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SOCIAL HISTORY OF TENNESSEE EPISCOPALIANS,
1865-1935, WITH A GUIDE TO RESEARCH
IN LOCAL RELIGIOUS HISTORY

By

Patricia Farrell Sharber

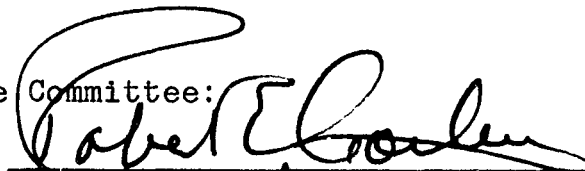
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SOCIAL HISTORY OF TENNESSEE EPISCOPALIANS,
1865-1935, WITH A GUIDE TO RESEARCH
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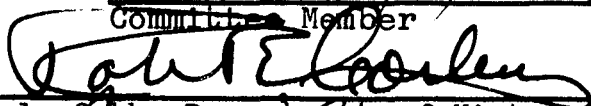
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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL HISTORY OF TENNESSEE EPISCOPALIANS,
1865-1935, WITH A GUIDE TO RESEARCH
IN LOCAL RELIGIOUS HISTORY

By Patricia Farrell Sharber

This study has a twofold purpose. In the first place, it presents a survey of a small but historically prestigious religious group in relation to its concerns with major non-theological questions during the seventy year span following the Civil War. Secondly, it presents a brief guide to researching and writing local religious history based upon the research done for this study as it might be applied to undergraduate studies in history. Both of these purposes are in keeping with a revitalized interest in American religious history as a formative factor in American life.

Patricia Farrell Sharber

The tradition of literacy among some religious groups, such as the Church of England and its offspring, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, has made record keeping and written memoirs a rule among church leaders. This fact facilitated this study of Episcopalians in Tennessee. The period under study was unified by the episcopacy of two men, Charles Todd Quintard (1865-1898) and Thomas Frank Gailor (1898-1935), both of whom kept records of their activities in diary and memoir form. These personal memoirs provided the basis of much of the information about Tennessee Episcopalians. A second, equally informative source was provided by the records of the annual diocesan convention of churchmen in Tennessee. These conventions were attended by the bishops, priests, and from one to three lay delegates from each parish and mission in the state. The convention was the business organization of the church in Tennessee, and, as such, a variety of matters came before it. Sermons, tracts, and pamphlets concerning the church and housed in the library and archives of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, as well as numerous secondary sources, supplemented the memoirs and journals. The technical sources for the compilation of the research guide came from standard guidebooks, style sheets, and manuals.

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Chapter I gives the setting for the study by dealing with the historical concern for creating a Christian America and the more recent drive for a "social gospel." Particular attention is given to the historical development of the Episcopal Church and its ante-bellum growth in Tennessee. The next three chapters are concerned with the church under Bishop Quintard and deal with special topics, such as Reconstruction, the refounding of the University of the South and other projects for particular groups such as the bishop's training school for black clergymen, Hoffman Hall. Chapters V through VII deal with the church under Bishop Gailor and with the responses made to twentieth century conditions. Chapter VIII is the research guide, and the last chapter provides a brief summation.

Tennessee Episcopalians made an attempt to keep their attention focused strictly upon religious and theological matters by providing religious instruction and services to as many Tennesseans as they could draw into their fold. Because they viewed all sorts and conditions of men within their legitimate field of service, they became involved in projects that had as much a social as a religious nature. Because they were comparatively weak in numbers and lacked adequate financial resources, they were hampered in fulfilling some of the programs they planned or

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started. Episcopalians generally were of the upper middle class and, therefore, may have been more concerned with their role as conservators of society rather than with radical attempts to remake it. For this reason, although the social gospel movement made some inroads into Episcopal organization and activity, Episcopalians in Tennessee were not leaders in the movement.

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INTRODUCTION

Although the First Amendment prohibits the Congress of the United States from establishing a religion, Americans nevertheless pledge allegiance to their flag with the contention that theirs is one nation "under God." These last two words were not added until the twentieth century, but they are illustrative of a long-standing American attitude. While a multiplicity of religious beliefs and attitudes prohibited the development of a national church, most Americans have had some experience or connection with a church, denomination, sect, or cult, and most Americans have a concept of a special religious sanction for their country. For this reason, the study of the American religious experience is requisite to a full understanding of American life and culture. When churches are studied in the light of their social attitudes or policies, a microcosm of American life results.

The study presented here deals with the social attitudes of the Episcopal Church in Tennessee between the years 1865 and 1935, a time in which many changes and conflicts molded new social, political, economic, and religious concepts. The beginning of the period is marked

by the aftermath of the Civil War, and it ends in the midst of the Great Depression. Within these years the nation industrialized, urbanized, and internationalized. The changes that occurred took place with such rapidity that traditional modes of society were challenged to keep pace or perish. The church was one institution that felt the threat of the new era.

Although the Episcopal Church in Tennessee makes up only a small portion of the total social milieu, it provides the student a view of an identifiable group in a well-defined area and the way that it met the challenges of the modern era. It also illustrates possible insights to be gained from the study of a small group. Because the opportunities for studies of this kind are numerous and interest in them is high, one chapter of this work is devoted to the development of a guide for students who wish to undertake a similar examination of a particular church in a particular area and period. If the topic is limited to one denomination in one town, county, or similarly restricted area, it becomes the kind of project that an energetic undergraduate student can complete. Church histories are numerous, but histories related to the major non-theological or non-institutional (that is, the non-physical accoutrements such as buildings, decor, prominent supporters,

monetary condition, and location) aspects are undertaken far less frequently, and they offer as many, if not more, rewarding conclusions.

The hierarchial organization of the Episcopal Church facilitated this study. Two bishops served the state, or diocese of Tennessee, during the years considered. Charles Todd Quintard, who was bishop from 1865 to his death in 1898, was succeeded by Thomas Frank Gailor, who then served as bishop until his death in 1935. Together, these two men headed the church in Tennessee for a period of seventy years in which Tennessee and Tennesseans experienced many of the disrupting and disturbing features of the shift from the old to the modern era. Because these two men were chosen by the clergy and lay delegates from the various parishes and missions, their attitudes, where it was possible to discover them, were considered as representative of the church's attitude. Study of their diaries and memoirs as well as their official statements and pronouncements revealed much about their attitudes toward the church and toward the ills of society.

The representative body of the church within the state provided another valuable source of material. An annual diocesan convention, made up of the clergy and from one to three lay delegates from each parish and mission,

assembled to discuss and formulate the policies, procedures, financial programs, and other business of the church. The record of these conventions was published in the form of a journal and was distributed to the delegates. The journals often afforded a revealing glimpse of the social attitudes of the members of the convention who were the spokesmen of the local units.

The significance of the bishops needs some qualification. The bishops are the ecclesiastical authority of the church within the diocese. New church members are received into the body of the church through the ceremony of confirmation which is performed only by bishops. It is through the authority of the bishops that ministers of the church are allowed to serve within the diocese in the name of the Episcopal Church. As bishops, they participate in the workings of the House of Bishops during the triennial meetings of the church in the United States and serve as the contact between the whole church and the diocesan church. But, despite the range of contact and authority inherent in the office, they are not able to channel opinion within the state or even of the church within the state. Although the bishops visit the parishes from time to time, they are not always able to shape the thought and attitude of the priests and parishioners regarding social problems. Even if they

were to make the attempt, lack of real authority and infrequency of contact would make success unlikely. On the other hand, the bishops are the personification of the church in Tennessee, and, wherever they go, they go as "Bishops of Tennessee."

The Episcopal Church in Tennessee developed projects for Negroes, the poor, women, and other special groups, as well as projects in education and church extension. Study of these reveals some changes in society and some changes in the church. It also points to a kinship between the church's attitudes and those of other denominations, southern and national. Although the Episcopal Church suffered less difficulty in accepting the implications of Germanic biblical scholarship and Darwinian science than southern fundamentalists, it usually agreed with other denominations' goal of a Christian America.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING

Social attitudes of a religious body must be considered against the larger backdrop of American religious and secular experience. In the United States, national and religious history and events have been so intertwined that one is recited along with the other, and religion and religious thought have figured significantly in forming "American" ideologies.¹ Merle Curti's study of American thought led him to the conclusion that "no intellectual interest served so effectively as Christian thought to bring some degree of unity to the different classes, regions, and ethnic groups."² On the other hand, American secular experience has brought about changes in the religious patterns of the nation.³ The American experience favored

¹William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1950), pp. 1-7; James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison, eds., Religion in American Life, Vol. II: Religious Perspectives in American Culture (Princeton: University Press, 1961), pp. 3-10; Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. 3-29; Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 162-95.

²Growth of American Thought, p. 3.

³David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution: The Sociology of American Religion (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 1-9.

religious pluralism over state-connected churches and allowed for the continuation and further development of denominations and sects. Instead of unremitting warfare between them, by the nineteenth century the different factions came to accept a place which generally allowed coexistence and sometimes cooperation with other bodies whose goals were "Christian."⁴ The numerical superiority of adherents of Christianity over non-Christians permitted them to equate Christianity with morality in their rhetoric.

Notwithstanding an apparent uniformity with regard to a goal of creating a Christian America, denominationalism and sectarianism based upon theological and social issues continued.⁵ Apparent accord did not demolish the walls that were erected about the various denominations. In fact, issues arising in the early nineteenth century, particularly related to the question of slaveholding, served to divide denominations along sectional lines. After the Civil War, a babel of Christian voices called for radical socialization of Christianity in some quarters and for conservative

⁴Robert T. Handy, A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. vii-ix, 42-64.

⁵H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press; Henry Holt, 1929), p. 135. Another area of disharmony is revealed in nineteenth century anti-Catholicism. See Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860 (New York: Macmillan, 1938).

adherence to the status quo in others. Out of the hullabaloo came such varied and imprecise labels as fundamentalism, modernism, liberalism, secularism, and other such "isms" that continue to beset theological debate. Beginning later in the nineteenth century and influencing churches into the present era, the "social gospel" pledged the church's concern with social as well as individual salvation. Although it became one of the most significant movements in modern religious history, influencing Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, it did not have uniform impact.⁶

The revolutionary changes that struck the United States in the post-Civil War period affected different areas in different ways. Urban-industrial growth presented some of the most pressing problems and garnered most of the attention. There was bitter reaction against the influx of new and apparently unassimilable immigrants. Incidents of crime, disease, waywardness, and intemperance seemed to be increasing with unprecedented rapidity. Bitter conflicts between the laboring man and his employer erupted. The upper-middle classes, who had made up a large portion of the city dwellers, began their flight to the suburbs. All in all, there was ample evidence of the generation's inability to cope with its social problems.

⁶Herbert Wallace Schneider, Religion in 20th Century America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 72-89.

The social gospel found its basis in a Christianity concerned with social as well as individual regeneration.⁷ Earlier religious concern of this kind was reflected in the revivalism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but revivalism emphasized individualism and personal regeneration as the means of improving society.⁸ Numbers of voluntary associations for reforming some particular social ill were formed in the decades before the Civil War; yet, despite the variety of reforms they championed, they were individualistic in that they existed apart from their churches.⁹ When they became associated with the

⁷Numerous studies of the social gospel movement have been made. See Aaron Ignatius Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943); Aaron I. Abell, American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865-1950 (Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame Press, 1960); James Dombrowski, The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936); Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940); Paul A. Carter, The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1954); Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Octagon Books, 1963); Robert Moats Miller, American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958); Arthur Meier Schlesinger, "A Critical Period in American Religion," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, LXIV (June, 1932), 523-47.

⁸Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (New York: Harper & Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1957), pp. 148-62.

⁹Handy, Christian America, p. 42.

denominations, they brought about denominational divisions, usually along sectional lines. The social gospel, however, reflected the changing nature of the country. Laissez faire, rugged individualism, and personal regeneration, although still popular, began to have serious competition in ideas of cooperative action, the general welfare state, and Christian socialism.

Churchmen, particularly in the urban areas, began to advocate a different role for Protestantism if it were to extend its own influence through the next century. Churches began to develop some awareness of their lack of appeal to those who were not profiting from the promises of American life. They were becoming more and more separated from the laboring masses and the unemployed who were left in the heart of the city while the churches themselves moved to the suburbs with the paying congregation. The response came slowly as the extent of the separation showed, but, during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, most of the leading Protestant denominations formed committees charged with the duty of investigating social problems. They also joined the newly formed and socially oriented Federal Council of Churches.¹⁰ As early as the 1860's and 1870's, some churchmen had borrowed from Great Britain's

¹⁰Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, pp. 302-17.

industrial-urban experience to experiment with the so-called institutional churches and Christian labor unions.

Since most of these responses did take place in the cities and were concerned with problems connected with industrialism, most studies of the social conscience of religious bodies have dealt with these same areas. Students of the South have pointed out differences in the southern responses and developments. Although one historian, C. Vann Woodward, maintained that the social gospel was not unknown in the South, he concluded that the "socially undistinguished, the poor, and the illiterate, neglected by the more respectable sects, found refuge in premillennial cults."¹¹ Writing of a later South, another historian, George B. Tindall, however, saw that both "the social gospel and the serpent of rationalism had entered the Southern Eden" to do battle with a newly militant fundamentalism.¹²

If the South were only incidentally affected by industrial-urban growth, it nonetheless faced problems which were as compelling. Defeated in war, the South faced Reconstruction, economic devastation, racial problems, and

¹¹Origins of the New South, 1877-1913, Vol. IX of A History of the South, ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (10 vols.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947--), pp. 452-53.

¹²The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945, Vol. X of A History of the South, ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (10 vols.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947--), 199-201.

lost identity. Just as they did elsewhere, churches in the South were compelled to make accommodations to new forces. Although the battles they waged were not always of the same kind that were fought in areas outside the South, they were of similar intensity. Denominational studies of those churches formed out of the sectional controversies of the ante-bellum period afford an enlightening view of the way sectional religious groups perceived their role in a changing society. Hunter Dickinson Farish made a pioneer study of this type in his work on Southern Methodists.¹³ More recently, Rufus Spain and Milton Baughn have added insight into the activities and attitudes of Southern Baptists and Cumberland Presbyterians.¹⁴ These studies found social action and awareness becoming more prevalent in purely southern denominations. David Edwin Harrell's study of the Disciples of Christ's ante-bellum quest for a Christian America discovered diversity in their social concept but a previously unrecognized uniformity in their desire.¹⁵

¹³The Circuit Rider Dismounts: A Social History of Southern Methodism, 1865-1900 (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1938).

¹⁴Spain, At Ease in Zion: Social History of Southern Baptists, 1865-1900 (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967); Ben M. Barrus, Milton L. Baughn, and Thomas H. Campbell, A People Called Cumberland Presbyterians (Memphis: Frontier Press, 1972), pp. 121-283.

¹⁵A Social History of the Disciples of Christ; Vol. I: Quest of a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866 (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966), pp. 222-24.

Inasmuch as the Civil War proved that no section of the nation could exist apart from the nation, denominational studies should include those with a national as well as local organization. The Episcopal Church with its federated structure was an example of this type. Forced by the war into a separation from the national group, Episcopal churchmen formed a short-lived Church in the Confederate States, but otherwise the Episcopal Church was not divided along sectional lines. Since the state was synonymous with the Episcopal diocese in Tennessee, it, therefore, provided an excellent opportunity to illustrate the way a local religious group with national affiliation accommodated itself to the changing times.

Although the Episcopal Church fell short of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Catholics in numbers, it traditionally has had more than a proportional share of the educated, affluent, and prominent.¹⁶ It, thus, may have exercised an influence which bore a negative

¹⁶Based upon education, occupation and income, recent sociological studies place Episcopalians, Jews, and Presbyterians in the top order of three ranks. See Leo Rosten, ed., Religions in America: A Completely Revised and Up-to-Date Guide to Churches and Religious Groups in the United States (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), p. 283. Nine Presidents, five Chief Justices, and nineteen of the framers of the Constitution were Episcopalians. Ibid., pp. 280-82.

correlation to its numbers. In Tennessee, the Episcopal Church has never ranked numerically among the top four, but it has claimed governors, legislators, and judges, and it has had the approval of many who were not affiliated formally with it.¹⁷

The Episcopal Church has a unique tradition which must be considered when dealing with its attitudes, social or religious. As an offspring of the Church of England, or Anglican Church, its services were the first English worship in the New World. As an Anglican body, the Episcopal Church shared the historical background of the Church of England under whose banner it first came to this country. The Church of England's existence as a separate church began during the reign of Henry VIII in 1534 when king and Parliament, using ancient statutes as their authority, declared the independence of the English church from the

¹⁷ Examples include Governor John C. Brown, State Senator Francis Brinley Fogg, Justice Frank Hoyt Gailor, and Justice H. H. Lurton. Episcopalians Thomas Claiborne, Lawrence D. Tyson, and Luke Lea served in the U. S. Congress. Thomas W. Humes, rector of St. John's, Knoxville, and an early president of the University of Tennessee, was an Episcopalian as were Commander Matthew Fontaine Maury and authoress Mary Noailles Murfree. Ex-President of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis was for a time vestryman of an Episcopal Church in Memphis, and General Braxton Bragg was brought into the Episcopal Church by Charles Todd Quintard, then serving as chaplain in the Army of Tennessee. A. S. Colyar, newspaper editor and owner of Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, although not an Episcopalian, gave land for the establishment of the University of the South and retained interest in it.

authority of Rome. At this first stage, it became non-Roman rather than non-Catholic or Protestant. With the exception of the elimination of the Pope's authority and the substitution of Henry VIII as the temporal head of the church, few changes were made.¹⁸

Thereafter, the development of the church depended largely upon the activities of the clergy and the state. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, led the Protestant faction which began to grow in Henry's later years and developed in the reign of Edward VI. Under his guidance the liturgy and ritual of the Catholic Church were translated into the English Book of Common Prayer, and many of the influences of the Protestant Reformation worked their way into the church. This trend toward Protestantism was reversed, however, when Mary Tudor came to the throne in 1553. Mary's attempts to vindicate her mother and restore Catholicism won her few friends among her English subjects. Elizabeth I, whose long reign began in 1558, was able to

¹⁸Raymond W. Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New York: Macmillan, 1964), pp. 2-4; Thomas F. Gailor, The Episcopal Church: Its History, Its Prayer Book, Its Ministry (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company, 1914), pp. 10-23; G. M. Trevelyan, History of England (3rd ed.; London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1952), p. 250.

find a middle way that appeased both factions and allowed the church to develop with a minimum of conflict.¹⁹

Upon Elizabeth's death, the Stuart kings who succeeded her attempted to root out the nonconformists in the church and add rule by divine right to the doctrine of the church. Although they were supported in this by William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, the result was a long period of conflict with the king and the church on one side and Parliament and Puritan on the other. Although the conflict was resolved finally with the restoration of the monarchy, Protestantism was not assured until the Bloodless Revolution of 1688 brought in monarchs who pledged to maintain the Protestant religion as established by law. One of the side effects of this religious turmoil was the great migration of Puritans to the New World.²⁰

Largely by virtue of its position as the Church of England, Anglicanism was established in the English southern colonies of North America. The Church of England was established in Virginia in 1609. In Maryland (1702), South Carolina (1706), North Carolina (1711), and Georgia (1758), colonial legislatures made provisions for Anglican worship

¹⁹Albright, Episcopal Church, pp. 5-7; Trevelyan, History of England, p. 328.

²⁰Albright, Episcopal Church, pp. 7-10.

according to the Book of Common Prayer. They also made arrangements for financial support of the church.²¹

The most active move to expand the church in the colonies came with the formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The first named organization sent more than three hundred ordained missionaries to the thirteen colonies during the eighteenth century. With its support, the services and worship of the Church of England became known in every colony, including those established by dissenters.²²

Despite its establishment in some colonies and its extension into others, the church was beset with a number of difficulties which seriously hampered its growth. Prominent among its problems was lack of episcopal supervision. Although Archbishop Laud had planned to send a bishop to the English colonies, he was executed before he could do so. When the proposal was brought up later, too many objections, both in the colonies and in England, were raised.²³ The failure of the Church of England to provide bishops for the

²¹Rosten, Religions in America, p. 273.

²²William Wilson Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church (2nd ed.; New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1950), pp. 47-62.

²³Albright, Episcopal Church, pp. 96-112.

church in the American colonies made a vital difference to a church which based its polity and ecclesiastical supervision upon a hierarchy of priests headed by bishops.

Although the lack of bishops was a prominent factor in explaining the church's lack of vitality, other equally serious causes existed. Because a large proportion of the colonists had come to the New World to seek freedom from an established church, they were apt to resent the establishment of a church which symbolized privilege and persecution of dissenters to them. The many Puritans who left England in the seventeenth century attempted to stamp out nonconformity to their beliefs and polity. In the non-Puritan colonies where there was greater diversity of religious practices, Anglicanism competed with newer and more enthusiastic bodies.

The attribute which almost proved to be the death-blow for the church had once been its greatest advantage. It was the state church, supported by the monarchy and represented in Parliament. When problems between the colonists and the mother country led the colonists to resort to revolution for their independence, Anglican clergymen generally supported the mother country and took the loyalist position. This was done in accordance with the part of the ordination ceremony which called for ministers of the church to take an oath of loyalty to the crown. To those who

supported independence, this loyalty to the crown was treasonable. At the end of the war the church was not only disestablished, it very nearly disappeared.²⁴

That the church did not die along with its connection to England was the result of the activities of a scattered remnant of churchmen who remained loyal to the Anglican theology while adopting the new country as their homeland. No longer properly addressed as Anglicans or members of the Church of England, they adopted the title Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. As early as 1779, churchmen began holding conventions in order to decide upon and continue an organization for the church. These culminated in a constitutional convention which met in Christ Church, Philadelphia, in two sessions from July 28 to August 8, and again from September 30 to October 16, 1789. By this time, three American bishops had been consecrated in England, and, thus, a fully structured independent church was created in the same year that the Constitution of the United States provided a fully structured federal government for the country.²⁵

With few exceptions, the Protestant Episcopal Church was able to maintain most of the significant features of the

²⁴Ibid., pp. 113-24.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 125-40.

Church of England. No longer a church in the sense that it was a part of the state, it became a denomination. It kept the episcopal form and the apostolic succession, continued liturgical worship based on a slightly revised Book of Common Prayer, and adhered to the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds. Echoing the tenor of the country, the church became a federated body with a constitution, a representative convention, and a will to survive. Because it had suffered from its connection with the government, the American church emphasized the importance of the separation of church and state, and, in the checks placed upon the bishops, it showed a distrust of the prerogatives associated with unlimited power. Although the bishops deliberated separately in the House of Bishops at the triennial General Conventions, none had ascendancy over the others and at first none had the power of veto. For years, the presiding bishop was an honorary position given to the man who had held his order for the greatest length of time. The result was that a great deal of independence could be exercised by the local dioceses and by the individual bishops within their dioceses.²⁶

The weakness of the church in this early period was revealed by the slow extension of its episcopal form,

²⁶Ibid.

particularly in the South. The strength of the church and the first bishops came from the Middle and New England states where the population concentration was heaviest and where the church had had to depend upon voluntary support from the beginning. Although Maryland and Virginia chose bishops before 1790, it was not until that year that James Madison of Virginia (no relation to the future president) was consecrated, and, two years later, James Claggett of Maryland was the first bishop consecrated by American bishops in the United States. Despite some opposition to the episcopacy in South Carolina, Robert Smith was elected and consecrated at the General Convention of 1795. North Carolina did not have a bishop of its own until 1823, and Georgia waited until 1841 to send Stephen Elliott for consecration.²⁷

The most vital and enthusiastic element in the church in this period was the Methodist faction. The work of the Wesleys was very popular in the South, but neither the Church of England nor the Episcopal Church was able to keep the Methodists under its government and control. The result was the formation of an evangelistic and enthusiastic sect with some elements of the Episcopal Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church drew many people who had been attached to the Episcopal Church as well as many who had had

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 138, 252; Manross, Episcopal Church, pp. 203, 236.

no prior attachments. Lack of vitality in these formative years prevented the Episcopal Church from participating in the westward movement that was taking place during the same period. While other denominations, including the Roman Catholics, were sending missionaries into the frontier, the Episcopal Church was trying merely to stay alive. The emotionalism of frontier revivalism provided a sharp contrast to the formalism and ritual of the Episcopal Church.

By the 1830's, however, the church in the South began to show signs of recovery. A revival of interest in the older states and the extension of the church into the Southwest assured the continuation of its practices in the South. In 1835, the missionary work of the church was reorganized in such a way that every member of the church was by virtue of that fact a part of the Missionary Society. The General Convention of that year also provided for missionary bishops to serve areas where the church was weak or unknown. The significance of the step for the Southwest was diminished when the man elected missionary bishop for Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida declined the election.²⁸

Notwithstanding this setback, church organizations were being formed in the South and Southwest. Benjamin Bosworth Smith was consecrated bishop of Kentucky in 1832, and James Hervey Otey was chosen in the following year to

²⁸Manross, Episcopal Church, pp. 233-38, 256-58.

serve as the first bishop of Tennessee. Consecrated in January of 1834, Otey served not only Tennessee, but for ten years was the provisional bishop of Mississippi and Florida, and, from 1842 to 1844, he was missionary bishop of Arkansas, Louisiana, and the Indian Territory. The diocese of Alabama elected Nicholas H. Cobbs as its first bishop in 1844. In 1838, the General Convention consecrated Leonidas Polk as missionary bishop for the Southwest, primarily Arkansas but including Mississippi, Louisiana, and the Republic of Texas. In 1841, churchmen in Louisiana elected Polk bishop of that diocese. Texas became a diocese in 1849, and elected Alexander Gregg as its first bishop in 1859. Mississippi elected William Mercer Green in 1850, and, before the Civil War, churchmen in Florida became numerous enough to elect a bishop.²⁹

Since churchmen blamed some of their slow growth upon the lack of qualified clergymen, desire for institutions to train southern ministers was early voiced. In 1824, the diocese of Virginia established the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, many of whose graduates went into missionary work. Both Bishop Polk and Bishop Otey expressed a desire for a university in the South. With the driving power of Polk behind it, the cornerstone for the University of the South on Sewanee Mountain in Tennessee was laid in

²⁹Albright, Episcopal Church, pp. 186-206.

1860 in time for the project to be disrupted by the Civil War.³⁰

By 1860, the Episcopal Church had overcome some formidable odds to become an established denomination. Although it had a definite southern element within it, the church was not divided by the slavery issue. Differences of opinion over the question existed, but the emotional reforming impulse that became a factor in the division of other churches never reached a scale sufficient to divide Episcopalians. Many southern bishops believed in gradual emancipation while non-southern bishops approved of slavery in principle. Perhaps, however, it was class solidarity among Episcopalians which held them united.³¹ Their elitism had the effect of emphasizing their view that they were among the natural leaders of society and that the reformers were trying to upset the natural order. This attitude minimized their zeal to change society in any way.

On the other hand, Episcopal churches sponsored orphanages and schools, missions to slaves and freedmen, and worked to convert Indians. The church was not completely unaware of the existence of social problems and social responsibility. Its early social conscience was cautious enough to avoid a schism during the anti-slavery crusade,

³⁰Ibid., pp. 168-70, 214-15.

³¹Walter B. Posey, "The Protestant Episcopal Church: An American Adaptation," Journal of Southern History, XXV (February, 1959), 25-28.

but, as early as 1862, the General Convention petitioned the president of the United States concerning the rights of Indians. This action was a noteworthy sign of the awakening social conscience of the American Episcopal Church. In the late nineteenth century, socially active Episcopalians founded the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (CAIL) and the Christian Social Union. Episcopal clergymen such as E. A. Washburn, Henry Codman Potter, W. S. Rainsford, Richard Heber Newton, Frederick Dan Huntington, and W. D. P. Bliss were associated with the early social gospel, which attempted not only to save the souls of the depressed but also to improve their miserable earthly existence. Crusaders and reformers such as Richard Ely, the economist, and Jacob Riis, the journalist, were Episcopal laymen who made extensive efforts to improve the quality of life of the poor in large cities. Within the first two decades of the twentieth century, Episcopalians developed institutional churches, which offered a full range of social as well as religious services in several American cities, and otherwise showed their approval of a movement toward Christianizing the social order.³²

The early social concern that was manifested was not an official stand of the church. The nature of the

³²See Spencer Miller, Jr., and Joseph F. Fletcher, The Church and Industry (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930).

Episcopal organization and the reluctance of the dioceses to accept any more centralization than was absolutely necessary obviated the formation of a single policy for the whole church. Since many of the reforms called for by the social gospel would have to be brought about by state action, the church's advocacy of separation of church and state further hindered the adoption of a policy which would call for this cooperation.

Despite the identification of the Episcopal Church with the social gospel, a recent student of the Episcopal Church's social policies found that they were still subject to an endless debate and that the official attitude of the church with regard to social problems was by no means clear or radical.³³ The moderate cast of the early social gospel in the Episcopal Church was shown in J. P. Morgan's toleration of his rector's activity in the movement, by the presence of an outspoken advocate of the "gospel of wealth" in William Lawrence, bishop of Massachusetts, and through the general acceptance of the church as the stronghold of traditionalism.

Nevertheless, at the first meeting of the General Convention in the twentieth century, a committee was appointed "to study carefully the aims and purposes of

³³M. Moran Weston, Social Policy of the Episcopal Church in the Twentieth Century (New York: Seabury Press, 1964), p. 3.

the labor organizations of our country . . . and to investigate the causes of industrial disturbances."³⁴ They based their concern for labor on the idea that "the Christian Church would be untrue to her Master--the Carpenter of Nazareth--if she were not the friend of the laboring man, and did not hold his welfare as dear to her heart as that of his employer."³⁵ The action of the General Convention "was a turning point in the life and work of the Episcopal Church."³⁶

Thereafter, more and more statements heard at the General Convention indicated social awareness and the need for social action. In 1904, a Joint Commission of the Relations of Capital and Labor called upon "Christian employers and on Christian parents to endeavor after such betterment of the local and general laws as shall make the labor of children impossible in this Christian country."³⁷ At the next triennial session of the General Convention the committee instructed: "Capital should be taught its duty of treating labor fairly, listening to its complaints patiently,

³⁴Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (hereinafter referred to as General Convention), 1901, p. 126.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Weston, Social Policy, p. 19.

³⁷General Convention, 1904, p. 96.

and redressing its grievances wherever possible."³⁸ On the other hand, "labor should be taught respect for the rights of capital, reliance upon reason and persuasion, and a knowledge that violence and lawlessness are unworthy of a cause which claims to be the cause of humanity."³⁹ These statements were conservative enough to avoid alienating any capitalists among the members of the church. They were not followed by any great migration of workers to the rolls of the church.

The culmination of the movement in the General Convention was reached in 1913, with the passage of a resolution which set forth the convention's policy on "Social Justice," a term often connected with the basic goals of Progressives. The resolution affirmed "that the Church stands for the ideal of social justice and that it demands the achievement of a social order in which the social cause of poverty and the gross human waste of the present order shall be eliminated." "Every worker," the resolution continued, "should have a just return for that which he produces, a free opportunity for self-development, and a fair share in all the gains of progress." Members of the church were called upon "to live, and so to act that the present prejudice and injustice may be supplanted by mutual

³⁸Ibid., 1907, p. 527.

³⁹Ibid., p. 528.

understanding, sympathy, and just dealings, and the ideal of thorough-going democracy may be finally realized in our land."⁴⁰

That the formulation of a policy of social justice coincided with the popularity of Progressivism can not be ignored. The first committee to investigate the causes of labor disturbances was organized during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, and the last statement of social justice was formulated during Woodrow Wilson's first term of office. The church was apparently riding on the same swell of public opinion that made Roosevelt declare that he stood for a square deal for labor and that saw Wilson's administration enact the "magna carta" of labor in the Clayton Act, which maintained that labor was not a commodity and that unions were not conspiracies in restraint of trade. That the development of an awareness of the need for social justice was not completely indigenous to the United States was reflected in the fact that the Anglican Church was similarly involved in social projects.⁴¹

The social awareness expressed by the General Convention was based on problems of the urban-industrial centers. While the representatives from non-urban,

⁴⁰Ibid., 1913, p. 289.

⁴¹Weston, Social Policy, p. 414.

non-industrial centers apparently acquiesced in the program, they often faced problems of a much different nature. The church in Tennessee, for example, probably did not have the same kind of concerns for society as did churchmen in the metropolitan areas. In this period, the Tennessee church's most vital concerns were related to its financial and numerical growth, not the betterment of social conditions in the state.

The Episcopal Church in Tennessee was not organized until 1829. In that year, the first diocesan convention was held with representatives from the three organized congregations in the state. Three ministers and nine laymen met with the bishop of North Carolina to adopt a constitution and the canons for establishing a Protestant Episcopal Church in conformity with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The first representation of the church in the state was small, but it expressed optimism about the future of the church in the state. A committee appointed to investigate the state of the church reported that:

. . . taking into consideration the fertility of the soil, mildness of the climate, the increasing population of Tennessee, together with the awakened spirit of her sons concerning their eternal welfare, there is abundant

reason to hope that . . . our beloved church will flourish in this western portion of our country.⁴²

A few years later the committee reported that the growth of the church was affected by some "discouraging circumstances" that included a population lacking religious background and preferring preaching over liturgical worship.⁴³

After four years, the diocese of Tennessee barely met the constitutional requirements for the election of a bishop, but nonetheless it took the step as a measure necessary for its future growth. As mentioned, James Hervey Otey, schoolmaster and priest from North Carolina, was chosen its first bishop by vote of the clergy and laity present at the 1833 convention. The newly elected bishop was aware of the difficulties associated with his new position:

The condition and wants of the church in this Diocese are such, and the labors requisite to meet them, so great, as to render the office of Bishop among us, anything rather than an object of ambition. Unceasing vigilance, constant care, incessant toil and many wearisome days of travelling, must be the portion of him who undertakes the burden of its faithful execution. Our numbers are small, our friends few, feeble and widely dispersed over an extended surface, our necessities many and urgent, our resources not very abundant.⁴⁴

⁴²Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Session of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Tennessee (hereinafter referred to as Tennessee Convention), 1829, pp. 5-6.

⁴³Ibid., 1831, p. 12.

⁴⁴Ibid., 1833, p. 17.

Although Otey's assessment of the situation was accurate, the church did grow, albeit slowly. Otey, serving not only as bishop of Tennessee but also as missionary bishop for some years, travelled many miles and confirmed many persons as active members of the church. By 1850, the church had apparently carved a permanent place for itself in Tennessee. In the decade before the Civil War, church membership increased and new parishes were formed in towns that promised prosperous futures.⁴⁵

Otey was still bishop of the Tennessee church when the state seceded from the Union in July of 1861. He was a southerner and a slaveowner as well as a bishop, but, with many other Tennesseans, he was not an ardent secessionist. He opposed secession and urged churchmen to act "as ambassadors of the Prince of Peace to inculcate forbearance . . . and especially to be obedient to the laws and encourage others to be orderly, peaceable, submissive."⁴⁶ When it became apparent that Lincoln was going to use force to maintain the Union, Otey changed his position. He then found "no sympathy with the U.S. Government--no respect for

⁴⁵ Arthur Howard Noll, History of the Church in the Diocese of Tennessee (New York: James Pott and Company, 1900), p. 109.

⁴⁶ Joseph Blount Chesire, The Church in the Confederate States (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1911), pp. 10-11.

its rulers--very little regard for the Northern people."⁴⁷

He asserted that it was the duty of the South

. . . clearly and unequivocally to repel force by force, and to make every sacrifice rather than to submit to an administration that tramples down every barrier raised by our Forefathers for the protection of personal, social and public rights.⁴⁸

In a letter to Secretary of State William H. Seward, a fellow Episcopalian, Otey challenged the North to provide any better living conditions for the Negro than those provided by a kindly and Christian master.⁴⁹

When Otey changed his mind about the South's relationship to the rest of the country, he did so in terms of political relationships, not religious loyalties. Despite his change of position on secession, he was reluctant to see schism rend his church. He disagreed with the view that the church was forced to reorganize because of the formation of the Confederacy.⁵⁰ Other southern churchmen, however, seeing the nationalistic aspects in the church organization and ritual, called for the church to organize as the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of

⁴⁷James H. Otey to Edward C. Burks, July 17, 1861, American Historical Review, XXXI (October, 1925), 98-100.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Memphis Daily Appeal, May 26, 1861, cited by Fred T. Wooten, Jr., "Religious Activities in Civil War Memphis," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, III (1944), 133.

⁵⁰Noll, History of the Church, p. 142.

America. Leonidas Polk, bishop of Louisiana and formerly a priest and associate of Otey in Tennessee, was the first to call for a Confederate organization. Denying charges of schism, Polk maintained that the church has been "separated, not divided."⁵¹ The first call for a meeting of the church in the Confederacy directed particular attention to the lack of "any dissension which has occurred within the Church itself" or "any dissatisfaction with either the doctrine or discipline of the Church."⁵²

The position taken by southern churchmen was repeated in the moderate attitude of the General Convention. The names of the missing southern delegates were called just as if there had been no separation, temporary or permanent. It was possible, therefore, for postwar reconciliation to take place with a minimum of controversy and for the reunited church to become interested in the social problems of its age.

⁵¹Chesire, Church in the Confederate States, pp. 13-17. Polk, a graduate of West Point, accepted a commission as major general in the Army of Tennessee. He was killed at Pine Mountain, Georgia, in 1864.

⁵²Ibid., pp. 18-19.

CHAPTER II

THE BISHOP AND THE CHURCH: WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The rout of Confederate forces at Nashville, in mid-December, 1864, ended for Tennesseans the bloody fratricidal war. The state had been a major battlefield for four years, as plundering troops had marched back and forth across its borders since February, 1861. Destruction was widespread and no one, whether he was Unionist or Confederate, escaped the hard hand of war. Civil strife, street fights, and rural feuds added to the turmoil and distress.¹

The last state to leave the Union, Tennessee seceded despite a great deal of Unionist sentiment throughout the

¹Thomas B. Alexander, Political Reconstruction in Tennessee (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1950), pp. 49-68; Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell, Tennessee: A Short History (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), pp. 329-55.

state.² Although Tennesseans rejected a state convention to consider secession in a referendum in February, 1861, events helped move opinion toward the position taken by Governor Isham Harris. Tennesseans were still hopeful of reconciliation at Lincoln's inauguration in March. Neither Lincoln's election as a minority and sectional president nor the formation of a southern confederacy had moved the majority toward disunion. Notwithstanding the great hopes many had pinned on the Washington Peace Conference, the firing on Fort Sumter on April 12, and Lincoln's call for volunteers on April 15, moved many more toward the necessity of taking up arms.³

Bishop Otey's transformation from Unionist to Confederate was typical of the change many Tennesseans underwent. When Governor Harris called a second extra session of the state legislature in April, 1861, the legislators drafted a Declaration of Independence to be submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection on June 8. In the meantime, Governor Harris took steps toward joining the Confederacy. Although the secessionist position prevailed, unionism was strong enough in East Tennessee to

²Unionist sentiment in Tennessee had weathered previous storms. From a study of the state legislature, Union rallies, and newspaper editorials, Professor Paul H. Burgeron found that Tennesseans opposed nullification in 1833 not because they were "'passionately pro-Jackson' but because they had a remarkable unity in their devotion to the Union." "Tennessee's Response to the Nullification Crisis," Journal of Southern History, XXXIX (February, 1973), 44.

³Folmsbee, Tennessee, pp. 312-27.

cause its leaders to petition for the formation of a separate state. While nothing came of the move, it indicated that division of opinion still existed within the state.

The war moved quickly toward and into Tennessee. By the spring of 1862, much of Tennessee was under military occupation. In February, General Ulysses S. Grant declared martial law, and, in March, Andrew Johnson was appointed military governor. Although unpopular with the rank and file of Tennesseans, the East Tennessee tailor continued in his precarious position as military governor until he became vice president of the United States in March of 1865. Throughout his three years in office in Tennessee, Johnson was constantly fearful for his position and even for his life because of the sporadic Confederate activities which continued in the state until General John B. Hood's defeat at Nashville, in December, 1864.

As early as 1860, Bishop Otey had reacted prophetically to the developing crisis:

The cry, like a death-knell rings through our borders. "The Union is dissolved! and the sun of our glory has gone down." Ruin with its weird shriek of despair spreads its dark wings over all the land, and foreshadows the "desolation that comes like a whirlwind." Every face gathers blackness, every bosom heaves a sigh, and every eye drops a tear. Well may we then, if not now, take up the lament of Christ over Jerusalem, and say, "O my country! if thou hadst

known, even thou, at last in this day, the things which belong to thy peace! but they are hid from thine eyes.⁴

For Episcopal clergymen, the secession crisis and the Civil War provided a dilemma comparable to that of the Anglican clergy in the Revolutionary War. Services in the Book of Common Prayer prescribed that prayers be offered for the president of the United States and all others in authority. Their belief in their church as Catholic as well as Apostolic and the fact that they had no complaint against the whole church made them refrain from actions which could be construed as schismatic. The General Convention of 1859 had been held in Richmond, Virginia, and its work was crowned "with an unprecedented evidence of the growth and prosperity of the great national Church which it represented."⁵ As a result, although church leaders reflected all shades of political thought, prayers for the constituted authorities usually were continued until local ordinances of secession were adopted by the states.⁶

⁴William Mercer Green, Memoir of Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D.D., LL.D., The First Bishop of Tennessee (New York: James Pott, 1885), p. 348; James Welch Patton, Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 5.

⁵Cheshire, Church in the Confederate States, p. 6.

⁶Ibid., pp. 7-10.

Southern bishops, after much soul-searching and questioning, came to believe that separation from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was necessary in order to follow national lines.⁷ Leonidas Polk, bishop of Louisiana, and Stephen Elliott, bishop of Georgia, issued a joint letter calling for a convention of churchmen in the Confederacy at Montgomery, Alabama, July 3, 1861. Bishop Otey was ill and did not attend that first meeting, but Tennessee was represented by the bishop and two members of the clergy at a subsequent meeting. After the death of Bishop William Meade of Virginia, Otey was the senior bishop in the Confederacy, but he probably never served as presiding bishop. Several southern bishops were very critical of Otey for giving his consent to the consecration of a bishop for the diocese of Pennsylvania, although he also gave consent to the consecration of a bishop for Alabama. Because of the nature of the effect of the war on Tennessee, no diocesan conventions were held after May, 1861, and the diocese was never formally associated with the Church in the Confederacy.⁸

⁷Ibid., pp. 15-35.

⁸According to a Memphis historian, Otey announced the secession of the diocese and its union with the Church in the Confederate States shortly after the Battle of Manassas, August, 1861. Fred T. Wooten, Jr., "Religious Activities in Civil War Memphis," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, III (1944), 256-57. The absence of a diocesan convention would have prevented this union from being official.

Otey's death in 1863 left the church in Tennessee with no central organization save that of the standing committee appointed at the last convention. This committee followed Otey's lead in recognition of the continuation of the bonds between the diocese and the national church by giving its consent to the consecration of a bishop for Kansas.⁹

Throughout the war and its aftermath, individual members of the clergy continued to be plagued by the question of what authority they were to pray for--the president of the United States or the president of the Confederacy? A Memphis newspaper kept its readers informed about the communicants of Calvary Church and their disagreement over these prayers. Apparently, the rector capitulated to the "loyalists" after the takeover of Memphis by Union forces.¹⁰ In Nashville, a prominent Union sympathizer was able to keep his position as senior warden on the vestry of Christ Church throughout the war, although most of his fellow vestrymen and church members were Confederate sympathizers.¹¹ Thomas W. Humes, rector of an Episcopal

⁹Chesire, Church in the Confederate States, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰Wooten, "Religious Activities," 258-61.

¹¹Anne Rankin, Christ Church Nashville, 1829-1929 (Nashville: Marshall and Bruce, 1929), p. 110.

Church in Knoxville, was forced to close the doors of the church because of the division of opinion. He was a strong advocate of the Union and, when the Union army came in, he opened the church to services for Union sympathizers.¹²

Union army officers usually took steps to see that the services of the church included the prayer for the president of the United States. Many churches were closed and their services suspended when obedience to military dictates was not immediately forthcoming.¹³

The future bishop of Tennessee, Charles Todd Quintard, and nearly a hundred other Episcopal ministers took a direct part in the war by becoming chaplains for the Confederate army. Quintard, born in Stamford, Connecticut, December 22, 1824, had been educated in New York and received a degree in medicine from the University of New York in 1847. After a year at Bellevue Hospital, he began practice in Athens, Georgia. He married Eliza Catherine Hand of Darien, Georgia, on October 19, 1848, and, in 1851,

¹²His loyalty was rewarded by his appointment as the president of the University of Tennessee, to which the benefits of the Morrill Act were extended. "It was most fortunate that his qualifications were not limited to his political beliefs but included a fine education and administrative talents, for the University had need of all three." Betsey Beeler Creekmore, Knoxville (2nd ed.; Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1967), p. 170.

¹³Churches in Alabama were closed for months because of disagreement between church and federal authorities. In January, 1866, the diocesan council voted to resume its connection with the General Convention. Memphis Daily Appeal, January 28, 1866.

he moved to Tennessee to teach physiology and pathological anatomy in the Memphis Medical College. While at Memphis, he became a close friend of Bishop Otey and decided to enter the priesthood. Studying theology under Otey, Quintard advanced from deacon in 1855 to priest in 1856. Later in 1856, he accepted the rectorship of the Church of the Advent in Nashville, and he was there at the outbreak of the war. In 1860, the young men of Nashville's Rock City Guard elected him their chaplain, a position which he believed to be merely honorary until subsequent events made it more than that.¹⁴

Quintard's background and connections made it unlikely that he would be an ardent secessionist. When he was asked to address the Rock City group and others at a thanksgiving service held in the state capitol in 1860, he took the subject, "Obedience to Rulers," and made a strong plea for union.¹⁵ On the other hand, he believed that Governor Harris's response to Lincoln's call for volunteers expressed the sentiments of the vast majority of Tennesseans. When the Rock City Guard was enlarged and mustered into the

¹⁴Arthur Howard Noll, ed., Doctor Quintard, Chaplain CSA and Second Bishop of Tennessee, Being His Story of the War, 1861-1865 (Sewanee, Tenn.: University Press, 1905), pp. 5-6; Quintard Family Bible, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Microfilm.

¹⁵Noll, Quintard, p. 10.

service of the state as the First Tennessee Regiment and received orders to go to Virginia, Quintard accompanied them. The politics of the appointment were not to his liking as he wrote to a fellow priest:

I will sign no card, I would not shake hands with a mortal man to gain a chaplaincy--and if my going before the Regt. cheek-by-jowl with any or all sort of them be necessary to gain the good will of the men--or "re-establish good feeling"--I would let the whole thing go. . . . This thing has been to me more of a trial than I have had to pass through for many years--and it is a thing I had rather not write about or think about. I have found out that in the religion of a certain class of men Chesterfield is not an approved text-book.¹⁶

Quintard's war experiences undoubtedly affected the course of his life. Because religion played an important role in the Confederate army, the chaplain's post was a significant one. Between 1863 and 1864, a revival swept through the army of northern Virginia, and elsewhere churches were packed with soldiers whenever religious services were offered.¹⁷ Preachers and other religious leaders were significant in building and maintaining Confederate morale.¹⁸ Quintard was not only priest or

¹⁶ Quintard to George Carroll Harris, July 17, 1861, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, George Carroll Harris Papers. Since Quintard used a variety of symbols and abbreviations in his handwriting, these are transcribed hereinafter in their full form. The allusion to Chesterfield is to the 18th-century English writer and statesman whose letters on manners made his name synonymous with refined, cultured manners.

¹⁷ Sweet, Religion in America, pp. 317-18.

¹⁸ James W. Silver, Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda (New York: W. W. Norton, Norton Library, 1957), pp. 93-101.

preacher but also physician, caring for the wounded physically as well as spiritually. A church historian, who read Quintard's account of his activities as chaplain, was moved to write this description:

Whether administering the Holy Communion to the officers and men of the Merrimac, before their famous fight in Hampton Roads; or working fourteen hours as surgeon, without cessation, after a bloody battle, amputating limbs, dressing wounds, tearing his very shirt into strips to use as bandages, and then leaning against the rail-fence and weeping like a child from sheer nervous exhaustion; or demanding an interview with the severe and sarcastic Gen. Bragg upon "a matter of life and death," that he might speak to him of his duty to confess Christ, and bringing tears into those hard eyes, as the general in command of the army surrenders to the soldier of the Cross;--he is always the same vital, generous, brave, and loving soul. . . .¹⁹

Quintard saw the military side of the war. He was with General Braxton Bragg at Perryville and at Stones River. He was preaching at a Chattanooga church in August, 1863, when the Union army began shelling the town; he recalled that his sermon "on that occasion was not long."²⁰ After Bragg's defeats at Chattanooga and Chickamauga, Quintard acted for a time as chaplain-at-large around Atlanta and Columbus, Georgia. In November, 1864, he returned to his group, now under the command of General John B. Hood, and joined the advance into Tennessee. Quintard saw friends and relatives lose their lives in the southern

¹⁹Chesire, Church in the Confederate States, pp. 84-85.

²⁰Noll, Quintard, p. 88.

service. In June, 1864, he received a telegram telling him of General Polk's death by a cannon ball. In the aftermath of the Battle of Franklin, he conducted funeral services for some of the officers he had presented for confirmation.²¹

Quintard also played his part in keeping up the morale of the Confederate army as well as providing spiritual counsel. One of his sermons he referred to as his "war sermon," which he preached with suitable changes on various occasions.²² His Confederate Soldiers' Manual of Devotion was made up "of more or less original, practical matter for the government of Christian life, of prayers well adapted to the wants and circumstances of our soldiers, and of hymns suited to enkindle their devotion and piety."²³ The Protestant Episcopal Church Publishing Association, formed to supply religious literature to the Confederate army, published his Balm for the Weary and Wounded and Nellie Peter's Pocket Handkerchief.²⁴ Quintard took part in

²¹Ibid., p. 98; Quintard Diary, December 3, 1864, University of the South, Archives.

²²Noll, Quintard, pp. 44, 50.

²³Unidentified clipping in Quintard Diary, Jan. 19, 1865; Quintard, comp., The Confederate Soldiers' Pocket Manual of Devotions (Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, 1863).

²⁴Chesire, Church in the Confederate States, p. 93; Quintard, Balm for the Weary and the Wounded (Columbia: Evans & Cogswell, 1864); Noll, ed., Nellie Peter's Pocket Handkerchief and What It Saw: A Story of the War (Sewanee: University Press, 1907).

the organization of a short-lived Order of the Southern Cross, a social and charitable military brotherhood whose aim was to foster patriotic sentiment, strengthen ties of military fellowship, and provide a fund for its members and for the relief of disabled soldiers, widows and orphans of those who perished in Confederate service.²⁵ His enthusiasm for charitable organizations stimulated a congregation on Easter Sunday, 1865, in Columbus, Georgia, to donate \$33,000 in Confederate currency.²⁶

Quintard came to admire the spirit and faith of the men with whom he served. In the closing year of the war, he praised them highly:

It is indeed astonishing to see our noble fellows, who in all the retrograde movement from Dalton to Jonesboro have maintained their morale to so great an extent. Their devotion to the cause which they have espoused is unrivalled in the annals of history. Never have a soldiery stood up more nobly, or battled more bravely than ours. Through hardships almost past endurance, through toils that would make the stoutest heart quake to anticipate, they have stood up with unflinching resolution. The suffering endured by the little band who followed Washington to Valley Forge and spent with him that ever memorable winter, half-famished, were not more poignant than the sufferings of those who are now enlisted under the Southern Cross.²⁷

As late as December, 1864, Quintard, in conversation with General Hood and one of his officers, reported their

²⁵Noll, Quintard, pp. 92-94.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 137-39.

²⁷Quintard Diary, Oct. 17, 1864.

opinion that "while God is on our side, so manifestly that no man can question it, it is very apparent that our people have not yet passed through all their disappointments and sufferings."²⁸ In January, Quintard recorded a more accurate picture of the state of affairs:

Our lands are laid waste with fire and sword--our slaves are carried off and withdrawn from the cultivation of our rich plantations. The enemy is victorious in almost every quarter except in glorious old Virginia. Our people are disheartened and talk of reconstruction --surely these are dark days. I have been struck in reading the "History of the French Revolution" by Thiers, with the similarity of the orders of the Monster Carrier and of General Grant in reference to the destruction of property. "Carry off all stock of all classification," says General Grant--"and negroes so as to prevent further planting. If the war is to last another year, let the Shenandoah Valley remain a barren waste. . . ."29

In talking with some Confederate officers and the southern journalist, James D. B. DeBow, Quintard and the group agreed on the wisdom of putting Negroes into the army as soldiers. DeBow reported to the group that William Aiken, former governor of South Carolina and a large slaveholder, had urged gradual emancipation for more than two years. The rumor then current was that foreign recognition of the Confederacy would be granted on the basis of gradual emancipation.³⁰

²⁸ Ibid., Dec. 18, 1864.

²⁹ Ibid., Jan. 9, 1865

³⁰ Noll, Quintard, p. 127.

Since much of Quintard's last year of service as chaplain was spent in retreat and one step ahead of enemy forces, he could not have been surprised at the final collapse of the Confederacy. His position was ambiguous, however, because he was suspect by the Union armies as a former Confederate chaplain and suspect by former Confederates because of his acceptance of the defeat. In May, 1865, Quintard held services in Atlanta before a congregation composed of Federals and Confederates, and he attempted to explain his position to them. He advised them that "every man should do his utmost to heal the wounds and to hide the seams and scars of the fratricidal war that had just closed."³¹ He also told the congregation that he would not use the prayer for the president of the United States because it had not yet been authorized by the bishop of the diocese.³² When he returned to Nashville, he was used by the Federal army in much the same capacity that he had served the Confederacy, as minister to body and soul.

The war's end brought about the possibility of reconstruction and reconciliation for the church and the state. While the stereotype of evil rule of carpetbaggers and scalawags wielding a mass of Negro votes to accomplish

³¹Ibid., pp. 144-45.

³²Ibid.

selfish and corrupt ends did not apply in Tennessee's situation, most Tennesseans would have welcomed a repetition of the moderate approach of the national church in their national and state governments. Tennessee, unlike other states in the Confederacy, was reconstructed primarily by its own citizens. It differed also from its fellow states in its early acceptance of the Fourteenth Amendment and its specific exemption from the terms of the military reconstruction acts. By 1866, Tennessee, under the radical government of Governor William G. Brownlow, was readmitted to participation in the federal government, and, by 1869, it rejected radicalism and elected a conservative government, thus ending its period of Reconstruction.³³

On the other hand, Tennesseans had chafed under the military governorship of fellow Tennessean Andrew Johnson and boiled under the leadership of fellow Tennessean "Parson" Brownlow, who became governor in April, 1865. The major premise of the radicals was that former Confederates should be punished, but they made the mistake of continuing their vindictiveness and proscription too long after the heat of the war.³⁴ As a result, the period was remembered by Tennesseans with bitterness and distaste for all that was

³³Alexander, Reconstruction, pp. 113-21, 141-75, 199-225; Patton, Unionism, pp. vii, 26-50, 75-123, 201-41.

³⁴Alexander, Reconstruction, p. 242.

associated with it and with consequent tenderness and regard for all that opposed it, including the Ku Klux Klan. The Episcopal Church, having both radicals and rebels in its ranks, managed to remain aloof and fairly unshaken by the controversies of the period.

The standing committee of the diocese issued a call for a special convention of the Episcopal Church for September, 1865. One of the most important pieces of business that the convention would have to consider was the election of a bishop, and the primary contender for the office was Charles Todd Quintard. The former Confederates with whom he served gave him their support, and his fellow priests, contending that politics should not be considered, generally lent him their support. Some opposition came from a group who did not want anyone who had served in the rebel army, but more Episcopalians probably sympathized with him as a rebel and felt the "deep hatred and tyranny of rads [radicals] . . . monstrous, and an outrage upon common sense and justice."³⁵ At any rate, on the second day of the convention, "with singular unanimity," Charles Todd Quintard was elected to the episcopate of the diocese.³⁶ The

³⁵E. W. Harris to George Carroll Harris, Mar. 29, 1868, George Carroll Harris Papers.

³⁶Nashville Dispatch, Sept. 8, 1865.

proceedings were conducted "with the utmost harmony and good feeling throughout."³⁷

The churchmen present at this convention were anxious to play down dissension and discord. They recognized the beginning of a new era, but there were few signs that anyone expected a difficult reconciliation. The sermon preached by Dr. David Pise, rector of St. Peter's Church in Columbia, was indicative of the position many southerners would find tenable--"Whom the Lord Loveth He Chasteneth."³⁸ That there had been a division of loyalties in the church, state, and country was recognized by a resolution which congratulated the members of the convention upon their lack of conflict and their ability to deliberate with "uncommon kindness of feeling." This attitude, they believed, indicated "a resolution to promote peace on earth, and good will to men."³⁹

Quintard's election to the episcopate took place in time for him to attend the 1865 General Convention where he, the bishop of North Carolina, and a missionary bishop for the Southwest were accepted with a minimum of dissent. Although one delegate to the General Convention denounced the "spirit" which had crept into the church "that nothing

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Tennessee Convention, 1865, p. 7.

³⁹Ibid., p. 15.

must be said against such evils as slavery, intemperance, etc., because some serious feelings might be caused by it,"⁴⁰ the majority of the delegates to the General Convention continued the policy that had allowed Episcopalians to remain unified when other denominations were splitting. They seemed "well disposed to the South."⁴¹ A symbolic reunion of the whole church was afforded by the consecration of Quintard as bishop before the assemblage of this first General Convention after the war.

Quintard, in going to Philadelphia to attend the General Convention, faced an uncertain reception and possible rebuff. Rumors circulated back in Tennessee that, while he was in Philadelphia he preached a sermon or wrote a letter stating that he had always been a Union man at heart, but Quintard did not appear noticeably less southern in attitude.⁴² Bishops Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina and Henry C. Lay of Arkansas attended this convention in much the same spirit that Quintard did. Later they addressed

⁴⁰Nashville Dispatch, Oct. 11, 1865.

⁴¹Wilson J. Castner to Mrs. L. A. Parrish, Oct. 5, 1865, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, Castner Papers.

⁴²The rumor that Quintard had repudiated his support of the Confederacy was feared because of the use the "sects" might make of it. Campbell Brown to Susan R. Polk, Aug. 19, 1866, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, Ewell-Brown Papers.

their "Brethren in the Southern Dioceses" in an open letter which praised the members of the General Convention for their magnanimity. Quintard did not sign the letter, but he added an endorsement at the end in which he agreed with the sentiments expressed by the other bishops, but he also stated his belief that the results of the convention were the doing "not of men, but of God."⁴³ Whatever his feelings, Bishop Quintard was thereafter to be known as a southerner. Even in his native state of Connecticut, a woman in a congregation, seeing him in the processional wearing an academic hood, exclaimed: "The idea of that Southern Bishop coming to this church and wearing a Rebel flag on his back!"⁴⁴

Whatever the active force behind the deed, reunion had been accomplished. The Episcopal Church was the only major denomination divided by the war to achieve such a speedy reunion. This was possible in part because the church had not become involved in the burning social issues of the day. When the church approached the social issues of the postwar period, it was again loath to venture into a

⁴³Memphis Daily Appeal, Nov. 12, 1865.

⁴⁴Quintard did not mention the incident in his diary, but it is described in Noll, Dr. Quintard, pp. 155-56 and in William B. Hesseltine, Confederate Leaders in the New South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), pp. 63-65.

position that would endanger its position as a conservator of a social order.

The immediate concern of the church in Tennessee became its physical existence; the social challenge of a new economic order did not seem to apply in southern Reconstruction. Never having had a very firm hold on its position in Tennessee, the church obviously had lost ground by 1865. The ministers of the diocese had scattered; church buildings throughout the state had been damaged or destroyed; the cornerstone for the proposed University of the South had been blown up and taken away in pieces by souvenir hunters; and many communicants had been relocated and lost to church records. In 1860, twenty-six parishes and missions were listed as belonging to the diocese and nearly fourteen hundred communicants were reported.⁴⁵ In 1865, only sixteen of the twenty-five clergymen officially on record as resident in Tennessee were present at the special convention. Twenty-nine church buildings had been constructed while Otey was bishop, but most of these had been diverted to wartime uses. Only a few escaped completely undamaged.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Tennessee Convention, 1860, p. 38.

⁴⁶Noll, Quintard, p. 151; Tennessee Convention, 1865, p. 32; 1890, pp. 55-56. In 1866, Quintard reported that he was "shocked" to find the church at Franklin being used as a carpenter shop. Quintard Diary, Aug. 21, 1866.

Despite the bleak outlook, Bishop Quintard pointed to a moral--"We may not doubt the mercy and the wisdom of our Heavenly Father in bringing upon our land the rod of correction, and we should pray for grace to bear that rod."⁴⁷ He believed that men turned to the church for "rest from the strife and divisions that vex and distress them."⁴⁸ But, regardless of his view of the role of the church, it was sometimes necessary for Quintard to explain himself as a public figure and as a bishop. In a published letter to George H. Thomas, Union general then in command in Tennessee, Quintard explained his position as follows:

I never was a secessionist: I used all my influence, both public and private, against the movement. . . . I never believed in secession; I never taught secession; I never voted secession. But the crisis came; my path of duty was plain before me. The State, in her sovereign capacity, had dissolved her connection with the Government. The Church of Christ [a reference to the universality of the church rather than to a specific sect] by her divine constitution as Catholic, must, of necessity, recognize the de-facto government everywhere, and submit to it. The Kingdom of God, which is to be the same in all the world, can, as such, have no preference or choice as to forms of government whether despotic, or republican, legitimate or usurped. The powers that be are all that she can rightfully know anything about. Her members and ministers, in their civil capacity as citizens, may entertain these questions and decide them, but to the Church they are foreign and forbidden. . . .

I have now but one object in life, and that is to forward, as much as lieth in me, charity, peace, and good will among all men. I have taken the oath to

⁴⁷Tennessee Convention, 1866, p. 33.

⁴⁸Memphis Daily Appeal, June 9, 1867.

support the Government of the United States. I have kept back no part of the price. I shall abide by my oath heartily and cheerfully, God being my helper.⁴⁹

It was because the church had "always refused to allow the fanaticism of the day, and the ever varying whims of modern philanthropy" to disturb her that Quintard believed the church had emerged spotless from the war. Because "our branch of the church is the great conservative element among all who profess and call themselves Christians in this country" and because "various denominations look to it to be first to reunite the bonds of religious fellowship throughout the land, we feel it is the duty of the church to keep herself pure, and to preach nothing but the simple Gospel of Jesus Christ."⁵⁰

On the other hand, churches were affected by the civil order during Reconstruction. When the members of the Church of the Confederacy met in November, 1865, to dissolve the body and to change the word "Confederate" to "United," they also protested the suspension of the bishop and clergy in Alabama and the closure of their churches. This, they maintained, was a violation of liberty of conscience as guaranteed by the Constitution.⁵¹ Churches of other denominations suffered at the hands of their northern sister

⁴⁹Ibid., Nov. 17, 1865.

⁵⁰Tennessee Convention, 1866, pp. 38-39.

⁵¹Memphis Daily Appeal, Nov. 29, 1865.

churches when federal authorities turned their properties over to the unionist faction. This did not happen in either Roman Catholic or Episcopal churches, but where it did occur it naturally slowed down the progress of reconciliation. Antagonism was intensified by questions dealing with the Negro, a problem "into which the Northern churches plunged with much zeal but scant discretion."⁵²

Since the Episcopal Church escaped much of the divisive religious tensions that complicated Reconstruction, the bishop of Tennessee and the clergy were enabled to remain aloof from many problems that beset the state. Quintard reported with pride that records of every council showed that the church "has sedulously abstained in her deliberations from all intermeddling with political affairs."⁵³ He admonished the clergy not to waste their time in fruitless discussion but to tend to their primary concern. He said:

Too many souls are dying all around us. . . . We must bring men to Christ; we must speak to them in our private and public ministrations, in a plain way, about life and death, about God and Christ, about daily work, and home life. Our sermons may be pleasing, intellectual exertions. . . . Talent may be in them, and pains and piety, but where is the Sermon? Where are

⁵²Bowyer Steward, The Work of the Church in the South During the Period of Reconstruction, Hale Memorial Sermon No. 8 (Milwaukee: Young Churchman, 1913), pp. 15-16.

⁵³Tennessee Convention, 1866, pp. 37-38.

the living words sent forth from heart to heart, the words clothed with energy divine, to strengthen the weak-hearted, to reclaim the erring, to comfort those who mourn, and that shall edify the body of Christ?⁵⁴

The bishop's own practices set the example for his clergy. As the church historian at the end of the century put it, Quintard's

. . . personal magnetism and the large-hearted charity he had manifested in time of war, were not without their effect for a time upon the work he had undertaken. Wherever he appeared there flocked to meet him his old friends of the camp and battle-field. They felt that the religion he preached, having stood the test of adversity in war-time, was a good religion for times of peace--a good religion to rule the every-day business of life. They readily yielded in large numbers to his persistent appeals to them to confess Christ before men.⁵⁵

By 1870, the Episcopal Church in Tennessee had doubled the number of communicants shown in 1860 figures, and much of the increase was attributable to Quintard's personal appeal.⁵⁶

The bishop, however, had his critics. One communicant reminded her son that "it is easy for us to do injustice to the Bishop. His nature is not frank--but he is a working Christian. [He] has made sacrifices for the Church and it is not for us to judge him."⁵⁷ The son

⁵⁴Address of the Bishop, Tennessee Convention, 1869,
p. 4.

⁵⁵Noll, Quintard, p. 153.

⁵⁶In the first full year of his episcopate, Quintard confirmed 470 persons and continued at a similar pace for a number of years. Ibid.

⁵⁷Lazinka C. Brown Ewell to Campbell Brown, May, 1869, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, Ewell-Brown Papers.

criticized the bishop for acting with "his usual rashness and want of discrimination," and his wife believed the bishop to be "a very independent man and often carried away by his enthusiasm."⁵⁸ However critical these comments were, they did not accuse the bishop of mingling in political affairs.

Referring to Quintard as a "High-Church mystic," a southern historian criticized him for not doing more to promote reunion and good will between the sections instead of concentrating his efforts on promoting the University of the South in England where he "won encomiums from the British press and came home with \$8,700 for the university."⁵⁹ As this historian pointed out, Quintard found it difficult to appeal to his northern brothers for the university, but he did make appeals in the North for his training school for southern clergymen. And, although he worked for the University of the South, some of his contemporary southern bishops complained about the escape this provided him. The bishop of Mississippi wrote:

It gratifies me no little to think that you are enjoying yourself, as you no doubt are, among our hospitable English brethren, and cannot see the

⁵⁸Campbell Brown to Susan R. Polk Brown, July 19, 1869, Polk to Brown, Aug. 22, 1866. That Campbell Brown, who was quite critical of Quintard, was a major in the Confederate army indicates that not all such veterans were drawn personally to Quintard.

⁵⁹Hesseltine, Confederate Leaders, pp. 63-65.

poverty and distress that reigns throughout our whole beloved South. Bad as things were at the close of our late struggle, they were not to be compared to the general suffering of the present time. The whites are groaning under the task of making a bare subsistence for their families. The blacks are compelled to steal or die of pure want. 60
 Lord, how long!

While the South as a whole and the state in particular struggled with the terms of Reconstruction, the Episcopal Church, its clergy and laity, became involved in a number of projects which met with varying degrees of success. Some of these projects were based on a conservative adherence to the status quo, but others bore some slight resemblance to the social activism that was to be identified with the social gospel. In the four-year period of Reconstruction in Tennessee, the church took up projects dealing with such varied subjects as higher education, Negroes, charitable work for the poor, and church extension; it also considered questions concerning the various schools of worship in the church and the reunion of Anglican bodies. The remainder of this chapter describes these projects and problems.

The most successful project was the University of the South, which was refounded and reconstructed in this period. Because of its success and continuing nature, the

⁶⁰ William M. Green to Charles Todd Quintard, Feb. 1, 1868, Report to the Board of Trustees, University of the South, St. Luke's Library.

university is discussed in detail in Chapter III, but note should be made here of its connection with Quintard.

It was largely because Bishop Quintard pressed the cause of the university as an immediate concern in the post-war era that it did revive. The bishops who had been involved in the early stages of the university were: James H. Otey of Tennessee, Leonidas Polk of Louisiana, Stephen Elliott of Georgia, Nicholas H. Cobbs of Alabama, George W. Freeman of Arkansas, William Mercer Green of Mississippi, Francis H. Rutledge of Florida, Thomas F. Davis of South Carolina, and Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina. With the exception of the bishop of Mississippi, all were dead, soon to die, or disabled after the war. Bishop Quintard, who had no part in its early planning but in whose diocese it was located, modified the early plans to fit the new situation. For the first twenty years of the university's existence, "the tone, the temper, the social and religious atmosphere came from Bishop Quintard more than from any one else."⁶¹

In casting about for means to entice southern support for a southern university, Quintard and his colleagues turned naturally enough to the leaders of the Confederacy for their drawing card. Quintard had come back

⁶¹Noll, Quintard, p. 170; Arthur Benjamin Chitty, Jr., Reconstruction at Sewanee: The Founding of the University of the South and Its First Administration, 1857-1872 (Sewanee: University Press, 1954), n. 29, p. 76.

from the war with a deep admiration for most of the Confederate officers with whom he had served; he saw in the university an opportunity to cultivate these same attributes of sterling character in the youth of the South. The University of the South was to be directed by the leaders of the Old South.⁶² Bishop Elliott of Georgia, who had inspired the soldiers of the Confederacy with stirring and morale-building sermons, moved to Sewanee to help in the training of southern scholars and gentlemen. Francis A. Shoup, chief of staff under General John B. Hood; Edmund Kirby-Smith, the last Confederate general to surrender his command; Josiah Gorgas, head of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department of the Confederacy and "the most successful and able organizer in the Confederacy";⁶³ and Quintard, chaplain in the Confederate army, were among the former Confederates who found a niche for themselves at the University of the South. There were also "lesser" Confederate officers, Colonel T. Frank Sevier and Major George R. Fairbanks. In addition to finding a place for

⁶²Matthew Fontaine Maury was offered the position as the first vice chancellor since "he would secure students of the best Southern families." George R. Fairbanks to Charles T. Quintard, Feb. 21, 1868, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Letter File.

⁶³E. Merton Coulter, The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865, Vol. VII of A History of the South, ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (10 vols.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947--), p. 202.

themselves in the defeated South, they were going to be sure that the Old South was not forgotten.

Postwar attempts to extend the services of the church to freedmen did not mark an extreme departure from past practices; the church had a tradition of making an effort to reach and teach Negroes. In the postwar period, however, the civil disorder and economic stress made this project seem more pressing and immediate to some churchmen in the South.

Before the war, religious instruction of slaves was promoted by most southern bishops and priests as a part of the Christian duty of the Episcopal slaveholder, and church services usually were attended by both master and slave. Episcopalians who were owners of large plantations often erected special chapels for the use of the family and its slaves.⁶⁴

Although the church as a whole did not adopt an antislavery stand, many bishops, priests, and laymen supported the idea of colonization before the Civil War. In

⁶⁴The Polk family in Maury County, Tennessee, built St. John's, Ashwood, for this purpose. Noll, History of the Church, p. 100; Trezevant Player Yeatman, Jr., "St. John's, A Plantation Church of the Old South," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, X (December, 1951), 334-43. Ravenscroft Chapel, in Tipton County where Quintard began his pastoral duties, was another of this type.

1847, Bishop Otey had urged Tennessee churchmen to aid the American Colonization Society with "its noble and Christian enterprise of colonizing the free people of color on the coast of Africa."⁶⁵ Black ministers were ordained in the Episcopal Church before 1865, but none of these were natives of or served in the slave states. Liberia and Haiti were the primary areas for which Negro ministers were trained in the Episcopal Church; the role urged upon southern Negroes was Christian morality and obedience, which would also increase their value as servants.

During the Civil War, the Episcopal Church in the Confederacy recognized slavery but stressed the attendant religious responsibilities. A pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of the Confederate States placed religious instruction of Negroes second in importance only to the general expansion of the church in the South. The letter pointed out that "not only our spiritual but our national life is wrapped up in their welfare."⁶⁶ The bishops of the Confederacy remind their charges that slaves were "not merely so much property," but were a "sacred trust," and as

⁶⁵Tennessee Convention, 1847, p. 15.

⁶⁶Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Clergy and Laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America (Augusta: n.p., 1862), pp. 10-11. Subsequent quotations in this paragraph are from the same source.

such were "committed to us . . . to be prepared for the work which God may have for them to do, in the future." The responsibility lay particularly heavily upon Episcopalians who were slaveholders. They were urged "to prevent all necessity for separation of parents and children and of husbands and wives."

The outcome of the war determined that the church in the Confederacy would not be concerned with slave-master relations and that northerners as well as southerners would be involved with the freedmen's future. By the end of 1865, the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church had created a Protestant Episcopal Freedman's Commission. This commission emphasized education as the best means of accomplishing its work among Negroes of the South. By 1870, it was supporting, either partially or totally, some fifteen Negro schools in the former Confederate states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee.⁶⁷ Perhaps because it resembled the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, or Freedmen's Bureau, as well as agencies established by Northern churches and philanthropic groups, the Episcopal Commission did not evoke enthusiastic support in the South.

⁶⁷Stewart, Work of the Church, p. 47.

The southern dioceses based much of their objection to the commission on its insistence that it have freedom from local control. To avoid this and to assure an agency with southern solutions, many dioceses created, or attempted to create, duplicate agencies at the diocesan level. The poverty of the South and lack of sufficient financial support retarded these local efforts; most of these were forced to apply for aid, at one time or another, from an agency of the national church.

It was apparent that a new type of churchmanship was needed if the black population was to be kept within the church or converted to it. It was also apparent that southern churchmen were suspicious of northern suggestions, and northern churchmen were wary of solutions presented by the southern churches. When Reconstruction ended, little progress had been made toward providing for any great number of freedmen, and many who had had Episcopal training and experience gravitated toward the denominations which allowed black control and autonomy.

The radical administration of "Parson" Brownlow did not mean that many responsibilities of freedom were extended to Tennessee blacks. A Union convention in January, 1865, amended the state's constitution so as to abolish slavery, but Negroes were not given the ballot until February, 1867. The right to hold office was withheld until 1868, and

office-holding in fact did not come until after conservative factions had gained control of the state. The kinds of changes that took place between 1865 and 1869 included a regrouping of the black population around urban areas. In Memphis, for example, the Negro population more than quadrupled between 1860 and 1870.⁶⁸ A Memphis newspaper commended South Carolina Episcopalians for having established schools for the blacks under their auspices. The article pointed out that it was "first and foremost the duty of the Southern people to take in their own hands the education of this class of our population. . . ." ⁶⁹ It also warned against allowing this task to fall into the hands of people of other sections "with their peculiar notions" or "to suffer it to be carried on exclusively by the Freedmen's Bureau."⁷⁰ Testimony given at the investigation of the riot which occurred in Memphis in May, 1866, as a result of tension between white citizenry and freedmen, revealed that Episcopalians had taken over a Negro orphanage and school and that their efforts were unique in the city.⁷¹

⁶⁸Gerald M. Capers, Jr., The Biography of a River Town: Memphis: Its Heroic Age (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 164.

⁶⁹Memphis Daily Appeal, April 12, 1866.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹U.S., Congress, House, Report of the Select Committee on the Memphis Riots and Massacres, H. R. 101, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1866, p. 283.

Nonetheless, Tennessee Episcopalians did not respond immediately to the challenge of the freedmen. The first postwar convention was taken up with matters of consequence to the organization of the church as it had been before the war, and no special recognition was made of blacks in the state. At the regular meeting held the following year, however, Bishop Quintard directed the attention of the clergy and laity toward the freedmen and appointed a committee to study the problem of extending church services to them. "Want of men and means" was recognized as the primary obstacle to such an undertaking, since it was taken "for granted that this duty will be recognized at once, and will be acted upon by the Convention."⁷² Since the diocese was in a "straightened condition," the committee recommended what it considered temporary measures to meet immediate needs, but a long-term policy proposed the education and training of freedmen to be "admitted to holy orders, and charged with the instruction of persons of their own color."⁷³

Official recognition had been made and a policy spelled out, but the next year the bishop pointed to the need for improvement in what had been done. It was not

⁷²Tennessee Convention, 1866, pp. 21-22.

⁷³Ibid.

enough for the clergy to become involved in such work; "our laity should engage in it heartily, should uphold the hands of the clergy, by endeavoring to create a sound public sentiment, and by assisting in the Sunday school instruction in their several parishes."⁷⁴ He also noted that there had been ample time for the establishment of a Negro parish in Memphis. "Let us at once, dear brethren," the bishop admonished, "prove to the world that we are fully alive to the physical and intellectual well being of a people who were once ours in bonds, but are now ours in the blessed gospel of the grace of God."⁷⁵

Although Quintard was concerned about the spiritual care tendered the blacks in his diocese, he was not an egalitarian. After the Battle of Franklin in 1864, Quintard had the bodies of several Confederate officers reinterred because the original burial site was near the graves of Federal soldiers, "both white and black." The decision gave him cause for some self-searching; he wrestled with his attitude and conscience:

I know that in a grave all earthly distinctions cease. There all are equal. Side by side--the poor man and the son of Pride--lie calm and still--but it is only so of the dead and it is becoming of the living to see that all honor is bestowed upon the earnest Christian and the devoted patriot.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Ibid., 1867, p. 39.

⁷⁵Memphis Daily Appeal, May 16, 1867.

⁷⁶Quintard Diary, Dec. 3, 1864.

The bishop's doubts about the acceptability of his action were resolved no doubt by a reference to him as "the noble-hearted clergyman" who was "indignant at the idea of such proximity for our sacred heroes."⁷⁷

Quintard had not had objections to slavery per se. He had purchased a slave in March, 1864, and "had done [his] utmost to give him a comfortable and happy home."⁷⁸ A year later Henry, as the slave was named, went away with three "Yankee" soldiers. Quintard reported that he did not regret Henry's leaving, but noted that Henry received a severe beating from a federal officer later that day--"Such was his first taste of freedom."⁷⁹

Although Quintard's attitude toward emancipation was probably typical of those of his clergy, many of them also shared his concern for providing religious instruction for freedmen. William C. Gray, later bishop of a diocese in Florida, reported, in 1867, that he had erected a church for freedmen at Bolivar and was about to establish a school as well. He had obtained \$300 from the Freedmen's Bureau and \$500 from a "gentleman in Pittsburg" to aid in the building of a "neat Gothic chapel."⁸⁰ Another minister reported that

⁷⁷Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, Feb. 20, 1865.

⁷⁸Quintard Diary, Mar. 22, 1865.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Tennessee Convention, 1867, p. 61.

he was serving a Negro congregation which included a member who was ready to enter the ministry. A report from Christ Church, Nashville, listed Sunday afternoon services, Sunday school, and weekday schools held for Negroes. From Tipton County, Trinity Episcopal Church reported forty Negro communicants.⁸¹

Those Episcopal churches providing religious services for blacks in 1867 generally did so by opening their churches on Sunday afternoons. The ministers conducting the services were white, but a committee concerned with the work of the church with Negroes believed that "steps should be taken at the earliest possible moment looking towards the education of the more intelligent for the sacred ministry in order that they may be qualified to do the Church's work among those of their color."⁸² Acting upon the awareness of some hostility toward work among Negroes, the committee warned that the activity must "of necessity be circumscribed."⁸³

Although the work of the Episcopal Church was undoubtedly slight in relation to the number of Negroes in the state, it was kept before the convention through reports

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 39, 61-64.

⁸²Ibid., p. xxviii.

⁸³Ibid.

from the bishop, parishes, ministers, and special committees. And, although the work was "circumscribed," it occasionally drew the attention of non-Episcopalians to the church.

In 1869, the bishop reported to the convention that he had been criticized for confirming a Negro boy at the same service in which white candidates had been confirmed. According to his report of the affair, the minister of a Memphis church had informed him that there was a Negro candidate for confirmation and had asked him about the procedure to be followed. Quintard told the minister to bring all the candidates to the communion rail at the same time but to place himself between the white and black confirmees. At the service, however, the one black candidate did not come up with the others but waited until they had returned to their pews. In explanation of his repetition of the service, the bishop, who had ended the part of the service which dealt with confirmation said, "This person should have come forward with the other candidates." He then quoted a poem in which he maintained that the church had no child that it honored before the rest. He defended his position to the convention by saying: "While I do not at all believe in the propriety of abrogating the distinctions which have always been maintained, I should have

been altogether unworthy of my high office, had I failed on such an occasion to vindicate the catholicity of the Church."⁸⁴

The most ambitious church project for Negroes was an orphan asylum in Memphis. The asylum had been started by a Mrs. Martha Canfield, widow of a colonel in the Ohio Volunteers and a "lady of intelligence, high social position, and a devoted Churchwoman."⁸⁵ When the war started, Mrs. Canfield left her home in Medina, Ohio, and became active in helping outfit men for the front and in establishing hospitals for the sick and wounded. After her husband's death, she made her home in Memphis, where she became concerned with the suffering she saw among the Negro children. Her solicitude led her to establish an orphanage for their care and schooling. In 1866, she proposed giving the project over to the diocese of Tennessee. A committee examined the property, talked with Mrs. Canfield, and subsequently recommended that the property be transferred to

⁸⁴Ibid., 1869, pp. 38-39.

⁸⁵Ibid., 1871, p. 58. Mrs. Canfield was one of a number of northern philanthropic workers who came into the South in the aftermath of the war. She is mentioned in Henry Lee Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870 (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941), p. 179. At her death in 1889, she was associated with hospital work in Bristol, Rhode Island. Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, April, 1887.

the convention.⁸⁶ When the convention took the responsibility for the asylum, the proposal had incorporated the idea that the diocese would not only provide the religious support needed in such a project but the financial support as well. The latter proved the most difficult to supply.

Bishop Quintard was aware of the difficulties that Mrs. Canfield had encountered with the project. She has "met with many obstacles, has borne many crosses, has found little sympathy, and yet has given time, energy, money, all that she could."⁸⁷ The irony of her situation was obvious to the bishop. If Mrs. Canfield had "left family and friends to carry the consolations of the Gospel to the heathen in Africa, every generous heart could have applauded the noble sacrifice."⁸⁸ In postwar Memphis, however, she apparently met with the kind of opprobrium reserved for the more venal "carpetbaggers."

Despite the sentiment for local and Southern control over projects of this kind, the asylum did not thrive under the auspices of the church. In 1869, the superintendent of the orphanage reported:

⁸⁶Tennessee Convention, 1866, p. 21.

⁸⁷Ibid., 1867, p. 40.

⁸⁸Ibid.

To have anything to do with a Colored Orphan Asylum is at best a thankless position, and especially in this community it is attended with so much odium, that unless ways and means are provided for its permanent support, it will be difficult to get active working people to co-operate with you for any length of time; because the labor is sufficient of itself, and as much as ordinary people care about burdening themselves with, and then add to this peculiar labor the prejudice attending it, the task, indeed is an unthankful one and one requiring more patience and forbearance than I regard myself as possessed of.⁸⁹

Bishop Quintard acknowledged the fact that the church "in this Diocese is doing very little for the colored people," but he thought it would "be a sad thing if we are obliged, through apathy or prejudice of our congregations to relinquish this institution to others."⁹⁰ During Reconstruction, financial aid came from a variety of sources. Generals O. O. Howard and C. B. Fisk of the Freedmen's Bureau came to the aid and assistance of the project. The bishop of Ohio endorsed it and provided contributions from his diocese. Up to 1870, however, most of its support came from the Freedmen's Bureau and the Episcopal Board of Missions.⁹¹ Almost simultaneously with Tennessee's return to conservative government, outside aid was withdrawn. A

⁸⁹Ibid., 1869, pp. 26-28.

⁹⁰Ibid., 1870, p. 67.

⁹¹Tennessee Convention, 1867, pp. xxviii-xxix, 19; Henry L. Swint, ed., "Reports from Educational Agents of the Freedmen's Bureau in Tennessee, 1865-1879," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, I (1942), 154.

report to the convention of 1870 noted that the government had withdrawn all aid and that benevolent northerners who had been aiding the work now felt that it was "time the Church of Tennessee should assume the expense of supporting it."⁹²

A project closely akin to the Canfield Orphan Asylum, but meeting with more popular support, was the Memphis Church Home for white widows and orphans. The Church Charity Foundation which sponsored this home was organized in Memphis in January, 1867. Theoretically, the foundation was a diocesan project, but in actuality its work and support were localized in West Tennessee. Its management was centered there also since provision was made that the managers and their associates were to come from West Tennessee.⁹³

For the first years of its operation, the foundation rented a house in Memphis in which to care for "our poor and destitute."⁹⁴ The 1869 report of the matron of the home listed twenty-three "inmates," adults and children, and noted that meals and lodging had been given to transients during the year. Although the home was dependent upon small

⁹²Tennessee Convention, 1870, p. 38.

⁹³Memphis Daily Appeal, May 16, 1867.

⁹⁴Tennessee Convention, pp. 29-30.

donations, which often came in the form of items like flour, meal, potatoes, coal, and similar usable products, a drive to construct a new home was begun. On Easter Sunday, 1869, Episcopal churches in Memphis took up special offerings for that purpose, and by April work had begun.⁹⁵ The response of Memphis was generous.

In 1866, the convention heard a strong appeal for lay involvement in projects and work for the poor. A special committee recognized a problem that would not be solved merely through the work of the clergy and promised that spiritual rewards for such work would accrue to those who undertook it. The report reassured laymen that they must not "for a moment lose confidence in the efficiency of the Church to meet the wants of all classes and grades of human society."⁹⁶ For the poor, as for the Negro, there was no promise of social intercourse; the poor should be organized into church societies of "their own" since their "lowly estate in worldly matters precludes the possibility of a commingling with those who are better equipped."⁹⁷

Although some laymen's guilds and brotherhoods were formed in response to the call for lay activity, the church did not seem to make much more progress with the poor than

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid., 1866, pp. 14-20.

⁹⁷Ibid.

it had with the Negro. Since the church emphasized spiritual rather than bodily needs, the poor may have found limited appeal in its offerings. Bishop Quintard, for example, saw their needs in terms of spiritual uplift rather than economic advancement when he said:

How shall a church ever endear herself to the hearts of the poor unless she takes thought of and makes provision for those wants of their condition; for their wants of retirement, of shelter, or quiet, of daily contact with something beautiful and solemn, of sympathy with the high in what is highest, and elevation above the meanness that surrounds them.

There must be a most tender care of the poor in the Church, and until there is more, the poor will not be gathered into the Church. It will not do to shut the door and turn the key upon the multitudes who have no access elsewhere to peace, solemnity or grace.⁹⁸

Quintard associated some of the allure of the church with its outward and visible form. He believed that the "house where His people assemble to worship Him should be made worthy of the most glorious office of which man is capable."⁹⁹ He saw too many churches in which there was nothing "to appeal to the heart, the imagination or affections" or "to refresh or elevate the spirit; no sign in them that any man loves the place."¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, some priests and laymen in the diocese saw their social responsibility to the poor in

⁹⁸Memphis Daily Appeal, May 16, 1867.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

physical as well as spiritual terms. The Refuge of the Good Shepherd in Memphis was a short-lived project in social and religious welfare. The shelter was going to care for the "deserving" poor, convert sinners, and educate the ignorant. It began this large project by furnishing straw pallets and blankets to the homeless men who found their way to a small house on Main Street. After less than a year's operation, the shelter closed, but its annual report stated that as many as eight hundred had been cared for--men and boys "of nearly all nations, of nearly all stations of life, of all shades of religious opinion."¹⁰¹ The report closed on an ironic note, because, while the "Refuge has now no home, or any funds on hand . . . , thanks be to God, we are not in debt."¹⁰²

Although the needs of the population seemed to call for action by churchmen, the task may have been too large. A report from the Clarksville area mentioned people who spent their Sundays in "idle, listless crowds, wearing away the precious hours unimproved, no thought, no aim for heaven."¹⁰³ In Memphis, churchmen witnessed "much ungodliness, much viciousness of living, much practical unbelief

¹⁰¹Tennessee Convention, 1869, pp. 43-44; 1870, pp. 39-40.

¹⁰²Ibid., 1870, p. 40.

¹⁰³Tennessee Convention, 1866, pp. 17-20.

and utter carelessness about the duties which men owe to God and their neighbor."¹⁰⁴

If projects for the poor and neglected succeeded, they increased the financial burden of the church. Efforts were also made toward increasing the services of the church among those who could support it. While the Episcopal Church was not in the habit of conducting revivals, it did lean more and more upon the appeal of preaching in reaching the people. Since the church could support very few missionaries as such, it relied on convocations or gatherings of the regular clergy of the diocese for the purpose of "mutual conference, and the advancement of the interests of the Church within its bounds."¹⁰⁵ The assemblies in Tennessee generally coincided with the lines of the major geographic divisions of the state. Periodically, the ministers in a convocation would convene, preach, and conduct services in one of the towns in their division. Local newspapers were given notice of the gatherings, and, although there is little evidence to show that any great additions were made to the number of communicants in this way, the preaching gathered many

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 1869, p. 43.

¹⁰⁵Stewart, Work of the Church, p. 31.

interested and curious folk as witnesses.¹⁰⁶ Quintard advised his clergy:

What you have to do is to declare the whole counsel of God, fearlessly and lovingly; to give diligent heed, to instruct the people committed to your charge in the principles of Christ's holy religion, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom. Preach the word; be instant in season; reprove, rebuke, exhort. . . . The times demand positive teaching--plain, direct preaching of the cross of Christ. . . . Teach your people thoroughly that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world.¹⁰⁷

Emphasis upon the bishop's role in the organization and extension of the church made the idea of dividing Tennessee into two or three dioceses seem desirable. If this were done, the bishops of the individual dioceses within the state would have less territory to visit and supervise and could exert more influence upon the people. Division of the diocese along sectional lines would also separate East Tennessee "loyalists" from Middle and West Tennessee "rebels," a fact which was never recorded but must have been considered. Before the diocese could be divided, however, the General Convention had to give its assent. Although the General Convention had acknowledged the benefit of missionary bishops in extending the services of the church

¹⁰⁶Bishop Otey's experience had been that curiosity seekers, unused to liturgical worship, came to "hear that man preach and his wife jaw back at him." Noll, History of the Church, p. 58.

¹⁰⁷Memphis Daily Appeal, June 9, 1867.

to new areas, it was reluctant to allow Tennessee to divide on the grounds that its growth had been slow in the past and that it was having difficulty in supporting its one bishop.¹⁰⁸

Quintard's stress upon the office of bishop, the ceremonies of the church, church architecture, and the beauty of ritual placed him in the category generally referred to as High Church, ritualist, or Tractarian. While he "abhorred" party labels of this kind, he showed the influence of the Oxford Movement and refused to join other Episcopal bishops in a resolution protesting ritualism.¹⁰⁹ As he explained to the convention, ritualism had not proved to be a problem within the diocese, and he feared neglect more than too much of ceremony. One of the unfortunate side effects of the Reformation, he believed, had been the abandonment of ritual in a church that was still Catholic.¹¹⁰

Quintard's position on a controversial religious matter proved that he was capable of taking unpopular stands, and it also pointed to the emphasis he placed on the

¹⁰⁸Noll, History of the Church, pp. 214-16.

¹⁰⁹Quintard said, "One name alone will I accept, and that an honorable one--not Ritualist, not sacerdotalist [sic]: not High Churchman but Catholic." Quintard Diary, 1873.

¹¹⁰Memphis Daily Appeal, May 16, 1867; Tennessee Convention, 1867, pp. 48-51.

Catholic nature of the church. This allowed him to see the church as the answer to man's problems without becoming involved in man's temporal situation. The church acted as the unifying and conservative element in the nation. It was also a

. . . sanctifying agency, which, by the power of God, shall regenerate the social life of our people. Built upon the Rock Christ Jesus, holding forth the cross, speaking as directly to the living wants of men in the wilds of Nebraska and Oregon, as she does to the refined and cultivated congregations of our great cities, with a place for men of all varieties of temperament, and giving to each just that work to do for which he is best fitted, and all this without soiling her pure white robes with the filth of political or sectarian warfare, she sanctifies the affection of her children, and challenges the devotion of the patriot, while extending the vivifying influence of the blessed gospel over the whole land, and binding together in one great brotherhood the diverse elements of our national life.¹¹¹

The church was not only a unifying force in the nation but also in the world; accordingly, Quintard took part in the movement to bring the Anglican churches of the world into closer communion. In 1867, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued invitations to Anglican and Episcopal bishops to attend a conference at Lambeth Palace. The Lambeth or Pan-Anglican Conference promised little but the chance to commune, but so many American bishops were fearful of building a superstructure of power and authority and of allowing British hegemony that more than half refused to

¹¹¹Address of the Bishop, Tennessee Convention, 1869, p. 27.

attend. Quintard, however, took advantage of the opportunity and not only attended this conference but also each subsequent decennial meeting. Although some of the British press found his full grown black beard and habit of smoking cigars un-Anglican, others found him quite charming and almost British in speech.¹¹²

The Tennessee bishop found much to admire in the Church of England. He told his churchmen:

The Church of England has more real life and influence in the realm of England to-day than at any period of her history. . . . She is arousing herself to her duties at home, has built and restored more churches and religious houses in the last fifty years, than in all the period since the great Anglican Reformation. She is doing more work for the poor and the destitute in her crowded cities, and she is extending her missions abroad more vigorously than ever before, and even by differences, proving to an ungodly world the real life that is in her.¹¹³

Thus, Quintard found not only sympathetic aid for his southern diocese and his southern university but also an appealing churchmanship in England.

When Reconstruction ended in Tennessee, the Episcopal Church had regained its strength in numbers. Because the church did not participate in the political and economic struggles of radical Reconstruction, it maintained its appeal to the conservative interests. Quintard's influence

¹¹²Noll, Quintard, pp. 158-59.

¹¹³Address of the Bishop, Tennessee Convention, 1869, pp. 6-7.

among the veterans of the Confederacy tended to be among the leadership rather than the rank and file; thus, the church seems to have retained a certain upper class solidarity despite its attempts to reach people outside the group.

If the church remained small, it nonetheless retained its sense of mission and feeling that it should occupy a great field by virtue of its position

. . . as the true Church of Christ, by our sense of the immesurable [sic] importance of right Christian teaching to the future welfare of our country, and our conviction that upon us rests the great work of building up for ourselves and our posterity a bulwark against the flood of impiety, ungodliness, and evil in every form, which is sweeping over our fair land.¹¹⁴

The responsibility associated with this concept was so large that many church members must have buried themselves in their other concerns rather than face it. The church, however, entered the post-Reconstruction era on a positive note.

¹¹⁴Tennessee Convention, 1866, p. 22.

CHAPTER III

EPISCOPALIANS AND EDUCATION, 1865-1898

Education in America traditionally has been closely related to religion. Although Puritan New England outstripped the Anglican South in the matter of providing for its early educational needs, Anglicans in Virginia rivaled Harvard with their William and Mary in 1693. North or South, Congregationalist or Anglican, religion and education united in their aim of creating a moral citizenry. New England's "Old Deluder Satan" act was no more outspoken in its intent than were the instructions provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The society reminded its teachers that they must "well consider the end for which they are employ'd by the Society, viz. the instructing and disposing Children, to believe and live as Christians."¹ The feature that most distinguished colonial education was its religious mission, and, particularly in higher education, this feature continued into the early national period. With the exception of a few

¹Clifton Hartwell Brewer, A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835 (Reprint edition by Arno Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), ill. facing p. 28.

state universities, most of the colleges founded between the Revolution and the Civil War were organized, supported, and controlled by religious interests.²

The Episcopal Church in the United States inherited its tradition of an educated clergy from the Church of England. Despite the many handicaps associated with travelling to Great Britain for ordination, the bishops continued to insist that prospective colonial clergymen come to England to receive holy orders. The practice enabled the English church to keep check on the training and credentials of the men who ministered to the colonials. If a few colonial clergymen proved lax or even corrupt in their duties, it was not because they were ignorant or uneducated. When Episcopal clergymen expressed distaste for the illiterate preachers associated with the Great Revival, they did so out of the sense of contrast "with the careful training felt to be a necessity for those who would save the souls of their fellow man."³

Because of the tradition of educating their clergymen, it was not surprising that three of the nine

²Donald G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing Upon the College Movement (Archon Books; [New York]: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), pp. 55-56.

³Brewer, Religious Education, p. 17.

colonial colleges surviving the Revolution were Anglican in origin or connection. Although none retained the relationship after the Revolution, William and Mary, King's College (Columbia University), and the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) began as Anglican projects. Neither was it surprising that one of the first goals the young Tennessee church considered was a school for training its clergy. The Tennessee church was established during a period of revitalization in which interest in seminary-trained rather than in bishop-trained clergy developed. The opening of the General Theological Seminary in New York City in 1819 marked the end of the period of satisfaction with private ministerial training. Thereafter, requests for more clergymen were accompanied by pleas for training schools for the clergy. In Tennessee, this was heard as early as 1832.⁴

Inasmuch as Bishop Otey began his ministry after having started a career as a schoolmaster, his interest in education was in keeping with his original interests, and his desire for a Christian education was in the tradition of Episcopal clergymen. The most durable evidence of this concern was achieved in the University of the South, but Otey was connected with other educational institutions as well. Bishop Quintard's name was linked inseparably to the

⁴Ibid., pp. 226-43.

refounding of the University after the Civil War, but he, too, had interests in other educational schemes. This chapter deals with three aspects of the church's involvement with education during Quintard's episcopate: (1) the University of the South, (2) church-related schools below the university level, and (3) church-related schools particularly for Negroes.

The University of the South was not solely a Tennessee project. It was conceived and developed as a joint project of the southern dioceses. That Tennessee was chosen as its location and that Tennessee bishops were prominent among its more active promoters and workers, however, gave it particular significance to the state.

The first stage of the project which culminated in the University of the South began in July, 1856, when Bishop Leonidas Polk of Louisiana addressed a letter to his fellow bishops in the South and Southwest. In it he outlined the responsibility of the Episcopal Church for the spiritual well-being of the people in the region. He connected the church's spiritual responsibility to the task of providing the best of educational institutions. Episcopal schools also would assure that the church would continue to survive and prosper. Because the individual dioceses were too weak to build great schools, he proposed that they do so as a joint project. Of course, a theological school was to be a

major feature of the institution, but it also was to include a broad ranging university and a grammar school. The detail of his proposal revealed that this was not the inspiration of the moment but was the result of careful deliberation. At the meeting of the General Convention, in 1856, nine southern bishops gave their approval to his proposal.⁵

Education remained a major topic at gatherings of church leaders. In 1859, Bishop Otey addressed the General Convention on the need for education "which improves and exalts the character."⁶ According to the bishop, purely secular education would not suffice. While it might fill the head with knowledge, intelligence alone had no moral character. Secular education could, therefore, be used for both constructive and destructive purposes. His address presented a strong rationale for religious control of educational institutions. Because of Otey's reputation as an educator, the task of preparing the university's plan for presentation throughout the South fell to him.

As Polk, Otey, and a third proponent, Bishop Stephen Elliott of Georgia, envisioned the project, it was to be an

⁵Chitty, Sewanee, pp. 45ff.

⁶James Hervey Otey, Christian Education: Sermon Preached before the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (Richmond: n.p., 1859).

Episcopal university governed by an Episcopal board of trustees and dedicated to the highest quality education possible. They planned on raising an endowment that would make the university as financially sound as any in the country. No construction was to take place until \$500,000 was raised, but the bishops believed that they could raise \$3,000,000 without difficulty. Within a few months, Bishops Polk and Elliott proved the practicality of the scheme by raising pledges of \$363,580 among wealthy planters in the Southwest.⁷ Other bishops hoped to raise similar amounts in their own dioceses.

Southern prosperity in the fifties undoubtedly contributed to the ease the founders had in moving their project toward a successful conclusion. Only a year after Polk's letter, on July 4-6, 1857, the first meeting of the board of trustees was held at Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga. Later that year, another meeting of the trustees resulted in the selection of a name and a site for the university.⁸ The trustees drafted a charter which was granted by the Tennessee

⁷Chitty, Sewanee, p. 58.

⁸Sewanee was chosen by vote of the trustees on the seventeenth ballot. Other sites considered included McMinnville, Cleveland, and Chattanooga, Tennessee; Huntsville, Alabama; and Atlanta, Georgia. The name "The University of the South" was suggested by the Right Reverend William Mercer Green, first bishop of Mississippi and fourth chancellor of the university. Ibid., pp. 52-55.

legislature on January 6, 1858. By August, 1859, the trustees were informed by the commissioners for endowment that they were approaching the goal of \$500,000, and deeds were registered for more than 9,000 acres of land. In October, 1860, less than five years after Polk's letter, the board met for the first time at Sewanee where they adopted a constitution and laid the cornerstone before an interested and curious crowd numbering in the thousands.⁹

Bishop John Henry Hopkins of Vermont, a landscape gardener among other things, was employed by the trustees to plan the roads and buildings from an artistic viewpoint. Log cabins were erected for those who were working and planning for the university. Bishops Polk and Elliott and their families occupied houses on the domain during that crucial winter of 1860-61. In fact, the call they addressed to their fellow southern bishops concerning the organization of a church in the Confederacy came from Sewanee.¹⁰ However optimistic the beginning was, it was followed by the devastation associated with war and its accompanying enmities. On the evening Fort Sumter was fired upon, the homes of the two bishops were set afire by unknown persons.

⁹Ibid., pp. 55-56.

¹⁰In fact, one of the earliest Confederate flags flown in Tennessee may have been the one the Elliott children raised in front of their house on the mountain when South Carolina seceded in December, 1860. Ibid., p. 71.

At the end of the war, little was left to remind churchmen of their ambitious scheme to build the finest university in the South.

The toll taken by the war was measured not only in loss of property but also in loss of leadership. Two of the major proponents of the university, Bishop Polk and Bishop Otey, were dead, but, because the university was to be built upon "men, not things,"¹¹ it was to be revived by survivors and successors. Some members of the executive committee survived, among them the Reverend David Pise and Major George R. Fairbanks in Tennessee. Bishop Elliott outlived the war by a year and retained his interest in the project. Charles T. Quintard, successor to Bishop Otey, later recalled that, on the same day he entered the House of Bishops for the first time, he wrote to a friend to ask his help in planning the reestablishment of the university.¹² Already, when the Tennessee convention met in 1865, Quintard had presented a resolution calling for action to be taken towards building a theological training school on the domain and for consultation with the executive committee of the university.¹³

¹¹Noll, Quintard, p. 171.

¹²Quintard Diary, Jul. 11, 1893.

¹³Chitty, Sewanee, p. 85; Tennessee Convention, 1865, pp. 11-12.

If church-sponsored education predominated before the war, Reconstruction intensified the interest. Many who were identified with the Confederacy turned to education and/or religion with special compulsion once the war was over.¹⁴ Episcopalians were prominent among those who did so, but a study of the leaders of the Confederacy in the New South revealed numbers of Baptists and Presbyterians who had the same impulse.¹⁵ Education became the panacea for all the ills that beset the South. Among Episcopalians and those who shared their interests, the University of the South became "the greatest monument of this zeal in Reconstruction times."¹⁶

It was a tribute both to nationalism and regionalism that the University of the South was revived during Reconstruction with the name that had been applied during the heyday of the Old South. That Bishop Otey had been an affirmed nationalist as well as southerner helped to reassure those who might have favored a new name. At the first meeting of the board of trustees, in 1857, Otey had "delivered an address in which he inveighed against intimations that the scheme of the University was born of

¹⁴Hesseltine, Confederate Leaders, pp. 67-77.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Stewart, Work of the Church, pp. 33-34.

disunion proclivities."¹⁷ A witness to the ceremony recalled the dramatic point in Otey's address when he had said:

So far from it [divisive spirit], may the flesh be torn from my arm and my arm from my shoulder before my hand shall be raised to pluck one star from the constellation which adorns that glorious banner.¹⁸

The effect of his oratory had been heightened when "the flag, which had hung listlessly by the staff, as it stood at his right hand, was wafted gently by a sudden breeze so as to enfold him, and to arrest his discourse."¹⁹ Notwithstanding Otey's staunch nationalism, the University of the South "had long been in the minds of many Southerners as a special citadel for Southern culture."²⁰

Quintard, as had Otey before him, saw the university as more than an institution "which fills the memory and enlarges the understanding."²¹ He turned to it as the training agency for the future leaders of the South. The goal was closely connected to sectional well-being.

¹⁷Albert Miller Lee to Quintard, All Saints Day, 1879, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Collection.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877, Vol. VIII of A History of the South, ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (10 vols.; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947--), p. 321.

²¹Otey, Christian Education, p. 15.

Quintard asserted that "if our Church is to do the work God has committed to her of regenerating our land and of moulding for our people a high Christian civilization, this great institution must be built up."²² Churchmen were admonished to think of

. . . the Holy Catholic Church, in which you profess to believe; then look at the condition of the country, and ask yourselves if we do not need the regenerating power of the Church of the living God to develop in this land a moral and high Christian civilization.²³

The university was, "indeed, the very hope of the Church in this and all the Southern Dioceses."²⁴

The original plan was broader and more ambitious than the one that Quintard and his associates were able to put into operation during Reconstruction. Under the original plan, more than thirty departments, ranging from modern and classical languages to agriculture, philosophy, commerce, theology, law, and medicine, were to have been established. One of the university's historians noted "a utopian air" about the early scheme.²⁵ By contrast, Quintard's operations sounded almost quaint. He proposed beginning with "his students in log cabins" and erecting "a

²²Quintard Diary, Oct. 12, 1866.

²³Quintard, Historical Sermon Preached in Trinity Church (Clarksville: n.p., 1896).

²⁴Tennessee Convention, 1878, p. 14.

²⁵Chitty, Sewanee, p. 73.

log church for them to worship in, and starting thus from the first and simplest elements will go on to expand and build up the work as God may give him the means and power."²⁶ The promoters still dreamed of a large endowment, but the realities of the moment prevailed over the dream. As late as 1883, the university appeared overly optimistic in an effort to raise an endowment of \$250,000.²⁷

The urgency that many southerners felt about their schools was heightened in the case of the university by a stipulation in one of the largest land grants that the land was to revert to the original owner if the school were not in operation by 1868. Bishop Quintard accepted the position as commissioner to solicit funds to be used for "the erection of plain and substantial buildings, that the institution may begin its work at the earliest day possible."²⁸ He presented the cause whenever and wherever he could. In 1866, he reported that he remained in "the North longer than I at first anticipated to present the claims of the Sewanee Mission to the Church."²⁹ Church periodicals published his task:

The Bishop of Tennessee--just starting on a visitation with 15 cents in his pocket and a free pass on the railway--writes to us, begging and praying that

²⁶Memphis Daily Appeal, Mar. 22, 1866.

²⁷Tennessee Convention, 1878, p. 14.

²⁸Quintard Diary, Oct. 12, 1866.

²⁹Ibid., June 21, 1866.

the liberal Churchmen of the North will remember the Training School which he has established at Sewanee.³⁰

And, of course, when the bishop attended the Lambeth Conference in 1867, he found time to present the cause to British churchmen.

On March 22, 1866, Quintard made his first postwar trip to the domain of Sewanee. Accompanied by two priests and Major Fairbanks, he spent the night at the cabin occupied by the postmaster. The next morning Quintard supervised the construction of a twelve-foot cross around which the group gathered, recited the Nicene Creed, and "knelt down and prayed Almighty God to give us grace both to perceive and know what things we ought to do and grace to perform the same."³¹ The ceremonies, witnessed by some natives of the locale and three or four Negroes, were closed with the singing of the Gloria in Excelsis and the benediction pronounced by the bishop.³²

The 1868 deadline was met by opening a junior department on September 18, of that year. The haste that was a necessary part of the project was illustrated during the opening ceremonies. When the procession entered the chapel,

³⁰Stewart, Work of the Church, p. 33, quoting Southern Churchman, May 10, 1866.

³¹Quintard Diary, Jul. 11, 1893.

³²Ibid.

Bishop Quintard had to step aside "to allow the plasterer to pass out with his mortar-board and trowel."³³ It was, according to the bishop, "the day of small things!"³⁴ Four instructors and nine pupils constituted the faculty and student body. They conducted their sessions in the two wings of the chapel, but other buildings were in the process of construction. Most of this early operation was made possible through Anglican liberality.³⁵

The school expanded. By the time it had been in operation for three years, there were not only 120 students in the grammar school, but 124 in the university.³⁶ On August 6, 1874, the first degrees were awarded; appropriately, all went to southerners--a Texan, a Tennessean, a Mississippian, and a South Carolinian.³⁷ Although the theological school was not opened formally until 1878, the ordination of Charles McIlvaine Gray of Tennessee, in 1872, provided the first fruit of Sewanee.

³³Quintard, An Address Delivered in St. Augustine's Chapel, Sewanee, Tennessee, at the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of the South (New York: n.p., 1890), p. 11.

³⁴Ibid., p. 12.

³⁵Chitty, Sewanee, pp. 101-08.

³⁶Quintard, Address to the Board, p. 12.

³⁷Chitty, Sewanee, p. 182, n. 7. Because the university had its vacation in the winter, the end of the school year was in August.

The first degrees from a short-lived medical department were awarded in 1892. In the 1890's, the university also recognized the needs of those who did not desire literary or scientific degrees by establishing a course of study in "Finance and Economy."³⁸

The university's location was particularly fitting for its goals. Bishop Polk had suggested a location in the Appalachian Plateau within easy access to railroads connecting it with all parts of the South. To Polk, who had lived in Louisiana and had suffered from epidemics that afflicted the hot, low-lying country, the plateau promised both healthful conditions and relatively easy accessibility. More important, however, was its isolation from demoralizing urban centers, "drinking saloons, barrooms, and haunts of vice and dissipation."³⁹ Here, southern youths could enter the military preparatory school at an early age and emerge well-rounded southern gentlemen. The military schooling and required gymnastics were to give the students "a clear complexion, an elastic step, and a noble carriage; and then mind and body acting in healthy unison fill out the measure of a well rounded man--'mens sana in corpore sano.'"⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., p. 169; Tennessee Convention, 1893, p. 25; 1892, pp. 35-36.

³⁹Tennessee Convention, 1879, p. 13.

⁴⁰Ibid.

A community grew up around the university. When the first department opened in 1868, the town was little more than a freight depot and a few log cabins. Within four years, it was described as containing social aspects attractive to men of intelligence and culture, "especially to a Southern man whose heart has been bound up with the fortunes and misfortunes of his native land."⁴¹ Much of the prosperity of the domain in the 1870's was attributable to patrons such as Jabez W. Hayes, a wealthy New Jersey businessman with an interest in Christian education. He leased a hundred acres and planted fruit trees and grape vines. He also bought a sawmill and "liberally supplied the lumber and wood work necessary to the erection of houses" and "invested his own capital, wherever needed, to aid and to stimulate others."⁴²

Although the grammar school and the university were for male students, there was never a shortage of women on the domain. Wives, daughters, widows, and their female relatives found the domain especially attractive in the summertime when the school was in session. In fact, much of the student's non-academic life was directed by these women. As author and university administrator Arthur B. Chitty

⁴¹[Josiah Gorgas], The Progress of the University (Sewanee: n.p., 1872).

⁴²Ibid.

described it, Sewanee "took on some of the attributes of a matriarchy. . . . Every student sat at a table with a lady at the head of it and was inculcated with good manners in the southern tradition."⁴³ One vice-chancellor of the university acknowledged that women "and especially mothers recognize more quickly than men the value of such culture."⁴⁴

According to the university's constitution, most of the power of governance lay with the board of trustees, but the two top officers were the chancellor, an honorary position held by one of the bishops of the owning dioceses, and the vice-chancellor, the position most comparable to that of college president.⁴⁵ As the first vice-chancellor of the university, Bishop Quintard exercised a great influence over its course, but he also found that one of his major tasks would be raising money to keep the university going.

In 1872, former Confederate General Josiah Gorgas succeeded Quintard as vice-chancellor, and Quintard undertook a mission to raise an endowment of \$500,000.⁴⁶ Hampered by crop failures and depression in the South, he did not meet his goal, but he made strong appeals for southern support. When he was on fund-raising drives in the South, he

⁴³Chitty, Sewanee, p. 180.

⁴⁴Tennessee Convention, 1883, p. 43.

⁴⁵Chitty, Sewanee, pp. 66-69.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 138.

stressed the South in the University of the South. A Savannah, Georgia, newspaper expressed the bishop's purpose in these terms:

The necessity of an institution like this is imperative, if our children are to be educated at home. Such a school as the "University of the South" will become, if its plan is developed, does not exist in the States south of Virginia. It will be an infinite honor and blessing to our Southern communities, if they can build up an educational institution that shall blend the highest intellectual training with the truest moral culture. To patriotic pride, philanthropy adds its force, for while our times demand the highest learning and the acutest intellect they need equally, and perhaps more, for the preservation of social life and virtue, the strongest influence of morality and religion.⁴⁷

A newspaper in Charelston, South Carolina, gave an account of one of the bishop's addresses in which he took a much stronger pro-southern position:

There is something worse than war--something worse than pestilence and famine--something worse than death. It is worse to see a people of high cultivation, of noble lineage, bow down their backs and become hewers of wood and drawers of water, and in the depths of an overwhelming despair descend from the high position they have occupied and adorned.

The crisis is now upon the people of the South--now they must brace themselves to meet the issues. The people must be educated, and educated in the right way.⁴⁸

The stress upon southern interests and Quintard's own connection with the Confederate army gave him an entree

⁴⁷ Clipping from an unidentified Savannah, Georgia, newspaper, Quintard Diary, 1873.

⁴⁸ Clipping from Charleston Monthly Record, Quintard Diary, 1873.

to southern historical and patriotic associations which were willing to exchange memories for financial support. On one of his more successful canvasses of the southern states, he was accompanied by a lay trustee from the diocese of South Carolina, former Confederate Major General Joseph Brevard Kershaw, commander of "Kershaw's Brigade" with the Army of Northern Virginia and participant in the Tennessee campaign of 1863.⁴⁹

Although in theory the university should have received ample support from contributions of the ten supporting dioceses, in actuality only two or three bishops equalled Quintard's interest in the project. Alexander Gregg, first bishop of Texas, was one who took an interest and supported Quintard through the trials of the early days. Gregg's death in 1893 prompted Quintard to recall some of those early tribulations in which he learned "that there is 'lots' of human nature in the Episcopate."⁵⁰ In 1872, Bishop Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina expressed his doubts about the propriety of a bishop going into another's diocese without the express consent of the bishop concerned. He relented, however, and offered a formal invitation to

⁴⁹Concise DAB, p. 524.

⁵⁰Quintard Diary, Jul. 11, 1893.

Quintard.⁵¹ When Quintard received word that the bishop of Alabama also had reservations about his forthcoming visit to that diocese, he commented with some indignation that he would not have undertaken the mission had he "for a moment supposed that the Bishops would have withheld their hearty and active co-operation."⁵² His co-worker at the university, George Fairbanks, consoled him:

The time will come my dear Bishop when to be recorded as one of the promoters and active friends of our University will be one of the highest honors to be attached to the name of a Bishop, and when indifference or hostility will throw a shadow over the memory of even the best.⁵³

Even when he was in England, fund raising was not always as enjoyable as some of his fellow bishops imagined. Quintard's English brothers worked him hard. He was called upon to speak two or three times each Sunday and performed such services as laying cornerstones, opening churches, and attending harvest festivals. "But Britishers are slow," he found, "and I have only now gotten my machinery at work for my university scheme."⁵⁴ After several months of this activity with little reward, Quintard began to feel the

⁵¹Thomas Atkinson to Quintard, Dec. 14, 1872; Dec. 24, 1872, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Collection.

⁵²Quintard Diary, Jan. 24, 1873.

⁵³George R. Fairbanks to Quintard, Jan. 26, 1873, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Collection.

⁵⁴Quintard to Harris, Nov. 16, 1875.

strain. He complained that the biggest obstacle in his way was that he was continually asked, "Why does not the rich North help you?" He acknowledged, "Of course there is an answer, but I have to make it continually."⁵⁵

When Quintard made appeals for funds in England, he stressed the desolation and damage that the South had suffered as a result of the war and the good will that existed between the southerner and the English.⁵⁶ He apparently refrained from appearing hostile to northern interests when he presented the claims of the South.⁵⁷ And, as time began to heal some of the sectional wounds, it was possible to seek out northern support for the University of the South. In 1885, the Reverend Morgan Dix, of Trinity Church in New York City, was the commencement speaker. He returned to New York to write a complimentary article on the university for the Churchman, published in New York.⁵⁸ The school eventually benefited from northern businessmen's bequests and support.

The question of what was best for the university was one which many felt compelled to answer. Certainly Bishop

⁵⁵Ibid., Jan. 15, 1876.

⁵⁶Printed notices inserted in Quintard Diary, Feb. 5, 1876.

⁵⁷Quintard Diary, Nov. 16, 1875.

⁵⁸Morgan Dix to Quintard, Aug. 21, 1885, University of the South Archives, Quintard Collection.

Quintard believed that his struggle to see the university revive had given him a special sanction to help plot the course of the institution when it was in operation. According to his concept of the mission of the university, the emphasis was to be "upon thorough scholarship, strict discipline, and daily devotion."⁵⁹ Although students did not have to be Episcopalians, the school was "a Church University engaging in no rivalry, but teaching the faith of the Church, submitting to the ministry of the Church, ordered by the discipline of the Church, and rejoicing in the worship of the Church."⁶⁰ Quintard successfully resisted attempts to secularize the university.

In 1879, Bishop Quintard rose to combat such an attempt. A member of the hebdomadal board, which was a committee of senior professors, drafted a special report which was signed by all its members. The report, designed for the committee on organization of the university, suggested that the interests of the school would be better served if there were less emphasis upon ritual and churchmanship and more upon southern history, military training, and science. Bishop Quintard responded with characteristic vigor to defend the religious structure of the university and to condemn continued sectionalism.

⁵⁹Address of the Bishop, Tennessee Convention, 1870,
p. 57.

⁶⁰Ibid.

"Now indeed," he said, "we are told by our Faculty that 'the University is not a Church University only but a Church University of the South' and that our young men are growing up in ignorance of a history of their own Southern people." To Quintard, the worst ignorance was lack of knowledge of the church, but the report maintained "that one of the chief obstructions to the University's work is its 'reputation as a ritualistic school.'" According to Bishop Quintard, however, what "we have to deplore here at Sewanee is not Churchmanship but lack of it." The bishop refuted the charge that the university did not show enough interest in science by pointing to physics and biology professor John McCrady, who had been a pupil of Louis Agassiz. "The dreadful thing about modern education," he countered, "is that it does not know God." His defense was strong enough that the board asked permission to withdraw all the part of its report which related to ritualism, and the committee of trustees to whom the report was presented "rebuked the spirit and the statements of the Report."⁶¹

Bishop Quintard felt that the emphasis of the school upon the spiritual and physical as well as the mental helped it transcend narrow sectionalism. Adjustment from sectionalism to regionalism became a part of the Sewanee

⁶¹Quintard devoted twenty-five pages of his diary to this episode. Quintard Diary, Aug. 7, 1879.

accommodation to the new forces in society. Others agreed with Quintard that the war was over and that the founders' patriotism had not been restricted solely to the South. The vice-chancellor's report to the convention of 1883 gave a regional explanation of the university's name and pointed to its place in the New South "with its looms, its furnaces, and its rolling mills."⁶²

Because the university had started its operation without the large endowment it hoped for, tuition fees had to be larger than anticipated. At the beginning, the hope had been that fees could be kept in line with other institutions of its type. The commissioner of buildings and land, George Fairbanks, for example, proposed a charge of \$350 a year, which he believed was in accordance with the fees at Washington College to which Robert E. Lee had gone as president.⁶³ The necessity of high fees became a sensitive matter in the 1880's.⁶⁴ In the fall of 1880, Quintard remonstrated with a Tennessee churchwoman for sending her son to a normal school at Winchester:

What induced you to send him here? Why not at Sewanee? There is nothing so costly as a cheap education--and your dear boy ought to have for his associates a higher and a better class than that which resorts to the Normal School at Winchester.

⁶²Tennessee Convention, 1883, p. 40.

⁶³Fairbanks to Quintard, Feb. 21, 1868.

⁶⁴Tennessee Convention, 1883, pp. 41-44.

Then, too, of all things, to send him to a Baptist institution!!! What training can he get here that will advance him in holiness of life--or in the knowledge of his Church? Now, my dear friend, do I pray you re-consider the matter. If it is a question of economy, I pledge you that his expenses, at Sewanee, shall not be one cent more than at this place. I know nothing of the terms at this school nor of the price of board, but I will see that Sewanee does as well for him in every particular.⁶⁵

While Quintard's gesture in this case was probably the kind that led some of his co-workers to despair and his flock to question his ability, it was also typical of the kind of drive he exerted for the university.

Although the progress of the university was far from assured during Reconstruction, there was cause for optimism during the remaining decades of the nineteenth century. In 1872, the offerings of the school were listed under nine departments with as many instructors in charge. In the next decade, stone buildings began to replace and be added to the earlier log cabins. In 1885, the bishop noted that the commencement activities were covered by two Nashville newspapers. His comment was: "We have won our spurs--not bought them--Thank God!"⁶⁶ By the 1890's, the University of the South was well into the swirl of the new sport, football, that was taking hold on college campuses

⁶⁵Quintard to Mrs. Harry Yeatman, Nov. 16, 1880, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, Yeatman-Polk Letters.

⁶⁶Quintard Diary, Aug. 6, 1885.

throughout the country. In 1889, two faculty members of the university went abroad to visit German and English universities. Their journey may have been particularly significant since both were to act as vice-chancellors and one became bishop of Tennessee.⁶⁷

The institution at Sewanee was not the only Tennessee educational enterprise that was growing in size and importance. In nearby Nashville, Southern Methodists won a sizable endowment through the philanthropy of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt and founded Vanderbilt University in 1873. The University of Tennessee in Knoxville received the benefit of the Morrill Act in 1869, and, by the 1880's and 1890's, was developing into a major land grant college with not only agricultural and mechanical but also classical and scientific studies. Other institutions of higher learning were established at Chattanooga, Memphis, Lebanon, Maryville, and elsewhere, each having a special appeal to some group or interest.⁶⁸ Since both quality and quantity were increasing, the University of the South faced more competition during the Gilded Age.

Of course, one of the original purposes of the University of the South was to provide trained clergy to serve in the South. Quintard stated the goal:

⁶⁷Ibid., Mar. 4, 1889.

⁶⁸Folmsby, Tennessee, pp. 416-19.

If the Church is to plant the standard of primitive truth and apostolic order, in our towns and villages, on our prairies and along our mountains, then our University must train the men who shall, amid hardships and dangers, and with an apostolic fervor, and by the grace of God, fill the New World with the glory of salvation.⁶⁹

He spoke in terms of the nation as a whole, but he was especially concerned about clergymen "who were taken from among our people, accustomed to our ways of thought and modes of action."⁷⁰ Typically, perhaps, his hopes outstripped realities. When he died in 1898, only eleven clergymen out of forty-two priests and eight deacons in Tennessee were alumni of the University of the South.⁷¹ Nevertheless, these men together with lay alumni in Tennessee undoubtedly exercised some influence, and Quintard never flagged in his devotion to the ideal. In 1892, he wrote in his diary:

What a marvellous story is that of the University of the South! How sincerely I thank God that I have been permitted to work for it. No one can know all my trials, but it is a grand thing to be a co-worker with God, be the trials what they may.⁷²

On a smaller scale, but important in the church's concept of its mission, were the various church-related

⁶⁹Tennessee Convention, 1876, p. 10.

⁷⁰Quintard, Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of Tennessee (n.p.: 1886).

⁷¹Noll, History, p. 162.

⁷²Quintard Diary, Jul. 28, 1892.

schools established in the parishes by individual churchmen or the parish church. During the ante-bellum period, there was a fertile field for church schools. Bishop Otey, who came to Tennessee as a schoolmaster, taught in and established several such schools for both boys and girls. Otey considered the practicalities of the situation. Since the Episcopal Church was relatively unknown in the state and its methods of worship were strange to many, Otey encouraged the priests of the diocese to open schools to provide themselves with the necessary financial support. Inasmuch as Episcopal priests were well-educated and were expected to devote themselves to their calling, this solution lent itself well to the missionary status of the church. Wherever there were enough patrons who could afford tuition fees and who admired the scholarship of Episcopal priests, these schools thrived. Also, of course, the failure of state authorities to provide adequately for public education made these schools a necessity.

During Reconstruction, the first attempts to provide educational facilities on a wide scale and for whites and blacks alike came from the Freedmen's Bureau, northern sponsored philanthropic agencies, or radical governments. In order to avoid the social and political domination threatening them through these agencies, white southerners soon were persuaded that they must undertake the job of

education themselves.⁷³ Many, however, wished to avoid public education and turned to private denominational schools which would be free from federal, i.e., northern, political influence and which would preserve the "Southern way of life."⁷⁴ It was possible, therefore, for private schools to thrive after the war even more vigorously than before it. For the Episcopal Church in Tennessee, with the exception of the University of the South and the military school connected with it, its schools for girls met with the most success in this period. On the other hand, it continued to press for church-related schools for both boys and girls.

The bishop and the representatives at the annual conventions usually described the need for church-related education in terms of the needs of society. Bishop Quintard, of course, hoped that such schools would be established throughout the diocese to act as feeders for the university, a plan he never saw realized. He noted that the "common school" system was vitally defective, but he also maintained that the state could not do the work of the church.⁷⁵ He recognized the influence of the school:

⁷³See Swint, Northern Teacher, pp. 94-142.

⁷⁴Coulter, Reconstruction, p. 321.

⁷⁵Quintard Diary, Oct. 12, 1866.

The formative power of a well ordered school is incalculable. No language can express the benefit of it. How carefully you should guard your children from those schools where the cultivation of the intellect is made the supreme object, and in which the moulding of the heart and the culture of the soul are ignored. Chiefly, you must provide for "the soul's health," for "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"⁷⁶

Some Tennessee churchmen saw the advantage of an Episcopal education in other terms. The progress in science and technology that seemed so threatening to some denominations was accepted by most Episcopalians. They wanted to build up

. . . institutions of learning that shall train our youth to the knowledge that Philosophy and Science are the handmaids of religion, and that their discovered energies are the appointed means of propagating more widely the Kingdom of Christ.⁷⁷

Delegates to the Tennessee convention in 1883, realizing that theirs was "no common age," called for the church to maintain the vantage point it had attained in education. "If the age in which we live possesses one characteristic more striking than another," they agreed, "it is that this is emphatically an educational age."⁷⁸ The committee on education did not miss the significance of this fact. They pointed out "that thousands of men will freely pour out their wealth for the

⁷⁶Quintard and others, Letter to the Laity of the Church in the City of Memphis (n.p.: 1888).

⁷⁷Tennessee Convention, 1883, pp. 53-54.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 54-55.

education of their children, when they would not give one dollar to Christ and His church."⁷⁹

Tennessee churchmen did not overlook the importance of the home in developing the true Christian, but they maintained that the home needed the support of parochial and Sunday schools. Also, for those "blessed with more substance," the boarding school was an ideal way to provide education and Christian nurture. Because Episcopal boarding schools had so much to offer, the church should make them "even as a city set upon a hill, a thing to be seen and known of men for beauty and excellence." Reflecting the racial attitudes of their day, they maintained that learning "is the proper inheritance of the Anglican race and the Anglican Church, and the Church should therefore give and her children should therefore receive from her the best of it."⁸⁰

During the war, educational activities of the church were disrupted along with everything else, but, in 1866, Bishop Quintard "was greatly pleased to find that the Female Institute was being rapidly and thoroughly put in a state of repair--preparatory to the re-opening of the school."⁸¹ This

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid., 1886, pp. 26-29.

⁸¹Quintard Diary, Aug. 15, 1866.

school, the Columbia Female Institute, was one of the more successful girls' schools operated in conjunction with the church. It began its operations in 1835 as a favorite project of Bishop Otey.⁸² For many years after its postwar revival, it retained its church connection and its patronage of churchmen and non-churchmen over a wide area of the South. In 1869, the bishop noted that it was headed by a priest with experience and knowledge of European schools and that it was equipped with a planetarium for which West Point Military Academy had expended \$2,000.⁸³

Bishop Otey was not intimately involved with the revitalization of Columbia Female Institute, but he did give careful direction to the establishment of a proposed school for boys at Winchester. In August, 1866, the bishop leased the building and land for a school he called Sewanee Collegiate Institute, and, a month later, the school opened its doors for the first time as an Episcopal institution.

⁸²There is some disagreement over the date. Noll, History, p. 123, dates its establishment in 1838; William Bruce Turner in History of Maury County Tennessee (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1955), p. 131, gives 1835 as the date of founding and 1838 as the date the main building was completed. The school "with a front of 120 feet, three stories high and with impressive turrets and windows," legend has it, was once referred to by Mark Twain as the "Castle on the Duck." Turner, Maury County, p. 131; oral testimony of a Maury County resident, 1973.

⁸³Address of the Bishop, Tennessee Convention, 1869, p. 49.

Advertisements appearing in a Memphis paper noted its advantages in terms of its accessibility, healthy climate, and "that retirement which is so necessary to rapid progress in academic pursuits."⁸⁴ The appeal was directed to a broad group interested in the "true principles of Christian culture" and "the requisite development of its members in all the qualifications of well-educated gentlemen."⁸⁵ Although distinguished Tennesseans such as the future governor, Peter Turney, and the newspaper editor and businessman, Arthur S. Colyar, were willing to give references for the school, it apparently never won the wholehearted approval of the majority of the residents of the area. By 1871, the lease was cancelled and the property returned to the town of Winchester.⁸⁶

Other boys' schools of this type also found it difficult to survive. Quintard made an unsuccessful attempt to keep Otey School for Boys at Mt. Pleasant open. In 1884, he directed some appeals for its support to northern churches. On this trip, he was entertained by his brother, George, a well-to-do New York businessman, at Delmonico's Restaurant. Although the bishop undoubtedly enjoyed the occasion, he confided to his diary that "I wished I had the

⁸⁴Memphis Daily Appeal, Feb. 10, 1867.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Chitty, Sewanee, p. 95.

cost of the entertainment for my school."⁸⁷ The tendency of many churchmen was to blame the failure of these schools upon "the usual prejudice against the Church," but, in 1886, Otey School faced competition from three other schools.⁸⁸ Without endowments and liberal gifts on a regular basis, these schools could not survive.

The failure of Arnold School for Boys at Rugby was due more to the failure of the utopian scheme of Thomas Hughes, English reformer and writer, than to any particular antipathy to the church. The colony, which began amid a great deal of fanfare in 1880, was already dying when the diocese heard the report that Arnold School had, by admitting five girls, raised its attendance to ten. Optimism was voiced, however, and this was deemed a temporary measure. The curriculum was related to the churchly aspects of education because studies in the Prayer Book and the Old and New Testaments were "prominent subjects."⁸⁹

In 1898, four boarding schools made reports to the convention. Of these, Columbia Female Institute had had the longest life. St. Mary's, Memphis; St. Katherine's,

⁸⁷Quintard Diary, Dec. 2, 1884.

⁸⁸Tennessee Convention, 1886, pp. 22-23.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 23-25.

Bolivar; and Fairmount, Monteagle, all schools for girls, were products of the postwar period. Their claims for support from Episcopalians were based upon their offering of a combination of religious instruction with physical and cultural development. Fairmount School, for example, was headed by an Episcopalian schoolmaster who was aided by seven "lady teachers." The course of study included Latin, modern languages, English literature, natural sciences, music, drawing and painting, and physical culture.⁹⁰

Columbia Female Institute proudly reported that its departments of literature, art, science, and mathematics were supplied "with the best talent the country affords."⁹¹ St. Mary's, conducted by a religious sisterhood of the same name, boasted more than a hundred pupils ranging from kindergarten through high school. Church history, English, Latin, Greek, French, German, art, music, and elocution were among the subjects available to the young girls who attended St. Mary's.⁹² St. Katherine's was being leased, but the committee had "only words of commendation" for its management.⁹³

⁹⁰Ibid., 1897, pp. 36-37.

⁹¹Ibid., 1890, pp. 65-66.

⁹²Ibid., 1889, pp. 55-58.

⁹³Ibid., 1895, pp. 55-56.

The Sisters of St. Mary, the oldest Episcopal religious order for women, also began a school for girls in the mountains of Sewanee. They purchased land near the university and planned an industrial school for girls in conjunction with their home, St. Mary's-on-the-Mountain. Here, they planned to

. . . take some twenty daughters of the poorest mountain people into [their] house for nine months of the year, to be trained as seamstresses, laundresses, cooks, or nurses for the sick, and in addition, all to be given a simple English education, and all to be trained in the proper care of a house.⁹⁴

The lessons that the girls were taught would "enable them not only to brighten their poverty but to lessen their sufferings."⁹⁵ The project was not officially connected to the diocese, but it existed within it.

Diocesan schools usually were segregated explicitly by sex and race and implicitly by class; but, when Quintard and annually appointed committees on education stressed the need for church-sponsored education, they did so in terms of creating a morally superior leadership and citizenship which would benefit the section and the nation. The ultimate goal of such projects would be social reform, but it was reform that was in keeping with the traditional concerns of the

⁹⁴Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, 1897.

⁹⁵Ibid.

church. In Tennessee, Negro education was a newer area, but the convention did not envision an education for the Negro that would change his relationship to southern society. When an occasional schoolmaster did think in terms of such changes, he found that his popularity with the white community dropped to dangerous levels.

The first educational project for Negroes in Tennessee was connected with the Canfield Orphan Asylum in Memphis.⁹⁶ A school for the orphans and other black children was begun there in 1868. Although the asylum was located "far from any negroes' houses," the operation was apparently successful. In 1871, forty Negro students, under the tutorship of a Negro teacher, were reported as making progress in reading, arithmetic, geography, and religious history. When the trustees of the asylum conducted an examination there, they reported that the students' performance equalled any they had heard in any school from children of the same age.⁹⁷

The actual financial support for the teachers in the school came from sources outside the diocese. Its early support had come from the Freedmen's Bureau and northern benevolent societies or individuals.⁹⁸ In 1872, the Home

⁹⁶See above, pp. 68-71.

⁹⁷Tennessee Convention, 1871, p. 59.

⁹⁸See above, pp. 70-71.

Mission organization of the church began to lend support to the teacher. After 1883, the cathedral at Memphis took over the school as a parochial project. Periodic reports maintained that it was doing "useful work for both sexes of the Negro race" with "gratifying results."⁹⁹ Encouraging reports like this prompted a suggestion that other such schools should be started and supported. More innovative was the suggestion that the students themselves should be supported so that they could attend the schools. If more were educated, more might study for the ministry and "labor among their people."¹⁰⁰

However gratifying and encouraging the work of Negro education appeared from time to time, its actual progress was very uneven. While the school at the Canfield Asylum was reported in good order in 1887, in 1892, it was reportedly reopened after a period of long disuse, and there were other periods in which little or nothing was heard of its activities. Hopefulness was still expressed; it was "believed that when this school becomes well-known and established it will exercise great influence among the colored people."¹⁰¹ During the closing years of Quintard's

⁹⁹Tennessee Convention, 1885, pp. 48-50.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 1887, pp. 16-19; 1890, pp. 60-61.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 1892, pp. 35-37.

episcopate, this hope apparently bore fruit. A Dr. George W. Honesty, "one of the most popular and trusted teachers in the public schools of Nashville and one of the Faculty of the Meharry Medical School," moved to Memphis with his wife to open a school for boys at the asylum.¹⁰² Although this, too, was a short-lived operation, it added a positive program to Quintard's expressed interest in Negro education.

A theological school "for the purpose of training black Priests for the black people" was the major educational project for Negroes in which the bishop was interested.¹⁰³ This project, known as Hoffman Hall, was located in Nashville near the Fisk University campus and was an illustration of the duplication of efforts which took place in order to gain local control over work with southern Negroes. Money had been allotted by an organization of the national church, the Church Commission for Work Among the Colored People, to purchase property in Washington, D.C., to establish an Episcopal theological school in conjunction with Howard University. Bishop Quintard, however, felt "very strongly that far greater advantages were offered in Nashville, and that the school should be built in connection

¹⁰²Ibid., 1891, p. 24.

¹⁰³Quintard to the Clergy of Tennessee, Sept. 7, 1892, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Collection.

with Fisk University."¹⁰⁴ His belief in the need for and advantages of such a school in Nashville induced him to proceed with his own project. He began collecting funds for the school in the 1880's.

The cornerstone for the new theological school was laid on July 15, 1889, and the institution was named after Charles Frederick Hoffman, a New York minister, "who has generously provided the funds for the erection of the building."¹⁰⁵ Among those attending the ceremony were the governor of the state, Robert Love Taylor, who made an address, and Erastus Milo Cravath, president of Fisk University.¹⁰⁶ The Reverend Calbraith B. Perry, who had been put in charge of all the Episcopal work among Negroes in the diocese, also supervised Hoffman Hall.

Perry seemed to be an ideal choice for the position, as there was ample reason to believe that he would make a sympathetic leader. Although Quintard stressed Perry's experience as his primary qualification, Perry had also rejected much of the racism of the day. In his book, Twelve Years Among the Colored People, he reached the following conclusions:

¹⁰⁴Tennessee Convention, 1889, p. 43.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 1891, p. 24.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 1890, p. 28.

First, that great as are the evils [ascribed to Negroes], they have been exaggerated. They are by no means universal. The exceptions--exceptions very marked, and increasing under favorable circumstances, are a guarantee of the possibility of altogether eradicating them.

Secondly, that the evils are not inherent and necessary characteristics of the negro race as such. They are not native traits. They are largely the result of the white man's dealing with the black; it follows that it is his duty to undo the evils he has done.

Thirdly, that the Church can overcome these evils. It has been a chief object of this book to present actual cases in which the Church has done so. Moreover, the victory has been gained amid opposition and complications in nowise necessarily connected with this special work, but springing from local and temporary causes. Such difficulties need not therefore be taken into account in estimating the chances of success elsewhere.¹⁰⁷

Perry began the work in Tennessee vigorously. He reported to the 1890 convention that he had visited the Negro congregations in the state, and, more important for the future of Hoffman Hall, he had visited St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit in fund-soliciting trips in which he raised nearly a thousand dollars.¹⁰⁸ By September 1892, however, the promising work begun by the first archdeacon of Negro work came to an end. He suffered a mental breakdown and had to be relieved from his work. Soon thereafter, he

¹⁰⁷Calbraith B. Perry, Twelve Years Among the Colored People: A Record of the Work of Mount Calvary Chapel of S. Mary the Virgin, Baltimore (New York: James Pott and Co., 1884), pp. 166-67.

¹⁰⁸Tennessee Convention, 1890, pp. 104-05.

wrote to Quintard, "Perhaps you have done wisely to give it to colored men. I do not know if any white man can stand it all." He felt the "bitter opposition of white people" and the

. . . feeble support or neglect of the more kindly disposed clergy and people, with the ingratitude and indifference of the Negro . . . driving [him] into such fits of depression that it drove [him] to night's hell.¹⁰⁹

While Perry's breakdown was a blow to the bishop's immediate project and plans, it further convinced him that the solution was that of black priests for black people and that the "colored ministry must be an educated priesthood, and the colored people must be Church people."¹¹⁰ He worried about maintaining high moral standards for his priesthood. What he dreaded for the race was "not their mental capacity, not that they may not learn rhetoric and Greek and Latin and in some cases mathematics, but that they will fail in morals. They lack the true moral fibre."¹¹¹ Bishop Quintard lectured the students at Hoffman Hall upon such subjects as "Temptation," "Purity," and "Personal Consecration."¹¹² Rules and requirements for behavior were

¹⁰⁹Perry to Quintard, June 28, 1892, University of the South Archives, Quintard Collection.

¹¹⁰Quintard to the Clergy, Sept. 7, 1892.

¹¹¹Quintard Diary, Jan. 23, 1892.

¹¹²Tennessee Convention, 1894, p. 28.

posted in each student's room and discipline was maintained by the "wardens" of the hall. After six years of such a program, six graduates had been ordained and entered upon work with members of their race.

The careful attention given to moral behavior and education served to limit the number of students who were to complete the course of study at Hoffman Hall, but Bishop Quintard's project portrayed him in his own diocese and elsewhere as a man interested in the welfare of the Negro. It also gave him a reputation as an expert on the southern Negro. As such, he was asked to address northern audiences when he was on one of his trips to New York, Connecticut, or other northern states. He used these requests to speak as opportunities to make appeals for funds, and to implant some of his ideas on race relations. In 1895, at a resort hotel in Saratoga, New York, Bishop Quintard made an after dinner address concerning Hoffman Hall. He said: "The problem was not settled when the president of the United States signed the emancipation bill. It is a problem yet to be settled, and it is a tremendous one." And, so, he begged aid for the work in his diocese.¹¹³

In many ways, Quintard showed a rather progressive attitude in terms of the needs of the Negro in Tennessee,

¹¹³Quintard Diary, Jul. 9, 1895.

but most of the financial, and probably most of the moral, support came from outside the diocese. Over the years, his crusade for funds for work among the Negroes in the state was received more and more sympathetically outside the South. The schools he established were relatively insignificant as far as the educational situation in Tennessee was concerned, but the projects took Tennessee Episcopalians on trails they might not have journeyed alone.

In Bishop Quintard's episcopate as in colonial days, the Episcopal Church's interest in education--secondary or collegiate, lay or clerical, for whites or for blacks, male or female--was still a dominant one, and the goal of a Christian America was still very much involved in it. Linked inseparably with this goal, of course, was the belief that it could best be achieved through the avenues of Episcopal ministrations. This attitude permeated not only educational enterprises but also the other areas of church concern.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY, 1869-1898

Although Episcopalians as a group hesitated to take an official stand on social reform, they did believe that Christianity had a special social mission. As early as 1837, James H. Otey, Tennessee's first bishop, lectured the priests in his diocese on their Christian responsibilities in civil affairs. The essence of his message was that "Christianity understood in its integrity, and practised in its simplicity, is the surest, safest, and firmest support to good and free government righteously administered." He hastened to point out that he was not recommending that a minister of the church become a "political preacher, a political talker, or a political partisan." On the other hand, it was to the pulpit that society must "look almost exclusively for the inculcation of that sound moral sentiment."¹

During most of Bishop Quintard's episcopate, the bishop and the diocesan convention held parallel postures in

¹Green, Otey, pp. 203-05.

their social attitudes. This position called for an acute social awareness and social stability, yet it allowed great latitude in individual interpretation; thus, it was possible for some churchmen to become active reformers, others to remain passive, and still others to defend the status quo. Despite a certain class solidarity which characterized the Episcopal Church, a variety of subjects and social concerns came before the bishop and the convention in the years between Reconstruction and the bishop's death in 1898. Many of these were extensions or enlargements of programs begun during Reconstruction.²

For Episcopalians as well as others in Tennessee, the ramifications of emancipation were a source of social concern that placed blacks high on the lists of social urgencies long after Reconstruction. The bishop and some churchmen in Tennessee acknowledged the duty of the church and took steps to provide both religious and secular instruction. Such activities set them apart from some other denominations and perhaps even many of their fellow Episcopalians, but Bishop Quintard pointed out that he did not want to set aside "the distinctions which have always been maintained."³ Episcopalians resisted the impulse to

²See above, p. 55-80.

³See above, p. 67.

wash their hands of the problem by allowing an independent Negro Episcopal Church to form, but they retained much the same view of the Negro that they had held in the ante-bellum South.

When a history of the diocese was published in 1900, it revealed much of the prevailing racial attitude. The historian wrote:

There will scarcely be found anyone who will now defend the institution of slavery, either as a moral or as an economic principle. Yet it is impossible to deny that the negroes of the South were happier and better cared for, physically and morally, under the system of slavery existing in the South, than they have been at any time since they obtained their freedom and were suddenly, without any training, endowed with the rights of citizenship. The fact has already been adverted to in the course of this history, that the Penitentiary in Nashville, in the slave days, held none but white convicts. The slave owners were to an extent responsible for the conduct of their slaves, and the form of discipline pursued was sufficient to prevent the occurrence of the greater crimes.⁴

This churchman defended southern reaction to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and Radical Reconstruction. As he described the situation, former masters,

. . . dazed by the sudden turn matters had taken, and seeing readily enough the political motive underlying it all, were forced at once into a position of self-protection. If the trend of events were to mean

⁴Noll, History, pp. 177-78. When Bishop Quintard held services for prisoners confined in the stockade at Tracy City, he noted that the majority of the 250 convicts were Negroes. Tennessee Convention, 1878, p. 13.

"social equality," they would have none of it. If it meant the political domination of the inferior race, they would take steps to prevent it.⁵

The concepts he voiced were typical of those associated with the Dunning school of history, the Burgess school of political science, and the Sumner school of sociology.⁶

That these philosophies seemed more apparent at the turn of the century than they had earlier indicated that there may have been some interplay between religious thought and the "modern" ideologies of the day.⁷

When the constitution and canons of the church in Tennessee were published in 1870, they made no mention of race or of a policy that the church would follow with regard

⁵Noll, History, pp. 180-81.

⁶See William Archibold Dunning, Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics (New York: Peter Smith; Macmillan Company, 1897); Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic 1865-1877 (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Academy Library of Harper & Row Publishers, 1907); John W. Burgess, Reconstruction and the Constitution (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902); William Graham Sumner, What the Social Classes Owe to Each Other (New York: Harper & Bros., 1883).

⁷Racism in southern religion is given comprehensive treatment in H. Shelton Smith, In His Image, But . . . : Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972). A reviewer says: "This book tells an appalling story. H. Shelton Smith's subject is the capitulation of southern religious leaders and churches, first to slavery and the racist arguments used to defend it, and then to segregation and the 'racial orthodoxy' of the turn of the century." George M. Fredrickson review in the Journal of American History, LIX (March, 1973), 1000.

to the black congregations or black priests it hoped to provide. The omission was not particularly significant since the number of black Episcopalians was small. In 1872, Bishop Quintard reported to the convention that he had admitted to the order of deacon "Mr. Henderson Maclin, a colored man 'of good report,' who has for several years been acting as a lay reader while preparing for ordination." The new deacon had been sponsored by a white congregation which had built a new church and donated the old one to the use of the Negro congregation. The order of deacon was the lowest of the three orders of priesthood in the Episcopal Church, but Mr. Maclin was the first Negro to receive the rank in Tennessee. The ordination ceremony was "an occasion of great interest to all, white as well as black."⁸

The bishop continued to remind the conventions of the importance of extending the church to blacks in the state. In 1874, a committee on "Work Among the Colored People" agreed with the bishop and reported to the delegates that

. . . the people referred to are entitled to our friendly sympathies and our earnest efforts for their evangelization and Christian culture, because they are sharers in that common humanity of which our Lord became a willing partaker.⁹

⁸Tennessee Convention, 1872, pp. 24-25.

⁹Ibid., 1874, pp. 59-60.

The committee urged Episcopalians to undertake missionary work among Negroes because

. . . their claim upon us to contribute as far as we can towards their spiritual welfare, is confirmed and enforced by their previous history in the land, by their cheerful service, by their fidelity, by their general harmlessness and patience in time of adversity to the country, and by their capacity for civic usefulness and religious advancement.¹⁰

Although the attitude thus expressed was not unusual among Tennessee Episcopalians at that time, it was not followed by programs of any magnitude. Episcopalians generally agreed that blacks shared in their need for religion, but a mission for the poor conducted at Chattanooga reportedly had no Negroes attending Sunday school because "several of the white people do not think Negroes have souls!"¹¹

Notwithstanding the reluctance evidenced in some quarters, progress of a sort was made. By 1875, two Negro congregations and two Negro deacons were listed in the roster of churches and priests. The committee on "Work Among Colored People" was now appointed regularly. Understandably, perhaps, it did not seem to have very close contact with its subject. The committee regretted that it had little information to report in 1875, but the members optimistically believed that they had "observed a growing interest in this

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Printed letter, Eliza C. Buckler, June 9, 1879, Quintard Diary, 1879.

work" and that prejudices were "daily diminishing."¹² Their belief was apparently substantiated the next year when the committee, increased from six to eight men, included two Negroes who represented a Negro Episcopal Church in Memphis. Prompted by lack of prejudice, a desire to submerge the program, or the urge to please its new members, the committee recommended that the work henceforth be carried out as a part of the general work of the church in the diocese rather than as a separate operation.¹³ Whatever the motivation, the move to integrate the work failed, and separate committees continued to make yearly reports on separate operations.

While Tennessee had been free of radical government for eight years in 1877, and while the convention had been voicing its interest and concern for more than that length of time, its committee was unable to report any great success in that year. Four Negro congregations had been formed. In Memphis, there was a regular parish which was made up of "many of the most intelligent and influential colored people in the city"; services were "rendered in a churchly manner, unsurpassed by any congregation in the city."¹⁴ Near Memphis, in Tipton County, a Negro deacon

¹²Tennessee Convention, 1875, pp. 52-53.

¹³Ibid., 1876, p. 30.

¹⁴Ibid., 1877, pp. 47-48.

was ministering to a congregation of at least 150 communicants. The other two congregations totaled only 28 members.¹⁵

The committee did not mention the compromise that had brought an end to Reconstruction and that had once again made the Negro strictly a southern problem, but it warned the convention that "if the character of our colored people is ever elevated, it must be through the teachings of our Church." More explicitly, it was necessary to teach that "religion does not consist in emotion, but on the reception of truth, and the daily practice of the duties of a pure and undefiled religion." Although the committee saw the elevating effects of the church upon Negroes, it still held a patriarchal view of its duty which spelled a subsidiary role for the Negro in the Episcopal Church in Tennessee. The convention was reminded of the role that Negroes played in society. They

. . . form a part of our social life, are mingled with us in every community and parish, and we are largely dependent upon them to occupy all the posts of labor in the field and in the house. They are the nurses and companions of our children, and are everywhere at our doors. We are naturally expected to recognize their claim upon us for religious privileges and instruction.¹⁶

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 48-49.

If spectacular success was lacking in a program for Negroes, the Tennessee church was not willing to shoulder the responsibility. As the diocesan convention saw it, the policy of the General Convention bore the brunt of the blame for any failures:

Much more would have been done if some extraneous aid could have been afforded. When four millions of slaves were enfranchised at the expense of the impoverished South, it was felt that humanity and religion alike required that provision should be made for their religious instruction. Instead of extending the means of the Domestic Missionary Board, so as to enable it to largely assist in this great work through the Missionaries and Parish Clergy at the South, it was most unwisely deemed best to create a separate Freedman Commission, as an adjunct to the Board of Missions, entrusted with this special work. We have no hesitation in saying that it has been a failure. The meager amount contributed, averaging but about fifteen thousand dollars per year, has been devoted to a limited area on the seaboard, and has given no appreciable aid elsewhere, while the existence of this special committee has barred any recognition by the Domestic Committee of the claims of this immense field of labor. The number of missionaries in the South has not been increased, the colored race is ignored, and the Great West and the red man have absorbed the interest of the Church.¹⁷

In subsequent years, the committee did not appear quite as critical of the policies of the General Convention, but it rather plaintively questioned the responsibility laid upon it to find a solution to a problem that "the wisdom and experience of the Church in the whole land, in General Convention assembled, has endeavored, so far in vain, to

¹⁷Ibid.

solve."¹⁸ It criticized programs to send missionaries to work among the Indians and to foreign countries, particularly Africa. The committee's contention was that "we must not and cannot overlook Africa at our own door."¹⁹ It pointed out that the church as a whole was giving between \$40,000 and \$50,000 for work among 400,000 Indians and only \$8,000 for work among 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 Negroes. "These things ought not so to be," the committee reported. The whole church should bear the responsibility for "that vast people so recently freed from slavery and made to furnish a not inconsiderable factor in the citizenship of this country."²⁰

Bishop Quintard shared the belief that the North should help bear the financial responsibility for the uplift of the Negro. While he may have had some reservations about appealing to the North for support of the Episcopal university located in Tennessee and labeled the "University of the South," he felt no such constraint about work among Negroes of the South. When he went northward to attend meetings of the General Convention or to visit his family, he generally made several appeals for funds for this work. In some cases he received generous response. Cornelius

¹⁸Ibid., 1878, pp. 59-60.

¹⁹Ibid., 1880, pp. 28-29.

²⁰Ibid.

Vanderbilt, for example, donated \$500 on one occasion and \$1,000 on another, but Collis P. Huntington dashed the bishop's hopes for a large gift by offering him only \$50 to cover his travelling expenses.²¹

As Hoffman Hall illustrated, Bishop Quintard hoped to train and educate a Negro clergy to minister to its own. In 1882, he consecrated the first fully ordained Negro priest in the diocese. Although Quintard believed him "the best coloured candidate I have thus far had,"²² by 1888, this priest had deserted the Episcopal Church for the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. A fellow bishop warned Quintard that "in our admission of Negroes to the ministry, we need to be doubly careful."²³

Quintard's idea of a separate black clergy did not mean that he wished to form a separate and independent black Episcopal Church. Like the Anglican bishops of colonial days, he did not advocate independence of religion even when the peoples were separated. The kind of program that he had in mind was acceptable to many southern churchmen.

²¹Quintard Diary, Jul. 6, 1890; C. Vanderbilt to Quintard, Mar. 26, 1889, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Collection; Quintard Diary, Sept. 20, 1891.

²²Quintard Diary, Jan. 11, 1880.

²³William Paret to Quintard, April 5, 1892, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Collection.

In 1883, Episcopal bishops, priests, and laymen held a conference at Sewanee and drafted a canon to be presented to the General Convention for adoption. The so-called Sewanee Canon would have provided for a Negro ministry guided by a subordinate Negro episcopate, forming a separate arm but not a separate church. Although the canon was rejected by the General Convention, the Tennessee church adopted a variation of the plan. After 1889, the work of the church among Negroes in Tennessee was placed under the supervision of an archdeacon, a priest in charge of black deacons.²⁴

The first of a succession of archdeacons was Calbraith B. Perry, who was also placed over the work at Hoffman Hall. Perry, white, was "so eminently fitted, by mature judgment and long experience," to this work that the missionary convocation at Nashville felt that it had ample reason to rejoice.²⁵ The convention in 1890 was pervaded with a general spirit of self-satisfaction with the work that the church was doing and had done in Tennessee. The convention had seen the establishment of a training school for Negro clergymen and yet

. . . the Diocese of Tennessee may well congratulate herself that she has not permitted herself, under any

²⁴Conference on the Relation of the Church to the Colored People of the South (Sewanee: Wm. M. Harlow, University Printer, 1883), pp. 1-14; Tennessee Convention, 1890, p. 18; Noll, Quintard, pp. 154-55.

²⁵See above, pp. 120-22.

temporary excitement or paroxysm of fear for the future, to stain her record with any race legislation or denial of her Catholic character.²⁶

In addition to this self-congratulatory statement, the diocesan committee concerned with work among Negroes also spelled out a policy of racial segregation in these terms:

As far as their gathering together for worship is concerned, it will doubtless be found best in the future, as it has in the past, in their own interest to have, where there are a sufficient number of them to warrant it, separate congregations for them. So long as their relations to their Bishop and to the Diocese remains undisturbed, there is nothing inconsistent or uncatholic in this, nor is it necessarily a question of color or race. We constantly consult the natural groupings of those of like tastes, sympathies and conditions of life in our Chapels for seamen, our Mission Churches in poor districts, and the like.²⁷

It was a carefully worded statement that could be defended by its framers as being neither discriminatory nor prejudiced, but it indicated that only inconspicuous numbers of blacks would be welcomed in white Episcopal churches in Tennessee. While it did not exclude Negroes from the annual convention, few attended after 1882. Although white deacons were usually elevated to the priesthood after a year in the subordinate order, only a few blacks made the rank of priest. In fact, Bishop Quintard may have had Negro deacons in mind when he suggested a canon that would have prohibited

²⁶Tennessee Convention, 1890, p. 59.

²⁷Ibid.

deacons from voting in the proceedings of the annual conventions.²⁸

While the convention exuded the spirit of noblesse oblige, the archdeacon who had been put in charge of the work reported that he was receiving most of his financial support from outside the diocese of Tennessee. In 1891, he reported to the convention that it pained him to have to answer the question, "What is Tennessee herself doing?" with the reply that "there is not \$200.00 a year contributed." The convention chose to ignore the criticism implicit in the archdeacon's report, and instead noted its gratitude for a bishop "who so kindly and wisely, and in such a peaceful manner, has realized the idea of Apostolic oversight towards the colored children of the Church."²⁹

Indeed, the southern churches did seem to be making progress in putting across their ideas. Although the Sewanee Canon had been rejected, Tennessee, among others, had successfully adopted a kindred program. In addition, the General Convention's Commission for Work Among the Colored People was now engaging southern bishops to represent its work in the North, a policy which southern churchmen believed would have "the effect of increasing our

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., 1891, p. 24.

duty to the colored people while it calls out the sympathy and assistance of our Northern brethren."³⁰ Bishop Quintard was one of the southern bishops charged with the responsibility of presenting the cause to the North.

The spirit of self-satisfaction and complacency that began with the establishment of a separate program for black churchmen stayed with the diocesan convention throughout the remainder of Quintard's life. Although there were occasional references that might have indicated that all was not as well as the convention liked to believe, the general air of satisfaction with the archdeacon's program and Quintard's work at Hoffman Hall prevailed. In 1897, a committee found the increase in the number of Negro communicants encouraging. It also noted that it had evidence that the young people brought up in the church were more in demand as domestic servants than others because they were "reliable, honest, truthful and obedient." This kind of testimony was, the committee believed, "highly important and encouraging to us in our work."³¹

Although its work was limited, the church recognized a responsibility. Progress toward a kind of segregation

³⁰Unidentified clipping, "Work Among Colored People," Quintard Diary, Aug. 8, 1891.

³¹Tennessee Convention, 1897, p. 32.

developed more slowly in the Episcopal Church than in many other denominations. Episcopalians were not egalitarian in their racial concepts; they accepted their shared humanity but judged it to be on different social levels.

At Quintard's death in 1898, the archdeacon then in charge of work with Negroes eulogized the bishop's work:

. . . we have lost the great founder and leader of our colored work, the devoted friend of the negro people: Bishop Quintard. At the very beginning of his Episcopate he took this work in hand, and although, during nearly the last two years of his life he professed to have given up the colored work into the hands of the Bishop Coadjutor, yet he could not tear himself from it, and was frequently to be found at Hoffman Hall, delighting in its bright and happy daily services, and cheering the hearts of both teachers and pupils. I have understood that the last public service in the Diocese in which he took official part was the confirmation which he held in December last in Hoffman Hall.³²

Bishop Quintard thus won a reputation for his work in Negro education, through the establishment of Hoffman Hall, but this has since been overshadowed by his work in other educational projects.³³

Since the church felt a responsibility for society that could be accomplished by elevating the individual,

³²Ibid., 1898, pp. 41-43.

³³Clippings in Quintard Diary, Jul. 19, 1892; Aug. 8, 1891; Quintard Diary, Oct. 5, 1879. His biographical entry in DAB, however, does not mention this aspect of his work and career.

teaching him the right paths, and instructing him as to his further responsibilities, it might be expected that there would be a great deal of attention paid to specific acts considered contrary to the goals of the church. Sin was a subject that might have ranked justifiably high in the categories of topics the bishop presented to the convention. Definition of and warning against individual sins were activities that fitted with a policy of non-involvement in political activities, and a vigorous battle against sin possibly could prove to be the means to Christianize the social order without resort to state action.

Generally, however, the Episcopal Church in Tennessee made its attack upon sin through the channels of religious education and church extension. By furthering morality in educational projects, Episcopalians were relieved from joining with sister denominations to battle such evils as dancing, card playing, and smoking even when they considered them injurious to individuals or to society. Church-related education was a necessity because secular education failed to restrain the "passions of a people." Churchmen believed that even the most stringent laws of the state could not restrain a man from murder, but that proper education could elevate man above his passions. In recommending the University of the South to the patronage of Episcopalians, a vice-chancellor pointed out that scarcely a

day passed "but the newspapers record some instances of a man, either from fancied or real injury, taking upon himself to be the arbiter of life and death."³⁴ Needless to say, these men had not been educated in the ways of the church.

Since the offices of the church were tied to the project of the salvation of the world, ministers were regarded as the special instrument in this task. Quintard had himself given up the healing of men's bodies to minister to their souls, and he was likely to call upon other men to make similar choices. He persuaded one Nashville lawyer to become a priest in the church by telling him:

My dear Sir, You ought to give yourself to the ministry. You should place yourself in that position in life in which you can do most for your own soul, most for your fellow man, and most for God's glory.³⁵

The bishop told his clergy to tell the young men in their flock that they should do something useful: they should enter theological school. St. Luke's Theological School at the University of the South was to provide an indigenous clergy who knew the South and would not be lured away to more lucrative pastures elsewhere. Hoffman Hall was to provide the clergymen who would help train, reform, and uplift blacks through the channels of the church.

³⁴Tennessee Convention, 1872, p. 30.

³⁵Quintard Diary, Sept. 4, 1890.

Because devout churchmen believed that the church and its clergy were indispensable to the project of world salvation, they were doubly concerned with the lack of adequate financial support. This problem was one that continually plagued the Tennessee diocese. Support for various projects and missions often came from outside the diocese. The missionary organization of the General Convention provided a limited amount of support for priests in missions, but, within the diocese, there was no permanent fund or endowment for the support of the bishop, no systematic means of support for missions, and no reliable collection of funds for the theological department of the University of the South.

Quintard and the diocesan committees on finance took the convention to task on the matter of adequate financial support for the clergy. Quintard was convinced "that clerical vigor, activity and zeal die out because of the failure of the Church to support the physical and mental wants of the Clergy." To assure that "as Pastors they may fulfill their duty of tending their flocks, and as preachers they may be strong to labor, and as men, be awake to all the demands of society," they must have wages that "put heart and hope into a man."³⁶ Despite such appeals, bishop and

³⁶Tennessee Convention, 1878, p. 36; ibid., 1890, p. 10.

priest alike continued to labor in financial uncertainty, particularly in the missionary fields.

Since God's kingdom was not of this world and men were not God, the church accepted its members in their imperfect form. The liturgy of the church provided for a general confession in which churchmen could regularly "acknowledge and bewail" their "manifold sins and wickedness."³⁷ Bishop Quintard was apt to confide his sinner's state to his diary and pray for God's mercy.³⁸ Acceptance of human imperfection, of course, made the church appealing to many who could afford the sins of the world in economic terms. In Memphis, for example, it seemed that some influential men of the community had joined the Episcopal Church "since it was less likely to offend esthetic temperaments and was less strict in its demands upon the chosen."³⁹ One southern historian believed that in the ante-bellum South the ranks of the mighty were filled with southern gentlemen who had chosen the Episcopalian way to salvation.⁴⁰ Quintard

³⁷General Confession, Book of Common Prayer.

³⁸Quintard Diary, Dec. 31, 1890.

³⁹Capers, Memphis, p. 120.

⁴⁰William E. Dodd, The Cotton Kingdom (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), p. 99, cited in Chitty, Sewanee, p. 43.

sometimes extolled the virtues of "noble-hearted" and generous gentlemen who supported the church.

The inclination of the church to live with sinfulness made it possible for the convention to conduct its business without particular reference to the subject of personal sin and made it possible for Episcopalians to remain aloof from many of the crusades against personal sins that were undertaken by sister denominations. On the other hand, occasionally some social evils were thought important enough to be brought before the convention for specific condemnation. The raising of money for church projects through such worldly enterprises as fairs, lotteries, or raffles was one practice which won the condemnation of the bishop and eventually of the convention. Early in his career as bishop, Quintard pointed out that one "must do Christ's work in His own way."⁴¹ Voluntary contributions for good causes were quite consistent with this way, but the "gaming table, the lottery, the race-course, and the play-house" were not.⁴² Since these or kindred practices were often popular ways of raising money, the bishop found it difficult to convince many churchmen of the righteousness of his position. One Memphis clergyman drew a fine line of

⁴¹Memphis Daily Appeal, May 16, 1867.

⁴²Tennessee Convention, 1878, p. 18.

distinction between "sinful" lotteries and gambling and those "for pious uses" which were "always allowed in the church."⁴³ The delegates to the 1878 convention showed some reluctance to join with Quintard and the House of Bishops in their disapproval. After hearing a position statement on lotteries that came from the House of Bishops, the Tennessee convention resolved that it would carry out the views of the bishops "so far as it is in their power."⁴⁴

The next year, however, the delegates adopted a resolution that was more consistent with that of the bishops. They expressed their condemnation of "all improper modes of raising money for Church purposes" and urged the "clergy and laity to discountenance their adoption in all cases."⁴⁵ Since there was no renewal of the subject at subsequent conventions, this resolution apparently sufficed. On the other hand, voluntary contributions collected at Sunday services continued to make up the smallest portion of the income of the church.

The bishop also recognized the importance of the sermon in inculcating sound morals. He had a formidable reputation as an orator, usually speaking on topics which

⁴³Memphis Daily Appeal, Jan. 12, 1867.

⁴⁴Tennessee Convention, 1878, p. 61.

⁴⁵Ibid., 1879, p. 51.

stressed the forms of churchmanship and worship in the Episcopal Church and using a prepared text. Sometimes criticism concerning the length of his extemporaneous addresses appeared. One correspondent for a church periodical noted that, when the bishop of Tennessee got through speaking at a meeting, there was little time for other business.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, he delivered many stirring exhortations, and he instructed his priests that they must do more than prepare "pleasing intellectual exercises."

Where is the Sermon? [he asked.] Where are the living words sent forth from heart to heart, the words clothed with energy divine, to strengthen the weak-hearted, to reclaim the erring, to comfort those who mourn and that shall edify the body of Christ?⁴⁷

The kinds of sermons he warned against were the "extraordinary" ones which might be preached "for a thousand years and not bring a soul to Christ."⁴⁸ Congregations, too, disapproved of preachers who were "weak and dry and dusty."⁴⁹

The bishop's "Samson Sermon" became one of his most popular addresses. Based upon the biblical story of Samson and Delilah, it had seemed objectionable to someone when he first preached it. Therefore, he did not use it for some years. After some time elapsed, he reported that he had

⁴⁶Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, 1875.

⁴⁷Tennessee Convention, 1869, p. 5.

⁴⁸Quintard Diary, Feb. 15, 1891.

⁴⁹Ibid., Feb. 7, 1886.

examined it again without finding anything improper and had preached it to an audience that found it instructive and entertaining. Thereafter, he received frequent requests not only to preach the sermon but also to tell the story of its long rest.⁵⁰

The bishop appreciated the edifying nature of his Samson Sermon as much as he enjoyed telling the accompanying anecdote. He believed that the Scriptures would be searched in vain for "a better illustration of the course of young men when they pursue the downward road of sin." In the sermon, he described the progressive stages of temptation along a road of sin. He pointed out that, at each step of the way, young men believed that their strength would save them and "that at some stage in their careers they will never more taste the wine cup, never more handle the dice, never more touch the lips of strange women." The bishop warned them "that there is a point which once passed can never be retraced by them."⁵¹

"Christian Knighthood" was another approach to the subject of temptation. Bishop Quintard liked to use the symbolism of the white versus the black knight to illustrate

⁵⁰Quintard, Bishop Quintard's Samson Sermon, with an introductory note by Arthur H. Noll (Sewanee: University Press, 1913), unnumbered introductory page.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 13-23; Quintard Diary, Feb. 8, 1891.

"good and evil inclinations."⁵² He preached against speculative gambling in a sermon called "Weighed in the Balance and Found Wanting."⁵³ In it, he gave warning to those who were gambling "in every way" and who were "seemingly oblivious to the fact that they [were] hazarding the salvation of their souls in this unholy greed for gain."⁵⁴ When the bishop preached against such practices, he did so with the aim, not of seeing these activities abolished by civil legislation, but of pointing out the personal responsibility of the individual in his salvation.

Occasionally, the bishop reminded the priests of the diocese that they had an obligation to protect their charges from sin. He told them of their obligation to remind communicants of the church of their vow to renounce the works of the devil. All sin was the devil's work, he said, but especially he pointed to pride, malice, hatred, lying, blasphemy, slander, cruelty, heresy, and schism. Not necessarily sins, but dangerous to Christian life, were the "poms and vanities of this wicked world." These included "vain dress," "making a show above our station in life," and "all pleasures and customs which destroy Christian sobriety, and which we find injurious to our devotions."⁵⁵

⁵²Ibid., Aug. 31, 1887.

⁵³Ibid., Nov. 27, 1881.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Memphis Daily Appeal, June 9, 1867.

Although Quintard included drunkenness among the sinful lusts of the flesh, he was not one of the "so-called 'temperance' fanatics."⁵⁶ The position he took on prohibition set him apart from many Tennessee denominations who were advocating state laws or constitutional amendment to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors.⁵⁷ Prohibitionist activities and sentiments were so strong, however, that they sometimes invaded the Episcopal Church. On one occasion, Bishop Quintard reported that a minister of a church within the diocese had substituted unfermented grape juice for the sacramental wine. The bishop poured the grape juice on the ground, demanded wine (and received it), rebuked the minister, and then lectured the congregation on the scriptural and doctrinal basis for wine in the communion services. "There is no knowing," he said, "where these religionists who are perpetually making new sins would likely carry us."⁵⁸ As an example of this extremist position, he cited the case of a minister in another denomination who not only rejected wine but also went so far

⁵⁶Quintard Diary, June 11, 1893.

⁵⁷See Paul E. Isaac, Prohibition and Politics: Turbulent Decades in Tennessee, 1885-1920 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press in cooperation with the Tennessee Historical Commission, 1965); Grace Leab, "Tennessee Temperance Activities, 1870-1899," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 21 (1949), 52-68.

⁵⁸Tennessee Convention, 1894, p. 17.

as to disapprove of unfermented grape juice. This minister, Quintard reported with some disgust, told him that he never used anything other than water in the celebration of Holy Communion.⁵⁹

Quintard's disapproval of attempts to change the practice of using sacramental wine and his approval of wines on other occasions did not remove him from the advocacy of temperance. Temperance fitted the Christian sobriety and moral purity that he advocated. In 1885, the convention passed a resolution which expressed sympathy with the "objects and methods of the Church Temperance Society," and Bishop Quintard appointed a secretary of the society for the diocese of Tennessee.⁶⁰

Although the Episcopal Church did not join in the prohibition crusade of the 1880's and 1890's, the Four Mile Law of 1877 was backed by the University of the South, which had requested special legislation to ban the sale of intoxicants in or near its domain. Local legislation proved unconstitutional and a move to amend the constitution failed, but the Four Mile Law proved to be an effective means of drying up the state. It prohibited the sale of

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid., 1885, p. 71.

intoxicating liquors within four miles of any chartered school outside an incorporated town.⁶¹

After the passage of this act, spokesmen for the university boasted that "the great evil and curse of the day here finds no lodgment."⁶² Even Bishop Quintard pointed to the special advantages of the University of the South in this respect. "At Sewanee," he said, "we have an institution where no youth need go astray, and where he lives secure, at least from unnatural and artificial exposures to temptation."⁶³

Although churchmen agreed that it was necessary to protect and shelter the youth at the university, Quintard did not want to be linked with "puritanism" in any way. When he thought of Puritans, he thought of their restrictive laws as "the most brutal and barbarous invasion of the rights of their fellow men."⁶⁴ He believed that the "rule of the Puritans was a blot upon the age in which they lived and an iron heel set upon the growth of liberty."⁶⁵ Because he

⁶¹Isaac, Prohibition, pp. 10-11; Leab, "Temperance," 58-59; George R. Fairbanks, History of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee, from Its Founding by the Southern Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church in 1857 to the Year 1905 (Jacksonville, Fla.: The M. and W. B. Drew Company, 1905), pp. 167-69.

⁶²Tennessee Convention, 1879, p. 13.

⁶³Ibid., 1889, p. 43.

⁶⁴Quintard Diary, Dec. 2, 1864.

⁶⁵Ibid.

identified Calvinism with Puritanism, he refused to play the tourist's role when visiting in Switzerland. Although he allowed his wife to sit in John Calvin's chair, he reported that he did not sit there because he feared some of Calvin's spirit might "strike into" him.⁶⁶ With more than a founder's pride in the University of the South, Quintard collected newspaper clippings describing immorality and debauchery in "godless" New England universities.

Episcopalians did condemn divorce. In 1868, the General Convention felt "compelled to lift up her voice against the notorious scandal, and set the seal of her condemnation on remarriages after divorces, for causes less than adultery."⁶⁷ Ten years later, the bishop warned that the penalty for disobeying this portion of "God's word" was excommunication and refusal of the sacraments. "True, the penalty is severe," he agreed, "but the sin is fearful. And it is a matter about which the clergy cannot leave their people in ignorance without partaking in other's crimes."⁶⁸

This stand on divorce did not originate in the diocese. In fact, while the warning was duly passed on to communicants in Tennessee, the problem was conceived of as

⁶⁶Ibid., Jul. 25, 1887.

⁶⁷Address of the Bishop, Tennessee Convention, 1869, p. 26.

⁶⁸Tennessee Convention, 1878, p. 17.

more a northern than a southern one. The vice-chancellor of the University of the South reminded the convention that divorce was "so common [in the northern states] that it is jauntily alluded to as 'legalized polygamy.'" This, of course, was further proof of the failure of secular education to "restrain the selfish and bestial natures of men and women."⁶⁹

Others believed that the South in general and Tennessee in particular promised suitable environment for social experimentation. Because of its Anglican background, one of these projects became of particular significance to Episcopalians. Thomas Hughes's Rugby was located in Tennessee and was served by the Episcopal Church. Hughes, an English reformer, Christian Socialist, and author of Tom Brown's School Days, planned a colony for young Englishmen who were displaced from their accustomed position by inheritance laws and economic depression. Hughes and his associates came in contact with some Boston financiers who had bought land in Tennessee in the 1870's for a project that they were promoting. Their colonization scheme failed to materialize, but they sold Hughes on the idea of incorporating his project with their land. As a result, Rugby was located on an East Tennessee plateau in portions of

⁶⁹Ibid., 1883, p. 45.

Scott, Fentress, and Morgan counties. Since Hughes and most of the settlers were English and Anglican, Bishop Quintard was involved in the project from its beginning in 1880.⁷⁰

The colony captured a great deal of interest in its formative period. As early as 1879, people began to respond to the advertised offer of land on easy terms. Laborers were brought in to begin the construction of a town that featured a hotel named the Tabard Inn. To keep the prospect of wilderness and work from frightening away prospective buyers, provisions were made early for such entertainments as horseback riding, lawn tennis, and croquet. For those who were unacquainted with agriculture, lessons in farming were provided. Among the schemes proposed for making a living were a cannery for the fruits and vegetables that the inhabitants were planning to raise and a pottery works that would make more suitable use of the soil of the region.

⁷⁰See W. H. G. Armytage, "New Light on the English Background of Thomas Hughes' Rugby Colony in Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, XXI (1949), 69-84; Marguerite Bartlett Hamer, "Thomas Hughes and His American Rugby," North Carolina Historical Review, V (October, 1928), 390-412; Brian L. Stagg, "Tennessee's Rugby Colony," Tennessee Historical Quarterly, XXVII (Fall, 1968), 209-224; Grace Sloan, "Tennessee: Social and Economic Laboratory," Sewanee Review, XLVI (Jan.-March, April-June, July-Sept., 1939), 36-44, 158-66, 312-36.

Bishop Quintard viewed the scheme and the project with skepticism as did most of the natives of the region.⁷¹

Hughes wrote to Quintard in August, 1880, and asked him to conduct services at the formal opening of the town "towards the end of the month. The day cannot be actually fixed till we know when the hotel will be dry enough to receive guests safely."⁷² It was October before the services were held, and then there was no room for the choir that Quintard wanted to bring for the religious services.⁷³ Because there was no church building, the opening ceremonies took place in the lobby of the hotel. The bishop saw to it that a church parish was organized that same day and, thus, did his part in helping the colony get started on a sound basis.⁷⁴

Quintard continued to keep in touch with the colony and its struggle for existence. He was often the contact between England and the "lads" who came to Rugby. In 1881, while he was in England, the bishop talked with parents and priests of boys who had come to Rugby. Some of these boys,

⁷¹Tennessee Convention, 1882, p. 20; Quintard Diary, Feb. 3, 1882.

⁷²Thomas Hughes to Quintard, Aug. 25, 1880, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Collection.

⁷³Ibid., Sept. 20, 1880.

⁷⁴Parish Record Book, Christ Church, Rugby, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, Rugby Papers.

however, he found "quite unfitted for pioneer life." Early in 1882, he visited Rugby and found a great deal of discontent and disappointment among the residents. He concluded:

They find that pioneer life is very different from London life. The colony has dwindled down to about 150, and if a lot of those who are here now would go, it would be all the better.⁷⁵

One Sunday, he preached and spoke "very plainly to the congregation" urging them "to put an end to strife."⁷⁶ To the delegates at the convention in 1882 Quintard reported:

Very much was unwisely done and written when the enterprise was inaugurated--many of the colonists have been utterly unfitted for pioneer life, and above all, no provision was made by the authorities to maintain the services of the Church.⁷⁷

Hughes had a somewhat different view of the role of religion in the colony. Whereas Quintard looked toward the immediate provision of services of the Episcopal Church, Hughes, thinking in terms of a Christian commonwealth, projected an experiment in which there would be great latitude in religious expression. He said:

We are putting up a temporary building as a church in which the experiment will be tried whether members of different Christian denominations can not agree

⁷⁵Quintard Diary, Feb. 3, 1882.

⁷⁶Ibid., Feb. 5, 1882.

⁷⁷Tennessee Convention, 1882, p. 20.

well enough to use one building for their several acts of worship.⁷⁸

Of course, Hughes also trusted that

. . . there will always be heard the Common Prayer of that Liturgy, which both in England and America has proved itself the best expression . . . of the joys, hopes and aspirations [sic] of a large portion of those who speak our language.⁷⁹

As soon as he could, Quintard made arrangements for an ordained priest to take over the Rugby parish. To do so, he ordained one of the colonists who had been holding Methodist services in the evening after he read an Anglican ceremony in the morning in the one building which served for all church worship. In 1884, Quintard admitted this man to the order of deacon, and the next year he ordained him as priest. Quintard won some praise in England for this latitudinarian experiment, but he maintained that the man who was already there would do better than any new man could. Quintard did say, "I can promise him there will be no difficulty in the way of his ordination. He need not rub up his Greek. . . ."⁸⁰

Once he was assured of the regular services of the church, Quintard began to feel better about the project. In

⁷⁸Clipping, "Address by Mr. Thomas Hughes, Delivered at Rugby, East Tennessee, October 5, 1880," from Cincinnati Dollar Weekly Commercial, Oct. 13, 1880, p. 2, Rugby Papers.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, May, 1884.

1885, he noted that three or four "excellent families" had moved in and that the inn, which had been destroyed by fire, was being rebuilt. But, "if the people had the grace and gumption to build the Church, the interests of the colony would be greatly advanced."⁸¹

When Christ Church, Rugby, was admitted to the convention as a parish in 1888, the colony boasted not only the church, a school, and a hotel but also "a lawn tennis club, a social club, an amateur brass band, a library, . . . and good fishing and hunting."⁸² Quintard suggested the colonists cultivate the vine to produce wine and establish a first-rate boys' school as two means by which it could survive and prosper.⁸³ Regardless of optimistic plans, however, Thomas Hughes's dream of Christian communitarianism and a new Jerusalem was doomed. Hughes had invested heavily in the colony to no avail. Bishop Quintard's skepticism of schemes for social improvement had proved correct in this case.

Although he had misgivings about the project from the beginning, Quintard had taken an interest in it. When he maintained that it needed the close connection with the

⁸¹Quintard Diary, Dec. 21, 1885.

⁸²Hamer, "Thomas Hughes," p. 411.

⁸³Tennessee Convention, 1885, p. 18.

church in order to succeed, he was not deviating from a position of keeping the church aloof from civil concerns. On the other hand, in 1880, the convention did take a position that showed a willingness to become involved in affairs of state for a special purpose. The Episcopal convention joined with other religious and humanitarian groups to make known its approval of a plan to establish a state reform school. The convention approved the state's effort to rescue children "from the influences of crime and immorality" when it noted the movement to establish "an Industrial School, for the reform and education of destitute and depraved children."⁸⁴ The convention not only responded to the plan within the privacy of its assembly but also recommended that its resolution be published in the state's newspapers. This was the first instance of this kind of interest in the legislative concerns of the state.⁸⁵

More traditional means of improving society existed in the various eleemosynary projects conducted by Episcopalians or Episcopal churches. The Church Charity Home in Memphis, the Canfield Asylum also in Memphis, and the orphanage connected to St. John's Church in Knoxville were projects that could be recommended to the support of

⁸⁴Ibid., 1880, pp. 23-24.

⁸⁵The Tennessee Baptist Convention adopted a similar resolution which "was the first such resolution passed by an assembly of Baptists." Spain, At Ease in Zion, p. 161.

churchmen. Their work was of a kind "which should not only be sustained and fostered by the Church itself, but also by all lovers of law and order and religion in the land." Money spent on projects like these saved "to the State and property-holders many hundreds, not to say thousands of dollars, expended in needful litigation, where proper morals and religious instruction have been neglected in early life."⁸⁶ Episcopalians believed that these charitable institutions did more than take care of the physical requirements of inmates; they also refined, elevated, and restrained the passions through regular exposure to the services of the church and through instruction in the catechism.

One of the most trying problems associated with charitable works was that of providing continuous and businesslike management of permanent projects. At the Memphis Church Home, for example, "Lady Managers" of the foundation usually were those who engaged in charitable work as a pastime and who raised money for such projects by having fairs, suppers, or even lotteries. They were not generally the supervisors of the work on a routine day-to-day basis. In 1877, Bishop Quintard solved their problem by

⁸⁶Tennessee Convention, 1878, pp. 53-56.

placing the home under the care of the Community of St. Mary, an Episcopal religious order for women.⁸⁷

Religious orders of this kind were regarded by many as more closely akin to the Roman Catholic Church and its order than to the Episcopal. Quintard's acceptance of the sisters was further evidence of his high churchmanship, but he defended his position in terms of practical social needs. He noted that home duties for women were "holy duties," but he also pointed out that "there are many in the world, widows, orphans, isolated spirits, whose work is wasted, unless some fitting sphere is provided for it and some wise direction given to it."⁸⁸ Quintard's explanation, however, was probably less responsible for the acceptance of the sisterhood than the actions of the sisters themselves. During the yellow fever epidemics that plagued Memphis, the sisters nursed those afflicted with the fever. Some of the sisters, in fact, were among the many casualties. They also maintained one of the more successful girls' schools in the diocese at Memphis.

On several occasions, the city of Memphis provided opportunities for dedicated churchmen and women to offer their special services to afflicted residents. During the

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 53-54.

⁸⁸Ibid., 1870, p. 70.

yellow fever epidemics of the 1870's, Episcopalians joined with others to lament the toll of lives taken and to applaud those who remained to care for others. In 1873, the bishop noted that not only did the local clergy remain at their posts but also that Episcopal priests from Mississippi came to the aid of the stricken city. The Sisters of St. Mary, in the city investigating the possibility of establishing a school, "devoted themselves night and day to visiting the sick and afflicted." Perhaps as important as the services of the priests and sisters of the church was the great wave of sympathetic succor offered the city from all quarters, North and South, East and West. As Quintard saw it, the outpouring of aid and assistance

. . . helped us to feel the great brotherhood of man, and cheered those who bowed to God's will. . . . The rich sent of their abundance, and the poor out of their necessities. . . . And not only our own clergy and Sisters of Mercy [sic], but the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church and the Sisters of Charity, and the Ministers of the various Protestant denominations, deserve mention.⁸⁹

Although the epidemics provided an opportunity to display both individual bravery and group concern, they made a drastic change in Memphis. One minister confessed to Quintard: "I feel utterly discouraged about any further work in Memphis. It is too dangerous and uncertain. I'd as

⁸⁹Quintard Diary, Nov. 9, 1873.

soon be the Czar of Russia to be shot at occasionally when I least expected it."⁹⁰ Others shared the feeling of this priest. Thousands died in the epidemics, and others fled the city permanently. After 1880, yellow fever was no longer as serious a threat, but the city's population make-up, economic development, and cultural basis were very much different thereafter.⁹¹

By proving the practicality of their ministrations in Memphis, the sisters prepared the way for other women to achieve a larger role in the church. Women did not have a clearly defined position in the church. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, an attempt was made to assure male control by omitting women from among the voters in the parishes, but the attempt failed.⁹² Bishop Quintard sometimes found that quarrelsome churchwomen made more problems than they solved, but he welcomed the work of "devout and self-denying ladies."⁹³ The church clearly provided a sphere of work for women in such activities as sewing circles, raising money for charitable works, and teaching in Sunday and parochial schools. Bishop Quintard

⁹⁰Harris to Quintard, Jul. 10, 1879, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, George Carroll Harris Papers.

⁹¹Capers, Memphis, pp. 204-09.

⁹²Tennessee Convention, 1878, p. 62; 1879, p. 47.

⁹³Ibid., 1873, p. 54.

told a gathering of women that "one good, faithful woman can outwork ten ordinary men."⁹⁴ As important as women were, however, they did not serve as delegates to the conventions even when the word "male" was not specified in the canons of the church.

Probably the most significant step in the direction of a clearly defined position for women came with the formation of the Women's Diocesan Auxiliary Missionary Society in 1888. This group was allowed to report directly to the convention. Therefore, through the officers of the Women's Auxiliary, women's voices were heard at the convention, and the male delegates were kept informed of the work that women were doing. A special report from the Auxiliary was presented to the convention for the first time in 1889.⁹⁵

Whether male or female, however, members of the Episcopal Church continued to regard their denomination as having special significance among religious bodies. Many agreed with Bishop Quintard that part of the important uniqueness of the church was its relationship with other Anglican bodies. When Bishop Quintard went to the first Lambeth Conference, he regarded the meeting as "a grand

⁹⁴Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, Feb. 8, 1891.

⁹⁵Tennessee Convention, 1889, pp. 91-92.

stride toward a restored unity in the various branches of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."⁹⁶

It was perhaps inevitable that concern with Anglican cooperation would turn to interest in the possible reunion of all Christian churches. Also, it was perhaps natural that the Episcopal Church, with its heritage of Catholic and Protestant beliefs, would look to itself as being the channel through which this could be accomplished. By 1886, the House of Bishops had accepted four points which they felt were indispensable in Christian worship and belief. These points were: (1) the Scriptures as the word of God; (2) the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as the rule of faith; (3) the two sacraments, Holy Baptism and Holy Communion, as those ordained by Christ; and (4) the episcopate as the keystone of governmental unity.⁹⁷ Not surprisingly, these four points were the essential differences between the Episcopal Church and other denominations.

Quintard shared the reluctance of the House of Bishops in accepting a reunion that would mean changing the Episcopal forms or creeds. He believed that unity "is preserved by cleaving to the 'Apostles' fellowship,' and accepting the ministry of those who can show their

⁹⁶Memphis Daily Appeal, May 16, 1867.

⁹⁷Manross, Episcopal Church, pp. 316-17.

historical claim to a share in our Master's commission."⁹⁸

He cautioned that while

. . . everybody is praying and hoping for unity, and some are ready to believe that the millennial dawn can be seen in the East, we must not forget that Truth is quite as important as unity. We must not do evil that good may come, and we cannot sacrifice principle for any cause.⁹⁹

With the bishop's warning before it, the convention acknowledged the four essential points of their belief and adopted a resolution in which they pledged to "do all in their power to promote any action which may be taken by the whole Anglican Communion in line with [them]."¹⁰⁰

More important than reunion was the prevention of any further division within the church. The greatest threat to Episcopal unity came in 1873, when some Episcopalians, dissatisfied with elements of rigidity of doctrine and dogma in the church, withdrew to form the Reformed Episcopal Church.¹⁰¹ Although this group was never large or influential in Tennessee, in 1875, one Episcopal priest, in Knoxville, resigned his post to join this schismatic group.

⁹⁸Quintard Diary, Aug. 11, 1886.

⁹⁹Tennessee Convention, 1888, p. 36.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁰¹E. Clowes Chorley, Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church, Hale Lecture Series (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1961), pp. 162-70; Albright, Episcopal Church, pp. 280-87.

Quintard took the position that the church was not rigid. He stressed the broadness of the church which allowed individual ministers a great deal of latitude. He reminded the defecting priest:

I assert, without fear of contradiction, that you have been entirely free in your parish. When in your mission last spring you went so far as to call upon ministers of the various religious bodies to use extempore prayer in the congregation of St. John's Parish, no one urged a complaint against you, because this church is very broad in its toleration and very generous in its liberty.¹⁰²

Bishop Quintard could take this position because he saw himself as being neither "Bishop of the High Church or Low Church or Broad Church party." He claimed to be "a Bishop of the Holy Catholic Church in office in the Diocese of Tennessee." He could support ministers and other churchmen as long as they resisted the temptation of either trying to "Romanize the Church" or to "sectarianize the Church."¹⁰³ Despite his support of a broad interpretation of the church and a non-partisan position for himself, Quintard tended to identify much of the best in the church with the revival of Catholic doctrine and worship.

Quintard accommodated himself to the politics of secular life in much the same way that he adopted a broad

¹⁰²Unidentified clippings of letters exchanged between Quintard and J. Howard Smith, Quintard Diary, 1876.

¹⁰³Quintard to Yeatman, Aug. 16, 1874, Yeatman-Polk Papers.

view of his churchmanship. As early as 1880, he began to show signs of adopting a more comfortable position as citizen of the nation. Although he apparently never recovered from his dislike of Ulysses S. Grant, he succeeded in becoming persona grata with many state and national political figures. In March, 1880, he attended a reception for President Rutherford B. Hayes. In November, 1880, he reported that he voted for the "first time in many years."¹⁰⁴ He also addressed a congregation in Knoxville on "Love of country considered as a religious duty."¹⁰⁵

Quintard regarded himself as a life-long Democrat, but he became acceptable to Republicans. He praised Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, and described her as the most popular White House hostess since Mrs. James K. Polk. He also expressed the wish that her husband had another term to serve.¹⁰⁶ When James A. Garfield was shot by an assassin, Bishop Quintard maintained that he had done more "to bind the hearts of our people . . . by his grand death, than he could have in four years of successful administration of the government."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴Quintard Diary, Mar. 31, 1880; Nov. 2, 1880.

¹⁰⁵Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, Nov., 1880.

¹⁰⁶Quintard Diary, Mar. 31, 1880.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., Sept. 21, 1881.

In taking on the position of bipartisan patriot, Quintard also accepted the position of responsibility for the "soul of the nation." In 1884, he preached to a congregation in his home town in Connecticut in these terms:

What makes the nation? It is its soul. The soul is the life of the nation, as it is the life of the individual. The nation has its soul, its life, its principles and its faith, as the individual has. Our nation is a group of people from every nation on the globe, from every nation and every isle of the sea, and yet we are one and the same people, with the same public interests and morals. This is the hope of our country. We must, therefore, elevate the soul of the nation, we must put the cross of Christ in the hands of the people. . . .¹⁰⁸

Although the bishop believed that the "home and the church--the hearthstone and the altar"--were the foundation of the nation, in his later life he became involved in civil and political affairs. He felt comfortable enough with Tennessee Governor Robert L. Taylor to make special pleas and requests of him that ranged from presenting a case for the pardon of "a poor fellow . . . now in the penitentiary" to introducing a proposition to make the University of Tennessee a "great technological School of Agriculture."¹⁰⁹ When Peter Turney was inaugurated as governor in 1893, Quintard conducted the religious portion of the ceremony and gave the benediction to the governor.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, Nov., 1884.

¹⁰⁹Quintard Diary, Jan. 24, 1887; Jan. 25, 1887.

¹¹⁰Tennessee Convention, 1893, p. 30; Quintard Diary, Jan. 16, 1893.

Although a Democrat, in the election of 1896, he confessed that he voted a split ticket. When the results came in, he recorded his approval in his diary:

McKinley Elected President.
Robert L. Taylor Governor.
Laus Deo!¹¹¹

Later, he met William McKinley's opponent in that election, William Jennings Bryan, but he "was not particularly struck with his manners or appearance."¹¹² Although he was sparing in his comments about McKinley's administration, when he returned from his last European trip in 1897, he reported that his baggage receipt was accompanied by a "Dingley bill--for \$70 baggage."¹¹³

At the same time that Quintard was thus becoming an active citizen of the reunited country, he was also active in promoting southern history, particularly as it related to the period of the Confederacy. He promoted the cause of monuments erected to honor southern heroes as in the case of the "Boy Hero of the Confederacy," Sam Davis.¹¹⁴ He preached and conducted funeral services for such officers as former Confederate generals Benjamin F. Cheatham and William W. Loring as well as former general and Tennessee governor,

¹¹¹Quintard Diary, Nov. 5, 1896.

¹¹²Ibid., Mar. 11, 1897.

¹¹³Ibid., Sept. 16, 1897.

¹¹⁴Unidentified clipping, "Proposed Confederate Monument at Murfreesboro," Quintard Diary, Dec., 1896.

John C. Brown. He was a mourner at the funeral of former general Edmund Kirby-Smith, and he was invited to conduct religious services at a memorial ceremony honoring Joseph E. Johnston in 1891.¹¹⁵ During the closing years of his life, Quintard undertook the mission of writing an account of his experiences in the war.¹¹⁶

Although he was given the aid of an assistant bishop in 1893, when Thomas F. Gailor was elected to this post by the convention, Bishop Quintard headed the organization of the Episcopal Church in Tennessee for more than thirty years. During this time, he felt the burdens of the post pressing heavily upon him and at least once expressed the desire to resign the responsibility to become a parish

¹¹⁵Quintard Diary, Aug. 31, Sept. 4-5, 1886. Tennessee Convention, 1887, pp. 22-23, 28; Quintard Diary, Mar. 18, 1887; Tennessee Convention, 1890, pp. 30-31; Quintard Diary, Mar. 30, 1893; Casey Young to Quintard, Mar. 26, 1891, University of the South, Archives, Quintard Collection.

¹¹⁶This mission was not completed in his lifetime. The diocesan historiographer put Quintard's account together with his comments in Noll, Quintard. Correspondence with various Confederate veterans indicates that Quintard was thinking of publishing a "true" account of the war. See Peter Turney to Quintard, Feb. 3, 1894; John M. Hickey to Quintard, Dec. 28, 1894; Isham G. Harris to Quintard, Dec. 29, 1894; C. C. Abernathy to Quintard, Jan. 5, 1895; A. M. Looney to Quintard, Jan. 15, 1895; J. R. Buist to Quintard, Jan. 8, 1895; W. W. Carnes to Quintard, Feb. 13, 1895; April 1, 1895; Thomas B. House to Quintard, Jul. 4, 1895; Alex P. Stewart to Quintard, Oct. 18, 1895, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Quintard Papers.

priest once again.¹¹⁷ As he grew older, he was plagued with ill health, but his activities abated only slightly. At the close of the year 1886, he confided in his diary:

I have come to my 63rd year. What I have to do must be done quickly. That which is before is better than that which is behind. Eye hath not seen it, nor ear heard it, but it is in store for all who love God in sincerity and truth. I have the hope that I do so love God--and we are "heirs through hope of everlasting life." God give me grace to work with both hands earnestly for the time that is left me on Earth.¹¹⁸

His remaining years were full of activity. He went abroad three more times: in 1887 to attend the Jubilee for Queen Victoria and in 1888 and 1897 to attend the Lambeth Conferences. He lived to see a phonograph for the first time and to marvel, "I talked in it, or on it, or to it, and it gave back my words and voice in a wonderful way."¹¹⁹ Shortly before his seventy-fourth birthday, however, he confessed that he was "beginning to feel old age."¹²⁰

On February 15, 1898, Quintard's "earthly career closed so quietly and peacefully that the precise hour of his departure will never be known."¹²¹ The cemetery at

¹¹⁷Quintard to Harris, Jan. 15, 1876, George C. Harris Papers.

¹¹⁸Quintard Diary, Dec. 26, 1886.

¹¹⁹Ibid., Aug. 10, 1889.

¹²⁰Ibid., Nov. 17, 1897.

¹²¹Noll, History, pp. 223-24.

Sewanee provided a suitable resting place for the bishop who had worked so hard for and left so large a mark upon the University of the South. When he died, the direction of the diocese was left to the Right Reverend Thomas Frank Gailor, who was advanced from coadjutor to diocesan. The church entered the twentieth century with recollections of its ante-bellum problems and influences of the postwar growth and expansion. Thomas F. Gailor was to be the bishop who bridged the centuries and looked for solutions to twentieth century problems.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH ENTERS THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

For Tennesseans, the climax of the material progress of the Gilded Age was their "greatest display of fact and fancy--the Centennial Exposition of 1897."¹ On the stage at the opening ceremonies, May, 1897, were the governor, judges of the state Supreme Court, members of both houses of the legislature, dignitaries from Tennessee and surrounding states, and the bishop-coadjutor of the Episcopal Church in Tennessee.² That Tennesseans provided this extravagant display of one hundred and one years of their progress along with other wonders of the world gave proof of their adjustment to the times. That Tennesseans thought it appropriate for an Episcopal bishop to offer prayer at this ceremony and later honored Episcopalians by observing "Episcopal Day" indicated that Episcopalians had progressed along with

¹ Stanley J. Folmsbee, Robert E. Corlew, and Enoch L. Mitchell, History of Tennessee (4 vols.; New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1960), II, 175.

² Tennessee Convention, 1897, p. 85.

Tennessee.³ No longer an alien and suspect group, now indeed, they were sitting in the halls with the mighty. On occasions of public ceremony over the first thirty-five years of the twentieth century, Episcopal bishops often figured prominently.⁴

Nationally, this span of years comprised several distinct periods. The varieties of interpretations given to these years illustrate their complicated nature. Different historians who emphasize diverse aspects of America's development count innumerable period characteristics and combinations thereof. When the National Council for the Social Studies put out its thirty-first yearbook which dealt with interpreting and teaching American history, the editors divided these years into at least five major categories or chapters: "The Progressive Era, 1897-1917," "The New World Power, 1865-1917," "The Prosperity Decade, 1917-1928," "The New Deal, 1929-1941," and "The United States in World

³"Episcopal Day" was observed on October 13, 1897. "And truly it was a grand occasion. A congregation numbering at least 3,000 assembled in the Auditorium, and after a brief service, mostly of a musical character, were addressed by Bishop [Henry Y.] Satterlee of Washington City, and Bishop Gailor of this Diocese. Both speakers were listened to with profound attention by the vast audience, and we have reason to believe that great good was accomplished." Ibid., 1898, p. 22.

⁴Thomas Frank Gailor, Some Memories (Kingsport, Tenn.: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1937), pp. 163-64, 210-13, 241, 251, 303.

Affairs, 1929-1941."⁵ These broad categories included numerous subdivisions and special historiographical problems, but they pointed to aspects of American development that were felt throughout the country--North, East, South, and West. Progressivism, the new imperialism, the New Deal, and post-World War I reaction were as close to Tennessee as to any other state.⁶

Of course, Tennesseans not only were touched by the national idiosyncrasies of the times but they also were concerned with state and regional interests. In 1898, for example, Tennessee mustered four regiments into federal service to participate in the Spanish American War and elected another Democratic governor. At the turn of the century, Tennesseans reflected an optimism equal to that of the Centennial Exposition. According to state historians, newspapers "from over the state reflected notes of business optimism and religious praise for the coming of the new century."⁷ The urban population was growing and industrial expansion was taking place, but still Tennessee was predominantly rural and agrarian in interest and economy.

⁵William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, Jr., eds., Interpreting and Teaching American History, Thirty-First Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1961).

⁶See Folmsbee, Corlew, Mitchell, Tennessee, II, 201-328.

⁷Ibid., p. 202.

Tensions were heightened by the problem of accommodating both rural and urban elements in politics, morals, and manners. In politics, until the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment silenced the issue, state prohibition was a divisive topic which overshadowed others in flamboyant and dedicated partisanship and took attention away from other issues. Nonetheless, in 1909, the General Assembly passed a general education bill which contained the core of Tennessee's present educational system and, before 1919, put through bills calling for tax, health, and work reform.⁸

When the nation entered the Great War in 1917, Tennesseans generally approved the action. Even a so-called peace conference held in the state ended its meeting calling for war if necessary. Tennessee war heroes won a prominent place along with others in the nation. The postwar era found most Tennesseans enjoying the decade of prosperity, but it also marked the passage of the controversial law prohibiting the teaching of evolution. Apparently, Tennesseans had aligned themselves with religious fundamentalists who objected to any interpretation of the Bible that smacked of modernism and science, who defended prohibition, and who opposed the election of Alfred E. Smith in the election of 1928.⁹

⁸Ibid., pp. 202-08, 213-29.

⁹Ibid., pp. 275-95.

The Butler law and the resulting Scopes trial at Dayton, Tennessee, put Tennessee on the map, but throughout the country the crisis of the depression served to divert attention from biology to economics. In Tennessee, workers were particularly hard hit, but large state funds also were lost through the collapse of two financial empires. As a result of the depression and the loss of state funds, many of the advances in education that had been supported by public monies were cut back. By 1935, Tennessee had not recovered, but it was one of the states that received many of the benefits of the New Deal, particularly, of course, through the auspices of the Tennessee Valley Authority.¹⁰

It was in this setting, far removed from many of the post-Civil War problems faced by Bishop Quintard, that the third Episcopal bishop of Tennessee served a church which, although small, had become acceptable and prestigious. Bishop Thomas Frank Gailor, as had Bishop Charles Todd Quintard, traced his family from French Huguenot emigrants who settled in America during the seventeenth century, but his mother, an Anglican, had emigrated from Ireland in the 1850's. In 1854, Charlotte Moffett, on a visit to Jackson, Mississippi, from her home in the "Far West" of Cincinnati, met a young newspaper editor, Frank Gailor. The next year

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 321-28.

they were married, and on September 17, 1856, Thomas Frank Gailor was born. Two years later the young family moved to Memphis where the future bishop's father became editor of the Avalanche and where young Gailor received his early education.¹¹

Although the future bishop was very young when the Civil War began, some of his first memories were of incidents that were connected with the war and Reconstruction. The death of his father, a major in the Seventh Tennessee Regiment, at Perryville; the federal occupation of Memphis; the "Reign of Terror"; a search for contraband in his little sister's coffin; a journey to Mississippi carrying a Confederate spy's report to General Nathan Bedford Forrest; the evacuation of Jackson in the face of federal bombardment; his mother's attempts to learn the circumstances of her husband's death and locate his body--these were some of his earliest recollections.¹² These early experiences made the bishop as conscious of the war as if he had been a participant. Interspersed throughout his memoirs are stories that deal with the war. Yet, he also became a conscientious, albeit with a southern outlook, nationalist.

¹¹Gailor, Memories, pp. 1-4.

¹²Ibid., pp. 5-17.

Gailor shared much in background and attitudes with his predecessors, but he differed in being the first educated in an Episcopal seminary. Thus, in a sense, he was the first professional clergyman to become bishop of Tennessee. Otey, educated at the University of North Carolina, had grown to adulthood without any formal religious affiliation, and Quintard, although a churchman, had received professional training as a doctor of medicine. Gailor benefited from Bishop Otey's suggestion to his priests that they otherwise support themselves by becoming schoolmasters. Gailor's first education was received at a school operated by the rector of St. Mary's Church in Memphis. He attended this school until he was about twelve years old, and, here, he learned Latin grammar and "began to understand what the Church meant."¹³ He also benefited from the early public school system. Before he reached the age of sixteen, he passed public examinations which were required for high school graduation and began the study of Greek preparatory to entering college.¹⁴

Although he was stricken with yellow fever in 1873, he recovered in time to pass examinations at Racine College, an Episcopal school in Wisconsin, to allow him to enter as

¹³Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 18-19.

a sophomore.¹⁵ At Racine, he was most impressed, as he later recalled, by James DeKoven and J. J. Elmendorf, of whom the first "taught and exemplified the grace of manner and breadth of vision of a Catholic Christian" and the latter, a "real scholar," persuaded students to think for themselves.¹⁶ The influences at Racine reinforced both his spiritual and intellectual inclinations. When he graduated in June, 1876, he was valedictorian and recipient of the Greek Prize of fifty dollars which helped pay his way to New York to enter the General Theological Seminary. By 1879, he had completed his seminary training, and on May 15, 1879, was ordained deacon by Bishop Quintard.¹⁷ Quintard said of the occasion, "I have never ordained a man with more satisfaction. Would God we had a thousand young men to devote themselves to the service of the Altar and the moral elevation of our people."¹⁸

¹⁵Racine College, established in 1852, was headed by Dr. James DeKoven for twenty-five years. Chorley, Men and Movements, pp. 322-34; George E. DeMille, The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1941), p. 57.

¹⁶Gailor, Memories, p. 20.

¹⁷His consecration was mistakenly dated June 15, 1879, in Gailor, Memories; the convention at which the ceremony took place was in May, 1879, and Gailor also gave the correct date in an address at a later convention. Tennessee Convention, 1920, p. 83.

¹⁸Quintard Diary, May 15, 1879.

Gailor showed strong scholarly interests while at college and the seminary. Had it not been for the hardship it would have placed upon his widowed mother, he would have enjoyed continuing academic study. On the other hand, study was not his only interest. He not only helped form an organization devoted to the improvement of spiritual life at the seminary, but he played football and organized a cricket club. Theatregoing was one of his favorite amusements, but, as a tall, handsome youth, he worried that some young lady might misinterpret his interest in social affairs--he had been warned that early marriage was a mistake. Also, while at college and the seminary, he attempted several times to give up his pipe, but it was a pleasure that he reverted to again and again.¹⁹

His first assignment in the church was at Pulaski, Tennessee, where he remained for three years. As a young bachelor, he roomed over a furniture store and received a yearly salary of \$600 which he supplemented by teaching in a local school. Although he made friends in the community, his church served no more than a fraction of the townspeople. Still, he recalled that he had provided Episcopal religious services for the unchurched as well as the communicants. On at least one occasion, also, Bishop

¹⁹Gailor, Memories, pp. 25-37.

Quintard, who was having throat problems, called upon the young man to accompany him on his visitations and preach for him.²⁰ On his twenty-fourth birthday, he was elevated to the order of priest.²¹

In May, 1882, Gailor cast his lot with the group struggling to keep the University of the South from collapse. Dr. Telfair Hodgson, who had succeeded General Josiah Gorgas as vice-chancellor, had become acquainted with the young priest while he was serving as rector of Trinity Church, Hoboken, New Jersey, and while Gailor was at the General Theological Seminary. At the urging of Hodgson and William Porcher DuBose, Gailor accepted a post as professor of ecclesiastical history in the theological department of the university. The next year, he succeeded William Porcher DuBose as chaplain of the university, and, in 1885, the popular young priest brought his bride, Ellen Douglas Cunningham Gailor, to the mountain.²²

²⁰Ibid., pp. 57-72.

²¹His diary entry for this date read: "On this my 24th birthday the Bishop is with me. . . . I was ordained to the Priesthood at 11 A.M. Delightful service. . . --I am very happy and hopeful--Oh! the future! What shall I make of it?" Ibid., p. 67.

²²Ibid., pp. 87-92, 95; George R. Fairbanks, History of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee from Its Founding by the Southern Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church in 1857 to the Year 1905 (Jacksonville, Fla.: H. & W. B. Drew Company, 1905), p. 235.

When Dr. Hodgson resigned as vice-chancellor of the university in 1890, Gailor was chosen to succeed him. The following year, he declined election to the episcopate of Georgia, and, in 1893, although he was being considered for the episcopate of Massachusetts, he accepted his unanimous election as coadjutor in Tennessee. Bishop Quintard had written to Gailor early in 1893 expressing his conviction that the vice-chancellor would be chosen as the assistant bishop for Tennessee and indicating that he would not be the assistant for too many years:

. . . I shall not long be in your way--I am now within one year of my three score and ten--I must very soon enter into rest--But you know that you could work with me--as you always have done--without friction.²³

On July 25, 1893, Bishop Quintard, assisted by eleven other bishops, consecrated Gailor as coadjutor. The new bishop moved his family to Memphis to reside in the house that had been provided for Bishop Quintard, but which he had not used in recent years. Although nearly three months were taken up by an illness, the assistant bishop's first year was full of official activity. He visited all the parishes and missions in the diocese, confirmed 267 persons, delivered 132 sermons and addresses, and held 140

²³Gailor, Memories, p. 129.

services.²⁴ When Bishop Quintard died in 1898, Gailor was consecrated bishop of the diocese.²⁵

Thomas Frank Gailor was to serve forty-two years as bishop of Tennessee. Under his leadership, the church grew and prospered, modernized its organization and structure, and provided a more secure financial standing for itself and its clergy; it also suffered the reverses of the depression. In addition to his duties of bishop, he became a familiar figure at many public functions within the state and over the nation. Because of his service with the national church, he became well known outside the diocese, especially in New York. Because of his participation in the Lambeth Conferences, he became a familiar figure abroad as well. In 1920, he was honored with a private audience with George V of Great Britain. He counted Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Franklin D. Roosevelt among his friends and acquaintances.²⁶

Gailor's busy schedule of activities and the increased prosperity of the church made it necessary and possible for him to have the assistance of a coadjutor. On September 18, 1919, Troy Beatty was elevated to this

²⁴Ibid., pp. 146, 148, 157.

²⁵Ibid., p. 146.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 143, 222-34, 257, 303.

position, but, after less than three years in the office, Beatty died. When the diocesan convention met in June, James Maxon was elected to succeed Bishop Beatty, and Maxon lived to succeed Gailor as diocesan. In 1925, Gailor declined the offer to be considered for the post of president of the National Council of the Episcopal Church in order to return to the business of the diocese.²⁷

Many of the diocesan activities in the late twenties and early thirties revolved around anniversaries of parish churches and the diocese and celebrations of these. In August, 1927, Bishop Gailor illustrated how much material progress had affected the church when a part of the centennial celebration of St. Paul's Church, Franklin, included a short radio address. The sermon he preached took note that not only was it necessary to look back upon the foundations of Christian faith but also to turn to "the light of modern thought and vision for fuller illumination of all things lovely and of good report."²⁸ The centennial celebration of the diocese was held on May 23, 1929, at Christ Church, Nashville. On the morning of that date, the bishops of Tennessee, Georgia, and Atlanta, together with

²⁷Tennessee Convention, 1919, pp. 99-115; Gailor, Memories, p. 241.

²⁸Newspaper clipping inserted in Tennessee Convention, 1928, St. Luke's Library, University of the South.

seventeen priests, held the service of Holy Communion, heard an historical address by the historiographer of the diocese, and listened to a special anthem composed by the organist of Christ Church.²⁹ In 1933, the bishop was honored with a celebration of his fortieth anniversary as bishop and his twenty-fifth anniversary as chancellor of the University of the South. According to estimates of those participating, an assembly numbering almost three thousand gathered at Sewanee for the occasion. The president of the United States sent a representative, and the governor and his staff brought resolutions from both houses of the General Assembly. The bishop received greetings signed by all the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and by many leaders of the Anglican communion throughout the world.³⁰

In general, the growth of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States during this time continued to be slow, although never hopeless. Despite a number of controversies within the church, the only serious division was the withdrawal of the group of Reformed Episcopalians during the nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the church was set upon a fairly

²⁹Tennessee Convention, 1929, pp. 41, 59.

³⁰Gailor, Memories, pp. 337-38.

steady course which depended upon minimizing disputes and making the most of its organizational strength. Controversies over "parties" of churchmanship lessened; and the divisive nature of biblical criticism and science and religion were survived with only a few embarrassing heresy trials, none of which affected the church in Tennessee. The trend toward increased social action that began in the nineteenth century began to show its influence in most dioceses. "Although only the enlightened minority of the church became involved in Christian social action before World War I," a church historian asserted, "there were progressive pastors . . . who taught that the church was just as much interested in society and politics as with what is commonly called religion."³¹ On the one hand, the promise of increased social action had been strong enough in 1913 to get the resolution on social justice passed by the General Convention; on the other hand, it was only after years of bitter debate that, in 1940, the convention voted to affiliate formally with the socially conceived Federal Council of Churches.³²

³¹Albright, Episcopal Church, p. 315. Paul A. Carter used the Episcopal Church in his study of The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1954).

³²The record of the urban-industrial aspect of Episcopal work in the early twentieth century was studied by Spencer Miller, Jr., and Joseph F. Fletcher in The Church and Industry (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930).

The church met some of the challenges of the twentieth century by developing a more efficient organizational structure and national administration. The move began as early as 1907, when the General Convention divided the church into eight provinces in order to provide a sounding board somewhere between the diocese and the General Convention. Tennessee fell into the Sewanee Province along with North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky. The provinces were synods consisting of bishops and deputies from the dioceses and missionary districts and meeting between the regular sessions of the General Convention.³³ Although the proponents of this system had great expectations regarding its usefulness, it did not prove as effective as they had hoped.³⁴

More important to the operation of the church and the welfare of its ministers were two institutional changes made in the early twentieth century. The first was the establishment of the Church Pension Fund, which made it possible for ministers to retire from active work without fear of poverty or starvation in their declining years. The

³³Tennessee Convention, 1915, p. 49; Albright, Episcopal Church, p. 326.

³⁴Albright, Episcopal Church, p. 292; Manross, Episcopal Church, p. 322.

fund, backed by an endowment raised after its adoption, was an insurance program, the premiums of which were based upon the salary paid by the parish or employing institution.³⁵ Although this system did not completely free ministers from fear of want, it did a great deal to make the ministry of the church more attractive. The second significant organizational change came with the institution of a centralized administrative body, first entitled "The Presiding Bishop and Council" and then "The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."³⁶ Under canonical changes approved in 1919, the office of the presiding bishop, after the death of the incumbent, was to be an elective position, but the National Council was organized at once. This body was to coordinate the missionary and other activities of the general church under the leadership of the presiding bishop. When the Council was activated, the bishop of Tennessee was elected to serve as the acting president of the body. As it developed, it became the coordinating agency for all the activities of the church, dividing its work into five departments: Missions and Church Extension, Religious Education, Christian Social Service, Finance, and Publicity.

³⁵Albright, Episcopal Church, p. 345.

³⁶Manross, Episcopal Church, pp. 351-52.

This change made the Episcopal Church the "most effectively organized church in this [Anglican] communion."³⁷ Bishop Gailor saw the reorganization as the means of "unity, harmony and efficiency."³⁸

The church in Tennessee followed the lead of the national church with benefits to the church and churchmen. Although the church served fewer than 6,000 members in Tennessee, its organizational structure became more unwieldy over the years. In 1898, for example, the diocesan organization was administered by the bishop and six elected officers--a secretary, assistant secretary, treasurer, registrar, chancellor, and historiographer. In addition, there were eight other officers or committees: a standing committee, a committee of examining chaplains for each of the three divisions of the state, trustees for the University of the South, a treasurer of the university for the diocese, a standing finance committee, deputies to the General Convention, a board of missions, and the trustees of the Episcopate Endowment Fund.³⁹ At the 1920 diocesan convention, prior to the reorganization, the number of committees and other officers had increased to twenty-six.⁴⁰

³⁷Albright, Episcopal Church, p. 343.

³⁸Tennessee Convention, 1920, p. 85.

³⁹Ibid., 1898, pp. 3-8.

⁴⁰Ibid., 1920, pp. 4-7.

The Bishop and Council formed for the diocese consisted of the bishop or bishops, the secretary, treasurer and chancellor of the diocese as members ex-officio and eighteen elected members, two from each division elected at a time. The council divided its work among six departments: Missions and Church Extension, Religious Education, Christian Social Service, Finance and Church Property, Publicity, and Program.⁴¹ This organization not only promised more efficient operation for the diocese but it also kept it in line with the trends of the church as a whole. For example, the diocese of Tennessee had figured only indirectly in the early social activity of the church, but, under the new arrangement, Christian social service became a department in its organizational structure.

The new administrative organization administered traditional activities as well as some new ones related to the increased social concerns of the church as a whole. Missionary activity was both traditional and significant--an area that all of the bishops considered of primary importance. When Bishop Gailor was still coadjutor, he held a special service for the women of the church and urged each woman to become an active member of the Women's Auxiliary for missionary purposes.⁴²

⁴¹Ibid., 1928, p. 6.

⁴²Ibid., 1896, p. 73.

By 1910, three salaried archdeacons of missionary work, in addition to the archdeacon of Negro work, were appointed.⁴³ The services of these men were varied. The archdeacon of Nashville, for example, ministered to congregations without regular clergy, to scattered communicants, and to newly formed congregations. He found that the encouraging features of the work included

. . . the readiness of the people to attend the services and take part, and the general absence of prejudice. We have never yet to my knowledge, had a church building refused our people, and even in those whose tenets are opposed to infant baptism and baptism other than by immersion, church buildings have been loaned knowingly for rites according to our common methods and for confirmation.⁴⁴

The Women's Auxiliary responded to the challenge by pledging money both for diocesan missions and for general missions.⁴⁵

During the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, the area of general missionary activities increased. When the flag of the United States began to fly over new territory, the church became concerned with the challenge to its missionary work. Although lack of financial resources plagued the work abroad as it did at home, the church was successful in planting itself throughout the American empire and in making itself known in

⁴³Ibid., 1911, p. 32.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 45.

⁴⁵Ibid., 1913, p. 67.

other areas as well. When Bishop Gailor was president of the National Council, he journeyed to Japan and China where he observed the Episcopal work being done in those countries.⁴⁶

For the church in Tennessee, however, home missionary activity continued to have a more pressing urgency to the convention and its missionary organization. When a coadjutor was elected for the diocese in 1919, Bishop Gailor indicated that the assistant bishop would have special care and oversight of the purely missionary work and the selection of clergymen and laymen for the work. Moreover, the coadjutor was to "regard it as his special duty to arouse the interest of all the people in the missionary work, both in the Diocese and on behalf of the General Board."⁴⁷

When the Department of Missions and Church Extension of the diocese was organized, it began to take a practical view of the activities of its organization. One of the conclusions that it drew was that money was being wasted by attempts to continue missionary work in areas where the church obviously was not going to take root. The report of 1929 declared that

⁴⁶Gailor, Memories, pp. 222-34.

⁴⁷Tennessee Convention, 1919, p. 53.

. . . we must depart from the old custom of putting money into old places just as a matter of sentiment. There are some communities which are either stagnant or dying in a business way and from the standpoint of population. Would it not be well for us to consider the advisability of putting larger sums into places that are growing instead of giving limited sums to many places, thus limiting the growth in some progressive communities?⁴⁸

The depression, of course, made its impact upon missionary activity. Because past depressions and panics often eliminated pledges to funds and endowments, the bishops did not subside in their appeals for support of missionary work. In 1932, bishops Gailor and Maxon addressed a letter to their fellow churchmen informing them of the crisis in the work of the National Council and appealing for aid. The appeal, however, was couched in optimistic terms:

. . . Your Bishops have been encouraged and enheartened by the splendid response you have all made during these troublous times, in your attendance upon Church services, in making your Communion, and in giving for Church support. Your loyalty and devotion have served to make of these times a real opportunity for extending the Church's influence, and for bringing home to thousands Her message. While our Diocesan finances have been reduced substantially as was expected, yet the work as a whole has never been in better condition. With less to live on, all of us, we have a deepened realization that we have much more to live for. Every point within the Diocese where we have a congregation is opened for regular services. For these blessings we are grateful.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Tennessee Convention, 1929, Supplement, p. 5.

⁴⁹Gailor and Maxon to Fellow Churchmen, May 5, 1932, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, Yeatman-Polk Collection.

However optimistic the message from the bishops might have been, the depression had an adverse effect on spending for church activities. The money for missionary activity had been coming in large quantities through the twenties, but, after the depression, it dropped to about a third of that amount.⁵⁰ One church historian, writing in the 1950's, halted his history of the church before the depression years to avoid giving the appearance of decline at this point.⁵¹

A significant missionary field in the South involved the churching of blacks within the state, but this was a field in which success was nominal. As in the nineteenth century, the problem of providing the worship of the Episcopal Church for blacks was complicated by disagreements about the way to handle the project. The General Convention, sensitive to the wishes of black churchmen, wished to avoid setting up separate or racial organizations. Some of the southern dioceses as well as some black churchmen saw this as the only solution. Southern white churchmen held a meeting at Sewanee in 1883 and expressed their desire for a subsidiary supervisory position to coordinate the work among blacks. This meeting was followed by a gathering of

⁵⁰ Albright, Episcopal Church, p. 344.

⁵¹ James Thayer Addison, The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. iii.

black churchmen who resisted the Sewanee conference's suggestions if it meant shunting them off into a position of eventual disintegration.⁵² In 1886, Calbraith Perry, at one time in charge of work among Negroes in Tennessee, broke down the segregated character of the black church workers' conference by voluntarily attending their meeting and urging them to petition the General Convention concerning their needs. The result was the formation of the Church Commission for Work Among Colored People.⁵³ In 1870, the Freedman's Commission had become the Commission on Home Missions to Colored People, and, twenty years later, it expanded its work to include support of the purely religious as well as educational work among Negroes. The American Church Institute for Negroes was organized in 1906 with the approval of the Board of Missions and supported educational work in the larger schools.⁵⁴ The question of a black episcopate, resisted as long as it was deemed racial legislation, was answered by the passage of a canon which allowed the election of suffragan bishops. These bishops

⁵²An Account of the Conference on the Relation of the Church to the Colored People of the South Held at Sewanee, Tennessee, July 25 to 28, 1883 (Sewanee, Tenn.: Wm. M. Harlow, University Printer, 1883); George F. Bragg, History of the Afro-American Group of the Episcopal Church (Baltimore: Church Advocate Press, 1922), pp. 160-63.

⁵³Bragg, History, p. 163.

⁵⁴Manross, Episcopal Church, pp. 338-39.

could perform religious functions in the manner of the diocesan or a coadjutor but did not have the right of succession nor a vote in the House of Bishops.⁵⁵

Although various schemes for organization were proposed in Tennessee, the work was slow. Bishop Gailor was conscientious about the duty of the church, but his doubts about the capabilities of Negroes may have been reflected in his lack of extensive plans for black churchmen. In the twentieth century as in the nineteenth, the prospect of completing a successful project was doubtful, and, as earlier, the policy of the whole church was held to blame:

At no time in the history of this Diocese has the Colored Work been carried on under greater difficulties than at present. . . . This was due to the action of the General Board of Missions in making a substantial reduction in the appropriation for the Colored Work and also to the active opposition by the Board to "Appeals for Specials."⁵⁶

Echoing the complaints of the nineteenth century, the archdeacon of Negro work spoke of the discrepancy in the emphasis upon foreign missions when "we are neglecting those who are at our very doors and who are equally in need of being brought to the knowledge of Christ and His Kingdom."⁵⁷

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 323-24. Suffragans were given a vote in the House of Bishops in 1943. Ibid., p. 363.

⁵⁶Tennessee Convention, 1911, p. 108.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 112.

Bishop Quintard's project, Hoffman Hall, was unable to compete with some other Negro schools that began earlier and had greater support. After Quintard's death, it declined in activity as a training school for black priests. For a period, the physical plant was taken over by a project in industrial education known as St. Mary's School for Colored Girls. By 1916, the two projects were merged as Hoffman-St. Mary's Industrial Institute and moved to West Tennessee where the convention reasoned that the opportunities for work among blacks were larger.⁵⁸

Although Episcopalians did not favor legislation like that embodied in the Butler anti-evolution law, they were concerned about the effect of science and scientific theories upon religion. In 1906, members of the convention requested the bishop to clarify the position of the church for them, and he responded by devoting most of his address to what he called the "religious questions of the day."⁵⁹ In his talk, he touched upon such subjects as evolution, science and religion, the virgin birth, and higher criticism.⁶⁰ Gailor was not unaware of the challenges to Christian thought that were posed by science. In another address, he reminded the convention that "we cannot shut our

⁵⁸Ibid., 1916, p. 85.

⁵⁹Ibid., 1906, p. 34.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 34-44.

eyes to the fact that we are living in a time of unsettlement and unrest--a time rife with controversy on the subject of religion."⁶¹ Although he believed that adherence to science and rationality that promoted atheism was "irrational," he also deplored the "tragedy of conflict between those who have come to be known as 'Fundamentalists' and those who call themselves 'Modernists.'" He explained the position of the Episcopal Church in this way:

In this controversy our own Church has taken no part and issued no decree, leaving the decision of the question to the sound and reverent learning of those who have made it their special study.⁶²

His conclusion was that the church was not "bound and not constrained by any theory as to the origin of its own documents and literature."⁶³ Gailor emphasized the Christian nature of the church in his attempts to reconcile the new with the old. As he explained it, "science has helped us to understand what Christ's coming implied for man and the world." For man, he asserted, "it awakened new interest in himself and invested his every-day occupation--his thought, enterprise and effort--with unprecedented dignity and value."⁶⁴

⁶¹Ibid., 1928, p. 37.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid., 1902, p. 48.

To support his position, he quoted the popular writer John Fiske, who said:

The doctrine of evolution destroys the conception of the world as a machine. It makes God our constant refuge and support and nature His true revelation, and when all its religious implication shall have been set forth, it will be seen to be the most potent ally that Christianity has ever had in elevating mankind.⁶⁵

On other occasions as well, the bishop reminded Episcopalians that their position toward evolution was not that of the so-called Fundamentalists. A story in a local newspaper reported that one of the bishop's addresses was a "complete refutation of statements declaring the ministry of today intolerant and in ignorance of the world's new breadth of thought."⁶⁶ To prove the point, the account gave several excerpts from the address:

Nowhere has the historical method of Modern Science been applied more seriously or with greater result than in the sphere of religions.

It has pared away some fancies and some delusions, but it has emphasized and illuminated a splendid residuum of Christian Truth, which is all the more powerful because it has been tested.

For example, we have a clearer understanding of what the Bible is.

We do not think of the Bible as a magical Book with the truth of every word and sentence guaranteed by God, but we know it now as the wonderful and compelling story of God's gradual revelation of Himself and His Truth, through and by means of mortal men, whose faith and love were strong, but whose knowledge was human knowledge, limited and conditioned by the circumstances of the age in which they lived.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 47.

⁶⁶Newspaper clipping in Tennessee Convention, 1928, St. Luke's Library, University of the South.

The Bible has gained new depths and new permanence of value, because men's minds have been turned away from devotion to a Book and have been directed to a Person from whom in the truest sense came and of whom it bears Witness.

More and more through the mists of human opinion and conjecture, the Person of Jesus as the intellectual and spiritual Center and Source of Christianity--life and work and character--stands out, luminous, distinct, unquestioned.⁶⁷

The bishop's awareness of evolution and science was undoubtedly heightened by the controversy over these questions in the state. The widespread publicity given to the so-called "monkey trial" at Dayton, Tennessee, with figures like William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow participating, created some self-consciousness among Tennesseans who disagreed both with the law and the antics at Dayton. When Bishop Gailor was on a trip to the Near East in 1928, he introduced himself as being from Tennessee, U.S.A., to a professor of the University of Cairo. The bishop was embarrassed that the professor immediately recognized his home as being the place where the "people do not believe in science."⁶⁸

Gailor's churchmanship was related to his ability to make science support rather than erode his religious faith. Like Quintard, Gailor was more closely connected to the high church or Anglo-Catholic group than he was to the

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Gailor, Memories, p. 265.

Evangelical or low church group, although these terms are illusive in definition and contain many elements in common. James DeKoven, priest and teacher, had been one of the soothing influences in the church when the furor over ritualism had been at its peak. He had been able to maintain a position close to that of the ritualists without being a member of a party or faction within the church. His emphasis was upon the breadth of ritual and belief that were possible within the church. Gailor's connection with DeKoven at Racine sometimes made him appear to be the heir of the priest in Wisconsin.⁶⁹

In retrospect, the controversies that seemed so alarming to contemporaries appear to be much ado about nothing. The roots of these movements can be traced to England, but the American church was too far distant to have been deeply affected. The Evangelical Movement was the older; it was related to the early nineteenth century British movement led by Bishop William Wilberforce and his able and prolific pamphleteer, Hannah More. The Oxford Movement had its beginnings in 1833 at Oxford University when John Keble delivered a sermon protesting the subservience of the church to the state. He was joined in

⁶⁹George F. Seymour, Sermon Preached at the Consecration of the Rt. Rev. Thos. F. Gailor, S.T.D., as Bishop-Coadjutor of Tennessee (Sewanee: n.p., 1893), pp. 35-36.

his protest by John Henry Newman, and, beginning in 1833, they published a series of pamphlets, Tracts for the Times, in which they called for a return of the church to spiritual concerns based on the individual. In the process of developing spiritual rejuvenation for the church, those connected with the movement began to advocate restoring many of the signs, symbols, and practices which had been removed from the church during the Puritan era. The reverberations of the Oxford Movement continued throughout the nineteenth century and only slowly began to be absorbed in the trends of the twentieth century. Adherents of the movement were variously labeled Tractarians, Ritualists, Anglo-Catholic, or some other similar term. Their opponents made much of the fact that Newman left the Anglican Church to join that of the Roman Catholic Church and eventually to hold the office of cardinal in that communion.⁷⁰

Because Bishop Quintard leaned toward the high church practices if not the party, Tennessee became

⁷⁰An interesting account of the Evangelicals and their English impact is given by Ford K. Brown in Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce (Cambridge: University Press, 1961). For discussions of the Oxford Movement, see Manross, Episcopal Church, pp. 266-89; Chorley, Men and Movements, pp. 194-207; DeMille, Catholic Movement, pp. 24-43; William George Peck, The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933).

identified with the movement. Bishop Gailor's connection with DeKoven and Bishop Quintard, his love of the developing ritual, and his emphasis upon the devotional aspects of the church tended to keep Tennessee's development along the lines of the high church. Some students of the church maintained that this direction was almost inevitable throughout the American church. One used the first Tennessee bishop as proof that the American church was headed in the direction of Anglo-Catholicism before it was aware of what was taking place in England. Bishop Otey had given directions that his grave be marked by the words, "The First Bishop of the Catholic Church in Tennessee."⁷¹ What was surprising about Otey's instructions was that he was also a dedicated anti-ritualist who refused to consecrate a church building because it was adorned with crosses and the altar was illuminated with unnecessary candles.⁷² Whether the Anglo-Catholic movement was inevitable cannot be proven, but historians of the church find it difficult to reconstruct the alarm engendered by the reinstatement of ritual because its acceptance has been fairly uniform in the twentieth century. The use of candles, incense, vested choirs, crosses, altars, and other such trappings of the

⁷¹DeMille, Catholic Movement, p. 19.

⁷²Tennessee Convention, 1858, p. 39.

mother church has become the rule rather than the exception in Tennessee as elsewhere. On the other hand, the identification of the church in Tennessee with this movement may have been a retarding factor in its growth.⁷³

The cathedral movement in the American Church was associated with the high church side of the controversies, and Tennessee became a leader in its acceptance of the idea. On January 1, 1871, the rector, wardens, vestry, and congregation of St. Mary's Church in Memphis voted to tender their church to the bishop for his use as a cathedral.⁷⁴ Like most of the early cathedrals in the United States, the Cathedral of St. Mary bore scant resemblance to the medieval cathedrals of Europe, but it was significant as a step toward high churchmanship. As Bishop Quintard explained it, a cathedral was

. . . simply a Bishop's Church--a church that belongs to the Bishop of the Diocese for his use as Bishop; a church in which every clergyman and every layman of the Diocese has, in addition to his own parish church, an interest; a church which is central for all common action, and in which a Bishop is the center of the visible fabric of the church.⁷⁵

Memphis churchmen not only showed their support of the bishop's churchmanship, they also showed their desire to

⁷³The connection of the University of the South with this controversy caused some furor among faculty and trustees in the late nineteenth century. See above, p. 103.

⁷⁴Tennessee Convention, 1871, p. 28.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 29.

keep the bishop in Memphis. To help accomplish this, they also provided the bishop with a house.⁷⁶

When Gailor became bishop, he was given the use of the house in Memphis and one of his early projects was to press for the construction of a more suitable cathedral and bishop's house. On January 19, 1926, with thousands of people present, the formal opening of the new cathedral took place. In the procession with the bishop and his clergy were two Negro Episcopal bishops and a Jewish Rabbi, and in the congregation were representatives of most of the religious organizations in Memphis.⁷⁷ Thereafter, the cathedral provided a more suitable edifice for a bishop's church. After Gailor's death, the house next door to the cathedral was converted to a diocesan office building.⁷⁸

Another sign of the Anglo-Catholic movement in Tennessee was the presence of religious orders. The Sisters of St. Mary had moved to Tennessee while Quintard was bishop. In the twentieth century, the Order of the Holy Cross found the mountain near the University of the South a place for their retreat and social service. These orders

⁷⁶Noll, History, p. 164.

⁷⁷Gailor, Memories, pp. 283-84.

⁷⁸Tennessee Convention, 1938, p. 42.

worked in and for the diocese, but they were not creations of the diocese.⁷⁹

Following in DeKoven's footsteps, Gailor assumed the posture of the broad church group when he pointed out the danger of enforced uniformity of worship. According to his interpretation of the controversies, it was Calvin's disciples who introduced the law of uniformity of worship into the English church. Gailor, decrying the legalism of Calvin, said:

But we do not want uniformity in the details of worship in the Church, and I pray that the day may come when we shall discuss these matters in the General Convention without partisan prejudice, and agree upon some definite limitations of ritual use, providing both for lofty ceremonial and for simple services.⁸⁰

In fact, Bishop Gailor believed that the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church was already "more Catholic and orthodox than either the English or the Roman rite."⁸¹ On that account, he believed that there was no reason for the American church to have to adopt the specific practices or customs of either the English or the Roman church. This argument devolved upon his concept of nationalism:

⁷⁹An account of the invitation to the Order of the Holy Cross to come to Tennessee is given in William Stirling Claiborne, Twenty-one Years in the Mountains of Tennessee (Sewanee: University Press, [1920]), pp. 25-27.

⁸⁰Tennessee Convention, 1928, pp. 40-41.

⁸¹Gailor, Memories, p. 283.

Now, we are Citizens of the United States. We have an American inheritance and an American outlook upon life. If we are loyal to it, I can see no reason why we should not accept and welcome the American character of our American Church; and this involves, it seems to me, the right and duty of the American Church to create its own special type of worship, without any obligation to conform to the English, or the Italian, or the Greek forms and ceremonies.⁸²

In keeping with this view, Gailor also favored a move to change the name of the church from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America to the American Catholic Church of the United States.⁸³

Disagreements among churchmen about their school of churchmanship and liturgy hampered attempts to revise the Book of Common Prayer. As early as 1880, the General Convention had authorized a committee to consider revision "in the direction of liturgical enrichment and increased flexibility."⁸⁴ The committee, made up of both high and low churchmen and pledged not to make radical doctrinal changes or attempt to Americanize the liturgy excessively, recommended almost two hundred changes. Although these changes met with approval at first, they failed to pass. In 1892, the General Convention reduced the number of changes and produced a revised version.⁸⁵ In 1928, the convention

⁸²Ibid., pp. 282-83.

⁸³Tennessee Convention, 1903, pp. 49-58.

⁸⁴Albright, Episcopal Church, p. 296.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 297.

again approved a revised Book of Common Prayer. This second revision had taken fifteen years to complete and to gain acceptance. Bishop Gailor saw its approval as the most important work of the General Convention that year.⁸⁶ Again, however, there were few drastic changes in ritual or doctrine.

Bishop Gailor's activities for the church in the twentieth century are examined in more detail in the two succeeding chapters. These show Gailor's efforts to take the church in Tennessee through many changes and to provide intellectual and moral leadership for the church during troubled times for religious bodies. The Episcopal Church continued to maintain an urban-rural approach to its work, but the largest proportion of its members were found in the urban centers. By the time of Gailor's death, although the 1930's offered more setbacks than progress in money and resources, the church was poised and ready as far as organization and structure were concerned.

⁸⁶Tennessee Convention, 1929, p. 43.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, church-related institutions of higher education had been established throughout the country. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, state supported schools aided by the Morrill Act and private institutions funded by wealthy robber barons of the northeast began to eclipse the church-related schools. Notwithstanding this trend, the American experience has resulted in such a variety of educational opportunities, particularly in higher education, that not only are there the great state universities but there are also special institutions designed to meet the needs of or appeal to special groups brought together by such common factors as religion, sex, race, geographic location, or vocational aspiration. Because secular schools have improved in quality and

quantity, the church-related school faces greater competition and challenges to its survival.¹

Despite many difficulties, financial and otherwise, the Episcopal-related University of the South survived, and, despite the trend toward secularization, it has retained its identification as a church school without substituting piety for academic excellence. Its goal has continued to be the provision of a Christian environment under Episcopal auspices, "but always in an atmosphere of responsible freedom." Although the founders and first administrators were concerned about small enrollments, recent administrations have pointed to the advantages of a small enrollment. They have wished to provide, "through control of the total size, and the number of students per faculty member, and in the organization of the teaching program, the means of intimate personal contact between those who teach and those who learn." Also, they have continued to take responsibility in the area of character and morals.²

¹See Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Vintage Books Division of Random House, 1962), pp. 44-85, 241-63; Christopher Jencks and David Reisman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 291-479.

²University of the South Self-Study for the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (Sewanee: University Press, 1964), pp. 5-6.

Because its financial standing was very uncertain-- on some occasions dependent upon Bishop Quintard's luck in England--the dedication of the men who taught and worked at the university was important. Bishop Gailor came to believe that men, not buildings or money, were the foundation upon which sound learning was built. His own experience bore out that belief. At Racine, he had viewed the influence of the men upon the institution. At Sewanee, he was impressed early with the faculty as men of exceptional ability and scholarship. Those early teachers and leaders were "men of lofty aims," he said, "broad vision and consecrated hope-- each one a definite and forceful personality. And the very atmosphere of Sewanee is still vibrant with their presence and power."³

The "spirit of Sewanee" became one of its identifying characteristics to those who became attached to the school and its domain. Gailor saw it in relation to the financial difficulties of the institution:

I can never forget being called to a Faculty meeting one day and hearing the Vice-Chancellor announce to this heroic band of noble gentlemen that he would have to ask them to scale their salaries, (\$1500.00 a year was the highest) and consent to take whatever the income of the University would warrant. And they all agreed to do it without any complaint.⁴

³Gailor, Memories, pp. 20, 94.

⁴Ibid., p. 94.

A graduate of the university saw the spirit as the residue of his learning experience:

But I learned from [General Edmund Kirby-Smith] and other men of his type, and sometimes from friends of mine, and from the ladies of Sewanee, things which while perhaps not in text books, noble truths which I shall ever carry, certainly through this world, engraved on the tablets of my heart and I believe into the great beyond.⁵

To the young women who were not students but were ever-present, the Sewanee spirit was seen in non-scholastic terms:

All of our pleasures were in, and immediately around Sewanee. We knew no other, nor cared to expand our horizon. This was our mountain of enchantment, filled with golden days and silvery nights, in the summer season. Sweethearts strolled through woodland paths and murmured the old, old, story, with only the hoary rocks and trickling mountain brooklets to hear their love-making. There was not only morning chapel on Sundays, but also a short afternoon service at five o'clock, which was eagerly attended by the girls, mainly, I fear, because as they came down the chapel steps there were heart flutterings in hopes that some of the many youths lined up in front would ask for a "walk."⁶

The founders had hoped to create an atmosphere in this secluded location in which young men could be educated without the corrupting influences of society, but as much emphasis was placed upon its safety and healthfulness as its isolation. Catalogs pointed out that the school provided the "orderly quiet necessary to a studious life" and that

⁵Lily Baker, et al., eds., Sewanee (Sewanee: Published for the Benefit of the University Library Collection of Sewaneeana, 1932), p. 119.

⁶Ibid., p. 73.

the food at the boarding houses and water from the springs were healthful and uncontaminated.⁷

Not everyone, however, agreed that the isolated society of Sewanee was advantageous. Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith of Kentucky, for example, expressed grave doubts about a rural college. He predicted that it might lead to careless, rude, and provincial habits and dress; he feared that an "ecclesiastical epidemic" of "Pusey-ism," "Colenso-ism," or "Revival-ism" might find a congenial atmosphere there; and he pointed out that close contacts between clerical professors was "exceptionally narrowing--between their Ladies, even worse."⁸

On one occasion, Bishop Gailor's appeal to an educational foundation was rejected on the grounds that the university was not within a city. Gailor, however, did not criticize the location; he saw the refusal as a result of a utilitarian approach which sacrificed "principle to expediency in the work of education." To Gailor, the tragedy of this lay in the graduates from American universities "who did not possess the rudiments of culture" and "who deplored . . . the prevalence of a system which permitted them to be graduated without being half educated."

⁷Calendar of the University of the South, 1894-1895 (Sewanee, 1894), pp. 29-30. Titles of these catalogues vary; hereinafter they will be referred to as University Calendar.

⁸Baker, Sewanee, p. 12.

They were victims of "the clamor of the hour" which was "to get technical knowledge of some one thing in sufficient degree to be able to sell it for money."⁹

Gailor believed that the American educational institution, unlike its European counterpart, must act in loco parentis. He saw the American student in terms of his untrained intellect, malleable character, and immature morals, all of which were subject to the influences of institutions of higher education. These schools, therefore, were "charged with the responsibility of furnishing moral ideals as well as intellectual opportunities to their members." This concept fit well with the church connection of the university. As Gailor explained:

Our religion claims the power to provide this training for mankind, and we believe that there is a special type of character created by loyal devotion to Jesus Christ, and that this influence affects the intellectual judgments, the moral habits, and the civilizing ideals of the race. Yet it was not so much a question with our Founders of converting individual students to the faith of Christ, as it was of putting the institution in a formal and public way upon the side of Christianity. If our religion is true, they said, then let it be declared openly, definitely,--without any evasion or qualification,--and let all men know it,--that the tone, the atmosphere, the prepossessions [sic], of this place are distinctly Christian.¹⁰

⁹Gailor, Ideals in Education and the Claims of Sewanee (Sewanee, 1915), pp. 6-7.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 4-5.

He made it clear that he did not portray the founders as "fools" or "bigots" because they did not propose teaching "Christian mathematics" or "Christian chemistry"; their aim was to perpetuate a Christian philosophy. They were determined "to see to it that no boy from a Christian home should be able to attribute his infidelity at graduation to the influence and instruction of his college."¹¹

In the attempt to provide this atmosphere, the university became more than a school--it became a community. It retained its extensive domain and its own administration of the town around the university. It provided its own police protection, fire protection, water and sewage systems. Within the domain were its lakes, golf course, tennis courts, stores, and laundry. The University Press published the Sewanee Review, the oldest literary quarterly in America.¹² The founders saw no misplaced pride in the motto they applied to the university--Ecce Quam Bonum (Behold, How Good). Although the management of a school and community have presented untold problems as well as pleasures, the university generally has been successful in

¹¹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹² Edward McCrady, Sewanee: Domain of the University of the South, 1858-1958 (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1958), pp. 22-23.

maintaining and preserving the atmosphere that the founders wanted.¹³

Sewanee has attracted distinguished visitors. Bishops and other church dignitaries have been a part of the Sewanee scene from its beginnings. Some have elected to build summer homes or to retire there. Others came for commencement activities and meetings of the board of trustees. Dignitaries from the state were often present at commencements or other ceremonial occasions. In 1904, the German ambassador to the United States delivered an address at Sewanee, and, in 1911, President William Howard Taft paid an informal visit to the university at the request of his military aide, a graduate of the school.¹⁴

Baron Speck von Sternburg, the German ambassador, was so impressed by some other institutions that he failed to take note of the unique quality that southern Episcopalians were trying to inject into their institution. He praised the American universities' accoutrements and scientific progress, seeing them as heirs of the Germanic universities. On the other hand, he noted some unique characteristics in the American college products. He said:

¹³Baker, Sewanee, pp. 128ff.

¹⁴Speck von Sternburg, American and German University Ideals (Sewanee: University Press, 1904); Baker, Sewanee, pp. 131-32; Gailor, Memories, p. 184.

They are men of profound learning and high academic attainments; but, at the same time, they possess the extraordinary initiative and organizing capacity of the qualified business man. They are ever ready to step into the arena of public affairs and give the people the advantage of their learning and experience in a most unselfish way.¹⁵

While the German ambassador may have in fact described the Sewanee product, he had little to say for the role of the church. For the founders and leaders who worked to keep the church in a prominent place, the omission was significant. In any case, the Christian college stood on the borderline between the ideals of the German university and the ideals of its mission for the church and the individual. Most of the bishops and ministers connected with the University of the South seemed able to reconcile the scientific and the religious, the academic and the pious. Gailor believed that the Christian college

. . . is honest, because it recognizes truth. It is thorough because it builds deep upon the great foundation. It is broad and scientific because it does not leave out the Sun in its chart of the firmament, nor Jesus Christ in its theory of the world. It labors for eternity, because it clings to that which alone accounts for, or pretends to account for, man and the world also.¹⁶

The catalog put it this way:

It lies in the conception of this University that the relations of intellectual and moral culture should

¹⁵von Sternburg, University Ideals, pp. 9-10.

¹⁶Gailor, The Event of All Times (Hartford: Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1892), pp. 13-14.

be constantly observed. That the truest intellectual freedom may exist together with, nay, rather is the natural result of, a devoted adherence to the principles of the American Episcopal Church is the principle on which we stand as a Church University.¹⁷

Throughout the history of the university, its statements of purpose linked civic virtue and Christian piety, but they also stressed intellectual training.¹⁸

When Gailor was vice-chancellor of the university, there were four "departments." He headed the academic department which contained twelve "schools": ethics and evidences of Christianity, mathematics, ancient languages and literature, metaphysics, chemistry, English language and literature, modern languages and literature, engineering, geology and mineralogy, political economy and history, physics, and finance and economy. These schools were staffed by eight professors of whom two had earned doctorates, one of philosophy and the other medicine. The school of finance and economy had been founded upon the suggestion of the American Bankers' Association. This group recommended schools based upon the model of the Wharton School of Finance and Economy of the University of Pennsylvania.¹⁹

¹⁷University Calendar, 1893-1894, p. 38.

¹⁸University Self-Study, p. 5.

¹⁹University Calendar, 1892-1893, pp. 9-13, 49.

The theological department was headed by Gailor's friend, the Reverend Dr. Telfair Hodgson, and was staffed by Hodgson and four others including William Porcher DuBose and Gailor. The newly formed medical department was staffed by seven doctors of medicine and five professors in a course of study which required three years to complete. The law department was chaired by Dr. B. J. Ramage, who was assisted by three professors from the academic department, including Gailor who was a lecturer in canon law.²⁰

This broadened curriculum showed the influence both of the founders' desire for a broad-based, all-encompassing university and contemporary trends which called for meeting the demands of the business world. The school of finance and economy, for example, also offered stenography, typing, and telegraphy to those students who wished to supplement their courses in history, political economy, civics, bookkeeping, accounting, commercial law, commercial arithmetic and geography, rhetoric and English composition, banking, corporation law, and moral science.²¹ For several years, although not accepting candidates on the grounds that the university was not then able to offer adequate

²⁰Ibid., pp. 9-13.

²¹Ibid., pp. 49-50.

facilities for investigation, the catalog outlined the requirements for earning the doctor of philosophy degree.²²

Another response to the times was a course taught by Professor John McCrady on the relation of science to religion. McCrady, who succeeded Louis Agassiz at Harvard, had resigned to come to Sewanee where he had become the backbone of the science instruction. The course he offered, however, had it not been for his death and its discontinuation, might have caused some controversy among the trustees and patrons, if they were acquainted with the works he listed as references for the course. These included not only Descartes' Discourse on Method, Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, Hume's Inquiry into Human Understanding but also Herbert Spencer's First Principles and Charles Darwin's Origin of the Species and other works.²³ This course may have been the reason that Bishop Quintard was ready to blame McCrady for being the author of the hyper-critical hebdomadal report in 1879.²⁴

Other professors who made a reputation for themselves and for the university sometimes found themselves incurring the displeasure of the trustees. Professor

²²Ibid., 1896-1897, p. 32.

²³Ibid., 1879-1880, p. 25.

²⁴Quintard Diary, Aug. 7, 1879.

William P. Trent, who taught at the university in the 1890's, was one of these. According to Gailor, Trent was the real founder of the Sewanee Review, a journal that "has made and is making a definite continuous contribution to cultural life in America."²⁵ He also edited it for eight years. Another of Trent's accomplishments, however, was his work on the life of William Gilmore Simms, which inspired Quintard to write, "This book is an offense to all southern people."²⁶ Quintard also received a letter from the bishop of Alabama which expressed similar feelings. The Alabama bishop said, "I have read Professor Trent's book and I fear he is one of these apostles of the New South who forget that there can be no New South which has not its roots in the Old."²⁷ Trent had not been particularly responsive to the matter of southern sensibilities. Trent's scholarship in his biography of Simms did not endear him to the descendents of the Old South. They resented such statements as the following:

"Simms's Magazine" was not a bad one as magazines, especially Southern magazines, went then.

But though Simms had become an enthusiastic student of what is, perhaps, the greatest body of literature

²⁵Alice Lucille Turner, A Brief History of the Sewanee Review (Sewanee: n.p., 1931), p. 29.

²⁶Quintard Diary, July 3, 1892.

²⁷Ibid.

the world has ever seen, he could not make himself a scholarly student. His early training and associations, nay, his life-long environments, were against this.

His place is not a high one; but it must never be forgotten that he was not only a pioneer, but the pioneer of American literature, whose destiny forced him to labor in the least favorable section of all America for successful literary work.²⁸

Bishop Quintard made no comment when he put a clipping in his diary that reported Trent was lecturing in Wisconsin on southern statesmen, but he must have shuddered at the line:

The picture which he has given of the Southern life--especially political life--in the ante bellum days certainly makes possible a better understanding of the conditions in the South; conditions which until recently have scarcely ever been understood in the North.
 . . . ²⁹

Nevertheless, Quintard was opposed to a move to ask for Professor Trent's resignation. When he heard the report that this was pending, he wrote that "it would do us great harm if the Board should ask for his resignation."³⁰ Although Trent was not removed from his position, his decision to accept a post at Columbia University was probably not difficult to make.³¹

²⁸Quoted in Turner, Sewanee Review, pp. 3-5.

²⁹Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, Aug. 31, 1896.

³⁰Quintard to Mrs. Charles T. Quintard, July 13, 1897, University of the South, Archives, Mrs. Charles T. Quintard Letter File.

³¹Turner, Sewanee Review, p. 5.

William Porcher DuBose, "the only important creative theologian that the Episcopal Church in the United States has produced,"³² also faced disapproval from some of the trustees. In his period of literary activity which began in 1892, he produced his Soteriology of the New Testament, a book which some trustees had not read but which they believed was heretical or at least controversial enough to refuse to appoint DuBose as the dean of the theological school. When Gailor, who supported DuBose's appointment, discovered that their suspicions were based on hearsay, he was able to get the appointment confirmed.³³ Although these incidents were threats to academic freedom, the resolutions were arrived at without widespread publicity and without loss of the church's identification with the school.³⁴

A year before the Butler law was passed, the Reverend Edward McCrady, son of Professor John McCrady,

³²W. Norman Pittenger, "The Significance of DuBose's Theology," quoted in Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "Theology in America: A Historical Survey," in Religion in American Life, Vol. I: The Shaping of American Religion, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 299.

³³Gailor, Memories, p. 97.

³⁴Although from the outset, the strict denominational institutions did not aspire to academic freedom, it became an outgrowth of the old college. See Richard Hofstadter, Academic Freedom in the Age of the College (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 209ff.

offered a series of special lectures at the theological school on "Science and Religion." In these he dealt with such topics as "Miracles and Modernism," "Evolution and Special Creation," "Paganism and Christianity," and "Science and the Virgin Birth."³⁵ That these lectures afforded no comment by bishop, convention, or church paper might indicate some change in approach.

The Sewanee Review was founded in 1892 to treat topics in history, theology, philosophy, and literature. It also served to counterbalance disputes in these areas by providing an objective sounding board. Professor Trent and his colleagues conceived of the Review as being able to cover these subjects more fully and in a more scholarly fashion than the popular magazines and yet in a less technical manner than the specialized journals. Trent's study of literary magazines in connection with his work on Simms led him to see a need for such a journal in this country. While the original plan has generally been followed, some discussions of educational and contemporary political problems as well as personal essays and poems have been included in later years.

Although, in comparison to more recent years, tuition and fees at the University of the South appear to

³⁵Tennessee Churchman, April, 1924.

have been moderate, they were expected, in all but the theological department, to take care of the operating expenses of the school. At the turn of the century, a student paid \$100 in tuition, between \$150 and \$200 for board and lodging, and \$10 for medical fees in the academic and law departments. The medical school, which ran on a different schedule, charged only \$50 in tuition, and the theological department, which was supported by the dioceses, charged students only for board and medical fees. In addition, all students paid a matriculation fee of \$15 and various other charges for laundry, mail service, library, gymnasium, chemistry laboratory, and a contingent fee of \$40. The graduation fees ranged from \$5 in the academic and theological departments to \$25 in the medical department.³⁶

Other expenses of the university, particularly the building program, usually were financed through various benefactors who could be appealed to in the name of the church and education. One of the better known donors to the university was J. Pierpont Morgan, who referred to it as "the best institution the Church has in America."³⁷ He was himself an Episcopalian and often served as a delegate to the General Convention. Bishop Gailor addressed several

³⁶University Calendar, 1900-1901, pp. 36-37.

³⁷Tennessee Convention, 1912, p. 55.

appeals to Morgan. The first was a plea for funds to complete Quintard Hall which he had persuaded Bishop Quintard's brother to build as a memorial to the bishop. When the funds that George W. Quintard pledged proved to be insufficient to complete the building, Gailor described his dilemma:

. . . When the Board of Trustees met in June they called on me to get money enough to complete what I had started; so I went to New York, not knowing what I should do. I tried several persons, who, I thought, might be interested, but without success. Finally, as I walked up Wall Street, I saw Mr. Morgan's Bank on the corner and braced myself to make the plunge.³⁸

The outcome of his story was a check for \$15,000. In 1906, Morgan contributed the final \$10,000 of a \$100,000 fund drive. Several years later, he promised \$150,000 to the university, but, before this last pledge was redeemed, Morgan died.³⁹

Andrew Carnegie, famous for his philanthropic work, was not as friendly to the needs of the university as his fellow mogul. When Bishop Gailor called upon him, he found the Scotsman disposed to boasting of his own acumen and indisposed toward religion's role. Carnegie told Gailor:

I care nothing for the future--nothing. I care for no future. I have had more than I want here. I ask for nothing hereafter. If God permitted a man to go wrong

³⁸Gailor, Memories, p. 139.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 139-41.

for thirty years and condemns him to everlasting punishment for that, then I say; Damn God--damn him--damn him. And that's what the preachers preach.⁴⁰

Gailor warned Carnegie that death was a time of great surprises and that his might well be the realization of "how foolishly you have thought and talked about Almighty God."⁴¹ Gailor found Carnegie more positive when it came to belief in himself. He told the bishop that "the Government depended on his advice; that Teddy Roosevelt was a barbarian." He boasted to him "of his shrewdness in getting foreign workmen, and pre-empting mineral land." Although he left Gailor thoroughly discouraged and disillusioned, two years later, Carnegie gave the money to build the physical and chemical laboratory at the university.⁴²

The university's attempt to meet the educational trends demanded by a materialistic society were offset somewhat by the attempt to maintain high scholastic standards. In 1895, it became a charter member of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of Southern States and, in 1898, began administering a written examination in English, history, geography, mathematics,

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 142.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

Latin, and Greek before admitting students.⁴³ The desire to maintain high standards was also shown in the abandonment of the medical and law schools. The medical school, which opened in 1892 and graduated 661 doctors, closed in October, 1909. The law school, which opened in 1893 and graduated 47 lawyers, closed in June, 1910. Associated with the medical school was a school of pharmacy which offered diplomas rather than degrees but, before closing, had awarded 178 such certificates.⁴⁴ In other areas the degree programs were curtailed. The first degree offered was the bachelor of letters (B.Litt.) which was discontinued in 1891 after 14 had been awarded. The degree of civil engineer was conferred between 1875 and 1912 with 42 recipients. One master of science degree was awarded in 1898; 101 masters of arts were awarded between 1878 and 1939.⁴⁵

While the enrollment figures between 1898 and 1935 did not reveal any startling increases other than those

⁴³Specimen questions were given in the catalogues. Questions in history included: (1) Name the first six presidents of the United States with dates of their terms, and (2) name the chief victories won by General R. E. Lee. University Calendar, 1898-1899, p. 167; 1899-1900, p. 169.

⁴⁴Rainsford Fairbanks Glass Dudney, Helen Adams Petry, and Elizabeth Nickinson Chitty, eds., Centennial Report of the Registrar of the University of the South (Sewanee: University Press, 1959), p. 15.

⁴⁵Ibid.

occasioned by the medical and law departments, the trend was toward slow growth with some decline marked in war and depression years. During the 1920's, women were admitted as students in the summer sessions, but summer sessions were abandoned during the depression.⁴⁶

Through 1900, the university operated on the church calendar with two terms a year. The year began with the Trinity term which lasted from August to Christmas. The Lent term usually began in March and ended a day or two before the Trinity term. This gave students their vacation during the winter when the weather on the mountain was less appealing and brought them to the mountain when the weather was warmest elsewhere in the South. In 1901, the school year was divided into Lent, Trinity, and Advent terms which began in March, June, and September, respectively. In 1908, the winter vacation was abandoned and, after 1909, the school year generally ran between September and June with special summer sessions. In 1933, the church terminology was replaced by the semester system.⁴⁷

From its beginnings, the University of the South was under the direction of a board of trustees composed of the bishop, one clergyman and two laymen from each of the parent

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 6-9.

⁴⁷Ibid.

dioceses. Between 1857 and 1874, there were ten owning dioceses, but, by 1935, the division of dioceses and the addition of new ones increased the number to twenty-two.⁴⁸ The board met yearly in the summer between terms at the university, but this situation was impractical for the actual direction of the school. Gailor became aware of the shortcomings of the system while he was vice-chancellor and, as bishop, moved to increase the authority of the executive committee to act while the board of trustees was in recess. As the governing system developed, the real governors of the university became the board of regents, elected by the trustees and the associated alumni for three-year terms. Although the vice-chancellors often found it difficult to administer the affairs of the university under the conditions the executive committee imposed, they were able to bring about some changes.⁴⁹ While Gailor was vice-chancellor, for example, the military system was abolished from the college and limited to the grammar school.⁵⁰

⁴⁸The founding dioceses were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas.

⁴⁹Benjamin Lawton Wiggins to Major George R. Fairbanks, University of the South, Archives, Fairbanks Collection; Gailor, Memories, p. 94.

⁵⁰Gailor, Memories, p. 96.

Physical culture remained a part of the program; however, care was taken "that the claims of aspirants for inter-collegiate distinction do not interfere with the needs of those whose wishes extend only to keeping a sound mind in a sound body."⁵¹ In 1899, however, the football team played a twelve-game schedule without defeat and put in a record shattering six-day trip in which they defeated Texas A. and M. on Thursday, the University of Texas on Friday, Tulane on Saturday, Louisiana State University on Monday, and Ole Miss on Tuesday.⁵² The Sewanee Purple, a weekly publication of the Athletic Association, kept the student body abreast of the team's activities.

Physical features which distinguished the campus of the university included the buff-colored sandstone buildings in what was described as a general architectural effect of Tudor Gothic.⁵³ Another was the order of gownsmen. Students who passed certain scholastic work with honors and achieved "sufficient maturity of age and character" were allowed to distinguish themselves by wearing the academic robe and to enjoy certain other privileges and immunities.⁵⁴ The system was unusual enough in this country that, when one

⁵¹University Calendar, 1893-1894, p. 40.

⁵²Forward in Tennessee, June, 1955.

⁵³University Calendar, 1900-1901, p. 32.

⁵⁴Ibid., 1894-1895, p. 30.

student was disciplined by having his right to wear the gown taken away and when he wrote home apologizing for the loss, a sympathetic grandparent sent him money to replace the lost gown.⁵⁵

Only five years before the depression called attention to the South as an economic problem, one of the trustees of the university was speaking of it in glowing and optimistic terms:

And can anyone foresee what may be and can be done in the next fifty years? The South is just beginning to come into her own. She is to-day the great conserving element in this country--politically, socially, financially, morally, and religiously. She is entering to-day into a period of untold development. She is to-day the most representative Anglo-Saxon section of our country, controlled by Americans, and descendents of Americans, and not ruled by a foreign element. There are men in our Southland to-day worth their thousands who will in time be worth their millions, and they will give them as their forefathers were willing to give in 1860 for the further growth and development of this institution of learning, which stands to-day face foremost for God and our native land!⁵⁶

Ten years later the university was operating with a deficit of nearly half a million dollars and was, for all intents and purposes, bankrupt. The recovery was made, but it occurred some years after the death of Bishop Gailor.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Baker, Sewanee, p. 114.

⁵⁶James G. Glass, Address Delivered on Founders' Day (Sewanee: University Press at the University of the South, 1924), p. 17.

⁵⁷University Self-Study, pp. 7-8.

The most successful secondary school in the diocese was, as was the case of the University of the South, not a diocesan school, but was owned by the dioceses of the Sewanee Province. Sewanee Grammar School, which became Sewanee Military Academy in the twentieth century, received the patronage not only of the sons of residents of Sewanee but also from out-of-state residents. The school operated at the high school level with the students organized into military companies commanded by a military officer. Quintard Hall provided accommodations for one hundred boys, but the enrollment more than doubled that figure before Gailor's death.⁵⁸

Discipline was one of the outstanding features of the military academy. Notice was given that "prompt and willing obedience to all orders, proper respect for authority, and punctual performance of all duties" were required of all students. The purpose of the discipline was to "build up in the boys' character a sense of responsibility." While school bulletins maintained that students were led rather than coerced, they also reminded that "obedience and truth are always exacted." Neither were parents encouraged to send incorrigibles to the academy. The school was "by no means a reformatory," and boys of

⁵⁸University Calendar, 1900-1901, p. 156.

"confirmed bad habits" were not allowed to remain.⁵⁹

Despite, or perhaps because of, its discipline and military character, the Sewanee Military Academy had nearly twice as many students as any other Episcopal school in the diocese.⁶⁰

Another school on the mountain rose to challenge the military school in numbers if not in aim and appeal. William S. Claiborne, archdeacon of Sewanee, was one of the more active priests in the project of extending the services of the church to the mountain folk of the area. One of the needs that he felt most strongly was that of educational services for the natives. He came to the conclusion that an industrial school for mountain boys was essential to the continued success and permanency of the church's work. Accordingly, he began raising money for the project and secured the deed to property adjacent to the domain of the University of the South. When Claiborne was trying to find a headmaster to run the school, he was surprised to have an Episcopalian who was not of the high church school recommend that he get the Brothers of the Order of the Holy Cross. His adviser explained:

Huntington and his crowd have a system, and it doesn't make much difference whom they send there, the

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 157-58.

⁶⁰Tennessee Convention, 1920, pp. 156-59.

system will be carried out. On the other hand, if you secure a good headmaster, he will develop his own system, and make a success. Then someone will come along and take him away from you by offering him a larger field, for headmasters are hard to find. Then if you get another one, he will have his own system, and if he makes a success, the same thing will happen and you will find yourself continually changing. . . . This is my advice: Get Huntington and his men of the Holy Cross Order.⁶¹

The result was that two members of the order came to Tennessee and, on September 21, 1905, opened St. Andrew's School.⁶² Although the industrial aspect of the school was eventually discarded in favor of a traditional high school curriculum, the order remained to work with boys in the area and others who wished to take advantage of a church-related high school. The Order of the Holy Cross was not new to the diocese because a priest who was canonically resident in Tennessee made profession as a member in 1895 and then came to work among Negroes in Memphis. The services of such orders

. . . brought out very clearly the need of special ministries in the Church, and the value both of training in separation and retirement from the world, and of association in a common life of prayer and service, to fit men to do such special work and to win souls to God by exhibiting the mind of Christ.⁶³

⁶¹Claiborne, Twenty-one Years, pp. 25-27.

⁶²Forward in Tennessee, Late Summer, 1945.

⁶³Tennessee Convention, 1895, p. 19.

Also on the mountain near the university was St. Mary's-on-the-Mountain established by the Sisters of St. Mary in the late nineteenth century to provide industrial training and elementary education for the mountain girls of the area. It, too, eventually lessened the industrial approach in favor of a more traditional high school curriculum.⁶⁴

In the 1920's, an attempt was made to provide special training for ministers who worked in rural areas. This resulted in the DuBose Memorial Church Training School at Monteagle. As in the case of St. Andrew's, this school was largely the result of the activity of William S. Claiborne. It trained men "of mature age for service, with emphasis upon rural work" and, thus, avoided competition with St. Luke's Theological School at the University of the South. The promoters of DuBose Training School believed that it was the only one of its kind in the nation, and letters of testimony were received from dioceses all over the country.⁶⁵ Although it served rural workers for a number of years, the school was unable to survive the

⁶⁴Unidentified clipping, Quintard Diary, 1897.

⁶⁵DuBose Memorial Church Training School, Monteagle, Tenn. (Sewanee: University Press, 1926), pp. 5-7.

depression and World War II. The diocese of Tennessee took it for use as a convention center and retreat.⁶⁶

Other church-related schools for girls continued to pour what money they could into their facilities in an effort to keep pace with improving state schools. For the first two decades of the twentieth century, the schools and the diocesan conventions continued to express optimism about these schools, but the trends of the roaring twenties apparently not only affected church membership but also the patronage of church schools. In the late nineteenth century, the schools which claimed connection to the church were St. Mary's, Memphis, which belonged to the Sisterhood of St. Mary; Fairmount School, Monteagle, owned and controlled privately; St. Katherine's School, Bolivar, whose title was vested in the convention but which was controlled independently; and Columbia Female Institute, Columbia, whose title was vested in the convention but whose management was directed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees.⁶⁷

By 1910, Columbia Institute had been improved physically by the addition of a dining room with a modern sanitary kitchen and a domestic science department. The old dining hall was converted to a gymnasium, assembly and

⁶⁶Tennessee Convention, 1946, p. 35.

⁶⁷Ibid., 1895, pp. 47-49.

recreation hall which seated 250. At this point, it reported having 17 teachers and officers and 162 pupils. Fairmount School at Monteagle reported 10 teachers and an enrollment of 86; St. Katherine's School, Bolivar, was serving 63 students with 8 teachers. St. Andrew's School, operated by the Order of the Holy Cross, was serving 55 students. The Sisters of St. Mary withdrew from their work in Memphis in 1910, but the school which bore their name continued with 97 students.⁶⁸

In 1920, the schools reported their enrollment as follows:

School	Boarding	Day
Columbia Institute	55	37
St. Katherine's	18	3
St. Mary's	23	126
St. Mary's-on-the-Mountain	60	8
Sewanee Military Academy	200	30
St. Andrew's	102	20. ⁶⁹

Although Columbia Institute was accredited by the state, it and St. Katherine's were operating at a loss and needed money for modernization.⁷⁰ In 1927, the bishop devoted his convention address to the "care and development of our Church schools," but, although he painted a positive picture for the delegates, the end of the diocesan

⁶⁸Ibid., 1911, pp. 38-40.

⁶⁹Ibid., 1920, p. 25.

⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 40-41, 49-53.

involvement in educational projects of this kind was not far away. Bishop Gailor pointed out that St. Mary's, Memphis, had moved to a better location, that Columbia Institute had mortgaged its property in order to make improvements, and that St. Katherine's was recovering from its reverses of a few years before. The thrust of his message was that Episcopalians should patronize Episcopal schools.⁷¹

Episcopalians, however, were not devoted enough to the idea of church-related schools to send their sons and daughters to them in sufficient numbers to keep the schools operating. In 1929, the convention was informed that the Columbia Institute was "a heavy charge upon the resources of the Convention, approximately twelve per cent of Budget 'B' being devoted to interest on the mortgage, insurance premiums, and street improvement obligations."⁷² Seven years later, Columbia Institute was still the largest item on the budget, and a recommendation that the property be sold for the amount of the mortgage was accepted.⁷³ As early as 1931, the convention decided that education was properly a function of the state and those private institutions that were sufficiently endowed or capitalized. By this time, the convention believed that neither Columbia Institute nor

⁷¹Ibid., 1927, pp. 40-43.

⁷²Ibid., 1929, p. 19.

⁷³Ibid., 1935, p. 39; 1936, p. 25.

St. Katherine's would become self-supporting or sufficiently endowed.⁷⁴

In the long run, the work of the church in Negro education was even less promising than that done for white Episcopalians. Hoffman Hall, the school for the training of black candidates for the priesthood, survived Bishop Quintard by only a few years. Black education was not abandoned, however, for the church turned to a project for black girls. In 1901, the bishop noted the establishment of St. Mary's Industrial School for Negro girls. Although the school was admitting only the most "worthy" girls, it was reportedly crowded to capacity with girls who did the work of the school and were trained in cooking, washing, ironing, and general housework. The bishop pointed out that the "idea that all work is noble and that they may feel proud of the useful lives they will lead in making the homes of others comfortable is one earnest lesson they are gradually learning."⁷⁵ The catalog of the school gave its aims in Social Darwinist terms:

We live in an age in which the struggle for existence is most intense, in an age when no one can expect even the least measure of success unless one can prove one's usefulness. We are not asked so much as what we know, but what we can do. It is not "book learning" that this age is looking for, but it is men

⁷⁴Ibid., 1931, Supplement, p. 20.

⁷⁵Ibid., 1901, p. 55.

and women who can use their hands as well as their minds for which this age has great need, and which it is looking for.

The aim of St. Mary's Training School is, therefore, not to turn out scholars, but to prepare the girl for a life of usefulness in both her home and community, to prepare her for the struggles in life and to fit her for those duties peculiar to women.⁷⁶

In 1910, the convention decided to sell the property of Hoffman Hall and move St. Mary's Industrial School to Memphis.⁷⁷ In its new location midway between Keeling and Mason in Tipton County, Hoffman-St. Mary's Industrial School began admitting boys as well as girls. It was located on a 110-acre farm where it began to build up its physical plant. By 1923, three buildings provided a dormitory, school rooms, a home for the principal and his family, and an assembly hall with additional classrooms.⁷⁸ The report for 1935 noted that the school enrolled 100 high school and 115 elementary students during the year and graduated 11 from high school and 16 from the eighth grade.⁷⁹ After the bishop's death, the school was renamed Gailor Industrial School, and was looked upon as "the only one of our projects among Negroes which seems to offer real opportunity."⁸⁰

⁷⁶Annual Catalog of St. Mary's Training School for Colored Girls, Nashville, Tenn., 1909-1910, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁷Tennessee Convention, 1910, p. 37.

⁷⁸Ibid., 1923, pp. 127-28.

⁷⁹Ibid., 1935, p. 92.

⁸⁰Ibid., 1939, p. 46.

The inability of the church in Tennessee to carry on a successful program of training black priests was emphasized in 1919 when a conference was held concerning such a school to be conducted jointly by Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi. The proposed school was to have been established at Memphis in conjunction with the largest black Episcopal congregation in the state. A curriculum comparable to that of the white theological schools was decided upon, and the meeting adjourned in the optimistic expectation that enough money would be raised by each concerned diocese to support the school.⁸¹ The proposal failed to materialize largely because no money was raised in Tennessee.⁸²

Even while the church was beginning to realize that it could not support its educational projects, Gailor's connection with the University of the South as vice-chancellor and later as chancellor advanced his identification with education. In 1908, he was appointed to an executive committee of "The Cooperative Education Association" in the state. The committee represented business, professional, and religious leaders and was best known for the work it did in campaigning for education.⁸³

⁸¹Ibid., 1920, pp. 143-45.

⁸²Ibid., 1921, pp. 66-67.

⁸³Folmsbee, Corlew, Mitchell, Tennessee, II, 246.

Gailor, as had his predecessors, often made education the subject of his addresses. When he spoke for education, he generally spoke in favor of a liberal education designed to fit the future needs of the nation in moral and intellectual leadership.

Concerned in particular with higher education, Gailor saw it as more than the technical training that was becoming popular. His concept was of education as a preparation for life which is "not to be measured and defined as an opportunity to make money, but as an opportunity to render service."⁸⁴ The men who truly helped the world, he believed, were not the men of action in battlefield, public service, or business, nor were they the inventors who made life's material pleasures greater. According to Gailor, the men who really brought the world to a better place were the educators who "have tried to create through schools and colleges and universities an atmosphere, a tone, a Zeitgeist, that will inspire men, in spite of themselves, to noble aims."⁸⁵ If education were concerned only with material gains in politics, economics, and social affairs, then there could be no thought for the future or real interest in the success or failure of the country or

⁸⁴Gailor, Ideals in Education, p. 3.

⁸⁵Gailor, "The Church and Education," Rice Institute Pamphlet, I (April, 1915), 42.

the success or happiness of the generation to follow. In looking at education in this way, the aims of church education became patriotic ideals.⁸⁶

Gailor saw the vision of a larger world and greater life as the true measure of the scholar and the justification of the university. He explained:

And this means religion; that a man is not a mere brute, nor a unit of sensation, but the child of God, akin to God, with capacity for infinite happiness and responsibility for infinite progress. And in this definition of education all true learning, all advance in real knowledge, has a religious value. The search for truth is itself a religious act; and the men who, honestly and sincerely, are studying and teaching Nature's secrets are servants of the Most High God.⁸⁷

The Episcopal Church in Tennessee gave up the idea of becoming a great backer of private, church-related education in favor of public-supported education supported by the religious training provided by the churches. With this realization of its new function came increased emphasis upon the Sunday school and the offering of church services to students on campuses of the state's schools. Before Bishop Gailor's death, the Episcopal Church was making an attempt to reach the students on the campuses at colleges and universities in Nashville and Knoxville. The Lawrence

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 42-43.

Tyson Memorial Center for work among college students in Knoxville opened in 1935.⁸⁸ The church did not lose sight of its goal, but it changed its approach to fit the times.

⁸⁸Tennessee Convention, 1925, p. 110; 1935, p. 43.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY, 1898-1935

The historic church, of which the Protestant Episcopal Church was a part, was founded, so Gailor believed, "to be an example and an inspiration of social righteousness to the world."¹ As he saw the office of bishop, it represented the universal spirit of Christianity and, therefore, transcended all differences of party, class, section, or spirit. The truly Catholic or universal bishop, by this definition, could not be partisan in matters of churchmanship or discriminatory in matters of society. He looked upon all baptized Christians as members of a universal church, and he believed that Episcopal rules and rubrics should be interpreted in a way that would emphasize the points of agreement among all Christian people and would cultivate charity, good will, and sympathetic understanding.² On the other hand, Gailor was unwilling to go any farther

¹Gailor, The Episcopal Church: Its History, Its Prayer Book, Its Ministry: Five Lectures (Milwaukee: Young Churchman Co., 1914), p. 113.

²Ibid., p. 114.

toward reunion of all Christian churches than had been agreed upon by the House of Bishops in 1886.³

During his episcopate, Gailor saw an increased emphasis placed upon the social meaning of the gospel and the social nature of its appeal. He looked upon the church as an example of a society of men and women where love and service were the ideal principles. The church, as an institution, had organized resistance to the "influences and forces, which have always been trying, as they are now trying, to make God a monster and man a mere selfish animal."⁴

Gailor's version of the social nature of the church and of Christianity was more moderate than that of some clergymen, particularly those associated with the "social gospel." Oftentimes, the social gospel was a conscious call for radical action. When its advocates called for reform of society as part of their religious responsibility to their fellow man, sometimes they sought a radical departure from the status quo. Gailor placed an historic construction upon social Christianity that identified it with the development of the church as an institution and which used the church as the model for society. Gailor, like Quintard, saw a social

³See above, pp. 166-67.

⁴Gailor, Episcopal Church, p. 113.

mission for the church but explained it in conservative terms.

The Episcopal Church and its spokesmen in Tennessee agreed that the salvation of society was a desirable goal and that it depended not only upon the salvation of individual souls but also upon collective action. They compared the church and its organization to society, but they also held views which deterred them from upsetting a social order that they had helped create. They used the church as an example of the benefits of conservatism. They saw a "natural" order which they believed should not be upset. They believed that some men were "naturally" superior and that the fittest survived. They talked of the brotherhood of man, but they believed that there were rightfully dominant races. The incompatibility of some of their views went unnoticed because they were so common.

The Episcopal Church in the twentieth century was the heir of the prior century's budding interest in the social problems of its time. When the church was reorganized in the twenties, for example, a special department was created to handle Christian social relations. It had a staff and special budget in the same way that other departments did.⁵ World peace, disarmament, marriage and

⁵See above, pp. 190-93; Albright, Episcopal Church, pp. 342-43; Manross, Episcopal Church, p. 355.

the family, the relationship of capital to labor, and other such topics concerned the church in the twentieth century. Religious communities, like the Sisters of St. Mary and the Order of the Holy Cross, and lay organizations, like the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the Girls Friendly, the Church Army, and the order of deaconesses, served to provide a means of social action among Episcopalians who wished to become more deeply involved than the ordinary parishioner.⁶

As members of a national church, Tennessee Episcopalians were affected by its direction. They supported some projects that were aimed at social ends. They favored education as a means to an improved society, but they were not numerous enough to support their own institutions. They came to back some state and federal action to bring about desirable social ends if it did not infringe upon their idea of personal liberties. They, for example, approved of laws on divorce--a matter of legislative and religious concern, and disapproved of prohibition laws--a matter of individual choice. They saw social evils in the times, but they tended to blame these on improper education. They disparaged class rivalries and looked for the support of those who succeeded in the

⁶Albright, Episcopal Church, pp. 295-325; Manross, Episcopal Church, pp. 318-20.

competitive economic system. When Episcopal clergymen gave instructions to their congregations, they usually dealt with matters of church polity and doctrine, because they and their congregations held similar views on society.

In 1935, at the last diocesan convention Gailor attended, he answered the question "What is Christian social service?" by maintaining that it was "an active ministry of sympathy and aid to the poor, the orphaned, the neglected, the sick and the troubled in spirit." It involved "cooperation with organizations and institutions for education, relief, and reformation, in all of which the people of the Church ought to be keenly interested." That churchmen were interested was borne out by reports from various parishes. Nine reported projects that ranged from free clinics, kindergartens, day nurseries, school lunch programs, and clubs for boys, girls and adults to sewing and cooking classes, relief work among unemployed of the parish, and the maintenance of community centers and orphanages.⁷

Like the national church, the Tennessee church had a special department for Christian social relations, and Gailor's activities for the national church put him in contact with other dioceses. In 1921, he presided at a conference of social workers in Milwaukee. He believed that

⁷Tennessee Convention, 1935, Supplement, pp. 6-7.

the attendance by so many dioceses (sixty-four) at this meeting gave good promise for the future of social work in the church.⁸

Gailor was aware that the church as a Christian organization had a social function in the world. He instructed the convention in this way:

Surely that Lord, who came to seek and save the lost souls of men, and yet gave His time and thought on earth to healing the sick, cleansing the lepers and casting out devils, intended that His Gospel should touch and influence the present life of men in all its phases. This very world must be a better world to live and work in. Its politics must be purer, its society more honest, its business more just, its recreation more wholesome for Christ having come into it. Hence the new awakening of the church to the importance and need of institutional work. Hence the clubs, the reading rooms, the manifold charities and philanthropies of the modern parish--all emanating from and inspired by the central spring and duty of the worship of God, but at the same time witnessing to the fact that religion is for man and must be interpreted and justified in human life. Hence it comes that the problems of social progress are the problems which must receive the preacher's attention, and for the solution of which the Church is rightly expected to make the high and lasting contribution. The social man--in his civic and industrial relations, with his domestic and political responsibilities--is the man we want to save. . . .⁹

Although this statement of social concern was not a radical denunciation of the social ills or a promise of God's kingdom on earth, it was more aggressive than those made in the nineteenth century. Bishop Quintard had felt it

⁸Gailor, Memories, pp. 238-39.

⁹Tennessee Convention, 1902, pp. 49-50.

necessary to spell out the aloofness of the church from civil affairs. That Gailor's statement preceded the General Convention's resolution on social justice by some years indicated the interplay between the national and local organizations.

When the word "social" was applied to the church's work with blacks in the state, an entirely new avenue of concern was revealed. As previously described, the Episcopal Church had expressed its responsibility for the black man in its society and had made attempts not only to provide him with the services of the church but also to provide for his education and uplift. On the other hand, it was unusual to find a priest like Calbraith Perry who minimized racial distinctions. The time was one in which segregation was common, North and South, and in which racial and ethnic standards were applied to immigration laws. Bishop Gailor, as much as if not more than Bishop Quintard, seemed to have been influenced by the racial trends that developed during this post Civil War period.¹⁰

Although he often confused race with cultural, linguistic, or religious groupings, Gailor conceived of the white race as superior. He was critical of the handling of

¹⁰See above, pp. 64-71, 126-28, 134-40; for the development of segregation, see C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (2nd rev. ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

emancipation.¹¹ Reconstruction, he believed, perpetuated mistakes which made such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan necessary. In his memoirs, he described the role of the Klan in Memphis:

For about two years after the war there was great disorder in Memphis, white men were disfranchised, and negroes paraded the streets with banners flying, calling themselves "The Pole Bearers" and "The Sons of Ham." A negro legislature ruled in Nashville. I remember on my way to school one morning, seeing a skull and crossbones in red paint on a fence, with K.K.K. (KuKluxKlan) [sic] and that was the beginning of the end of negro domination. It happened that I began my ministry, many years afterwards, in Pulaski, the town where the Klan was organized under Captain Lester, Calvin Jones and others. At first the Klan accomplished its purpose by playing on the superstitions of the negro with hardly any violence; and it gave the white men their legitimate control of things. Like all movements outside the ordinary process of law it degenerated into the opportunity for private vengeance.¹²

While Gailor applauded the work of Tuskegee and Hampton Institute, he also maintained that the southern racial problem was too complex to be solved by manual or industrial education. He saw it as a problem "of the co-existence in this country of two races--absolutely disparate in nature, motive, blood and tradition." His solution was based upon three alternatives, two of which, as a Christian, he rejected: amalgamation "in a mongrel and incompetent people," and mutual destruction. He preferred the third alternative which was "permanent and peaceful

¹¹Gailor, Memories, p. 17.

¹²Ibid.

association and co-efficiency." To achieve this he advocated complete and utter separation of the two races in a social way and elimination of the ignorant and idle Negro from politics. He did not advocate blanket disfranchisement since he believed that "every Southern State would gladly give the suffrage to property owning and property producing blacks, just as Tennessee did before the civil war." On the other hand, he maintained that the granting of the right of suffrage to blacks, en masse, was a "crime and a blunder" committed for partisan gains.¹³

Bishop Gailor's contention that segregation and disfranchisement were necessary in civil society carried over to his concept of the black's role in the church. In addressing the convention, he asserted that one reason, and perhaps the main reason, work among blacks languished was the church's system of integration. He said:

We would not welcome the day when the church communicants among negroes were numbered by the thousands and their representatives would have the right to fill the seats in this Convention. We shrink from the thought that people of another race should rule over us in ecclesiastical affairs. We respect our own race; and that is not an earth-born prejudice, but a God-given instinct. A white man, who is not jealous for the purity of his blood and supremacy of his race is a degenerate.¹⁴

¹³Gailor, Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, Episcopal Bishop of Tennessee, Writing to the New York Journal (n.p., n.d.), pp. 2-3.

¹⁴Tennessee Convention, 1907, p. 40.

He proposed providing full services of the church for blacks through the auspices of a black missionary bishop who would serve all Negro churchmen united without regard to diocesan boundaries. Disagreement about the ways and means continued, however; a diocesan committee on church work among Negroes preferred the idea of electing suffragan bishops without title or jurisdiction to serve within the diocese, but recommended the continuation of the convocation system on the grounds that black churchmen did not like the idea of suffragans.¹⁵

Although not recognized for its successes, the convocation system prevailed. Under it, representatives of the Negro churches, with the bishop presiding, met annually and discussed their progress and methods of work. They did not have the right to legislate, and they had only nominal representation in the diocesan convention. The bishop recognized its weakness as being that it would "hold out to the negro the right to talk, but no right to do anything." He criticized it as, at best, a "temporary expedient devised to stave off the real issue."¹⁶

At the 1908 convention, Bishop Gailor announced that Holy Trinity Church in Nashville had been given to Negro churchmen for their use. He also noted that, while at the

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 40-41.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 40.

meeting of the General Convention, he had changed his mind about the practicability of the Negro missionary bishop. He learned of opposition to this proposal among Negro churchmen, but he was also warned that the missionary system might lead to the formation of an independent Afro-American Episcopal Church. He announced, therefore, that the canon providing for suffragans passed at the previous General Convention was probably sufficient.¹⁷ In the meantime, the diocese made canonical provision for the practice they had been following of holding a separate convocation of Negro churchmen in the diocese.¹⁸ The bishop's fear of Negro domination seemed exaggerated in the face of the fact that, during his episcopate, there were never as many as a thousand Negro communicants of the Episcopal Church in Tennessee.

Bishop Gailor took a strong stand against lynching and pronounced it barbaric. In 1915, he wrote a letter, which was published in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, protesting the lynching of a Negro who was being taken from

¹⁷ Ibid., 1908, pp. 48-49.

¹⁸ Ibid., 1909, pp. 23-24.

Memphis to Somerville to be tried for murder.¹⁹ Several years earlier, he had been "horrified" to see the bodies of two Negroes hanging in the public square in Newbern. He noted that neither the Negroes nor the men who had lynched them were of the town. His comment was:

It was an insult and crime to make Newberne [sic] the theatre of such a spectacle with which the citizens had no sympathy. Yet, this is the way in which lawless men from remote districts too often make our respectable Southern towns the scenes of crime and violence.²⁰

In 1918, he attended a meeting of citizens to protest against the lynchings and other outrages perpetrated in Tennessee during the war years.²¹

In much the same way that Quintard had disseminated the southern reaction to racial questions in his day, so Gailor did for a later generation. He often found that his casual remarks about southern Negroes gained far more

¹⁹Ibid., 1915, p. 96. In 1916, in Memphis, violence and lawlessness were at a height. A Memphis historian noted that progressives "failed to increase the humanity of the whites" and gave a particularly brutal lynching as an example. William D. Miller, Memphis During the Progressive Era, 1900-1917 (Memphis: Memphis State University Press; Madison: American History Research Center, 1957), pp. 190-95.

²⁰Gailor, Memories, p. 167. For the violence against blacks that stemmed from their gains during the World War I years, see Lee E. Williams and Lee E. Williams II, Anatomy of Four Race Riots: Racial Conflict in Knoxville, Elaine (Arkansas), Tulsa and Chicago, 1919-1921 (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1972).

²¹Tennessee Convention, 1918, p. 71.

attention than the prepared addresses he made on church matters or other civil affairs. In 1924, he commented:

I have heard many men talk about the Negro Problem, as they call it, but they do not try for any real solution. For the most part, they act like ostriches, blinding their eyes and leaving it to their posterity. And it is a problem. The Negro is here to stay. He has been made an American citizen and the White man and the Black man are going to live together in this country for centuries to come. My solution of the problem is to awaken in the Negro a pride in his own race and a satisfaction with the work, that he, as a Negro, is able and given to do--Yes! pride in his own home, in his own leaders, in his own means of recreation and in his own labor: and then he will not want to be in all things like the white man, and a mere imitator of the White man's ways. But that can come only by education--the right kind of education based on moral integrity, rooted in faith in God.²²

The work of the diocese with Negroes tended to rise and fall with the leadership that was available. With an energetic archdeacon pushing the project locally and in the conventions the work thrived. While E. T. Demby, the first black priest to be elevated to the order of suffragan, for example, was serving as archdeacon in Tennessee, several convocations were held. In 1906, the first held at Hoffman Hall was regarded as a great success.²³ After 1919, however, when Demby was called to be the suffragan for Arkansas, years passed without a Negro convocation and without Negro representation at the diocesan convention.

²²Ibid., 1925, pp. 55-56.

²³Gailor, Memories, p. 176.

When a resolution presented in 1928 proposed that Negro churches be represented by their minister and one lay delegate, the convention responded by reactivating the separate convocation.²⁴ In 1935, eleven missions were connected with the convocation of Negro churchmen. In Memphis, Emmanuel Church with 102 communicants was still the largest congregation; in Nashville, Holy Trinity with 82 was next; St. Paul's, Mason, claimed 52 communicants; and, in Sewanee, St. Paul's-on-the-Mountain had 35 members. Smaller congregations existed at Bolivar, Burlison, Chattanooga, Columbia, Franklin, and Jackson.²⁵

At Gailor's last convention, a group of Negro churchmen addressed the meeting, thanked it for its past effort, but expressed their dissatisfaction "with the results of past efforts, for among the several hundred thousands of Negroes who are of the population of the great State of Tennessee, less than one thousand have been won for this great branch of the Catholic Church." They called for a more progressive and intensive program which would include the appointment of an archdeacon for work with black churchmen, the building of parish houses at all or most of the present parishes, filling existing parish vacancies, and expending more interest in the work of Hoffman-St. Mary's.

²⁴Tennessee Convention, 1928, pp. 17, 30.

²⁵Ibid., 1935, pp. 11-14, 103-27.

The resolution was referred to the bishop and council for action.²⁶

A spokesman for the Afro-Americans in the church explained that they did not wish to get out from under the supervision of the white bishops. Instead, they hoped to obtain the supervision of the white bishops and get out from under the domination of the diocesan conventions. As they saw it, the conventions were congregational whereas they sought a true Episcopal form.²⁷ The 1935 convention in Tennessee did, however, respond to the requests of the Negro delegation in at least one respect. They approved a proposed building program for Hoffman-St. Mary's.²⁸

Although women in the twentieth century were gaining a larger role in society, they made few advances toward active participation in the leadership of the church. Few churchmen, however, were as outspokenly against the "new" womanhood as this chancellor of the University of the South:

Not without justice have these disgracers of their sex been styled a "Shrieking Sisterhood"--for they seem to be combined for the purpose of crying down those well-admitted distinctions of social life which, after

²⁶Ibid., pp. 32-33.

²⁷George F. Bragg, History of the Afro-American Group of the Episcopal Church (Baltimore: Church Advocate Press, 1922), pp. 293-94.

²⁸Tennessee Convention, 1935, p. 38.

long years of servitude and neglect, have given to woman the right to reign in the affections of the ruder sex, but not to mingle in their politics, or to legislate for their benefit. Where the unseemly ambition of these viragos is to stop no one can tell.²⁹

Although Bishop Gailor made few comments on the role of women, neither he nor the diocesan convention indicated a desire to enlarge the responsibilities of women beyond their traditional charitable and educational projects. The attempt to get the word "male" removed from canonical qualifications for vestryman did not fail by vote, but action was deferred from convention to convention until the movement lost its impetus.³⁰ No woman served as lay delegate to the convention, but, in the 1920's, women's names began to appear on committees of the diocesan convention. A money-raising committee, the committee on religious education, and the social service commission each had at least one woman in its organization.³¹ Gailor, as had Quintard, approved of the special work that women did as members of the religious communities or as deaconesses. At least one deaconess was canonically attached to the diocese.³²

²⁹William M. Green, Address Delivered before the Board of Trustees of the University of the South (Sewanee: Mountain News Co., Printers, 1878), p. 7.

³⁰Tennessee Convention, 1920, p. 68.

³¹Ibid., p. 6.

³²Gailor to Anne Wharton, Jan. 18-Jan. 23, 1912, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, Yeatman-Polk Collection.

As late as 1934, Bishop Gailor reported that, although he disapproved of the election of women to the National Council of the church, he refrained from expressing active opposition.³³ This move was sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary, which was becoming more active in the twentieth century and sponsoring more projects of social service than they had earlier. The enlarged scope of their work included Christian social service and religious education, as well as missions and church extension.³⁴ In this way, they placed women on these committees in the diocese and in the National Council. In the parishes, the Woman's Auxiliary also sponsored other groups such as the Girls' Friendly Society and Daughters of the King.³⁵

The prohibition question, which plagued both state and nation during most of the first two decades of the twentieth century, was one in which Gailor's position was contrary to that of church leaders of many other denominations.³⁶ Gailor opposed prohibition as being contrary to temperance and an infringement of personal freedom. He admitted that intemperance was an evil,

³³Tennessee Convention, 1935, p. 42.

³⁴Ibid., 1920, p. 23.

³⁵Ibid., 1929, p. 88.

³⁶See Barrus, et al., Cumberland Presbyterians, pp. 252-54; Farish, Circuit Rider, pp. 306-24; Harrell, Christian America, pp. 177-83; Spain, Zion, pp. 174-97. See, also, Isaac, Prohibition.

although probably not the greatest evil of the day, but he failed to see prohibition as anything but the last resort:

There is no doubt that the average American saloon is a disgrace to modern, yes to any, civilization. Therefore in a community where the masses of the people are ignorant and morally weak; where the saloon keepers are greedy and unscrupulous, and where the authorities prove and confess themselves unable or unwilling to enforce reasonable restrictive laws, the absolute prohibition of the sale of liquors may easily become the last resort of good men. It may be that all our communities are in this case, and that universal prohibition is the only recourse left to the people at large for self-protection.³⁷

He did not believe, however, that this point had been reached. He had not "yet reached the point of confessing the failure of our social institutions and our idea of personal liberty, which such legislation would imply."³⁸ One should not hastily pass judgment upon the moral sincerity of others, particularly, he believed, when it came to dictating "to the members of civilized communities the details of their daily living, what they shall eat or drink, or how they may amuse themselves."³⁹ Gailor expressed admiration of a fellow bishop's project of setting up decent workingmen's clubs in New York as a counterbalance to the "prohibition craze."⁴⁰

³⁷Gailor, Memories, pp. 332-33.

³⁸Ibid., p. 333.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 192.

Because such a "drastic law as Prohibition, imposing a special theory of morals upon a community, adopted by a bare majority vote, must become a provocation of deception and lying and disrespect for law" and because "intemperate legislation is as bad as the intemperate use of food and drink," he advised that communities should decide the matter "by practical unanimity of opinion."⁴¹ After the passage of the prohibition amendment, Gailor's opinion was still much the same. He judged that only if it made for "more virtue, more temperance, more honesty, more charity and good feeling and kindness, more respect for law," should it be continued. As he saw it, prohibition made "for the absence of these things, for dishonesty, hypocrisy, disrespect for the law."⁴² Statements like these, of course, made him unpopular with the champions of prohibition.

Gailor's ideal of personal freedom made him an admirer of John Stuart Mill's essay "On Liberty," but it was also connected to his concept of Christianity. He believed that Christianity "developed and emphasized the personal freedom and the personal responsibility of the individual man and woman."⁴³ He was, therefore, seldom an advocate of

⁴¹Ibid., p. 333.

⁴²Ibid., p. 334.

⁴³Gailor, Church and Education, pp. 40-41; Gailor, Memories, pp. 49-50, 70.

restrictive legislation, civil or religious. One area in which the church was willing to legislate was in the matter of marriage and divorce. The General Convention had taken up the matter as early as 1808 when it passed a resolution that ministers should not remarry any divorced person with the exception of the innocent party in a divorce on the grounds of adultery. In 1868, that resolution was enacted into canon law. Attempts to clarify and modify the position were made in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1877, it was provided that no minister should say marriage rites for any person who had a divorced husband or wife still living, if such husband or wife were divorced for a cause which arose after the marriage, and all such cases of remarriage were to be referred to bishops for full inquiry. Later, the requirement of a year's wait before remarriage was added as well as the stipulation that bishops must seek legal advice based on court records. In 1922, an added clause made it unlawful for a church member to be a party to any marriage which it was unlawful for a minister to solemnize. In 1931, the divorce and remarriage position of the church was further reinforced by requiring ministers to give public and private instruction of the nature and responsibilities of marriage and to act as a conciliator in cases of marital problems.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Addison, Episcopal Church, pp. 327-28.

Although much of the earliest church legislation had taken place during the episcopacy of Bishop Quintard, the diocese of Tennessee had not shown much interest in the question, apparently regarding divorce as a problem foreign to their section. During Bishop Gailor's episcopacy, however, it became obvious that this was a problem that could affect Tennesseans as well.

Gailor used three guiding principles in the controversies that arose from such legislation. First, he held that, when biblical law was contravened by civil law, the church was bound to follow the first. The scriptural law he found in Matthew 19:9: "And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery." Secondly, the church as a divine institution could legislate for the good of her people. Finally, however, the

church's ethical instinct will, therefore, deal with principles rather than with details. She will endeavor to educate the conscience of her people "to reject the evil and choose the good," and whatsoever things are pure, true, just, lovely and of good report.⁴⁵

He rejected inflexible rules and mechanical laws in questions of marriage and divorces as well as in other areas. The church should not substitute rules for exercise

⁴⁵Tennessee Convention, 1899, pp. 69-70.

of conscience. No specific prohibition against dancing, card-playing, theatregoing, and the like should be involved in canonical law, and neither should the church forget the human factor or the "personal equation in every case."⁴⁶

In 1904, the diocesan convention made an attempt to bring canonical and civil law into closer relationship by petitioning the state legislature to pass more stringent divorce laws and to reduce the number of causes for which divorces might be granted.⁴⁷ Two years later, Bishop Gailor was appointed chairman of the Tennessee delegation which attended and participated in the deliberations of the Congress on Uniform Divorce Laws in Washington, D.C.⁴⁸ Again, in 1915, the convention passed resolutions dealing with marriage and divorce. One recommended that the state pass laws requiring that all marriages be performed by ordained ministers and the other once more called for more stringent marriage and divorce laws.⁴⁹

In 1920, the bishop-coadjutor complained that he had received a telegram from a layman requesting permission for a priest to perform a marriage for him as the innocent party of a divorce granted on statutory grounds. Bishop Beatty

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., 1904, p. 39.

⁴⁸Ibid., 1906, p. 33.

⁴⁹Ibid., 1915, p. 70.

made a point of telling the convention about the request because it was the second he had received in ten days. Beatty pointed out that, since the canons of the church were clear, apparently the parish priests were not explaining them to their congregations.⁵⁰

The trend toward forming special committees or departments dealing with social problems was noted in connection with the effect that the social gospel had upon the churches.⁵¹ In Tennessee, this trend was felt in 1911 when the motion was passed to appoint a standing committee consisting of the bishop, three presbyters, and three laymen to study and report upon social and industrial conditions in Tennessee and to cooperate with other such agencies in the church and state.⁵² In 1915, this committee, which became the Social Service Commission, recommended the resolution on marriage and divorce laws. It also recommended that the state require health certificates before marriage, but this was not taken up by the convention.⁵³ The commission reported that social service work was being done by churchmen in all the major cities of Tennessee. In 1916, it

⁵⁰Ibid., 1921, pp. 133-34.

⁵¹See above, p. 5.

⁵²Tennessee Convention, 1911, p. 74.

⁵³Ibid., 1915, p. 70.

reported that many Episcopalians led in the social service work in the state, and many of them attended a conference on charities and corrections held in Chattanooga. At this conference, all the officers and most of the directors were communicants of the church; several were members of the Social Service Commission.⁵⁴

Within a few years, the Social Service Commission was able to report on several projects that were undertaken in its name or in the name of charity by local groups and parishes. At Monterey, for example, a training school for social workers, nurses, and missionaries and a hospital were being operated. Several projects, in addition to St. Mary's-on-the-Mountain and St. Andrew's, were dealing with industrial and agricultural training for the underprivileged in their areas. The Church Home in Memphis was continuing its work with the approval of the commission. Individual workers were visiting penal institutions, conducting experimental farms for paroled prisoners, working with the Anti-Tuberculosis League, and conducting settlement houses. The commission reported with some pride that the parish houses throughout the diocese were becoming social service centers.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Ibid., 1916, p. 68.

⁵⁵Ibid., 1917, pp. 72-73.

In 1920, the convention spent part of its meeting discussing the control of venereal diseases, the first time such a matter had come before it. Although the discussion was not recorded, the convention adopted a resolution giving the Social Service Commission power to take action in accordance with it.⁵⁶

A Church Service League was formed to promote the training of the young in Christian service.⁵⁷ The Young Peoples' Service League, with the motto "To Know Christ and To Make Him Known," gave service to parish, community, diocese, nation, and world. At the parish level, for example, young people volunteered to act as acolytes, crucifers, choristers, church school teachers, and organists, or to perform some special service such as cleaning up and decorating. On the community level, they filled baskets for the needy, visited the old and ill, gave receptions for college students, and entertained with dances. On the diocesan level, they provided service by packing boxes for missions and attending diocesan meetings. On the level of world action, they contributed to missions and relief.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Ibid., 1920, p. 49.

⁵⁷Ibid., 1921, p. 60.

⁵⁸Tennessee Churchman, June, 1924.

Although the depression curtailed the work that the church did in social service, several of the charitable institutions were able to continue their work throughout the period of crisis and beyond. The Church Home at Memphis and St. John's Orphanage were among the survivors.

Bishop Gailor was conscious of the developing trend toward urbanization in the state and nation. At the turn of the century, he recognized the difficulty presented the church by the shift:

Among the problems is, first, the fact that the city is the real center of modern human life, and that, however desirable it may be to plant missions in country places, the permanent and lasting influence is going to be erected in the cities, to which the country is tributary. More and more the Agricultural South is feeling the movement towards modern city life, and, if we are to do our best work, we must first get our city parishes thoroughly alive to their responsibilities. This policy is not only in accord with the trend of present-day conditions, but it is primitive and Apostolic. The country is far more apt to be affected by the city, than the city is by the country, and we must concentrate more of our attention upon the masses of population.⁵⁹

Although the bishop's words were prophetic, they did not curtail the work that was done in rural areas. In fact, the work grew considerably in the first two decades of the century, particularly around Sewanee. In part, the growth in that area was due to the location of the University of the South and its theological school. Students in the

⁵⁹Tennessee Convention, 1900, p. 11.

theological schools were anxious to do missionary work, and they usually were able to do it close to their schools. When Gailor was in theological school in New York, he performed some social services for churches in its urban areas. Sewanee, however, was two hours distant from a city; therefore, the social work that was done by students was in a rural locale.

Another source of growth around the Sewanee area was in the work of an energetic archdeacon, William S. Claiborne.⁶⁰ He was a dedicated missionary who not only gathered congregations of Episcopalians about him but he also raised money to keep them going, at least for a while. Claiborne did work in such towns and communities as Cowan, Winchester, Sherwood, Gipson's Switch, Jump-Off, Rossville, Etowah, Alto, and Kingsport as well as Sewanee. He raised money for his work by promoting it to churchmen in the state and in other states such as New York and Pennsylvania. In the process, he alerted other areas to the existence of another special group in Tennessee--the mountaineers. His printed report to those who donated money to support his work in the mountains of Tennessee was complete with pictures of rude log cabins, barren hillsides, barefoot

⁶⁰See above, pp. 237-39.

congregations, simple wooden chapels, and "typical" mountain people.⁶¹

The Emerald-Hodgson Hospital was one of the special projects for the people of Sewanee and the mountain folk. Established in 1899, it was set up in a building on the domain of the university donated by the Telfair Hodgsons. In 1912, with another building added, it became the Emerald-Hodgson Hospital. Later, a doctor's house, nurses' home, and maternity wing were added. The hospital did work for people of the area whether or not they were able to pay, and a promotional bulletin assured its patrons and donors that it ministered to everyone without distinction as to race or creed.⁶² In 1934-35, seventy-eight percent of its work was charitable.⁶³ Although several of the mountain missions did not survive, the hospital continued to serve both mountaineers and Sewaneeans.

In the 1930's, the archdeacon of East Tennessee reported that he was doing interesting and encouraging work among the various Civilian Conservation Corps camps in the area. He held religious services, distributed Bibles and Prayer Books, and provided library books, victrolas and

⁶¹Claiborne, Twenty-one Years, pp. 5-7, passim.

⁶²Stuart L. Tyson, The Hospital for the Tennessee Highlanders (Sewanee: University Press, n.d.), p. 11.

⁶³Forward in Tennessee, Jan., 1937.

records, games, and puzzles. Much of his work was supported by service groups at the various parishes.⁶⁴

Bishop Gailor called himself a Christian nationalist. He looked upon the nation as a moral personality with its origin in God. It, therefore, justified its existence by its contribution to the well-being of other nations. He said, "As a citizen of the United States, I am declaring my real patriotism by insisting upon my Nation's obligation of service to mankind."⁶⁵ He approved the religious sanction that had been given to the American acquisition of territory. He looked upon the beginning of the twentieth century as the witness of "a great awakening among Christians of the missionary spirit." He thought that "the Nation itself, to a remarkable degree, took the altruistic suggestion from the public utterances of President McKinley" and that

. . . whatever be the imperfections and failures in her practical realization of the ideal, to the government of the United States belongs the unique and immortal distinction of having been the first government of the world to declare and put on record that its unsurpassed prowess on many fields and many seas is to be used not for self-aggrandizement or for greed and oppression, but for the welfare and happiness of mankind.⁶⁶

⁶⁴Tennessee Convention, 1935, pp. 93-94.

⁶⁵Ibid., 1928, p. 41.

⁶⁶Ibid., 1902, p. 46.

Although Gailor often used literary and historical references in putting across an idea, he explained his Christian nationalism for young people in forceful and simple terms:

I love to think of our country. I think I could prove to you that that branch to which in God's providence we belong, that great Anglican communion-- why she's done more to make patriotism, the love of one's native land, part of one's religion than any form of Christianity in the world. And so I love to think of our country. Is patriotism a dead issue? Are politics only a scramble for spoils--a seeking for public office? Do any of us love our country? If we do, what is the problem, the question, the tremendous demand made on man in this country today? It is to see if we cannot increase the moral and spiritual force upon which this country and these institutions depend. I tell you, everything we have that is best in our civilization is Christian. I could prove it if I had time.⁶⁷

The bishop and his family were in Paris at the beginning of World War I, and he became an active supporter of the Allied cause. In 1916, he attended a meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York, to protest against "crimes of the German Government in its treatment of the Belgian people."⁶⁸ He served as chairman of the Food Conservation Commission of the Episcopal Church and was involved in the problem of providing chaplains for the war effort. He made talks on subjects appropriate to the war effort: "Liberty Bonds,"

⁶⁷Gailor, "The Young Man's Opportunity," St. Andrew's Cross, XXI (Dec. 1906-Jan. 1907), 50.

⁶⁸Gailor, Memories, p. 211.

"Democracy," "French Orphans," and "War and Patriotism"; he took up collections for the Red Cross; and he wrote countless letters of recommendation for women who were offering to serve in the Red Cross. He turned down an offer from the Y.M.C.A. to serve the army in Paris, but his son volunteered his services in England and served as a lieutenant in the American army.⁶⁹

In the postwar years, he supported the ideal of world peace and disarmament. Although he left no record of his feelings about the League of Nations, he apparently supported the course of voluntarism in world peace. In 1922, he addressed the convention on the problems of the times:

And here let me say that the problems of our time are not vastly different from the problems of other times. Every age imagines that the foes of the Church are more aggressive and powerful than ever before; but there has never been a generation since Pentecost when the Church did not have to fight against unbelief and unrighteousness. And in spite of all the muck-raking and lamentation in some quarters, people today are not worse than they were. On the contrary, in many, and those the most important respects, they are better. There is more altruism--more brotherly interest in others--more public spirit than ever before. There is a more widely diffused sense of responsibility for the welfare of the world at large. The Conference in Washington on the limitation of armaments shows it. The generous offerings for the relief of the starving people of Russia and the Near East shows it. The

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 213-16.

distinct growth of popular desire to be fair and just in dealing with all nations--Germany not excepted--proves it.⁷⁰

The bishop also failed to be alarmed by the changing styles of dress which some believed were a symptom of moral decay. To Gailor, dress was dictated by class and economics. He maintained that it was "not fair to judge all people by the eccentricities of the frivolous and shallow-minded." Good people and gentle people, he said, would "be good and gentle in spite of fashions, and vulgar folk will show themselves vulgar under any and all circumstances."⁷¹

His own optimistic outlook on the problems of the age was explained by his instructions to the convention:

What, then, is the attitude of a Christian towards the confusion of the age? I say first of all it must be that of charity. We must not be hasty in passing judgment upon our fellowmen and women. . . .

Christianity is not negative but positive. It is not best exhibited by declaring against evil but by pointing out and encouraging goodness; not by railing at vice, but by inspiring virtue. A good Christian ought to be more busy in cultivating and developing high qualities of character than in discussing and denouncing the kinds and ways of sin.⁷²

Bishop Gailor personally responded to the crisis of the depression in the same way that more than twenty million other Americans did: in 1932, he voted for the Democratic

⁷⁰Tennessee Convention, 1922, p. 51.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 52-53.

candidate. Before the new president took office, Gailor was witness to a run on a Memphis bank by panic stricken depositors, but he took heart that Franklin D. Roosevelt began the inaugural day by receiving Holy Communion at an early morning service in an Episcopal Church. During that month of activation for the New Deal, Gailor made an address at a mass meeting held in Memphis to protest against Hitler's treatment of the Jews in Germany.⁷³

To the bishop, the trying times of the depression seemed to offer an object lesson to the American people. One lesson that the bishop drew was that

We have been suffering . . . from a tyrannical individualism, which has made commerce a selfish war of unlimited competition, and has largely degraded trade into speculation, deprived labor of its self-respecting freedom, and given capital a perilous power of social and political dominion. And, therefore, a world which had surrendered itself in many ways to the mere material valuation of life, glorying in the new discoveries and inventions and means of luxury in the physical order has been made to suffer for its spiritual blindness and indifference, and we can only hope that men and women may be led to realize with the psalmist, that "It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn God's law," and, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."⁷⁴

He also came to the conclusion that, despite the economic complexities and the varieties of economic theories that placed blame on certain classes or groups, "the

⁷³Ibid., 1934, pp. 55-57.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 45-46.

ultimate control is in the hands of individual persons, and the primary appeal of Christianity is to the individual." Therefore, "personal character, honesty, integrity, the sense of honor, the response of brotherhood, of fellowship" meant more than any scientific, economic, or material advance that the country could make. The final lesson, of course, was that "the foundation and security of these moral ideals is faith in God; and the power to realize in some measure these ideals in the every day life of men and women may be given by the grace of God."⁷⁵

At his last diocesan convention, the seventy-eight year old bishop reiterated his belief that, while the Christian religion had the power to mold the social and political character of the world, "its real force" was in its work from within "by influencing and transforming human souls." He would not claim it as a "cure for social misery that can be applied from the outside." But, although the work was with the individual, the bishop also saw the fundamental challenge of the Christian gospel in the fact of human fellowship. He said:

We are members one of another. That is the Gospel. There is no doubt about it. But will professing Christians live up to it, or try to live up to it? Will good men be content to be less wealthy, less

⁷⁵Ibid.

powerful, less secluded, if only they can give more health, greater freedom, and larger opportunity to the whole body of the people? Can we convince the strong men, the natural leaders in the world of commerce and industry, that the material wealth of the world is valuable, only so far as it may be produced, distributed and used for the salvation of the lives of men?⁷⁶

Although Bishop Gailor witnessed the failure of laissez faire and voluntarism as the means to the better world Christ's coming seemed to promise, he never changed his belief that the church was the means by which the promise of American life could be secured.

⁷⁶Ibid., 1935, pp. 44-45.

CHAPTER VIII

A GUIDE TO RESEARCH IN LOCAL RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Students in advanced history or history honors classes are often expected to complete a research project as a part of the course requirements. Because this can be a baffling occasion to those who have little experience in research and writing and because instructors can not give students as much guidance as they may need, this section is presented as a guide for students who are interested in doing a research project on a social phase of church history. The suggestions are based upon some standard guides and the writer's experience in preparing this study of the Episcopal Church in Tennessee. While not a complete handbook or manual, this section proposes some specific and general guidelines for research and writing in a phase of local religious development. In the main, the references are related to the particular research done for this study. Some of the suggestions are so general in nature, however, that they can be applied to any historical research and writing project.

Regardless of the subject, the researcher should have several tools of writing and research at hand. He should have a basic style manual. One frequently used in history courses is Kate L. Turabian's A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations.¹ The University of Chicago Manual of Style is now in its twelfth edition and is more detailed than Turabian's, but it is primarily for writers who are preparing books for publication.² The Harvard Guide to American History gives both style and bibliographic information.³ It is not as detailed in rules of citation and bibliography as Turabian, but it contains a wealth of information for historians, experienced and aspiring. The Harbrace College Handbook includes a section on writing a library paper which could be applied to historical writing and also offers a good survey of the basics of good English usage.⁴ The Modern Language Association's Style Sheet is another commonly used style

¹(3rd ed., rev.; Chicago: Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1967).

²A Manual of Style for Authors, Editors, and Copy-writers (12th ed., rev.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

³Oscar Handlin, et al. (New York: Atheneum, 1954).

⁴John C. Hodges and Mary E. Whitten (6th ed.; New York: Harcourt Brace & World, Inc., 1967).

manual.⁵ Sometimes the style sheet or manual is prescribed by the instructor or department.⁶

Another general tool which no writer can be without is a standard dictionary. It provides information not only about word meanings and spelling but also on hyphenation, word division, synonyms, and pronunciation. Related to the dictionary and useful when the same word keeps reappearing is a thesaurus for use in quickly locating synonyms.⁷

Since the researcher in church history is dealing with a specialized field, he should also have access to the literature peculiar to that church group. In the case of the Episcopal Church, the Book of Common Prayer is a must. This provides the calendar for the church year, gives charts for determination of movable feasts and holy days, and furnishes the liturgy for nearly all the services of

⁵The MLA Style Sheet (2nd ed.; New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1970).

⁶Others might include Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, The Modern Researcher (New York: Harbinger Book, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1957); Wood Gray, et al., Historian's Handbook: A Key to the Study and Writing of History (2nd ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964); Sherman Kent, Writing History (2nd ed., rev.; New York: Appleton Century Crofts Division of Meredith Publishing Company, 1967).

⁷See American College Dictionary (1947); Standard College Dictionary (1963); Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, College Edition (1964); Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (1963); Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1966); Roget's International Thesaurus (3 vols., 3rd ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1962).

the church. The King James version of the Bible, with concordance, may prove of value to studies of many Protestant denominations as well as the Episcopal Church. A description of the major tenets of the church under study is another indispensable reference aid. Look magazine put out a series of articles on religion in the United States which have been collected and extended as Religions in America: A Completely Revised and Up-to-Date Guide to Churches and Religious Groups in the United States.⁸ The bishops of the Episcopal Church under study in this paper wrote on the church and its doctrine, but more recent guides include The Episcopal Church: Its Message for Men of Today and Franklin Cole Ferguson's "Inquirers' Notes: An Introduction to the Episcopal Church."⁹

One of the major distinguishing features of the scholarship involved in research projects is balanced objectivity. Because church history often has non-objective significance for writers, it presents unusual difficulties to a would-be researcher. Years ago, when Cotton Mather wrote his Magnalia Christi, he reaped no criticism for portraying the history of the New World as the result of

⁸Leo Rosten, ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963).

⁹George Parkin Atwater (New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1944); Murfreesboro, Tenn., 1973. (Mimeographed.)

divine or providential intervention.¹⁰ When the present-day researcher becomes involved with church history, he may find that church leaders or spokesmen still view the world in Mather's terms. When the researcher is dealing with his own religious affiliation, it may be particularly difficult to concentrate on the human features. A recent reviewer of a book on Florida Baptists, for example, noted the author's failure to cover some of the more controversial disputes in that denomination's experience in Florida. He said:

While this book is a useful compedium of who, what, when, and where, it is not a perceptive volume for the serious student of the southern religious mind. It was written to Florida's Southern Baptists and for them.¹¹

The scholarly approach dictates that the researcher be careful to avoid becoming the devout, unquestioning supporter of the faith and yet, on the other hand, that he avoids adopting a hypercritical position. The church may be considered a divine institution, but it is peopled by men who are subject to the pressures and stresses of their time just as certainly as man's other institutions are. For this reason, the student of church history must be careful not only to examine fully the records, proceedings, and words of

¹⁰Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England from Its First Planting in the Year 1620 unto the Year of Our Lord 1698 (2 vols.; New York: Russell & Russell, 1853).

¹¹Wayne Flynt review of A History of Florida Baptists, by Edward Earl Joiner, in the Journal of Southern History, XXXIX (May, 1973), 323-24.

the major figures but also to portray them in their social and intellectual milieu. Sometimes this can be done in a way that is historically accurate and still pleasing to the religious group.¹²

The first step in the project is finding a workable topic for the type of paper that is to result. For a term paper or research project to be completed in a limited time, the topic must be less extensive than that of this study of the social attitudes of Tennessee Episcopalians. Two criteria should be considered when deciding upon a topic-- the desired length of the study and the availability of source material. Possibilities for study include examination of the church in relation to some issue such as prohibition, evolution, racial segregation, war or peace, depression, or labor unionization. To further limit the topic, a specific period might be stressed, that is, Reconstruction, the Twenties, or the Great Depression. These topics may have interested a particular church group enough that it took some position, officially or unofficially. The researcher may find it difficult to trace the records or evidence of its position unless he has access to private papers. He may, on the other hand, find it

¹²See Robert E. Corlew and Mary S. Corlew, "A History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Murfreesboro, Tennessee," Murfreesboro, Tenn., 1956, (mimeographed); Homer Pittard, Pillar and Ground (Murfreesboro, Tenn.: First Baptist Church, 1968).

relatively easy to trace its interest or lack of interest in foreign and domestic missions, eleemosynary institutions, and religious education. Material may exist in the form of reports, registers, and statistical records. Unlike the library paper in which the researcher may have a fairly good idea in the beginning about what he will find, an original investigation may turn up the unusual or unexpected.

To begin the project, however, it is necessary to have some kind of guideline in mind. Using, therefore, the word "church" to represent any religious group the researcher may have in mind, a hypothetical question may be posed. It might be "What was the attitude of this church toward the social changes of the Twenties?" or "What did the era of 'Fords, Flappers, and Speakeasies' do to the social ethics propounded by the church?" By looking at one church in one area, the researcher may find something to report either in terms of what was done or what was not done. Whatever the question the researcher decides upon, he should then list as many topics that fit into that category as possible. In Tennessee, for example, the decade of the twenties could include such subtopics as the Butler law, the Scopes trial, and the revived Ku Klux Klan, as well as the new styles in dress and behavior, the illegal sale of whiskey, and the ease of travel in the automobile. He should decide next if the paper is going to be of sufficient scope

to cover all of the twenties or simply some facet of them, thus, limiting the size and scope to fit the requirements. In other words, the topic should be narrowed as much as possible to avoid wasted efforts and an unwieldy result.

Not only is objectivity important, but evidence must be provided for any conclusions that may be drawn. Two types of evidence are involved--primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are the products of the time being studied. They are written documents, letters, reports, and records as they were transcribed for the benefit of contemporaries. Secondary sources are the result of research, descriptive and interpretive, in these primary materials. There are cases, however, in which secondary and primary material may overlap. For example, in this study, some of the early historical writers were participants as well as researchers. Arthur Noll, who compiled and edited Bishop Quintard's recollections of his Civil War experience and who wrote a history of the church in Tennessee, knew the bishop, served as a priest in the diocese, and attended the meetings of the diocesan convention. He was not only a historian but an actor in the story. Much the same thing is true of George R. Fairbanks, who wrote a history of the University of the South. He was an active participant in the affairs of the university, was an early trustee, acted as commissioner of lands for the domain, built his house

there, and told his history accordingly. These are examples of secondary sources that have become primary. Often, such sources lack the objectivity which later historians hope to achieve, but they become sources of insight into matters that would have gone unrecorded but for their special interests.

Whatever the topic or period decided upon, the library is the beginning point. The goal is to locate secondary sources that will provide the background for the study and will lead to the available primary sources. Although libraries vary in size and type of holdings, as well as in systems of classification, the key to all libraries is the complete index to its holdings, the card catalog. Arranged alphabetically, cards are provided for the title, author, subject, and various cross references for each of its holdings. Because books and subjects may not be classified in exactly the same way, it is necessary to look for several approaches to the subject in order to assure that every possibility will come to light. In the case of the Episcopal Church, for example, several classifications might be used. In the library at Middle Tennessee State University, a cross reference card, printed in red, gives this information:

Episcopal Church
 see
Church of England
Church of Ireland
Episcopal Church in Scotland
Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.

Since the topic under search deals with the first and last of these, there is no need to be further concerned with the other possibilities. Unless the title of the book begins with the "Episcopal Church," the subject would be listed under "Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A." and the Episcopal Church in Tennessee would be listed as "Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. Tennessee (Diocese)."

Facsimiles of the index cards appear in Figure 1.

This approach should locate books that deal with the Episcopal Church as their major emphasis, but there may be numbers of other works that deal with it in part, and there may be numbers of articles and other shorter works that are included elsewhere. For this reason, the card index is only the beginning. Books dealing with that church exclusively should have some bibliographical information that will prove helpful. Even though, therefore, the subject does not relate exactly to that being researched, the bibliography of books on the complete history of the denomination should be checked for other relevant sources. The bibliography may lead to primary sources housed in special collections and to secondary sources that bear directly upon the subject.

- 283
Ad2e Addison, James Thayer, 1887-
The Episcopal Church in the United
States, 1789-1931. New York, Scribner,
1951.
xii, 400 p. 24 cm.
Bibliography: p. 382-385.
1. Protestant Episcopal Church in the
U.S.A.--Hist. I. Title.
- BX5880.A33 283.73
Library of Congress
- The Episcopal Church in the United States,
1789-1931 Title
- 283
A42e Addison, James Thayer, 1887-
The Episcopal Church in the United
States, 1789-1931. New York, Scribner,
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- Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.
Hist. Subject
- 283
A42e Addison, James Thayer, 1887-
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1. Protestant Episcopal Church in the
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- BX5880.A33 283.73
Library of Congress

Fig. 1.--Facsimiles of Library Catalog Cards

The bibliographic volumes of the four volume series, Religion in American Life, are valuable sources for the study of religious bodies in the United States.¹³

Bibliographic essays deal with the major and minor denominations, churches, and sects in their historical setting.

Since 1902, with the exception of only a few years, the American Historical Association has put out an annual compendium, Writings on American History.¹⁴ An index volume for the writings from 1902-1940 was issued in 1956. These volumes provide a guide to the wide variety of historical information produced yearly in the United States. Often, this annual output deals with religion in American life and with local religious groups. The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church occasionally provides a bibliography of Episcopal and Anglican writings.¹⁵

¹³Nelson R. Burr, A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America, Vol. IV, Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of Religion in American Life, ed. by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961).

¹⁴Vol. II of the American Historical Association Annual Report (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902--); Index to the Writing on American History, 1902-1940 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956).

¹⁵See Frank E. Sugeno, ed., "Episcopal and Anglican History: 1971: An Annotated Bibliography," XL (June, 1971), 201-49.

As books are examined, the researcher should begin the collection of his bibliography. Usually, although it is by no means an iron-clad rule, the bibliography is kept on 3 x 5 index cards, a separate card for each book. The following information should be recorded:

1. author's or authors', editor's or editors' name in full
2. full title of the book
3. edition, if other than the first
4. place of publication
5. publisher's name as it is given on the title page
6. copyright date, the latest if several appear; this usually is given on the back of the title page.

Figure 2 is an example of a bibliographic card. By making this record as the book is first handled, the researcher may be sure that he will have the necessary information when it is time to prepare his complete bibliography. If he does not make use of the book in any way, the card can be discarded. If the author's last name is put first, then later it is a simple matter to alphabetize the cards for the final bibliography.

For the Episcopal Church in Tennessee, the best place to locate primary materials is at the University of the South. The theological school as well as the main library have collections that are helpful. The journals for the national church, the diocese, and other dioceses are in St. Luke's Theological School library. Also here are

Fairbanks, George R.
History of the University of the
South, at Sewanee, Tennessee, from
Its Founding by the Southern Bishops,
Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal
Church in 1857 to the year 1905.
Jacksonville, Fla.: H. & W. B. Drew
Company, 1905.

Fig. 2.--Sample Bibliography Card

records of special meetings and synods, works on church doctrine, church history, and biographies of leading figures from ancient to modern times. Here, too, are church periodicals and yearbooks. The journals of the diocese are a good source of information about the church and its interests, particularly for the years in which they published the bishop's sermons and diary of activities. Although much can be surmised from the number of times certain resolutions were proposed, unfortunately the journals do not record the debate that takes place.

The main library at the University of the South, the Jessie duPont Ball Library, also houses the archives. Original and rare books and pamphlets and the correspondence files of the various chancellors, vice-chancellors, and other persons connected with the university are kept there. Through the efforts of the university's historiographer, Arthur Ben Chitty, and the various archivists such as Isabel Howell and Edward Tribble and their assistants, this collection is a growing one. Recent acquisitions not yet open to researchers include papers of Bishop Gailor made available after the death of his daughter, Charlotte Gailor. The original of Bishop Quintard's existing diary is kept in the archives, but microfilm copies are available at the

Joint University Library in Nashville and at the library of Louisiana State University.¹⁶

Other primary material related to the Episcopal Church in Tennessee was located at the Duke University library. The collection of Quintard papers at Duke was located through the use of the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, another valuable tool to the researcher. The Tennessee State Library has some publications which suggest the extent of its holdings: Checklist of Microfilm in the Tennessee State Archives; Guide to the Processed Manuscripts of the Tennessee Historical Society; Major Manuscript Accessions for the Biennium, 1961-1963; Writings on Tennessee Counties: Microfilm and Books-in-Kind Available on Inter-Library Loan; and A List of Tennessee State Publications.¹⁷ By making a trip to the state library, the researcher can also make use of its card catalog and manuscript registers for particular

¹⁶ Quintard Diary, 5 reels microfilm, Sewanee, University of the South, Archives and Special Collections; Nashville, Joint University Library, Microfilm Collections; Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Library.

¹⁷ See, also, "Guide to Church Vital Statistics in Tennessee," Nashville, War Service Section of Works Projects Administration sponsored by Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1942, (mimeographed); "Director of Churches, Missions, and Religious Institutions of Tennessee," Nashville, Tennessee Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Projects Administration, 1940-- (mimeographed).

collections. Both bishops were occasional correspondents with people for whom there are rather extensive holdings.¹⁸

Other works of use to the researcher in church history include the United States Bureau of the Census reports on religious bodies in the United States.¹⁹ Although there has been no report since 1936, the early ones contain valuable information on church membership, national and local. The National Council of Churches has to some extent filled a gap left by the absence of more recent census records by publishing statistical information it has gathered.²⁰

Other sources may be suggested to the researcher in relation to the particular topic at hand and by study of bibliographies in related accounts. Books on the order of the recently published Historian's Handbook: A Descriptive Guide to Reference Works are often sources of information about reference works which become more useful when their function and purpose are explained.²¹

¹⁸See bibliography of this study.

¹⁹U.S., Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies: 1936 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936).

²⁰Bureau of Research and Survey, Churches and Church Membership in the United States (New York: National Council of Churches, 80 bulletins in 5 series, 1956-1958).

²¹Helen J. Poulton and Marguerite S. Howland (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972).

Taking accurate and usable notes is the next step which, of course, proceeds along with the location of material. Notetaking is perhaps the most personalized of the research methods--some researchers making use of shorthand or a coded system and others paraphrasing in longhand notes or even a typewriter when one is available. The important element in notetaking is developing a sure distinction between what is copied verbatim from the source and what is paraphrased. Whatever is taken word for word from a source must be placed in quotation marks in the final product and credit must be given to the original author. Otherwise, the worst form of scholarly dishonesty--plagiarism--is the result, and often this is the product of careless notetaking rather than a dishonest turn of mind. Credit also should be given to the originator of ideas even when the words that explain them are different. Copying extensively from secondary sources adds little to the value of a paper. It is, therefore, always best to paraphrase when taking notes from these works. If, on the other hand, the author has said so well or in such an unusual way, what the researcher may want to pass on to his readers, then short excerpts may be copied with careful marking in quotation marks and documentation added to identify the source. The researcher may wish to make more extensive use of quotations when he is dealing with the

words of the participants in an event. As in the case of secondary sources, however, these must be carefully marked and credit must be given.

As in the case of bibliographical cards, notetaking cards or paper may vary in size. Some prefer small cards or notebooks that may be kept at hand constantly. This has the advantage of allowing the researcher to take notes whenever and wherever he happens on pertinent information. Others prefer larger cards or half-sheets of paper. These allow the researcher to complete rather extensive notes on the front side of a single card without having to separate the content on two or three smaller cards. When the notes on a single topic and from a single source are on the front of the card, there is less likelihood of misplacing valuable information. For this paper, the writer used the larger cards and headed them by date and by specific topic. Sometimes a second topic was added as a possible alternative method of organization. Very often it is helpful to make a cross reference card so that the cards may be classified under two or more headings without losing or overlooking a card. Figure 3 shows cards that were made from secondary sources, and Figure 4 shows cards from primary sources. The first card in Figure 3 is a summary or synopsis while the second contains quotations from the secondary source. As is

Southern Baptists

Introduction of recent book on, gives background + history of Baptists, including and emphasizing northern Baptists.

Note that most were of humble origin but name some who were rich and/or prominent.

Maintains that whether they shaped or reflected opinion, they were indeed significant.

Spain, *At Ease in Zion*, pp. 3-11.

Urban Impact on Am. Prot.

Preface - Indicates that book is "generalized study of the religious + social effects of urban development on American Protestantism." (p. VII) Author indicates that rapid trend toward urbanization brought up 2 problems - (1) wage earning masses, more than had rural dwellers previously, "expected religion to establish ultimately a more equitable economic + industrial order" (2) "cities called upon religion for vast amounts of immediate aid in the way of spiritual + social service." (p. VII)

Abell, *Urban Impact on Am. Prot., 1865-1900.*
p. VII.

Fig. 3.--Note Card, Secondary Source

Gailor on Imp. of Church in Our Times 1925-

It is imp. in our time to emphasize this solidarity of the Church, its organization & historic integrity, and its authoritative commission to proclaim a special revelation of truth from God; because there are those who seem to be teaching that the Christian Church has no definal boundaries & no peculiar mission to the world; in other words, that organizations of Christian people are mere melting pots of convenience to enable various groups to believe and practice whatever phase of the Christian Gospel appeals to their taste and temperament. Moreover, they say that there is no well defined body of truth to which the Church bears witness.

Gailor, The Witness of the Church, p 4.

Fig. 4.--Note Card, Primary Source

illustrated, some use is made of abbreviations or short forms, but the page numbers are carefully recorded.

When a researcher is dealing with manuscripts, he sometimes meets the problem of determining a way to portray accurately the style and contents of handwritten material in a typewritten form. Bishop Quintard, as was noted in the first reference to his diary, used a number of short forms that were in common use in his day but which distract the reader if they are transcribed as such. In this case, the writer decided that it would be best to transcribe these as they would appear in modern English usage. On the other hand, the bishop's extensive use of the dash was transcribed in much the same way that he used it. Changes and decisions of this kind should always be called to the attention of the reader. See Figures 5 and 6 for a sample of the bishop's handwriting and the way that this was transcribed.

Once enough reading and notetaking have taken place to answer the proposed questions (or to determine that those questions can not be answered and, therefore, a new topic selected), the next step is to organize the material in preparation to writing. A tentative outline should be constructed with the materials at hand and with some kind of logical progression in mind. Chronological development, topical treatment, or a combination of approaches may be used. The nature of the material tends to some extent to

AC, 10.11.10.1.1.1

Rome Geo 17 July 1861
 My dear Harris;
 After having
 been up a greater part of
 a night, walking with
 watching Eddie, I am in no
 condition to write you. I
 wish however to have my
 position clearly defined to
 all interested persons.
 I shall not move a stone
 to obtain an election for
 Sept. If elected I shall
 move. If they elect Reed
 or Houston or any other who
 may set themselves up as
 candidates I shall not
 care, I will sign no card.
 I would not shake hands
 with a mortal man to
 gain a chaplaincy - if
 my going before a Regt.

Fig. 5.--Sample of Bishop Quintard's Handwriting

Rome, Georgia

17 July 1861

My dear Harris:

After having been up the greater part of the night, walking with and watching Eddie [his young son], I am in no condition to write you--I wish, however, to have my position clearly defined to all interested persons-- I shall not move a straw to obtain an election for a Regiment--if elected-- I shall serve--If they elect Read or Heriston or any other who may set themselves up as candidates, I shall not care, I will sign no card, I would not shake hands with a mortal man to gain the chaplaincy--and if my going before the Regiment

Fig. 6.--Transcription of Bishop Quintard's Handwriting from Figure 5

dictate the method of treatment, but, on the other hand, this may be a matter of individual preference, too. The introduction may be an overview, the background, or a sample of the results of the study. Although one of the first two methods seems preferable, sometimes the reader's attention may be brought to bear on the subject more readily if he gets an immediate sampling with the background sketched in later. It may be necessary to revise and reconstruct the preliminary outline several times during the writing of the paper. In this study, the major organizing factors were the bishops. After the preliminary setting (Chapter I) was given, the next chapters deal with Bishop Quintard and specific problems and actions that took place during his episcopate (Chapters II-IV). Chapters V, VI, and VII deal with Bishop Gailor and special topics related to his time.

The question of writing style is too complex for this guide, but there are some basic ground rules. The finished product should be written in formal rather than popular English style, sentences should be complete and punctuated correctly, and words should be spelled and capitalized correctly. The simple past tense and active voice are the accepted form for historical writing. "The little book," William Strunk, Jr., and E. B. White's The Elements of Style, strips the question of writing style down to its barest elements and gives a readable and concise

statement on the matter of style.²² Of course, the Harbrace College Handbook answers many detailed questions and provides a standard guide in most matters. The University of Chicago Manual of Style also has a more detailed guideline that can answer some questions not readily answered elsewhere. It contains, for example, a useful section on capitalization of religious terms.

Documentation is the proof of the adequacy and acceptability of the research paper, and that documentation is handled by means of footnotes. The logic of footnotes is sometimes hidden by the difficulties they present to the student faced with the problem of documentation. They exist simply to show the source of quoted material or material that is not common knowledge, to give additional information that is not appropriate to the text, or to refer the reader to another part of the work in which more information is given. The first use is perhaps the better known and most used type. While it is not the purpose of this guide to answer all questions involving footnotes, some suggestions can be offered.

Practices vary from school to school and discipline to discipline as to some of the particulars, but the general rules are similar. Enough information is given in the footnote to enable the reader to locate the exact place in a given source of information. The first time that a

²²(New York: Macmillan Company, 1959).

reference is made, it should be fully identified by author, title, edition, publisher, date, and page in order that the reader may go to that same publication and find the material on the same page that was cited. Subsequent references to the work may be shortened as long as it is still fully identifiable. If the bibliographical cards are complete, there should be little difficulty in converting that information to the footnote as follows:

Bibliographic entry:

Handy, Robert T. A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Footnote entry:

Robert T. Handy, A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. vii-ix, 42-64.

The only real difference in information is that the footnote gives a reference to the particular place in a book and the stress is upon a minimal identification of the book and maximum identification of the position in the book. The footnote is an addendum to the text, a small explanatory note normally placed so that it does not interfere with the reading and flow of the text. The place of the footnote in the text is held by a number superimposed at the end of the section that needs identification or explanation. The

number is inconspicuous enough that it does not interfere, yet obvious enough that the information may be readily located.

Shortened forms of the notes may be used after the first full reference is given. A standard form is the Latin abbreviation, "ibid." for "ibidem," in the same place. This is used when two or more references to the same work occur sequentially without intervening or additional references. The following is an example of its use:

³⁴Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (hereinafter referred to as General Convention), 1901, p. 126.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., 1904, p. 96.

³⁷Arthur Howard Noll, History of the Church in the Diocese of Tennessee (New York: James Pott and Company, 1900), p. 109.

³⁸General Convention, 1913, p. 289.

"Ibid." in note 35 refers to the same work and the same page as in the preceding note; in note 36, it refers to the same title but a different date and page. Although note 38 also refers to the same work, "ibid." can not be used because the intervening note referred to another source. When a title is shortened in a way that alters its form considerably, the notation should be made that "hereinafter it will be cited or referred to as" and the shortened title

given as in note 34 above. In using shortened forms with the usual authored or edited book, the last name of the author and significant words from the title in their original order are usually sufficient to identify subsequent references to a work. The idea is to be clear and yet as brief as possible. Moreover, it is important to be consistent. Once a form is adopted, it should be used throughout the paper. One of the guides to research and writing can provide more detailed information on documentation, but perhaps none will answer all the questions which may arise. If a question can not be answered, a form that answers the purposes of documentation may be devised and used consistently throughout the study. For this study, the writer used Turabian's Manual for Writers supplemented by the University of Chicago Manual of Style.

Documentation of manuscript entries follows the same general rule as applies to published material. The object is to identify the source in such a way that the reader can readily locate it. Since these materials are unpublished, often unduplicated, and available in only one location, care must be taken that the place is given. The titles of these materials are not italicized as are published works. An example of a note in reference to manuscript material is as follows:

¹⁶Quintard to George Carroll Harris, July 17, 1861, Tennessee State Library, Manuscript Division, George Carroll Harris Papers.

While it is important that every thought, idea, and word that comes from a source other than the writer be documented, the footnotes for a single paragraph may be grouped together if it results in no confusion for the reader. If a number of quotations from the same source are used within a paragraph, for example, use a single note at the end of the paragraph rather than a series of "ibid.'s."

After the text has been written and properly documented, the next step should be to compile the final bibliography. This should present no difficulty if the bibliographical cards have been carefully prepared. If the bibliography is long, the best practice is to classify it according to type or source. If, for example, use is made of primary material which came from two or more libraries, it may be wise to divide it in this way. If periodical literature is used extensively, this may be separated from other items.

Supplementary information that might extend the reader's background of related knowledge might properly be included in an appendix. For this paper, representative lists of parishes and locations were placed in appendixes. Complete addresses or speeches of the bishops conceivably could have been reproduced in the appendixes, but, since

they were quoted extensively in the body of the paper, this did not seem necessary.

When all parts of the paper have been constructed and are ready for the final typing, the researcher should again consult a research guide for authoritative instructions. Some of the more general rules are as follows:

1. Standard size, good quality typing paper should be used. Only one side should be utilized.
2. Lines should be double spaced with the exception of quoted material which takes four or more lines. This should be inset and single spaced.
3. Care should be taken that words at the end of the line are divided only between syllables and never at the last line on a page.
4. Pages should begin and end with at least two lines in a paragraph.
5. Corrections should be made by inconspicuous erasures or by retyping.
6. Any lines or marks that can not be typed should be made neatly with black India ink.
7. Careful proofreading and corrections should be the responsibility of the writer, not the typist. The final product is the researcher's creation.

With good fortune in locating materials, good judgment as to the appropriateness of the information, careful habits in research techniques, and some flair for composition, the resulting production should be a worthy representation of the denomination's social policies and the researcher's skill in interpreting them.

Since much of the methodology in historical writing and research is the same regardless of the specific topic,

many of the preceding suggestions offered in this research guide to local religious history can be applied to research in other areas. General social histories are closely akin to the topic of this research project because they concentrate upon and emphasize the human rather than the material and physical aspects of the subject. It should be possible, therefore, to write on some non-religious social phase of man's history such as his newspapers, schools, dress, speech, or family life and to use some parts of this guide. Whatever the historical problem under search, the researcher should have at hand a basic style manual (pp. 286-86) and a dictionary (p. 286). Although the discussion of choosing and delimiting the topic (pp. 292-93) refers particularly to social and religious history, the subject in any historical research project should be well-defined and narrowed to workable dimensions. All historical research also depends upon primary and secondary evidence (pp. 291-92). When the researcher chooses a topic, he must determine the availability of primary sources. A researcher who is interested in a social history rather than a religious history might choose, for example, editorial policies of a certain newspaper. Among the primary sources available to him would be the editorials themselves, but these should be supplemented by the editorial writer's personal papers and biographical material.

The progressive steps taken in any research project are also much the same whatever the historical topic. The library will be the starting point for most (pp. 292-93). Bibliographies should be compiled and reliable notes should be taken in the early stages of any historical research (pp. 300-305). Each researcher, however, must determine his own best sources of primary materials. He can usually do this by examining secondary sources and reference works. Every researcher may not have to deal with handwritten documents and letters, but, if he does, the suggestions on transcribing them (305-08) may be of use even if he is dealing with a newspaper editor rather than a clergyman. Problems of organization and writing are common to all historical research projects. No matter what area of historical research is chosen, the material should be organized in some logical manner, and the findings should be recorded with the view of not only presenting the factual material in an accurate manner but also of affording some pleasure to the reader through the use of graceful and scholarly prose (pp. 305, 308-09). Documentation (pp. 312-14) and the final typing (p. 314) follow much the same procedure in all kinds of historical research.

CHAPTER IX

THE SUMMING UP

The activities of Episcopalians in Tennessee in the seventy years following the Civil War were primarily concerned with matters of faith and worship rather than with civil or social affairs. Although Bishop Quintard's episcopacy was influenced by post Civil War adjustments and Bishop Gailor's by the early twentieth century's economic boom and subsequent depression, the two men faced much the same kind of social problems in administering the diocese. They built up congregations in the major cities of Tennessee and in many of the smaller towns and boroughs. The diocese undertook missionary activities to insure the survival of the church within the state and throughout the world. Church leaders recalled the special place of authority and responsibility the church had enjoyed as the Church of England and still identified it in terms of universality and catholicity rather than denominationalism. Although perhaps perceiving the special role of the church in other than its historic and apostolic features, church members also tended to feel the selectivity of belonging to the "Church." The

dominant social role, therefore, was conservative rather than radical and more apt to call for retention of the status quo than to call for the Christianizing of the social order. In the manner of their rival denominations and sects, Tennessee Episcopalians were especially interested in the individual within society and concentrated their reform efforts upon him.

The secular problems of the times did have their effect upon Episcopalians, and they usually made some response to contemporary temporal affairs. Reconstruction, for example, gave many philanthropists and church groups an opportunity to provide their services. Episcopalians applauded individual philanthropic efforts, but they disapproved of similar government activities. They saw noble Christian motivation behind the efforts of people like Mrs. Martha Canfield with her orphanage for black children in Memphis and saw selfish partisanship in the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and Radical Reconstruction. During the post Civil War period, churchmen in Tennessee, desirous of avoiding dissension within their church, were especially anxious that they be viewed as acting as individuals when outside religious affairs. They held that the church was above and beyond the vicissitudes of public life, unconcerned with political changes and untouched by social misfortunes.

Despite their avowal that they were uninterested in political and economic matters, Episcopalians did take indirect actions to improve their society. These were largely identifiable with their interest in education. Educational projects at any level had a twofold purpose. In the first place, and always important to the church's clergymen, was education for the purpose of perpetuating the church and its form. The second purpose was social. They believed that church-related education promoted sound morals and the ethical behavior that was necessary to improve society. The most prominent monument to the concern with education was the University of the South and its feeder institution, the Sewanee Military Academy.

Although Episcopalians were willing to change society through the channels of church-related education, they did not succeed in implanting this principle among the citizenry of the state. Purely diocesan schools failed for a number of reasons. Although part of their lack of success was attributable to the small membership of the church, certainly another factor was related to the expense of supporting quality education. Another element which explained the failure of these local institutions was connected to the controversies over schools of churchmanship that beset the church in the late nineteenth century. A school run by a high churchman, or one reputed to be so,

might have small appeal to those who considered themselves low churchmen or evangelicals.

Characteristic of the church-related educational institutions was the belief that their special purpose was best achieved in segregated institutions. Generally, and particularly in the first half of the period under study, the schools were segregated by sex, class, and race. This was done with no evidence of self-consciousness or apology, since it seemed to Episcopalians to be part of the natural order of society which they should help preserve. The qualifications for admittance to the University of the South made it an elitist institution. Since it admitted and attracted students from other denominations, the appeal was wider than that of the Episcopal Church. Although efforts were made to lower its costs to the individual student, the standards for admission to the theological school were kept high as far as previous education and moral character were concerned.

The elitist cast and the identification with the upper middle class did not mean that the church was unconcerned with others who did not fall into these categories. In fact, the church perpetuated a tradition of service that had been a characteristic of the upper classes in England and the colonies. That made churchmen, even though not numerous, among the leaders in public life and

made them concerned with other groups and social categories. Oftentimes, their interest did not make them particularly realistic in their offers of concern. The appeal of the church to blacks, for example, seemed to extend only to an equally small number and, perhaps, of a comparable upper-middle class. At any rate, churchmen seemed to believe that this was the case, that is, that the church's appeal was to the best of men and that it brought out the best in men whatever their race or social class.

In the twentieth century, the church began to show some evidence of the forces at work throughout the country that called for churches to become activists in worldly as well as religious matters. Although the church in Tennessee was not a leader in this drive, it did reorganize along the lines of the national church and, thus, became involved in a field known as "Christian social service." The terminology was vague and all-encompassing. It could be applied to matters that were strictly traditional, such as providing charitable projects for the "deserving" poor, or it could be used to provide more extensive services in the form of settlement houses and welfare and health projects. The journals of the diocesan conventions revealed that a varied interpretation was made of Christian social service.

As the twentieth century progressed, the church came to the realization that it could not offer competing

educational institutions at the elementary and secondary level. Little by little, the church began to discontinue those projects in education, particularly those which made financial demands upon the diocese. Increased emphasis was placed upon Sunday schools and upon providing related services for students in the state colleges and universities. The goal did not change as much as did the practical arrangements.

Although the emphasis upon individualism that seemed to spell out a kinship with the fundamentalists and other sects existed, it still permitted Episcopalians to take a different viewpoint than those groups with regard to the challenge of science to religion and on the matter of personal morality. In these areas, Episcopalians, as a denomination, took stands that set them apart from many other religious organizations in the state. They did not take a stand of adamant opposition to the scientific examination of the Bible or to evolutionary science, but they continued to hold fast to the concept of apostolic succession and the four basic tenets of their faith--the Holy Scriptures, the Nicene Creed, the two Sacraments (Baptism and Communion), and the three orders of the ministry (bishops, priests, and deacons). Neither did they take part in crusades against personal sins, particularly the prohibition crusade that became such a challenge to

other denominations. Although Episcopal ministers sometimes preached to their congregations about certain personal sins that they should avoid for health of the soul, they seldom took the position that civil laws should protect the individual from these (except in the case of the protected atmosphere of the University of the South). Since they believed that marriage was a sacrament, they were anxious to preserve its sanctity and were participants in the movement to bring about uniform marriage and divorce laws.

Tennessee Episcopalians, thus, weathered a stormy period of political, economic, and social change in the state and the nation by emphasizing their historical lineage from the primitive "Church," by stressing educational projects which included the purely intellectual as well as the ethical, by calling attention to the breadth of action and belief that was a part of their development, and by appealing to the individual's preference for virtue over vice. They made up one facet in the complexities of American life.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

CHURCHES CONSTRUCTED BEFORE 1860

LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY

APPENDIX I

CHURCHES CONSTRUCTED BEFORE 1860

LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY

<u>Church</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. Christ Church	Nashville
2. St. Peter's	Columbia
3. St. Paul's	Franklin
4. Trinity Church	Clarksville
5. Calvary Church	Memphis
6. St. Paul's	Randolph
7. St. Luke's	Jackson
8. Zion Church	Brownsville
9. Immanuel Church	LaGrange
10. St. James	Bolivar
11. St. Thomas	Somerville
12. St. Andrew's	Fayette County
13. St. Mark's	Williamsport
14. St. John's	Knoxville
15. St. John's	Ashwood
16. Trinity Church	Tipton County
17. St. James	Greenville
18. St. Matthew's	Covington
19. Holy Trinity	Nashville
20. St. Andrew's	Riverside
21. St. Paul's	Athens
22. St. Paul's	Chattanooga
23. Grace Church	Memphis
24. Church of the Advent	Nashville
25. St. Mary's	Memphis
26. St. Stephen's	Edgefield
27. Immanuel Church	Ripley
28. Church of the Redeemer	Shelbyville
29. Trinity Church	Winchester

Source: Tennessee Convention, 1890, p. 55.

APPENDIX II

CHURCHES AND COMMUNICANTS, 1866 AND 1876

APPENDIX II

CHURCHES AND COMMUNICANTS, 1866 AND 1876

	<u>Church</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Membership</u>	
			<u>1866</u>	<u>1876</u>
1.	Christ Church	Nashville	100	200
2.	Holy Trinity	Nashville	10	81
3.	Church of the Advent	Nashville	150	102
4.	St. Stephens [St. Anne's]	Edgefield	14	108
5.	St. Peter's	Columbia	70	110
6.	Trinity Church	Clarksville	135	200
7.	Calvary Church	Memphis	400	380
8.	Grace Church	Memphis	103	174
9.	St. Mary's	Memphis	50	220
10.	St. Luke's	Jackson	73	94
11.	St. James	Bolivar	40	80
12.	Trinity Church	Tipton County	100	
13.	Immanuel Church	LaGrange		49
14.	St. John's	Knoxville	36	130
15.	St. James	Greenville	11	
16.	St. Paul's	Chattanooga	12	117
17.	St. Paul's	Athens	14	7
18.	Good Shepherd	Memphis	40	77
19.	St. Matthew's	Covington	20	44
20.	Otey Chapel	Shelby County	20	
21.	Immanuel Church	Ripley		17
22.	Church of the Messiah	Pulaski		40
23.	St. Luke's	Cleveland		46
24.	St. Barnabas	Tullahoma		28

APPENDIX II--(Continued)

	<u>Church</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Membership</u>	
			<u>1866</u>	<u>1876</u>
25.	Church of the Epiphany	Knoxville		50
26.	St. John's	Ashwood		14
27.	Zion Church	Brownsville		67
28.	St. Thomas	Somerville		50
29.	Church of the Redeemer	Shelbyville		32
30.	St. Paul's on the Mountain	Sewanee	103	
31.	Immanuel Church	Memphis		33
32.	St. Phillip's Chapel	Bolivar		15
33.	Mission	Ravenscroft		25
34.	Missions	Montgomery County		31

Source: Tennessee Convention, 1866, pp. 8-9; 1876, pp. Lack of statistics might mean that no report was filed or that the church no longer existed. The totals of the parochial reports from which the above was taken seldom agree with other statistics. The above column for 1876, for example, totals 2,694 communicants; figures given by the committee on the state of the church total 3,056.

APPENDIX III

CHURCHES AFFILIATED WITH THE DIOCESE OF
TENNESSEE IN 1890

APPENDIX III

CHURCHES AFFILIATED WITH THE DIOCESE OF
TENNESSEE IN 1890

	<u>Location</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Communicants Reported</u>
1.	Ashwood	St. John's	
2.	Athens	St. Paul's	
3.	Bolivar	St. James	43
4.	Brownsville	Zion	19
5.	Chattanooga	St. Paul's	485
			(including two missions)
6.	Clarksville	Trinity	195
7.	Cleveland	St. Lukes	104
8.	Collierville	St. Andrews	21
9.	Columbia	St. Peter's	164
10.	Covington	St. Matthews	27
11.	Fayetteville	St. Mary Magdalene	24
12.	Franklin	St. Paul's	33
13.	Jackson	St. Lukes	227
14.	Knoxville	St. John's	353
15.	Knoxville	Epiphany	80
16.	LaGrange	Immanuel	
17.	Mason	Trinity	77
18.	Memphis	St. Mary's	305
19.	Memphis	Calvary	587
20.	Memphis	Grace	267
21.	Memphis	Good Shepherd	50
22.	Montgomery County	Grace	
23.	Nashville	Advent	192
24.	Nashville	Christ Church	350
25.	Nashville	St. Ann's	188
26.	Nashville	Trinity	151
27.	Nashville	St. Peters	101
28.	Pulaski	Messiah	40
29.	Rugby	Christ Church	14

APPENDIX III--(Continued)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Communicants Reported</u>
30. Sewanee	St. Paul's	120
31. Shelbyville	Redeemer	18
32. Somerville	St. Thomas	42
33. South Pittsburg	Christ Church	75
34. Tullahoma	St. Barnabas	74

Missions (Non-Self-Supporting):

White	28
Negro	6

Source: Tennessee Convention, 1890, pp. 8-9.

APPENDIX IV

DIOCESAN STATISTICS, 1935

APPENDIX IV

DIOCESAN STATISTICS, 1935

<u>Location</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Communicants</u>	<u>Property Value</u>
Bolivar	St. James	36	\$ 21,300
Chattanooga	Christ Church	181	130,000
Chattanooga	Grace Memorial	183	15,000
Chattanooga	St. Paul's	1,178	210,000
Chattanooga	Thankful Memorial	122	33,850
Clarksville	Trinity	314	81,000
Cleveland	St. Luke's Memorial	68	93,500
Columbia	St. Peter's	207	56,000
Franklin	St. Paul's	87	24,000
Jackson	St. Luke's	278	36,000
Johnson City	St. John's	240	99,000
Kingsport	St. Paul's	155	24,550
Knoxville	St. James's	371	54,000
Knoxville	St. John's	887	421,250
Memphis	Calvary	1,104	240,000
Memphis	Good Shepherd	202	12,500
Memphis	Grace	739	118,500
Memphis	Holy Trinity	250	19,500
Memphis	St. John's	304	14,500
Memphis	St. Luke's	516	95,500
Memphis	St. Mary's Cathedral	798	323,000
Mt. Pleasant	Holy Cross	34	8,100
Nashville	Advent	1,101	80,700
Nashville	Christ Church	1,309	312,000
Nashville	St. Ann's	356	37,800
Nashville	St. Peter's	48	10,100

APPENDIX IV--(Continued)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Communicants</u>	<u>Property Value</u>
Pulaski	Messiah	19	\$ 13,000
Sewanee	Otey Memorial	250	27,000
South Pittsburg	Christ Church	75	20,000
Tullahoma	St. Barnabas'	67	24,250
Winchester	Trinity	32	15,250

<u>Location</u>	<u>Organized Missions</u>	<u>Communicants</u>	<u>Property Value</u>
Alcoa	St. Andrews	34	300
Athens	St. Pauls	32	3,500
Brighton	Ravenscroft	33	2,600
Brownsville	Christ Church	15	9,500
Collierville	St. Andrew's	16	6,500
Covington	St. Matthews	31	10,500
Dyersburg	St. Mary's	27	6,500
Fayetteville	St. Mary Magdalene's	37	21,500
Germantown	St. George's	17	500
Greenville	St. James		
Harriman	St. Andrews	30	6,400
Mason	Trinity	21	6,000
Memphis	St. Albans	40	14,100
Milan	St. Ambrose	10	1,600
Monteagle	Holy Comforter		
Murfreesboro	St. Paul's	28	10,000
Nashville	St. Andrews	96	11,500
Paris	Grace	9	3,500
Ripley	Immanuel	14	9,400

APPENDIX IV--(Continued)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Organized Missions</u>	<u>Communicants</u>	<u>Property Value</u>
Rossvie	Grace		
Rugby	Christ Church	11	\$ 3,650
Somerville	St. Thomas	16	7,600
Spring Hill	Grace	24	4,800
Tracy City	Christ Church	140	3,700
Trenton	Holy Innocents'	12	6,400
Union City	St. James	29	6,000
Woodstock (Memphis)	St. Ann's	26	3,000

<u>Location</u>	<u>Negro Missions</u>	<u>Communicants</u>	<u>Property Value</u>
Bolivar	St. Philip's	10	1,950
Burlison	St. Stephen's	19	75
Chattanooga	St. Mary the Virgin		
Columbia	Holy Comforter	27	1,700
Franklin	St. John's	23	1,200
Jackson	St. Thomas	12	4,000
Mason	St. Paul's	52	1,250
Mason	St. Mary's School Chapel	11	
Memphis	Emmanuel	102	22,500
Nashville	Holy Trinity	82	21,000
Sewanee	St. Paul's-on-the- Mountain	35	2,000

APPENDIX IV--(Continued)

Mission Stations:

Alto, Ashwood, Battle Creek (Martin Springs), Chattanooga, Coalmont, Columbia, Copperhill, Cowan, Cumberland Furnace, Elizabethton, Erwin, Etowah, Gallatin, Gruetli, Jump Off (Sewanee), LaGrange, Lebanon, Mason, Memphis, Monterey, Morristown, Payne's Cove (Sewanee), Roark's Cove (Sewanee), St. Andrews, Shelbyville, Sherwood, Summerfield, Tate Springs, Valley Home, White Bluffs

Source: Tennessee Convention, 1835, pp. 11-14, 103-29. The statistics were summarized as follows:

Parishes: self-supporting, 21; dependent, 10; total, 31
Missions: organized, 35; stations, 33; total, 68
Clergy: bishops, 2; priests, 49; deacons, 1; total, 52
Candidates for Holy Orders: 12
Church Members (all baptized persons): 17,495
Communicants: 13,358
Total value of parish and mission property: \$2,999,875

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