a world all their own, reflecting the values of the college. Fraternities and sororities, for example, were banned because they were secretive and promoted caste by admitting some and excluding others. Instead, there were literary societies, such as the Phi Delta Literary Society, founded for men in 1866, and the Women's Literary Society. Organized by the students under faculty supervision, the societies promoted intellectual development, and an African American student was just as likely to be elected president of the society as a white student. While class work consisted primarily of

Class at Berea College, 1889. Jesse Seal Shimmin (back row, left) was only one of the many women teachers at Berea. This Model School class shows a wide range of ages among the students.

recitations, literary society meetings engaged in vigorous debate regarding the moral, spiritual, and political issues of the day.[64] Open meetings allowed men and women to gather socially. Berea students were poor financially, and they hoped that the college would improve them morally and spiritually, as well as provide a means to achievement at home or in the larger world. Writing to his friend Coole Barbee in 1871, Burritt Fee argued that "educated persons hold our public affairs, lead off in business life and really rule the country." Fee urged Barbee to come to Berea and encouraged him to bring friends and acquaintances to enjoy the college's advantages.[65]

Fairchild recognized that coeducation was novel and doubtful to many parents, who might hesitate to entrust their daughters to Berea's care. Yet Fairchild was confident that "a few years of observation . . . will dissipate such doubts."[66] The primary instrument for allaying parental fears and supervising young women and girls was the Ladies' Board of Care (also referred to as the Ladies' Board of Control). Composed of the lady principal (who was the highest ranking female administrator) and the wives of faculty and staff members, the board regulated the everyday lives of women students on campus. There were very few gender-specific rules among the host of other "laws and regulations" that applied to all students, regardless of gender or color. Women were required to be in their rooms at 7:30 P.M. during fall and winter terms, and 8 P.M. in the spring term. Male students were to be in their rooms by 10 P.M. throughout the year and after 9 P.M. were requested "to refrain from singing or anything that may disturb the repose of others." Women were allowed to go out with men to social gatherings (such as lectures or society meetings), on walks, or riding only with permission and only at designated times. Finally, women could not receive gentlemen callers except "at such hours, and under such restrictions, as the Ladies' Board of Control

"Lady teachers at Berea," c. 1883. Besides academic responsibilities, women instructors also served as models of social grace and decorum.

may designate, and only in the public parlor where they board."[67] Additional rules for women developed in later years, but it is noteworthy that these few regulations were deemed sufficient to maintain good order and decorum. In 1869 the lady principal was given supervision of female students in all matters of general conduct, study, and visitation.[68]

If the actual rules that applied only to women were few, the opportunities for evading them were numerous. "Calls of gents upon ladies," for example, were limited to two visits per person each week. William E. Barton and his friend Charles Norton undermined the restriction by "flipping a cent" to decide which women they would each call upon. Barton's principal activity his first year was having "a good time with the girls," and he later admitted that he "kissed [women] upon slight provocation and dealt out caresses with prodigal liberality," ending his "promiscuous affections" only when he met his future wife, Esther Bushnell.[69] On one occasion Barton, Sallie McCollum, and several other couples stayed out well past curfew in hopes of observing a lunar eclipse. "We watched and saw the moon did a good job of it," he wrote, but "it occurred to me that some of the rules of the Ladies' Board of Care have been just a little cracked."[70]

Barton's attitude about "cracking" the rules seems fairly casual, but the faculty could be relentless in dealing with serious or repeated offenses. In 1874, for example, Emma Peace was expelled for "improper correspondence" with a man from Louisville. George W. Clare was dismissed for "sending disgracefully amorous letters" to Julia Grandison, who was also expelled for leaving the campus with Clare in a "clandestine and improper way."[71] Sometimes discipline cases were dealt with privately; on other occasions the faculty held full hearings, taking depositions and calling students to appear and explain their actions. Incidents of "rowdyism" usually involved violence with guns or knives, and guilty students were quickly expelled. "In reference to this readiness to shed blood on any trivial offense or injury," the faculty observed, "it is doubtless in large part a relic of that barbarism fostered by slavery and should be repudiated by all lovers of law and order."

Faculty and students alike were urged to encourage public sentiment in favor of Christian forbearance and obeying the law.[72]

Berea's Christian forbearance was severely tested on the issue of "social equality." Despite the oft-reported harmony that existed on campus, John G. Fee worried that many of the faculty were opposed to interracial dating.[73] His fears were borne out in 1872, when the acting lady principal, Rhoda J. Lyon, refused to allow a white man to call on an African American woman solely on the issue of color. This challenge to Berea's anticaste principle caused the faculty to devote "several hours" to the question of social relations. In June and July 1872 the Board of Trustees developed a policy that permitted interracial dating and marriage under certain conditions. There were nine provisions in all, five dealing with interracial dating, four with intermarriage. A difference in "complexion" was not sufficient grounds to prevent students from attending one another at social functions or even from becoming engaged. In the face of rising criticism of Berea's practices, however, the faculty and trustees revealed their own ambivalence by suggesting that it was not "desirable in general for those of either race to cultivate the most intimate social relations with those of the other sex and a different race, especially when the difference in race is quite marked."[74]

The social relations rules reveal the uneasiness that surrounded Berea's experiment. Asserting on the one hand that difference in "complexion" was not an obstacle to social equality, the rules resisted relationships "when the difference is quite marked." Trustees John Hanson and Gabriel Burdette voted against the regulations, and a few professors resigned in the wake of the trustees' actions.[75] Some Berea alumni were deeply offended by the cautious nature of the rules. "Our bright summer was clouded," John T. Robinson wrote to John G. Fee in 1877, and he continued:

> It seemed to me . . . that which men had long prayed and worked for came upon them in a rush when they were not prepared to receive it. The students were getting along too well—fast growing out of former prejudices and seemed to forget that there ever had been such a state of society as existed a few miles below Berea—but the harmony seemed too real for those over them, and as you well remember, the first seed of discord was sown by the Professors when we were really too young to comprehend the outrage done us.[76]

Robinson's anger was reflected in an alumni petition to the trustees circulated by John H. Jackson in 1889 that affirmed "our devotion to the great principle of the equality of man." The petition asked the trustees to "rescind the objectionable features of the rules and regulations . . . purporting to regulate the social relations of the two races."[77]

Saloon, outside Berea. Local rowdies periodically rode through the streets of Berea, firing pistols and shouting, "Hurrah for Jeff Davis." When the town was incorporated in 1890, one of the first ordinances passed was against "promiscuous shooting."

"Group at Robe's Mountain." The first Mountain Day excursion was held in 1875, and led by President Fairchild. "Wagon parties" to the nearby hills were a popular means for students to socialize, albeit under the watchful eye of faculty chaperones.

Writing to a friend in 1907, William Barton observed that Berea's experiment prevailed even though "there was always friction [between the races], and of a most perplexing kind."[78] Ernest Dodge, LeVant Dodge's nephew, wrote to William G. Frost many years later, noting wistfully, "Were I to make a list of former students whom I would genuinely enjoy meeting again, to sit down for a chat over old times, I would find a majority of them colored."[79]

If not a total acceptance of social equality, Berea's social relations policy was, as the historian James McPherson wrote, "a remarkably liberal policy for that time and place."[80] The discord associated with the policy showed just how difficult Berea's choices were. Despite the concerns of the

Students with Elizabeth and J. A. R. Rogers. The presence of the Rogers, the Fees, and other founders gave students a living reminder of Berea's core values.

trustees and faculty, black men and white men accompanied female students of the opposite race to literary society meetings, chapel services, and other social gatherings. Some African American students argued that social equality existed because of their own efforts to preserve it. President Fairchild noted ironically that "the evils which wise ones knew would result from this union have never appeared." He acknowledged that "many good people have their honest fears"; but he boldly asserted, as Fee had, "We know it cannot be dangerous to love our neighbors as ourselves."[81]

Labor was another means of ending class distinctions, and work, or at times the lack of it, was also a part of every student's experience at Berea. Many of the jobs on campus involved unskilled labor—sawing wood, building fires in the halls, and doing odd jobs around the homes of the professors and townspeople. Burritt Fee reminded Coole Barbee that the college would provide a great deal of work in the fall and winter terms for industrious young men, while women students could find employment in Ladies' Hall. Local citizens would also provide work opportunities for students to meet expenses.[82] Angus Burleigh remembered wheeling mud to the brick molds for the building of Ladies' Hall in 1872, and the *Berea Evangelist* reported in 1886 that many young men were employed in excavating the foundation for Lincoln Hall.[83] Indeed, the first industry on campus may have been the small print shop that published the *Evangelist,* a variety of college pamphlets, and later the *Berea College Reporter.*[84] Despite these enterprises, however, work at Berea was episodic and not fully organized or integrated into the college's program, as it would be in later years. In fact, it was the very lack of consis-

Berea students and faculty in front of Ladies' Hall. This view captures the fully integrated character of the campus community.

tent manual labor opportunities that prevented some students from coming to Berea.[85] Nevertheless, it was in working for their education that Berea students literally built up the college as well as themselves.

An Interesting History

"Our last, and first, and our greatest want," wrote Henry Fairchild, "is the blessing of God. If He had not been on our side in many dangers and straits, we should have failed. If he go not with us still, we shall still fail."[86] Henry Fairchild proclaimed at the end of his inaugural address that "the chief wealth of the college is in its remarkable history, its numerous friends, . . . and the manifest favor of God."[87] Even at this early stage of the institution's development, Fee, Fairchild, and others appealed to the college's history as evidence of the worthiness and legitimacy of the school's mission. Fee reminded anyone who would listen that though there had been no "primal design" for a college when he first came to the Berea ridge, the college had grown "out of a manifest want, and is for the maintenance and development of a great truth of the gospel, impartial love."[88] College catalogues, publicity literature, and other publications recited the heroic experiences of the founders in their drive to establish a church, a school, and a community built upon a practical application of this loving gospel message.

These early publications also sought to convey a sense of institutional stability and acceptance. In 1875 Henry Fairchild, with the approval of the Prudential Committee, wrote *Berea College: An Interesting History.* This work, subsequently revised in 1883, recounted the heroism of the founders, described the school's ongoing commitment to interracial coeducation, and emphasized the "harmony" maintained at Berea despite local "rowdies," racist critics, and internal dissent.[89] Publicity literature reminded potential donors of the special bond between Appalachian whites and African Americans: "Located where it can to the best advantage invite the colored man from the 'Blue-grass' region and the loyal whites from the mountains, the number of students has always been greater than its limited facilities could well accommodate. . . . This experiment of co-education in the South is regarded by the management as the most important educational problem of the present, and toward its complete solution they ask the aid of all Christian men, and lovers of true national prosperity."[90]

Berea's work, while fundamentally interracial, also began to define the public's understanding of Appalachian mountain people. Mountaineers were defined by the college in terms of their love for the Union and its causes, and a respect—if not outright support—for Berea. In fact, Berea took credit for galvanizing loyalist sentiment among the mountain people at the outbreak of the American Civil War. "It is not too much to say," claimed one Berea pamphlet, "that under God, as a result in great part, of the heroic work, and patient and self-sacrificing spirit of [John G. Fee and] these

Union veterans of the Eighth Kentucky Volunteer Infantry. This photograph, taken on Decoration Day, 1895, depicts some of the "hardy and loyal" mountain men who defended the Union cause. Captain John Wilson holds the regimental flag. To Wilson's right is Frank Hays, who would lead Berea president William G. Frost into the nearby mountains to "meet the folks."

Howard Hall. Students of both races got along well enough that faculty members were frequently dispatched to quiet the overly cheerful and noisy residents.

missionaries, a large majority of the men in Madison, and four or five adjoining hilly counties were found to be unconditional Union men when the war commenced."[91] Addressing his colleagues at the American Missionary Association in 1883, Charles G. Fairchild reminded his audience that they should remember "that the men who made an antislavery church and school in a slavery state years before the war were these mountain whites. The Association nursed its firstborn on these mountain slopes. As patriots, some of whose sons sleep on that southern soil, you should remember that this whole section was loyal in the battle for a united country unstained by slavery."[92]

Mountain people were thus worthy of educational support because of their loyalty to the Union and their openness to northern ideals and institutions. Furthermore, mountain people had resisted slavery (albeit without becoming abolitionists), and at Berea College had freely entered into the coeducation of the races, recognizing the mutual bond of suffering inflicted upon themselves and their black associates by the planter classes. Some northern donors were doubtless heartened by the fact that mountaineers were both numerous and Republican. As A. D. Mayo, a prominent Unitarian minister and reformer, declared, "Some of the [mountain] counties [were] turning out more soldiers than the entire number of voters; and today they are almost

Ladies' Hall under construction. Acknowledged locally as "Fairchild's Folly," Ladies' Hall was the only brick building for miles around. The building was a testimony to the staying power of Berea's mission.

as decided in their adhesion to Republican politics."[93]

Constructing an Ideal College

Buildings also symbolized the emerging college's ideals. Many of the college's first buildings were small, wooden box buildings that often served multiple purposes. The first substantial building at Berea, erected at a cost of eighteen thousand dollars, was Howard Hall. Named for Union general Oliver Otis Howard, the new building was presented to the college in 1869 by the Freedmen's Bureau. Howard Hall, described by Fairchild as commodious and noble, served as a men's residence hall and included a reading room and two rooms for meetings and social occasions. Howard Hall's significance lay in its affirmation of Berea's cause; it was a gift from an organization intent on building a New South, and it lent an air of stability to a fledgling institution. Furthermore, the dormitory was inhabited and used by both black men and white men, a tangible symbol of Berea's ideal.[94]

Ladies' Hall, costing fifty thousand dollars, followed in 1870–71. Noting that accommodations for women were "too strait," Henry Fairchild obtained the trustees' approval for a new women's hall modeled after an identical structure at Oberlin—"its excellencies . . . improved, and its defects remedied." The first brick building on the campus, it was elegant, "three stories high, containing well-lighted and well-ventilated rooms for ninety-six young ladies, besides parlors, assembly room, library, reading room, dining room, kitchen, laundry rooms, etc. . . . An equal number of gentlemen students can be accommodated with table board at the Hall."[95] Many of the first occu-

The "Gothic" Chapel. This lovely building presumably met Rogers's architectural expectations, and served as the focal point of the college's Christian foundation.

pants of Ladies' Hall, like those of Howard Hall, were African Americans, and Fee saw the new building as a demonstration of Berea's impartial admissions policy. "I wish some of you," Fee wrote to Gerrit Smith in 1873, "who toiled early in this struggle for national regeneration could come and see. The demonstration is as harmonious & complete as you could possibly expect or desire."[96] As the historian Helen Horowitz has demonstrated, buildings designed specifically for women not only legitimated the presence of women on campus, but established an environment where women developed their own communities.[97]

For all this progress, however, there remained a need for a chapel and a classroom building. The first chapel was "rough and barn-like," according to J. A. R. Rogers, who regarded the fire that destroyed it on New Year's Eve in 1878 as providential.[98] The new chapel, costing nine thousand dollars, seated five hundred people and was built in a wooden Gothic style, with a prominent bell tower, double lancet windows, a furnace, and gaslights. This building also housed the congregation of Union Church. Like Howard Hall and Ladies' Hall and, in 1886, Lincoln Hall, the chapel conveyed stability and permanence. Lincoln Hall,

financed almost entirely by the efforts of the publisher Roswell Smith, gave tangible evidence to Berea's mission as the work of southern emancipation inspired by Kentucky's own Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator. Howard Hall, Ladies' Hall, Lincoln Hall, and the new chapel were prominently featured in publicity literature to attract new students and donors.

The campus and grounds now began to look like a college, and the alumni, like many other friends of Berea, could rightly "hail with joy the development and progress of our Alma Mater, in those features that go to make up a first rate institution of learning."[99] These features included interracial education, a flexible curriculum, and an intense Christian atmosphere, all flourishing on a spacious and well-built campus. Berea's teachers and trustees modeled the college's salient ideals. Some of these persons had seen Berea through its dark early days. Fairchild's efforts in developing a curriculum, raising an endowment, organizing an interracial community, and building a campus environment gave practical form to Fee's visionary ideal.

Fairchild's sterling example of leadership would be difficult to replace. His health in decline, Fairchild resigned in 1886, but his resignation was accepted provisionally. The faculty asked Fairchild to "continue his services until such time as the Providence of God may indicate a permanent change."[100] At the time of his death in October 1889, no replacement had been found. Berea's rise as a "first rate institution of learning" still needed the singular gifts of energy, courage, and insight that Fairchild had wonderfully possessed.

Henry Fairchild. The strain of constant preaching, fund-raising, and administration is revealed in Fairchild's features. Persistent illness at the end of his career contributed to a loss of institutional momentum as Berea made the transition from a visionary dream to a distinguished college.

William B. Stewart. No photograph of Stewart survives in Berea's collections. The accompanying paucity of personal records from this period make a true characterization of both the man and his time problematic at best.

THREE

Working for God and Humanity

William B. Stewart, 1890–1892

So shall this noble institution, our pride and our hope,
unique in its constituency and Christ-like in its aims, gleaming with the sacred jewels
of learning and illumined by the holy light of truth, shine in the coming years
even more brightly than to-day, and dispense, till Christ shall come,
unnumbered blessings to the land we love.

WILLIAM B. STEWART, "The Work and Claims of the Christian College"

BEREA COLLEGE faced several challenges with the arrival of William Boyd Stewart as its second president. There were curricular concerns about just how the school would best serve its students. Another issue was the continuation of Berea's interracial mission. Public schools in Kentucky were segregated by law, but private schools such as Berea had been left alone. A separate-coach bill that prevented blacks and whites from riding on trains together was passed in the state in 1892, but the more restrictive poll tax and registration laws that characterized the Deep South were not yet present in Kentucky. Berea's financial doldrums further challenged Stewart's leadership. These difficulties were, in part, the result of Henry Fairchild's declining health and inability to engage actively in fund-raising. The AMA had continued its financial support of the college, but there were few donors of considerable wealth and influence who could advance Berea's cause. Also disquieting was the dissension within the faculty itself. Declining enrollments, overwork, and disputes about social equality deepened divisions within the college community. From this crisis emerged a power struggle that involved founders, trustees, faculty members, and students who sought to determine what kind of institution Berea would be. All these challenges resulted in Berea's shortest presidential term.

The Sound Scotch Preacher

William B. Stewart was born in 1834 in the village of Ecclefechan, on the southern border of Scotland, and received his preparatory education at Annan Academy. He furthered his education at the University of Glasgow, and in 1856 he emigrated to Canada. In 1859 Stewart was ordained a Baptist minister at Beamsville, Ontario, and later built a distinguished career as a pastor,

Dining room in Ladies' Hall. Meals were served family style and students worked as waiters. Board was relatively inexpensive, but luxuries such as coffee and sugar were considered expensive "extras."

teacher, and editor. He taught Greek, Latin, and Hebrew at the Canadian Literary Institute in Woodstock, Ontario, and ministered in churches in Brantford and Hamilton, Ontario. In 1871 he joined with the Reverend William Muir and became joint proprietor and editor of the *Canadian Baptist*, frequently contributing articles and editorials for the next eleven years.[1]

In the fall of 1882 Stewart accepted a call to the presidency of Roger Williams College in Nashville, Tennessee, beginning a nine-year career of educational work and ministry in Tennessee and Kentucky. From 1882 to 1884 he led the college, a black school sponsored by the American Baptist Home Missions Society. In 1884 Stewart left Nashville to become principal of the Collegiate Academy in Winchester, Kentucky, another Baptist school.[2] His first connection with Berea came in 1887, when he was invited to give a lecture on Berea's campus. In June 1889 Stewart was elected to the college's Board of Trustees. That fall he was invited to give an address at the college's Thanksgiving Day services.[3] His discourse

apparently made a good impression on those who heard him. Zaccheus Spratt, recalling his days as a "barefoot boy" in Berea, described Stewart as "tall, straight as a West Point cadet, [with] square shoulders, neatly dressed. A touch of gray to an abundance of hair. Thoughtful, affable, courteous and capable."[4] Stewart's "mental and moral worth" engendered confidence in the observant young student. For Spratt, President Stewart was "more my ideal of a man than any of the many hundreds I saw during my decade at Berea."[5]

Stewart's election as president was problematic from the start. In June 1889, at the same meeting that elected Stewart to the Board of Trustees, Professor William G. Frost of Oberlin was unanimously elected president.[6] But Frost declined. Henry Fairchild died in October 1889, leaving a vacuum in the college's leadership. LeVant Dodge, chair of the faculty, served as acting president, and the school carried on. The faculty waited until June 1890 to make a recommendation about Fairchild's successor. Their "earnest and prayerful individual attention" to the various candidates was cautious indeed. "With so many chances for mistakes," the faculty observed, "we do not feel like urging any particular selection." Nevertheless, the faculty managed to endorse Stewart unanimously, "as being fitted, by reason of scholarship, educational experience, ability as a speaker, christian [*sic*] character and interest in our work."[7]

Cultivated Minds and Righteous Sentiments

Shortly after his election in June 1890 as president, Stewart read a paper to the trustees proposing the formation of a Bible Department. The board approved Stewart's idea and made him the "chair of instruction" in the new department.[8] In his inaugural address, Stewart argued that a Bible Department was much needed for those serving pastors who were "poorly qualified for the great work," as well as those African American students who had been denied admittance to the "ably-manned and richly-endowed theological seminaries of the South . . . simply because their skin was a darker shade!"[9] Students who desired to engage in the ministry of the gospel were granted free tuition and took such courses as Sacred History, Pastoral Duties, and Geography and Archaeology of the Scripture.[10] There were nineteen students enrolled in the first year of the department's work. "Who can estimate," Stewart remarked in 1892, "the blessing that may be expected to attend the labors of these young brethren?"[11]

The Bible Department complemented the college's early recognition of the need for teachers and preachers among blacks and mountaineers. The college newspaper, the *Berea College Reporter,* noted that more than three-fourths of the students attending Berea worked as teachers and that the true teacher's work was "indispensable to the progress and well-being of society, and to the stability, happiness and liberty of the nation."[12] Berea also promoted special instruction in the normal course through examples of "correct and thorough instruction" and the "management of daily classes." Spring term offered an extended course of lectures on the theory and practice of teaching.[13] Principal Hunting reported that the work of Berea students serving as teachers was acknowledged as superior

throughout the region. To maintain this reputation, Hunting urged the trustees to "select teachers of [Berea's] schools with carefulness, and, if necessary, increase salaries so that it may be emphasized that no better preparation for teaching can be secured in the state than here."[14]

Besides promoting work in teacher education, the faculty also responded to the trustees' desire for enlarged instruction in the Industrial and Commercial Departments. Professor P. D. Dodge observed, perhaps rhetorically, "If there is any school in the south that furnishes colored people an opportunity for a commercial course and a thorough business training, I have never heard of it. Is this not a good time for Berea College to organize a Commercial Dept.?"[15] Regular instruction was already offered in bookkeeping and penmanship, and opportunities for advanced work could be arranged.[16] President Stewart noted in the *Reporter* that industrial education had made a good beginning with the intention to form

"Press Room, East End." One of the oldest of Berea's labor departments, the Berea College Press published catalogs, publicity brochures, and the *Berea College Reporter*.

Early carpentry class. "Practical" education was very much a part of student learning in Berea's formative period. Students often applied their learning in various building projects on campus.

classes in carpentry, blacksmithing, pattern making, gardening, and other "useful arts," as well as the enlargement of the printing office, where a larger number of students could learn typesetting.[17] The fact that the *Reporter* was being produced almost entirely by student labor caused P. D. Dodge to ask if it might be wise to expand opportunities for vocational training.[18] The lady principal also engaged women students in the making and mending of garments and other branches of household economy.[19] With the emergence of the Industrial Department was the beginning of Berea's Vocational School, which would form an integral part of Berea's curriculum in years to come and would place Berea "fairly in line with the needs of the young people we may reach."[20]

For Stewart, reaching young people ultimately meant providing Christian instruction. The imparting of liberal culture, according to Stewart, would serve this primary aim of the Christian college. "By the study of languages and literature," Stewart observed, "of mathematics and sciences, of history and philosophy, [such a college] aims to develop intellectual power; and by teaching its students of Christ and training them for Christ, it aims to produce noble character."[21] The college offered many opportunities for expanding a student's intellectual and moral power. During President Stewart's administration, the college enlarged its offerings to include a Bachelor of Philosophy degree in addition to the college's scientific and classical courses. In the scientific

Howard Hall. This residence hall was the first noteworthy collegiate building, symbolizing Berea's educational aspirations.

course, which led to a B.S. degree, students did not have to take classes in Greek, but there were no electives in a curriculum that included thirteen courses in the sciences, six courses in mathematics, three courses in rhetoric and English literature, and three courses in either French or German.

Students in the philosophical and classical courses could choose among numerous electives, though the philosophical degree (Ph.B.) required all the work of the scientific course plus six terms of Greek. The classical course retained its emphasis upon Greek and Latin and led to a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.).[22] During Stewart's time students enrolled in the scientific course outnumbered classical students by more than two to one.[23] From the trustees' point of view, this expansion of the curriculum represented the "normal condition of a Christian College, . . . and growth means breadth and depth as well as length." While acknowledging that such increases had to be made "slowly and in accordance with fundamental aims of the institution and finances," the trustees observed that "every growing college must reach out at certain times beyond the means at hand."[24]

Bonds of Friendship

During William B. Stewart's presidency, Berea College continued to promote its particular educational work among African Americans and mountaineers. A publicity circular published in 1891 proclaimed the college as the only "institution of higher grade in Kentucky" open to blacks and as the only institution of "higher grade reaching the white people of the mountains, who were loyal to the Union and have been almost destitute of educational advantages." Berea's work was described as "peculiar" in the South, "and until of late years obnoxious, because it has not made class distinctions, but has opened its doors to all persons of good moral character." The college's practice of putting black and white students together in classrooms continued to be effective. "In reciting together and working over the same problems it does not require much time for students to learn to respect each other, regardless of color or condition."[25]

The success of Berea's commitment to interracial education was now well established. "Our school," Fee asserted in July 1890, "is no longer to be regarded as an experiment but a demonstration—a demonstration of the possibility and practicability of co-education—[it] is possible and practicable for colored and white to live in peaceful, happy relations."[26] Stewart reminded his listeners in his inaugural address that Berea College "welcomed to the privileges of this place all who could be trained for the service of their fellow-men, without distinction of class or color or creed."[27] The integrated nature of Berea's enrollment confirmed Stewart's assertion. Enrolled in 1890–91 were 375 students; of these 210 were African American and 165 were white. The *Reporter* proclaimed the year 1890–91 as one of the most successful years in the college's history and optimistically observed, "Berea College has entered on its second quarter of a century of work for God and humanity with good heart and high hopes. Its principles are right and must prevail."[28]

Social activities among students centered on literary societies, public lectures, and other supervised gatherings. The *Reporter* noted "a new departure on the part of the college authorities, in entering upon plans to secure distinguished persons from abroad to present lectures and other entertainments for the public."[29] Among these notable personages was Laura Clay, the remarkable daughter of Cassius M. Clay. Laura Clay's own distinction was built on her role in founding the Kentucky Equal Rights Association and her advocacy of women's causes. During the 1890s Laura Clay became probably the best-known southern suffragist. She was invited to speak at the college by the faculty at Fee's request. Although the faculty did not endorse all of Clay's ideas, they found it desirable that students "hear the live issues of the day discussed." The *Reporter* viewed Laura Clay's remarks as both forceful and telling as she reviewed the changing roles of women, though she "maintained that discrimination against women in law and customs can best be remedied by placing the ballot in her hands."[30]

The social equality sought by Fee and others continued to manifest itself in campus life. In 1889 the trustees had rescinded the resolutions concerning social relations passed in 1872. The trustees' action was

Carpentry students. Industrial education during the Stewart administration laid the foundation for the Vocational School that was organized during President Frost's time.

prompted in part by an alumni petition authored by John H. Jackson, an African American graduate. He successfully persuaded the trustees that the resolutions were objectionable and contrary to Berea's advancement of the principle of equal rights.[31] The *Berea College Reporter* also condemned opponents of social equality. The spirit of caste was "contrary to the purpose of God, and alien to the spirit of Christ," claimed the *Reporter.* "This is the gospel which is needed at the present day," the newspaper continued. "It announces the great fact that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men.' . . . [This gospel] regards the nation as a commonwealth, and the world as a neighborhood."[32] Recalling his experiences in the Phi Delta Literary Society, James Bond, an African American student from Knox County in eastern Kentucky, noted, "I numbered among my staunchest friends a goodly number of white boys." He rejoiced in the conquest of prejudice through his friendships with "white boys and girls, some of whom at the beginning refused to sit in the same seat with me in the class room and demurred against eating at the same table with me." Bond later remembered that "these [white students] overcame their prejudice and became loyal and staunch friends." Bond credited his contacts with white students at Berea in helping him to "understand and get along with white people throughout my career."[33]

James Bond. The 1892 Berea graduate enjoyed a remarkable career as a minister, professor, and civil rights advocate. Bond was elected to Berea's Board of Trustees in 1896.

Bond also counted his white teachers among his best friends while he was a student, and he remarked that he would have washed out of school after his first year had it not been for the intervention of Jennie Lester Hill, his first teacher. Hill's interest and Bond's conversion during a revival led by John G. Fee "had much to do with my course and my career in life."[34] The *Berea College Reporter*'s "Students Column" asserted that one of the special features of the college was the relation between teacher and student. The article pointed out that teachers took a special interest in the welfare of students. The sympathy and aid of Christian teachers eased the burdens of school life. This encouragement enabled a student to walk "into the temptation of the world with a firmer and manlier tread for he is strengthened and sustained by the prayers of Godly men and women."[35]

Bond's friendships sometimes pushed

"Howard Hall boys, Winter 1891." Even though white and African American students did not room together, the fact that they lived in the same building, attended classes and chapel together, and joined the same literary societies promoted strong friendships.

against the accepted social boundaries of the time. During his student days he formed an acquaintance with "Miss F," a white female student, the daughter of a college official. The relationship was characterized by meeting in the library or walking "from building to building together discussing our favorite books and authors"; their friendship "was most helpful and stimulating as well as platonic in character." However, when Bond asked if he could accompany her to a public lecture, a "frank and honest" discussion ensued. She said she "would feel honored by my company but that because of conditions we both knew quite well," she felt compelled to take the matter up with her family. Bond continued to pursue the matter, but after numerous discussions involving the young woman's family and members of the faculty, permission was denied. Although Bond's friendship with "Miss F" continued to be pleasant, the incident confirmed his resolution to be loyal to the needs of African American people and "to make my life count for the most in their uplift."[36] In spite of this disappointment, Bond affirmed that the Berea experiment was "an unqualified success and contrary to the expectations and prophecies of the enemies of the system, none of the disastrous things prophesied ever happened."[37]

Donors and Controversy

Berea continued to suffer from indebtedness and the lack of large donors. Stewart ap-

Eugene Fairchild and Berea teachers. Fairchild (seated right) had served as the college's financial agent but grew increasingly dissatisfied with Berea's direction under the leadership of Fee and Stewart. To Fairchild's right is Kate Gilbert, who inspired John Bate's attendance at Berea.

pealed to "philanthropic Christians" for support of the institution's aims. "Berea College," Stewart declared in his inaugural address, "has special claims for large and liberal benefactions, because of its peculiar principles and sphere."[38] During his presidency Stewart wrote letters and visited potential donors, sometimes "without accomplishing any immediate result," but nevertheless he remained hopeful of receiving important financial help.[39] E. P. Fairchild, Henry Fairchild's son, served as a financial agent and reported in 1891 that he had personally raised some $92,669 (including pledges for buildings) over an eight-year career. Fee and P. D. Dodge also went out into the field, but donations barely met expenses and did not allow for expanding programs or erecting buildings. In 1891 expenditures were $18,008.79, whereas receipts totaled $16,274.91, a shortfall of $1,733.88. Donations of $6,466.57 and endowment interest of $5,233.20 made up the bulk of the budget for the year. The trustees urged the recognition by "our executive officers, President, Treasurer and Prudential Committee [of] the need of devising ways and means of extinguishing all indebtedness of the past and of keeping future expenditures within the income."[40] P. D. Dodge observed to the trustees, "It must be borne in mind that our patrons are rapidly growing old and passing away, and rarely does this mantel [*sic*] of giving fall on waiting shoulders."[41]

Fee's influence on campus was considerable. As founder and president of the Board

of Trustees, Fee directly participated in the governance of the college. His continuing role as pastor of Union Church and instructor in Christian Evidences gave him a wide platform for advancing his beliefs. Slavery having been abolished, Fee took up another subject, Christian baptism. Fee, just as he had when writing against slavery during his abolitionist days, published his views on baptism in a series of pamphlets, beginning as early as 1879. His main contention was that immersion was the only baptismal form sanctioned by Scripture. He further argued that disagreement on the mode of baptism was the result of sectarianism.[42]

Fee advanced his views on baptism and sectarianism in his autobiography, published in 1891. He reminded his readers that he had left the AMA in 1883 so that Berea would not be seen as an element of Congregational efforts in the South. Fee charged that the American Missionary Association had become a denominational "corps" of the Congregationalists.[43] He roundly dismissed those who argued that to be Congregational was to be nonsectarian. "It proves nothing," Fee argued, "to say that Congregationalists are less sectarian than others. It is not the amount of evil, but the fact that an evil principle is supported. We have long since known that it was the moderate slaveholders that made slavery respectable."[44] Fee asserted that Congregationalism was a denomination, and that the division of Christian people into sects and denominations was "contrary to the letter and spirit of the Gospel, a hindrance to reforms, and to the greatest progress of Christ's kingdom. As such, I may not bid it Godspeed."[45]

Fee's stubborn adherence to principle complicated Berea's fund-raising efforts and alarmed some of the college's supporters. In November 1891 Oliver Otis Howard, Lucien Warner, William Kincaid, and others circulated a paper entitled "To the Friends of Berea College." The document declared that the future of Berea was "full of peril" and criticized Fee's stance on baptism and Congregationalism. The signers urged conditional contributions be made to a fund held in trust by the AMA that would be released when two additional trustees nominated by the AMA were added to Berea's Board of Trustees.[46] "To the Friends of Berea College" claimed that the school was drifting toward a narrow sectarianism led by Fee's offensive views. Donors were also asked to pressure the college's trustees to maintain the college's nonsectarian stance.[47] "Unless the College is to remain as heretofore unsectarian which is Congregational," warned one donor, F. C. Sessions, "I must change my will in which I proposed to you ten thousand dollars and give it to some other Southern College."[48]

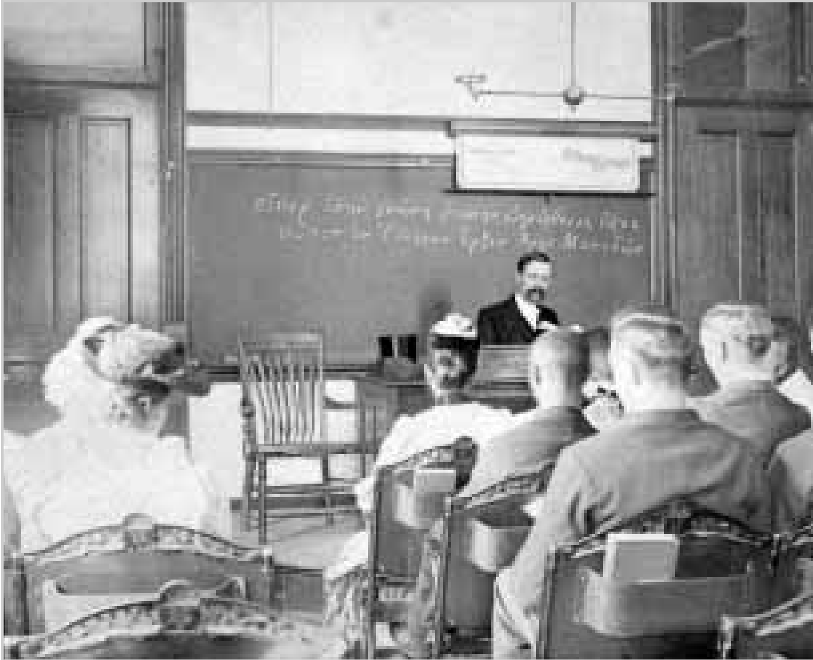
Reaction to the charges was swift. The Prudential Committee issued a circular in December 1891 entitled "Berea College, Kentucky, A Statement and an Appeal." This document responded to Fee's detractors. The Prudential Committee distanced itself from Fee's statements when it asserted, "Berea College is not to be held responsible for the utterance of any man's sentiments."[49] The committee also pointed out that neither sectarian tests nor agreement on certain theological points was used in the employment of the president, professors, or trustees. The Prudential Committee denied that the college was drifting toward any sectarian influence and resisted the addition of trustees by the AMA or any other

John G. Fee. "I used to stop and look at you," J. T. Robinson once wrote, "and think how you must have enjoyed witnessing that which you had prayed and worked for so long, namely, a living demonstration of the brotherhood of mankind."

outside agencies. The *Reporter* maintained that the college remained true to its purposes, reminding readers that every new trustee "is required to sign the Constitution, and so comes under a solemn pledge to maintain this un-sectarian principle. . . . It will be seen that the College has never been ecclesiastically with any denomination, and constitutionally it never can be."[50]

Stewart himself now came under attack because he had been Fee's choice for president. Stewart's Baptist background and apparent agreement with Fee's theological views caused some college supporters to believe that Berea was on the road to sectarianism. E. P. Fairchild circulated rumors that Stewart's departure from Roger Williams College had been caused by Stewart's improper relationship with a female student. Fairchild further claimed that the people of Winchester, Kentucky, were surprised to learn of Stewart's favorable stance on the coeducation of the races. In these stories, Fairchild implied that President Stewart had been dishonest in his credentials for leading the college.[51]

Fairchild vigorously pursued his campaign to depose Stewart. Having resigned as financial agent in June 1891, Fairchild now busied himself tying donations to a trust fund administered by the AMA and urging William G. Frost to accept a call to Berea's presidency. "There seems to be no doubt," Fairchild wrote to A. L. Barber, "that Berea will be saved to its friends and supporters though Mr. Fee is determined to oppose the movement as far as he can." Fairchild further suggested that "money subscribed should be sent to one place ready to meet the expenses of the year as soon as the trustees make their decision."[52] Writing to Frost, Fairchild claimed that Stewart had been "almost a failure from the beginning" and that Stewart was elected almost entirely through Fee's influence. Fairchild declared that, with the exception of Fee, the faculty and the majority of the trustees wanted Stewart to resign. Fairchild assured Frost that Berea's alumni and friends were fully committed to saving the college. If Frost accepted the presidency, Fairchild suggested that "the chances are



William G. Frost in his classroom at Oberlin. "The view in my room," Frost wrote, "is more inspiring when you turn the other way and face the class!"

good for several thousand dollars toward endowment of the President's chair between now [February 1892] and June next, and I should work to that end."[53]

The situation continued to deteriorate. Fee, Samuel Hanson, Josiah Burdette, and P. D. Dodge circulated a resolution that cleared Stewart of the charges lodged against him at Roger Williams College and dismissed the same as a "wicked story."[54] The Prudential Committee also requested that all agitations cease until the regular meeting of the trustees in June 1892. But it was too late. The trustees' meeting in Berea after commencement lasted for three days. When the donors' petition was discussed, George Leavitt of Cleveland, Ohio, and A. P. Foster of Roxbury, Massachusetts—the AMA nominees—were heard by the larger board and subsequently elected, along with J. P. Stoddard of Boston and T. M. McWhinney of Franklin, Ohio. Stewart resigned, objecting to the election of the new trustees as the mere result of recent conflict.[55] His resignation was accepted, the trustees noting in a unanimous resolution, "As an instructor he has shown great ability, bringing to his work, high scholarship and culture; and . . . we hope that his abilities will still be given to the cause of Christian education."[56]

Fairchild's machinations seemed to herald a new day. "While some divergence of views, as to certain lines of policy, was found to exist," the *Reporter* dryly observed, "the meeting closed with harmonious feeling and unanimous action, all hopeful that the great principles of equality and Christian unity, for which Berea stands, are to receive a new impetus."[57] But the very principles that the *Reporter* so hopefully recorded seemed to be missing during the whole sorry affair. Whatever the motives of E. P. Fairchild and his supporters, it was clear that Fee's influence on Berea College, for good or ill, was at an end. The Berea that Fee had envisioned and that Henry Fairchild had led was changing, but its future shape and character were, as yet, unclear.

William B. Stewart's presidency lasted barely two years, though he continued as a trustee until his term expired in 1895. The end of his formal connection to Berea passed without recorded comment. After his resignation from Berea's presidency, Stewart returned to Toronto, Canada. He lived out the remainder of his career in Christian education at the Toronto Bible Training School. He died on March 5, 1912, amid great sadness in Toronto, but this event, too, went unnoticed in Berea. To a large extent Stewart's administration was deliberately forgotten by his successors.

Lincoln Hall. Known originally as "Recitation Hall," this building housed administrative offices, classrooms, and literary society rooms. Students were just as likely to encounter President Stewart on their way to class as any other of their instructors.

Log Rolling

The controversy of the turbulent spring of 1892 and E. P. Fairchild's financial maneuvers are central to examining William B. Stewart's presidency and its effects on Berea's story. A fund-raising trip conducted by Fee and Stewart in 1892 "succeeded in removing some wrong impressions that had been made" but, as Stewart himself admitted, "the pressing demands of my classes prevented me from giving longer time to this work."[58] This statement, compounded by the very real financial distress of the college during his administration, has led some observers to conclude that Stewart was often too busy teaching to raise money.[59] Whatever his own faults may have been, Stewart was also clearly a victim of the deep divisions among the faculty and trustees over the future direction and control of the college. These same divisions changed Berea's sense of its mission and its history.

J. A. R. Rogers had warned his fellow trustees against the dangers of factions and mean-spiritedness. "The greatest pains should be taken to keep the school from being partisan, sectarian, and under the influence of a clique," Rogers wrote in 1891. "Anything like wire-pulling, log-rolling, secret, under-handed working for personal

ends, or to bring the College under the control of a party, will surely bring blight upon the Institution, and of course in the end upon those doing such things."[60] The very things Rogers warned his brother trustees against characterized the work of E. P. Fairchild and his allies in their efforts to "save" the college. For all their talk, this alliance of administrators and new trustees did not reveal a long commitment to see Berea into a more perfect future. Foster and Leavitt, the two trustees supported by the AMA, each served only one term. E. P. Fairchild left Berea in 1897 to work at Lincoln Memorial University in Harrogate, Tennessee, having fallen afoul of the man he had sought as Berea's next president, William G. Frost. The influence of the AMA itself also passed from the scene, as new trustees and donors took up Berea's cause.[61]

Partisanship would also change Berea's memory. Frost's "Historical Sketch" mentioned Stewart only once as "that sound Scotch preacher" preceding Frost's own notable administration at Berea.[62] In his autobiography, *For the Mountains,* Frost vaguely characterized Stewart as "unequal to the great task." Frost lauded E. P. Fairchild's efforts to organize donors who used their good influence to secure Stewart's resignation and bring Frost to Berea.[63] In this view Stewart's work was only a historical hiccup before Frost's life of leadership and destiny at Berea. The history written by J. A. R. Rogers in 1902 does not mention Stewart at all, though one of Stewart's contemporaries, Professor W. E. C. Wright, had his own recollections. "The contrast of Berea's hold today on public attention," Wright wrote to Frost in 1905, "with its low estate as left by Pres. Stewart is like a fairy tale."[64] Elisabeth

A faculty riding party. Tensions within the faculty regarding interracial education and Berea's slow progress in becoming a full-fledged college further undermined Stewart's leadership.

"Heading home after commencement." This family turns east toward their mountain home. Dozens of wagons and teams of horses or mules were tethered among the trees on campus during commencement time.

Peck makes only three brief references to Stewart in her centennial history written in 1955.[65] Stewart received little positive recognition until his presidency was reassessed by Bill Best in the 1970s and Jerome Hughes in the 1980s.[66]

From the beginning of the college, Berea and its leaders relied upon the school's history to inform its policies, to raise funds, and to advance the cause of the institution. The facts related to William B. Stewart's career are scarce, and apart from his two presidential reports, a couple of letters written to him, and his inaugural address, we have only the words of some of his opponents. The records of the Prudential Committee, of which Stewart was chair, are missing, as are the testimonials to his character and fitness considered by the faculty in 1890.[67] There is no formal reflection by Stewart upon his own career except at the end of his final report when he wrote, "To all these I may safely claim that I have given my best energies of head and heart and hand. The result is with God."[68] For many years to come, however, Stewart's energies were all but forgotten.

William Goodell Frost. A graduate of Oberlin and the son of abolitionist parents, Frost brought new power and energy to Berea's cause.

FOUR

The Telescope and the Spade

William Goodell Frost, 1892–1920

It is the old story of the New England college as a civilizer, and a church and state builder, only it is in a more interesting, and in many respects a more important, region. It is nothing less than the hand of the Lord which has made this opening. Think of the son of the owner of two hundred slaves sitting in the same class with a colored student! Think of a young man speaking at a temperance meeting when his brother is in the penitentiary for "moonshining." The Western frontier has fled away, and this is our last great piece of educational pioneering.

WILLIAM GOODELL FROST, 1895

A NEW world opened for Berea College with the second, unanimous election of William Goodell Frost to the presidency. Frost's opportunity came out of the controversies that had shredded William B. Stewart's unhappy administration, yet many believed that brighter prospects were in store for the college under Frost's leadership. Fully committed to Berea's interracial mission, Frost found that financial support for interracial education was in decline. Still, he affirmed that serving the "cause of Christ" in this uncommon way was the supreme aim of the school. Berea College, Frost forcefully argued, was a demonstration that what was right was also practical. During his twenty-eight-year presidency, Frost influenced every aspect of campus life from building design to curricular reforms to student rules and regulations. His charismatic and forceful personality were important assets in Frost's exhaustive fund-raising efforts. These same characteristics also proved to be extremely durable in the turbulent times that were still to come.

Any examination of William G. Frost's administration at Berea must include two remarkable events that cast long shadows over the smaller tumults of faculty governance, curriculum revisions, student life, and even fund-raising. The first is Frost's "discovery" of Appalachia, a topic that dominated college publicity literature after 1895 and significantly informed the college's response to the racist backlash in Kentucky against interracial education. Under Frost's leadership, Berea developed separate academic departments to meet a vast array of student educational needs. The college took its educational mission to mountain people through extension programs, though Frost's reforms did little to expand the College Department.

The second event is the segregationist Day Law, passed in 1904, which forced

Lewis and Maria Frost. As abolitionists and as temperance advocates, Frost's parents strongly influenced the reforming zeal of their son, William.

Berea to separate the races and to make painful choices in salvaging the college's fundamental mission. Frost's response to the Day Law and his perceived lack of commitment to Berea's interracial work led to severe criticism from Fee and others. The Day Law and northern philanthropy's interest in supporting education for southern mountaineers were symptomatic of larger forces in American life: the rising tide of racism and Jim Crow legislation in the South on the one hand, and the distrust of "foreign" immigration to the United States on the other. In concentrating Berea's educational efforts on Appalachia, President Frost chose to present and remember the college's mission and history in ways that were significantly different from those of Fee and Fairchild.

The Crusader

William G. Frost was born to the Reverend Lewis P. Frost and his wife, Maria Goodell Frost, on July 2, 1854, in Leroy, New York. William Frost's parents were abolitionists, and their home served as a way station on the Underground Railroad. Frost's grandfather was William Goodell, the notable New York abolitionist and journalist. His parents had both been influenced as students by Finney at Oberlin. Lewis Frost pastored a strong antislavery church, and both he and Maria were temperance advocates. Maria Frost wrote a tract, "Ten Reasons Why Women Should Vote," and her sister, Lavinia Goodell, was the first woman to practice law before the Wisconsin Supreme Court. This reformist lineage and the exciting days of his youth profoundly influenced William Frost, who in later years regarded himself as a crusader and discoverer.[1]

Frost was educated at Oberlin, where he graduated in 1876. At Oberlin he was influenced by literary society meetings, the lectures and addresses of prominent speakers, and the young people's prayer meeting. In 1877, after his entrance into Oberlin's School of Theology, Frost was invited to teach Greek. Daunted at the prospect, Frost studied at Harvard under the guidance of President Charles William Eliot, Professor Charles Eliot Norton, and others. He spent some time at Andover Seminary and in Boston, gaining inspiration "from the forms and faces of great men." Frost returned to his teaching duties at Oberlin, completed his seminary studies in 1879, and built a distinguished career as a professor of Greek language and literature, publishing several books and articles.[2]

Family life also influenced Frost's outlook. In 1876 he married Louise Raney, whom he had met while teaching in Raymond, Wisconsin. Together they had three children, Stanley, Wesley, and Norman. She supported his teaching and reform efforts but died of a baffling illness in 1890. In his sorrow, Frost "did not find all the triumph a Christian should in this soul-quelling bereavement." Yet in 1891 a "fresh springtime" appeared in the person of Eleanor Marsh, an Oberlin graduate and an admired friend of Frost and his children. They were married after Oberlin's commencement and in time, two more children, Edith and Cleveland, were born.[3]

William and Eleanor Frost were traveling in Europe when Frost received his second call to Berea in 1892 (the first having been when he was elected president in 1889). Eleanor summarized her husband's choice as having to decide between becoming "a stirring evangelistic pioneer worker" and being "the cultured Christian scholar." For Eleanor, the call from Berea seemed "like the cry of a drowning man." Was William Goodell Frost the right man to save Berea College? "Is it worth saving," Eleanor wrote, "as compared to the influences which you will save to Oberlin as long as you stay there."[4] Frost accepted the college's invitation, convinced of the trustees' support for "all races alike, low expenses, student earnings, and 'courses for varied wants.'" Whatever her own reservations, Eleanor Frost's work on behalf of Berea in later years as a teacher, fund-raiser, and extension worker gave her a significant reputation all her own.[5]

By the time William G. Frost arrived at Berea he already possessed remarkable credentials. He was an established scholar and teacher. He had studied the educational systems of England and Germany. He had a knowledge of politics, having run for lieutenant governor of Ohio on the Prohibition ticket as an advocate for civil service reform. Frost was an ordained Congregational minister, inspired by Charles Grandison Finney, Wendell Phillips, and other great evangelists of his time. He regarded Horace Mann and General Samuel C. Armstrong of Hampton Institute as significant educational role models. William Frost himself was described by the *Berea College Reporter* as a scholar, reformer, orator, evangelist, politician, enthusiast, and aggressive leader.[6] He energetically brought all these gifts to bear on Berea's mission.

Eleanor Marsh Frost. Deeply religious, Eleanor organized women in both the college and the town to assist her in "neighboring," helping the poor, the sick, and the hungry in the community and nearby countryside.

For the Mountains

For many Americans, the southern Appalachian region was a strange and peculiar place. Popular knowledge of this mythic breeding ground of ballads and bandits was most often based on the stories of local-color writers such as Mary Murfree and John Fox Jr. The writings of Murfree, Fox, and many others were serialized in the emerging popular literary and missionary magazines of the latter 1890s. Mountain people were often depicted as the lost descendents of aristocratic forebears, a retarded population bypassed by the march of American progress. The everyday life of Appalachian people was characterized by isolation and the preservation of pioneer ways dating back to revolutionary times. Local-color stories portrayed a dialect

Mountain woman in homespun. For William G. Frost, the bonnet and mittens represented an aristocratic history that revealed the good "stock" to be found in mountain people.

littered with survivals of Elizabethan words and idioms. Narratives from the Civil War era noted the fierce patriotism of mountaineer Unionists and their hatred of the Confederacy. Missionaries, ignoring the presence of indigenous Appalachian churches, described mountain people as unchurched—that is, their religion was unrecognizable to mainline Christianity. Ironically, only a few teachers, writers, and missionaries were familiar with Appalachia; the region was not yet of national interest or concern.[7]

In his initial plans for Berea, William Goodell Frost took no notice of Appalachia. He did suggest that the presence of more northern white students would "give a good tone to the school" and that their presence would encourage white southern students to attend the college as well. College stationery bore the slogan "Northern Advantages in a Southern Climate." Frost also argued that northern colleges and universities had set the standard for excellence that Berea should emulate. While Frost's suggestion of more northern students reflected his own northern abolitionist background, he was not alone in his views. Many northerners believed that a migration of northern individuals and families into the South would "civilize" the region, ensuring its loyalty and patriotism within the Union. In achieving the standards set by northern schools and by securing northern approval, Frost also believed that Berea would attract national attention. Frost ultimately concluded that the mountaineer would be the leading element in building a New England in the South.[8]

Frost first encountered Appalachia during his teaching days at Oberlin. Traveling with three companions, he wandered the West Virginia hills, visiting several small communities. Frost shared dinner with "a woman who sold whiskey," and his early impressions of the region were largely romantic.[9] Frost's next foray into the mountains took place in 1893, under the guidance of Frank Hays, a Union veteran. Frost now "discovered" a population in the eastern Kentucky mountains that had much in common with early New Englanders. Mountain people had preserved colonial handicrafts, music, and other folkways. They were the

descendants of Revolutionary War veterans and their patriotism was revealed in their loyalty to the Union during the Civil War. Frost's feeling toward these newfound Americans was "not superiority, but fellowship."[10]

Mountain students, in Frost's view, provided the answer to Berea's nagging enrollment problems. For Frost, integrated education would work only if white students attended in greater numbers and from a wider area beyond Berea's environs. Frost now defined Berea's mission in terms of "effacing sectional lines." By this he meant breaking down traditional social and cultural barriers, thus cultivating "a true national spirit." He defined the "Southern Problem" as the result of "the divergence and estrangement of the two halves of our country—it is the impact of two sets of dominant ideas." Education and "uplift" of African Americans were only a partial solution; complete victory could be obtained only by working with the white people of the South. Frost asserted that the South could not be intellectually subjugated. Instead, Berea College would become the leader in developing a liberal southern movement that would demonstrate the practicability of Berea's ideals. Because Kentucky had been a border state during the Civil War, Frost argued that Berea was ideally suited to draw students from both the North and the South. With the presence of mountain students, Frost believed that "the best ideals are sure to prevail at last. Moreover, the young people attending a college of moral ideas, engaged in practical Christian work, acquire a peculiar moral tone—they drink in a certain public spirit along with the mountain air!"[11]

A mountain farm. Mountain people, as Frost saw it, were isolated from the best that American society offered, yet mountaineers held the promise of correcting the darker flaws in the American character.

Frost's idea of public-spiritedness was grounded in his understanding of mountain people and their character. He believed that educational work in Appalachia would equip mountain people for the role they would play in the great national epic. "Their territory," Frost wrote in 1895, "will be a fountain of national vigor and patriotism. . . . Under proper guidance this mountain folk will off set some of our undesirable foreign populations, and overflow the South with a new element."[12] Mountain people were ideal because they were uncontaminated by slavery and were neither "foreigners,

Daisy Nickum. This Ohio student was one of many northern students who Frost believed would improve the quality of the college. "I know I shall be better and more ladylike," Daisy wrote to her parents, "if I ever live to get out of here."

nor Catholics, nor aliens, nor infidels."[13] According to Frost, Berea's work was one of "national concern." Residing in Appalachia were millions of *real* Americans, just waiting for the opportunity to join the march of American progress.

The mountaineers' need for education was borne out not only in their patriotic sensibilities, but also in their cultural characteristics. Besides being Americans of many generations, Frost observed, Appalachian people were "religious, truthful, hospitable, and much addicted to killing one another. They are leading a life of survivals, spinning cloth in the manner of centuries ago, and preserving many fine Shakespearean phrases and pronunciations; they may be called our contemporary ancestors!"[14] Appalachian people then were neither black freedmen to be patronized nor immigrants to be scorned. The mountaineer was as familiar as the grandfather who had fought in the American Revolution. The region inhabited by mountain people was exotic and far-off, "the mountainous backyards of nine states." Appalachia, in Frost's view, was symbolic of arrested development in the midst of progress. Frost called the southern mountain region "Appalachian America," a peculiar place where pioneer people and their ways were preserved intact.[15]

The new drive for white mountain students did not impress everyone, however. African American alumni feared that Frost's efforts to build up white enrollments would diminish the college's commitment to interracial education. John T. Robinson criticized the impression among Berea staff and supporters that black students were present at Berea because of the "gracious favor" and "forbearance of the whites." He reminded Frost and others that coeducation of the races had been contemplated at the start and to think otherwise was "a serious mistake."[16] This debate was further exacerbated by Frost's refusal to promote James Hathaway to professor. Hathaway, Berea's only African American teacher, resigned in 1893. The ensuing controversy put Frost on the defensive, and Hathaway claimed that Frost was changing Berea's image from being a "mere colored school" to one that was pre-

"Men Proud of Being Dangerous." Feuds and violence were seen as significant barriers to educational progress in Appalachia.

African American students, c. 1901. Fee and other supporters of Berea's interracial mission feared that Frost's apparent obsession with Appalachia would isolate African Americans from desperately needed educational opportunities.

dominately white, though still integrated. Frost dismissed these criticisms, claiming that Berea remained open to all in keeping with the founders' vision.[17]

Wider trends in American society only confirmed the concerns of many of Berea's African American alumni. The cult of Anglo-Saxonism emerging nationally in the 1890s claimed a pure racial ancestry and heritage that stood in stark contrast to the numerous immigrants crowding American ports. Northern philanthropists were deeply impressed with the patriotism, loyalty, and Scotch-Irish ancestry of mountain folk and donated heavily to Berea's educational cause. Mountaineers would prove "a glorious national asset," Frost wrote. "They are the unspoiled and vigorous reserve forces. They will offset the undesirable foreign elements, and give the South what it has always lacked, a sturdy middle class."[18]

Many northerners welcomed Frost and Berea's "discovery" of mountain people because Appalachians represented the right sort of racial and cultural characteristics. At the same moment, African Americans were cast aside by social reformers in much regional and national literature as foreign and savage, unworthy of inclusion in the Anglo-Saxon nation.[19] Frost's commitment to serving Appalachian youth was perceived by many Berea supporters, black and white, as a retreat from the college's historic founding ideals.

Hostile Legislation

William Frost's enthusiasm for mountaineer

Ladies' Hall, Memorial Day, 1898. While this view shows a heavily integrated student body, by 1895 the college's publicity literature said nothing about Berea's interracial character.

education was tempered by increasing national opposition to Berea's coeducation of the races. When Frost took the presidential mantle in 1892, he expressed deep commitment to Berea's interracial purposes. "The peculiar work for years to come," Frost wrote to the trustees in 1892, "is for the colored race." He also emphasized the college's efforts in "teaching the races to live and work together, and to afford an object lesson to the whole country." In asserting Berea's work in interracial education, Frost maintained one of Berea's fundamental aims.[20] Nevertheless, the deepening shadow of prejudice and hatred that was advancing steadily across the South would soon arrive in Berea.

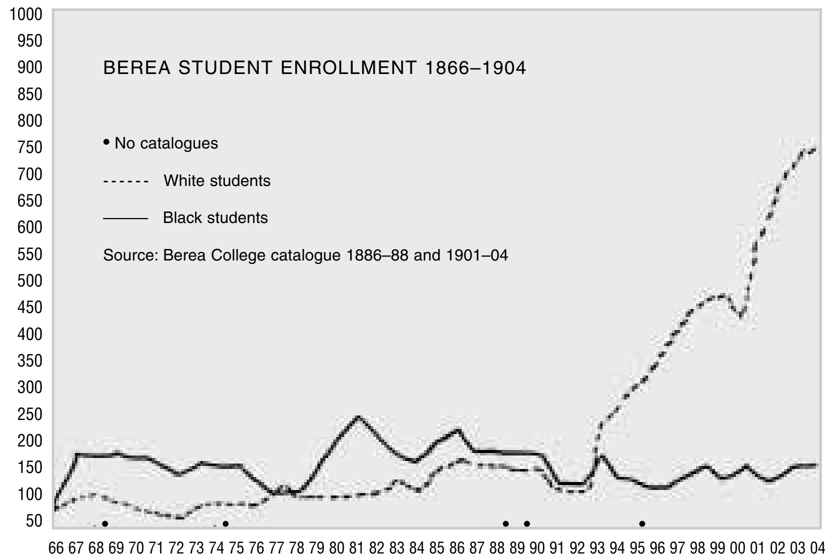
Separate-school laws were one manifestation of this rising prejudice against African Americans. In 1891 the AMA founded an integrated industrial school in Florida and legislation had been introduced to force the school to segregate. In 1901 the "Maryville Law" ended interracial education in Tennessee. A similar bill had been discussed in Kentucky that same year, but no action had been taken. Frost began writing letters, preaching, and speaking out against such hostile legislation. He urged Berea's

friends and supporters to be prepared in the event that a separate-school law be proposed affecting private schools. In 1904 the nightmare became a reality.[21]

On January 12, 1904, Representative Carl Day, a Democrat from Breathitt County, Kentucky, introduced House Bill 25. This bill declared it "unlawful for any person, corporation, or association of persons to maintain or operate any college, school, or institution where persons of the white and Negro races are both received as pupils for instruction." The bill also proposed substantial financial penalties for any defiance: $50 upon each teacher, $50 upon each student (white or black), and $1,000 upon the institution for each day's violation of the law. Finally, no private school could maintain an integrated branch within a twenty-five-mile radius of the parent institution.[22]

The debate surrounding the bill focused on race rather than politics. Both Democrats and Republicans supported the legislation. Some legislators and critics of the college circulated vicious rumors about Berea's campus life, inflaming fears of miscegenation among the white populace. A petition in support of the bill, signed by eight hundred Madison County residents, complained that Berea College had acted "in open defiance of the organic law of this Commonwealth, as it then existed, and has been maintained in opposition to the customs, views, and most cherished convictions of the good people of this county."[23] A remonstrance sent by Berea's faculty in June 1904 declared that there had been no scandal at the college, and a number of townspeople also petitioned against the bill. There was ambivalence about the bill within the town itself, however. Many whites who had been attracted to Berea's educational advantages were not sympathetic to the college's interracial mission or the community's integrated origins.[24]

The college's tactics in resisting the bill were also ambivalent. While asserting the unjust intent of the Day bill, Frost and the college strongly opposed mixed public schools and interracial marriage. In an address to the Senate Committee on Education, Frost further addressed the fear of race mixing. "The Berea way of preventing the mingling of the races is not by repressing the Negro and calling him by humiliating names, but we put such character and self-respect into the Negro that he keeps himself in order." Frost also noted the minority status of black students at Berea, and he pointed out that the races maintained their own social lives, though some of his critics believed he had advocated race separation on campus. Indeed, the interracial character of enrollment had changed. As recently as 1893, only five of the sixty-four women living in Ladies' Hall were white. By 1898 the majority of students living in Ladies' Hall



Berea student enrollment, 1866–1904. African American students either equaled or outnumbered their white peers throughout Berea's history until after 1893, when white enrollments far surpassed those of blacks (from Burnside, *Philanthropists and Politicians*).

and Howard Hall were white.[25]

Frost's view was hardly the strident egalitarianism of Fee and Henry Fairchild. He instead chose to portray Berea as a moderate institution that simply demonstrated the possibility of the races studying and working together. He emphasized the college's commitment to industrial education (in line with Booker T. Washington's model at Tuskegee) and glossed over Berea's historic commitment to social equality. Frost's views of the races and of the college's essential mission were quite different from those of his predecessors. "The work of Berea for the Negro," he wrote in 1894, "is not to be measured by the numbers of its colored students. . . . Our great work is to reconcile the two races, and to make friends for the colored people among the southern whites." For Frost, "keeping the two races in substantial equality . . . had never been an essential part of Berea's program."[26] The crisis now demanded, in Frost's view, the survival of the institution, whatever the cost.

House Bill 25 was passed overwhelmingly in both houses of the Kentucky legislature and took effect in July 1904. The college then made a friendly arrangement with local authorities to violate the law in the fall term, thus creating an opportunity to test the law's constitutionality. On October 8, 1904, a Madison County grand jury indicted the college for violating the Day Law, and so began a series of court cases that lasted until 1908.

In the state courts (*Commonwealth v. Berea College*), the college challenged the law as an abridgment of the liberty of contract and as impeding the freedom to engage in a lawful calling. These were both, in the college's view, violations of the federal constitutional right of due process. The Kentucky Court of Appeals (in *Berea College v. Commonwealth*, 1906) found the law to be a reasonable protection of the public welfare. In their opinion the Kentucky justices asserted that racial separation was "deeper and more important than the matter of choice."[27]

The college's appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States brought no relief, either. The Court avoided the civil rights question altogether, ruling that the State of Kentucky, in incorporating Berea College, had also retained the right to alter or repeal the college's charter. The Court further ruled that the Day Law did not halt Berea's ability to furnish education to all persons but merely required the two races to be educated at different times or at different places at least twenty-five miles apart (*Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky*, 1908). Finally, the Court ruled that the state must be able to use its police powers to protect what the Commonwealth regarded as the public good. Justice John Marshall Harlan, a Kentuckian, argued that the Day Law trampled the constitutional liberties of individuals to impart knowledge to others and to meet for innocent purposes. "Have we become so inoculated with prejudice of race," Harlan wrote in his dissenting opinion, "that an American government professedly based on the principles of freedom . . . can make distinctions between such citizens . . . simply because of their respective races?"[28]

As the case progressed through the courts, Frost and the college faced an unenviable choice in responding to the Day Law if it were upheld. Should Berea become a white school or a black school? Should the college move to another state, or close alto-

Phi Delta Literary Society, 1903–4. Founded in 1866, Phi Delta was the oldest student organization at Berea. The Day Law forced the college to segregate and shattered hard-won friendships.

gether? Moving the school northward would diminish Berea's interracial witness in the South, and closure was unacceptable. If the college was forced to segregate, then institutional survival would require choosing which students would stay and which students would have to go. Trustees, donors, supporters, and alumni alike were split on the subject.

On the one hand, defending Berea as an integrated school seemed to be the only chance of maintaining the college's original intent. "I advise as strongly as I can," Booker T. Washington wrote to Frost, "and that is every effort should be made to convince the members of the legislature that your present organization of the college ought not to be disturbed, and that no harm has taken place by reason of your present policy."[29] J. R. Rogers, a Berea trustee and a son of J. A. R. Rogers, urged Frost to "fight this thing *to the bitter end* alone if need be," and to hold fast to Berea's principles until all legal recourse was exhausted. "If Berea does not do this," J. R. Rogers continued, "you will personally be accused of desiring the passage of this law and to quietly acquiesce will confirm the opinion . . . that in the bottom of your heart you would be glad to be rid of the Negro problem in Berea. I have always denied this and do not believe it."[30] Frost himself had written in 1901 that at Berea "we simply assume the brotherhood of man as all the great schools of America and the world do. . . . The position thus calmly held must be maintained at all hazards." Frost

"Homespun, Spring 1900." A group of mountain students gather around a spinning wheel. These young people were part of Frost's efforts to build a "New England in the South."

noted many victories in Berea's integrated experiment. Blacks, he observed, were duly represented in clubs, literary societies, and sports teams. These social connections, along with reciting in classes together, promoted good understanding and eroded prejudice. "It is simply impossible," Frost argued, "for Berea College to change its platform. The record of Berea's forty years abundantly vindicates its position."[31]

On the other hand, if Berea had to choose between its African American students and its white mountain students, who would stay? A. D. Mayo, a prominent Unitarian minister and educational reformer from Boston, suggested that black education would suffer until "the white 'third estate' that now is in complete control can be educated into American christian [*sic*] ideas of their obligation and opportunity with respect thereto." Berea, Mayo added, was probably not the only way to uplift African Americans. The college's singular integrated atmosphere was only short-lived, and students of both races faced significant obstacles when leaving the school. Departing black students would "find nothing like the Berea intercourse with the White race possible," Mayo wrote, while white students, "certainly outside their own community if not within, [would] face the odium that almost universally attaches to the Berea practices."[32]

Both Frost and Mayo recognized the increasing lack of philanthropic interest in interracial education, as well as the wider society's increasing hostility toward social equality between the races. Mayo suggested that blacks had opportunities for technical, collegiate, and professional schooling in the North, but that Kentucky did not have a Hampton or a Tuskegee. If separation was required, he observed, then Berea could maintain the founder's vision by erecting such a school for its displaced African American students. Berea's faculty also endorsed the idea of a separate school that would meet the particular needs of black students. The peculiarities to be met in the proposed industrial and normal schools were not specified. William E. Barton, now a prominent Congregational minister and a Berea trustee, concluded that Appalachian people needed the same educational opportunities offered to African Americans. "[The] Colored race," Barton argued, "has its Fisk, its Tuskegee, its Atlanta, and its

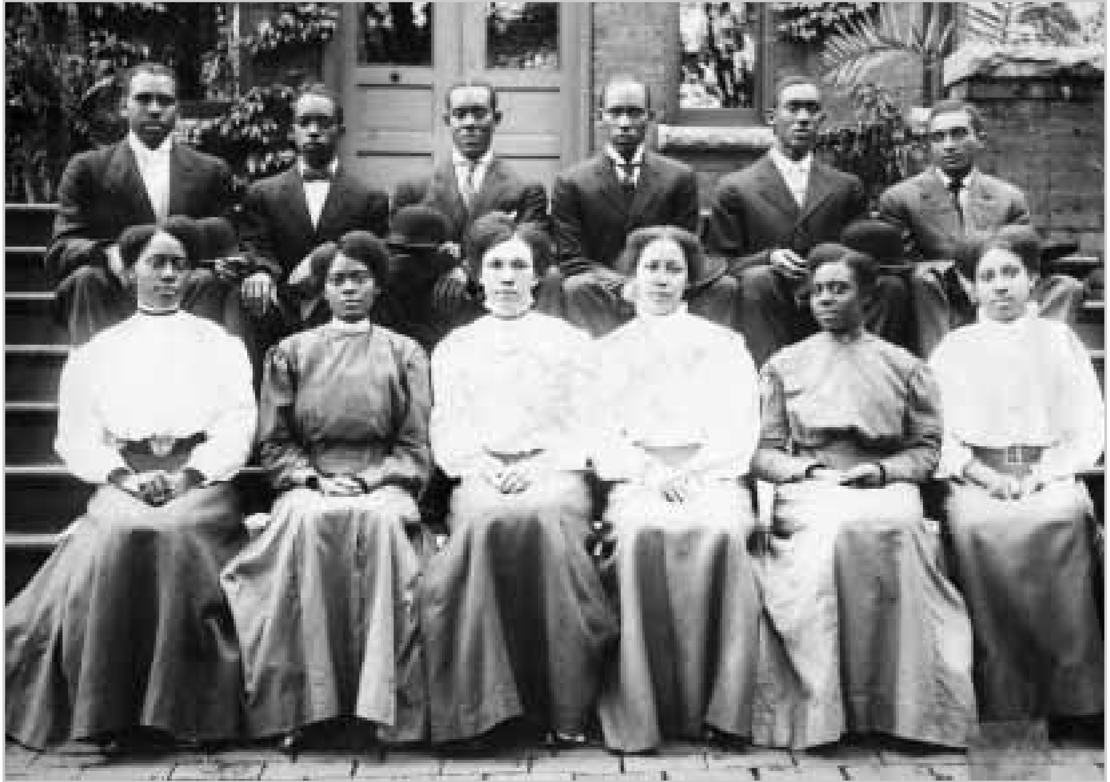
African American students, c. 1900. Even before the passage of the Day Law, many African American students and alumni wondered if Berea was being taken away from them.

scores of other colleges, but the sons of these loyal mountaineers, equally worthy and equally needy, have no such array of colleges for their uplifting."[33]

It was Barton's view that prevailed. To ease the plight of the displaced black students, the trustees authorized the payment of tuition and fees at other schools such as Fisk, Tuskegee, and Hampton. The trustees voted to help black students continue their education until a final decision was rendered by the highest court. Fifty-two students accepted the trustees' offer in the first year. African Americans who had attended Berea prior to 1904 and a few special students received aid until 1911. These students were listed in Berea's catalogue as "Berea College Students at Other Institutions."[34]

Financial support alone could not meet the needs of Berea's African American students, however. In 1906, when the Kentucky Court of Appeals upheld the Day Law, the trustees devised a plan to establish a new black school or department. Modeled after the programs available at Tuskegee and Hampton, the school would emphasize industrial education and teacher training, and promising students could attend Berea to further their education in the event the Day Law was overturned. Frost believed that Kentucky blacks would now have their own version of these distinguished schools.[35]

Frost and the trustees then turned their attention to financing the new school. In reviewing the college's financial assets, they devised a formula on the basis of African American enrollment at Berea. Though specific gifts for black education at Berea were small, Frost and others insisted that African Americans had a moral claim to some portion of all of Berea's assets. Since black enrollment before 1892 was about half African American, it was agreed that half of the funds raised by Fee and Rogers in the early days should be committed to the new



Berea students at Knoxville College, c. 1905. Financial aid was distributed from Berea on behalf of these students and others attending such institutions as Hampton Institute, Tuskegee, and Wilberforce.

school. This amounted to $100,000. The trustees then allowed another $100,000 from the funds raised during Frost's tenure, on the basis of the enrollment in the last integrated year at Berea (157 black students of 961, or one-sixth). Frost argued that an additional $200,000 was needed to give the new school a fighting start, and he took upon himself the burden of fund-raising. This new campaign was called the Adjustment Fund.[36]

The fund drive got off to a spectacular start when Andrew Carnegie gave $200,000 to meet the portion of Berea's endowment set aside for the new school. Other donors from the Northeast gave almost $100,000, and a Cincinnati donor gave $50,000 with the provision that the same amount be raised in Kentucky. Two African American alumni, James Bond and Kirke Smith, personally raised approximately $19,000 among Kentucky blacks, and other friends of Berea made up the rest. By July 1909 the $400,000 needed for the Adjustment Fund had been subscribed.[37]

The new school's location presented the next quandary. The appeals court decision had struck down the Day Law's provision that set a twenty-five-mile minimum between an institution and its opposite-race department. In theory, at least, Berea could have built the new school right next to the existing campus. The trustees, however, concluded that the largest concentration of African Americans in Kentucky resided near Louisville, so a site near this population was sought. Complicating matters was the passage of the Holland Law, which for-

Architectural rendering of Lincoln Institute. Only the tower section and one side of Berea Hall (center) were completed, a symbol, perhaps, of only partially realized hopes and dreams.

bade the establishment of a school on a site larger than 75 acres without the consent of the district's voters. Declared unconstitutional in June 1910, the Holland Law nevertheless caused considerable anxiety in the search for a site. Finally, the college purchased some 450 acres east of Louisville, near the community of Simpsonville in Shelby County.[38]

Lincoln Institute, as the new school was called, was incorporated in January 1910. The campus buildings and landscaping were designed by the African American architectural firm of Tandy and Foster. The main administration building, Berea Hall, was completed in 1911. The school had its own trustees, donors, and funds. The institute's first principal was the Reverend A. E. Thomson, formerly the pastor of Berea's Union Church. Like many of the first teachers at Lincoln, Thomson was white. The presence of James Bond, Kirke Smith, and others gave the institute grounding in Berea's ideals. After its incorporation, Lincoln Institute developed its own history and tradition separate from Berea's.[39]

Frost described the whole ordeal of the Day Law and the establishment of Lincoln Institute as "a fight for the freedman." It had been a costly struggle. Many donors and alumni saw Berea's choice to become a white school as a betrayal of the founding dream. To his critics, the fact that Berea began planning a separate school for blacks before the legal fight had ended provided further evidence of Frost's accommodationist stance. Furthermore, the lack of a collegiate department at Lincoln Institute meant that African American students had to search elsewhere for the education that Berea had provided. Some critics even went so far as to accuse Frost of aiding or even authoring the Day Law, but there is absolutely no evidence to support this contention. It is clear, however, that like many white progressives of his era, William Goodell Frost retreated from the college's radical assertion of social equality. His fasci-

Lincoln Institute faculty, 1914. In the front row, the Rev. James Bond stands to the right of the Rev. A. E. Thomson (center), Lincoln's first principal.

nation with the education of white mountaineers, combined with the backlash of Jim Crow laws throughout the South, severely diminished Frost's image as a "friend of the Negro." Though Berea's interracial mission had been halted, Frost continued his work for white Appalachia.[40]

Something Good for Every Comer

Frost moved energetically to develop an educational program to serve the mountains. He affirmed that while the College, Normal, Academic, and Elementary Departments carried on their own separate programs, there was also an educational benefit when these departments worked together. "It is an advantage," Frost observed in his inaugural address, "for the normal student to breathe a little college air, for the college student to keep in touch with practical life and with missionary work, and for both to learn something of the dignity of manual toil." Liberal learning must, in Frost's view, be balanced by practical skill. "Berea College," he wrote, "stands with a spade and a spelling book in one hand, and a telescope and a Greek Testament in the other."[41]

With reforming zeal, Frost proclaimed Berea's mission as supremely Christian. The college's public role was to provide an example of right living and higher thinking. "It is the mission of a Christian school," he argued, "to elevate, to *create* public sentiment."[42] In September 1892 the faculty and trustees adopted several resolutions that affirmed Berea's mission of placing education within the reach of all persons. Berea was committed, on the basis of the "ideals of Christianity, as well as of true democracy," to admitting students according to their attainments and character.[43] Furthermore, no student would be excluded from Berea

Vocational School students. Future nurses, farmers, carpenters, and home economists prepare to change their home counties, one community at a time.

for lack of means. "We have no diviner call," Frost declared, "than to gather the multitudes who will otherwise be untaught, hold them for a longer or a shorter time according to their capacity, and give to each youth a bent in the upward direction."[44]

In 1893 Frost began a series of reforms that adapted courses for varied wants. These reforms resulted in the emergence of a number of schools under the aegis of Berea College, expanding the work of what had previously been mere departments. In 1902 Frost proposed that each school ultimately have its own dean, faculty, and buildings. This academic segregation prevented students from taking courses outside the school in which they were enrolled. The Normal School focused on preparing teachers for public school work. The Vocational School offered short courses in carpentry, bricklaying, agriculture, nursing, printing, and home science. The Academy maintained the high-school-level courses of the old Preparatory Department. The Model School offered elementary education and evolved finally into the Foundation School. Frost believed that this diversity of schools would provide education for "both the scholar and the man with the hoe." By 1913 five distinct departments had been firmly established—College, Normal, Academy, Vocational, and Foundation.[45]

Extension work offered another method for providing educational opportunities in the region. During the Fairchild administration, LeVant Dodge had been released to conduct teachers' institutes in the mountains and to search for promising students, but these efforts were limited in scope. In 1893 the faculty's Committee on Outside Representation commissioned two maps, one showing the location and name of every family within one mile of Ladies' Hall and another showing every school and church

Chautauqua on wheels. Charles S. Knight stands on the back of the Berea Extension Wagon. Knight and his fellow workers went out into the nearby hills to spread the good news of Jesus Christ, Berea College, and American democracy, though not necessarily in that order.

within six miles of the campus.[46] Armed with this information, teachers visited nearby families and outlying school districts, "preparing the way for Berea influence."[47] This early effort prefigured even larger plans for Berea's outreach into the mountains.

University extension lecturing was to be recognized as a regular department of the college's work, Frost observed in 1897.[48] The Extension Department's work developed many facets: lectures, Sunday schools, institutes, and libraries. Professors traveled in the mountains, offering lectures on selected topics such as mountain agriculture, temperance, health and sanitation, rural schools, and forestry. The Extension Department's equipment consisted of horses and mules, buggies and carriages, two baby organs, two stereopticons, and other necessary utensils.[49] C. Rexford Raymond suggested the establishment of social or college settlements in the remoter counties to serve as outposts of Berea's influence. "We have only touched in a few places one side of our field," Raymond observed, "while the great undiscovered country of Appalachian America stretches out before us."[50] Frost's advocacy of short courses to meet the immediate needs of mountain people also informed his view of extension work. "The starting of these people toward greater light," he noted in 1902, "is so urgent a matter that we cannot wait for them to come to Berea. Indirectly our extension work will bring many students, but the immediate object is to benefit those who may never come."[51]

Eleanor Frost was one of the many notable extension workers who advanced Berea's cause. She had traveled with her husband on previous extension tours, but her most remarkable effort occurred in 1914. Seeking fresh information on moun-

tain life to assist William Frost's fund-raising efforts, Eleanor, her son Cleveland, and Olive Sinclair set out on horseback on July 5, 1914. Her diary and letters document her impressions of mountain schools, church services, and the condition of mountain families, particularly women.[52]

Beginning in Owsley County, Kentucky, and then moving south into Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina, Eleanor Frost turned her progressive eye toward the needs of mountain people. She lamented the unsanitary conditions of some mountain homes and decried the poor nutrition presented at mountain tables. In one home that she visited, she experienced "filth unspeakable, greasy oilcloth, dishes, smells, . . . bedbugs. Impossible to eat."[53] Her dismay extended to other homes where cleanliness and hygiene were clearly neglected. She was repulsed by tobacco use in general and scorned women who "smoked and spat."[54] Eleanor Frost was also quick to praise what she regarded as glimpses of progress. Describing a Berea supporter's home in Owsley County, Frost found the "kitchen immaculate, utensils over table, stove, dishtable, cupboard in row. [S]creen doors, no flies, swept yard, plants."[55] She also spoke admiringly of mountain women who earned extra income through sewing, gardening, raising livestock, and handicrafts. These contrasting observations of mountain life moved Frost to recommend the expansion of Berea's home economics curriculum, particularly in the College Department. She also advocated the conversion of some former homesteads in Berea into model houses where young women could learn how to manage their own rural homes and families.[56]

Like other extension workers, Eleanor Frost visited schools and churches in the mountains. She carefully noted that poor facilities and ill-trained instructors in some mountain schools frustrated genuine learning. Although new, graded schools were beginning to appear in the mountains, Frost believed that the one-room school would still be the most common experience for most mountain children. She remained hopeful of Berea's contribution, however. "I left those shut-in valleys with a fresh gratitude for the public school system," Frost wrote in 1914. "With all its imperfections, what a power if we can only put a real

Eleanor Frost. Her journey through numerous Appalachian counties provided a first-hand account of mountain conditions, the success of Berea alumni, and the continuing need to adapt Berea's work.

Six mountain preachers. Eleanor Frost valued the important role of religion in mountain life. The ministers portrayed here were gathered at New Prospect Church in Clay County, Kentucky.

teacher into each schoolhouse."[57] Observing mountain churches, Frost found many preachers who were largely uneducated and made their living from farming or storekeeping. She was deeply moved by their preaching style, however. "The rhapsodic style of preaching has in it an element of great value," she wrote. "I would like to see our men let themselves go, say with fervor the things they believe, and let the grammar come as it will."[58] She did not want Berea students to reject their home churches precipitously, but to fall in with local congregational custom. For Eleanor Frost, organizing Berea's program to influence the home, the church, and the school was the key to reforming mountain life. "The planning of our Berea courses to fit," she wrote to her husband, "is our absolutely greatest problem."[59]

Curriculum reforms and the enlargement of other programs did not lead to an expansion of the College Department, however. Berea could not "measure her usefulness solely by the number of her classical graduates," Frost wrote to the trustees in 1892. "We will urge no student to take a college course who has not the capacity for it. We will take pleasure and pride in the student who leaves school forever at the end of a single year with a few moral ideas and the germs of religion and civilization in his heart."[60] Frost believed that the success of the college was rooted in the expansion of the other Berea schools. College graduates, in Frost's view, could not be produced fast enough to spread the good news of Berea's opportunity. Nevertheless, he argued, the numerous graduates of the Normal and Vocational Schools were the most effectual advocates in identifying young talent and

pointing it toward Berea. Frost further believed that if all these short-course graduates acted as good Christians, then Berea's influence would be extended throughout Appalachia. This influence, Frost reasoned, would bring the best students to Berea. In a generation or so, Appalachian youth would be ready for collegiate courses.[61]

College courses changed very little in Frost's time. The 1892 resolutions noted that the school would not "provide the elective courses which are desirable to many specialists" but would offer courses "ample for ordinary educational purposes and carried out with adequate apparatus and according to the most approved methods."[62] During Frost's twenty-eight-year administration, the catalogues described the classical course as the standard curriculum found in other American colleges and universities. Besides the B.A., the college offered other four-year degrees, but these programs, including the pedagogical course (B.Ped.) and the philosophical course (Ph.B.), required only two years of college work supplemented by two years in the Preparatory or Normal Department. Though the College Department increased from 25 students in 1893 to 215 in 1920, the proportion of collegiate students relative to total enrollment in all the departments was no higher than it was before Frost came to Berea.[63]

Even at the end of his active career, William Goodell Frost was convinced that he had acted correctly in serving Appalachia's educational needs. He derided the "custodians of education" who handed out learning in "car-load lots." Berea's two-year courses in teaching, agriculture, home economics, carpentry, and other areas equipped mountaineers to meet the pressing problems of Appalachia. Frost claimed that the needs of the mountains were so immediate that a long, drawn-out education was not the demand of the hour. By 1890 the Appalachian region and its massive natural resources in coal and timber were being integrated into the larger national economy. Railroads, industry, and tourism were powerful emblems of America's discovery of the region. Berea's success was measured instead by its commitment to meeting Appalachian problems in a practical way. "Your age, your tastes," Frost confidently observed, "the family condition at home, the need for your active work are such that you ought not to try to stay four years more. So we will give you the best possible selection for a two-year course. If you finish that, we will recognize you as a scholar."[64] In assessing his own administration, William G. Frost pointed to a variety of accomplishments. He strongly believed that the Vocational and Foundation Schools were better suited to

Collegiate graduates, 1901. The small size of the College Department yielded tiny graduating classes, but powerful results. The careers of these graduates included a stenographer, a missionary, a dentist, a surgeon, a superintendent of schools, and the founder of an industrial college.

A mountain school. William Frost's emphasis on building up the Normal Department was motivated in large part by the need for qualified teachers in the numerous one- and two-room schools that dotted mountain hillsides. Teacher institutes conducted through the extension service provided continuing education experiences for rural teachers and helped locate promising students for attendance at Berea.

mountain needs, and that his short courses prepared students to meet the pressing problems of the region. In Frost's view, students seeking four-year collegiate degrees were lost to the mountains.[65] He urged the expansion of extension work and noted that World War I had caused a general "awakening" in the mountains that offered a significant educational opportunity. Frost pointed to the stability of the different academic departments and Berea's increasing sphere of influence through the "annexation" of mountain counties in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Finally, he pointed out the utility of student labor in teaching "the principle that every educated person should know the value of a dollar as measured in perspiration and responsible, cooperative, productive effort."[66] Berea's reformist legacy, commitment to labor, and educational service to Appalachia embodied Frost's interpretation of the college's mission.

Service to the Appalachian region had become the dominant feature of Berea's mission, and the college's constitution was changed in 1911 to designate Appalachia as the school's special field of endeavor. In developing various schools and curricula adapted to mountain needs, Frost and his colleagues believed that they had laid the foundation for bringing the region into harmony with the wider national experience. Furthermore, Frost believed that his "discovery" of Appalachian mountain people had bolstered the national character while offsetting the "foreignness" of blacks and immigrants. "Our Mountaineers, no longer

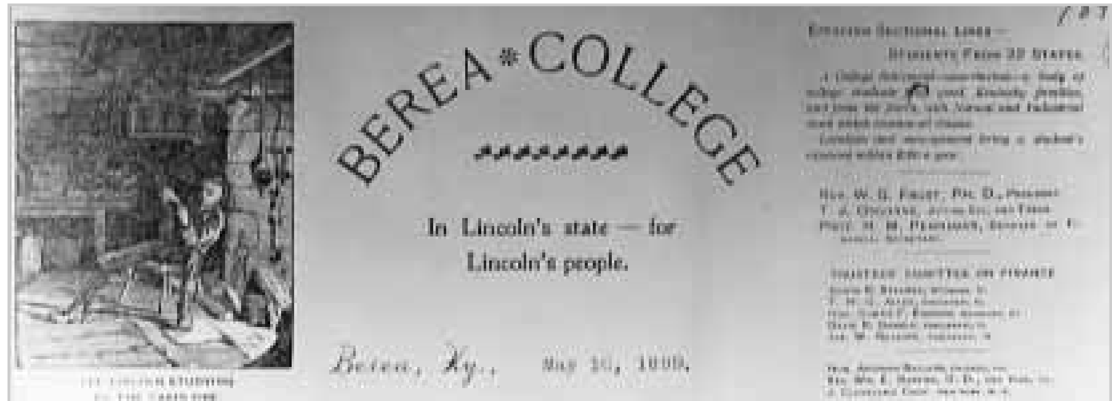
Boys working with ox team and sled. Frost described mountain people as living the life of pioneer days. The original caption of this image claimed that Berea's work could help decide "whether this boy becomes an Abraham Lincoln or a Jesse James."

called 'mountain whites,'" Frost wrote in 1920, "have come to be recognized as rediscovered kinsmen—the largest and most prolific body of Protestant Americans. 'Appalachian America' has a permanent place on the world map."[67] In his zealous work for the southern mountain region, William G. Frost left a permanent mark on the history and mission of Berea College.

Stumbling in These Dark Hills

In welcoming his successor, William J. Hutchins, to the presidency of Berea, William G. Frost noted some of Berea's particular characteristics. He claimed that the college had been founded to breed reformers and that Berea students were given "the disposition and ability to be tinkering on the improvement of the world." Berea's inheritance from John G. Fee was "to be forever a militant institution"; and J. A. R. Rogers's bequest was that Berea was "an exponent of real altruism." Berea's unselfish aims brought education to otherwise deprived communities and a sociological mission to a particular region. This was Berea's legacy as Frost received and interpreted it after twenty-eight years of service.[68]

"During the term," the extension worker C. Rexford Raymond wrote in 1896, "I have used the President's camera in securing photographs of the mountain scenery and views in and around Berea. It is hoped that the college will be able to use some of these pictures in advertising next year."[69] By 1895–96, eight years before the passage of the Day Law, Berea's publicity literature neglected to mention that the college was an interracial school. Instead, the college



"In Lincoln's State—for Lincoln's People." Berea made bold claims for the worthiness of mountain people. One of the more interesting was the college's assertion that Abraham Lincoln was "sociologically, if not geographically, a mountain man."

promoted its mountain work almost exclusively. African American enrollment was already in decline and Frost's fund-raising trips in the Northeast emphasized Berea's resolve to solve the "Southern Problem." The picture that Berea presented to donors and friends was far different from that in the days of John G. Fee and Henry Fairchild.[70]

William G. Frost nevertheless appealed to Berea's own history in supporting his commitment to the mountains. Photographs from Frost's administration picture him with either Fee or J. A. R. Rogers. As tensions increased between Fee and Frost regarding the direction of the college's efforts, Frost increasingly emphasized the contributions of Cassius Clay and J. A. R. Rogers. Clay was lauded for his recognition of mountain people as courageous and sympathetic to Fee's egalitarian views. Rogers was held up as the "discoverer" of Appalachia because of his letters describing mountain people and conditions written to the *Independent,* a missionary newspaper, in the 1850s.[71] These powerful icons gave credibility to Berea's efforts in serving the region and presented images of historic stability to donors.

Other icons were used to bolster the worthiness of mountain people. Daniel Boone, the archetypal pioneer, was noted as a "mountain type," and Abraham Lincoln embodied both pioneer simplicity and antislavery views. In Lincoln, and in southern mountain people, Frost found "the purest Americans," a people who would change the South.[72] After all, he asserted, Lincoln had hallowed the log cabin. Recalling his travels in the mountains, Frost observed, "I can never pass one of those humble cabins in the mountains without thinking of the possible Lincoln that it holds, and renewing my resolution . . . to shed the light of education into every mountain home."[73] The World War I hero Sergeant Alvin York offered another mountaineer example whose experiences made him "the Berea kind." York's own humble mountain beginnings represented the very kind of student Berea was trying to help. Sergeant York was described in Berea literature as a "typical mountain man" whose residence in Pall Mall, Fentress County, Tennessee, represented his British stock. His early marriage to a fifteen-year-old bride was acknowledged as a survival of colonial custom. "There are above three million of these simple, robust, Protestant Americans in the mountain region," the col-

Funeral procession of John G. Fee. Mourners proceed toward the chapel amid the trees on the Berea campus. In the 1880s, Fee used the building (in the center of the photograph) for his printing press.

lege intoned, "to which Berea is adapting its methods."[74]

Forces larger than Frost's pronouncements about Appalachia also contributed to the collapse of the original interracial Berea saga. Berea's donors during Frost's day were not the relatively small number of old abolitionists and supporters of interracial education, but a wider array of industrialists, politicians, and educational reformers. These new donors, along with a diverse Board of Trustees, differentiated between the educational and social needs of African Americans and mountain whites. Changes in the student body and the faculty further eroded the college's earlier ideals into a more accommodationist stance. In short, both the college and the surrounding community now resembled the larger society. Berea's commitments to social equality and interracial community, regarded by many as extraordinary if not extreme, had become an obstacle to the objectives of institutional survival and service to Appalachian whites.[75]

John G. Fee died on January 11, 1901. Shortly before his death, he reminded his comrades of their duty. "You ask how shall we make a financial success. I answer," he wrote, "by a speedy return to the original purpose and early practice of Berea Col-

A mountain father lifts his child at commencement time. "The hope of the mountains," reads the original caption. "Now little feller, climb higher than your daddy."

lege." Fee complained of the strong efforts to recruit white mountain students without making similar efforts among African Americans. Only a fully integrated college, Fee declared, could demonstrate "an exemplification of true christianity [*sic*] and correct civil government." Frost's plans created a tendency, Fee observed, to turn Berea into an ordinary white school. "Berea College will then be no more than thousands of other schools in the South," Fee wearily lamented. "The glory is departed."[76]

By 1906 J. A. R. Rogers was gone. In his history, written in 1902, Rogers lauded the

"great progress" of Frost's administration. Rogers expressed deep satisfaction in the advancement of manual labor and industrial education at Berea, the product of Frost's commitment to vocational education. Rogers believed that the spirit of the pioneers was being passed to the increasing throngs of mountain students. He regarded Appalachia as one of the most interesting and hopeful regions of the South. Rogers's enduring hope was that Berea would remain dedicated to Christian education and that the college's efforts would prove an example "of far greater things in the days to come."[77]

Frost's decision to emphasize work with mountaineers at the expense of Berea's foundational interracial mission has opened him to charges of racism and opportunism. In Appalachian Studies circles, Frost's descriptions of mountain people as quaint "contemporary ancestors" make him one of the leading villains in the stereotyping of Appalachian men and women. Frost's educational background and sensibilities often present the appearance of elitist paternalism contrasted with a region and people noted for their independent resourcefulness. Even now, as he was in his own day, Frost is seen as having retreated from Berea's radical origins, and his apparent lack of commitment to interracial education arouses passionate criticism. Consequently, despite his numerous accomplishments on behalf of Berea College, President Frost remains an uncomfortable subject.

These complex impressions combine into generally mixed assessments of Frost's presidency and his contribution to Berea's saga. The historian Elisabeth Peck interpreted Frost as a defender of interracial education and continuing Berea's commitment to African Americans in the building of the Lincoln Institute. The sociologist Jacqueline Burnside argued that Frost was primarily interested in institutional survival, and he willingly changed the college's course to preserve it. The historians Malcolm Warford and Paul David Nelson, as well as Professor Richard Sears, have criticized Frost for abandoning the founders' ideals and for not resisting the prevailing racism of many educational and social reformers. Another historian, Henry Shapiro, has argued that Frost was not an opportunist but was instead severely limited in his choices for saving the college. Frost's legacy is perhaps a combination of all these things; certainly his long administration resists the easy evaluation. That he and those who agreed with him changed Berea's mission is beyond dispute; and so Frost, albeit unwittingly, becomes the author of a new version of the Berea saga.[78]

William J. Hutchins. His integrity, scholarship, and deep religious faith would prove a remarkable combination in leading Berea.

FIVE

Bristling with History

William J. Hutchins, 1920–1938

Perhaps you and we may help to bring the day when our mountain men may prove their chivalry by giving their women the good time, which comes with culture and with leisure to read and laugh, to sing glad rather than "lonesome" tunes, and to dream dreams which need not wait for heaven for realization.

WILLIAM J. HUTCHINS

WHEN William J. Hutchins became Berea's fourth president in July 1920, he stepped into a history that reflected significant changes in the understanding of Berea's story. Under the leadership of William G. Frost, Berea had focused on the "uplift" of southern mountain people, and in 1911 the trustees had voted to amend the college's constitution and designate Appalachia as Berea's sole field of service. The institutional story presented at Hutchins's inaugural showed a college whose founding was at once radical, altruistic, and dedicated to serving poor students, white and black, through education. Frost had added to this mission a focus on a specific region, Appalachia. In 1920 Berea's five academic departments promised to meet the vast and immediate social, economic, and educational needs of a region that had been largely ignored in America's march to progress. Hutchins recognized the seriousness of Appalachian problems, and he quickly devised his own solutions for meeting these challenges.

For Hutchins the answer to Appalachia's situation was not a collection of schools with a college department, but a true college. This college, Hutchins believed, would prepare young mountain people to teach in newly emerging high schools, to serve rural populations as extension agents and qualified nurses, and to beautify homes and communities. Frost's romantic view of Appalachia promoted the mountains as the birthplace of such luminaries as Daniel Boone, Abraham Lincoln, and Alvin York. The prospect of finding similar heroic types in the mountains had been Frost's encouragement to Berea's supporters that the college was worthy of their donations. For Hutchins, however, the real heroes at Berea were the students themselves. He reasoned that these young people had overcome the tremendous obstacles of poverty, ignorance,

Anna Murch Hutchins poses with her sons, Robert (standing), William (seated, right), and Francis (center). William J. Hutchins addressed her affectionately as "my dear little girl." Though not a public figure, Anna was known for her quiet devotion and numerous acts of kindness.

and neglect just to achieve an education. Moreover, these same graduates were willing to sacrifice their new status by returning to the mountains to improve the lives of their home communities. Berea, in Hutchins's view, would not be known for its famous graduates, but for the dozens of apparently ordinary young men and women quietly doing extraordinary things in service to others. To achieve this end, Hutchins reorganized Berea's administration and curriculum in such a way that Frost was convinced that his successor had abandoned the student in the "coves and hollers." Hutchins was equally convinced that mountain students were now ready for a college, an institution of higher learning specifically adapted to serve a higher purpose—Christian American citizenship. The administration of William J. Hutchins is notable for its achievement in articulating the needs of young mountaineers and laying the foundation for Berea as a college rather than a collection of allied schools.

"Billy Hutch"

Born in Brooklyn, New York, in July 1871, William James Hutchins was the oldest son of the Reverend Robert Grosvenor Hutchins and Harriet P. (James) Hutchins. Educated at Oberlin College from 1888 to 1890, while his father served Oberlin's Second Congregational Church, William finished his undergraduate education at Yale in 1892. Upon completion of his studies at Union Theological Seminary in 1896, Hutchins was ordained a Presbyterian minister. He then accepted the pastorate of Bedford Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, where he served from 1896 until 1907. After a distinguished tenure at Bedford, Hutchins returned to Oberlin in 1907 as professor of homiletics in Oberlin's School of Theology.[1]

"Billy Hutch," as he was called by his fellow theologues, enjoyed a singular popularity at Oberlin. In addition to teaching in the theological school, Hutchins taught a required undergraduate course, Freshman Bible. "Whole generations of Oberlin students," observed his son Robert Maynard Hutchins years later, "had their college courses wrecked because at the very outset they studied under Professor Hutchins. . . . His popularity and effectiveness were such as almost to amount to unfair competition."[2] Taking leave from Oberlin, William Hutchins served in the YMCA National

The Hutchins family in Oberlin, c. 1910. Robert, William J., Anna, and William relax with Kim, the family dog, at 195 South Professor Street. When William J. Hutchins came to Berea ten years later, he thought Berea held much of the spirit he had experienced at Oberlin in his youth.

War Work Council from August 1917 to January 1918. He was assigned to Camp Sheridan, Alabama, as a camp director developing methods for improving the moral tone of army camp life. After his stint as a camp director, Hutchins traveled with the YMCA's secretary Sherwood Eddy to China, India, and Europe on a survey of YMCA mission work. Hutchins attracted national attention in 1918 with his composition of "A Code of Morals for Boys and Girls," for which he won a five-thousand-dollar prize from the National Institute of Moral Instruction. Hutchins's "Code" was distributed nationally by the institute and was used by Oberlin as well.[3]

In the midst of these successes, however, Hutchins became concerned about his continuing work at Oberlin. The relationship between the seminary and the college had become strained, and Hutchins perceived that the great influences that made Oberlin special in his time were fading. Approached for the presidency of Berea by J. R. Rogers and William E. Barton, Hutchins was intrigued by the possibility of leading the college. William J. Hutchins brought a powerful combination of pastoral, administrative, and scholarly experience when he was called to the presidency of Berea College in 1920. He had studied Greek under Frost at Oberlin, yet the former professor had doubts about the pupil's qualifications to lead Berea. "I voted for having the position offered to another," Frost wrote to Hutchins in March 1920, "because he was younger and already acquainted with the Mountains in the South, as well as more experienced in executive service." Nevertheless, Frost promised to support Hutchins. "I

Commencement, June 1920. Trustees and faculty welcome William J. Hutchins to Berea College. The shadow of the founders is present in the aging Elizabeth Rogers (in wheelchair, left), attended by her son and Berea trustee, J. R. Rogers. Frost and Hutchins stand together in front. The bearded gentleman standing between Frost and Hutchins is the formidable LeVant Dodge, professor since 1874. Anna Hutchins, in the dark broad hat, stands on the Ladies' Hall porch (right).

have the greatest confidence in your success," Frost observed. "I pledge you my absolute affection, sympathy and support."[4] Hutchins had his own reservations about leaving a comfortable professorship at Oberlin for the uncertainties of collegiate administration. "I am not anxious to go," he wrote to his father. "I am happy here. I am liked here. Every president I know is removed further and still further from the student body. He becomes an unpaid public servant, is hauled and harried about the country."[5]

Hutchins also wondered if he would be able to lead Berea under the critical gaze of his predecessor. "If I should accept the Presidency," Hutchins wrote to William E. Barton, "am I to be President in the full sense of the word?" If so, then Hutchins wanted it "irrevocably understood" that Frost would not be a member of the Board of Trustees, the Prudential Committee, or the faculty. Furthermore, all employees were to be responsible to the president and not under "special arrangement" with the trustees.[6] Having received the assurance of Barton, J. R. Rogers, and others that Frost would not interfere with his successor, Hutchins accepted the call to Berea. "I am deeply sensible of the honor you do me," Hutchins wrote to Barton, "and would add that I should dare to receive the honor only

because of my conviction that the Trustees are one in their generous devotion to Berea."[7]

Hutchins remained concerned about Frost's continued presence in Berea, but he had great encouragement about the college's cause. "That [Berea's presidency] is a position of transcendent importance, there can be no doubt," R. G. Hutchins wrote to his son. "If I cared more for your ease than for the Kingdom of Christ I should advise you to stay in Oberlin. The possibilities for usefulness here are illimitable."[8] Reassuring Hutchins of his support, Frost wrote, "I wish you to know assuredly that my heart and judgement settle upon you as the right man to be the next president of Berea. . . . It is a Divine call to a divine work. Do not hesitate."[9] For his part, William Hutchins believed in Berea's historic mission of providing education to those in need. Berea, he proclaimed in his induction address, "has an almost unrivalled opportunity of furthering the cause of an educated Christian democracy."[10] William J. Hutchins now took upon himself the task of furthering Berea's mission to the mountains.

What's to Be Done?

Nine days into his administration, Hutchins wrote in July 1920 to his son Francis. What was to be done with a farm manager who had lost twenty thousand dollars of the college's funds? How would the college attract good teachers when they could earn twice the salary elsewhere? What should the college do with boys who had behaved badly on campus? How was the college to manage two competing weaving enterprises on campus? Where should a new dam be built to meet the need for water on campus and in the community? "If it were not for the roosters waking me at 4 A.M.," Hutchins observed in closing, "I should be rather enjoying the experience."[11]

The institution William J. Hutchins inherited in 1920 was well known, complex in structure, with 2,779 students and 125 workers, and carrying $225,000 in debt. "Possibly Berea was more nearly the Berea we pray for," Frost wrote in a summary report, "in 1916 than in 1920."[12] Berea's five allied schools had won the attention of such prominent donors as D. K. Pearsons and Andrew Carnegie, making Berea's service to Appalachia a work of national interest. Berea's varied curriculum offered something for each prospective student, and each of the five schools had its own campus, buildings, and faculty. The sprawling physical plant needed to accommodate this grand program had also caused a tremendous indebtedness. The maintenance of this plant had depended entirely on the extraordinary talents of President Frost. "A man coming in after him," Hutchins wrote to his sons, "must tighten up, refuse expansion, new equipment, needed improvements, practically everything until in some way the income begins to correspond with the equipment." Hutchins remained undaunted but saw years of heavy work ahead.[13]

The heavy work did not wait for Hutchins to ease into his new duties. In August he signed for a $7,000 loan to pay salaries for faculty and staff, declaring that "I should rather go barefoot" than hold up the salaries of the teachers in his first month of administration. Hutchins also gave back $1,000 of his first year's salary of $6,000 to help make ends meet.[14] He

"View from the President's House." From his home, Hutchins could see immediately below the college gardens, which provided many of the vegetables used by the dining hall. The hills roll away to the south and east, a constant reminder of Berea's field of service.

marveled at Frost's audacious vision and splendid accomplishments, yet Hutchins bemoaned the complexities of his new work. "It is in the more intimate personal matters, and in conservative administration," Hutchins wrote, "that he [Frost] has left a good deal for little Willie to do."[15] He seemed constantly beset by problems, from hiring new teachers to approving the copy in the latest catalogue. "There is no subject," Hutchins observed in surveying his situation, "which does not bristle with history and with accumulated difficulties."[16]

These pervasive problems were doubtless heavy in Hutchins's mind when he was inaugurated in October 1920, four months after his arrival on campus. "We who work in Berea today," Hutchins asserted in his inaugural address, "inhabit a world and minister to a world radically different from that in which our predecessors lived, even a score of years ago."[17] Hutchins suggested that the changing economic and social conditions of the Appalachian region might cause changes in the college's curriculum and methods. The desolate coal towns required not only welfare secretaries, Hutchins asserted, but free servants of the common good who were willing to devote their lives to providing social sanitation, health conservation, and community building. Increasing use of water power, changes in environmental conditions because of extractive industries, and road building might force improvement in the college's scientific equipment and the expansion of courses in horticulture, market gardening, and electrical engineering. "Adaptation, which has

A mountain farm. This pastoral view belied the unenlightened "progress" that Hutchins believed threatened mountain life.

been the very watchword of Berea," Hutchins argued, "will force upon us changes of emphasis and possible changes of method."[18]

Consolidation and Controversy

Throughout his tenure, Frost had segregated Berea's Vocational, Academy, Normal, Foundation, and College Departments with the ultimate goal of each academic area's having its own campus, curriculum, and faculty. "The conventional institutions," Frost noted in 1920, "have claimed monopoly of education and would serve it out in car-load lots. Berea and the state universities deal it out in small packages."[19] In Frost's view, the short courses taught in the Foundation, Vocational, and Normal Schools were more practical for Appalachia's needs. His mountain school offered everything from basic literacy to improving homes and farming methods to teacher training, leaving Greek and Latin to the study of a very few. Frost firmly believed that mountain people would be swept away unless an army of Christian young people prepared themselves to live in the mountains. Berea College would fail in its great task if the college graduated only students who would pursue money rather than service.[20] Moreover, Frost did not seem convinced that mountain students were prepared for college work. He believed that it would take the work of some two or three generations to build up a sufficient number of mountain students who could achieve a level of proficiency to make college study worthwhile. From Frost's perspective,

One-room school, Perry County, Kentucky. Many Berea students experienced their first schooling in buildings such as this one. "Evidently a good school," read the original caption.

however, the task was monumental. "To build up a collegiate department from this mountain material," he declared, "was like raising grapes in Labrador!"[21] Hutchins strongly disagreed.

High schools promised to be one means of building up a potential collegiate constituency. In Kentucky a 1914 law required every county to provide at least one high school. Funding problems, particularly in poorer counties, frustrated this initiative. In 1910 there were 171 public high schools, 158 of which could be classed as small and rural. By 1920, however, there were 407 rural high schools, and 72 percent of these schools served populations of fewer than 500 people.[22] High schools not only increased the possibility of higher education for more students, but also presented wider curricular offerings. College and university entrance requirements had also moved beyond the usual proficiency in Latin, Greek, and mathematics to include modern languages, physical geography, and American history.[23] Despite these promising developments, John C. Campbell, an educator and missionary, noted the rising number of public secondary schools in Appalachia with some concern. In a survey written for the Russell Sage Foundation in 1917, Campbell feared that mountain colleges would adopt conventional methods and curriculum while

neglecting the needs of mountain students. "It is to be hoped," Campbell wrote, "that some [colleges] will resist the temptation to develop along traditional lines and be willing to evolve . . . into higher institutions especially emphasizing a training that will meet regional needs."[24]

Campbell's observations identified an important historical tension in Berea's institutional development. For years teachers and professors had advocated a greater emphasis on the college curriculum, but Frost had dismissed these arguments. He maintained that the needs of the mountains were too vast and immediate to wait for students to complete a college course. Frost believed strongly that the short courses provided sufficient scholarly preparation for mountain students. It was enough, in Frost's view, that Berea offered many forms of education that taught mountaineers "how to get a living and how to live."[25]

Not everyone was convinced that Frost's short courses provided just what the mountains needed, however. Hutchins discovered shortly after his arrival in Berea, for example, that many nursing graduates from the Vocational School were not accepted for war work by the Red Cross or for government service. Normal School graduates were having difficulties meeting certification requirements. Whatever their capabilities, Berea graduates were finding that more academic preparation was needed for careers in agriculture, teaching, nursing, and business, and for admission to professional programs in graduate schools. From Hutchins's perspective, the solution to these difficulties was to build up the credibility of the college program.[26]

The process began quietly in 1921 with the faculty agreeing that the B.A. was the only appropriate degree Berea College should award. This decision effectively dissolved the hybrid degrees of the Literary Course (B.L.) and B.Ph., which assumed only two years of college-level work. So that graduates could meet requirements for teaching agriculture, the B.S. was offered in 1926. With a steady resolve, Hutchins refuted Frost's academic segregation by offering vocational courses to any student who wished to take them.[27] These decisions placed Hutchins on a direct collision course with his old teacher.

William G. Frost and William J. Hutchins. Frost never really left Berea, and continued to offer Hutchins advice on all sorts of issues.

"When you have been here two or three years," Frost had written to Hutchins in 1920, "I shall feel certain that you are much wiser in Berea's affairs than I, but just now I have some knowledge and wisdom, gotten by expensive experience, which I should be glad to make useful."[28] Hutchins almost immediately experienced the interference in his administration that he had been promised would not happen. From his home on

campus Frost regularly bombarded the new president with a steady stream of letters, offering advice on all manner of subjects. Hutchins tried to accept the letters gracefully, but Frost was insistent that his successor follow the program he had advocated for so long. It was now painfully clear that Hutchins would have to make his own way under his predecessor's direct and critical gaze.

Hutchins's closing of the Vocational School in 1924 was emblematic of his struggle with Frost. Hutchins found that more and more vocations required additional credentials. Frost contended that college graduates would be lured away from the mountains by their new, elite status. Hutchins argued that mountain students were as deserving of a college education as anyone else. For Hutchins it was critical to bring mountaineers to Berea for a full college course. If young people from the mountains could not find their college experience at Berea, Hutchins reasoned, then these bright and promising students would go to college somewhere else. New graduates from schools outside the region, he feared, would indeed be lost to the mountains. Berea's program, however, would prepare students for lives of service in the region. "Every course in the college curriculum," Hutchins observed, "seeks to enable our students to think at once in terms of the world and the mountains."[29]

Frost bitterly resisted the consolidation of the Vocational Department into the college. He charged Hutchins with closing Berea's doors to the "poor boy in the holler." Frost also wrote secretly to donors, trustees, and other supporters in an attempt to frustrate Hutchins's plans. Two trustees, J. R. Rogers and William E. Barton, strongly supported Hutchins's endeavors. These men, described by Frost as "humiliated by Berea's non-collegiate work," were highly instrumental in Berea's transition to a college. Both Rogers and Barton urged Frost to cease his undermining of the college's affairs. Eleanor Frost observed that meetings between Frost and Rogers were not unlike boxing matches between Tunney and Dempsey. "I told [Frost] that in order to get aid from the large educational boards," Rogers reported, "we must have a real college, one which stood for a college education." While recognizing the need for offering vocational courses, Rogers agreed with Hutchins that these courses needed improvement. "Vocational graduates may be just as worthy as those who graduate from college, but we cannot wisely consider them in the same relative position."[30]

Hutchins remained resolute in his commitment to developing a stronger college. He denied Frost's claims that closing the vocational school meant that ordinary mountain students were somehow being denied a future. "I found that many vocational students," Hutchins reported to the college's trustees in 1924, "were going out with certificates from Berea as having completed a vocational course when they could not pass a reputable examination for the second year of high school." Hutchins also demonstrated that the changing situation in the mountains meant further education beyond high school was needed. Any other course, he argued, would be a type of educational malpractice.[31]

State and federal requirements added more pressure for Berea to adapt. In 1921 the shorter course for nurses was dissolved in favor of a three-year course that offered

Inaugural Procession, 1920. Frost, Hutchins, and trustees pause near a Berea Vocational School banner. Frost saw Hutchins's closure of the Vocational School as a retreat from Berea's service to Appalachia.

nine months of clinical experience in the Louisville City Hospital, preparing students to become registered nurses. In 1922 the Kentucky legislature required that normal school certification include two years of education beyond high school. Working with the resourceful Normal School dean, Cloyd McAllister, Hutchins adapted the Normal curriculum to meet varying state and federal demands. By 1931, however, the Normal School was closed and consolidated into the college.[32]

Contrary to Frost's charges, Hutchins genuinely believed that Berea was now in a better position to provide for the needs of mountain youth. Furthermore, Hutchins recognized the danger of becoming just a standard college that failed to respond to regional needs. By offering vocational courses throughout the institution, Hutchins rejected the rigid academic segregation envisioned by Frost, thus improving educational opportunities for students throughout the institution. For example, the consolidation of the Normal School with the college not only improved the credentials of Berea graduates, but met the changing educational situation emerging in the mountains. For William J. Hutchins, these changes in Berea's emphasis created a new and innovative opportunity for educational service.

Agonizing over Organization

With the closing of the Normal School in 1931, Hutchins, the trustees, and the faculty continued their expansion of the College Department. This reorganization bore a

Vocational graduates. Hutchins feared that Berea students were leaving ill-prepared to meet the changing needs of the Appalachian region.

strong resemblance—with substantial differences—to the work of his son Robert M. Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago. Though these events were taking place at about the same time, Robert Hutchins and William J. Hutchins worked independently, consulting from time to time regarding their successes and failures. At Chicago, Robert Hutchins proposed a return to the classical curriculum, the "single minded pursuit of the intellectual virtues" as embodied in general education. This curriculum grounded the student in the classics, grammar, rhetoric, logic, and mathematics. Aristotelian metaphysics provided the overall guiding influence. Structurally, students at Chicago spent their last two years of high school and the first two years of college within this program, then enrolled in the University College to complete four-year baccalaureate degrees. Students with vocational interests also took courses at the nearby Lewis Institute. Robert Hutchins's greatest ideal, however, was not a vocational preparation for life, but the promotion of liberal learning as the focus of the university's work.[33]

For William J. Hutchins, the Chicago

Labor Day celebration. Note the mixture of academic departments and industries represented. "The work of the classroom joins with the work of the labor system," Hutchins wrote, "in encouraging us to think as we labor."

Academy literary societies. Though dress codes for women were strict, only Academy girls were required to wear uniforms.

plan had its attractions, but Berea's situation required its own solutions. "The Committee of Five," appointed by President Hutchins in October 1930, was charged with examining how Berea was to adapt to the loss of students caused by the closure of the Vocational and Normal Schools. Under the leadership of a trustee, Willis Weatherford Sr., however, the committee largely ignored the changes in the Foundation School. The first two years of college would explore various disciplines, with the result that students might then be guided appropriately to further academic study (that is, a major) or into vocational work.[34]

The resulting decline of students enrolling in the Foundation School and the Academy now offered the possibility of expanding the student body within the College Department. Hutchins argued that the improving conditions of mountain high schools indicated that the college should offer college-level work, which would, in turn, advance educational leadership in Appalachia. Enrollments in the Foundation School's Junior High program and the Academy (high school) had been in steady decline. It was not Berea's purpose, he observed, to draw promising mountain students away from their communities and into the Foundation School before they had finished their high school degrees. However, the Foundation School and Academy would continue in their mission to provide opportunities for those in need of elementary or remedial education.[35]

In 1933 Hutchins offered five possible plans that would guide Berea's educational mission. The first of these proposals suggested increasing the College Department by 225 students, from 650 to 875, without any real alteration of program or curriculum. The reservation here was that a larger college would sacrifice individual attention

and sense of community. A second proposal advanced the notion of separate campuses organized by field of study, similar to the Yale Quadrangle System, which would encourage common social and academic experiences. The physical layout of the campus prevented strong consideration of this idea. Likewise, a third proposal of a separate freshman campus was viewed as impractical because it artificially separated first-year students from the wider campus community.[36]

Proposal number four presented the idea of what Hutchins called an "Experimental Junior College." He was at pains to explain to the trustees that he was not proposing a program similar to one at the University of Wisconsin, where the emphasis was on student initiative in experiencing a modified liberal arts curriculum. Hutchins's idea was closer to the University of Minnesota's General College, a program designed for students who were not likely to complete a four-year course. Minnesota's two-year program combined preparation for life with an appreciation for the arts and culture. Berea's junior college would offer a general education program combining vocational and liberal arts courses. At the end of two years, school officials would counsel students either into further study at Berea or another school or into the working world.[37]

Willis D. Weatherford Sr. Weatherford was Frost's candidate for the Berea presidency, but Weatherford declined in favor of remaining as a Berea trustee and continuing his YMCA work in the South.

The junior college movement, which had been growing since the end of World War I, offered a less expensive alternative to those who desired education beyond high school. Some junior colleges functioned independently, while others operated within larger colleges and universities. William Rainey Harper, the founding president of the University of Chicago, was one of the primary advocates of splitting the collegiate experience at the end of the sophomore year. In Harper's organization, the first two years of college were closely linked with secondary education, which he termed the "junior college." The environment of the junior college was largely preparatory, whereas the latter two years, or the "senior college," allowed for advanced study and scholarship. Harper's designations influenced the numerous experiments taking place throughout higher education in the United States.[38]

Despite the successful examples at Wisconsin, Minnesota, and elsewhere, the trustees remained suspicious of the junior college model for Berea. Some trustees argued that the innovations applied to the junior college could be made throughout the entire college program. Furthermore, there was great uncertainty about just how to determine which students should attend college and which should not. A modification of Hutchins's fourth proposal suggested a type of trade institute for those studying agriculture or engineering, but this idea was quickly rejected as contrary to Berea's philosophy. It simply would not do to have faculty and students within the college looking down upon their colleagues because of some perceived inferiority of the trades and the junior college experience. While rejecting the junior college as a separate unit of the college, the trustees supported the notion of the first two years of college work focusing on general education.[39]

Hutchins's fifth proposal won over the trustees. This plan placed the tenth grade in the Academy in the Foundation–Junior High School and combined the eleventh

Opportunity School. A wagon bearing Berea professors makes its way to Carr Creek in 1927. The Opportunity Schools offered educational experiences for adults who could attend school for only a few weeks a year. The sessions were held on campus and in communities that requested the service.

and twelfth grades with the freshman and sophomore years of the college. This four-year educational unit was eventually termed the Lower Division, and leadership was provided by Dean Charles N. Shutt and William Jesse Baird. The junior and senior years of the college, now styled the College of Arts and Sciences, formed the Upper Division, under the leadership of T. A. Hendricks. The innovations formed in the Lower Division could now spread throughout the entire four years of the college. For example, a student otherwise ready for college work but with deficiencies in language or mathematics could nevertheless enter the freshman year while making up the necessary course work. In previous years the student would have been held back in the Academy with no chance for enrolling in the college.[40]

The curriculum of the Lower Division combined general educational courses with both cultural and vocational content. Upper Division courses focused on work within the major for those with preprofessional, professional, or further scholastic interests. Nevertheless, Hutchins wanted suitable recognition for those who completed the work of the Lower Division. Students who did not progress beyond the sophomore year in college, he reasoned, left with a sense of failure. Instead, Hutchins believed that students who completed a course of study that included history, English, political science, elementary philosophy of religion, and vocational studies should be awarded a certificate that testified to their accomplishments. "The new organization," Hutchins observed, "would make possible an effective and unified program of educational guidance, and education in terms of individual interests and abilities."[41]

The implementation of Hutchins's plan was painfully slow. In addition to curriculum revisions and daunting logistical concerns for staffing and buildings, the chosen

Faculty at Commencement, 1931. Though Hutchins enjoyed the admiration and respect of most of the faculty, they remained unconvinced of his plans for reorganization.

plan was minutely examined by the Southern Association for Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACS). Passed by the trustees on October 15, 1935, the Berea reorganization was repeatedly held up by SACS because of the plan's experimental nature. The Lower Division's organization did not match the usual curriculum patterns found in public elementary and secondary schools. As late as 1937 lingering questions regarding freshmen taking upper-division classes and the awarding of degrees to students who had completed only one year of college-level work frustrated the college's efforts to gain SACS approval.[42]

Upper Division faculty also questioned Hutchins's reorganization. So much of the reorganizational effort had focused on the work of the Lower Division that Upper Division faculty wondered about the role and status of the senior college. The professors were concerned about scholarship completed before the freshman year, and standards for admission not only to the college but to the Upper Division. The Upper Division faculty also believed they should control the membership of the Curriculum, Scholarship, and Entrance Committees. Finally, the faculty resisted the idea of expanding admission to the college from the Academy in view of the increasing number of applicants from regional high schools. "Only by the careful diligence in these matters," observed a faculty petition, "will we be able to maintain or approximate the proper standards of scholarship for Berea College."[43]

Hutchins carefully reassured the Upper Division faculty that his ultimate goal was the same as theirs, to make Berea College the best institution of higher learning it could be. He advocated a parallel system of governance that allowed the two divisions to address specific needs within their own spheres. This structure also provided an Al-

liance Administrative Committee with equal representation from the divisions to discuss common concerns, particularly in the realms of admissions, scholarship, and curriculum. For Hutchins, the new organization offered "an opportunity for leadership, of cooperative and creative thinking, beyond the dreams of the most adventurous." Hutchins made it clear that he would be zealous in his support of the Upper Division and the quality of Berea's degree programs. "I am convinced that it is to this Upper Division," he observed to the faculty in 1937, "that we must look for the men and women who will make the greatest contribution, Berea's greatest contribution to the Mountains."[44]

In his efforts to reorganize Berea into a distinctive college, Hutchins did not lose sight of the institution's primary goal of serving the southern mountains. His vision took into account the changing nature of educational needs in the Appalachian region, something Frost's plans did not recognize. Furthermore, Hutchins and the trustees were clearly committed to advancing the quality and scope of Berea's collegiate program. Hutchins was convinced that mountain youth were worthy of a quality college education and desired that Berea offer a strong program. In keeping with regional needs, the curriculum offered both academic and vocational tracks of equal value and significance, preparing students to return to Appalachia as community shapers and builders. "If Berea's program of adaptation is projected into these [mountain] high schools," Miles Marsh, the former dean of labor, wrote to Hutchins, "that program will be adapted many times and will be better adapted to the needs of the various communities than any program developed at Berea."[45] Hutchins's relentless efforts convinced both the faculty and the trustees that Berea should move from being a collection of departments to a unified *college* committed to Appalachia's particular needs.

Remembering the Founders

In Frost's era mountain students had been described variously as loyal Unionists and "contemporary ancestors" who would efface sectional lines and act as a moral reserve to the nation. During the administration of William J. Hutchins, a newer and perhaps subtler theme emerged. Mountain people were depicted as virtuous Christian patriots, model Americans in a country in need of Americans. Mountain students were lauded for their character and potential, for overcoming tremendous obstacles of poverty, isolation, and ignorance. For Hutchins, Berea's work was a ministry to the needy that chained him and his colleagues like mighty cables. "We are trying to help them," Hutchins wrote to donors in 1921, "and they are trying to help the tired fathers and patient mothers of the mountains who are worn with work and children; and you are helping us, that the circle of blessing may become complete."[46]

For Hutchins, the Presbyterian minister, the needs and conditions of mountain people became the text for a sermon on Christian patriotism, a homily on redemption. He dauntlessly believed that Berea College held the best solution to the so-called mountain problem. By taking students out of an environment of moonshine and violence, Berea introduced young mountain men and women to people from different regions

Mountain Day, 1935. College students gather to take in the sights. The relaxed nature of this photo might indicate the absence of the usual chaperone.

and nations. Teachers and visitors provided inspiring examples of learning and morality, preparing students for Christian American citizenship. Furthermore, educated mountaineers would prove an asset to the nation, sending "streams of life down through the mountain 'coves and hollers,' down into the deserts of our great cities." In Hutchins's view, mountain people had to be educated so as not to become a national liability. Appalachia's overflowing and undereducated population had already begun to spread into industrial centers in Ohio, and it would likely move into other northern states. Berea's work in educating mountain people was now no longer a regional issue, but a national one.[47]

The college's mission remained focused on the improvement of Appalachia, but the means had changed. Hutchins admired mountain people and resisted patronizing descriptions of their character. One author wrote to Hutchins describing mountaineers as "grown men and women with child minds." Hutchins bristled at the thought. "Some of the completely illiterate people of the mountains," he retorted, "have a wisdom born of meditation and experience quite surpassing the wisdom of the average educated man."[48] Berea's mission was one of relating education to life and sending the vast majority of graduates back to the mountains to improve their homes and communities. Mountaineers also had to be prepared to resist the invasion of the outside world bent on exploiting coal, timber, hydroelectric power, and tourism in the region. Appalachia would be brought into mainstream American life because of these changes, Hutchins observed, for better or for worse. "For worse," he wrote, "unless enlightenment accompanies 'progress.'"[49]

Berea's donors were constantly reminded of these images of noble but needy mountaineers. For Hutchins the work of Berea College was one of national, if not cosmic, significance. Instead of Daniel Boone and Abraham Lincoln, the heroes of Berea's cause were now the students, young men and women who struggled for an education and built bridges to the stars. For Hutchins a Berea graduate was the promise for a better day in the mountains. These remarkable students would head off the exploitive and disintegrating changes that came from outside the region and find the solutions to the poverty and ignorance that pervaded mountain life. "Blue overalls are a badge of honor with us," Hutchins wrote in 1924, "and 'honorable patches' at a premium. Eighty-five percent of all our students are sure-enough mountaineers, where 'larnin' ebbs low, and where only the privileged few ever see 't'other side of the range.'"[50]

In 1930 Berea College celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. Among other

A Berea graduate poses with her class in a rural school. Many graduates returned to their home counties to serve their communities.

activities, a pageant entitled "Vincit Qui Patitur" (literally, "he who suffers, conquers") honored the accomplishments of the school. Divided into five episodes, the pageant recited the sweep of Berea's story through song, speech, and tableaux. The first episode celebrated the heroic commitment of John G. Fee, and episode two honored the principalship of J. A. R. Rogers. Episode three described the scholarly attributes of E. H. Fairchild and his leadership of an integrated school and college. Episode four proclaimed Frost as the charismatic champion of the mountain people and knowledge as the key to contentment and prosperity. Finally, episode five depicted William J. Hutchins as the scholarly and visionary leader sending forth trustees, faculty, staff, and alumni to a consecrated work of keeping "clear the path from the cabin to the college." Would-be students appeared at first as hesitant and faltering but, under the influence of Hutchins and his colleagues, were transformed into men and women of courage and faith.[51]

African Americans were a prominent feature of the pageant's early episodes depicting slavery and the eventual education of black students in the eras of Rogers and Fairchild. Several of the slave parts were portrayed by former students who had attended Berea before the Day Law. The presence of these former students was a tantalizing reminder of how truly visionary Berea had been in former days. Perhaps unwittingly, the black characters in the play were shown as interrupting important events, such as the completion of the constitutional proceedings and a railroad survey. The passing presence of these African American characters seems to represent a culture of forgetfulness, in that their

"In the mountains near Berea." The outside world's discovery of Appalachia, in Hutchins's view, could pose a considerable threat unless mountain people were prepared to meet it (photo by Paul Bird).

contributions to the grand Berea experiment were not as significant as one might have believed in an earlier era.[52]

Nevertheless, Berea made efforts to remain faithful to the college's earlier mission. During Hutchins's administration, African American intellectuals and artists were invited to present their views and talents to Berea students. Dr. George Washington Carver, the Fisk Jubilee Singers, Professor Alain Locke, Dean Howard Jones, and the poet James Weldon Johnson were among the more notable guests at Berea. In 1932 Wallace Battle, a 1901 Berea College graduate and founder of Okolona Industrial College in Mississippi, was honored as a "leader of his people from servitude to service." In addition, regional YMCA and YWCA conferences, which were integrated, used the campus for meetings.[53]

The Middletown Consolidated School, established in 1927 for local African American students, also advanced interracial relations at the college. The Julius Rosenwald Fund assisted in the building of the schoolhouse, which was erected on college land, and the college's electric and water lines were extended to the building. Under the leadership of its principal, Robert Blythe, the school provided numerous interracial experiences for the college's white students. College classes in social casework interviewed black children and families, and the YMCA and the YWCA sponsored recreational programs at the school. These efforts at Middletown, continuing contacts with the board and administration at Lincoln Institute, and attention to African American culture and history maintained at least a symbolic connection to Berea's heroic past.[54]

Throughout the 1930s, in the midst of

the country's Great Depression, Berea reminded donors of the needs of Appalachian youth. Hutchins pointed out to hard-pressed donors that their contributions were not for new buildings or raising professors' salaries, but for basic expenses. Berea graduates, in his view, would prove a safeguard to American ideals amid national hysteria and the specter of communist revolution. "Our educated mountain men and women will not 'go Bolshevik,'" Hutchins wrote in 1932, "[but] will help to save to us the values which make America a land worth loving." These same graduates needed preparation to maintain their hopes and dreams in the face of new and great temptations that accompanied new roads and industry. For Hutchins the courage and adaptability of Berea students were the best answer to America's crisis. "I am grateful that you think Berea worth giving to," he wrote one donor in 1934, "as I think it worth living for."[55]

Wallace Battle. A 1901 graduate of Berea College, Battle founded Okolona Industrial College in Okolona, Mississippi.

Bearing the Destiny of Souls

Frost remained a brooding presence throughout Hutchins's administration. In 1937 he published his autobiography, *For the Mountains.* The product of many years' work, Frost's book described in dramatic detail the world in which he was born, the region he had discovered, and an assessment of his work for Berea. Predictably, he stoutly defended his organization of the institution and his emphasis on vocational education. Berea's methods had worked, he claimed, and had transformed the nation. This transformation had been realized by filling in the map of the United States with a new region, the Appalachian South. The nation was enhanced by the discovery of three million vigorous but hitherto forgotten people. "Such experiences," he concluded, "push into forgetfulness all pains and hardships, and even grief at Berea's changes in recent years."[56]

Although convinced that he would die in 1920, Frost lived on for eighteen more years. When his eyes closed for the last time

Students weaving. The Fireside Industries were promoted by President Frost in 1898. Handicrafts helped to meet student expenses while preserving mountain folk arts.

on September 11, 1938, he remained convinced of the rightness of his cause. Even in death, Frost seemed to judge his collegiately inclined successor. Presiding at his funeral, James Watt Raine, professor of English, quoted extensively from Frost's inaugural address, and the *Berea Citizen* reprinted his farewell report, which outlined Frost's imperatives for Berea. Hutchins remained gracious. He praised Frost for spreading a feast of work and learning for the men and women of the mountains. "To us who today seek to spread and serve the table of Berea," Hutchins wrote to a donor, "Dr. Frost has left a task exacting, and almost appalling."[57] Ever the reconciling agent, Eleanor Frost gently reminded Hutchins of her husband's better nature. "I hope you can, in a measure, forget the burden of disapproval which has been grievous to bear," she wrote, "and think often of the inspiring Oberlin teacher." She praised Hutchins as "a sincere Christian who gave heart and soul to the mountain people."[58]

Whatever his predecessor's claims, the very campus reflected Hutchins's commitment to Berea's vision for Appalachia. Many of the college's classroom buildings that served the various schools were deteriorating and aging. Of the numerous facilities erected during his administration, the Draper classroom building, costing four hundred thousand dollars, was the most tangible symbol of the college's new organization. Modeled after Philadelphia's Independence Hall, Draper housed numerous classrooms, a spacious seminar room, and a small movie theater. As the headquarters of the Lower Division, Draper facilitated Berea's program of general education.[59]

Coal mining town, Harlan County, Ky. While visiting in Harlan County during a coal strike in 1932, Hutchins noted the complexities of understanding mountain life. "There is no such thing as truth about the mountains," he wrote. "What is true of one group or section is untrue of another situation."

Danforth Chapel was perhaps the most significant structure built during Hutchins's time. A gift of the trustee William H. Danforth, the chapel was deliberately located at the center of the Draper Building, in the heart of the main campus. Danforth Chapel became the focus for Christian student organizations and provided offices for visiting ministers and religious scholars. Reflecting Danforth's Episcopal background, the chapel was built in a simple though elegant English Gothic style. In consideration of Berea's nondenominational history, there were no overt Christian symbols apart from a cross above the altar. Stones from around the world were embedded in the chapel's outer walls. These stones represented the worldwide mission of the Christian Gospel and marked the locations of notable events and courageous persons. The central location of the chapel within an academic building gave form to Hutchins's belief that Christian character was the ultimate goal of a Berea education.[60]

William J. Hutchins retired in the summer of 1939. His leadership had transformed Berea from a collection of allied schools into an accredited college. His curriculum reforms had continued Berea's tradition of general, practical education while advancing the liberal arts. When he first became president, the College Department contained 215 students, about 9 percent of the student body. Upon his retirement, the four-year college comprised 841 students, about 40 percent of the total enrollment.[61] Hutchins's belief in what he termed "Christian American citizenship" was the focal point for preparing mountain youth to meet the darker forces of progress. In addition,

Draper Building. This imposing structure symbolized Hutchins's reorganization of the college.

Hutchins saw seemingly ordinary students as heroic and courageous figures who dedicated their lives to the betterment of their homes and communities. Speaking at his father's retirement celebrations, Robert Hutchins declared that the elder Hutchins had "looked far ahead and laid the foundations on which all his successors must build."[62] For his part, William J. Hutchins saw Berea graduates bettering the world one home, one community at a time, rippling outward into the wider world. "With undimmed eyes, with undiscouraged will," he urged the graduates of 1939, "in an unbroken and eternal fellowship, we go forward to obey life's mandate, to greet the coming day."[63]

Danforth Chapel. The physical location of the chapel in the midst of a classroom building was an important symbol of Berea's linkage between faith and learning.

Hutchins addressing students. Many alumni of Hutchins's era recall the power and inspiration of his speeches and addresses.

Francis S. Hutchins. "It seems to me," Robert Maynard Hutchins once wrote, "that Francis is as solemn as an owl." Francis Hutchins's outward calm served him equally well amid Japanese air raids in China and faculty meetings at Berea College.

More Than an Ordinary College

Francis S. Hutchins, 1939–1967

The genius of Berea has been that it has coupled
with a purpose to maintain academic standards of genuine merit
a concern with significant problems of contemporary society.

FRANCIS S. HUTCHINS, 1963

Berea College in 1939 emerged from the Great Depression consisting of two schools. The first was the Foundation School, which served students in junior high and the first two years of high school. The second was the college, divided into Lower Division (eleventh and twelfth grades in high school, freshman and sophomore years of college) and Upper Division (the last two years of college). William J. Hutchins's long-studied reorganization of Berea had finally been implemented in 1938. Many faculty members were doubtful about the workability of this arrangement, and reluctant approval by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools had slowed the implementation of the new plan. Berea College had also changed its primary emphasis to college work and had modified its curriculum upon a liberal arts foundation. With his retirement in 1939, William J. Hutchins left behind a legacy of Christian idealism and service to the Appalachian region.

When Francis Hutchins succeeded his father in the summer of 1939, he brought to Berea's presidency a remarkable combination of skills and experience. Since 1925 Francis Hutchins had led Yale-in-China's education mission in Changsha, China. Reluctant to answer Berea's call to the presidency, Hutchins vigorously led the college through the stresses and strains of the Second World War. The presence of a Navy V-12 training unit led to significant social changes on campus. The college also welcomed Japanese American students to its programs, though these students were not entirely welcome in the town of Berea. Undaunted by the demands of the war, Hutchins and his colleagues continued to ponder curricular and administrative reforms; their reappraisal resulted in the dissolution of the Upper and Lower Divisions. In 1950 the Day Law was amended and Berea became the first undergraduate institution in Kentucky to reintegrate, thus beginning a long process of reclaiming the college's original mission. Throughout Francis Hutchins's career, Berea embodied

Christmas, 1914. Robert, Francis, and William (left to right) pose for a Christmas card at home in Oberlin. The three brothers followed their father into distinguished careers of educational leadership.

his vision of meeting the needs of Appalachian communities with well-rounded, clear-thinking, and unselfish graduates.

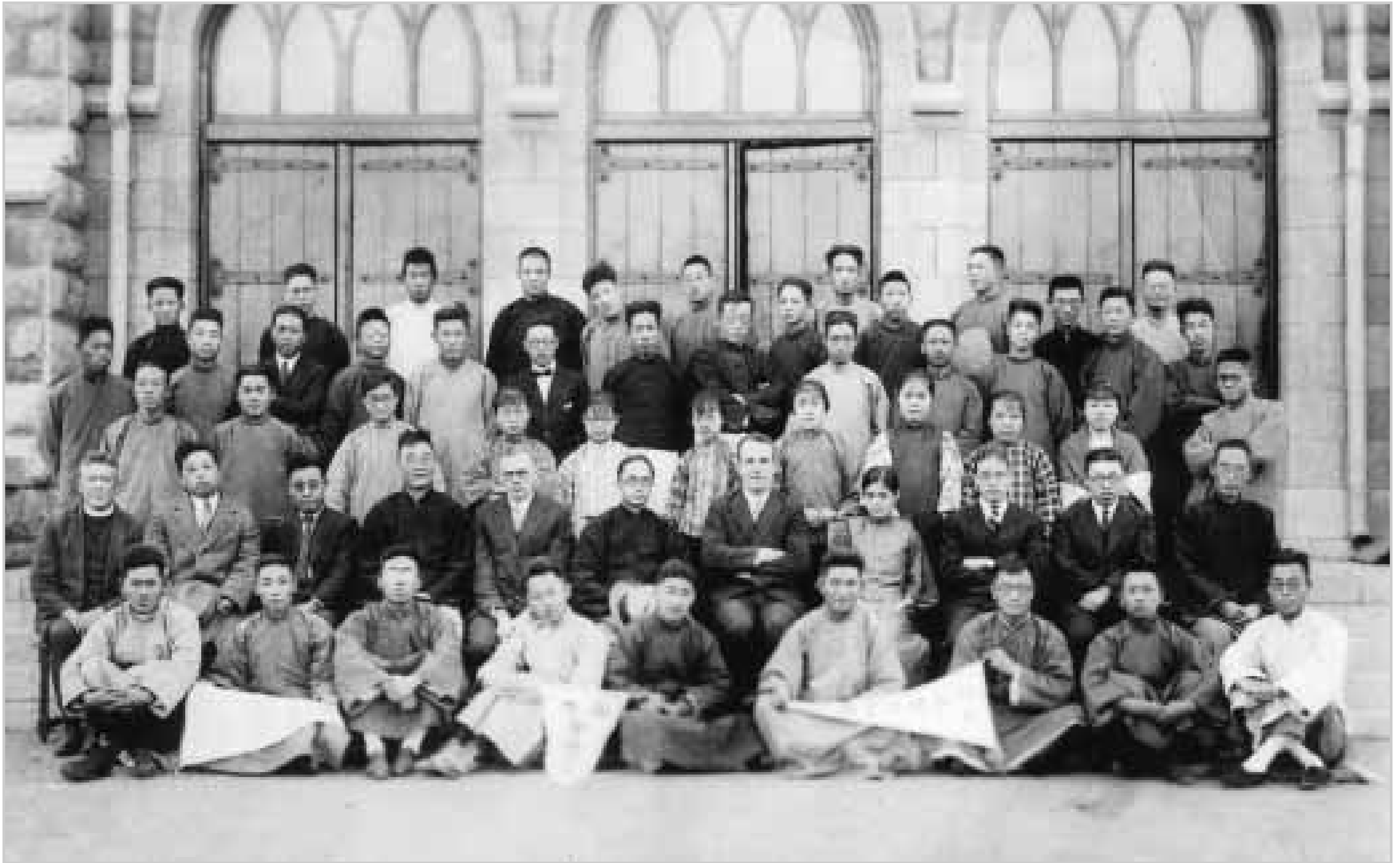
A Call to Service

Born August 17, 1902, in Northfield, Massachusetts, Francis Hutchins was the third and youngest son of William J. and Anna Hutchins. Educated in the Academy Department at Oberlin while his father taught homiletics in the seminary, Francis continued his studies at Oberlin College. In 1922 he won a teaching assignment to the Shansi Memorial School in north China. This boarding school served an area where some thirty Oberlin missionaries had been killed during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. For two years Hutchins taught English and learned Chinese. In 1924 he returned to Oberlin to complete his degree.[1]

During his service at Shansi, Hutchins met Dr. Edward Hume, then president of the Yale-in-China Association. At Oberlin, Hutchins also made the acquaintance of Palmer Bevis, the executive director of Yale-in-China. Hutchins wanted to serve an extended tour in China, but Oberlin was not in a position to support a continuing mission. Furthermore, Hutchins was not a Yale graduate. Nevertheless, his ability had made sufficient impression on Hume and Bevis that in 1925 Hutchins was invited to join the Yale-in-China staff at Changsha, in Hunan province.[2]

The Yale-in-China mission at Changsha was considerably larger than Oberlin's at Shansi. It consisted of a boys' school and a small college (Hua Chung). The two-year premedical course offered at Hua Chung led to the Hunan–Yale Medical College. There were in addition a nursing school and a hospital. Located outside the city walls, the mission comprised twenty-five American staff members and their families; twenty-five Chinese staff members who were graduates of Yale or other institutions in the United States and their families; and local people who had graduated from Hua Chung and other Chinese colleges and medical schools. Spending his first year mastering Chinese, Hutchins taught English to students in the nursing school.[3]

Hutchins's first administrative experience was to take charge of the property in the summer of 1926 while other staff members took vacations. He supervised construction projects, building repairs, and rental collections. As he attended to these seemingly innocuous duties, Nationalist Chinese forces passed through the province. Rising tensions caused an early closure of the schools and the subsequent departure of most of the personnel, so that by the spring of 1927



Shantung Christian University, 1927. Hutchins (second row, third from right) with faculty and premedical students in China.

Hutchins and two colleagues were the only Americans left on the property. No serious harm came to the school in the end, and Hutchins was commended for his service. "I know the experience must be a very interesting and unusual one," Bevis wrote to Hutchins, "but at the same time taxing and hard on the nerves." Bevis commended Hutchins and his associates for their splendid spirit and service.[4]

In 1928 Hutchins returned to Changsha as the representative of the Yale-in-China Association trustees. This new role involved meeting the varied administrative needs of the college, the school, the medical school, the hospital, and so on. "I feel very strongly that in spite of this uncertainty," Hutchins observed regarding the ongoing hostilities throughout China, "every day that we are able to keep going is a day gained."[5] He tirelessly prepared budgets, hired staff, and worked with Chinese officials. Hutchins became more and more convinced that he would devote his life to serving the people of China.

During his work at Changsha, Hutchins met Louise Gilman. Born in China in 1911, Louise was the daughter of Episcopal missionaries, Gertrude Carter Gilman and Bishop Alfred Alonzo Gilman. She had been educated at Wellesley College and Cornell University. In 1934 Francis and Louise were married. She completed her education at Yale University Medical College

Louise Gilman, Wellesley, 1932. Born in China, the daughter of Episcopal missionaries, Dr. Louise Gilman Hutchins devoted her entire medical career to the care of women and children.

in 1936, while Francis continued his duties in China. Louise rejoined her husband after her graduation and completed her internship in pediatrics at the Hunan hospital in Changsha. She devoted her practice to the care of women and children.[6]

In 1937 Imperial Japan invaded China. Retreating before the Japanese advance, Nationalist Chinese forces burned the city of Changsha to deprive the enemy of the city's resources. Two-thirds of a city of four hundred thousand people was destroyed in this scorched-earth policy. When the Japanese failed to appear, Changsha's people began to return to their devastated city. Francis Hutchins and other workers turned Yale-in-China's resources to relief work. Hutchins served as secretary and treasurer of the Changsha International Relief Committee. Refugee camps were organized, food was distributed, and health care was provided.[7]

The situation in Changsha continued to deteriorate. Two separate Japanese offensives toward Changsha were turned away, but air raids were constant. Louise and Francis were separated after one Japanese advance stranded Louise, the Hutchinses' first child, and other Americans and Europeans on top of Mount Lu Shan. Francis attempted to retrieve Louise, but his efforts failed. Government negotiations among Japanese, Chinese, U.S., and British representatives resulted in the evacuation of some forty-two persons from Mount Lu Shan to Shanghai. "I'm very sorry that they have to accept the hospitality of the Japanese," Francis wrote to his parents, "and I am very glad that they will soon be in Shanghai." After her arrival in Shanghai, Louise worked in a refugee maternity and health care center. Now that his wife and child were safe, Francis considered his own future. "My plans will depend on the development of the war," he wrote, "and I cannot see much of any definite ideas of what will happen."[8]

Uncertainty about the future prevailed in Berea as well. In 1937 William J. Hutchins had announced his intention to retire, though his reorganization of the institution was still in its early stages, and many faculty remained unconvinced of his plan's effectiveness. The college's trustees now engaged in the arduous process of finding a successor. Their search was a reluctant one, and one trustee, William Dean Embree, circu-

lated a letter among his brother trustees in an attempt to persuade William J. Hutchins to delay his retirement until 1941. Hutchins would brook no delay, however, and the trustees continued reviewing candidates. Francis himself wrote to his father suggesting some colleagues whom he had known in China who might prove worthy of Berea's presidency. The college's trustees continued their search. In February 1939 Albert Coe, a trustee and a Congregationalist minister in Chicago, wrote to William J. Hutchins that Francis Hutchins might be a possible successor. "While I keenly appreciate the suggestion," President Hutchins wrote, "I feel perfectly certain that the suggestion is not what William James would call a 'living option.'" What happened next was a complete surprise.[9]

Anchored in the river next to Changsha was the British gunboat HMS *Sandpiper*. Because of the war, normal lines of communication had been severely disrupted. Using his connections in the U.S. State Department, Seth Low Pierrepont, a Berea trustee, cabled this message to Francis Hutchins courtesy of the Royal Navy: "After careful thought special committee Berea trustees vote unanimously to recommend you to board as president of Berea College. Family had nothing to do with suggestion but approve. Committee and faculty urge acceptance. Please cable whether would accept if elected. Pierrepont, Danbury, Connecticut."[10]

Francis refused. Urged in a second telegram to reconsider, he again declined. He felt that he had been away from the United States for too long, and he remained eager to continue his work in China. Hutchins modestly described himself as an office boy who had a nice house to live in. "Occasionally I may keep something from going to pieces," he wrote, "or help pick up the pieces after they have been scattered, but that does not constitute educational leadership." Yet he could not abandon his work as long as the hospital and other agencies remained in Changsha. "I think at the same time that this is the place that I should be," Francis observed, "and no matter how frightened I may get, which is considerably, I see no help for it now." He had further reservations. "You are without any

Dr. Francis Wei and Francis Hutchins, 1933. Hutchins's work in China earned him the lifelong friendship of many Chinese teachers, administrators, and students. Dr. Wei was president of Central China College.

William J. and Francis Hutchins. Francis visits with his father during a furlough. William J. Hutchins affectionately dubbed his son, "our China boy, Frank."

question a religious as well as an educational leader, besides being a scholar," he wrote to his father. "I believe that such a person should also be your successor, and I am not such."[11]

Pierrepont and the trustees persisted in their hopes to persuade Francis. "Committee unwilling accept declination," read an April 20, 1939, telegram. "Will wait until April twenty seventh for reconsideration need not take office before January."[12] Having reestablished contact with Louise, Francis assessed his situation in Changsha. Despite bombing raids, the Japanese had not moved to occupy the city. The medical school, the nursing school, and other educational efforts had moved out of Changsha altogether, leaving only the hospital and the property to administer. Relief efforts were well in hand, and all emergencies had been met. Francis could now choose between waiting on the war's further developments or actively serving Berea's cause. He considered his father's initial advice. "Do not decline consideration," William J. Hutchins had written, "China crisis passes, Berea offers chance of [a] lifetime." On April 24, 1939, Francis Hutchins made his decision. "Will humbly accept if elected," he wrote simply.[13]

Berea's trustees quickly acted to elect Francis Hutchins on May 5, 1939. William J. Hutchins observed to one donor the remarkable events that were bringing Francis to Berea. "The appointment of my son as my successor," he wrote, "came as a culmination of a series of dramatic incidents which, to my own thinking, were providential."[14] Before recusing himself from the trustees' meeting that considered Francis Hutchins's candidacy, William Hutchins noted that his son might make a disappointing first impression. "His appearance is good but not impressive," William Hutchins cautioned the trustees. "He is a good speaker, but not a great speaker. He is a good student, but not a great scholar. He has raised some money, but he is not a great money raiser." These qualities were overshadowed by greater assets in Francis's character. He was youthful and mature, William Hutchins suggested.

Francis had deep experiences of life itself, and he had shown both physical and moral courage. His habits of self-denial gave him a "rare love for people just because they are people." Finally, William Hutchins concluded, "Men will learn to trust him."[15]

Having committed to Berea, Francis wondered how he might take up his new work. He had no illusions about being a good president, but the support of Louise and his father bolstered his confidence. He also recognized that being in China for so long might handicap his understanding of educational problems in the United States. Francis knew that he would need time to adjust not only to his new responsibilities at Berea, but to a country that was less familiar as well. "I shall have to be pardoned if I lead Chapel in Chinese," he observed; "it's the only language I've used for that purpose for a long time."[16]

Hutchins expected to begin his new duties in January 1940, but travel arrangements and a prompt release from his duties in Changsha resulted in his arrival on campus in September 1939. He met with unfamiliar sights and situations. Hutchins had not seen the Draper Building or the new Danforth Chapel. He had not previously known about the Upper and Lower Divisions, but he quickly learned of the controversy surrounding their arrangement. He did know about Berea's interracial founding and the institution's ongoing commitment to the Appalachian region. In learning about Berea students, Francis found, as his father had, that they had everything but money. He had hoped to take a few months to review his surroundings but found the college's situation so complex that he plunged immediately to work.[17]

Transferring the college seal. With trustees gathering in the background, William J. Hutchins hands the college seal to Francis.

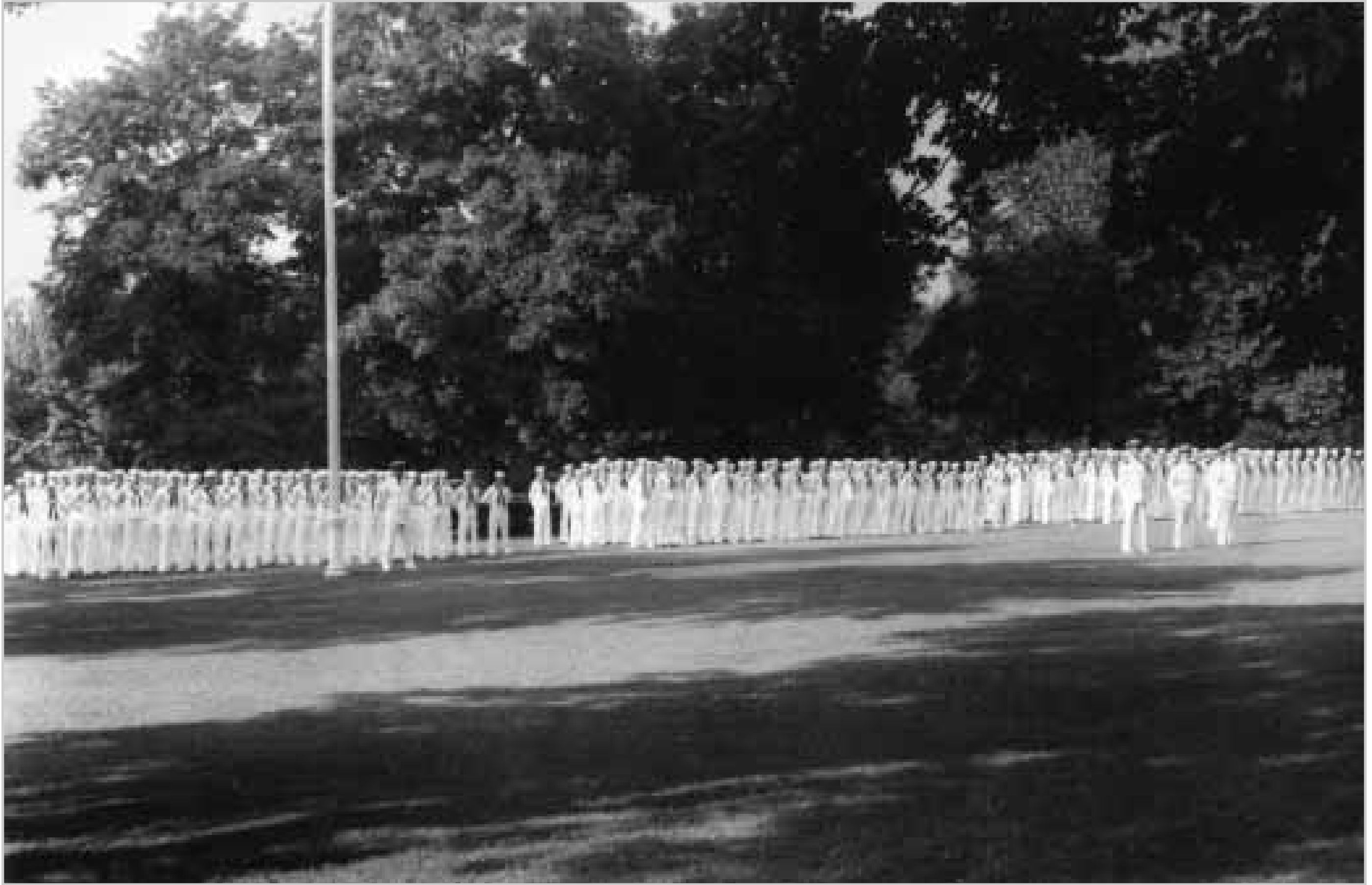
In his inaugural address Francis Hutchins affirmed Berea's accomplishments and considered the future. Berea's primary mission was to serve students from the Appalachian region. This service was intended to provide the finest education possible to those students regardless of economic or geographic handicaps. Labor, both economic and educational, was an effective ally of academic learning. Hutchins believed that serving regional needs ultimately benefited the nation. "I would not lose sight of the fact that the essential need in the community," he declared, "is for rounded personalities, men

Scrap metal drive, 1942. Discarded metal bedframes are gathered as part of a twenty-ton scrap metal drive on Berea's campus. Students form a "V" for victory.

and women who think clearly and act unselfishly." Hutchins recognized that after years of study, Berea students would nevertheless have to earn a living. This necessity only affirmed Berea's strong support of courses in agriculture, teaching, home economics, and nursing. Other fields might develop after further evaluation of the college's curriculum. Whatever form this curriculum took, however, Hutchins believed that its primary goal was to prepare students to make a distinct contribution to society. "Berea should continue," Hutchins asserted, "to intertwine and interweave the life of the campus with the life of the people who live in the regions about us."[18]

War's Demands

Francis Hutchins had hoped to gain his bearings gradually in his new position as president of Berea College, but the urgency of the administrative reorganization and curriculum reform drew him immediately into active service. The much-debated Upper and Lower Divisions were already being questioned, barely two years after their implementation. The need for appropriate courses and the faculty to teach them also posed problems. Yet the importance of these issues was suddenly diminished by the onset of World War II. Nevertheless, Hutchins and his colleagues remained committed to providing a high-quality education in spite of the war.



Navy V-12 on parade. The presence of the navy unit calmed some community fears that Berea College was "too liberal" to support the national war effort.

Shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Francis Hutchins addressed the campus. He recognized that there were many difficult questions and few easy answers. He reminded his audience that war need not lessen a person's intelligence or finer qualities. The present emergency required that everyone—students, instructors, and administrators—do their jobs even better than before. If Berea's work was considered essential in times of peace, Hutchins observed, it was no less so in time of war. He urged students to complete their courses, since thorough preparation would be more valuable than rushing off and leaving tasks incomplete. "There will be services to be rendered tomorrow and next year," Hutchins remarked. "I believe each of us will be better prepared when and if the time comes, if we have kept on with our work." The greatest contribution to the future, Hutchins believed, depended on how each Berean met the crisis of war.[19]

Hutchins and his colleagues went diligently about their duties. Working with the Curriculum Committee, Hutchins and the faculty devised a three-term academic year that allowed for the completion of a four-year degree in two years and eight months. Students were given course credit in proportion to the time they spent on campus before entering military service. As

Anchors aweigh! Students visit on a sunny day. "The Navy," Hutchins wryly observed, "brought Berea College kicking and screaming into the twentieth century." Many of the more stringent social rules were relaxed.

Hutchins had suggested, this arrangement encouraged students to stay in school until they were called and then to complete their courses when they returned from military service. Hutchins also advocated offering a variety of extracurricular courses so that students entering military service would have as many skills as possible. All these activities took place, of course, as students and faculty departed the campus for the war. Education, unlike other activities, could not be suspended during wartime. "We are fighting for peace," Hutchins declared, "whether or not we get the peace will depend a great deal on how we strive and how we plan, and how we think."[20]

As Berea students left the campus for the various branches of the armed forces, others came to take their place. "This morning," Francis wrote to his parents in April 1943, "I received a letter from the Navy that they approve of us and that they will be glad to negotiate for 300 men for their V-12 program."[21] The V-12 Naval College Training Program did not lead immediately to a commission; it was designed to prepare young men to become specialists and officers in the U.S. Navy. The curriculum included courses in mathematics, physics, chemistry and engineering materials, navigation and nautical astronomy, and naval history and elementary strategy. The length of actual instruction ranged from a minimum of 240 days to 700 days; V-12s were certainly no "90-day wonders." Successful completion of the V-12 curriculum led to

Three gold stars. By fall term 1942, the college's service flag showed 326 Bereans had joined the colors. Three had given their lives for their country.

opportunities in the Naval Reserve Officer Training Course (NROTC), or midshipmen's, supply, or marine officer candidate schools. The program took an accelerated approach to meeting leadership needs for the specialized missions of the navy, marines, and coast guard.[22]

The first group of nearly three hundred trainees arrived on Berea's campus in July 1943. Many of the men in this class were from the Midwest with visions of training at Columbia, Yale, or Princeton University. Instead, they wound up at Berea, far from the fascinations of big city life. The commander of the unit was Homer A. Dunathan, formerly the president of Findlay College, a Church of God institution in Findlay, Ohio. The executive officer was John Kessler, an insurance agent from Edmond, Oklahoma. Assisted by capable chief petty officers, Dunathan and Kessler set the tone for the unit. The college's dean, Lawrence Baker, was Berea's first liaison with the V-12, and he was instrumental in making the initial arrangements with the navy. When Baker himself was called up, he was replaced by Louis Smith, who was the dean of Upper Division.[23]

A typical V-12 day began at 6 A.M., followed by physical training at 6:15. Classes began at 8:30 and continued throughout the day, with time set aside for a chapel service and twenty minutes for lunch. A compulsory study period was scheduled from 7:30 to 9 P.M.; lights out was at 10 P.M. As time allowed, the trainees participated in a variety of extracurricular activities, including athletics, and basketball enjoyed particular local popularity. Cooperation between the navy and the college was the watchword, though the cooperation was not always due to cheerful volunteerism. When sailors balked at participating in a Mountain Day excursion, Kessler reminded them who was in charge. "You are going to be part of that," he growled, "or I'll put you in Blue Ridge or Howard Hall, and you'll stay there until they get back off the thing." So the sailors picked up their sack lunches, climbed the mountain, and had a good time generally.[24]

Between July 1943 and October 1945, three classes totaling 782 students passed through Berea's V-12 program. The presence of the unit brought interesting changes to an already disciplined campus. Smoking, a habit long regarded as a reason for

expulsion in previous years, was allowed in designated areas at scheduled times. Social or ballroom dancing, which had given way to country dancing for years, was allowed on campus. The Captain's Navy Party featured the latest tunes and dance steps, and Wednesday and Saturday evenings were given over to dance socials. Naval parlance changed bathrooms to "heads," doors to "hatches," and windows to "portals." Meals in the dining hall that had been eaten family style at assigned tables were now served to long lines of hungry sailors and students on shiny metal trays. Many V-12s developed a genuine affection for their experiences at Berea. "We didn't like Berea when we first arrived," one trainee wrote to Louis Smith, "but we did grow to really like it. Compared to [midshipmen's school], you treated us like kings."[25]

World War II brought other visitors to Berea's campus. Stranded in Oxford, Ohio, by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Thomas Okuma and Richard Wong, natives of Honolulu, Hawaii, made their way to Berea and enrolled in the college. Okuma was the first of several Nisei students who attended the college during the war years. Working with the War Relocation Authority, Berea received students who had been dislocated from colleges and universities by the war. These students participated in all aspects of Berea's campus life.[26] From Hutchins's perspective, admitting these students was simply the right thing to do. He even contemplated hiring a Japanese American nurse to work in the hospital. "We need the nurse," Hutchins wrote to his father, "and I think our present treatment of such individuals is indecent and stupid." He hoped the presence of the naval unit would calm any doubts about the college's patriotism. "I do not like war, I do not like what accompanies it," Hutchins observed, "but we have the first and might as well do the best that we can with the second."[27]

As in other parts of the United States, the possible relocation of Japanese Americans from their home communities caused consternation within Berea's local community. The town's Civilian Defense Council passed a resolution against the relocation of Japanese Americans in Berea, believing such persons to be a threat to national security. The resolution further condemned anyone who favored relocation as being more concerned with "Japanese-Americans and German prisoners than the welfare of American fighting men."[28] These fearful expressions met with mixed reactions. Some townspeople wondered if segregating Japanese citizens was not the right course, while others believed that Japanese Americans had already proven their loyalty by joining the armed forces of the United States. "I would just as soon have the help of a loyal citizen of Japanese descent in my victory garden," one woman wrote, "as to have him fight in the same outfit with my husband or brother."[29]

The college's YWCA chapter favored relocating Japanese American students at Berea. While acknowledging the risk of disloyalty, Louise Young, president of the YWCA, spoke for many students when she promised to aid those whose educations had been completely disrupted solely on the basis of race. The student newspaper, the *Wallpaper,* praised the Nisei students on campus for their tact and diplomacy in meeting their situation. "It is no time to avoid dealing with injustice at home," the

Commencement 1940. World War II would interrupt the lives of many graduates, yet even in the midst of war the college continued to examine the organization of the college and the curriculum.

Wallpaper declared, "especially when that injustice will have results which will so directly condition the post-war world."[30] The crisis passed.

In meeting the demands of war, Berea College again remained true to its mission. As it welcomed navy trainees and Japanese American students, Berea affirmed its tradition of taking risks. Despite local criticism of the college for having conscientious objectors on its staff in wartime, Hutchins and his colleagues steered a course that emphasized consensus and minimized hostile disagreement. It was with great joy that men and women returning from the service were received into the college again. Thirty-five V-12 sailors had their financial or residential restrictions waived in order to complete their degrees at Berea. In all, 1,386 Bereans served in World War II, and of these at least 53 were lost. In maintaining its mission, Berea contributed its best to the national effort.

Fine and Valid Objectives: Reorganization and Curriculum

Even in the midst of World War II, Hutchins and his fellow administrators worked with the faculty in reexamining the organization of the college. William Hutchins's plan, adopted in 1938, had called

for a reevaluation of the Upper and Lower Divisions' organization and curricula after five years. Francis Hutchins learned shortly after his arrival on campus of the dissatisfaction with the arrangement. The perceived barrier between the Upper Division and the freshman and sophomore years, housed in Lower Division, aroused complaints of lack of integration as well as of hampered social and academic relations. Where William J. and Francis Hutchins had seen flexibility in programs and personnel, others saw divisional rigidity and artificial organization. For many faculty, the Lower Division was not a four-year unit at all, but a collection of students who missed out on their high school graduation or were disconnected from their college classmates. Faculty members themselves were further discontented by their status (or lack of it) within the system.[31]

For Francis Hutchins the key problem was in the immediate transition from high school to college-level work. Despite the many improvements in high schools throughout the Appalachian region, students entering the college varied, at times widely, in their preparation. Berea was admitting not only the good students from the good high schools, but the best students from the poorest high schools. "If we had it," Francis observed to his parents in 1943, "we would immediately revive the high school postgraduate arrangement or invent a sub-freshman class." This plan would allow entering students to make up deficiencies while taking other courses for which they were qualified. Hutchins also recognized that though Berea's plan was serviceable, it did not fit the common pattern of other colleges and high schools. The SACS had already shown reluctance in approving plans that did not reflect standard practice. Faculties in both the Upper and Lower Divisions organized committees to examine the effects of "reorganizing the reorganization."[32]

The numerous reports and studies generated by these committees examined all aspects of the academic program. In addition to the variable nature of freshman preparation, the reports identified other disadvantages. Among the problems were faculty and students being divided into small, artificial academic units, as well as overlapping administrative functions. Advantages to Berea's six-year plan included a flexible curriculum to meet student needs and the economical use of instructors teaching their specialties at various levels. Berea's plan also provided a break between general education and the specialization of the major. Whatever the perspective, there was agreement that Berea needed to provide both secondary and collegiate educational programs, though the secondary student population was declining.[33]

Hutchins, for his part, saw nothing wrong with Berea's divisional arrangement. Yet from the outset of his administration, even before the difficulties resulting from the war arose, he was besieged by complaints regarding the college's organizational structure. He agreed with Lower Division dean Charles N. Shutt that enthusiastic support could make the system work, but Hutchins had encountered such bitter opposition that he doubted such support was forthcoming. "Whatever plan is now proposed to the Trustees," Hutchins confided to his parents, "I'm going to demand and get the enthusiastic support of the sour-

President and Mrs. Hutchins gather with faculty. Hutchins sought consensus in his reorganization of the college and promoting excellence in teaching.

pusses who do so much groaning." He even wondered if the college's trustees could bring a resolution to the debate. "My proposition has been that if the faculty cannot pull up its socks and make a decent recommendation," Hutchins observed wearily, "that the Trustees will take action and require cooperation on their own basis."[34]

The trustees did not have to act. Hutchins and the faculty reached consensus, and in the fall term of 1947 Berea began working within a new organizational and curricular structure. The eleventh and twelfth grades were returned to a now-separate Foundation School. The freshman and sophomore years were reunited with the junior and senior years of the college. The curriculum included a Basic Year to assist students with deficiencies in reading, writing, mathematics, American history, and world geography. Students enrolled in these courses were treated as college freshmen and were al-

Classroom scene. Just as in his father's time, Francis Hutchins believed that education prepared a person for a life of service to others.

lowed to enroll in freshmen-level courses for which they were qualified. Students could waive the Basic Year courses through a series of tests in skills and subject matter.[35]

The curriculum of the freshman and sophomore years established a liberal arts foundation, a common learning experience. In the two semesters of the first year, every student took courses in composition, Western civilization, physical education, psychology, Old Testament, and either biology or an introduction to the social sciences. In the sophomore year students had two semesters to complete their work in social science, physical education, speech, biological or physical sciences, New Testament, and humanities. The humanities course vigorously engaged students in the study of the graphic arts, music, and literature. Before graduation, students had to take a philosophy course and develop proficiency in a foreign language. With this liberal arts background, students could choose a major from over twenty academic departments. Teacher training, as in previous years, remained an important goal within the curriculum. In addition, the college offered three B.S. degrees, in Agriculture, Business Administration, and Home Economics.[36]

Like his father, Francis Hutchins believed

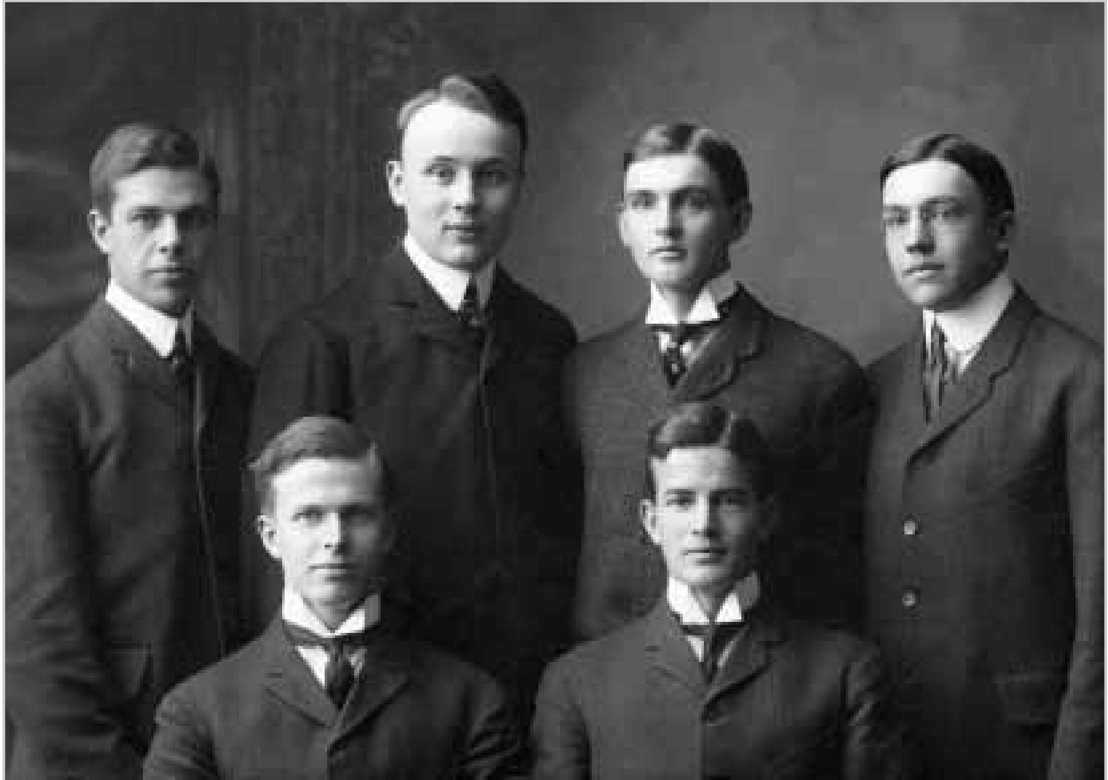
Student dairymen. The college dairy offered milk, cream, cheese, and other products for the college dining hall as well as the surrounding community.

strongly in education for service. A Berea education was not merely ornamental, providing entrée into an elite society. Nor was a Berea education merely practical, either. Hutchins was unapologetic for the apparent tension between practical and liberal learning. It was more important, he reasoned, to offer students the programs that were helpful to them, and by extension, the region. The central idea of the new curriculum was to build intelligent citizens to serve Appalachia, the United States, and the wider world. Berea's curriculum aided students in developing a sound pattern of personal values and ethics framed within good standards of taste and discrimination. These values enabled the Berea student to move, Hutchins observed, "with sureness through a world of shoddy, shallow, conflicting, unworthy and unjust claims upon his attention, his participation and his loyalties."[37]

Reintegration

Before the amendment to and eventual repeal of the Day Law, Berea found ways to remain loyal to the college's interracial commitment. Berea had provided a place for integrated meetings of the YMCA and YWCA for several years. The visits to

Six Berea boys at Yale, c. 1904. William Dean Embree (seated, right) was a prominent attorney and Berea College trustee. He authored the language for Berea's readmission of African American students. "If we don't do this," Hutchins recalled Embree as saying, "then we might as well not have a centennial celebration."



Berea's campus of such African American intellectuals and leaders as George Washington Carver, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, and Benjamin Mays had illuminated Berea audiences. The library continued to purchase works by and about black authors and artists. Berea faculty and students had worked with pupils at the nearby Middletown School and in African American neighborhoods. Alumni and friends of the college urged the hiring of an African American professor as the first step in reclaiming Berea's heritage. Edwin Embree, president of the Rosenwald Foundation and a direct descendant of John G. Fee, lost patience with what he regarded as Berea's hesitation in challenging racism. He argued that public thinking had changed sufficiently in the South for the college to act with more of its "original courage." Ambiguous responses among faculty and trustees, however, left Hutchins and Dean Louis Smith unconvinced that such a hire was the right course in promoting positive race relations on campus. "That is not a very strong position to take maybe," Hutchins wrote to his parents, "but I do not like to be crowded by people who would cheerfully jeopardize many gains."[38]

In 1949 the segregated status of higher education began to change in Kentucky. A federal district judge ordered the integration of the University of Kentucky graduate schools on the ground that separate was not equal. Continuing education for African American nurses and physicians allowed for integrated classrooms and laboratories at the University of Louisville medical school.

In the winter of 1950 the Kentucky legislature amended the Day Law to allow integrated education at public and private institutions above the high school level. The amendment gave colleges and universities the option to integrate if their governing bodies elected to do so and if no equal, complete, and accredited course was being offered at Kentucky State College for Negroes in Frankfort. Consulting with an educational leader in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Louisville, Hutchins asked what the response of Roman Catholic colleges would be. Citing the religious foundation of these schools, the official replied, “There is no such thing as an equal and equivalent course. The whole basis of state education as offered in Kentucky State is secular. Therefore there cannot be any equal, equivalent course.”[39]

At their April 1950 meeting the trustees took up the question of reintegrating Berea. In 1949 they had approved in principle the reintegration of the college’s nursing program, since no equivalent was available at Kentucky State. The state attorney general and his assistant believed that the law would not permit the college to act on this apparent loophole, but they advised Hutchins that the legislature was open to changes in the Day Law. When the law was amended in the 1950 session, Berea’s trustees acted quickly. Using language proposed by William Dean Embree, the board empowered the college to admit qualified African American students from the Appalachian region. The board also reaffirmed the college’s mission to mountain students in general, noting that this had been Berea’s focus for nearly a century. “We continue to see in these young people,” the board declared, “a challenge greater than we can hope to discharge in any foreseeable length of time.”[40]

Jessie Reasor Zander. Berea’s first African American graduate since the Day Law, Zander went on to become a prominent teacher, educational administrator, and poet. She and her fellow African American students of the 1950s were the pioneers who helped Berea reclaim its interracial history.

Berea College was the first undergraduate college in Kentucky to admit black students. Three students enrolled for Berea’s fall term in 1950, pioneering Berea’s return to its foundational commitment to interracial education. The first African American student to graduate from Berea was Jessie Reasor Zander from Appalachia, Virginia. A transfer student from Swift Memorial Junior College, Zander and her sister were

Lecture hall. Integration took hold, albeit more slowly than some students and faculty desired.

the first members of their family to go to college. Her attendance at Berea was Zander's first experience of education in an integrated setting. "I denied myself a lot of opportunities," Zander recalled sadly, "because I wasn't secure and self-confident enough to try." The small number of African American students on campus at the time made her even more self-conscious. Although she did not experience overt racism from fellow students, Zander still felt isolated. "I don't think I got to know many people very well," she remembered, "as most were busy just making sure they didn't offend me." Her perseverance and graduation in 1954 bore testimony to a powerful determination and personal spirit. Zander went on to a successful career as a teacher, school administrator, and poet. African American student enrollment at Berea increased, but very slowly.[41]

The Supreme Court's 1954 decision to invalidate "separate but equal" in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* ended the legal power of the infamous Day Law in Kentucky. The *Brown* decision also brought new students to Berea. Rather than integrate its educational system, Prince Edward County, Virginia, elected to close all its public schools in 1959. A private school system for white students soon emerged, but nearly seventeen hundred black students were left without any educational opportunities at all. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) offered one of the solutions to this crisis by funding the education of Prince Edward County's black students in other states. Through the efforts of Jean Fairfax, the AFSC's national representative for southern programs, six Prince Edward students were placed in Berea's Foundation School. Elsie and Doris Robinson, Ralph Smith, Doretha Pride, Frances Hayes, and Anna Marie Paige traveled hundreds of miles to pursue their educations. Berea was their first educational experience in an integrated setting, as it had been Jessie Zander's. The Robinson sisters and Smith all graduated from the Foundation School. Two other Prince Edward students, Alfred L. Cobbs and Catherine Scott, came to Berea and graduated from the college. The AFSC helped some sixty-seven students to attend schools in ten communities in eight states. Prince Edward County finally reopened its public schools in 1964.[42]

Berea's reaffirmation of interracial education went beyond the enrollment of African American students. As interest in the Civil Rights movement grew on campus, so did the pressure to make institutional statements about the college's role in the movement. The National Council of Churches (NCC) asked permission to gather some six hundred persons at the college in the summer of 1964 under the council's Commission on Race and Religion, and Hutchins agreed. Reluctance set in as reports of violence in Mississippi reached Hutchins and the trustees. Berea alumni in Mississippi persuaded Hutchins that many white Mississippians saw the civil rights workers as invaders who would do more harm than good to the cause of blacks. After consulting with the trustees, Hutchins withdrew his permission for the NCC to hold its summer session at Berea. Responding to protests regarding Berea's withdrawal, Hutchins claimed that the college was still interested in effective support of the Civil Rights cause. "I believe that Berea should do all that it can do to aid in the total strug-

gle," Hutchins wrote. "Because of my belief that the program contemplated in Mississippi was more likely to worsen than to promote the civil rights situation," he continued, "I decided against receiving the group here. This decision was approved by the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees." Hutchins denied that Berea had in any way changed its commitment to interracial education by not hosting the training program. "I believe it should be clear to all that the well-being of the Negro is a basic interest of Berea College," Hutchins observed. "This interest has been evident in the College's work from the very beginning. It is a basic commitment of Berea College today and must remain so as long as the College exists."[43]

Nevertheless, Bereans did find ways to protest the condition of blacks in the South. In March 1964 Martin Luther King Jr. led a civil rights march on the state capitol in Frankfort, Kentucky, a demonstration in which several Berea faculty and students participated. A year later, when King announced his plans for a march on Montgomery, Alabama, many Berea faculty and students wanted to join the effort. Again, as news regarding the violent reaction to the marches filtered back to Berea, Francis Hutchins and other administrators were reluctant to sanction participation. The Student Government Association did not endorse the march, and Dean Kenneth Thompson suggested that students write to their congressional representatives to express their views. Thompson also reminded the students that the college would not provide vehicles for travel to Alabama, and students were left to make their own arrangements with their professors, since participation in the march did not officially excuse them from class.[44]

Inspired by the Frankfort march and desiring to restore Berea's public reputation in the wake of the canceled civil rights training the previous summer, the would-be marchers remained undaunted. On March 15, 1965, led by a committee of six that consisted of Student Association president Danny Daniel, the *Pinnacle*'s editor, Roy Birchard, John Fleming, N. J. R. Allan, Ron Matson, and Mike Clark, a group of about one hundred students and faculty marched on Francis Hutchins's home to express their concern about the college's apparent inaction. "There can be no question about Berea College's continuing commitment to the cause of human rights and human dignity," Hutchins told the protesters. "Some may differ as to methods and tactics, but the common goal remains." He then offered his own car to assist in transporting the students who chose to go to Montgomery.[45]

Fifty-eight Bereans traveled to Montgomery to hear Martin Luther King's call for voting rights in Alabama. As they joined with thousands of others demonstrators, the Berea marchers walked the four-mile route amid cheers and jeers alike. Confederate battle flags appeared, reminding Berea's history professor Richard Drake that he and others were participating in a second reconstruction of the South, a reconstruction in which African Americans, rather than liberal whites, were the principal actors.[46] After the march was over, Bob Barrier, the assistant editor of the *Pinnacle,* wrote that Berea was not obligated to be a marching college, where solid academics gave place to activism, no matter how desirable the goal. The paper's editor, Roy Birchard, however,

Berea students and faculty in Montgomery, Alabama. Students marching with Martin Luther King Jr. now linked themselves to the cause of the founders.

was convinced that education confined to the campus or the classroom was shallow at best. “Let us take the whole world,” Birchard wrote, “for *our* classroom.”[47]

The mixed responses to the Montgomery march reflected Berea’s dilemma in responding to reintegration. Some of the college’s supporters found Berea tardy and uncertain in acting on its historic commitment to interracial education. Others believed Berea could only gradually reintegrate; after all, the college had been exclusively white for more than forty years. Nevertheless, by continuing to welcome black intellectuals and artists to campus, by being the first undergraduate institution in Kentucky to admit African American students, by providing a haven for displaced students from Prince Edward County, by marching individually and collectively in support of civil rights, Berea College began the process of reclaiming its greatest legacy.

Dr. Louise Hutchins. During her husband's presidency, Dr. Hutchins served as the college pediatrician. She also served as the physician for the Mountain Maternal Health League, an organization that advanced better healthcare for mountain mothers and children through family planning (*Louisville Courier-Journal* photo).

The Berea Idea

Throughout the administration of Francis Hutchins, Berea College emphasized the college's primary mission to southern Appalachia. Curricular and administrative changes, continued expansion of the college itself, extension programs, and fund-raising efforts alike were all aimed at enhancing Berea's educational service to the region. A Berea education, however, was not bound to the four walls of a classroom. "We have never been a college limited to a campus; if it had been so limited," Hutchins observed, "it would not be the Berea we know." Like his father, Francis Hutchins was convinced that education alone was not enough to make a difference in the world. Education also had to count for something. "The genius of Berea," he declared, "has been that it has coupled with a purpose to maintain academic standards a concern with significant problems of contemporary society."[48]

The college's work in Appalachia was seen as a natural progression in the institution's history of service to people on the margins. Publicity literature supported this view. In Fee and Fairchild's time, the newly freed slaves and their families were in dire need of educational support, so Berea focused on this issue. When slavery passed from the national scene, the college increasingly concentrated on the needs of mountain people. Reintegration was an affirmation of Berea's creed that no one would be excluded from an education, but Appalachia was still the college's primary focus. As they had been in previous years, students were seen as the primary answer to the problems of Appalachia and, through Appalachia, the nation and the world.[49]

Berea continued to interpret the Appalachian region itself, and it was the birthplace of a remarkable scholarship. In 1953 Roscoe Giffin, a professor of sociology, conducted the Pine Mountain Study, a socioeconomic survey of the area around Pine Mountain Settlement School, which had closed in 1949. Giffin's study analyzed the effects of family size, income, mobility, social values, and educational attainment. In 1958 Berea's trustee Willis D. Weatherford Sr. spearheaded the Southern Appalachian Studies project, supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation. A galaxy of notable scholars examined the impact of positive and negative changes in the region since the previous survey conducted by the USDA in 1935. The survey also examined problem areas in health care, education, economic status, and religion. The survey further ex-

plored possible solutions that would bring the Appalachian region in line with national socioeconomic standards. Weatherford hoped that the survey would convince the nation that the United States needed the independence, individualism, and strong character of mountain people. These ideal characteristics of mountain people had already been memorialized by previous generations of Bereans. The information presented by Weatherford and his colleagues was well beyond the scope of Berea's efforts, however, and had a tremendous influence in the work of such federal agencies as the Appalachian Regional Commission, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Economic Development Administration, among others.[50]

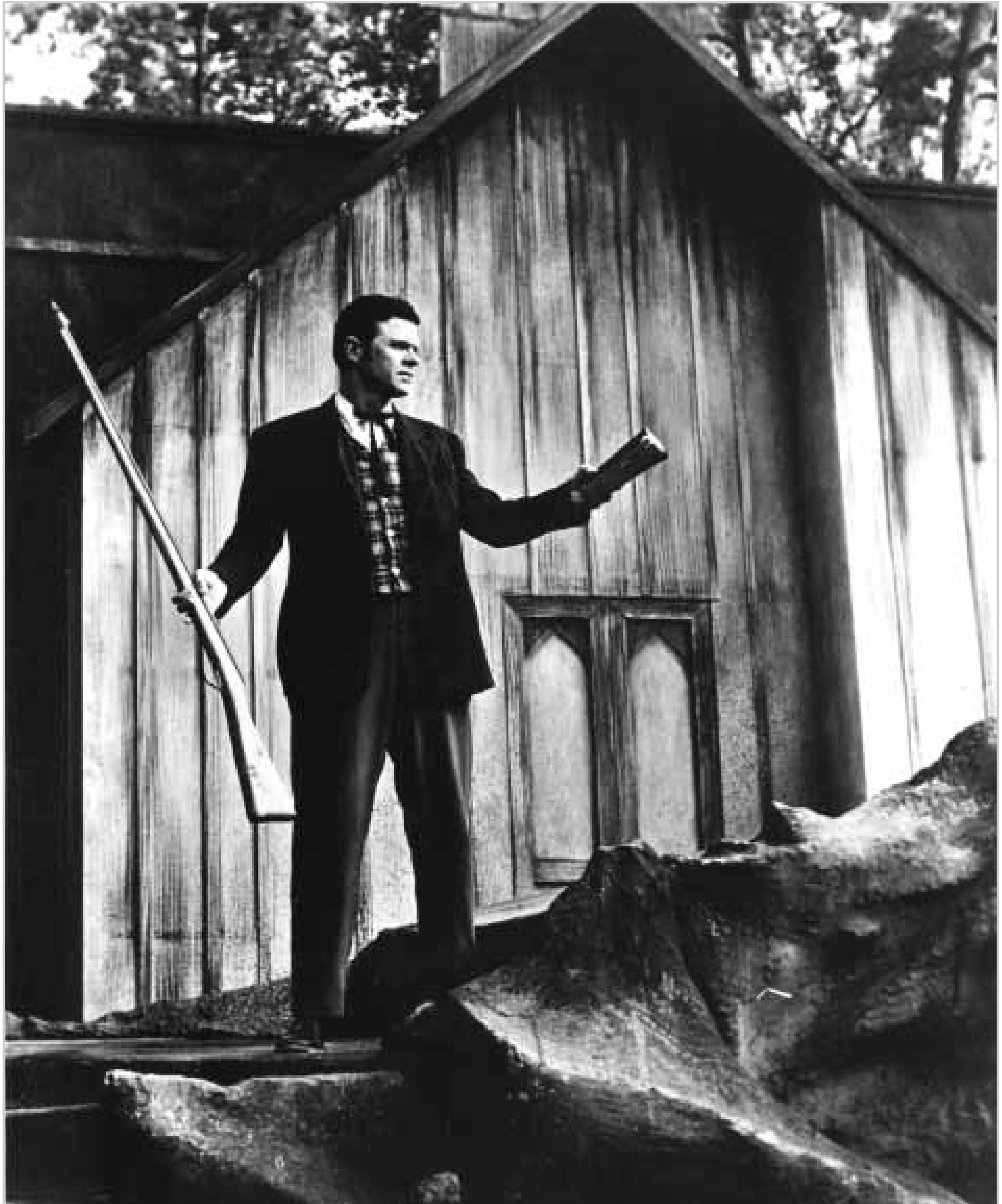
Berea's high ideals were summarized in what Hutchins and others termed "the Berea idea." Bereans believed that these ideals set the college apart from most other colleges in the nation. There was no apology for the apparent tension between the liberal arts and professional preparation found in the degree programs of Business, Agriculture, Nursing, Home Economics, and Industrial Arts. Berea's no-tuition policy, which applied to all students, honored men and women, black and white, who had academic ability but little or no chance of a college education. Students paid for room, board, and books, in addition to incidental fees, in effect receiving a tuition scholarship from the college. The labor program offered the chief means of financial support for students. Consequently, costs were kept low and simplicity emphasized so that everyone could participate in campus life with minimal discomfort. Labor and study reinforced each other in learning and developing career goals. A high-quality education, Hutchins argued, needed consistent improvement, not in abstract terms, but with practical applications in the classroom, the campus, and the home. The foundation for the entire program was Berea's Christian heritage, which reflected the earnest and sincere motivation of the founders.[51]

Berea celebrated its historic legacy in the centennial year of 1955. Lectures, symposia, and exhibitions reminded audiences large and small of Berea's values and their application to the present. The implications of atomic energy, foreign affairs, and liberal learning were explored by notable scholars and lecturers. Robert M. Hutchins gave the centennial commencement address, noting that Berea had shown that it was possible in an age of public relations and mass production to have character. He suggested that if a college was to amount to anything, it had to stand for something. For Robert Hutchins, Berea stood for conscientious nonconformity, molding young minds that might change the world. He commended the graduates for developing their character as well as their intellectual capacity. "As you take your stand for justice, freedom, and peace, you will do honor to your Alma Mater, and, who knows," he concluded, "you may yet transform the world."[52]

Wilderness Road: A Symphonic Outdoor Drama by Paul Green debuted in Berea's centennial year. The play commemorated Berea's founding ideals through the fictional story of John Freeman, a Kentucky mountain schoolteacher who speaks out against the evils of slavery. Amid hymns, fiddle tunes, and mountain dances, Freeman exhorts his

Baptizing in Rockcastle County, Kentucky. Appalachian mountain religion was the centerpiece of several regional studies, especially the

1962 Appalachian Regional Survey.



Freeman's choice. In a scene from *Wilderness Road,* John Freeman chooses between his biblical convictions and the prospect of joining the Union army.

Young women gather for study in Dixie House. In the college country homes, women students learned about meal preparation, interior design, and household budgets.

neighbors to build a school open to all, founded on principles of freedom and justice. Proslavery night riders attack Freeman and destroy the schoolhouse. Freeman's death in the battle of Perryville and the ultimate Union victory in the Civil War eventually reconcile most of the community, who rebuild his school. John G. Fee makes an appearance presiding at Freeman's funeral. *Wilderness Road* honored Berea's founders, who had lived a democratic and religious faith. Their wilderness road did not pass through "woods and craggy mountains of earth" but through "misunderstandings, passions and persecutions of misguided men, their neighbors even." As was true of the seventy-fifth anniversary pageant, African American characters were largely incidental in the play and were passive participants in their cause for freedom. The story of *Wilderness Road* instead revolved around the experience of white mountaineers during the secession crisis and the Civil War. The dramatic presentation told only part of the Berea story, and even that part was incomplete.[53]

Wilderness Road dramatically celebrated Berea's core values. Elisabeth Peck traced the historic origins of the college's ideals and how these had been acted upon in *Berea's First Century*, published in 1955. Peck herself had come to Berea in 1912 and taught history for forty-one years. When she retired from her teaching duties,

Hutchins named Peck as the college's official historian. She compared Berea's history to the college's nearby forest reserve in midwinter, noting that even in difficult times deep roots enabled the trees to survive. Her study's initial chapters described the founders' vision for Berea. Later chapters were topically arranged and discussed curriculum developments, interracial education, labor, fund-raising efforts, outreach, and service to Appalachia. The primary purpose of Peck's book was to remind her readers of the imperishable elements that sustained the college. Though it was largely a sympathetic history, Peck did not dismiss the difficulties Berea had experienced. Her straightforward discussion of integration, segregation, and reintegration at Berea caused one historian to suggest that southern segregationists take notice. "No riots took place [at Berea]," wrote Henry F. Pringle. "We respectfully refer this historical truth to the attorneys general of Virginia and other southern states should they propose to file additional alarmist briefs with the Supreme Court of the United States."[54] For Elisabeth Peck, Berea's core values made Berea distinctive in a gentle and quiet way, providing a firm foundation for the next century.

Elisabeth Sinclair Peck. Peck joined the college faculty in 1912 and taught history until her retirement in 1953. She was subsequently appointed college historian and served in this role until her death in 1968.

Berea's greatness, in Francis Hutchins's view, lay in Berea's commitment to a high-quality education in reach of those for whom it was Berea or nothing. A Berea education had a liberal arts foundation and outlook for all aspects of the academic program. A Christian ethic undergirding service, equality, and democracy with a particular emphasis on interracial education honored Berea's founding vision. Finally, serving Appalachian youth who had both high ability and economic need through education and outreach rounded out the essence of the college's program.[55] Hutchins believed that Bereans had particular characteristics. He declared that an intellectual social alertness drove a Berean out of the classroom, the office, or the home to find places where the danger spots were, and to find thoughtful ways to solve problems. Hutchins saw Bereans as devoted to a cause, a cause that was selflessly advanced with joy and satisfaction. Christian faith, according to Hutchins, enlivened a Berean's intellectual alertness and sense of service to others. Berea's educational mission was successful if Berea graduates were marked by these characteristics. "The value of this College is the worth and quality of your lives."[56]

In October 1965 Hutchins announced to the trustees that he and his wife had agreed that it would be wise for him to retire at age sixty-five. When Francis Hutchins retired in 1967, he could look back over his administration with satisfaction. He was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, and the new library, named originally for William J. Hutchins, became known as the William J. and Francis S. Hutchins Library. Francis Hutchins had served for twenty-eight years and tangibly advanced the college's program. The endowment increased from ten million dollars in 1939 to over fifty million at the time of Hutchins's retirement. The college had been reorganized and an innovative curriculum adopted. The general education program was one of high quality, as was the faculty that taught it. The College Faculty itself had been increased from 69 in 1939 to

Francis and Louise Hutchins. Remembering the trials his father had endured with a former president in residence, Francis and Louise Hutchins returned to China for three years to allow successor Willis D. Weatherford to settle into his new work.

136 by 1967. College enrollment had increased from 860 to 1,460 during his administration, and 75 percent of students holding degrees from Berea had enrolled during Hutchins's time. Berea had remained committed to serving the Appalachian region, and the college had reclaimed its interracial heritage. These successes testified to the promise he had made to his father years earlier. "I think that you have really made Berea a great institution," Francis wrote William J. Hutchins, "and after I know what it is, I will try to do what I can to have it continue a great institution."[57]

Willis D. Weatherford Jr. Weatherford's career before Berea had been a model of education for service.

SEVEN

A College of History and Destiny

Willis D. Weatherford Jr., 1967–1984

I have heard some say, "Let's join the mainstream of American higher education." If this means dropping our commitment to a region and its special problems, dropping our service to students in special need and dropping our emphasis on moral and spiritual growth of students, then let us stay out of the mainstream. But if joining the mainstream implies adapting our educational means to better achieve our special purposes in the midst of changing conditions, then let's swim in the middle of the swiftest current.

WILLIS D. WEATHERFORD JR., Inaugural Address

AT the end of Francis Hutchins's administration in 1967, Berea College had endured World War II, pushed through curricular and administrative reorganizations, and reclaimed the historic ideal of integrated education. Conscious of his father's discomforting experience with a former president lurking in the background, Francis Hutchins left Berea only a month after his successor took office. The new president was Willis D. Weatherford Jr., the son of the powerful and distinguished college trustee W. D. Weatherford Sr. The new president saw Berea's legacy as one of social concern and racial equality, inaugurated by Fee and supported by J. A. R. Rogers and Henry Fairchild. Weatherford credited Fairchild with recognizing Appalachia as an area of need, and both William and Eleanor Frost for continuing this focus. Weatherford regarded the administrations of William J. and Francis Hutchins as an amazing era. The College Department under the Hutchinses' leadership became the primary educational effort, with a liberal arts outlook and the support of a stable endowment. The collective legacy of the founders and other leaders of Berea was, in Weatherford's view, quality education for Appalachian youth, interracial education, the dignity of labor, and the moral and spiritual growth of youth for Christian service.[1]

Weatherford's vision for Berea was reflected in an education adapted to the needs of a changing region. The general education program of Berea College would move from a distribution model to a series of required interdisciplinary courses reflecting the institution's historic commitments. This education, Weatherford reasoned, would build leadership in advancing Berea's

causes of interracial education and service to Appalachia. These twin commitments experienced some strain as the population of African American students on campus reached critical mass, holding the college accountable to its founding principles.

Amid the frustrations and progress of Weatherford's administration, the college's mission was codified into a statement called the Great Commitments. This statement summarized Berea's historic mission as a guide for responding to the troubling present and for devising plans for the future. For Weatherford personally, moral development and spiritual growth were key components of education, leadership, and service. "Berea has traditionally done this, I hope we can continue to do so effectively," he observed. "In doing this, we must respect freedom of thought and expression, abhor paternalism, but be unashamed to stand for the cause of Christ."[2]

Willis Weatherford Sr. The longtime trustee who had declined years before to become president of Berea College, now saw his son rise to lead the institution.

Scholarly Abilities and Human Qualities

Born at Biltmore, in the mountains of western North Carolina, on June 24, 1916, Willis D. Weatherford Jr. was raised in an environment of faithful devotion and service to others. His mother, Julia McRory, had served as YWCA secretary at Winthrop College, in South Carolina, before her marriage to Willis Weatherford Sr. His father had been international YMCA student secretary for seventeen years and led the building of the YMCA conference center at Blue Ridge Assembly in North Carolina. The elder Weatherford was a powerful advocate for improving race relations in the South long before the Civil Rights movement.[3] He served Berea as a trustee for nearly five decades, winning a great reputation as a friend of Appalachian education and as an effective fund-raiser. His ideas for helping others were always large. "A project of only fifty thousand dollars invested in it can go out of existence any time and be forgotten overnight," Weatherford once observed. "No wonder people don't want to put their money into something like that. If an undertaking is worth ten times that amount, it will be permanent. And people will be glad to take part in it."[4]

Willis Weatherford Jr. earned his B.A. at Vanderbilt in 1937, and then he achieved his B.D. from Yale in 1940. At Harvard, Weatherford earned his M.A. in 1943 and his Ph.D. in Economics in 1952. He was a teaching fellow at Harvard and at the University of North Carolina. For seventeen years (1948–64) he taught economics at Swarthmore, and then he became a dean at Carleton College (1965–67) in Minnesota. Weatherford was an active scholar, having published two books and numerous articles on economics, as well as studies of college students and goals in higher education. His Phi Beta Kappa status did not confine Weatherford to purely academic study, however. During World War II he served as a relief worker with the American Friends Service Committee in Europe and Africa. Weatherford then spent a year in India (1950–51), again with AFSC, planning and implementing rural development projects for some forty villages in Orissa. He returned to India in 1954–55 with a Ford Foundation grant to research land tenure. Weatherford also worked as a United Na-

tions advisor on rural development in Malaya (1959–60).[5]

Weatherford's intellectual background, service, and experience were well suited to leading Berea. He had long imagined serving in the South since his undergraduate days at Vanderbilt. Yet he was only one of over 150 candidates. Donald Danforth, vice chairman of the trustees and chairman of the presidential search committee, recalled the enormous challenge of finding a successor to Francis Hutchins. The board was impressed with the search committee's list of qualifications for a new president. "Heaven help you," one trustee told Danforth, "you are seeking God." Danforth visited Weatherford at the family home in Black Mountain, North Carolina, describing in detail Berea's work and importance. Weatherford reviewed the Great Commitments as they had been listed in a report to the Ford Foundation, *Profile of Berea College* (1962), and found them persuasive. Of the many candidates interviewed, the committee invited only one to be Berea's next president, Weatherford. "He meets all of our requirements," Danforth observed, "an able scholar, a proven administrator, a man who has the unique ability to lead—to lead faculty and to lead students quietly, but challenging them in bringing out their very best."[6]

Confident in his own abilities, Willis Weatherford did not take them for granted. He recognized that Berea's history and ideals would continue to be challenged. Many wondered why Berea continued to resist becoming like other liberal arts institutions, as if serving one of the nation's poorest socioeconomic regions kept the college from being among the elite educational institutions in the United States. Weatherford argued that small liberal arts institutions had to be clear about their goals and objectives. This clarity would serve both students and society, he asserted, and would establish distinctive patterns that would serve as an example to larger, multipurpose institutions. Weatherford saw institutional success as a cooperative enterprise among

Anne and Willis Weatherford Jr. Married in 1954, the Weatherfords raised five children together, all of whom graduated from Berea College. Anne Weatherford made her own career in public service as a teacher and church volunteer, following particular interests in Christian formation and learning.

Dean William Jones and students. Dean Jones was successful in building collegial relationships across disciplinary lines in advancing the new curriculum of 1970.

faculty, staff, trustees, and students. "Obviously, no single person can chart the future of a great institution," Weatherford observed. "Berea is such a distinctive institution that the direction of educational policy can be developed only with a complete understanding of its unique combination of purposes."[7] Willis Weatherford dedicated himself entirely to this end.

Education for Leadership

The merger of the Foundation School with the town's independent school district in 1968 left Berea with one academic unit, the college. Early in Weatherford's administration, the college undertook a reexamination of its curriculum. Under the active leadership of Dean William Jones, the faculty's Curriculum Committee and other study groups brainstormed about just what the curriculum should accomplish. The faculty recognized the tension between liberal and practical learning. One goal of the new curriculum, adopted in 1970, was to maintain the connections between the general education and the specialization found in the student's chosen major. The liberal arts outlook of the new curriculum encouraged students to look beyond themselves to understand and serve others.[8]

The curriculum was organized so that students spent about one-third of their time in core courses, one-third in their major course work, and one-third in exploratory electives. The core courses affirmed Berea's commitments to interracial education, service to Appalachia, the dignity

of labor, and nonsectarian Christianity. Several of the new courses were also interdisciplinary. Man and the Arts invited students into short contemplations of art, music, and literature. Issues and Values explored social issues of the day in the context of different value structures. Both courses had to be completed in the first year. Sophomore students then navigated through Western intellectual, philosophical, and religious traditions in a course called Religious and Historical Perspectives (RHP), which included both ancient and modern sources. A senior course, Christian Faith in the Modern World, engaged contemporary problems in the light of Christian values. Issues and Values, RHP, and the senior requirement also affirmed the college's Christian commitment within the curriculum itself.[9]

The new curriculum was inspired by other commitments as well. Cultural area requirements met by courses in foreign languages, Appalachian studies, or black studies offered students the opportunity to advance their awareness of cultural heritage, their own and others'. Laboratory science and social science classes introduced students to the methods of these disciplines. Health and physical education classes rounded out the requirements of the 1970 academic program. Through the general education program, Berea students gained a working knowledge of civilization, science, culture, and religion as well as an understanding of ideas and perspectives not necessarily their own. Such an education, Weatherford observed, "should help students to develop adequate criteria of the good and sharpen their analytical ability to apply these criteria to particular situations of everyday life which require value decisions, moral judgments."[10]

Berea students manipulate shadow puppets in this 1979 short-term class. These January term courses gave both students and faculty the singular opportunity to explore distinctive topics or courses not normally available during the regular fall and spring terms.

The 1970 curriculum embodied many of the aspirations of earlier presidents and teachers. By giving academic importance to Berea's commitments, the college placed its mission at the heart of the student experience, the curriculum. The core courses were not only interdisciplinary in content, but taught by tenured faculty from across the college who brought their own viewpoints to the course material. Ideally, this approach to teaching modeled the value of liberal learning. A larger number of electives and more choices within required courses also gave more responsibility to individual students for their own education. In this way the general education curriculum provided a liberal foundation for all students that

Black Student Union Executive Council, 1972. The BSU provided a significant mechanism for holding the college accountable to its ideals.

would go beyond their college years regardless of their major field of study.

Leadership in a Democratic Society

In his inaugural address Weatherford reaffirmed Berea's commitment to interracial education. "True equality will become increasingly a political necessity," Weatherford declared, "as well as a moral obligation." In 1967, 4.5 percent of the students at Berea College were African American. The Black Student Union was organized that year, and the Black Ensemble singing group formed in 1969. A black studies course was included in the new curriculum, and elective courses emerged in art, history, music, literature, and sociology. Weatherford believed that an integrated learning environment was imperative. "Either group is but a fragment of God's children," he asserted; "each group needs the other for wholeness, each group needs the other to understand the tensions and problems of modern society." By 1972 the percentage of black students had increased to 14.[11]

In September 1968 the violence attending the Civil Rights movement in the Deep South found its way to Berea. The Lexington, Kentucky, chapter of the National States Rights Party (NSRP), a white supremacist group, organized a series of rallies just outside the town of Berea. The NSRP circulated leaflets, sent sample issues of

Speaking from the heart. An African American student addresses a student meeting. Berea students used conversation to sort out differences, rather than violence. Neither the speaking nor the listening was easy work.

publications, and used loudspeakers to promote their hatred of Jews and African Americans. At the end of one of these meetings, on Sunday, September 1, 1968, a group of local blacks drove close to the NSRP's meeting site. Words were exchanged, then gunfire. Elza Rucker, a Berea native and member of the NSRP, and John Boggs, a local black man, were killed. This tragedy, almost unbelievable in Berea, drew national attention.[12]

But the town did not give in to violence. Mayor C. C. Hensley called an emergency city council meeting, which condemned the violence. An interracial group, made up of people from both the college and the town, organized itself into the Concerned Citizens Committee. The committee raised funds to hire legal counsel for the black defendants in the case and urged the city council to take steps to improve interracial relations in the community. Six Berea-area blacks and five NSRP members were convicted under the state's antiriot laws. Ironically, the two victims in the shootings were buried within some seventy-five yards of each other in the Berea cemetery.[13]

Racial tensions on campus challenged the college community itself. Despite the seeming progress of improving enrollment and supportive organizations, many black students felt isolated and unwelcome. In March 1970 black students marched on City Hall and then occupied the president's office to protest the arrest of three black students in the town. Characteristically, Weatherford met with the students and discussed their concerns. The sit-in was peaceful and broke up when legal counsel was arranged for the arrested students. The charges were later dismissed, but the unease lingered.[14]

The situation was further exacerbated in December 1971, when the college declined to renew the contract of Melvin Marshall, a

Students from all over. Labor, curriculum, and student life activities offered numerous encounters for meeting different people and building good relationships.

popular black counselor on the college staff. Black students again occupied Lincoln Hall, and the threat of violence loomed amid rumors of weapons being smuggled onto the campus. Weatherford closed the college three days in advance of the usual Christmas vacation and postponed first-term exams. Classes resumed after the holiday, and efforts such as Operation Zebra were made to assist interracial communication on campus. Operation Zebra, organized by the student personnel deans, Bob Claytor and Ruth Butwell, promoted informal interactions between faculty and students as a first step toward improved dialogue. Weatherford reminded the college and the larger community that interracial education was not without its problems. “We have had racial tension here precisely because we have tried to establish brotherhood on campus,” Weatherford argued, “and because we have taken greater risks in the admission of more black students than many other institutions today. We did it because we feel it is right.”[15]

Both students and administrators referred to the Great Commitments in dealing with the troubles on campus. Whether it was difficulties in the town, a lack of black studies courses, or the absence of African American professors, Berea’s history framed the debate on these important issues. Weatherford and others affirmed that interracial education was simply the right thing to do—Christianity and Berea’s traditions would allow nothing less. Many black students complained that the college was too slow in hiring black faculty and in designing courses discussing African American history and culture. Edsel Massey, president of the Black Student Union (BSU), observed that Berea needed to do more for interracial education because of its history. The BSU “cannot rest until the College has implemented the commitments of John G. Fee,” Massey declared. “We know it takes time, but not another one hundred years.”[16]

Reason, rather than violence and hate, ruled the day. The Black Ensemble and the Black Student Union gave African Americans meaningful community and an effective voice on Berea’s campus. Courses in the curriculum were tangible reminders of the importance of African American art, literature, history, and culture to learning. Cleophus Charles, a history professor and a longtime supporter of black students and groups, was named coordinator of Afro-American Studies in 1979. Henry Parker, an African American Episcopal priest, joined Randy Osborne on the staff of the Campus Christian Center. In 1983 Berea opened its Black Cultural Center, with an African American Berea graduate, Andrew Baskin, as its first director. Black History Week, founded by the Berea graduate Carter G. Woodson, offered numerous opportunities for students, faculty, and staff to learn about African American contributions to American history and culture, as well as to Berea College. All these were marks of steady progress, but Weatherford was saddened at the time of his retirement that black student enrollment was holding steady at only 9 percent of the total, and that a goal of hiring additional African American faculty and staff had met with only marginal success. He was determined that Berea remain faithful to these efforts to advance interracial learning and living. “The Berea experience marks most of our alumni with a strong concern for equality and justice,” Weatherford reported; “to have a college

Territory expansion. Carl Thomas marks the home of another Berea student prospect. The expansion of Berea's territory opened new doors to students with academic promise and financial need.

intentionally form such a lifelong outlook is a marvelous contribution to society."[17]

Serving Appalachia

Intensifying efforts to recruit black students and faculty mirrored similar concerns for the admission of students from the mountains. Recognizing the decrease in the high school age population in the region, the college redefined its territory to include an additional twenty-one counties in West Virginia as well as fifteen Kentucky counties. In 1978–79 the "Whom Shall We Serve?" Committee was organized to review the college's admissions policies. The committee identified three possibilities for increasing the pool of student applications: (1) lower the academic standards for admission; (2) accept students of higher income and lesser need; and (3) expand the Appalachian territory. Neither of the first two options was seen as being consistent with Berea's commitments, but territorial expansion seemed a practical response. The committee recommended, beginning with the 1979 fall term, adding all of Kentucky and nineteen mountain counties in southern Ohio to Berea's recruiting territory. The result was that the application pool increased by 30 percent, with no negative effect on the longtime policy that 80 percent of all first-year students come from the Appalachian region.[18]

Another suggestion for increasing student applications was to accept the children of middle-income Berea alumni families. The college's trustees initially accepted the idea but reconsidered at their October 1979 meeting. The discomfort expressed by the faculty and the trustees focused on Berea's commitment to low-income students. The

college's distinctive mission had been to serve those people who lived on the fringes of society. The expansion of the school's territory to include all of Kentucky might be seen as a compromise of the college's regional commitment. Easing income restrictions would certainly be seen as a rejection of a vital part of Berea's history. "Even that compromise," Weatherford argued, "puts in jeopardy the special calling of Berea College to serve the underserved." By April 1981 the trustees agreed that only low-income students would be admitted to Berea's degree programs. "We are the only college in the country," Weatherford asserted, "which reserves virtually all of its places for needy students. The whole resources of the College go toward this cause—it is a great purpose this Board has inherited, it is a great challenge for the future."[19]

The thorough education of its students represented Berea's primary service to the Appalachian region. The new curriculum included two courses, Appalachian Culture and Appalachian Problems and Institutions. Other departments established courses with Appalachian topics, as well as independent studies and even a few independent majors. Within a liberal arts context, the college continued to offer majors in Agriculture, Nursing, Industrial Arts and Technology, Business, and Home Economics. These B.S. degrees, originating in the Vocational School of earlier years, represented Berea's balanced view of liberal and practical learning.

Two agencies within the college supported these classroom endeavors. The Appalachian Museum, opened in 1971, offered a permanent exhibit on mountain life as well as visiting exhibitions documenting various aspects of Appalachian history and culture. Among the museum's remarkable artifacts were items from the collection of Edna Lynn Simms, who for many years operated the Mountaineer Museum in Gatlinburg, Tennessee. The Appalachian Museum offered visitors from outside the region a useful orientation to mountain life while providing teaching resources for a wide array of classes on campus. The Special Collections Department of Hutchins Library held significant primary resources in both print and manuscript form for the study of Appalachia. The library had been collecting books on mountain topics since 1914. In 1964 Willis Weatherford Sr. and his friend William A. Hammond of Xenia, Ohio, raised funds to endow what became the Weatherford-Hammond Mountain Collection. Thousands of volumes presented both the scholarly and popular views of the region, and the endowment provided the funding to aggressively seek out not only the latest scholarship on Appalachia but materials long out of print. The Southern Appalachian Archives provided remarkable primary source materials documenting the work of the Council of the Southern Mountains and the Appalachian Volunteers, along with the records of the 1962 Regional Survey, among many others. With the newly established Appalachian Center, the Special Collections Department sponsored the W. D. Weatherford Award, which honors the year's best published work on Appalachia. This research-level archives and the Special Collections gave undergraduates significant opportunities for original scholarship and research.[20]

Berea's educational service went beyond the classroom as well. Working with the Council of the Southern Mountains (CSM)

Visitors observe a quilting demonstration at the Appalachian Museum. Handicraft demonstrations, singing, and exhibits offer insight into mountain life and culture.

and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), Berea launched Students for Appalachia (SFA) in 1968. SFA tutored children and adults in basic literacy, organized local people in various community-improvement programs, and connected people in need with aid agencies. In 1970, again with the assistance of CSM, the college organized an adult literacy program, Student Taught Basic Literacy Efforts (STABLE), which taught both basic and advanced literacy skills to local adults. Both these programs affirmed the abilities that Berea students brought with them to relate to and serve others in need. People Who Care (PWC), established in 1969 and supported through the Campus Christian Center, provided outreach opportunities with local mental health organizations. Though permanent college staff members coordinated these programs, students made them work, linking these service experiences with the classroom through research papers and presentations. The Summer Puppetry Caravan, led by art professor Neil Di Teresa, fashioned remarkable handmade puppets to interpret Appalachian folktales and stories. Traveling throughout the Appalachian region, the Caravan delighted audiences of all ages with colorful retellings of old-time tales.[21]

Students for Appalachia. An SFA volunteer visits with local children. Whether tutoring or just being a friend, student volunteers gave time and talent to help people in need.

Berea's Appalachian Center, organized in 1970, was possibly the most important symbol of the college's commitment to Appalachia. Led by a Berea graduate, Loyal Jones, the former executive director of the Council of the Southern Mountains, the Appalachian Center powerfully integrated classroom instruction, cultural preservation, and service. Jones originated two courses taught in support of general education, and he acted as a consultant to students and staff conducting research or incorporating Appalachian topics into their courses. The center also organized and led an orientation tour of eastern Kentucky to acquaint new personnel with Berea's mission to the region. The center established the Appalachian Sound Archive to collect traditional music, folklore, and oral history. In 1974 the Traditional Music Festival premiered, featuring nationally known performers such as Jean Ritchie, Bradley Kincaid, Buell Kazee, Asa Martin, and John Lair. An Appalachian Studies workshop took place each summer, bringing the region's foremost scholars and interpreters together to discuss mountain music, literature, and history. In 1977 Loyal Jones and history professor Richard Drake joined with thirty scholars from seven Appalachian states to organize an annual Appalachian studies conference. Berea hosted the first meeting of this organization in 1978, which continues today as the Appalachian Studies Association.[22]

Berea's service to Appalachia during Weatherford's administration was rich and varied. The Appalachian Museum, Special Collections, individual professors, students, and courses gave scholarly relevance to a region too often abandoned to negative stereotypes. The Traditional Music Festival, the Country Dancers, who performed traditional dances from the mountains, and the handicrafts created in the college's student industries actively preserved significant artistic forms from the region. The activities of SFA, People Who Care, Upward Bound, and other organizations were the rightful heirs of the extension work conducted in earlier years. This combination of learning and service made Berea's commitment to Appalachia genuine and meaningful. "Our job is not to be simply another good college," Weatherford declared, "but we are called to provide a special kind of education for a particularly deserving and important group of Appalachian youth."[23]

Summer puppetry caravan. Puppets of all sizes were used to tell traditional Appalachian stories. Neil Di Teresa helps three students manage a "giant."

The Firm Anchor

"Berea College plans with hope and expectation for the future," Willis Weatherford observed, "but it also relies on the past for strength and direction. The aspirations and goals of Berea College are the product of its history, a guide for present policy and the background for further planning."[24] Throughout the Weatherford administration, Berea College interpreted itself through the lens of the Great Commitments. Formulated by the former academic dean Louis Smith in 1962, the Commitments originally appeared as part of a grant application to the Ford Foundation entitled *Profile of Berea College, 1952–1972*. The purpose of the Commitments was not to introduce anything new but to act as a concise statement of the historic aims and purposes of the college. In 1968 Weatherford used the Commitments as the organizing structure of his first presidential report.

Against the background of campus unrest on university campuses, Berea College touted its small size and core values as the antidote to violence. Citing its founding as an interracial school, Berea believed it was obligated to make positive contributions to race relations. The labor program contributed to the serious approaches of students who believed in hard work. Students served on college committees, had an important voice in regulating and organizing student life activities, and performed social services that answered their concerns about regional and interracial problems. Berea's commitments gave the school a sense of direction that blunted the anger and violence seen on other campuses. Some students viewed the college's mission with practical humor. "Berea students are probably more conservative than elsewhere," one student observed. "Aside from that, if you work hard at your job and keep up your scholastic standing, there isn't time for rioting."[25]

Weatherford reminded the faculty of the importance of the college's commitments in an April 1969 General Faculty meeting. Berea's special aims, he argued, kept the college unique and could prevent the institution from drifting into a common medi-

ocrity with other colleges who lacked similar purposes. In September 1969 the General Faculty ratified a revised form of the Great Commitments and this was adopted by the trustees later the same year. For Weatherford, the various commitments were not in tension but held an essential unity. Berea's Appalachian and interracial commitments represented service to groups with special needs. Interracial education grew out of the college's historic commitment to Christianity. The liberal arts foundation combined with labor to educate the whole person. "Liberal learning affirms the importance of values for noble living," Weatherford noted, "and Christian education gives direction to the search for values but, as practiced at Berea, leaves freedom for rational inquiry."[26]

Weatherford's personal commitment to spiritual growth was central to his administration of Berea College. It was his view that Berea's mission to promising students with financial need, black and white, from Appalachia and around the world, was firmly anchored in the college's Christian heritage. In 1970 Weatherford secured a million-dollar grant from the Eli Lilly Foundation to establish the Campus Christian Center. This grant also provided for the Eli Lilly Visiting Professor of Religion, an annual appointment, and staffed the new center with two full-time campus ministers. The presence of the CCC had several effects. First, the appointment of full-time campus ministers relieved the pastor and staff of Union Church in their spiritual oversight of students. Students, as had been true since Francis Hutchins's time, could attend the church of their choice. Second, the faculty in 1972 voted to discontinue compulsory chapel, establishing instead a weekly convocation requirement that supported the general education curriculum. These convocations often had religious content among the numerous offerings given each semester, but students could choose the events they wished to attend. Third, a large number of Christian fellowship groups, formal and informal, emerged to offer a variety of study, service, and fellowship opportunities. Weatherford

Bradley Kincaid. Berea alumnus Bradley Kincaid takes the stage at the Celebration of Traditional Music. The ballads, songs, hymns, and tunes performed by Kincaid and others preserved musical forms not normally found in commercial venues.

Earning and learning. A student mops the floor while other students study in the Special Collections section (Brunner Studio).

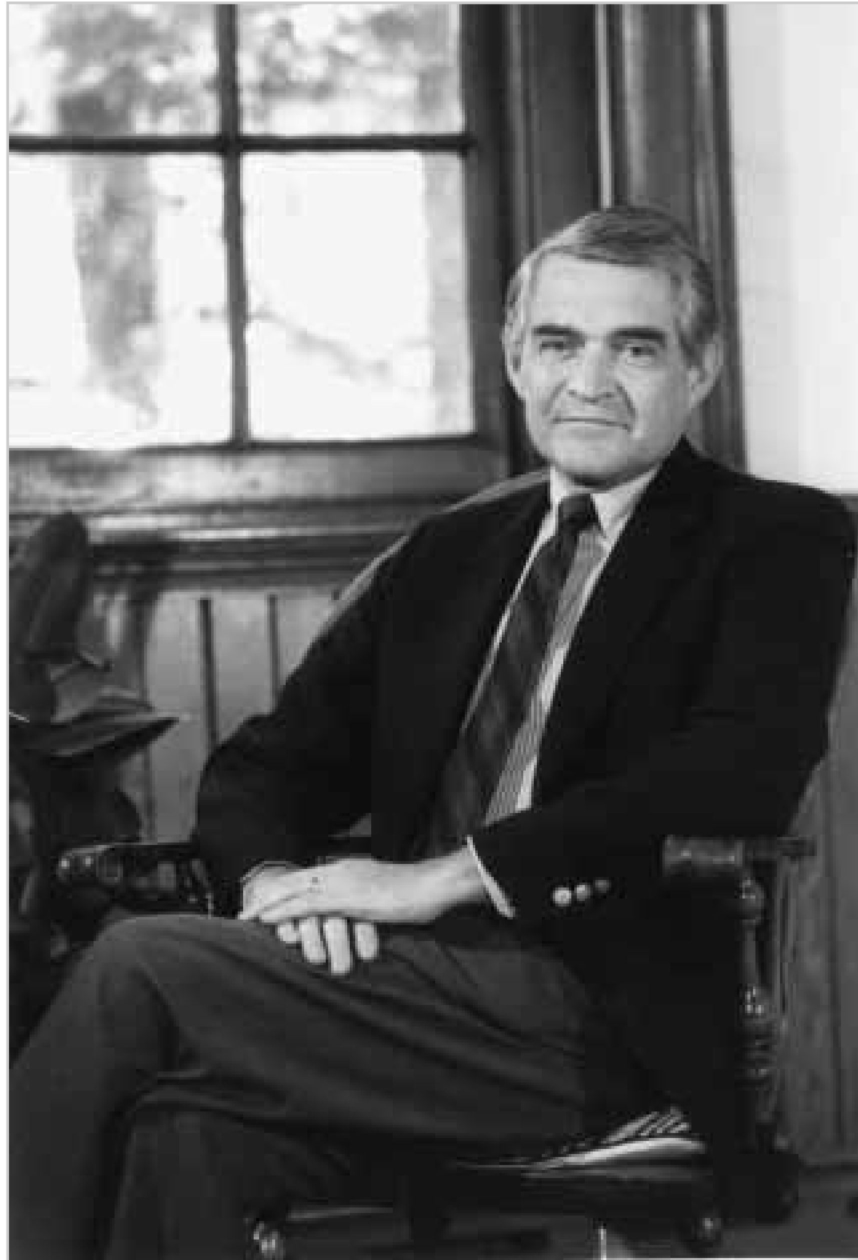
Campus ministers at work. Rev. J. Randolph Osborne and Rev. Henry Parker review plans for a worship service. Their active participation in campus life gave tangible witness to the college's Christian commitment and made a positive difference in the lives of many students.

was convinced that Berea's Christian commitment should be manifested in the majority of the faculty, and he was deeply committed to the links between faith and learning. While it was not the college's mission to evangelize, Weatherford strongly believed in transforming the lives of students in the ideals of racial justice, civic responsibility, and Christian service. "We must," he asserted, "help students establish, at the heart of campus life, a strong religious belief, ecumenical in character, enlightened by reason, which will influence their intellectual lives and daily activities."[27]

When Willis Weatherford announced his intention to retire in 1984, he could look back on a college that had been faithful to

its inheritance. In devising a new curriculum, Berea had balanced liberal learning with practical education. Providing more choices and wider experience for student learning, the curriculum also directly honored Berea's commitment to interracial education and preserving Appalachian culture. A vast array of service organizations offered many opportunities for outreach, and the labor program reflected these changes as well. Berea weathered the upheavals of the Civil Rights era with relative calm and patience, avoiding the tragic violence experienced on other campuses. Black student and faculty recruitment had mixed success, and Weatherford shared the frustrations of many at the lack of greater progress. Berea's continuing commitment to Appalachia was manifested in the work of the Appalachian Center, within the curriculum and various service groups, and in the college's admissions policies. Overarching all these activities were the Great Commitments, which summarized Berea's powerful story and served as an organizing element to the work of the college. In assessing his own career, Weatherford invoked Fee's vision for Berea. He interpreted Fee as the inspired founder of a college dedicated to Christian ideals. These ideals would transform students, who in turn would transform society. "We are reminded," Weatherford wrote, "that John Fee had the good company of Plato in understanding that good education resulted not only in knowledge, but also in right action. Berea has retained that understanding better than most educational institutions, but we too need to reaffirm Fee's vision."[28]

Willis Weatherford Jr. President Weatherford enjoys a student orientation event. His sense of justice, civic responsibility, and Christian service was an inspiration to many.



John B. Stephenson. His personal and scholarly devotion to Appalachia made him a powerful advocate for the region both on and off campus.

EIGHT

New Magic in a Dusty World

John B. Stephenson, 1984–1994

Berea is a college which has kept its vision. It is still a great, transcendent idea, an idea larger than the physical manifestation of the campus, larger than the region and the people it serves, an idea which enlarges the souls of all who learn of it.

JOHN B. STEPHENSON, Inaugural Address

BEREA COLLEGE in 1984 now defined its mission in terms of the Great Commitments. The Christian motivations of service, interracial education, liberal learning, and service to Appalachia were salient features of Willis Weatherford's administration. This standardization of the college's story was not a rigid or legalistic code of conduct; rather, it served to guide the development of current and future programs and services. The Great Commitments defined Berea's tradition and independence against efforts to become like other colleges and universities. During Weatherford's time, the college's commitments were consciously integrated into the curriculum, in the labor program, and in Berea's service, outreach, and fund-raising efforts. In an era of widely varied and expanding programs, Berea chose to focus its attention on providing a liberal education to students of special need. "The pressure to proliferate programs is always present," observed an alumnus, L. Badgett Dillard, "but the wise administration will resist such pressures, knowing that the best college cannot be all things to all people."[1]

John B. Stephenson stepped into this history as Berea's seventh president. A noted Appalachian scholar, he created a number of programs that reflected his interests. Examples of these programs include the Brushy Fork Institute for regional leadership development, the Black Mountain Youth Development Program for serving the region's African American youth, and, under the leadership of his wife, Jane Stephenson, the New Opportunity School for Women, which assisted mountain women in exploring their educational and career aspirations. These extracurricular efforts paralleled curriculum revisions that attempted to provide an integrated and comprehensive learning experience firmly rooted in Berea's commitments. The revised curriculum featured expanded opportunities for international study and a remarkable connection with the Dalai Lama in bringing Tibetan students to

John and Jane Stephenson. President Stephenson introduces his wife, Jane Stephenson, to an alumnus. Jane Stephenson followed her predecessors in making her own significant contributions to the work of the college.

Berea. Another aspect of the new curriculum was a wider development of women's studies, which was a realization of Berea's historic commitment to the education of women on an equal basis with men. Like his predecessor, Stephenson led the campus in reexamining and reaffirming the college's mission, which resulted in thoughtful additions to Berea's commitments to educating Appalachians, black and white, and women. The revision and reinterpretation of Berea's Great Commitments continued as the lens through which Berea interpreted itself to the campus and to the larger world.

An Appalachian Humanist

John Bell Stephenson was born in Staunton, Virginia, to Louis and Edna Stephenson on September 26, 1937. Educated at William and Mary College, John Stephenson took his B.A. in Sociology in 1959, studying under Dr. Wayne Kernodle, whom Stephenson credited with kindling his love for Appalachia and encouraging him to continue with graduate study. At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Stephenson completed his M.A. in Sociology with a thesis exploring the topic "On the Role of the Counselor in the Guidance of Negro Youth," under the tutelage of Dr. Ernest Campbell. While at UNC Stephenson accepted his first teaching position, and he joined the faculty of Lees-McCrae College in Banner Elk, North Carolina, in 1961. Despite feelings of remote isolation, Stephenson became increasingly devoted to Appalachia and its people in his three years

at Banner Elk. He fell in love with mountain people, and he felt a completeness that he had not felt elsewhere. "There is a sense of doing something that needs doing," Stephenson wrote, "and it needs to be done by people who want to change things without changing them. . . . Part of a way of life needs to be preserved and not sacrificed on the altar of progress."[2]

At Lees-McCrae Stephenson also fell in love with Jane Ellen Baucom. Jane Baucom grew up in Banner Elk, and her father worked as a business manager at the nearby college. Earning a B.S. in secretarial administration/education from UNC-Greensboro in 1959, she taught in Asheville public schools before returning to Lees-McCrae to work and teach. Jane and John met at John's first faculty meeting at Lees-McCrae, and after he joined the choir at the local Presbyterian church, Jane gave him a tour of the surrounding countryside. By March 1963 they were married. The Stephensons left Lees-McCrae in 1964, when John Stephenson began his Ph.D. work at Chapel Hill. Jane Stephenson completed her M.A. in business education at Appalachian State University, rejoined her husband at Chapel Hill, and cared for their daughter as John completed his studies.[3]

In 1966 the Stephensons moved to the University of Kentucky. John Stephenson joined the Sociology Department and was named dean of undergraduate studies in 1970, a post he held until 1979, when he became director of the university's Appalachian Center. He was a participant in the discussions at Berea that led to the Appalachian Studies Conference, and his scholarship made important contributions to the field. Two of his more important works were *Shiloh: A Mountain Community* (1968) and, with David Walls, *Appalachia in the Sixties: A Decade of Reawakening* (1972). As an administrator at the University of Kentucky, Stephenson became increasingly concerned with the improvement of undergraduate education and the promotion of learning within a liberal arts context.[4]

Stephenson was selected from 171 candidates for the presidency of Berea College. At his introduction to the campus community, Stephenson noted Berea's commitment to liberal and practical learning. "Berea produces a kind of balance between professional training and breadth in the liberal arts that's ideal," he observed, "and that's what I'd like to see Berea build on, because it's a strength that not many other liberal arts colleges can claim."[5] His combination of scholarship, teaching, administrative experience, and commitment to the Appalachian region made him an ideal candidate. Reflecting on his varied experiences, Stephenson saw his new role as a calling. "I don't want to sound too deterministic or too Presbyterian about this," he remarked, "but it does seem to me that all of these roads have led to this point and to Berea College."[6]

"Despatches from Appalachia"

John Stephenson took great pains not to let his administrative duties as president separate him from the region he had studied and served. From time to time Stephenson would travel with his campus colleagues to different parts of Appalachia to observe local communities, listen to elected officials, teachers, students, and community leaders, and ponder the implications for Berea's service to the mountains. Not surprisingly,

Three presidents. John Stephenson poses with Willis D. Weatherford and Francis S. Hutchins.

his encounters revealed a mixture of hope and optimism in one area, shattered dreams and despair nearby. He enjoyed finding Berea graduates hard at work in the mountains and promoted the college to potential students and supporters. Among the many themes found in his reports, which Stephenson called "Despatches from Appalachia," two seemed to strike home in particular. One was the need for leadership development and planning in mountain communities, and the other was finding support for African Americans in Appalachia, a seemingly invisible though significant minority.[7]

One of the more imaginative projects to emerge was the New Opportunity School for Women (NOS). While completing her second master's degree in higher education administration, Jane Stephenson became keenly aware of the needs of nontraditional-age students, particularly women. At the University of Kentucky she had served as coordinator of student services and later as director of academic support services, with particular attention to assisting nontraditional students. As she made the transition into her new role as Berea's "First Lady," Jane Stephenson determined to make her own contribution to the college's mission. She was interested in adult women who needed assistance with career and educational decisions. With a grant from the Educational Foundation of America, Stephenson developed a three-week program that led fourteen women through

New Opportunity School for Women, 1987. An NOS student works in the college greenhouse. Many NOS students took brief labor assignments on campus to get a taste of college life.

workshops in career exploration, résumé writing and job interview skills, and self-esteem. The college's labor program and local organizations provided work experiences. Field trips to museums, musical programs, and lectures and studies in writing and Appalachian literature offered cultural enrichment. Many of the women enrolled in NOS were divorced or widowed, some were single parents, and most had been out of the job market for years. Candidates were selected for their financial need and for the least amount of postsecondary education and job skills. The experience for many was life-changing. By 1992, 65 percent of NOS graduates were gainfully employed and 25 percent were enrolled in postsecondary institutions, including a number of women at Berea College. One woman spoke for many when she observed, "The last three weeks opened up so many new ideas for me. Just to walk in the door was an accomplishment."[8]

The establishment of the Brushy Fork Institute was one answer John Stephenson and Berea had for developing community leadership. The institute was created through a planning grant from the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC); its purpose was to promote education and innovative strategies to advance socioeconomic growth in the central Appalachian states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Brushy Fork proposed to accomplish its mission by strengthening individual leaders and building leadership networks

Mountain view. Like President Frost before him, John Stephenson took personal tours of the region to gauge Berea's work and interpret the mountains to faculty and staff at the college.

around regional and community groups as the basis of indigenous and constructive change. Seminars and workshops brought local groups to campus to consider the problems and aspirations of their specific areas and engage in strategic planning, thereby empowering these groups to action. Leadership teams committed to specific projects such as improving enrichment programs at local schools, marketing handicrafts, or resisting out-of-state garbage landfills. The key element of the institute's program was the affirmation that positive change in Appalachia did not necessarily have to come from outside "do-gooders" but could come from within the region itself. "Citizens recognize that the changes they want to see have to come from leadership within the mountains," observed Brushy Fork's director, Carol Lamm, "rather than from the outside. People are finding a great deal of common ground as they share their visions and work together."[9]

Since Berea's reintegration in 1950, the

A biology major assists Science Focus students in handling a laboratory snake. This program and others helped African American high school students prepare for study in college-level science courses (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

college had initially concentrated on recruiting African American students from Appalachia. When Berea expanded its admissions territory in 1979, the college hoped to enlarge the pool of black students for enrollment in the college. Some Bereans saw the college's commitment to interracial education and to mountain youth as competing commitments. Others believed that blacks in Appalachia were being overlooked or ignored. The Black Mountain Youth Leadership Program (BMYLP) answered this apparent conflict through a variety of programs. The BMYLP broadened cultural literacy, encouraged school achievement, and promoted ideals of community service. The Carter Woodson Summer Institute, sponsored through the BMYLP, was a four-week program of academic and cultural enrichment, health education, and personal growth. Mathematics, science, and cultural history were the centerpiece of the academic program, which was staffed by Berea College faculty and students. Field trips to Highlander Center in Tennessee and the Martin Luther King Jr. Library in Atlanta added to the students' experience.[10]

The BMYLP also worked with organizations in local communities. One of these was the Black Mountain Improvement Association (BMIA). BMIA itself was the result of community forums sponsored by Brushy Fork that served blacks in Barbourville, Pineville, Middlesboro, and other eastern Kentucky communities. "A lot of people don't even know there are black people in Appalachia," BMIA director Mary Louise Pursiful acknowledged. Efforts such as BMYLP and BMIA could fill the void that left African American mountaineers

John Stephenson and Denise Giardina. Giardina, winner of the Weatherford Award for *Storming Heaven* and *The Unquiet Earth*, talks with President Stephenson at the award luncheon. Scholarship and activism mark the central character of Appalachian Studies honored by the Weatherford Award (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

isolated. "Black communities themselves must face these challenges," Pursiful asserted. "By putting our shoulders to the grindstone, we will help improve the quality of life for the total region."[11]

The Brushy Fork Institute, the Black Mountain Youth Leadership Project, and the New Opportunity School for Women represented imaginative approaches to serving Appalachia. The advancement of local leadership for positive change within communities was deeply rooted in Berea's mission of improving mountain life. Taking its lead from the Opportunity Schools of previous years, the New Opportunity School for Women powerfully enriched the lives of women in Appalachia, identifying a group with special needs and potential. The BMYLP was another witness to Berea's commitment to interracial education; it offered yet another meaningful service to mountain students and communities that were frequently overlooked. Some faculty criticized these programs as drawing Berea away from its primary mission of undergraduate teaching or as diminishing support for academic programs.[12] Nevertheless, Stephenson stood by these important service programs. He believed strongly that such service represented Berea's historic combination of academic excellence and service to others. These were key tools in preserving the best of Appalachian life and culture. "The need for leadership and vision and the ability to think ahead is real," Stephenson wrote from western North Carolina. "Where there is no vision the people may not perish as individuals, but they may well perish as a people."[13]

In spite of the numerous programs organized in support of Berea's service to Appalachia, not all Berea graduates were convinced of Berea's claims in reforming the region. Bill Horton, in reviewing *Berea's First 125 Years*, noted that Berea's interpretation of Appalachia avoided the complexities of class structures in the region by focusing entirely on income, rather than control of resources, social status, and community influence, among other factors. In Horton's view, students were "class-conscious" only in the sense that they saw themselves and their classmates as poor. Furthermore, Horton argued, the labor program and the limits on privileges (such as having a car or belonging to academic honor societies) on campus had more to do with preparing students to participate in the American mainstream than with teaching them to critique or even oppose it, as the founders had.[14]

Other observers questioned the college's sustained commitment to the region. Richard B. Drake, a history professor and Appalachian scholar, retired in 1992; Loyal Jones retired as director of the Appalachian Center in September 1993; and Stephenson

himself was leaving in the spring of 1994. "If we cannot be sure about the commitment to the region of Berea College," wrote the president of the Appalachian Studies Association, Alice Brown, "on whom can we depend?" Stephenson replied that even after retirement, he, Drake, and Jones would still support the cause of Appalachian studies. He pointed out such programs as Brushy Fork, SFA, the Appalachian Center, and others as evidence of Berea's continuing work. "I don't think we should depend on any one person or institution to carry the load of offering quality higher education, Appalachian studies, outreach, development community organizing, or whatever," Stephenson observed. "But you certainly *can* depend on Berea, among others."[15]

Professor Barbara Wade. Professor Wade talks with a student in the Office of Women's Studies. The college's commitment to quality higher education for women is lived out through the courses and programs offered through the Office of Women's Studies and other academic departments, as well as within the general studies program (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

Liberal Learning and the World

In 1992 the faculty began its formal review of the 1970/1982 curriculum. For the most part the revisions affirmed the goals of the earlier programs, at the same time adding features to prepare Berea graduates for an increasingly complex and global society. The size of the program reflected increased content in such areas as international studies, wellness, and communication skills. The challenging size and content of the curriculum honored not only Berea's commitment to high-quality liberal arts education, the curriculum committee argued, but also the bright and resourceful qualities of Berea students. The curriculum was approved in January 1993; the faculty supported the idea that the liberal arts, as realized in a general education, was the program in which the college's commitments were given academic expression.

The development of a women's studies program preceded the college's consideration of general studies. In October 1990 the college's Task Force on Gender Issues put forward a curriculum for a minor in women's studies. The initial program included an introduction to women's studies course, followed by a selection of courses in family relations; gender and sex roles; women and literature; and women and the world's religions. A capstone seminar, centered on a specific topic in women's studies, integrated the knowledge gained in previous courses. The Task Force referred to Berea's history as providing a rationale for devising a women's studies curriculum. "Berea College, from its founding, has been committed to providing a high quality education for women and men," the Task Force declared.

International students. Students from Ethiopia demonstrate a ceremonial dance at a banquet.

"We would enhance our education programs and better realize our institutional values if we provide a means for understanding the differences between women and men, as well as what we share."[16] In 1992 the Office of Women's Studies opened; it provided opportunities for studying in inclusive ways the issues, problems, and contributions of women in history and contemporary society. The adoption of the Women's Studies minor in November 1990 had signaled that issues and texts concerning gender and multicultural perspectives would be significantly included in the college's general education program.[17]

Increasing knowledge of other cultures was one of the concerns of the Task Force on International Education. The Task Force report appealed to Berea's motto, "One blood, all nations," and the college's commitments to service and the liberal arts as the basis for advancing international studies. The report also recognized the low percentage of undergraduates studying abroad and the emerging internationalization of the Appalachian region. The general education program and its core courses would be the central means for offering international perspectives across the curriculum. The Task Force recommended, among other things, that Berea students experience a general education program that developed habits of analyzing international problems with a "global, historical, and culturally sensitive foundation." Students would also develop global knowledge of culture, history, politics, and geography, paying particular attention to the post–World War II era. A junior/senior-level course, Seminar in World Issues since 1945, was added to the college's new general education program. This course, combined with convocations, foreign language study, and other experiences, proposed to encourage graduates toward a "life-long effort directed at thoughtful participation in an interdependent global system."[18]

This renewed sense of participation in international education was dramatically honored by the visit of Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, in 1994. In 1988 the Dalai Lama's niece, Khando Chazotsang, visited the college, admiring its values and sense of community. In 1990 President Stephenson and other college officials visited the Tibetan community-in-exile in Dharamsala, India. The Dalai Lama approved the idea of a scholarship for Tibetan

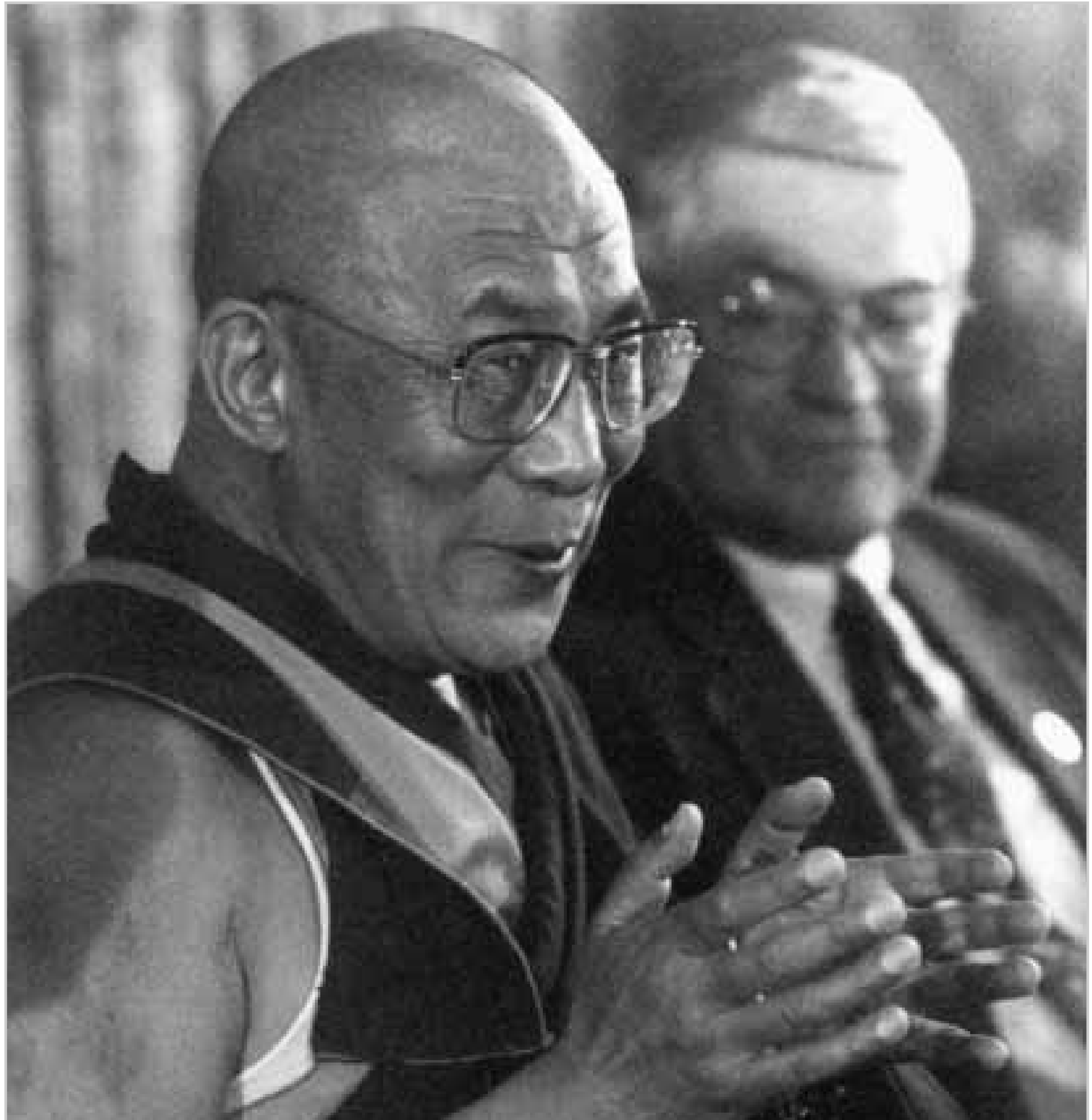
students to attend Berea. At the time of the Dalai Lama's visit, nine Tibetan students were enrolled at the college, the largest contingent outside Tibet or India. Some questioned the wisdom of a Buddhist religious leader visiting a Christian campus. Stephenson recalled Fee's compassion for those who were oppressed and in need. "I think [Fee] would recognize the emerging global community," Stephenson observed, "and, seeing the desperate situation that Tibetans are in, would welcome their leader here to speak on their behalf." In his address, "Peace and the Kinship of All People," His Holiness affirmed salient features of Berea's mission. "We must build closer relationships of mutual trust," the Dalai Lama declared, "understanding, respect, and help, irrespective of differences in culture, philosophy, religion or faith."[19]

Liberal learning offered great opportunities for building close relationships among diverse peoples and cultures. The 1993 curriculum had no choice but to be rooted in Berea's commitments. If the college believed that the curriculum was to be the central student experience, then opportunities to reflect on Berea's mission were essential. Liberal learning connected the student to the knowledge of the past and the possibilities of the future. "Central to the aims of liberal education," the faculty affirmed, "is the liberation of the individual in a life-long pursuit of truth."[20] As was true in Fee's day, such an education made freedom tangible for all who participated in it.

The Wonderful Inheritance

On September 2, 1984, John Stephenson made his first convocation address to Berea faculty and staff. In his speech Stephenson pointed out that transitions in administration were useful opportunities for studying the past, assessing the present, and planning for the future. The college had just completed a self-study process for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and Stephenson believed that the campus was now ready to begin a process of strategic planning. This process must be inclusive, he argued, bringing participants from across the college to examine Berea's meanings and intentions. Renewed understanding of Berea's mission would inform the management of resources and personnel. Finally, such a process would help Berea determine future direction and organization to achieve the college's goals. Affirming the guidance of the Great Commitments, Stephenson believed that Berea was uniquely placed to respond to the public criticism of higher education that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. Berea's history, commitment to true excellence, sense of community, and inspiring story were all assets in an era of low faculty morale, increasing competition for students, financial problems, and diminished public support. "It is through the willingness of your spirits," Stephenson encouraged the faculty, "the courage of your hearts, and the openness of your imaginations that this wonderful inheritance called Berea College will be increased and bequeathed to other generations."[21]

Revisions in the curriculum intersected with questions explored in the long-range planning process. Initiated shortly after Stephenson's arrival on campus, the Long Range Planning Committee (LRPC) examined various areas of campus life, with particular attention to the Christian, interracial, and Appalachian commitments. Assuming a wide degree of consensus, the



Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama. The visit of the Dalai Lama gave spectacular recognition to Berea's international studies efforts.

LRPC was intent on forming recommendations for the college's future growth and direction. The LRPC involved sixty people from across the campus; they examined several strategic questions, such as ways to ensure adequate resources for maintaining and enhancing existing programs and facilities. The LRPC discussed evaluation procedures that would inform the establishment, strengthening, and discontinuing of campus programs and services. The committee examined the aspirations for guiding the college's interracial mission and its implications for staffing, services, and curriculum. Changes in student demographics, economic status, educational patterns, and regional needs were reviewed. The LRPC looked at ways to maintain and enhance faculty morale and effectiveness. Procedures for evaluating new building projects and

renovations to support faculty, students, and staff at Berea were another concern of the committee. During the LRPC's deliberations, a new question regarding the college's aspirations for expressing its Christian commitment emerged. The LRPC completed its report in 1987, and the committee's conclusions regarding service to Appalachia, interracial education, and Christian outlook held important significance for understanding Berea's story.[22]

In considering Berea's ongoing mission to Appalachia, the LRPC revisited the question "Whom Shall We Serve?" During the Weatherford administration the admissions territory had been expanded to include all of Kentucky and several counties in southern Ohio. The trustees and the faculty had reaffirmed the college's commitment to persons of low income and high academic promise and stoutly resisted efforts to change these qualifications. The LRPC affirmed these values and stressed the need for Berea constantly to study the students and region served by the college. "General concern emerged," the report advised, "that we not drift too far from our historic tradition of embracing those generally ignored by other institutions."[23] The LRPC noted that student admissions from Kentucky had dramatically increased in the years 1984–87, while admissions from North Carolina and Virginia, traditionally strong areas for Berea, had fallen by 60 percent and 30 percent, respectively. Increased competition caused by inexpensive community colleges and state grant funding kept many students closer to home. To avoid the appearance that Berea served only Kentucky, the LRPC recommended that Appalachian regional admissions constitute 60–75 percent, and that Kentucky admissions be limited to no more than 45 percent of the entering freshman class.[24]

Concern about African American admissions further animated the question of Berea's service. Citing the college's history of integration, the Interracial Commitment Subcommittee argued that Berea students were not receiving the type of education promised in the Great Commitments. The subcommittee complained that the racial-cultural mix was so thin that many mountain students could pass through Berea without significant curricular or personal contacts with people who were ethnically or culturally different. "This denies them an interracial education," the report declared, "and puts an undue burden on many of our Black students when they are forced into the position of being representative of their heritage to an overwhelming majority."[25] The LRPC's final report urged the college to develop plans that would increase African American enrollment to 15–25 percent of the total student population by the year 2000. Recognizing the need for larger multicultural experiences, the LRPC advocated further efforts to diversify Berea's student body, suggesting a goal that international students represent 9–10 percent of total enrollment by 1994.[26] By 1992 the admissions director, John Cook, reported that Berea's African American enrollment had increased from 6.4 to 10 percent, and international students made up 5 percent of the student body.[27]

For many Bereans interracial education and service to the Appalachian region were deeply informed by the college's Christian heritage. In examining Berea's Christian commitment, the LRPC observed that

Students on campus. Berea publications consistently referenced the diverse character of Berea's student body.

institutions might not have a Christian commitment in the same way that individuals do. The LRPC further suggested that it would be accurate to say that the college reflected or represented Christian commitment because of the religious motivations of the founders and Berea's mission to those identified in Scripture as important to God—the poor and the oppressed, women, children, and other powerless groups. Historically, Berea's faithful work had been manifested through the education of African Americans, mountaineers, and women. This education was *not to conform* to the values of a society that denied God's sovereignty, but *to reform* society in keeping with God's love for the whole creation. Consequently, the LRPC recommended that Berea engage in the difficult task of clarifying just what the college meant by having a Christian commitment. "It should be clear," the committee observed, "that Berea's Christian commitment does not reflect a fundamentalist leaning but is characterized by pluralism and openness to different ideas and different expressions of faith."[28]

Openness was a theme related to campus governance as well. For years, two faculties had existed on campus. The College Faculty deliberated on issues related to teaching, curriculum, and the wider academic program. The General Faculty discussed administrative matters such as student life, the labor program, and other nonacademic areas of the college. A plethora of committees, some elected, others appointed, carried on the work assigned to them. The committees focused on various issues, from religious life to academic majors, and a number of ad hoc committees performed special tasks. Each group reported directly to either the General or College Faculty. The LRPC in its deliberations identified several problems that plagued the governance system. The committee structure was viewed as inefficient and unwieldy. Some committees had too much work, others too little, and membership on committees appeared unbalanced and burdensome. Some committees seemed to perform similar tasks, and communication between committees was regarded as inefficient and fragmented. The

New students arrive. Students line up on the stairs of old Seabury Gym for residence hall assignments. Cheerful chaos welcomes new students and their families to the beginning of college life at Berea.

Classroom study. Berea's long-range plan set ambitious goals for increasing African American enrollments (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

LRPC suggested further that the role of the General Faculty be more sharply defined and that its relationship to the College Faculty be clarified.[29]

The Task Group on Committee Reorganization, chaired by Michael Berheide, began its work in the fall term of 1987. Five councils—General Affairs, Student Life, Faculty Affairs, Labor Program, and Academic Program—and their subordinate committees considered policy issues within their respective areas and made recommendations to the appropriate faculty. Elected council members also held membership on associated committees to facilitate communication and coordinate activities. A common faculty meeting consisting of the combined College and General faculties reviewed the recommendations of the councils and committees. The new plan was approved in December 1988. In a review of the governance system in March 1995, many of the same difficulties of the previous arrangement remained. Significantly, instead of strengthening the joint work of the faculties, much of the substance of the combined meeting revolved around College Faculty issues. This had the effect of silencing the General Faculty. Rather than building collegial governance, the new system reflected instead a widening gap between the teaching faculty and the administration.[30]

The planning process initiated through the LRPC and later continued by the Horizon Committee offered important perspectives on Berea's sense of mission and story. The college affirmed its mission to African Americans, setting ambitious enrollment goals to move Berea beyond mere tokenism. The understanding of interracial education was further expanded to include international students as well as curricular experiences to enhance multicultural learning. Berea's Christian commitment also received a level of scrutiny not experienced in some time, but the dialogue called for by the LRPC was slow in coming. Campus governance was reorganized with an eye toward broader participation in decisions affecting college life and learning. Overall, long-range planning did achieve the inclusive process Stephenson desired. Faculty, staff, and students were involved in serious and meaningful examination of Berea's mission, but this conversation was difficult to sustain.

Meet the President. President George H. W. Bush and First Lady Barbara Bush congratulate David Sawyer of Students for Appalachia on receiving a "Point of Light" award for SFA's innovative service and outreach (official White House photo).

Commitments and Saga

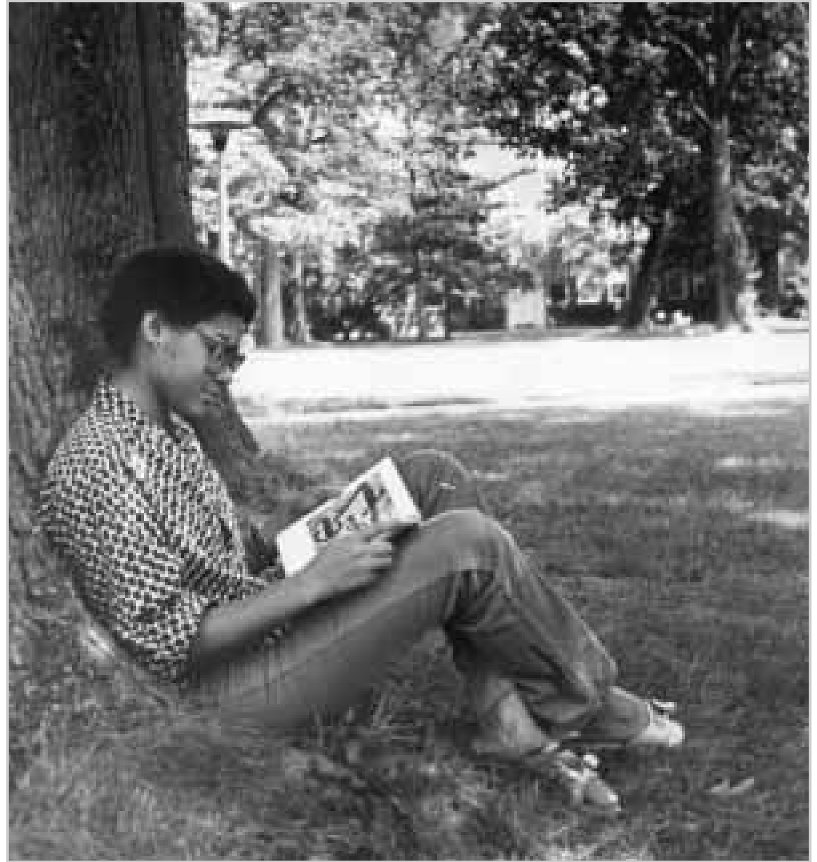
The review of the general education curriculum in 1991–92 prompted a review of Berea's Great Commitments. The Appalachian, interracial, and Christian commitments had been reviewed during the long-range planning process. Other individual commitments had been discussed and summarized through self-studies as well. The 1983–84 SACS self-study included a survey of alumni, faculty, staff, students, and trustees to evaluate the college's effectiveness in acting on its commitments. In September 1992 a systematic review of Berea's commitments began, not to identify implementation issues, but to understand the focus of the college's mission statement. David Swanson, chairman of the Board of Trustees, President Stephenson, and members of the General Faculty, staff, and students —twenty-one people in all—made up the Committee to Review the Commitments (CRC). The CRC held public forums, conducted surveys, and reviewed historical documents to identify questions and issues concerning the college's articulation of its mission.[31]

The final report contained a discussion of the various individual commitments in a question-and-response format. Topics such as gender equality, Christianity, the liberal arts, labor, Appalachia, and plain living were examined in light of the college's continuing work at the end of the twentieth century. Recognizing that phrases such as "dignity of labor," "plain living," and "kinship of all people" were ambiguous, the CRC retained these phrases to maintain a focused discussion of these historic ideals. Furthermore, the committee pointed out, it was crucial that a clear majority of the community

A student clerk arranges Berea College brooms for display at the Log House Sales Room. Berea handicrafts are still an important part of the College's labor program and preservation of Appalachian culture.

agree that the mission was important, even if there was disagreement regarding effective implementation. While acknowledging that constant discussion of mission statements could be wearisome, the CRC argued that avoiding such conversations would result in missed opportunities for correcting problems and developing improvements.[32]

Two significant changes in the text of the Great Commitments reflected the flexible nature of the mission statement and the issues raised in the long-range planning process. The CRC explored the broader implications of interracial education, acknowledging the needs of Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans. Nevertheless, Berea's history and location mandated continued emphasis on promoting understanding between black and white students. In revising the text of the interracial commitment, the committee affirmed the "kinship of all peoples" and the importance of providing an interracial education "with a particular emphasis on understanding and equality among blacks and whites." In their explanation the CRC declared, "We believe that whatever we can do to improve relationships between any groups of people will encourage greater respect for and appreciation of all peoples and cultures."[33] Furthermore, the committee disputed the perceived tensions between serving minorities and serving Appalachia. The college was committed to seeking out qualified minority students from within the Appalachian region. The committee acknowledged the unity of its mission by changing its first commitment: "To provide an educational opportunity primarily for students from Appalachia, who have great promise and limited economic resources" became "To provide an educational opportunity for students from Appalachia, *black and white,* who have great promise and limited economic resources."[34]



Springtime study. A student relaxes under a tree in the college quadrangle. The 1993 review of the Great Commitments reaffirmed the need for Berea to remain focused on its service to African Americans.

In addition, the committee was concerned that the college's long history of educating women had remained hidden. The college's long-held ideals of equality and democracy had been manifested by its educating women on an equal basis with men. Earlier versions of Berea's Great Commitments did not directly affirm this history, however. Coeducation and gender equality had certainly been part of Fee's vision of human dignity and criticism of social structures that promoted caste. Toward that end, the CRC used inclusive language to replace

Women students. In adding a commitment to "create a democratic community dedicated to education and equality for women and men," Berea also officially recognized its history of educating women on an equal basis with men.

such terms as "brotherhood" and "mankind" with "kinship of all people" and "others." The CRC also suggested that the college motto, "God has made of one blood all nations of men," might be better rendered as "God has made of one blood all peoples of the earth." The CRC proposed a bold addendum to the original set of commitments that read, "To create a democratic community dedicated to education and equality for women and men." This additional text reaffirmed Berea's commitment to equality for all persons, regardless of race or gender. "Education for and about women is consistent with Berea's values," the CRC observed; "to confront and challenge gender stereotypes requires a commitment that focuses on inclusion and understanding of women."[35]

In March 1993 the General Faculty unanimously approved the CRC's revision of the Great Commitments, and the trustees formally adopted the revisions the following month. The new text included a preamble that acknowledged Berea's radical history as the foundation for the college's curriculum and programs. The college's Christian values were seen as liberating, freeing students and staff to be both active members of an academic community and citizens of the world. Most important, perhaps, the Great Commitments were once again affirmed as the summary of Berea's remarkable story. "The Berea experience nurtures intellectual, physical, aesthetic, emotional, and spiritual potentials," read the preamble, "and with those the power to make meaningful commitments and translate them into action."[36]

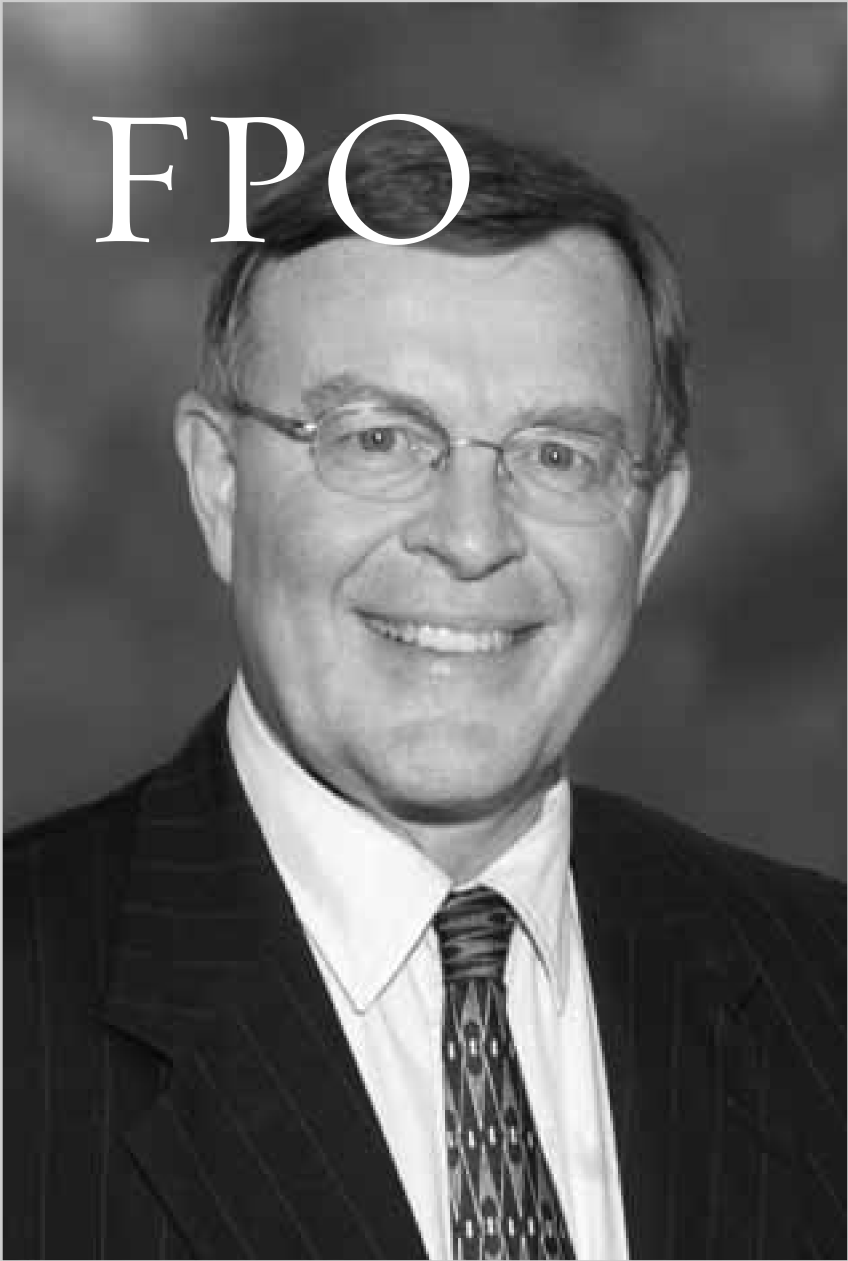
The administration of John B. Stephenson ended with his retirement in July 1994. Racked by pain from chronic lymphocytic leukemia, Stephenson struggled to balance his illness with the numerous duties of his office. The years 1992–94 were particularly difficult, as he participated in the curriculum review as much as he could and chaired the work of the CRC. Upon his retirement, Stephenson traveled with his family to Scotland, the scene of many fine memories. Returning to the United States, John and Jane Stephenson moved to Boston, where he was scheduled to teach a course on presidential roles in higher education at Harvard University's Graduate School of Education. While in Boston, Stephenson was stricken with a rare virus that attacked his brain. The Stephensons returned to Berea, where John Stephenson died on December 6, 1994. His hopes for research and time with his beloved family were suddenly and cruelly cut off.[37]

John Stephenson's era saw important and innovative efforts in extending Berea's service to the Appalachian region. The work of

Tribute and memory. At the request of the Dalai Lama, two Tibetans light 1,000 butter lamps in memory of John Stephenson.

Brushy Fork Institute, the New Opportunity School for Women, and the Black Mountain Youth Leadership Program reflected Stephenson's personal and scholarly interest in the mountains. Curriculum revisions extended the college's efforts to reflect institutional commitments in the classroom. The work of the LRPC laid the foundation for important initiatives in interracial and international education. The review and revision of Berea's commitments reaffirmed the essential unity of Berea's mission and distinctly recognized the college's historic commitment to the education of women. Stephenson's quiet, scholarly leadership modeled much of what Berea claimed to be. Always he believed in Berea, its particular history and mission. "The destiny of Berea College," he observed to the faculty in 1992, "is to be its own peculiar self, living up to its own history and redefining the future in its own idiosyncratic way. This is the Berea I believe in."[38]

Larry D. Shinn. Berea's eighth president brought new energy and ideas for leading Berea into a dynamic new century (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).



NINE

Continuing to Be and to Become

Larry D. Shinn, 1994–

Throughout its long history, Berea College has been one persistent experiment in education and service based upon principles of social justice that are embedded in a Christian faith that is inclusive, not exclusive. At Berea, we have always tried to structure our community and programs to promote not only intellectual growth and achievement, but also an understanding of the dignity of physical and mental labor, and a commitment to serving those in need. However, Berea College has never been a place that ignores its failings nor rests on its past accomplishments. Though faithful to its venerable traditions, Berea has always been open to the future and its requirements.

LARRY D. SHINN, Inaugural Address

BEREA COLLEGE in the 1980s had achieved national recognition as one of the finest colleges in the South. Under the leadership of John B. Stephenson, the college developed innovative programs for serving Appalachia and advanced a new curriculum. Opportunities for international education were expanded, and the Great Commitments reaffirmed. This reaffirmation gave tangible recognition to Berea's history of coeducation, with promising curricular and administrative results. The work of the Long Range Planning Committee also introduced important initiatives into ongoing campus life and governance. Stephenson's protracted illness at the end of his tenure in the early 1990s contributed to a loss of momentum and splintered understandings of the college's overall mission. Despite the good work begun by the long-range planning process in 1987, the 1989 governance expectation for a new Strategic Planning Committee had not been met. The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) visiting team in 1995 made no fewer than forty-nine recommendations in response to the college's self-study report, and nearly half of these dealt with the lack of strategic planning and assessment.

Larry D. Shinn, as Berea's eighth president, inherited a college with a strong sense of mission, an international reputation, a healthy endowment, and the prospect of probation from SACS. Shinn activated the Strategic Planning Committee as a means to adapt the college's historic mission on the eve of a new century. His experience with

strategic planning at Bucknell showed his capacity and experience for such work. In surveying Berea's history, Shinn was particularly attracted to former dean Louis Smith's observation that "Berea must both be and become." For Shinn, Berea needed to remain faithful to its distinctive claims and heritage while adapting to a rapidly changing and complex world. Echoing Fee's gospel of impartial love, Shinn advocated that the whole campus—students, faculty, and staff—must be integrated to take ownership of the whole of Berea's mission. Emphasizing Berea's traditions of labor, learning, and service, Shinn supported such initiatives as the Sustainability and Environmental Studies (SENS) program and the Center for Excellence in Learning Through Service (CELTS) as examples of innovation; he felt as well that significant outreach programs such as recruiting single parents and Entrepreneurship for the Public Good (EPG) remained in keeping with Berea's heritage of service to Appalachia. As Berea celebrates its sesquicentennial in 2005, there is much in the college's current work that boldly reflects its remarkable story.

The Housepainter's Son

Larry Shinn was born into a farming family seven miles west of Alliance, Ohio. Working alongside his father, Shinn grew to appreciate the values and discipline of hard work. Enjoying both athletic and academic success in high school, he received numerous offers of football scholarships, but he chose an academic scholarship to Baldwin-Wallace College in Berea, Ohio. Shinn married his high school sweetheart, Nancy Lee Albright, in 1963 and graduated magna cum laude from Baldwin-Wallace in 1964. The Shinns traveled to Ramallah, Jordan, in 1964–65 to teach in Quaker mission schools that were part of Baldwin-Wallace's Jordan Mission Project. Fifteen months later, the Shinns returned to the United States, and he enrolled at Drew Theological Seminary, graduating summa cum laude in 1968. In 1972 Shinn completed his Ph.D. in the History of Religion with a focus on Hinduism and Buddhism at Princeton University, having begun his teaching career at Oberlin College in 1970. Rising through the academic ranks at Oberlin, Shinn was named the William H. Danforth Professor of Religion early in 1984.

In 1984 the Shinns moved to Bucknell University, where he became dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. He initiated a major affirmative action and minority hiring plan for Bucknell that increased the number of African American faculty at the university from one to twelve. In 1989 Shinn was named vice president for academic affairs. He led a strategic planning process called Foundations for the Future, which resulted in developing a new general studies program and an integrated fund-raising plan for the university. Other accomplishments during his tenure at Bucknell included instituting a plan to increase minority enrollment from the Philadelphia area and initiating curriculum reforms.[1]

Shinn brought numerous scholarly and administrative assets to his new role as president of Berea College. Like many Berea students, Larry Shinn was the first member of his immediate family to attend college. His success as a classroom instructor, scholar, and administrator made for interesting similarities with his predecessors. As was

the case with Henry Fairchild, William G. Frost, and William J. Hutchins, Shinn had been a distinguished professor at Oberlin. Like Fairchild, William B. Stewart, Frost, and Hutchins, Shinn was an ordained minister. As an ordained United Methodist elder, Shinn served several churches on a part-time basis during his Oberlin years. A recognized teacher and scholar of world religions, Shinn published or edited five books and numerous articles on the religions of India and approaches to the study of religion. Remembering the long hours of work on the family farm, Shinn did not take his past accomplishments or his new role for granted. "Such work has given me some humility and perspective with respect to my own teaching profession," he observed, "and the experience of working with my father has given me an ability to work long hours joyfully."[2]

Berea's long history of Christian service held particular attractions for Larry Shinn. The challenge that Berea met often, in his view, was in finding ways to build community amid very diverse groups. In doing so, the college reached out to those who historically were on the fringes of society—the poor, African Americans, and women. Berea was possible because of its own, perhaps peculiar, Christian idealism. "An inclusive Christianity gives birth to the kind of life that serves others," Shinn asserted, "regardless of their particular creed or persuasion. Berea has done that, and should continue to do that." In a society plagued by divisions based on race, religion, or ethnic origins, Shinn saw education as means of finding common ground. "You do this," he observed, "by establishing a dialogue and teaching students how they may learn from people quite different from themselves." This sense of community and service was at the core of Berea's commitments.[3]

Inauguration, 1995. Larry and Nancy Shinn examine the President's Medallion. Nancy Shinn is an effective partner in the president's work and carries a full schedule of her own.

In his April 1995 inaugural address, Shinn articulated his vision for Berea. For Shinn the college's mission was rooted in a Christian faith that was inclusive rather than exclusive. Throughout its history the college had, in the words of the former dean

Labor Day, 1995. President Shinn and Facilities Management workers plant a tree on Labor Day. In this year, Labor Day and Inauguration Day were combined into a "Celebration that Works." Labor and academic departments sponsored service and outreach activities on campus and in the community to celebrate the new administration.

Louis Smith, to both "be and become."[4] In a world of rapid and complex change, Shinn cited Berea's core values as the anchor for equipping students to meet new challenges. Amid profound societal changes remained the persistent human problems of intolerance, racism, and religious extremism that led, in Shinn's view, to a loss of soul. "I believe we can educate the ideal student by contemporary academic and intellectual standards," he observed, "and fail completely in providing the personal habits of reflection and 'inner work' our students need to do to orient their lives in our chaotic age." Liberal education offered the foundation for civility and tolerance, the ability to welcome the stranger and learn from others who were "different." Berea's commitments invited what Shinn termed "deep learning." Such learning prepared hearts and hands for service, for healing, and for celebrating both diversity and commonality.[5]

Being and Becoming

Strategic planning has been one of the most significant guiding forces in Shinn's administration. Shortly after his taking up his duties, he activated and then expanded the college's Strategic Planning Committee. The SPC had been identified in the 1989 revision of campus governance but had never been constituted. The revised committee contained broad membership (some elected, some appointed) and commenced its work in the spring of 1995, in part to respond to the recommendations of the SACS visiting committee. Strategic thinking on campus engaged a broad range of issues beyond the need for SACS's self-study

Mountain Day. Students still gather on the mountains to celebrate Mountain Day. A new approach in guided learning gives students wider responsibility in managing residence hall life through the Collegium, a consortium of students and college staff.

follow-up, particularly the integration of educational, physical, and financial development and the relationship of outreach programs to the larger work of the college.

Approved in 1996, the strategic plan, entitled *Being and Becoming: Berea College in the 21st Century*, had three primary characteristics. First, in view of the 1993 revised Commitments, the plan identified an external and an internal "landscape" to provide context for Berea's planning process and the accomplishment of its mission. Internally, the college was guided by a strong sense of history and mission; a blending of liberal arts and preprofessional programs; dedicated faculty, staff, alumni, and friends; a strong labor program; commitment to a residential campus; and a healthy endowment. In contrast to these internal strengths were an aging physical plant and Berea's rural location on the edge of the Appalachian region. External forces that challenged the college's mission included strong public criticism of higher education, criticism that sought to hold colleges and universities accountable for student learning; a national decline in student preference for private liberal arts colleges; important changes in the roles of students and faculty in the 1990s; and the implications of an increasing emphasis on institutional effectiveness and assessment. Further concerns included the rapidly changing and expanding role of technology in learning and the increasing gap between rich and poor in their access to these advances. Given Berea's commitment to interracial education, the strategic plan also recognized the continuing need to address issues of diversity, with particular attention to relations between African Americans and whites.

Common Learning Goals

First Learning Goal

Berea seeks to foster development of the critical intellectual ability of its workers and students to address complex problems from multiple perspectives,

and

To encourage moral growth with a commitment to service.

Second Learning Goal

Berea seeks to foster an understanding of the relationship between humans and their natural world,

and

To encourage consideration of both the benefits and limitations of science and technology.

Third Learning Goal

Berea seeks to foster exploration of individuals' personal roots as well as of our shared American culture,

and

To develop a knowledge of and respect for all peoples of the earth.

Fourth Learning Goal

Berea seeks to foster creativity and independence of thought and actions in students and all employees,

and

To develop the capacity for collaboration and teamwork.

Berea's Common Learning Goals. The Common Learning Goals are one means by which the entire college community participates in advancing Berea's educational mission.

Being and Becoming declared that "Berea College [in] the 21st century can best be conceived as an integrated and continuous residential learning environment that is inclusive of all of its workers, offices, programs, and physical spaces." Through the college's educational service to Appalachia, the labor program, and its residential community, all Bereans are part of a campus-wide learning environment. Faculty, staff, and students are invited to engage in continuous learning in order to meet their individual and collective responsibilities. Consequently, the second characteristic of the plan involved four pairs of learning goals inclusive of all aspects of the Berea College community, in terms of both program and personnel.[6]

These learning goals reminded the campus of the myriad complexities in the learning process. The plan recognized that some goals might be achieved informally through the residence life or labor programs, whereas others were best addressed in the classroom. Educational efforts regarding issues of race and gender, for example, could occur in the curriculum, in the dormitories, on the athletic field, or through labor and service. Furthermore, the learning goals addressed the concern of Shinn and others that the Berea College community embrace all aspects of Berea's mission. Because all members of the campus community were invited to participate in meeting these learning goals, they all had the potential to contribute significantly to accomplishing Berea's mission.[7]

Third, the plan asked five strategic questions that would guide the college's thinking; these were subject to occasional modification as part of a regular review and assessment process. The first question addressed Berea's service to Appalachia in the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. The strategic plan called for integration of the college's Appalachian focus throughout the various curricular, cocurricular, labor,

service, and residential offerings. One means of achieving this goal was to develop a new type of Appalachian Center that would provide an integrated administrative structure for all of Berea's numerous Appalachian programs, old and new. The second strategic question concerned admissions; it clarified which students Berea should serve and addressed declining admissions among African American and Appalachian students. It included a definition of the college's territory and identified single parents as a population of special need. Other admissions efforts would intensify recruiting in traditional Appalachian counties, add the children of Appalachian migrants in such areas as Cincinnati to the pool of potential applicants, and increase minority as well as international enrollment. The third strategic question asked what it meant when Berea described itself as a Christian college; it called for a campus-wide discussion to determine how "to serve the cause of Christ" in a new century. How to build up the college as a living, working, and learning community formed the plan's fourth question. The primary concern here was to increase opportunities for realizing the intention of the Great Commitments, particularly with regard to issues of race, gender, and cultural diversity. The fifth and final strategic question explored ways to link budget and staff development processes more closely to the college's aims and programs. Recognizing the decline in governmental support for higher education and the increasing competition for private gifts, the planning document directed that emphasis be placed on employee development, building renovations, and learning technologies.[8]

Physics instruction. Professor Smith T. Powell guides a physics class through an equation. Berea is committed to providing a high-quality education grounded in the liberal arts that maintains high academic standards.

Approved by the faculty and trustees in the spring of 1996, *Being and Becoming* continues to guide the college's strategic planning process. The flexible nature of the document is reflected in regular revisions that consider changes in the external and internal landscape, recent accomplishments, and ongoing campus concerns. The broad membership of the SPC allows for wide representation across the campus community. "This vision of Berea College as an integrated and continuous learning community," the SPC declared, "understands Berea as a

student-centered, residential learning environment in which all students, teachers, and workers are committed to creating a lively, friendly, and complex environment of learning, labor, and service."[9] The strategic plan builds on the foundation of the Great Commitments, making the mission tangible and effective in a new century and in contemporary Appalachia.

While strategic planning invited involvement from across the campus, the governance system itself faced particular challenges. Ad hoc committees were numerous, as had been true in the earlier system, and now the SPC was forming study groups to examine the various strategic questions. Although more than half the faculty participated on one or more SPC committees, the work of the SPC was viewed by some faculty as usurping the standing governance system; they felt that a small group or the president alone was making decisions that had a significant impact on the campus. Some faculty and administrators also believed that governance suffered from a lack of wider campus participation, which resulted in burdensome committee workloads. Lingering tensions from previous decades between the faculty and the administration created a culture of suspicion rather than collegial trust. External influences such as new state and federal laws governing financial aid, admissions concerns, and the increasingly active role of trustees in campus governance added to the frustrations of both faculty and administrators in carrying on the college's work. Despite the recognition of these difficulties, there was considerable reluctance to engage in the daunting task of reforming the overall system of campus governance.[10]

Shinn hoped that even in times of stress, new opportunities would emerge to reconsider the ways in which Bereans worked together and to collaborate in deliberate decision making. He observed that part of the difficulty lay in finding where faculty authority ended and administrative or trustee authority began. Furthermore, many faculty members assumed that their decisions or recommendations would be treated as final and not changed or abridged by administrators. Yet other constituencies on campus insisted on being included in the decision-making process; tensions were inevitable as differing interests or agendas were expressed. Campus governance also assumed a diversity of views: gender, race, academic discipline, and tenure status would all come into play. Consequently, some committees became too large or too politicized to function. For Shinn, effective governance had to be built on what he termed a "covenant of trust." A basic level of trust in and respect for the structures, processes, and personnel involved in decision making, he argued, was essential for campus governance to work. "I am excited by the prospect of a campus conversation that can create deliberative decision-making processes," Shinn observed, "that would allow faculty more time to teach and do research, would allow all of us Bereans to spend less time or more effective time in committee and team work, and yet would still keep us deeply involved in shaping the 'big picture' that represents Berea's future."[11] While the conversations continue, many of the past difficulties remain.

The new directions and innovations developed through the strategic planning process needed more than conversation,

however. Real financial support through the college's endowment, not just grants, would be needed to maintain the initiatives emerging from *Being and Becoming*. In September 2003 Berea launched its ambitious "Extending Berea's Legacy" campaign with a financial target of $150 million. The principal goal of the campaign was to completely fund such initiatives as the Student Computer Project, housing construction for the Ecovillage, and the Entrepreneurship for the Public Good program. Another goal was to raise $29 million to support the internationalization of education, including the study abroad program, International Semester Focus, and international student scholarships. Endowed faculty chairs, for both new programs and existing faculty members, were another priority of the campaign. Two new chairs, one for ecological design and one for entrepreneurship, were funded. The obvious connections between strategic planning and significant financial support ensure that these programs will continue to be available to students for years to come.[12] The campaign goal of $150 million was raised in time for the 2005–6 sesquicentennial celebration.

Becoming Better World Citizens

Over the years changing socioeconomic conditions, migration, and war have brought large numbers of mountaineers into contact with a wider world. Berea College, in response to these events, had adjusted its educational program to help make sense of changed circumstances. Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, new transportation and communication technologies seem to make the world smaller and more intimate. Since the 1940s Berea College has intentionally enrolled significant numbers of international students. John Stephenson's administration saw the enrollment of Tibetan students and the expansion of study abroad programs so that larger numbers of Berea students could study overseas. Larry Shinn's own professional experiences in India and Jordan led him to continue expansion of Berea's international program. In 1997 he secured a one-million-dollar endowed grant that helped the college's International Center advance international programming and student study abroad and support the needs of international students on campus. In the 1995–96 academic year only 30 students had experienced a term abroad, but between 2000 and 2004 an average of 175 students studied in other countries during short or summer term, and an additional 38 students remained abroad for a full year of study, an annual average total of 213. Of the class of 2004, 41 percent had studied abroad. During this same period students from other countries rose from 5 to 8 percent of the total enrollment and represented more than sixty nations.[13]

In the fall of 1998 Shinn's convocation address asked the question "What if the mountains could speak?" He argued that the mountains would urge humanity to recognize their dependence upon and interdependence with the local and regional environment. Furthermore, Shinn suggested that the mountains testified to the fact that humans could either choose to limit—or even reduce—the use of natural resources to a sustainable level or have these reductions severely imposed later. In 1998–99 the SPC's Subcommittee on Sustainability (SOS) was charged with educating itself

Cultural show. Costumes of many flags and nations are on display at the annual International Cultural Show. Native foods, costumes, and performances add beauty and color to campus experiences (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

and the campus community on sustainability and environmental issues. The subcommittee placed Berea's response to these issues in the context of the Great Commitments, *Being and Becoming*'s learning goals, and the Appalachian region. In their final report, the SOS proposed a Sustainability and Environmental Studies Program, with both curricular and extracurricular applications. The SENS program has its own director and offers an academic minor, which requires students to complete an internship that puts their learning into practice. A professorship in ecological design, funded by the Compton Foundation, advances ideas to reduce the environmental impact of building structures and offers internship opportunities on campus and in nearby communities. The agriculture curriculum has renewed emphasis on small family farms and sustainable agriculture in the Appalachian region. Recent building renovations, including Lincoln Hall and the Draper Building, have utilized ecologically friendly construction approaches. The most tangible result of the new SENS program is the Ecovillage, which includes thirty-two new student-family apartments, a Commons House for community activities, a SENS educational building, and a Child Development Lab. The Ecological Machine serves as a natural wastewater and sewage treatment facility that uses biological processes. One of the Ecovillage's goals is a 75 percent reduction of energy and water use by residents of the village. This commitment to sustainability is being studied for additional applications throughout the campus.[14] Though sustainability initiatives are grounded in the college's service to Ap-

palachia, they have the potential to reach far beyond the region.

Historically, Berea's educational efforts have equipped its graduates for service. Established in 1999, Berea's remarkable Center for Excellence in Learning Through Service offers innovative opportunities for integrating learning and service. Recognizing the importance of experiential learning, CELTS provides a common administrative structure for several service organizations operated primarily by students. The CELTS program actively promotes linkages among the labor program, the curriculum, and service organizations to assist students to learn through serving others. Organizations such as Students for Appalachia, People Who Care, Partners in Education, and the Bonner Scholars are engaged in a wide array of literacy, visitation, and tutoring programs in partnership with area educational and health care facilities.[15]

New Ideas of Community

The strategic planning process also informed college programs that responded to Berea's mission of interracial education. Particular attention was given to admission and retention of African American students. A black admissions counselor was added to the Admissions Office, and the cities of Birmingham, Cincinnati, Knoxville, Lexington, and Louisville were identified as cities for increased black recruitment. The result has been a marked increase in black students on campus, from 8 percent of total enrollment in 1996 to 18 percent in 2004. The Black Cultural Center, located in a newly expanded space, advances interracial understanding throughout the year. Activities related to Martin Luther King Day, Black History Month, and Kwanzaa, among many others, are coordinated through the center. The Black Studies Program has been created to offer a curriculum for obtaining a minor or an independent major. Strong efforts continue to be made to ensure a vital African American presence among the

Straw bale workshop. SENS students and community members learn how to build structures from straw bales. Experiences such as these offer students the opportunity to apply ideas learned in the classroom (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

School for activism. A CELTS-sponsored short-term class featured the Appalachian scholar-activist Helen Lewis. CELTS actively assists instructors in designing appropriate service-learning opportunities in support of classroom learning (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

Increasing African American student enrollment combined with the activities of the Black Cultural Center and the Black Studies Program affirms the importance of the college's interracial mission (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

college's trustees and to recruit African American faculty and staff. These programs are part of the college's continuing effort to support the increasing number of African American students on campus and to remain faithful to the college's history.[16]

Changes in the Appalachian region continually challenge Berea's service to the mountains. Through the years the college had developed a wide array of academic, cultural, and outreach programs. There was, however, no formal coordination of these important activities. For example, the Appalachian Center offered courses, coordinated an orientation tour of the region for faculty and staff, sponsored the Weatherford Award, and organized the Celebration of Traditional Music. The Recreation Extension sponsored the Berea College Country Dancers, and Students For Appalachia

The Berea College Bluegrass Band takes the stage in a performance at the Celebration of Traditional Music. Students were successful in convincing the college that offering lessons in traditional Appalachian musical forms was just the right thing to do (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

coordinated literacy programs, after-school tutoring, and mentoring for at-risk youth. Brushy Fork Institute offered community leadership development, and Hutchins Library housed the editorial offices of *Appalachian Heritage,* a regional literary magazine. The Appalachian Museum preserved artifacts and mounted exhibitions interpreting mountain life. In 1995–96 an SPC subcommittee conducted studies and discussions on campus to explore the possibilities of connecting these ongoing efforts. The result was a new, expanded Appalachian Center that effectively created a central administrative office for the Appalachian tour, *Appalachian Heritage,* Brushy Fork, and other programs. The SPC strongly believed that such integration would further establish the presence of Appalachian studies on campus, as well as increase collaboration across the various programs.[17]

The reorganization of the Appalachian Center reawakened earlier forebodings about Berea's commitment to the Appalachian region. Brushy Fork and SFA reported directly to the Appalachian Center director, but the Black Mountain Youth Leadership Project was discontinued for lack of funding, and the New Opportunity School for Women left the college to join with the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED). In 1998 the Berea College Appalachian Museum was closed, a move that met with much controversy. These actions gave some observers the impression that the college's strategic planning process was diluting Berea's regional commitment.

Amy Bowman's children help with homework. Berea's assistance to single parents and their children is very much in keeping with the college's service to populations of special need (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

Opened in 1971, the Appalachian Museum had created exhibits, hosted touring displays, and oriented numerous visitors to Appalachian life and culture. Threatened with closure in 1991, the museum took on the college's history as part of its interpretive mission in an effort to achieve additional usefulness. But a poor location off campus and an inadequate building limited the museum's program. The dual responsibility of interpreting both the region and the college strained the efforts of museum staff and resources. In addition, most of the museum's resources were spent on public displays, which hampered the museum's support of the curriculum. Some students and townspeople were convinced that closing the museum meant a significant loss of the college's identity in preserving Appalachian culture as well as the sacrifice of an important educational asset. Nevertheless, the museum closed in May 1998. The staff and collections moved to the new Appalachian Center, housed in the newly renovated Bruce-Trades building, and reopened in a new exhibit gallery in the fall of 2000. Under the leadership of Christopher Miller, director of the newly created Artifacts Program, exhibits and displays are set up not only in the Appalachian Center, but in venues all over campus. Student interns research exhibit topics and take part in organizing the exhibitions. The curricular possibilities grow more and more each year. "Our Appalachian artifacts are an invaluable resource," declared Miller, "for teaching about the region, its people, and its history." The integration of the Appalachian collections in support of the curriculum, combined with public displays on campus, testifies to the successful transition of the Artifacts Program.[18]

During Shinn's administration other initiatives emerged that enhance Berea's service to the mountain region. In keeping with its mission to serve people on the fringes of society, Berea in 1999 intentionally began to recruit single parents with both financial need and academic promise. The college reached its goal of enrolling forty single parents accompanied by their children in 2001. Since earning power increases with a college degree, single parents increase their chances of providing for their children; they are supported with child care, housing, and other services offered by the college. Many single parents are residents of the Ecovillage, and thus two important Appalachian programs are linked. A second initiative is Entrepreneurship for the Public Good. Given the mixed results of promoting the region to large corporations and the effects of massive out-migration in the mountains,

Students from the mountains. Chosen for their academic ability and financial need, many Berea students are the first in their immediate families to graduate from college (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

EPG seeks new approaches to improving economic development. Two endowed professorships, one in leadership and another in entrepreneurship, offer a specialized curriculum. These courses are combined with one summer of study and travel in the region and a second summer working as an intern in a small business or nonprofit organization in Appalachia. This structure prepares students to apply entrepreneurial principles to the needs of Appalachian communities. Service to others, rather than profit margins, is the primary emphasis. Another initiative, the EDGE (Empowering a Dynamic Generation through Education) program, represents the college's commitment to universal access as it places laptop computers in the hands of all Berea students. Recognizing the essential connections between technology and learning in today's educational environment, the EDGE program helps to bridge the digital gap experienced by some Berea students.[19] The continuing legacy of service to persons and communities in need remains at the heart of Berea's interracial and regional programs.

The Berea Legacy

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Berea's story has much in common with its beginnings on the eve of the Civil War. Building a truly interracial community still challenges the sensibilities of modern society, a society seemingly bent on emphasizing difference at the expense of commonality. Despite hard-won gains, many women continue to struggle against roles and expectations that circumscribe their dreams. Tensions remain in educational models that insist on an adversarial relationship between "liberal" and "practical" learning. Decades of successful service to the Appalachian region might belie continuing efforts in the mountains, yet southern Appalachia remains an area in need. The college's independent tradition often defies the desire of some supporters that Berea strive to be like other fine liberal arts colleges rather than maintain its own character.

Throughout his administration Larry Shinn has emphasized commitment to the whole of Berea's mission. For Shinn learning, labor, and service are the core of the college's work in Appalachia and throughout the world. The preservation of Berea's legacy is a collective act that teaches, encourages, and lives out the college's commitments. Despite differences across racial, religious, social, and political lines, Berea's legacy invites collaboration as a community in acting upon Berea's mission. The college's legacy also requires integrity; that is, Berea must act upon its claims. "We cannot say one thing and do another," Shinn declared. "We cannot pick and choose among Berea's commitments and still be stewards of the whole."[20] The strategic planning process provides an important mechanism for examining college-wide issues. Though led by the president, strategic planning includes broad involvement by faculty, staff, students, and administrators in a wider view of institutional concerns that would overwhelm any one constituency in campus governance. This capacity for strategic planning offers significant opportunities for the wider campus community to participate in the regular examination and application of Berea's commitments.

In May 2004, after three years of study

and discussion led by the General Education Review Committee (GERC), the College Faculty approved a new general education curriculum. Using the Common Learning Goals from *Being and Becoming*, the Great Commitments, and other resources, GERC proposed a curriculum requiring five core courses. Writing Seminar I: Critical Thinking in the Liberal Arts is intended to develop a core set of students' skills while allowing instructors to teach within their disciplines and interests. Writing Seminar II: Identity and Diversity in the United States examines themes of race, gender, and class in national life as well as Berea's commitment to the Appalachian region. Understandings of Christianity explores historical, social, and theological understandings of Christianity in a global context. Natural Science is designed to provide students a general understanding of scientific facts and principles, as well as scientific ways of investigating natural phenomena. Seminar in Contemporary Global Issues is a capstone course designed to prepare students for responsible citizenship in a global community. The course invites students to make meaningful connections between their college education and significant issues facing the contemporary world. Seven "perspective" area courses (artistic, historical, literary, among others) as well as courses in cognitive and quantitative reasoning round out the total program.[21]

Labor has long held an important role in student learning as well. In 2000 the SPC appointed a Labor Review Team (LRT) to examine the college's labor program in light of *Being and Becoming* and its associated Common Learning Goals. The team studied labor as a learning process and recommended a "revisioning" of the labor program. This vision understood "labor as student and learning centered; as service to the college and broader community, and as providing necessary work (i.e. work that needs to be done) being done well." Conversations with over three hundred students and labor supervisors provided feedback and general support for the vision offered in the LRT report. Grounded in *Being and Becoming*'s view of Berea as an integrated, continuous learning community, the proposal "aims to bring effective community leadership to a program that is vital to the college, pervasive in its impact on all workers, and an important experience for students whose labor both addresses the needs of the college and occasions valuable learning for its students." In December 2003 the faculty approved this initiative in support of the labor program.

Student labor. A library student worker assists a patron in locating resources. Many students choose labor assignments compatible with their major areas of study.

September 11 memorial. Jason Mendez, a United States Army reservist, lights a candle in memory of the victims of the September 11 attacks. Students and staff of numerous backgrounds led the campus community in prayerful reflection and healing (courtesy Berea College Public Relations).

Since learning and labor are central to the Berea experience, good solutions for implementing these new ways of working and learning require collaboration across academic disciplines and workplace boundaries.[22]

Finally, Fee's inclusive gospel, from the perspective of Shinn and others, offered an important framework for working across lines of race, religion, and socioeconomic status. It was Berea's commitment to diversity from the beginning that served as an imperative for learning from others who are different. Even strategic planning required reexamination of much of the college's mission to meet the emerging new century. Indeed, by "welcoming the stranger," Berea opened itself to diverse viewpoints that offered new opportunities to rethink its work. Openness to new ideas, in Shinn's view, creates a culture of real learning as opposed to a culture of suspicion. "Berea must be a place where the very heart of our educational task is to open each other's eyes," Shinn declared, "to new knowledge, new perspectives, and new experiences even as we affirm the traditional truths and values upon which we are founded."[23]

In the ongoing process of strategic planning and reexamining the college's work, it became clear that Berea had to explain its claim as a "Christian college." Earlier self-study and strategic planning discussions in previous administrations had generated at times intense debate on the subject. The work of the Committee to Review the Commitments, for example, had recognized that Christianity at Berea was not monolithic but diverse. The commitment "To stimulate understanding of the Christian faith" now read, "To stimulate understanding of the Christian faith *and its many expressions.*" From 1996 to 2002, SPC–led discussions engaged the entire campus in an examination of Berea's Christian heritage in both historical and contemporary terms. In the spring of 2002 the faculty and trustees adopted the new "Statement on Berea's Christian Identity."[24]

The statement offered nine guiding points to assist in defining Berea's identity as a Christian college. From its beginnings Berea was independent, nondenominational, and nonsectarian. Berea College was al-

ways a college, not a church. Fee's gospel of impartial love meant that Berea was a place of welcome, love, and acceptance to all persons. Berea's commitment to liberal learning in a Christian context meant a keen sense of social justice for all men and women, especially African Americans and Appalachians. Berea's historic commitment to "the cause of Christ" welcomes all those who embrace the college's core values, whatever their backgrounds and traditions. "We will not ignore our differences," the statement affirmed, "but rather seek to understand each other honestly and respectfully, and together create a climate where anyone can openly discuss what they believe without fear of sanction."[25] It is because of Berea's inclusive gospel that persons of all faiths, or no faith at all, are welcomed as students and employees.[26]

In his twelfth year of service and as Berea's sesquicentennial celebrations begin, Larry Shinn and Berea College can look back on significant progress in the institution's mission. Strategic planning laid the foundation for a flexible adaptation of the college's mission in a new century. Faculty, staff, students, administrators, and trustees found ways to work together on issues of mutual interest despite real and at times difficult differences. Some of these challenges included student retention, interpreting Berea's interracial and Appalachian commitments, facilities renovations, and faculty and staff review processes. Initiatives in internationalization, technology, and sustainability as well labor and service program reviews strained both the governance system and routine responsibilities. Berea also reclaimed its own sense of what it means to be a Christian college. Fee's inclusive gospel makes Berea a place of welcome to all persons. This reclaiming of Berea's core values affects all aspects of the college's program.[27]

On the eve of Berea's sesquicentennial celebrations, though much has been accomplished, more work lies ahead. The new general education curriculum now must take shape in terms of course design, faculty development, staffing, and the inevitable revisions as the program is implemented. Much debate has centered on "what students should know," and the success of the new curriculum depends on whether the program is broadly supported or splintered by narrower viewpoints.

Further study of the college's educational programs, policies, and culture is an important part of enhancing student motivation and achievement. The new vision for the labor program has been accepted, but the very difficult work of developing labor supervisors, revising policies, and acting across workplace boundaries is only beginning. Collaborative governance—listening carefully to Berea's many constituencies and acting for the best interests of the college—still remains a continuing challenge. Berea's financial stability, a concern since the days of Fee and Fairchild, is a problem for Berea's trustees as they consider the college's investments, spending formulas, building renovations, and debt management. All these issues have implications that stretch far into Berea's future.[28]

"Berea must both be and become," Louis Smith once observed. "If we hold only to what has been, we achieve a high degree of obsolescence and produce in all likelihood ill-prepared mediocrities."[29] Berea College's

Frost Building. The newly renovated Frost Building was the first to employ geothermal heating and cooling technology as part of Berea's efforts to build a "green" campus.

mission is just as meaningful now as it was when the words of the founders were first expressed all those years ago in the first school building. "From this moment," J. A. R. Rogers declared in March 1866, "this school will be open to all." In a world fractured by division and hate, Berea chooses to be a community of love. In a world that emphasizes difference, Berea is a place of welcome. "Our teaching and learning [are] deeper than our disagreements in religious or political or sexual ideas," Shinn declared. "To teach toward peace . . . ultimately requires an affirmation of our common humanity—and individual fallibility."[30] Adaptation has been and continues to be the college's watchword. The past is ever in the present at Berea College. It is for each generation of faculty, staff, and students to wrestle with Berea's commitments, to own for themselves the majestic cause that is Berea's story.

Appendix One

The Great Commitments of Berea College

Great Commitments (1967)

To provide an educational program of high quality

To emphasize in our program, although as a non-sectarian college, the Christian ethic and the motive of service to mankind

To have a liberal arts foundation and outlook in all aspects of the college program

To serve primarily the Southern Appalachian region by providing an educational opportunity for students who have high ability and limited economic resources, and through appropriate direct and indirect educational services

To maintain on our campus and to encourage in our students a way of life characterized by plain living, economy, simplicity, pride in labor well done, zest for learning, concern for the welfare of others, good taste, and high personal standards

To promote the ideas of brotherhood, equality, and democracy, with particular emphasis on interracial education

Great Commitments (1972)

To provide an educational opportunity primarily for students from Appalachia who have high ability but limited economic resources

To provide an education of high quality with a liberal arts foundation and outlook

To stimulate understanding of the Christian faith and to emphasize the Christian ethic and motive of service to mankind

To demonstrate through the student labor program that labor, mental and manual, has dignity as well as utility

To promote the ideals of brotherhood, equality, and democracy, with particular emphasis on interracial education

To maintain on our campus and to encourage in our students a way of life characterized by plain living, pride in labor well done, zest for learning, high personal standards, and concern for the welfare of others

To serve the Appalachian region primarily through education but also by other appropriate services

Great Commitments (1993)

Berea College, founded by ardent abolitionists and radical reformers, continues today as an educational institution still firmly rooted in its historic purpose "to promote the cause of Christ." Adherence to the College's scriptural foundation, "God has made of one blood all peoples of the earth," shapes the College's culture and programs so that students and staff alike can work toward both personal goals and a vision of a world shaped by Christian values, such as the power of love over hate, human dignity and equality, and peace with justice. This environment frees persons to be active learners, workers, and servers as members of the academic community and as citizens of the world. The Berea experience nurtures intellectual, physical, aesthetic, emotional, and spiritual potentials and with those the power to make meaningful commitments and translate them into action.

To achieve this purpose, Berea College commits itself

To provide an educational opportunity primarily for students from Appalachia, black and white, who have great promise and limited economic resources

To provide an education of high quality with a liberal arts foundation and outlook

To stimulate understanding of the Christian faith and its many expressions and to emphasize the Christian ethic and the motive of service to others

To provide for all students through the labor program experiences for learning and serving in community, and to demonstrate that labor, mental and manual, has dignity as well as utility

To assert the kinship of all people and to provide interracial education with a particular emphasis on understanding and equality among blacks and whites

To create a democratic community dedicated to education and equality for women and men

To maintain a residential campus and to encourage in all members of the community a way of life characterized by plain living, pride in labor well done, zest for learning, high personal standards, and concern for the welfare of others

To serve the Appalachian region primarily through education but also by other appropriate services

Appendix Two

Constitution, Charter, and Bylaws of Berea College

(Adopted July 15–18, 1859)

In order to promote the cause of Christ, we, Jno. G. Fee, Jno. Smith, Thos. J. Renfro, Wm. Stapp, Geo. Candee, Jas. S. Davis, Jno. A. R. Rogers, Jno. G. Hanson, do voluntarily unite ourselves together to establish and maintain an Institution of Learning, under the following articles of agreement:

Article I.—This Institution shall be called Berea College.

Article II.—This College shall be under the care of a Board of Trustees, who shall receive and hold in trust, all lands, legacies, moneys, and other property committed to them for said Institution, and exercise their trust in the use and disposal of the same in such manner, as shall, in their judgment, promote the highest interests of said College.

Article III.—The Board of Trustees shall elect a President, Vice-President, and Secretary, of said Board, from their own number.

Article IV.—It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to appoint the President and Teachers of the College, also, a Secretary and Treasurer of the same, fix their salaries, prescribe the course of study, confer degrees, receive and disburse moneys, make contracts, and enforce the same, audit accounts, appoint examiners, and transact all other business for the interests of the Institution.

Article V.—The Board of Trustees may make such By-Laws as it may deem necessary to promote the interests of the Institution.

Article VI.—The persons named in the Preamble of these Articles of Agreement, shall constitute its original Board of Trustees, and new members may be added to said Board, or vacancies therein filled by the addition of such persons as shall be elected members thereof by the Board and sign these articles of agreement.

To these six Articles, two others were added, when the Constitution was recorded in the office of the County Clerk, Richmond, Ky., April 5th, 1866. These are as follows:

Article VII.—In case of the dissolution of this Institution, all its funds, real estate and property shall be given to the American Missionary Association of New York City, to be applied under the direction of the Executive Committee of that Association, to its charitable uses and purposes.

Article VIII.—This Constitution may be amended by a vote of three-fourths of the Trustees at any annual meeting, providing a written notice of amendment shall have been sent to each trustee as much as three months previous to said meeting.

BYLAWS

1.—The object of this College shall be to furnish the facilities for a thorough education to all persons of good moral character, and at the least possible expense to the same. To promote this end all the facilities and inducements for manual labor, which can reasonably be supplied by the Board, shall be offered to its students.

2.—This College shall be under an influence strictly Christian, and as such, opposed to Sectarianism, Slaveholding, Caste, and every other wrong institution or practice. *Definition*:—To be *anti-sectarian* is to oppose everything that causes schism in the body of Christ, or among those who are Christians,—those who have a righteous practice and Christian experience.

3.—In the election of future members of the Board, of a President and Professors, or the employment of Teachers, no sectarian test shall be applied; but it shall be required only that the candidate be competent to fill the office, and have Christian experience with a righteous practice. *Definition*:—By prohibiting the application of sectarian tests, we mean to say that in the selection of the members and officers named, we will give no weight in our decision, nor select in view of the fact, that the candidate is in favor of sprinkling or immersion; or demand that

he agree or disagree with us, in regard to other theological tenets on which Christians differ.

4.—Any Trustee who shall be guilty of a gross immorality, may be expelled from the Board by a vote of a majority of the Trustees.

5.—The Board of Trustees may appoint a Prudential Committee of five or more persons, who shall transact all business committed to them by the Trustees.

6.—The Trustees shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as they may designate.

7.—The officers of the Board shall be elected at the annual meeting, and hold their offices for one year, or until new ones are elected.

8.—A special meeting of the Board of Trustees may be called by a majority of the officers of the same, due notice being previously given to each member thereof.

9.—Any By-Law may be amended, or a new one added, at any annual meeting, by a vote of two-thirds of the Trustees, provided a written notice of the proposed amendment or addition shall have been sent to each Trustee, as much as three months previous to said meeting.

10.—A majority of the Trustees shall constitute a quorum.

Notes

1. The Witness to Impartial Love

1. Dale Brown, *Berea College: Spiritual and Intellectual Roots* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1982), 7–8.

2. John G. Fee, *Autobiography of John G. Fee* (Chicago: National Christian Association, 1891), 13–14.

3. Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 10–11.

4. Ibid., 10.

5. Ibid., 10–11.

6. Ibid., 11–12.

7. Robert Samuel Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College* (Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College Press, 1943), 1: 261.

8. Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 12, 14–15.

9. Elisabeth S. Peck, *Berea's First Century* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1955), 3. See also William Goodell's description of Fee in William Goodell to "Dear Father," September 14, 1850, in John G. Fee Papers, Record Group (hereafter RG) 1, Founders and Founding, Berea College Archives (hereafter BCA), Berea, Ky. (hereafter Fee Papers).

10. William Goodell to "Dear Father," September 14, 1850.

11. Peck, *First Century,* 4–5.

12. Ibid.; Richard B. Drake, *One Apostle Was a Lumberman: John G. Hanson and Berea's Founding Generation* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1975), 10–14; Jerome W. Hughes, *Six Berea College Presidents: Tradition and Progress* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1984), 5–6; Fee, *Autobiography,* 32–45, 88–93.

13. Fee, *Autobiography,* 95.

14. Ibid.

15. John G. Fee, "Introductory Address," in *Inauguration of Rev. E. H. Fairchild, President of Berea College, Kentucky* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing, 1870), 3, in Edward Henry Fairchild Papers, BCA (hereafter EHF Papers). See also Richard B. Drake, *One in Spirit: The Liberal Evangelical Witness of Union Church, Berea, Kentucky, 1853–2003* (Berea, Ky.: Church of Christ, Union, 2003), 10–11. Union Church is often referred to as the "mother" of Berea College.

16. Fee, "Introductory Address," 3.

17. John G. Fee, letter to the *American Missionary,* November 9, 1855, typescript in Fee Papers. See also Peck, *First Century,* 8–9.

18. John G. Fee to Gerrit Smith, January 4, 1856, Fee Papers.

19. John A. R. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College: A Story of Providence* (Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates, 1902), 47–53, 58–59; Fee, *Autobiography,* 132–33.

20. Fee, *Autobiography,* 136–42; Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 60–66.

21. Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 28–29.

22. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 109.

23. Ibid., 54.

24. John G. Hanson, "On Physical Culture: The Gymnasticon or Gymnasium," John G. Hanson Papers, RG 1, Founders and Founding, BCA. See also Drake, *One Apostle,* 46–47.

25. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 57.

26. Ibid.

27. Quoted in Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 23.

28. Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 27–29.

29. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 63.

30. Fee, "To the People of Lexington, Kentucky," October 16, 1869, Fee Papers. See also Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 29–30, and Richard D. Sears, *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality in Berea, 1866–1904* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 61–62.

31. Fee, *Autobiography,* 138.

32. Ibid., 139. Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 28–29. See also John G. Fee, *Sinfulness of Slaveholding* (New York: John A. Gray, 1851), 6–28.

33. Fee, *Autobiography,* 139. See also Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 29.

34. Fee, *Autobiography,* 140–41.

35. Ibid., 146–47.

36. Ibid., 147.

37. Ibid., 148–49; Peck, *First Century,* 14–20.

38. Quoted in Richard D. Sears, *"A Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man": John G. Fee and the Camp Nelson Experience* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1986), 28. See also Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 4–16.

39. Fee, *Autobiography,* 181.

40. Ibid., 182.

41. Sears, *"Practical Recognition,"* 31–38; Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 29–34.

42. The constitutional articles and bylaws were recorded at the county seat in Richmond, Kentucky, in Deed Book 15, p. 204. See also Constitution, RG 1, Founders and Founding, BCA.

43. J. A. R. Rogers, diary, March 5, 1866, J. A. R. Rogers Papers, RG 1, Founders and Founding, BCA. Also Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 40–41.

44. Ellen Wheeler to William G. Frost, March 26, 1912, William Goodell Frost Papers, RG 3.03, BCA (hereafter Frost Papers).

45. Report of W. W. Wheeler, March 31, 1866, Trustees

Records, RG 2, BCA (hereafter TR). Ellen Wheeler's role as the first teacher of African American students at Berea is noted in Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 87–88, and Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 35.

46. Angus A. Burleigh, *John G. Fee,* Angus A. Burleigh Papers, RG 8, BCA, pp. 9–12; Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 47–49; Peck, *First Century,* 41.

47. Sears, *"Practical Recognition,"* 47–49; Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 67–76, 80–82.

48. Quoted in Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 70.

49. John G. Fee, "Berea, Ky.," *American Missionary* 18 (August 1874): 178.

50. *First Catalogue of Officers and Students of Berea College for 1866–1867* (Cincinnati: Gazette Steam Printing, 1867), 2; Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 93–100; Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 51–57.

51. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 93.

52. Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 46; Peck, *First Century,* 24–25.

53. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 94; E. H. Fairchild, *Berea College: An Interesting History,* 2d ed. (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing, 1883), 55–56. Richard Sears, *Berea Connections* (n.p., 1996), an alphabetical listing of faculty, staff, and students from 1854 to 1900, contains a wealth of useful information related to ethnic, genealogical, and educational backgrounds of people connected to Berea College. The teachers listed by Rogers were compared and identified in Sears's work.

54. Church Minute Book, 1865–74, Union Church Records, Historical Collections, Berea College; Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 17. See also Drake, *One in Spirit,* 18–19, and Mace Crandall, *Chosen Jeopardy: A Survey of Issues in the History of Union Church, Berea, Kentucky* (n.p., 1978), 16–17.

55. Peck, *First Century,* 82–87.

56. Quoted in Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 90.

57. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 120.

58. Ibid., 101.

59. Shannon H. Wilson, "Window on the Mountains: Berea's Appalachia, 1870–1930," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 64 (July 1990): 386.

60. Fairchild, *Berea College,* 83–84.

61. Quoted in Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 107.

62. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 117. See also Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 55, and Peck, *First Century,* 26–29.

63. *First Catalogue,* 17.

64. *Laws and Regulations of Berea College* (1867), 8, Student Manuals, RG 12.15, BCA.

65. Ibid., 7–8; *First Catalogue,* 18.

66. Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 84–85.

67. Quoted ibid., 88.

68. Col. Benjamin P. Runkle, "Berea College, Ky.," *American Missionary* 13 (August 1869): 172.

69. Quoted in Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 68–69.

70. *First Catalogue,* 21.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., 23.

73. Brown, *Intellectual and Spiritual Roots,* 33.

2. Forecasting the Millennium

1. Elizabeth Rogers to William G. Frost, April 23, 1901, Frost Papers.

2. E. H. Fairchild, *Berea College,* 47.

3. J. H. Fairchild, *Oberlin: The Colony and the College, 1833–1883* (Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich, 1883), 75. See also Peck, *First Century,* 29–30, and Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 12.

4. E. H. Fairchild, *Berea College,* 47.

5. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," in *Inauguration of Rev. E. H. Fairchild,* 8.

6. Peck, *First Century,* 30. Hughes, *Six Berea College Presidents,* 11.

7. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 14.

8. Fee, "Introductory Address," 4.

9. See Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 158–61; *Historical Register of the Officers and Students of Berea College* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1916). The *Historical Register* documents the attendance and homes of Berea students in the college and allied schools, as well as the faculty, staff, and administrators at Berea. The later editions of the *Register* (1915 and 1916) do not include African American students who attended Berea but did not graduate, but the 1904 *Register* does.

10. Fee, "Introductory Address," 4.

11. Report of L. V. Dodge, 1879, TR.

12. Report of B. S. Hunting, June 25, 1879, TR.

13. Report of Lucia Darling, June 21, 1879, TR.

14. P. D. Dodge, Clerk of the Faculty, June 16, 1880, TR. See also W[illiam] Hart and C[harles] Lester, "Report of Committee on the doings and report of the Faculty," June 24, 1885, TR.

15. William E. Barton, diary, vol. 1, February 9, 1881 (2 vols.), William E. Barton Papers, RG 9, Faculty and Staff (hereafter F&S), BCA.

16. Marion Lucas, "Berea College in the 1870s and 1880s: Student Life at a Racially Integrated Kentucky College," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 98 (2000): 3. See also Faculty Record, vol. 1, September 28, 1874; January 14 and June 23, 1875; February 23, 1876; and May 29, 1878; College Faculty Records, RG 6.01, BCA (hereafter CFR).

17. Lucas, "Berea College," 4. Barton, diary, vol. 1, February 12, 1882; vol. 2, February 4, 1883; Faculty Record, vol. 1, April 26, 1882, CFR.

18. Lucas, "Berea College," 4. Faculty Record, vol. 2, June 6, 1883; December 10 and 31, 1884; February 11 and 18, 1885; and April 14, 1885, CFR.

19. Peck, *First Century,* 26; E. H. Fairchild, *Berea College,* 54–55.

20. Jacqueline Burnside, "Berea's First Generation of Black Women, 1866–1904," in *Women in Berea's History: A Symposium for Women's History Week* (n.p., 1985), 16. See also Richard Sears, "Berea's First Black Teacher," in Julia Britton Hooks file, RG 9, F&S.

21. Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 96.

22. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 13.

23. E. H. Fairchild, "Baccalaureate Sermon," June 12, 1881, 14, EHF Papers.

24. J. A. R. Rogers to Trustees, June 18, 1882, TR.

25. Fee, "Introductory Address," 7.

26. Ibid.

27. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 10–11. Fairchild's thoughts echoed those of an anonymous male student at Oberlin. "Brothers in the monastic Colleges we pity you," the student wrote in the *University Quarterly* in 1860. "Women are to be educated because we choose civilization rather than barbarism. . . . It is our happy experience [at Oberlin], of a quarter of a century's growth, that it is better for both sexes to travel together along the paths of science. . . . Separate from each other, the sexes cannot be educated in the best and highest sense." Quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College,* 1: 383–84.

28. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 9.

29. Peck, *First Century,* 83; *Catalogue of Berea College, 1872,* 14.

30. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 9.

31. Peck, *First Century,* 85; *Catalogue of Berea College, 1870,* 20–21.

32. *Catalogue of Berea College, 1880–1881,* 22; Peck, *First Century,* 85 (she notes a later date); Faculty Record, vol. 1, November 10 and December 1, 1880, CFR.

33. *Catalogue of Berea College, 1883–84,* 26.

34. *First Catalogue,* 25.

35. *Historical Register* (1916), 53–58, 79. Other professions represented among graduates included three lawyers, two journalists, six ministers, two farmers, two civil engineers, one salesman, one railroad agent, and one inventor.

36. "Danville Has Its Own Booker T. Washington," *Louisville Courier-Journal,* August 10, 1941, clipping in John Bate file, Deceased Alumni Files, RG 5.03, Alumni Association Records, BCA (hereafter DAF/AAR).

37. John Bate to Wilson Evans, January 16, 1941, DAF/AAR.

38. "Danville Has Its Own Booker T. Washington."

39. Ibid.; Bate to Evans, January 16, 1941.

40. Report of the President, July 1, 1878, TR.

41. W. E. C. Wright, Report of the Clerk of the Faculty, June 24, 1888, TR.

42. Report of L. V. Dodge, June 30, 1889, TR.

43. Wright, Report.

44. Fee, "Introductory Address," 4. Fee made it abundantly clear that at Berea College all types of learning should be available to "men of every clime under heaven."

45. Report of C. G. Fairchild, June 29, 1878, TR.

46. Rudolph, *American College,* 225–27.

47. Faculty to Board of Trustees, Petition of June 19, 1884, TR.

48. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 15.

49. Peck, *First Century,* 141.

50. Ibid., 142.

51. Report of the President, July 1, 1878.

52. Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 115.

53. Report of the President, July 1, 1878.

54. Peck, *First Century,* 34, 142.

55. Ibid., 143; Brown, *Spiritual and Intellectual Roots,* 14–15; Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 139–40.

56. E. H. Fairchild, *Berea College,* 55–56; *Historical Register* (1916), 23–26.

57. George Whipple to Fee, May 11, 1868, Fee Papers; Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 109–10.

58. Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 99–100.

59. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 15.

60. Ibid.

61. Lucas, "Berea College," 8.

62. Henry F. Clark, Report of the Faculty, June 30, 1874, TR; Faculty Record, vol. 1, February 12 and April 24, 1874, CFR.

63. Clark, Report of the Faculty.

64. Rudolph, *American College,* 137–44. At many colleges and emerging universities in the late nineteenth century, there was a preponderance of "college men," who measured their success through extracurricular activities, sports, and defiance of authority. This culture contrasted with that of the "outsiders" or "pious ones." These students saw college as a means of spiritual and intellectual betterment. This drive for academic or vocational success meant seeking approval and support from professors and administrators. See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Culture from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 13–15.

65. Burritt Fee to Coole Barbee, September 12, 1871, Fee Papers.

66. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 10–11.

67. *Laws and Regulations of Berea College, 1868,* 8, Student Manuals, RG 12.15, BCA. See also Regina Abrams and David Nelson, "President Fairchild and Berea College's Commitment to Women's Education," in *Women in Berea's History,* 11.

68. Faculty Record, vol. 1, October 10, 1869, CFR. See also *Laws and Regulations* (1873), 9, Student Manuals, BCA.

69. Quoted in Lucas, "Berea College," 13–14.

70. Lucas, "Berea College," 15.

71. Clark, Report of the Faculty.

72. Faculty Record, vol. 1, May 31, 1878, CFR.

73. Lucas, "Berea College," 8–9.

74. Faculty Record, vol. 1, April 20 and 23, 1872, CFR; Trustees Minutes, July 1, July 2, and July 3, 1872, TR. See Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 133, and Lucas, "Berea College," 9.

75. Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 134–35, 140–41.

76. J[ohn] T. Robinson to John G. Fee, October 29, 1877, Fee Papers.

77. John H. Jackson, President of the Alumni Association [to the Trustees], June 20, 1889, TR.

78. Quoted in Lucas, "Berea College," 9–10.

79. Ernest Dodge to William G. Frost, April 11, 1925, Frost Pa-

pers. See also Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 134–35; Lucas, "Berea College," 8–11; and Peck, *First Century,* 45–47.

80. James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 245.

81. Lucas, "Berea College," 9–12; E. H. Fairchild, *Berea College,* 38, 40.

82. Burritt Fee to Barbee, September 12, 1871.

83. Peck, *First Century,* 113.

84. Ibid.

85. E. H. Fairchild, *Berea College,* 69–70.

86. Ibid., 86.

87. E. H. Fairchild, "Inaugural Address," 16.

88. Fee, "Introductory Address," 3–4.

89. Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 134–36.

90. "Berea College" (circa 1869), Office of Information Records, RG 5.23, BCA (hereafter OIR).

91. Ibid.

92. Charles G. Fairchild, "Address of C. G. Fairchild," *American Missionary* 37 (December 1883): 393.

93. A. D. Mayo, "The Other Folk of Kentucky," in "Berea College: A Brief History of Its Origin and Progress" (1882), OIR. See also Shannon H. Wilson, "Lincoln's Sons and Daughters: Berea College, Lincoln Memorial University, and the Myth of Unionist Appalachia, 1866–1910," in *The Civil War in Appalachia: Collected Essays,* ed. Kenneth W. Noe and Shannon H. Wilson (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 242–64.

94. Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 61, 63. See also Peck, *First Century,* 31–32.

95. E. H. Fairchild, *Berea College,* 49–50; *Catalogue of Berea College, 1873–1874,* 25.

96. John G. Fee to Gerrit Smith, November 18, 1873, typescript in Fee Papers. See also Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 63–64.

97. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 168–70.

98. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 97.

99. John H. Jackson [to the Trustees], June 20, 1889, TR; Peck, *First Century,* 33–34.

100. Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 25, 1886, TR.

3. Working for God and Humanity

1. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 21–22. See also *Berea College Reporter,* October 1890.

2. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 22–23.

3. Faculty Record, vol. 2, November 21, 1887, and vol. 3, October 7, 1889, CFR; Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 21, 1889, TR.

4. Zack Spratt to Louis Smith, July 30, 1975, Zack Spratt Papers, RG 8, BCA (hereafter Spratt Papers).

5. Ibid.; see also Spratt to Louis Smith, November 8, 1976, Spratt Papers. Spratt attended Berea from 1892 to 1902, finishing in the Academy. Spratt was about ninety-two years old when he recorded his memories of Berea.

6. Faculty Record, vol. 2, May 13, 1889, CFR; Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 21, 1889.

7. Faculty Record, vol. 3, June 6, 1890, CFR; Trustees Minutes, June 19–20, 1890, TR. The minutes do not enumerate the voting for or against Stewart.

8. Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 19, 1890, TR.

9. William B. Stewart, "The Work and Claims of the Christian College: The Inaugural Discourse of President William B. Stewart, D.D.," 7, William B. Stewart Papers, RG 3.02, BCA.

10. *Catalogue of Berea College, 1890–91,* 27.

11. William B. Stewart, President's Report of 1890–91, TR; William B. Stewart, President's Report of 1891–92, in Trustees Record, vol. 1, September 8, 1892, TR.

12. *Berea College Reporter,* February 1891, 3. The *Berea College Reporter* began publication in 1885. Owned and printed by the college, the *Reporter* described college events, personalities, social and academic functions, as well as alumni news.

13. *Catalogue of Berea College, 1890–91,* 31.

14. Report of B. S. Hunting, Preparatory Department, June 19, 1891, TR.

15. Faculty Record, vol. 3, October 1, 1890, CFR; P. D. Dodge, Treasurer's Report, 1890, TR. Hampton Institute in Virginia and Tuskegee in Alabama emphasized "handwork," such as agriculture, woodworking, and sewing, for most of their students. See Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 161, 163–64, and Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978), 149, 168.

16. *Catalogue of Berea College, 1890–91,* 31.

17. "Industrial Education," *BC Reporter,* December 1890, 3.

18. P. D. Dodge, Treasurer's Report, 1890.

19. "Industrial Education."

20. P. D. Dodge, Treasurer's Report, 1891, TR.

21. Stewart, "Work and Claims," 6.

22. *Catalogue of Berea College, 1890–91,* 21–26.

23. Ibid., 19; *Catalogue of Berea College 1891–92,* 18. There were twenty-two students enrolled in the scientific course against nine in the classical in 1890–91; in 1891–92 twenty-three students enrolled in the scientific course, only eight in the classical course. No students are listed in the Ph.B. degree program during Stewart's administration.

24. Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 26, 1891, TR.

25. "Berea College, Kentucky, 1858–1891," OIR. Only two publicity circulars survive from Stewart's administration.

26. John G. Fee, "To the Friends of Berea College," *BC Reporter,* July 1890, 4.

27. Stewart, "Work and Claims," 13.

28. "The Work of the Year," *BC Reporter,* June 1891, 4; Stewart, President's Report of 1890–91.

29. "Public Lectures and Entertainments," *BC Reporter,* February 1891, 3.

30. "Lectures and Entertainments," *BC Reporter,* June 1891, 3; Faculty Record, vol. 3, April 20, 1891, CFR.

31. Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 21, 1889; Petition of June 20, 1889, TR.

32. "The Spirit of Caste," *BC Reporter,* February 1892, 2.

33. James Bond, "Autobiography," in *The Horace Mann Bond Papers* (microfilm), ed. John H. Bracey Jr., Black Studies Research Sources (Bethesda, Md.: University Publications of America, 1989), reel 3, frame 495–96.

34. James Bond, "Autobiography," reel 3, frame 476.

35. "Students Column," *BC Reporter,* April 1892, 3.

36. Bond, "Autobiography," reel 3, frame 498.

37. Ibid.

38. Stewart, "Work and Claims," 11.

39. Stewart, President's Report of 1890–91.

40. Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 26, 1891.

41. P. D. Dodge, Treasurer's Report, 1890.

42. See Fee's pamphlet "Why I Cannot Sprinkle" (1879). Other writings include "Christian Baptism: Action and Subject" (n.d.); "Subjects of Baptism" (n.d.); "What Is Christian Baptism?" (1891); "Baptism and Church Membership" (1895); and "Conditions of Membership in the Church of Christ" (1899); all in Fee Papers.

43. Fee, *Autobiography,* 185.

44. Ibid., 188.

45. Ibid., 189.

46. "To the Friends of Berea College," November 14, 1891, Stewart Papers.

47. Peck, *First Century,* 143.

48. F. C. Sessions to Stewart, November 30, 1891, Stewart Papers.

49. "Berea College, Kentucky, A Statement and an Appeal," Stewart Papers.

50. "Berea College Unsectarian," *BC Reporter,* December 1891, 2.

51. E. P. Fairchild, "Private," n.d., Stewart Papers.

52. E. P. Fairchild to A. L. Barber, February 16, 1892, Stewart Papers.

53. E. P. Fairchild to William G. Frost, February 16, 1892, copied into Eleanor Frost's letter to William G. Frost, March 3, 1892, Frost Papers. Eleanor Frost referred to Fairchild's letter and Berea's situation as "the cry of a drowning man." Eleanor Marsh Frost was the second wife of William G. Frost, whose first wife, Louise, died in 1890.

54. "Resolution of February 3, 1892," Stewart Papers.

55. Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 25 and June 27, 1892, TR.

56. Trustees Record, vol. 1, June 27, 1892.

57. "The Trustee Meeting," *BC Reporter,* June 1892, 4–5.

58. Stewart, President's Report of 1891–92; Trustees Record, vol. 1, September 8, 1892, TR.

59. Peck, *First Century,* 47. See, however, Bill Best, "Berea's Immersed President," which seeks to portray Stewart as a capable leader betrayed by others, in Stewart Papers.

60. J. A. R. Rogers to the Board of Trustees of Berea College, June 20, 1891, TR.

61. Wilson, "Lincoln's Sons and Daughters," 258–59. Frost denounced E. P. Fairchild for diverting funds and alienating donors from Berea, "causing more harm to us [Berea] than good to you [Lincoln Memorial University]." Frost to O. O. Howard, May 5, 1900, Frost Papers.

62. "Historical Sketch," in *Historical Register* (1916), 17.

63. William G. Frost, *For the Mountains: An Autobiography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1937), 67. In a letter to E. P. Fairchild, Lucien Warner congratulated Fairchild "for the successful termination of this trouble, and with my personal thanks to you for the laborious and self-denying part you have taken in the matter." Lucien Warner to E. P. Fairchild, July 8, 1892, Stewart Papers.

64. W. E. C. Wright to William G. Frost, June 20, 1905, Frost Papers.

65. Peck, *First Century,* 47, 143, 195.

66. Best, "Immersed President," and Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 20–27.

67. Prudential Committee minutes have been kept since 1858, but the minutes for 1886–1908 have vanished. William Barton reminded Frost of how he was elected during the stormy June trustees' meeting, noting that several pages were missing from the Trustees Minute Book. Barton to Frost, June 7, 1919, Frost Papers.

68. Stewart, President's Report of 1891–92; Trustees Record, vol. 1, September 8, 1892, TR.

4. The Telescope and the Spade

1. Frost, *For the Mountains,* 21, 24–28, 31–37; Maria G. Frost, "Ten Reasons Why Women Should Vote," William Goodell Papers, Historical Collections, Berea College. Biographical information, diaries, and some correspondence regarding Lavinia Goodell also reside in the William Goodell Papers.

2. Frost, *For the Mountains,* 39–40, 43–44. Frost's *Greek Lessons* was adopted for use by Berea's faculty in 1892. College Faculty Minutes, May 2, 1892, CFR.

3. Frost, *For the Mountains,* 40, 49–50.

4. Eleanor Marsh Frost to William G. Frost, March 3, 1892, Frost Papers.

5. Frost, *For the Mountains,* 50–52, 87, 119, 128, 285.

6. Ibid., 44–52; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 29; *BC Reporter,* November 1892, 2.

7. Several important works discuss the changing (and sometimes unchanging) perceptions of southern mountaineers; these include Dwight B. Billings, Gurney Norman, and Katherine Ledford, eds., *Confronting Appalachian Stereotypes: Back Talk from an American Region* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999); Allen Batteau, *The Invention of Appalachia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990); Rodger Cunningham, *Apples on the Flood: The Southern Mountain Experience* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); Henry Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870–1920* (Chapel Hill: University

of North Carolina Press, 1978); and Cratis Williams, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1961). Among many helpful articles are James C. Klotter, "The Black South and White Appalachia," *Journal of American History* 66 (1980): 832–49; Henry Shapiro, "Appalachia and the Idea of America: The Problem of the Persisting Frontier," in *An Appalachian Symposium: Essays Written in Honor of Cratis Williams* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian State University Press, 1977), 43–55; Laurence S. Thompson, "Fiction and the Popular Image of Appalachia," *Appalachian Notes* 4 (1976): 33–37; and Wilson, "Window on the Mountains," 384–400.

8. Frost to "Dear Brethren," July 16, 1892, Frost Papers; Wilson, "Window on the Mountains," 387–89.

9. William G. Frost, "West Virginia in 1884," Frost diary, 13, Frost Papers.

10. Frost, *For the Mountains,* 84.

11. William G. Frost, "Berea College," *Berea Quarterly* 1 (May 1895): 22–23.

12. Ibid., 25.

13. W. G. Frost, "New England in Kentucky," *Advance,* June 6, 1895, 1285. For further discussion of the Anglo-Saxon myth and its influence at Berea, see Lee Krehbiel, "From Race to Region: Shifting Priorities at Berea College under President William Goodell Frost, 1892–1912" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1997), 279–92.

14. Frost, "Berea College," 24.

15. William G. Frost, "University Extension in the Southern Mountains," *Outlook,* September 28, 1898; reprint in Frost Papers.

16. Quoted in Jacqueline G. Burnside, "Suspicion versus Faith: Negro Criticisms of Berea College in the Nineteenth Century," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83 (1985): 247–48.

17. Ibid., 251–54. Robinson took particular exception to Frost's proposal of matching Berea's enrollment to Kentucky's population ratio of six whites to one black.

18. W. G. Frost, "Our Southern Highlanders," *Independent* 72 (April 4, 1912): 714.

19. Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 143–44.

20. Frost to "Dear Brethren," July 16, 1892.

21. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 31–32; Peck, *First Century,* 49–51.

22. *Journal of the Kentucky House of Representatives* (hereafter *JKHR*), February 18, 1904, 523–25. See also "Hostile Legislation," *Berea Quarterly* 8 (1904): 12–29; "Berea and the Negro," *Berea Quarterly* 9 (1904): 16–25; and "Separate Provision for Colored Students," *Berea Quarterly* 10 (1906): 26–27.

23. *JKHR,* February 18, 1904, 525.

24. "A Remonstrance," January 30, 1904, Day Law files, Frost Papers; Jacqueline G. Burnside, "Philanthropists and Politicians: A Sociological Profile of Berea College, 1855–1908" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1988), 205–6.

25. William G. Frost, "To the Educational Committee of the Kentucky Senate," 4, Day Law files, Frost Papers. See also Burnside, "Philanthropists and Politicians," 142–70.

26. William G. Frost, President's Report, 1894, 7, Frost Papers; Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 124–25.

27. *Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky, Supreme Court of the United States, Brief for the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (1906), 56–57; Peck, *First Century,* 52–53; Burnside, "Philanthropists and Politicians," 251–55. See also Richard Allen Heckman and Betty Jean Hall, "Berea College and the Day Law," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 66 (1968): 46–48.

28. *Berea v. Kentucky,* Justice Harlan dissenting, 7–8; *Berea v. Kentucky,* Justice Brewer's opinion, 4–5.

29. Quoted in Marion Lucas and George C. Wright, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: In Pursuit of Equality, 1890–1980* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992), 2: 145.

30. J. R. Rogers to W. G. Frost, March 2, 1904, Frost Papers.

31. William G. Frost to William E. Barton, September 23, 1901; William G. Frost to Newell Dwight Hollis, October 12, 1901, Frost Papers.

32. A. D. Mayo to W. G. Frost, March 7, 1904, Frost Papers; A. D. Mayo, "Report on Educational Quality: Notes on the Situation at Berea," RG 13.07, Blacks, BCA; Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 127–28. Mayo often visited Berea as a guest lecturer in the Normal School.

33. William E. Barton to W. G. Frost, June 18, 1904, Frost Papers; Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 128–29.

34. Quoted in Peck, *First Century,* 53–54; Trustees Minutes, October 21, 1904, and June 7, 1905, TR.

35. Peck, *First Century,* 54–55; Burnside, "Philanthropists and Politicians," 255–56; Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 147–48.

36. Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 147–48; Burnside, "Philanthropists and Politicians," 256; Peck, *First Century,* 55–56.

37. George C. Wright, "The Founding of Lincoln Institute," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 49 (1975): 60–61; Burnside, "Philanthropists and Politicians," 257–61; Frost, *For the Mountains,* 182–83.

38. Wright, "Lincoln Institute," 62–64; Peck, *First Century,* 56–57; Frost, *For the Mountains,* 183–84; Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 153–54; "Holland Bill Annulled," *Berea Quarterly* 14 (1910): 7–8.

39. Wright, "Lincoln Institute," 68–69; Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 153–54; Peck, *First Century,* 56–57.

40. Frost, *For the Mountains,* 173–85; Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 156–60.

41. William G. Frost, "Inaugural Address," *BC Reporter,* June 1893, Frost Papers.

42. Ibid.

43. "Joint Resolutions of Trustees and Faculty on the Accession of W. G. Frost to the Presidency," Trustees Minutes, September 7, 1892, TR.

44. Frost, "Inaugural Address."

45. Peck, *First Century,* 87–95; Krehbiel, "Race to Region,"

344–45. The Foundation School was divided into two sections, one with courses for students over age fifteen and the Training School for students under fifteen.

46. Faculty Record, vol. 3, October 9, 1893, CFR; Peck, *First Century,* 168.

47. Faculty Record, vol. 3, October 9, 1893.

48. William G. Frost, President's Report, 1897, Frost Papers.

49. Extension Report, 1905, Frost Papers.

50. C. Rexford Raymond, Annual Report, 1900–1901, Frost Papers.

51. William G. Frost, President's Report, 1902, Frost Papers.

52. Peck, *First Century,* 75–79; Frost, *For the Mountains,* 285; Deborah L. Blackwell, "Eleanor Marsh Frost and the Gender Dimensions of Appalachian Reform Efforts," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 94 (1996): 230, 239.

53. Eleanor Frost, diary, July 17, 1914, Frost Papers.

54. Ibid., July 25, 1914; Blackwell, "Eleanor Frost," 241–42.

55. Eleanor Frost, diary, July 7, 1914.

56. Blackwell, "Eleanor Frost," 242–43; Peck, *First Century,* 78–79.

57. Eleanor Frost, "Report of Mountain Trip, 1914," 12–13, Frost Papers; Blackwell, "Eleanor Frost," 244–45.

58. Eleanor Frost, "Religion in the Mountains," 1914, Frost Papers.

59. Eleanor Frost to William G. Frost, July 31, 1914, Frost Papers.

60. W. G. Frost to "Dear Brethren," July 6, 1892, Frost Papers.

61. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 34; Frost, *For the Mountains,* 253–57.

62. "Resolutions of Sept. 1892," TR.

63. Peck, *First Century,* 88–89.

64. William G. Frost, "Farewell Report on Berea College, 1892–1920," 30–32, Frost Papers. See Richard B. Drake, *A History of Appalachia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 131–38.

65. William G. Frost, President's Report, June 1920, 5, Frost Papers.

66. Ibid., 4. See also William G. Frost, President's Report, March 1920; William G. Frost, "Welcome and God-Speed," in "Addresses of William Goodell Frost and William J. Hutchins," William J. Hutchins Inaugural, 8, Frost Papers.

67. William G. Frost, "Twenty-eight Years at Berea" (1920), OIR.

68. Frost, "Welcome and God-Speed," 6–7.

69. C. Rexford Raymond, Annual Report, 1896, Frost Papers.

70. Wilson, "Window on the Mountains," 389–90; Burnside, "Philanthropists and Politicians," 121–22.

71. "Crossing the Lines of War," *Berea Quarterly* 1 (February 1896): 20.

72. "Lincoln's Kin and Ours," *Berea Quarterly* 19 (April 1916): back cover.

73. "Address of President Frost," *Berea Quarterly* 15 (April 1911): 20.

74. "Sergeant York Is the Berea Kind" (1919), OIR.

75. Krehbiel, "Race to Region," 364–65.

76. John G. Fee, "A Word to the Convocation," n.d., Fee Papers.

77. Rogers, *Birth of Berea College,* 136–37.

78. Peck, *First Century,* 56; Burnside, "Philanthropists and Politicians," 268–69; Malcolm Warford, "Piety, Politics, and Pedagogy: An Evangelical Protestant Tradition in Higher Education at Lane, Oberlin, and Berea, 1834–1904" (Ed.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973), 209; Paul David Nelson, "Experiment in Interracial Education at Berea College, 1858–1908," *Journal of Negro History* 59 (1974): 25–27; Sears, *Utopian Experiment,* 147–49; Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind,* 123–26; Blackwell, "Eleanor Frost," 233.

5. Bristling with History

1. "Biographical Sketch," William J. Hutchins Papers, RG 3.04, BCA (hereafter WJH Papers).

2. Robert Maynard Hutchins, "Your Guest of Honor" in *Significant Addresses Delivered in Connection with Retirement of William J. Hutchins as President of Berea College* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1939), 22.

3. "Biographical Sketch"; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 42.

4. William G. Frost to William J. Hutchins, March 9, 1920, WJH Papers.

5. William J. Hutchins to R. G. Hutchins, March 12, 1920, WJH Papers.

6. William J. Hutchins to William E. Barton, March 27, 1920, WJH Papers.

7. William J. Hutchins to William E. Barton, April 13, 1920, WJH Papers.

8. R. G. Hutchins to William J. Hutchins, March 9, 1920, WJH Papers.

9. W. G. Frost to William J. Hutchins, April 6, 1920, WJH Papers.

10. William J. Hutchins, "Induction Address," June 9, 1920, WJH Papers.

11. William J. Hutchins to Francis Hutchins, July 4, 1920, Francis S. Hutchins Papers, RG 3.05, BCA (hereafter FSH Papers).

12. Registrar's Report, June 6, 1920, 4, Frost Papers, BCA.

13. William J. Hutchins to "My Dear Boys," July 22, 1920, FSH Papers.

14. William J. Hutchins to "My Dear Boys," August 8, 1920, FSH Papers.

15. Ibid.

16. William J. Hutchins to "My Dear Boys," October 3, 1920, FSH Papers.

17. William J. Hutchins, "The Changeless Task in Times of Change," Inaugural Address, 20, WJH Papers.

18. Ibid.

19. Rudolph, *American College and University,* 334–35; Frost, "Welcome and God-Speed," 8.

20. Frost, "Preliminary Report, June 1911," Frost Papers.
21. Registrar's Report, June 6, 1920, 5, Frost Papers.
22. Peck, *First Century,* 98; Gerald E. Wood, "Organizational and Cultural Leadership at Berea College: An Historical Inquiry into Saga Development and Underlying Cultural Assumptions" (Ph.D. diss., West Virginia University, 1998), 123–24.
23. Rudolph, *American College and University,* 283–85.
24. John C. Campbell, *The Future of the Church and Independent Schools in Our Southern Highlands* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917), 7; Peck, *First Century,* 99.
25. Frost, Annual Report, 1893, Frost Papers.
26. Peck, *First Century,* 95–96.
27. Ibid., 96–97; Wood, "Organizational Culture," 135–36.
28. W. G. Frost to William J. Hutchins, May 20, 1920, WJH Papers.
29. William J. Hutchins, Annual Report, June 1925, WJH Papers.
30. J. R. Rogers to William J. Hutchins, October 23, 1927, WJH Papers. See also Wood, "Organizational Culture," 116–17, and Frost, *For the Mountains,* 253–54.
31. William J. Hutchins, Trustees Report, c. 1924, WJH Papers.
32. Peck, *First Century,* 96–98.
33. Rudolph, *American College and University,* 480.
34. Wood, "Organizational Culture," 141–42.
35. Ibid., 142; William J. Hutchins, "Foundation/Junior High Reorganization," 7–8, Charles N. Shutt Papers, RG 4, Deans & Vice-Presidents, BCA.
36. Hutchins, "Foundation/Junior High," 10–12.
37. Ibid., 12–14.
38. Wood, "Organizational Culture," 144; Rudolph, *American College and University,* 351.
39. Hutchins, "Foundation/Junior High," 16–18; Wood, "Organizational Culture," 145.
40. Hutchins, "Foundation/Junior High," 22–23.
41. Ibid., 19–20; "Statement of William J. Hutchins, 1935," Shutt Papers.
42. Wood, "Organizational Culture," 152–53.
43. Letter, Heads of Departments to William J. Hutchins, April 29, 1937, Shutt Papers.
44. William J. Hutchins, "Possible Address to Teachers Gathered at the President's House," May 13, 1937, Shutt Papers.
45. Miles Marsh to William J. Hutchins, March 1937, Shutt Papers.
46. Form letters, 1921, WJH Papers.
47. Ibid. See also Wilson, "Window on the Mountains," 397.
48. Quoted in Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 43.
49. "From Cabin to College and Back Home Again" (1929), OIR.
50. Form letters, October 1924, WJH Papers.
51. "Vincit Qui Patitur, 1855–1930," 20–22, 24–26, 27–29, 30–33, 35–36, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Pageant, RG 11, Programs, Conferences, Awards, BCA.
52. Ibid., 18, 25, 26, 28, 38.
53. Peck, *First Century,* 58–59.
54. Ibid., 59–60.
55. Form letters, December 30, 1933; April 9, 1932; January 12, 1934; WJH Papers.
56. Frost, *For the Mountains,* 337.
57. William J. Hutchins to Mrs. Hills, October 31, 1938, WJH Papers.
58. Eleanor Frost to William J. Hutchins, September 30[?], 1938, WJH Papers.
59. "The Draper Memorial," RG 5.39, Buildings & Grounds Records, BCA (hereafter B&G).
60. "Danforth Chapel," B&G.
61. Peck, *First Century,* 98.
62. R. M. Hutchins, "Your Guest of Honor," 24.
63. William J. Hutchins, "Handling Life," in *"I Never Lose Heart": Baccalaureate Addresses, 1921–1939* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1956), 57.

6. More Than an Ordinary College

1. Francis S. Hutchins, oral history interview, June 9, 1981, 10–12, FSH Papers; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 51.
2. Hutchins interview, 14.
3. Ibid., 15–17.
4. Ibid., 19–20; Palmer Bevis to Robert Hutchins, March 11, 1927, FSH Papers.
5. Quoted in Reuben Holden, *Yale-in-China: The Mainland, 1901–1951* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale-in-China Association, 1964), 163.
6. "Louise Frances (Gilman) Hutchins," in *The Kentucky Encyclopedia,* ed. John E. Kleber (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 448–49.
7. Hutchins interview, 21–22; Holden, *Yale-in-China,* 234–37.
8. Francis Hutchins to Father and Mother, December 10, 1938; Francis Hutchins to Father and Mother, January 21, 1939, FSH Papers. See also Holden, *Yale-in-China,* 239–40, and Hutchins interview, 22–23,.
9. Trustees Minutes, March 18, 1938, TR; Albert Buckner Coe to William J. Hutchins, February 16, 1939, and William J. Hutchins to Seth Low Pierrepont, February 21, 1939, FSH Papers.
10. Seth Low Pierrepont to Francis Hutchins, April 9, 1939, FSH Papers.
11. Francis Hutchins to William J. Hutchins, April 12[?], 1939, FSH Papers.
12. Seth Low Pierrepont to Francis Hutchins, April 20, 1939, FSH Papers.
13. William J. Hutchins to Francis Hutchins, April 3, 1939, and Francis Hutchins to Seth Low Pierrepont, April 25, 1939, FSH Papers. See also Hutchins interview, 23–24.

14. William J. Hutchins to Miss Pratt, June 28, 1939, FSH Papers.

15. "Summary of Statement Made by W. J. Hutchins to the Called Meeting of the Trustees," May 5, 1939, FSH Papers.

16. Francis Hutchins to Father and Mother, April 24, 1939, FSH Papers.

17. Francis S. Hutchins, interview, June 10, 1981, 27–30, FSH Papers.

18. Francis S. Hutchins, "Inaugural Address," 5–6, 7–8, FSH Papers.

19. Francis S. Hutchins, "War's Demands," December 12, 1941, 5–8, FSH Papers.

20. Ibid., 8; Francis Hutchins to William J. Hutchins, January 18, 1942, FSH Papers; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 53.

21. Francis Hutchins to Father and Mother, April 5, 1943, FSH Papers.

22. James G. Schneider, *The Navy V-12 Program: Leadership for a Lifetime* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), xi–xii, 2–6, 58–59.

23. Francis S. Hutchins, interview, June 11, 1981, 54–56, FSH Papers; Francis S. Hutchins and John Kessler, oral history interview, June 1986, 3–4, RG 9, Faculty/Staff Oral History Collection, BCA.

24. Hutchins interview, June 11, 1981, 56–58; Hutchins-Kessler interview, 6–7.

25. "Red" Clements to Louis Smith, November 1944, RG 11, Navy V-12 Records, BCA. See also Schneider, *Navy V-12,* 481; Hutchins interview, June 11, 1981, 56–58; Hutchins-Kessler interview, 6–7. V-12 reunions are a regular and enthusiastically awaited campus event.

26. "Two Hawaiians Enroll at Berea," *Berea Citizen,* January 8, 1942, 1; Hutchins interview, June 11, 1981, 60.

27. Francis Hutchins to Mother and Father, April 5, 1943, FSH Papers.

28. "A Resolution," *Berea Citizen,* November 18, 1943, 5.

29. "Would Segregation Solve the Problem?" and "Believes There Are Loyal Japanese," *Berea Citizen,* November 25, 1943, 4.

30. "The 'YW' Believers in Tolerance," *Berea Citizen,* December 2, 1943, 4; "Japanese-American Students Relate Experiences in Relocation Centers," *Wallpaper,* November 22, 1943; "Tide of Feeling against Jap-Americans Sows Seeds for Trouble," *Wallpaper,* January 3, 1944, BCA.

31. Peck, *First Century,* 101–2; Hutchins interview, June 10, 1981, 34–38; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 53–54.

32. Francis Hutchins to Father and Mother, April 3, 1943; Peck, *First Century,* 101.

33. Peck, *First Century,* 100–101; Francis Hutchins to William J. Hutchins, May 2, 1944, FSH Papers; "Present Plan: Advantages/Disadvantages," Reorganization files, FSH Papers.

34. Francis Hutchins to Father and Mother, April 5, 1945, FSH Papers.

35. *General Catalog, Berea College, 1947–48,* 25–26; Elisabeth S. Peck and Emily Ann Smith, *Berea's First 125 Years, 1855–1980* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), 101–2; 197–98.

36. *General Catalog, 1947–48,* 30–36; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 199–200. In 1956 Berea established a four-year B.S. degree in Nursing, and in 1958 a B.S. degree in Industrial Arts.

37. Francis Hutchins, *Berea College: The Telescope and the Spade* (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1963), 15; Hutchins interview, June 10, 1981, 36–40.

38. Francis S. Hutchins, interview, June 12, 1981, 84–85, FSH Papers; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 59–60; Edwin Embree to Francis Hutchins, July 19, 1946, FSH Papers; Francis Hutchins to Father and Mother, March 21, 1949, FSH Papers. See also "Citizen's Committee Issues Policy Statement," *Wallpaper,* May 7, 1949; Irvine Dungan to Department Chairs, March 2, 1948, and Louis Smith to Dungan, March 5, 1948, Citizen Committee (Race Relations), RG 7, Student Organizations, BCA.

39. Quoted in Hutchins interview, June 12, 1981, 86; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 60.

40. Trustees Minutes, April 14, 1950, 14; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 60–61; Francis Hutchins to W. Owen Keller, March 31, 1950, FSH Papers.

41. Ed Ford, "A Long Look Back: Jessie Zander Helped Berea Resume Interracial Education in 1950s," *Berea Alumnus* 55 (1984): 6–8; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 61, 194–95; Louis Smith, "Berea College Will Enroll Negro Students from the Southern Mountain Region," *Mountain Life and Work* 26 (1950): 23.

42. Ann Mary Quarandillo, "They Closed Our Schools," *Berea College Magazine* 74 (2004): 13–17. See also Bob Smith, *They Closed Their Schools: Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1951–1964* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 253–54, and John Egerton, "A Gentlemen's Fight in Prince Edward County, Virginia," in *Shades of Gray: Dispatches from the Modern South,* ed. John Egerton (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 105–30.

43. Francis Hutchins to Kyoko Ando, August 11, 1964, FSH Papers. This letter is typical of Hutchins's responses to inquiries and protests regarding Berea's decision. See also Trustees Minutes, April 24, 1964, TR.

44. Kenneth H. Thompson to Danny Daniel, March 12, 1965, Committee for the March on Montgomery, RG 10, Committees, Projects, Reports, BCA. See also "Student Senate Votes against Endorsement of March," *Pinnacle,* March 20, 1965, 1, 4.

45. "100 Bereans March on Hutchins Home," *Pinnacle,* March 20, 1965, 1, 4.

46. Richard B. Drake, "Berea and the Second Reconstruction," *Berea Alumnus* 35 (1967): 9.

47. Bob Barrier and Roy Birchard, "Is Berea Really Obligated to Be a Marching College?" *Pinnacle,* April 3, 1965, 3, and April 10, 1965, 2.

48. Hutchins, *Telescope and the Spade,* 17–18, 21.

49. "Berea College, Berea, Kentucky" (c. 1945); "Fair Samples" (1946); and "Berea College: A Program for the Future" (1962), OIR.

50. Loyal Jones, "The Surveys of the Appalachian Region," *Appalachian Heritage* 4 (1976): 36–42. See Thomas R. Ford, *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1962), and Earl D. C. Brewer and Willis D. Weatherford, *Life and Religion in Southern Appalachia* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962).

51. "Invest in Young Men and Women" (1962), OIR. Berea's no-tuition policy continues today for all students; it is based on academic ability and financial need.

52. Francis Hutchins, President's Report for 1954–1957, 3, RG 12.20, President's Annual Reports; Robert M. Hutchins, "Commencement Address, June 6, 1955," typescript in Centennial Commencement, RG 11, Programs, Conferences, Awards, BCA.

53. Paul Green, *Wilderness Road: An Outdoor Symphonic Drama* (New York: Samuel French, 1956), 6.

54. Peck, *First Century,* xv–xvi.

55. Hutchins, *Telescope and the Spade,* 15.

56. Francis Hutchins, "What Is a Berean?" Baccalaureate Address, June 1, 1947, FSH Papers.

57. Trustees Minutes, October 22, 1965, TR; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 60; Francis Hutchins, "1939–1967: Years of Growth at Berea College," FSH Papers; Francis Hutchins to Father and Mother, April 24, 1939, FSH Papers.

7. A College of History and Destiny

1. Willis D. Weatherford Jr., "Inaugural Address," *Berea Alumnus* 8 (1967): 14.

2. Ibid., 15.

3. Wilma Dykeman, *Prophet of Plenty: The First Ninety Years of W. D. Weatherford* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1966), 59–61, 83–92. See also John Egerton, *Speak Now against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 44–48, 74, 77, 122–23, 130, 159, 175, 426.

4. Quoted in Dykeman, *Prophet of Plenty,* 60.

5. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 64; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 229–30.

6. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 64; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 229–30; Donald Danforth, "Welcome to Delegates and Guests," *Berea Alumnus* 8 (1967): 8.

7. Weatherford, "Inaugural Address," 14.

8. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 66; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 202.

9. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 66; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 202–3.

10. Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 66.

11. Willis D. Weatherford Jr., "The Meaning of Berea's Goals for Today's Students," September 15, 1967, 1–2, Willis D. Weatherford Papers, RG 3.07, BCA; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 67–68; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 195.

12. "Two Men Killed Sunday during Interracial Gunfight," *Berea Citizen,* September 5, 1968, 1; "Berea Gunfire Shatters Century of Racial Quiet," *Louisville Courier-Journal,* September 3, 1968; "Berea Learns It Could Happen There," *Louisville Courier-Journal,* September 4, 1968; clippings in National States Rights Party (NSRP) file, City Vertical File (CVF), Berea College.

13. "Citizens Fight Racism," *Mountain Life and Work* 44 (1968): 20; "Berea Council, Citizens Seeking to Allay Unrest," *Louisville Courier-Journal,* September 3, 1968; "Victim of Berea Gun Battle Buried," *Louisville Courier-Journal,* September 4, 1968; "Negro Gunfight Victim Is Buried under Guard," *Louisville Courier-Journal,* September 5, 1968; all in NSRP file, CVF.

14. "Berea President's Office Is Occupied," *Louisville Courier-Journal,* March 3, 1970; "Grand Jury Clears Berea Student," *Louisville Courier-Journal,* March 7, 1970; "Statement to Berea Students and Faculty," March 3, 1970; clippings in Blacks at Berea College file, RG 13.07, Berea College Vertical File (BCVF), BCA.

15. "Berea College: Troubled Monument to Equality," *Knoxville News-Sentinel,* February 13, 1972, 8:1; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 67–68; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 195–96; "Operation Zebra: Legitimate Concern," *Pinnacle,* January 22, 1972, 1; "Racial Tensions on the Campus," January 19, 1972, Blacks at Berea College, RG 13.07, BCVF.

16. Edsel Massey, "The Black Student Union at Berea—Purpose," *Berea Alumnus* 41 (1970): 8.

17. "Berea College: The Weatherford Years, 1967–1984," 17, OIR; Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 196; Hughes, *Six Berea Presidents,* 68.

18. "Weatherford Years," 11; Trustees Minutes, January 23, 1976, 4, and April 28, 1979, 3, TR.

19. Trustees Minutes, October 27, 1979, 5–6; January 26, 1980, 1–2; April 25, 1981, 2–3; Report of the President, January 1980, 4, TR. In 1980, for example, Berea applicants had to finish in the top half of their graduating classes and maintain a minimum C average in all subjects. Financial qualifications ranged from an annual income of no more than $18,500 for a family of three to $31,000 for a family of ten. Admissions preference was designed to aid families who could not afford a college education for their children without assistance.

20. "Weatherford Years," 22–24.

21. Ibid., 21–23.

22. "The Sound of Old-Time Music," *Appalachian Center Newsletter* 3 (1974): 1, 3; "Appalachian Studies," *Appalachian Center Newsletter* 7 (1978): 1–2; "Weatherford Years," 23–24.

23. "Berea College Great Commitments Program, 1970–1975," 4, OIR.

24. Louis Smith, "The Great Commitments of Berea College," 1, OIR.

25. Clayton R. Sutton, "Back in the Hills," *National Observer,* May 4, 1970, 10; "Berea College and Its Students," OIR.

26. General Faculty Minutes, April 21, 1969, and September 8, 1969, General Faculty Records (GFR), RG 5.01, BCA. See also *Berea College Self-Study Report, 1983–1984* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1984), 15.

27. "Weatherford Years," 4, 14–16; "Helping Those in Need," OIR. See also Drake, *One in Spirit,* 89–92. In 2003 Union Church

celebrated its own sesquicentennial (1853–2003), with descendants of the Fee family in attendance. Union Church and Berea College still act cooperatively in maintaining Berea's Christian commitment.

28. "Weatherford Years," 4–5.

8. New Magic in a Dusty World

1. "Homecoming Marks Continuation," *Berea Alumnus* 55 (1985): 18.

2. Quoted in Thomas R. Ford, ed., *John B. Stephenson: Appalachian Humanist* (Ashland, Ky.: Jesse Stuart Foundation, 2001), 22.

3. Ibid. See also "First Lady Is Her Own Person," *Berea Alumnus* 55 (1985): 10.

4. "It's President Stephenson," *Berea Alumnus* 54 (1984): 3–4.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., 4.

7. Stephenson's "Despatches from Appalachia" included "Monday in Grundy" (September 27, 1987); "The Invasion of the Leafpeepers" (November 1987); "Where Virginia Begins" (February 1988); "In West Virginia: From Country Roads to Interstates" (March 1988); "If You Can't Run with the Big Dogs, Go Lie on the Porch" (July 1988); "What to Do When the World (of Coal) Ends: Looking Ahead to the Possible in Martin County, Kentucky" (February 21–22, 1989); all in John B. Stephenson Papers, RG 3.07, BCA (hereafter JBS Papers).

8. "First Lady," 10–11; "Jane Stephenson and the New Opportunity School for Women," *Madison Today* 2 (1992): 8–10; New Opportunity School for Women Annual Report, 1993, New Opportunity School Records, RG 10, BCA.

9. "A Season of Growth for Brushy Fork Institute," *Mountain Promise* 1 (1990): 1, Brushy Fork Institute files, RG 11, BCA.

10. "Carter G. Woodson Summer Institute," Black Mountain Youth Leadership Program files, RG 11, BCA.

11. Michael P. VanBuren, "Community Can-Do," *International Journal of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation* 2 (1991): 14, 17.

12. For examples, see College Faculty Minutes, September 11, 1991, and November 14, 1991, CFR.

13. John Stephenson, "Invasion of the Leafpeepers," 6.

14. Bill Horton, "Images of Classlessness and Berea College," *Appalachian Journal* 11 (1983–84): 58–66.

15. Alice Brown, "President's Message: More Observations on the Organization," *Appalink* 17 (1993): 1, and "Letter to ASA from Berea President John Stephenson," *Appalink* 17 (1994): 1, Records of the Appalachian Studies Association, Southern Appalachian Archives, Berea College.

16. Proposal for a Minor in Women's Studies, College Faculty Minutes, October 15, 1990, 1–2, CFR.

17. Ibid.

18. "International Education at Berea College," February 4, 1992, 2–4; Task Force on International Education and General Education Curriculum, January 20, 1993, 9, CFR.

19. "The Dalai Lama Stresses Kinship," *Berea Alumnus* 65 (1994): 6–8.

20. General Education Curriculum, 4.

21. John B. Stephenson, "Speech for Opening Convocation," September 2, 1984, 5–6, 10, JBS Papers.

22. "A Report on the Future of Berea College, 1987–2010," 2–3, Long Range Planning Committee Records, RG 10, BCA (hereafter LRPCR).

23. Ibid., 17.

24. Ibid., 18, 24.

25. "Report of the Long Range Planning Subcommittee III on Berea's Interracial Commitment," October 30, 1986, 6, LRPCR.

26. "Future of Berea College," 22–25.

27. "Berea Students of the Future," President's Council Meeting, January 16–17, 1992, CFR.

28. "Future of Berea College," 33–37.

29. "Recommendations from the General Faculty and Report of the Committee to Review the Commitments to the Board of Trustees, March 1993," 2, Committee to Review the Commitments, RG 10, BCA (hereafter CRC Report).

30. "Report of the Task Group on Committee Reorganization," April 11, 1988, 1–3, CFR.

31. General and College Faculty Minutes, March 9, 1995, CFR.

32. CRC Report, 2–3.

33. Ibid., 9.

34. Ibid., 12–14.

35. Ibid., 9–10.

36. Ibid., 15.

37. Ford, *Appalachian Humanist,* 40–45.

38. John B. Stephenson, "Faculty Convocation Address," August 30, 1992, 10, JBS Papers.

9. Continuing to Be and to Become

1. "Meet Berea's Next President," *Berea Alumnus* 64 (1994): 13–16.

2. Ibid., 13, 15.

3. Ibid., 15–16.

4. Louis Smith, "Interview Notes with Berea College Faculty and Staff Regarding the Future of the College" (1983), xxxviii, in Emily Ann Smith Papers, RG 9, F&S.

5. Larry D. Shinn, "The Challenge of Deep Learning," *Berea Alumnus* 66 (1995): 12–16.

6. *Being and Becoming: Berea College in the 21st Century* (July 1996), i–iii, Strategic Planning Committee Records, RG 10, Projects, Committees, Reports, BCA (hereafter SPCR).

7. Ibid., ii, 30–34.

8. Ibid., iii, 35–46.

9. *Being and Becoming: College-Wide Implementation and Assessment Plan, 1998–2002* (May 1998), 1, SPCR.

10. General and College Faculty Minutes, March 9, 1995; Larry D. Shinn, "Berea's Governance Crisis—Initial Reflections," April

27, 2000; General and College Faculty Minutes, April 9, 1998, CFR.

11. Larry D. Shinn, "A Covenant of Trust: Governance and Decision Making in a New Era," December 1, 1998, CFR. See also Larry D. Shinn, "A Conflict of Cultures: Governance at Liberal Arts Colleges," *Change* 36 (January–February 2004): 18–26.

12. Larry D. Shinn, "Berea College: The 2003–2004 President's Report," 4, and "Extending Berea's Legacy: Summary Review," April 29, 2002, 1–3, CFR.

13. Larry D. Shinn, "Remembering the Past, Imagining the Future," 5, Larry D. Shinn Papers, RG 3.08, BCA (hereafter LDS Papers). See also "Being and Becoming, Berea College in the 21st Century: A Strategic Plan Summary," OIR.

14. Shinn, "Remembering the Past," 6–7; "Being and Becoming: Summary"; and Shinn, "What If the Mountains Could Speak?" August 30, 1998, 2, 4, LDS Papers.

15. Shinn, "Remembering the Past," 9–10; "Being and Becoming: Summary."

16. Shinn, "Remembering the Past, 15–16; "Being and Becoming: Summary."

17. *College-Wide Implementation and Assessment Plan,* 24; Shinn, "Remembering the Past," 8–9.

18. "Memorandum Regarding the Appalachian Museum," March 2, 1998, Appalachian Museum Records, RG 5.47, BCA; Sally Wilkerson, "A Plea for Clemency for the Museum," *Richmond Register,* May 13, 1998; "College Closes Museum," *Berea Citizen,* March 5, 1998; "Museum That Shelters Regional Heritage Will Be Lost," *Lexington Herald-Leader,* April 12, 1998; "Appalachian Museum Closure Ends Era, Begins Another," *Richmond Register,* May 18, 1998; clippings in BCVF, RG 5.47, BCA.

19. "Being and Becoming: Summary"; Shinn, "Remembering the Past," 4, 9.

20. Larry D. Shinn, "The Berea Legacy," in "Berea College: The 1999–2000 President's Report," 7.

21. General Education Review Proposal, May 4, 2004, 1–8, and General and College Faculty Minutes, May 13, 2004, CFR.

22. "Labor Program Revision and Revitalization," December 2, 2003, 1–5; General and College Faculty Minutes, September 18, 2003, and December 11, 2003, CFR; Shinn, "Remembering the Past," 24–25.

23. Larry D. Shinn, "Welcoming the Stranger," in "Berea College: The 1994–95 President's Report," 7.

24. Shinn, "Remembering the Past," 24.

25. "The Christian Identity of Berea College" (Fall 2001), 55, SPCR.

26. Shinn, "Remembering the Past," 24–25.

27. Ibid., 22–23.

28. Ibid., 25.

29. Quoted in Peck and Smith, *125 Years,* 193.

30. Larry D. Shinn, "Berea's World House," August 31, 2003, 3–4, LDS Papers.

Select Bibliography

The reader can find works cited in individual chapters in the endnotes to each chapter. Though by no means exhaustive, the following bibliography provides an outline for further research. All records and manuscript materials are in the Berea College Archives unless otherwise noted.

GENERAL

Primary Sources

Printed Materials

Berea College Catalogue, 1867– .
Berea Evangelist, 1884–87.
Berea College Reporter, 1885–99.
President's Annual Reports, 1892– .
Berea Quarterly, 1895–1916.
Berea Citizen, 1899– .
Historical Register of the Officers and Students of Berea College, 1904, 1916.
Pinnacle (student newspaper), 1922–38; 1954– .
Historical Documents: Constitution and By-Laws, 1855–1929.
Berea Alumnus (now *Berea College Magazine*), 1931– .
Wallpaper (student newspaper), 1940–54.

Records

Constitution and By-Laws of Berea College, 1859.
Foundations, 1900 (includes constitutional changes to 1899).
Constitution and Statutes (as revised and amended), 1911.
Constitution and Statutes, 1855–1917.
Board of Trustees Records, 1858–59; 1865– , Record Group (hereafter RG) 2.
Office of Information (Development) Records, especially publications about Berea College, 1870– , RG 5.23.
College Faculty Records, 1866– , RG 6.01.
General Faculty Records, 1911– , RG 5.01.
Student Manuals, 1867–1936, RG 12.15.

Secondary Sources

Abramson, Rudy. "Berea College: A Rock in the Stream." *Smithsonian* 24 (1993): 92–104.
Baskin, Andrew. "Berea College: A Commitment to Interracial Education within a Christian Context." In *Ethnic Minorities and Evangelical Christian Colleges,* ed. D. John Lee. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991.
Brown, Dale. *Berea College: Spiritual and Intellectual Roots.* Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1982.
Crandall, Mace. *Chosen Jeopardy: A Survey of Issues in the History of Union Church, Berea, Kentucky.* N.p., 1978.
Drake, Richard B. *A History of Appalachia.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.
———. *One in Spirit: The Liberal Evangelical Witness of Union Church, Berea, Kentucky, 1853–2003.* Berea, Ky.: Church of Christ, Union, 2003.
Durham, James G. "A History of Berea College." Master's thesis, University of Kentucky, 1942.
Fairchild, J. H. *Oberlin: The Colony and the College, 1833–1883.* Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich, 1883.
Fletcher, Robert Samuel. *A History of Oberlin College.* Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College Press, 1943.
Harrison, Lowell. "Berea: An Experiment in Education." *American History Illustrated* 15 (1981): 8–17.
Horton, Bill. "Images of Classlessness and Berea College." *Appalachian Journal* 11 (1983–84): 58–66.
Hughes, Jerome W. *Six Berea College Presidents: Tradition and Progress.* Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1984.
Lucas, Christopher J. *American Higher Education: A History.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
Lucas, Marion, and George C. Wright. *A History of Blacks in Kentucky.* 2 vols. Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1992.
McPherson, James M. *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
Peck, Elisabeth S. *Berea's First Century, 1855–1955.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1955.
Peck, Elisabeth S., and Emily Ann Smith. *Berea's First 125 Years, 1855–1980.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982.
Rudolph, Frederick. *The American College and University: A History.* New York: Vintage Books, 1962.
———. *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1978.
Sears, Richard. *Berea Connections.* N.p., 1996.
Women in Berea's History: A Symposium for Women's History Week. N.p.: n.p., 1985.

JOHN G. FEE AND THE FOUNDING OF BEREA COLLEGE (1855–69)

Primary Sources

Founders and Founding Collection, RG 1.01.
John G. Fee Papers, RG 1.02.
J. A. R. and Elizabeth Rogers Papers, RG 1.03.
Other Founders, including George Candee, John Hanson,

William E. Lincoln, Otis Waters, RG 1.04–1.13.
Angus A. Burleigh Papers, RG 8, Students.
Union Church Records, Accession 1, Historical Collections, Berea College.
Fee, John G. *Autobiography of John G. Fee.* Chicago: National Christian Association, 1891.
———. *Sinfulness of Slaveholding.* New York: John A. Gray, 1851.
Rogers, John A. R. *Birth of Berea College: A Story of Providence.* Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co., 1902.

Secondary Sources

Arthur, James Milton. "The Berean Way: Interracial Education in Kentucky, 1855–1904." Master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 1990.
Drake, Richard B. *One Apostle Was a Lumberman: John G. Hanson and Berea's Founding Generation.* Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1975.
English, Philip W. "John G. Fee: Kentucky Spokesman for Abolition and Educational Reform." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1973.
Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Culture from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
Howard, Victor B. *The Evangelical War against Slavery and Caste: The Life and Times of John G. Fee.* Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press, 1996.
Loesch, Robert K. "Kentucky Abolitionist: John Gregg Fee." Hartford Theological Seminary, 1969.
Reynolds, Todd A. "The American Missionary Association's Antislavery Campaign in Kentucky, 1848–1860." Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1979.
Runkle, Col. Benjamin P. "Berea College, Ky." *American Missionary* 13 (August 1869).
Sears, Richard D. *"The Day of Small Things": Abolitionism in the Midst of Slavery, Berea, Kentucky, 1854–1864.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1986.
———. *The Kentucky Abolitionists in the Midst of Slavery, 1854–1864: Exiles for Freedom.* Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993.
———. *"A Practical Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man": John G. Fee and the Camp Nelson Experience.* Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1986.
———. *A Utopian Experiment in Kentucky: Integration and Social Equality at Berea, 1866–1904.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996.
Warford, Malcolm. "Piety, Politics, and Pedagogy: An Evangelical Protestant Tradition in Higher Education at Lane, Oberlin, and Berea, 1834–1904." Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1973.

EDWARD HENRY FAIRCHILD (1869–89)

Primary Sources

Edward Henry Fairchild Papers, RG 3.01.
Fairchild, E. H. *Berea College: An Interesting History.* 2d ed. Cincinnati: Elm Street Publishing, 1883.
John Bate file, RG 8, Students.
William E. Barton Papers, RG 9, Faculty and Staff.

Secondary Sources

Lucas, Marion. "Berea College in the 1870s and 1880s: Student Life at a Racially Integrated Kentucky College." *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 98 (2000): 1–22.
Sears, Richard D. "Berea's First Black Teacher," in Julia Britton Hooks file, RG 9, Faculty and Staff.

WILLIAM B. STEWART (1890–92)

Primary Sources

William B. Stewart Papers, RG 3.02.
Zack Spratt Papers, RG 8, Students.
Bond, James. "Autobiography." In *The Horace Mann Bond Papers* (microfilm), ed. John H. Bracey Jr. Black Studies Research Sources. Bethesda, Md.: University Publications of America, 1989.

Secondary Sources

Best, Bill. "Berea's Immersed President." Unpublished manuscript, n.d., in Stewart Papers.

WILLIAM G. FROST (1892–1920)

Primary Sources

William Goodell Frost Papers, RG 3.03. Included in this collection are the papers of Eleanor Frost.
Frost, William Goodell. *For the Mountains: An Autobiography.* New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1937.
Day Law Appeals, RG 13, Associated Items.

Secondary Sources

Alvic, Philis. *Weavers of the Southern Highlands: Berea.* Murray, Ky.: n.p., 1993.
Baskin, Andrew. "Berea College and the Founding of Lincoln Institute." In *History of Education in Southern Appalachia,* ed. John L. Bell. Cullowhee, N.C.: Western Carolina University Press, 1990.
Blackwell, Deborah L. "Eleanor Marsh Frost and the Gender Dimensions of Appalachian Reform Efforts." *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 94 (1996): 225–46.
Blakeman, Scott. "Night Comes to Berea College: The Day Law and the African-American Reaction." *Filson Club History Quarterly* 70 (1996): 3–26.
Bolin, John S. "William Morris and the Appalachian Craft Revival at Berea College." Unpublished manuscript, 1996.
Burnside, Jacqueline G. "Philanthropists and Politicians: A Sociological Profile of Berea College, 1855–1908." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1988.
———. "Suspicion versus Faith: Negro Criticisms of Berea Col-

lege in the Nineteenth Century." *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83 (1985): 237–66.
Campbell, John C. *The Future of the Church and Independent Schools in Our Southern Highlands.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917.
Heckman, Richard Allen, and Betty Jean Hall. "Berea College and the Day Law." *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 66 (1968): 35–52.
Klotter, James C. "The Black South and White Appalachia." *Journal of American History* 66 (1980): 832–49.
Krehbiel, Lee E. "From Race to Region: Shifting Priorities at Berea College under President William Goodell Frost, 1892–1912." Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1997.
Nelson, Paul David. "Experiment in Interracial Education at Berea College, 1858–1908." *Journal of Negro History* 59 (1974): 13–27.
Shapiro, Henry. *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870–1920.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.
Silber, Nina. *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
Wilson, Shannon H. "Lincoln's Sons and Daughters: Berea College, Lincoln Memorial University, and the Myth of Unionist Appalachia, 1866–1910." In *Civil War in Appalachia: Collected Essays,* ed. Kenneth W. Noe and Shannon H. Wilson. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.
———. "Sergeant York Is the Berea Kind: The Great War and Berea College, 1917–1918." *Appalachian Heritage* 27 (1999): 6–17.
———. "Window on the Mountains: Berea's Appalachia, 1870–1930." *Filson Club History Quarterly* 64 (1990): 384–400.
Wright, George C. "The Founding of Lincoln Institute." *Filson Club History Quarterly* 49 (1975): 57–70.

WILLIAM J. HUTCHINS (1920–39)

Primary Sources

William J. Hutchins Papers, RG 3.04.
Hutchins, William J. *"I Never Lose Heart": Baccalaureate Addresses, 1921–1939.* Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1956.

Secondary Sources

Bashaw, Carolyn Terry. "'She Made a Tradition': Katherine S. Bowersox and Women at Berea College, 1907–1937." *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 89 (1991): 61–84.
———. *"Stalwart Women": A Historical Analysis of Deans of Women in the South.* New York: Teachers College Press, 1999.
Hayolette, Sandra Diane. "'Not at the Top, But Climbing': Teaching and Learning about Applachia and Identity at Berea College, 1920–1940." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002.
Significant Addresses Delivered in Connection with the Retirement of William J. Hutchins as President of Berea College. Berea, Ky.: Berea College Press, 1939.
Wilson, Shannon H. "A Little Journey to Harlan County: William J. Hutchins and the Harlan County Troubles, 1932." *Appalachian Heritage* 26 (1998): 6–12.
Wood, Gerald E. "Organizational Culture and Leadership at Berea College: An Historical Inquiry into Saga Development and Underlying Cultural Assumptions." Ph.D. dissertation, West Virginia University, 1998.

FRANCIS S. HUTCHINS (1939–67)

Primary Sources

Francis S. Hutchins Papers, RG 3.05.
Hutchins, Francis S. *Berea College: The Telescope and the Spade.* New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1963.
Green, Paul. *Wilderness Road: An Outdoor Symphonic Drama.* New York: Samuel French, 1956.

Secondary Sources

Brewer, Earl D. C., and Willis D. Weatherford. *Life and Religion in Southern Appalachia.* New York: Friendship Press, 1962.
Egerton, John. "A Gentlemen's Fight in Prince Edward County, Virginia." In *Shades of Gray: Dispatches from the Modern South,* ed. John Egerton. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991.
Ford, Thomas R. *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1962.
Holden, Reuben. *Yale-in-China: The Mainland, 1901–1951.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale-in-China Association, 1964.
Jones, Loyal. "The Surveys of the Appalachian Region." *Appalachian Heritage* 4 (1976): 36–42.
Quarandillo, Ann Mary. "They Closed Our Schools." *Berea College Magazine* 74 (2004): 13–17.
Schneider, James G. *The Navy V-12 Program: Leadership for a Lifetime.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
Smith, Bob. *They Closed Their Schools: Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1951–1964.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965.
Smith, Louis. "Berea College Will Enroll Negro Students from the Southern Mountain Region." *Mountain Life and Work* 26 (1950).

WILLIS D. WEATHERFORD (1967–84)

Primary Sources

Willis D. Weatherford Papers, RG 3.06
"Berea College: The Weatherford Years, 1967–1984." Office of Information Records.
Smith, Louis. "The Great Commitments of Berea College."

Secondary Sources

Dykeman, Wilma. *Prophet of Plenty: The First Ninety Years of W. D. Weatherford.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1966.
Egerton, John. *Speak Now against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.

JOHN B. STEPHENSON (1984–94)

Primary Sources

John B. Stephenson Papers, RG 3.07.

Records of the Committee to Review the Commitments, RG 10, Committees, Projects, Reports.

Records of the Long Range Planning Committee, RG 10, Committees, Projects, Reports.

Secondary Sources

Ford, Thomas R., ed. *John B. Stephenson: Appalachian Humanist.* Ashland, Ky.: Jesse Stuart Foundation, 2001.

LARRY D. SHINN (1994–)

Primary Sources

Larry D. Shinn Papers, RG 3.08

Being and Becoming: Berea College in the 21st Century (includes reports of subcommittees).

Secondary Sources

Raps, Beth. "An Ecology of Knowledge: How the Academic Community Relates to Epistemic Difference." Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 2001.

Index

The page numbers in bold type refer to illustrations.

academy, 103, 109, 115–18
Adjustment Fund, 88
admissions, 119, 207, 234n; and African Americans, 3, 169, 185, 191, 211; and Appalachia, 170, 177; expansion, 177, 191; impartial nature, 1, 18, 44, 54; Upper Division, 118
African Americans: admission of, 3, 10, 83, 191, 194; in Appalachia, 182, 185, 221; commitment to, 191, 197, 221; diminished interest in, 3, 81; education of, 26, 28, 30, 59, 63, 87, 193; Montgomery march, 150–51; reintegration 145–51; and social equality 2, 18, 86; as teachers, 36; as trustees, 24. *See also* Bate, John; Black Ensemble; Black Student Union; Bond, James; Britton, Julia; Committee for the March on Montgomery; Hathaway, James
agriculture, 91, 92, 95, 111, 116, 136, 144, 153, 171, 210
Allan, N. J. R., 150
American Anti-Slavery Society, 34
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC): and Prince Edward County students, 149; and Willis D. Weatherford Jr., 162
American Missionary, 11, 14, 26, 29
American Missionary Association (AMA), 3, 11–12, 26, 41, 52, 68, 234
Andover Seminary, 76
Anglo-Saxonism, 81, 230n
anticaste principle: at Berea, 47
Anti-slavery Manual (Fee), 12
Appalachia: and African Americans, 3, 5, 182, 184–86, 197; Berea's depiction of, 78, 79, 80, 98, 101, 103, 120; commitment to, 221; service to, 3, 4, 5, 79, 90, 95, 96, 115, 119, 120, 152, 170–74, 177, 181–87, 191, 197, 202, 206, 207, 212–16. *See also* mountain people
Appalachian Center, 171, 173, 177, 187, 207, 212–14
Appalachian Heritage, 213
Appalachian Museum, 171, 172–73, 213–14. *See also* Artifacts Program
Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), 153, 183
Appalachian Sound Archive, 173
Appalachian Studies Association, 173, 199
Appalachian Studies Conference, 173, 181
Armstrong, Gen. Samuel C., 77
Artifacts Program, 214. *See also* Appalachian Museum
Autobiography (Fee), 68
Avery, Charles, 41, 42

Baird, William Jesse, 117
Baker, Lawrence, 139
Ballard, Melissa, 28, 29
Barbee, Coole, 45, 49
Barber, A. L., 69
Barrier, Bob, 150
Barton, William E.: as trustee, 86, 87, 105, 106, 112; student experiences, 36, 44, 46, 48
Basic Year, 143–44
Bate, John, 39–40
Battle, Wallace, 134, **135**
Beecher, Henry Ward, 20, 26
Beecher, Lyman, 10
Being and Becoming (strategic planning document), 205–7, 209–10, 217. *See also* Strategic Planning
Berea (town): and Appalachian Museum, 214; and Berea College, 43, 47, 49; and interracial character, 83; and Japanese Americans, 4, 129, 140; race relations, 83, 166–67, 169; town name, 13
Berea College: constitution, 1, 9, 16–20, 23, 30, 31, 96, 103, 222–23; Day Law crisis, 81–87; early college, 33–55; founding period, 14–31; reintegration, 145–51; reorganization, 104, 111–19, 141–44; saga of, 6, 16, 99, 101, 195; strategic planning, 6, 201, 204, 208, 219. *See also* admissions; African Americans; Appalachia; curriculum; departments; Great Commitments; labor; mountain people; student life; teacher training; women
Berea College: An Interesting History (Fairchild), 51
Berea College Reporter, 49, 59, 60–61, 63, 65, 69–70, 77
Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky, 84
Berea Evangelist, 49
Berea Literary Institute, 21
Berea's First Century (Peck), 157
Berea's First 125 Years (Peck and Smith), 186
Berheide, Dr. Michael, 194
Best, Bill, 73
Bevis, Palmer, 130–31
Bible Department, 2, 59
Black Cultural Center, 169, 211–12
Black Ensemble, 166, 169
Black Mountain Improvement Association, 185
Black Mountain Youth Development Project, 5, 179, 185, 186, 199, 213
Black Student Union (BSU), **166**, 169
black studies, 165, 166, 169, 211, 212
Blackwell, Antoinette Brown, 9
Blue Ridge Assembly, 162
Blythe, Robert, 122
boarding hall, 22, **30**
Boggs, John, 167
Bond, James: and Lincoln Institute, 88–89, **90**; student experiences, 65–66
Bonner Scholars, 211
Boone, Daniel, 98, 103, 120
Britton, Julia (Hooks): at Berea College, 36, 37; in Memphis, 36
Brown, Alice, 199
Brown, Dale, 31
Brown, John, 9, 20

Brown v. Board of Education, 161
Brushy Fork Institute, 5, 179, 183–87, 199
Burdette, Gabriel, 24, 47
Burdette, Josiah, 70
Burdette, Morgan, 24
Burleigh, Angus A., 19, 22, **23**, 36, 44, 49
Burnside, Jacqueline G., 101
Bush, President George H. W., and Barbara Bush, **195**
Bushnell, Esther, 46
Bushnell, Horace, 38
Butwell, Ruth, 169

Camp Nelson, 21, 22, **23**, 24
Campbell, Dr. Ernest, 180
Campbell, John C., 110, 111
Campbell, John Milton, 10
Campus Christian Center, 169, 172, 175
campus governance, 6, 193, 194, 204, 208, 216
Candee, George, 12, 13, 15, 26, 222
Carnegie, Andrew, 88, 107
Carter Woodson Summer Institute, 185
Carver, George Washington, 122, 146
Centennial Anniversary (1955), 153
Center for Excellence in Learning Through Service (CELTS), 6, 202, 211
Century Company, 42
Century Magazine, 42
Changsha, China, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135
chapel: first, 2, **25**, 29; second, **42**, **54**, 55. *See also* Danforth Chapel
Charles, Cleophus, 169
Chazotsang, Khando, 188
Christianity at Berea College: commitment to, 5, 6, 191, 193, 194, 207, 218–19, 221; inclusive nature of, 2, 10, 19, 20, 31, 38, 176, 203; and service, 37, 61, 104, 107, 109, 119, 120, 158, 161, 176, 198, 203
Citizen (Berea), 124
Civil Rights movement, 149, 150, 151, 166, 177
Clare, George W., 46
Clark, Burton, 1
Clark, Henry F., 25, 44
Clark, Mike, 150
Clay, Cassius M., 12, **13**, 14, 63, 98
Clay, Laura, 63
Claytor, Bob, 169
Cobbs, Alfred L., 149
Coe, Albert, 133
Cole, L. Wayne, 38
College Department, 3, 4, 36, 40, 75, 93–95, 103, 110, 113, 115, 125, 161. *See also* Lower Division; Upper Division
college faculty, 4, 35, 36, 40, 158, 185, 193, 194, 217
Commercial Department, 60
Committee to Review the Commitments (CRC), 195, 197, 198, 218
Common Learning Goals, **206**, 217
Commonwealth v. Berea College, 84
Concerned Citizens Committee, 167
constitution (1859), 1, 9, 16–20, 23, 30, 31, 222–23
constitution (1911), 96, 103

Cook, John, 191
Council of the Southern Mountains (CSM), 171, 172, 173
country dancers, 173, 212
country homes, **157**
Cravath, E. M., 43
curriculum, 2, 4, 5, 17–18, 26, 33, 38, 40, 55, 61–62, 94–95, 104, 107, 108, 109, 114–19, 125, 129, 136, 177, 179, 195; and agriculture, 210; and Appalachian studies, 171; and black studies, 166, 169; and experiential learning, 211, 216; and Navy V-12, 138; revised (1947), 142–45; revised (1970), 164–66; revised (1993), 180, 187–89

Danforth Chapel, 125, **127**, 135
Danforth, Donald, 163
Danforth, William H., 125
Daniel, Danny, 150
Darling, Lucia, 35
Davis, James S., 15, 222
Day, Carl, 83
Day Law, 4, 75, 76, 84–89, 97, 121, 129, 145, 147, 149
degrees, 61–62, 95, 111, 114–15, 137, 144, 153, 228n, 233n
departments (schools). *See* Academy, Bible, College, Commercial, Foundation, Industrial, Ladies', Model School, Normal, Preparatory, Primary, and Vocational Departments. *See also* Lower Division; Upper Division
Dike, Charles F., 41, 42
Dillard, L. Badgett, 179
Di Teresa, Neil, 172, **174**
Dodge, Ernest, 48
Dodge, LeVant, 35, **40**, 59, 91, **106**
Dodge, P. D., 35, 60, 61, 67, 70
Douglass, Frederick, 9
Drake, Richard B., 150, 173, 186, 187
Draper Building, 124, 125, **126**, 135, 210
Dunathan, Homer, 139

Economic Development Administration (EDA), 153
Ecovillage, 209, 210, 214
Eddy, Sherwood, 105
Eighth Kentucky Volunteer Infantry (Union), **51**
Eli Lilly Foundation, 175
Eli Lilly Visiting Professor of Religion, 175
Eliot, Charles William, 76
Embree, Edwin, 146
Embree, William Dean (trustee), 132, **146**, 147
Embree, William N. (early trustee), 24
Emerick, Jacob, 15
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 9
Empowering a Dynamic Generation through Education (EDGE), 216
endowment, 2, 5, 26, 33, 41, 42, 55, 67, 158, 161, 201, 209; and Lincoln Institute, 88. *See also* fund-raising; New Endowment; Old Endowment
Entrepreneurship for the Public Good (EPG), 202, 209, 214, 216
exile, 20–21
extension work, 75, 91, 92, 93, 96, 103, 152, 173

faculty. *See* college faculty; general faculty

Fairchild, Charles G., 40, 42, 52
Fairchild, E. P., 3, **67**, 69, 70, 72
Fairchild, Edward Henry, 2, **32**, **33**, **35**, **55**, 59, 70, 76, 84, 91, 98, 121, 161, 203, 219; and buildings, 53–55; and Christian character, 37; College Department, 40; educational mission, 38; endowment, 3, 41, 42; and faculty, 34, 36, 37; institutional saga, 50, 51; at Oberlin, 33; and race, 2, 26, 33, 34; student life, 44; and women, 2, 18, 33, 38, 41, 45
Fairchild, James, 34
Fee, Burritt H., 38, 45, 49
Fee, John G., 1, 2, 3, **9**, **12**, **31**, 34, **69**, 76, 84, 121, 161, 169, 177, 189, 219, 222; and abolitionism, 10, 12; and AMA, 3, 12, 13, 26, 68; background, 12; and baptism, 3, 68; at Camp Nelson, 21; and Cassius Clay, 12–13; and district school, 14; education, 10, 12; exile, 20–21; and Frost, 76, 98–100; and founding of Berea community, 13, 14, 23; impartial gospel, 1, 10, 14, 19, 50; and institutional ideals, 1, 2, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 34, 38, 47, 54, 63, 97; and slavery, 1, 18, 19; and Stewart, 3, 69, 70, 71; writings, 12
Fee, Matilda Hamilton, 9, 12, **13**, **18**, 30
Finney, Charles Grandison, **9**, 11, 12, 76, 77
Fireside Industries, **124**
Fisk Jubilee Singers, 122
Fisk University, 86, 87
Fleming, John, 150
For the Mountains (Frost), 72, 123
Ford Foundation, 152, 162, 163, 174
Foster, A. P., 70, 72
Foster, Abbie Kelly, 9
Foundation School, 4, 91, 115, 129, 143, 149, 164, 231n45
Fox, John, Jr., 77
Freedmen's Bureau, 53
Frost, Cleveland, 77
Frost, Edith, 77
Frost, Eleanor Marsh, **77**, 92–94, 112, 124, 161, 229n53
Frost, Lewis P., **76**
Frost, Louise Raney, 77, 229n
Frost, Maria Goodell, **76**
Frost, Norman, 77
Frost, Stanley, 77
Frost, Wesley, 77
Frost, William G., 3, 38, 48, 59, 69, **70**, 72, **74**, 103, **111**, **113**, 161, 184, 203; and African Americans, 3, 75, 80, 82; and Appalachia, 3, 75, 78–81, 90–92, 94–101, 109–11, 121; Day Law, 81–84, 89, 90; early life and influences, 76; and extension work, 92–94; and Fee, 99–100; and William J. Hutchins, 104–8, 111–13, 123–24; and Lincoln Institute, 84–88; at Oberlin, 76; and Vocational School, 91, 112; writings, 76, 123
fund-raising, 2, 3, 5, 30, 33, 43, 57, 68, 69, 75, 88, 92, 98, 152, 179, 202. *See also* endowment

Garrison, William Lloyd, 12
General Education Review Committee (GERC), 217, 219
general faculty, 175, 193, 194, 195, 198
Giffin, Roscoe, 152
Gilbert, Kate, 39, 67
Gilman, Rt. Rev. Bishop Alfred Alonzo, 131
Gilman, Gertrude Carter, 131
Glade district, 13, **14**
Goodell, Lavinia, 76
Goodell, William, 76
Grandison, Julia, 46
Great Commitments, 5, 162, 163, 169, 174, 175, 177, 179, 180, 189, 191, 201, 207, 208, 210, 217, 221; revised, 195, 197–98
Green, Paul, 153
Gyatzo, Tenzin (the 14th Dalai Lama), 188, **190**

Hammond, Charles F., 41
Hammond, William A., 171
Hampton Institute, 77, 86, 87
Handy, W. C., 36
Hanson, A. J., 24
Hanson, John G., 15, 17, 20, 24, 25, **29**, 30, 47, 222
Hanson, Samuel, 70
Harlan, John Marshall, 84
Harper, William Rainey, 116
Harrison, Elisha, 24
Hart, William, 35, 43
Hathaway, James S., 35, 36–37, 80
Hayes, Frances, 149
Hays, Frank, 51, 78
Henderson, A. J., 24
Hendricks, T. A., 117
Hensley, C. C., 167
Hill, Jennie Lester, 65
Holland Law, 88–89
Hooks, Charles, 36
Horizon Committee, 194
Horowitz, Helen, 54
Horton, Bill, 186
Howard, Oliver Otis, 26, 53, 68
Howard Hall, 2, **52**, 53–55, **62**, **66**, 83, 139
Hua Chung College, 130
Hughes, Jerome, 73
Hughes, Langston, 146
Hume, Edward, 130
Hunan-Yale Medical College, 130
Hunting, Bruce S., 35, 36, 59, 60
Hutchins, Anna Murch, **104**, **105**, **106**
Hutchins, Francis S., 4, 104, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 159, 161, 163, 182; and Appalachia, 135, 136, 152, 153; background, 130; and college expansion, 4, 158; and curriculum, 143–45; and Japanese-Americans, 140–41; and Navy V-12, 138–140; and reintegration, 145–51; and reorganization, 141–44; and Berea saga, 153, 158; and Yale-in-China, 129, 130–34
Hutchins, Harriet P. James, 104
Hutchins, Dr. Louise Gilman, 131, **132**, **152**, **159**
Hutchins, Rev. R. G., 104, 107
Hutchins, Robert M., **104**, **105**, 114, 126, **130**, 153
Hutchins, William G., **104**, **105**, **130**
Hutchins, William J., 3, 97, **102**, **105**, **106**, **111**, **113**, **114**, 129, 132, 133, **134**, **135**, 161, 203; and African Americans, 121–23; and Appalachia, 3, 103, 104, 108, 112, 119–20; background, 104–05; and Frost, 4,

104–8, 111–13, 123–24; and Oberlin, 104–6; and reorganization, 104, 111–19; and Berea saga, 119, 120
Hutchins Library, 158, 171, 213

Industrial Department, 60, 61
industries, student, **124**, 173
International Center, 209
international students, **188**, 191, 194, 209
Interracial Commitment Subcommittee, 191

Jackson, John H., 43, 47, 65
Jackson, Jordan C., 43
Japanese American students, 4, 129, 140, 141
Johnson, James Weldon, 122, 146
Jones, Howard, 122
Jones, Loyal, 173, 186, 187
Jones, William, **164**

Kazee, Buell, 173
Kentucky Equal Rights Association, 63
Kentucky State University, 147
Kernodle, Wayne, 180
Kessler, John, 139
Kincaid, Bradley, 173, **175**
Kincaid, William, 68
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 150
Knight, Charles S., 92

labor, 96, 101, **114**, 135, 153, 161, 165, 174, 175, 177, 179, 186, 193, 194, 195, **196**, 202, 205, 206, 208, 211, 216, **217**, 218, 219, 221, 222
Labor Day (celebration), **114**, **204**
Labor Review Team (LRT), 217
Ladies' Board of Care, 18, 45, 46
Ladies' Course, 18, 39
Ladies' Department, 2, 26
Ladies' Hall, 2, **42**, 49, **50**, **53**, 54, 55, **58**, **82**, 83, 91, **106**
lady principal, 35, 45, 46, 47, 61
Lair, John, 173
Lamm, Carol, 184
Lane "Rebels," 10, 11, 33
Lane Seminary, 10, 12
Laws and Regulations of Berea College, 28
Leavitt, George, 70, 72
Lester, Charles, 35
Lewis Institute, 114
library, 42, 43, 146
liberal arts: and educational program, 189, 195, 204, 205, 216, 219, 221; outlook, 158, 161, 164, 165, 171, 175, 177, 179, 181, 187, 188
Lincoln, Abraham, 55, 97, 98, 103, 120
Lincoln, William E., 12
Lincoln Hall, **42**, 49, 54, **71**, 169, 210
Lincoln Institute, **89**, **90**, 101, 122
Lincoln Memorial University, 72
literary societies, 28, 44, 45, 49, 63, 65, **85**, 86, **115**
Locke, Alain, 122
Long Range Planning Committee (LRPC), 189, 194, 195, 197, 201
Louisville Courier, 20
Lower Division, 4, 117, 118, 124, 129, 135, 136, 142
Lucas, Marion, 44
Lyon, Rhoda J., 47

McAllister, Cloyd, 113
McCollum, Sallie, 46
McPherson, James, 48
McWhinney, T. M., 70
Magoffin, Gov. Beriah, 20
Mahan, Asa, 11
Mann, Horace, 77
manual labor: and Berea College, 2, 12, 17, 50, 90, 101, 222
Marsh, Miles, 119
Marshall, Melvin, 169
Martin, Asa, 173
Maryville Law, 82
Massey, Edsel, 169
Matson, Ron, 150
Mayo, Rev. A. D., 52, 86
Mays, Benjamin, 146
Men's Literary Society, 28
Middletown School, 122, 146
Miller, Christopher, 214
Mitchell, Belle, 21
Model Schools, **45**, 91
Montgomery, march on, 150, **151**
Morgan, John, 10, 11
Mountain Association for Community Economic Development (MACED), 213
Mountain Day, **120**, 139, **205**
mountain people: Berea's depiction of, 51, 52, 77, **78**, 79, 81, 96, **97**, 98, 101, 119, 120, 153; education of, 75, 92, 93, 103, 109, 152
Muir, Rev. William, 58
Murfree, Mary, 77

National Council of Churches, 149
National States Rights Party, 166, 167
National War Work Council (YMCA), 105
Naval Reserve Officer Training Course (NROTC), 139
Navy V-12, 4, 129, **137**, 138, 139, 140
Nelson, Paul David, 101
Nepal, 5
New Endowment, 42
New Opportunity School for Women (NOS), 5, 179, 182, **183**, 186, 199, 213
New York Tribune, 20
Nickum, Bertha Daisy, **80**
Normal School, 26, 95, 96
Norton, Charles Eliot, 76
nursing, 91, 111, 136, 147, 153, 171, 233n36

Oberlin, John Frederick, 10
Oberlin College, **11**, 76, 77, 78, 105, 106, 107, 130, 203; curriculum, 2; founding, 10–11; influence on Berea College, 1, 12, 14, 17, 34; and integration, 34; and Lane Seminary, 4, 11; presidents from, 33, 59,

104, 130, 202; teachers from, 12, 15, 24, 25, 36; and women, 11, 38
Oberlin School of Theology, 76, 104
Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), 172
Office of Women's Studies, 5, 188
Okolana Industrial College, 122
Okuma, Thomas, 140
Old Endowment, 42
Operation Zebra, 169
Opportunity School, 117
Osborne, J. Randolph (Randy), 169, **176**

Paige, Anna Marie, 149
Parker, Rev. Henry, 169, **176**
Pearsons, Dr. D. K., 107
Payne, Joseph H., 11
Peace, Emma, 46
People Who Care (PWC), 172
Phi Delta Literary Society, 44, 65, **85**
Phillips, Wendell, 77
physical education, 17, 144, 165
Pierrepont, Seth Low, 133, 134
Pigg, George L., 38
Pine Mountain Settlement School, 152
Pine Mountain Study, 152
Pinnacle (student newspaper), 150
Powell, Smith T., 207
Pratt, Belle A., 38
Preparatory Department, 26, 35, 38, 39, 91
Preston, John, 24
Pride, Dorothea, 149
Primary Department, 21
Prince Edward County, Va., 149, 151
Pringle, Henry F., 158
Printing Department, **60**, 61, 91
Profile of Berea College, 1952–1972, 163, 174
Prudential Committee, 20, 21, 51, 67, 68, 70, 73, 106, 223
Pursiful, Mary Louise, 185, 186

Raine, James Watt, 124
Raymond, C. Rexford, 92, 97
Recreation Extension, 212
Renfro, Thomas J., 16, 20, 222
Ritchie, Jean, 173
Roberts, John D., 38
Robinson, Doris, 149
Robinson, Elsie, 149
Robinson, John T., 47, 69, 80, 230n17
Roger Williams College, 58, 69, 70
Rogers, Elizabeth, **15**, 17, 22, 33, 43, **49**, **106**
Rogers, J. A. R., **49**, 54, 87, 121, 161, 220, 222; and AMA, 12, 26; and Appalachia, 98; and constitution, 16, 18; early school, **15**, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31; exile and return, 20–21; as trustee, 24, 37, 71, 72; writings, 72, 100–101
Rogers, J. R., 85, 105, **106**, 112; and Day Law, 85
Rosenwald Foundation, 122, 146
Rucker, Elza, 167
Runkle, Col. Benjamin P., 28, 29
Russell Sage Foundation, 110

Sandpiper (Royal Navy vessel), 133
saga of Berea College, 6, 16, 99, 101, 195; defined, 1
Scofield, Abisha, 24
Scott, Catherine, 149
Sears, Richard D., 101
sectarianism: Berea's opposition to, 2, 3, 4, 18, 19, 31, 68, 69, 222
September 11 memorial, **218**
Sessions, F. C., 68
Seventy-fifth Anniversary, 120–21
Shansi Memorial School, 130
Shapiro, Henry, 101
Shinn, Larry D., 5, **200**, 201, **203**, **204**; and Appalachia, 202, 216; background, 202–3; and *Being and Becoming,* 206; and Berea traditions, 203–4, 206, 218, 220; and Fee's inclusive gospel, 202, 203, 218; and governance, 208; and strategic planning, 6, 201, 208, 219
Shinn, Nancy Lee Albright, 202, **203**
Shipherd, John Jay, 10, 11
Shutt, Charles N., 117
Sinclair, Olive, 93
Smith, Gerrit, 15, 42, 54
Smith, John, 15–16
Smith, Kirke, 88, 89
Smith, Louis, 139, 140, 146, 174, 204, 219
Smith, Ralph, 149
Smith, Roswell, 42, 55
Southern Appalachian Studies (1962 Regional Survey), 152
Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), 6, 118, 129, 189, 201
Special Collections Department, 171
Spratt, Zaccheus, 59, 228n5
Stapp, William, 15, 222
Stephenson, Edna, 180
Stephenson, Jane Baucom, 179, **180**, 181, 182. *See also* New Opportunity School (NOS)
Stephenson, John B., 5, **178**, **180**, **182**, **186**; and African Americans, 185; Appalachia, 5, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 201; background, 180; and Dalai Lama, 188–89; and Great Commitments, 5, 180, 181, 189, 195, 196–98; and long range planning, 189, 194, 201; writings of, 181
Stephenson, Louis, 180
Stewart, William B.: and African Americans, 59, 63; background, 57–58; career after Berea, 70–73; conflict with E. P. Fairchild, 69–70; and curriculum, 2, 59, 60, 61; and fund-raising, 3, 66–67, 71; as trustee, 58, 59, 70
Stoddard, J. P., 70
Stone Fund, 42
Stone, Lucy, 9
Stone, Valeria, 42
Strategic Planning Committee (SPC), 6, 201, 204
Student Association, 150
student life, 23, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 63, 66, 83, 138, 140, 174. *See also* admissions; labor; literary societies
Student Taught Basic Literacy Efforts (STABLE), 172

Students for Appalachia (SFA), 172, 173, 187, 213
Subcommittee on Sustainability (SOS), 209, 210
Summer Puppetry Caravan, 172, **174**
Sustainability and Environmental Studies Program (SENS), 6, 202, 210, **211**
Swanson, David, 195

Tandy and Foster, 89
Tappan, Arthur, 10
Tappan, Lewis, 11, 42
Task Force on Gender Issues, 187–88
Task Force on International Education, 188
Task Group on Committee Reorganization, 194
teacher training, 33, 87, 109, 144
territory, 170–71, 185, 191, 207
Thompson, Kenneth, 150
Thomson, A. E., 89, **90**
Tibet, students from, 188, 189
Traditional Music Festival, 173, 212, **213**
Training School, 231n45
True American (Cassius Clay), 13
trustees, 2, 3, 5, 6, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 37, 43, 44, 47, 53, 55, 57, 60, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 77, 87, 88, 90, 99, **106**, 112, 113, 116, 118, 119, 132, 133, 134, 143, 146, 147, 150, 163, 170, 171, 175, 191, 195, 198, 207, 212, 218, 219, 222–23
tuition, 27, 41, 59, 153, 234n51
Tuskegee Industrial Institute, 84, 86, 87, 228n15

Union Church (Church of Christ, Union), 25, 54, 68, 89, 175, 225n15, 234n27
United States Navy, 138, 139, 141
University of Chicago, 114, 116
University of Minnesota, 116
University of Wisconsin, 116
Upper Division, 4, 117, 118, 119, 129, 142
Upward Bound, 173

Vocational School (Department), 112

Wade, Barbara, **187**
Wallpaper (student newspaper), 140, 141
Walls, David, 181
War Relocation Authority, 140
Warford, Malcolm, 101
Warner, Lucien, 68, 229n63
Washington, Booker T., 85
Waters, Otis, **12**
Weatherford, Anne Cobbs, **163**
Weatherford, Julia McCrory, 162
Weatherford, Willis D., Jr. (president), 4, **160**, **163**, **177**; and admissions, 170, 171; and Appalachia, 5, 170–74; background, 162–63; and curriculum, 161, 165; and Great Commitments, 5, 161–63, 174, 175, 177; and interracial education, 166, 169, 170, 177
Weatherford, Willis D., Sr. (trustee), **116**, 161, **162**; and fund-raising, 162, 171; and reorganization, 115; and Southern Appalachian Studies, 152, 153
Weatherford-Hammond Mountain Collection, 171
Wei, Dr. Francis, **133**
Weld, Theodore, 10, 33
Wheeler, Ellen P. T., 21, 22
Wheeler, W. W., 21, 22, 24
Whipple, George, 11, 43
White, James C., 10
"Whom Shall We Serve" Committee, 170, 191
Wilderness Road, 153, 156, 157
Wilson, Capt. John, **51**
women at Berea College: and buildings, 53, 54; commitment to, 197–98, 221; education of, 18, 38, 93, **157**, 187, 193, 197, **198**, 216; rules concerning, 28, 34, 45, 46, **115**; as teachers, 25, 34, 36, **46**. *See also* Office of Women's Studies; Task Force on Gender Issues; women's studies
women's studies, 187, 188
Wong, Richard, 140
Woodson, Carter G., 169
Woolwine Purchase, 21
World War I, 3, 96, 98, 116
World War II, 4, 129, 136, 140, 141, 161
Wright, W. E. C., 40, 72

YMCA, 104, 105, 122, 145, 162
YWCA, 122, 146, 162, 140
Yale-in-China, 129, 130, 131, 132
Yale University Medical College, 131
York, Sgt. Alvin, 98, 103
Young, Louise, 140

Zander, Jessie Reasor, **147**, 149