SOUTHERN METHODISM'S "UNIQUE ADVENTURE" IN RACE RELATIONS: PAINE COLLEGE, 1882-1903

by George E. Clary, Jr.

Paine College in Augusta, Georgia is one of some twelve institutions of higher learning related to the United Methodist Church which were founded to provide educational opportunities for black people. However, Paine is different from the others in two ways. First, it is the only such institution that was related to the old Methodist Episcopal Church, South before Union in 1939, and second, it is also related to another denomination, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, known as the C.M.E. Church.

During the first part of the twentieth century most Methodists in the South were at least vaguely familiar with the story of Paine College and with Southern Methodism's venture with and for the black man after the Civil War. During the 1930's Paine College was considered by many in the South as a remarkable experiment in inter-racial relationships. In the mid-twentieth century Methodism in the United States has experienced two unions (1939 and 1968), resulting in the present United Methodist Church. Times have changed and much that Paine College meant to the South before World War II has been forgotten.

Since all of the institutions founded for the education of black people are struggling to find their proper place in the rapidly changing American scene, it seems especially fitting to re-examine the events connected with the beginnings of this "unique" institution. Paine College has been called "unique" for many years. The doctoral study on which this paper is based concluded that the "uniqueness" of Paine lies in two points: (1) that it was indigenous to the South and lacked Northern ties; and (2) that it was a cooperative project in which churchmen of both races in the South shared in sponsorship, support, and control.

That two denominations could have transcended racial differences sufficiently to establish such a school in the 1880's is remarkable; that such a cooperative relationship representing different racial groups in the South could continue for more than 80 years is even more remarkable. It is more than human. Some think to see the work of the Holy Spirit in it.

The story given below is one shortened chapter of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Georgia in 1965, entitled "The Founding of Paine College—A Unique Venture in Inter-racial Cooperation in the New South (1882-1903)." Part of the condensing process involves the omission of extensive footnotes. At the end of this paper is a brief note on sources.

In the dissertation the chapter entitled "A Chronological Account of the Founding of Paine College" is preceded by chapters on "The Social and Political Background in Georgia," "The Ecclesiastical
Background," and a biographical chapter on "The Founders." In this paper the social and political background is omitted entirely, but a brief word is necessary about persons and church groups and terminology if the narrative is to have maximum clarity.

Paine College grew out of the organizational structure of two branches of Methodism in the South in the 1880's. The oldest of these was the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which resulted from the tragic split over the slavery issue in 1844. This church group continued to exist until 1939, when it became a part of The Methodist Church. The other branch was the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, which was established as an independent body in 1870. It was composed of black people who had been members of the M. E. Church, South. This body continues its independent existence until the present, but its name was changed in 1954 to Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

In this story two church publications are referred to again and again: (1) the Nashville Christian Advocate, and (2) Wesleyan Christian Advocate. The first was the church-wide weekly paper of the M. E. Church, South, published in Nashville, Tennessee. The second was the Methodist paper for the state of Georgia.

Of the founders of Paine College, three may be considered as primary: (1) Bishop L. H. Holsey (1842-1920), of the C.M.E. Church, a resident of Augusta. He was the man who did more than any other to found Paine. He belonged to that remarkable generation of Negro leaders who were born in slavery and rose to leadership in the generation after the Civil War. His Autobiography, telling in part about his boyhood as a slave on the campus of the University of Georgia, is a valuable source of information about the beginning of Paine. (2) Atticus Greene Haygood (1839-1896), minister of the M. E. Church, South and President of Emory College, Oxford, Georgia at the time Paine was started. His work as Editor of the Wesleyan Christian Advocate, and his book, Our Brother in Black (1881), helped to create such a climate in the white South that made a school like Paine possible. (3) George William Walker (1848-1911), minister of the South Carolina Conference, M. E. Church, South, the first teacher and the second President of Paine. While he did not participate in the launching of the project, he did more than any other human to carry through and get the institution established on a firm foundation.

The following are secondary founders: (1) Bishop George Foster Pierce (1811-1884), Senior Bishop of the M. E. Church, South in 1882, "the grand old man of Georgia Methodism." A prominent leader known for his conservatism, he called the meetings that launched the project and he supported it with his pen until his death. Bishop Pierce had a close relationship with Holsey. During the Civil War Holsey was married to a slave girl in the Pierce home in Sparta, Georgia, and after the war Pierce helped instruct Holsey and prepare him for the Methodist ministry. (2) James E. Evans (1810-1886), minister in the North Georgia Conference, M. E. Church,
South. He was the first employed officer of the institution—the Commissioner of Education, which meant fund-raiser. He was the first chairman of the Board of Trustees and never missed a meeting until his death. (3) *Warren Akin Candler* (1857-1941), minister of the North Georgia Conference and later bishop of the M. E. Church, South. He was an original trustee and was pastor of St. John, Methodism’s largest church in Augusta, during the years 1882-86. (4) *James S. Harper* (1854-1920), layman in the C.M.E. Church. He was the first Secretary of the Board of Trustees and was still holding that office in 1903. He was employed as a postal clerk on the Georgia Railroad. (5) *Morgan Callaway* (1831-1899), minister of the M. E. Church, South. He was the first President of Paine, but he resigned before the school was really established. Reared in the slave-holding class in Georgia, he had graduated from the University of Georgia before the Civil War, in which he served as a Confederate cavalry officer. He had served as President of two Georgia Methodist colleges and was Vice-President of Emory College at the time of his election to the Paine office. (6) *Charles G. Goodrich* (1844-1911), layman of the M. E. Church, South. He was Treasurer of Paine from 1883 until his death. He was a prominent Augusta banker and a leader in St. John Church. (7) *John Wesley Gilbert* (1865-1923), a minister in the C.M.E. Church. He was the “first” student, the first graduate, and the first black man to become a member of the faculty at Paine. He was a gifted linguist and a very able classical scholar. (8) *William C. Dunlap* (1836-1896), minister in the North Georgia Conference. He was the most effective Commissioner of Education Paine ever had. This man spent most of his life as an humble pastor, but between 1884 and 1888 he poured out his life in the difficult business of raising funds for the new school for black people.

It was in the spring of 1882 that the first definite step in the founding of Paine College took place. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South convened in Nashville, Tennessee on May 3, 1882, and as usual listened to the “Bishops’ Address”. One of the topics in this lengthy paper was Negro education. Admitting that the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, “organized by us” some twelve years before from the “remnant” of “our colored membership,” had maintained its integrity and made some progress, the bishops confessed that the Negro Church had not been able to meet its educational needs and that the C.M.E. Church needed the help of its white brethren. The bishops spoke to the General Conference: “We invite to this subject your favorable consideration.” However, they offered no specific plan or course of action.

The General Conference responded by passing an important but controversial resolution on Negro education. This action came in response to an earnest personal appeal from Bishop Holsey, who was fraternal representative from the C.M.E. Church. Although there was nothing in it about a new school, the resolution became almost
at once an act of authorization for the founding of Paine. The resolution was copied in full in the first minutes of the Board of Trustees on November 1, 1882.

The stated purpose of the resolution was the creation of "an Educational Fund" for the "benefit" of the C.M.E. Church. It called for the appointment of a preacher or layman of the southern Church as a "Commission of Education" to solicit contributions for this fund. It also called for three members from the white church who would serve with three members appointed by the black church on a "Board of Trustees for the custody and control of this Educational Fund." No implementation of this resolution was given at the General Conference, such matters being usually left to the bishops.

The second step in the founding of Paine College was a meeting held in Atlanta in the summer of 1882: This meeting was not mentioned by either of the Advocates. It was mentioned casually in the minutes of the first meeting of the Board of Trustees, held in November in Augusta, in which that body was said to have been called to meet in Augusta on November 1, 1882, by Bishop Pierce "after consultation with the Bishops of the C.M.E. Church." Fragmentary reference, more suggestive than specific, to this "consultation" is made in Holsey's Autobiography. Holsey records that this meeting was held in the First Methodist Church in Atlanta "in the summer of 1882," and that Bishop Pierce, Dr. Haygood, and all of the C.M.E. bishops were present. After much discussion it was agreed "to locate the school at Augusta" and to ask the Church for $200,000. The decision concerning the location of the school was the only important one reported. The General Conference resolution did not authorize a school.

November 1, 1882 was a very important day for the founding of Paine: it was then that the new Board of Trustees convened for the first time in the lecture room of St. John Church in Augusta, and there agreed to name the school "Paine Institute" in memory of the late Bishop Robert Paine, who had helped to organize the C.M.E. Church in 1870. Officers of the new Board were: James E. Evans, chairman; J. S. Harper, secretary; and W. H. LaPrade, treasurer. LaPrade was then pastor of St. John Church. The Board "resolved to put the school in operation as soon as possible, and to put a white man, preferably a minister, at the head of it as principal."

Editor W. H. Potter of the Wesleyan Christian Advocate gave a lengthy account of this meeting of the Paine Trustees. He reported policy decisions not mentioned in the minutes: (1) the school was to operate on a cash basis, and (2) the purpose of the school was not
to be limited to the education of preachers but was to provide general education to colored youths of both sexes.

On November 2, 1882, the Augusta Chronicle reported on the meeting of the previous day, noting especially that Bishop Pierce was present "giving counsel and advice." The church press represented by the two *Advocates* hailed the "auspicious" beginning that had been made for Negro education on the part of the Southern Methodist Church. It was noted that the new school was "well named and well located," and best wishes were expressed that it should have a prosperous career.

In December 1882, the North Georgia Conference of the southern Church convened in Lagrange with Bishop Pierce presiding. The Paine Trustees took this occasion to meet twice, and electrified the Conference with the announcement that Morgan Callaway had accepted election as President of the Institute. The *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*’s story of his election was headed, "A Red Letter Day."

On December 12, 1882, the Trustees held their fourth meeting in less than six weeks, this time at the St. John parsonage in Augusta, with the new President participating. An important action was taken enlarging the Board to 19 members in order that the "enterprise might not be viewed as a local one." December 15th found President Callaway at the South Georgia Conference in Albany making a speech about his "call" to the work at Paine. His appearance and his speech made a strong and favorable impression on the editor of the *Wesleyan Advocate*. The sense of being "called" evidently grew on Callaway, for it was the central theme of the long and powerful farewell sermon he preached at Oxford, seat of Emory College, January 21, 1883. This sermon was printed in the *Wesleyan Advocate*.

The outlook for the new school appeared bright as the year 1883 dawned. Commissioner Evans began to travel, telling the story of Paine and soliciting funds for its support. The first Sunday in March found both Evans and Callaway preaching in Augusta at St. John Church and Trinity C.M.E. Church. On the following Tuesday there was a long editorial in the Augusta Chronicle entitled "Education of the Freedman," in which Paine Institute was called a "worthy enterprise" and congratulated on the selection of Callaway as its President. A petition for a Charter of Incorporation was filed in the Superior Court of Richmond County on March 15, 1883, and the Charter was granted on June 19, 1883. On July 17th the new Charter was presented to the Board in session in Augusta. The Board elected G. W. Walker as a teacher and voted to make a "special and strenuous effort" to open the school by October.

But the bright outlook at the beginning of 1883 did not continue long. On February 14th the *Wesleyan Advocate* reprinted a scorching attack on Callaway and his farewell sermon at Oxford. The attack, which was reprinted from the *Alabama Christian Advocate*, complained that the editor of that journal had been offended by Callaway's emphasis on his special "call" to Negro work. Although the
editor of the Wesleyan Advocate gave a long defense of Callaway, he concluded by admitting that he was "hopelessly puzzled" by the whole matter.

Negro education suddenly became and for months continued a controversial issue in the Southern Methodist press. In the Wesleyan Advocate the attacks centered on Callaway and Paine Institute, while in the Nashville Advocate it centered on Haygood and Negro education in general. During August and September, when the school in Augusta was trying to make arrangements to open its doors, the Wesleyan Advocate carried a series of letters from Jesse Boring of Atlanta, a leader in the North Georgia Conference, attacking Paine Institute and the writer's personal friend Callaway. These letters were lengthy and vigorous, and their tone was bitter and personal. The other publication had similar letters. One of them bore the scornful title, "Haygood's Hobby," and was signed "I.E.S. of Dalton, Ga." These attacks reached a climax during September and October of 1883.

But the attacks were met with defenders, among whom were the editors of both journals, W. H. Potter and O. P. Fitzgerald, plus Bishop Pierce, George Williams Walker, and Warren A. Candler. Neither Callaway nor Haygood did much to defend themselves in the columns of these journals. The words of the more militant defenders are enlightening. In June, before the attack had reached its climax, Bishop Pierce decried the lethargy, confusion, and hostility which the project was encountering. He sought to reassure both the doubtful and the reluctant by asserting that "the education of the Negro is not an open question."

In August, 1883, editor Potter undertook to answer the charge that "Paine Institute seems to be dragging." He stated that "it is quite too soon for anybody to despair of the success of Paine Institute." A careful article by Haygood on the history and plight of Paine Institute was printed in the Nashville Advocate under the suggestive title "Our Hagar in the Wilderness." It gave offense and brought cries that "we must not put the Church in a false light." In a front page editorial in the Nashville Advocate on October 20th, editor Fitzgerald said he was giving opportunity for "free and full expression of opinion" on the subject of the church's relation to Negro education. He closed his long editorial with an appeal: "Let us now have a pull together, and put Paine Institute on its feet." Characteristic of much of the defense were the words of Bishop Pierce: "This work seems to be wise, conservative, necessary." But evidently many remained unconvinced.

Complicating a situation already much confused was the letter from David Leith of Jackson, Tennessee, which appeared in the Nashville Advocate, September 22, 1883. It raised the question as to what the resolution of the General Conference the year before had intended, and why the people in Jackson and surrounding areas should send money to Augusta when Bishop Lane of the C.M.E. Church already had a high school in their midst which needed their
The story of the darkening clouds gathering over Paine Institute may be told in terms of money. In the summer of 1882, leaders of the project were asking the church for $200,000. In the early summer of 1883, the amount being sought was $20,000. By August it was announced that $5,000 had to be raised in order to open the school in October as planned. That the school did not open its doors during 1883 suggests that the financial hopes were not realized. It was a difficult, discouraging time.

But the venture did survive; the school did open. On January 5, 1884, the Nashville Advocate carried an ad stating that Paine Institute "will open January 2, 1884." This time the fact preceded the announcement. With about 30 pupils the school was opened in upstairs rooms, rented for twenty-five dollars per month, on Augusta's Broad Street. In announcing the opening of the school "under the management of Rev. George W. Walker . . . on a small scale," Bishop Pierce explained the "experimental" plan of operation brought on by "persistent misunderstanding." This plan called for President Callaway to travel about giving lectures to Negro preachers, while Walker ran the school in Augusta. Bishop Pierce thought the new plan had great advantages.

With the opening of the school, controversy seemed to subside. There were few articles about it in either of the Advocates during the first half of 1884, and practically all that did appear were of a promotional nature. There is no record of the Trustees meeting from November 21, 1883 until June 27, 1884. The minutes of the latter meeting recorded that "Dr. Callaway reported on the operation of the school," but there is no hint as to what his report contained. There is no record of how the experimental plan outlined by Bishop Pierce worked out in practice. Perhaps the minutes note for June 27, 1884 that the Trustees voted that Dr. Callaway "be employed as agent to collect money for the Institute at his discretion" indicates that the plan had not worked out too well, and that Callaway needed work to do. The report of the secretary of the Augusta District Conference, which was in session during the last week in June, reveals something of the mood of the school's leaders. It states that Callaway and Walker reviewed their work at Paine and that they were "succeeding with but little demonstration of sympathy and help from the brethren, having heard Payne [sic] Institute prayed for in public service for the first time on the Saturday morning of Conference."

The second term of Paine Institute began on October 1, 1884, and the rented rooms seating "about seventy" were crowded. Most of the students were "teachers who were more or less advanced" in their work. The one great need was for more money. W. A. Candler asserted that "no mission enterprise of the church has accomplished as much good with as little money." The outlook was so promising that a third teacher, Miss Sallie Davis of Macon, was elected November 13, 1884.

The encouraging outlook preceded what has been called "the
most serious internal crisis" the institution had thus far faced. Meeting on November 27, 1884 in Atlanta at the session of the North Georgia Conference, Paine's two-year-old Board of Trustees had to act on the resignations of President Callaway, Professor Walker, and Trustee Candler. The first two were accepted and the third was laid on the table. The next day the Trustees met again; Walker was elected President, and Candler withdrew his resignation. No explanations of any of these actions are available. W. L. Graham, a black man long connected with Paine as a student and faculty member, was greatly impressed with the possibilities of this crisis. He noted that there were no Negro members of the Board present at either of these meetings to press their claims, and that this was an excellent opportunity for the white men "to bow out of an unpopular cause without loss of face." He was sure that had the resignations been accepted without further action it would have meant the end of the cooperative enterprise.

As it happened, the school came out of the crisis with a new President who was well suited to the task, and an able Commissioner of Education, W.C. Dunlap. The year 1885 marked better days for the frail institution, and Commissioner Dunlap's first letter to the *Wesleyan Advocate* gave abundant evidence of that fact. The manner in which Chandler went about his task as chairman of the Finance Committee was heartening. Through the Nashville *Advocate* he asked his church: "What will we do about the guilt and shame of the African slave trade?" He suggested that work at Paine could help atone for the South's guilt. There was "no use to theorize and whine about the unwisdom of educating Negroes." The Southern Methodist Church had better help raise $5,000 to secure property for Paine or it would incur additional guilt and shame for neglecting its duty.

Paine's first commencement exercises were held on Sunday, May 31, 1885, with Callaway, the former President, preaching. There were no graduates from the school until the next year. The Board of Trustees met on both the Saturday before and the Monday after commencement, and it was decided that regular annual meetings of the Board would be at commencement time. It was announced that the fall term would begin October 1, 1885, and that the three members of the faculty, President Walker, Professor Davis and Miss Sallie Davis, would be engaged in religious and special mission work during the summer. Commissioner Dunlap reported that he had received a total of $2,133.40 from December 1, 1884 to June 1, 1885.

Good news awaited Paine Trustees as they convened in August, 1885. It was then they learned that Moses U. Payne, a local preacher in Missouri, had offered the institution $25,000 for endowment. Haygood and Dunlap were appointed to visit Mr. Payne and arrange conditions of the donation.

In September, 1885, there appeared in both *Advocates* a very interesting communication about Paine. President Walker told about plans to open the school on the first Monday in October even though
there was no money in the treasury. He added that as far as the faculty was concerned the work would go on "because their hearts were in it." But the most interesting part of Walker's communication was his quotation from "a colored man's editorial." This quotation was from The Georgia Baptist, which had been established in Augusta in 1880 by William J. White, an official of the U. S. Internal Revenue Department and the pastor of Harmony Grove Baptist Church. This quotation gave a remarkable external view and evaluation of what the Methodists had done at Paine Institute "at this early day of freedom." A part of this quotation is as follows:

That such a religious body (the M.E. Church, South), composed largely of slave-holders in the past, should, at this early day of freedom undertake such a work (Paine Institute), giving not only of their means for its support, but also putting at its head some of the best minds of their own number, is an illustration of the grace of God in the human heart not to be gainsayed, and that must cast a beam of hope on the future of our common country.

Paine's future looked promising in the fall of 1885. The gift of Mr. Payne, the determination of President Walker, and the dedication of Dunlap must have pleased Methodist leaders. In September, the Nashville Advocate eulogized Dunlap in these words: "Commissioner Dunlap recites the history of the enterprise he has in hand, prays, sings, and rejoices at its brightening prospects." And the prospects were brightening, for early the next year the Trustees bought the Douglas place in the Woodlawn section of Augusta for $8,000 and pushed with enthusiasm a financial drive.

As the 1886 session of the General Conference of the southern Church drew near, the Nashville Advocate pointed out that "strictly speaking, we have no connectional educational institution or officer save the Paine Institute and its Commissioner." Bishop C. H. Phillips was fraternal messenger from the C.M.E. Church, and he urged the conference to put Lane Institute on the same basis as Paine Institute. The Conference took no special action in relation to Paine Institute, except to recognize the gift of Moses Payne and to urge that the school receive "the fostering care of the Church."

That same year, in May 1886, the C.M.E General Conference met in Augusta, and while there visited the new Paine campus. Shortly thereafter the school held its commencement, this time with seven graduates, all from the Normal Department: Ella L. Burdette, Sarah M. Curry, Thomas Cottin, Charles A. Dryscoll, John W. Gilbert, Kate M. Holsey, and Carrie M. Wigfall. Dunlap commented that this was probably the first class of colored youths to graduate from a "distinctly Southern institution of learning." The Commencement preacher was Bishop William Wallace Duncan of the Southern Church, and at the annual Trustee meeting he was elected chairman of the Board to succeed the late Dr. Evans.

A third great crisis in the early history of Paine Institute came in 1888. In May of that year the Trustees met in Warren Candler's office in the Methodist Publishing House in Nashville (at the time Candler was Associate Editor of the Nashville Advocate), and
authorized the President to employ on the Paine faculty John Wesley Gilbert, a black man who had graduated from Paine and Brown University. The minutes noted that if Professor C. H. Carson, Jr. resigned, then R. L. Campbell was to be employed in his place. In a letter to the *Wesleyan Advocate* the preceding December, Carson had publicly stated his opposition to a Negro teacher being on the faculty of Paine. When the Board convened in Augusta on June 6, 1888 for its annual meeting, it accepted Carson's resignation. It is difficult to comprehend the importance of this step which made the faculty of Paine bi-racial. There is no record of the struggle that preceded this important decision. The minutes record simply that President Walker "stated why he needed a colored teacher on the faculty," but the reasons he gave are not recorded.

After the meeting Dunlap wrote that the Board had acted wisely, that Dr. Walker "has the utmost confidence in Gilbert," and that he says "he can do a great work among the colored people." In opposition, Carson spoke of the Trustees action as "revolutionary in the light of Southern customs." According to the record, Walker was determined to have Gilbert, and no one except Carson opposed him. In announcing the action in the *Advocate*, Dunlap violated a Southern taboo of the time in saying that "Mr. Gilbert stood twelfth in a class of sixty" at Brown University. Twice in this article, he used the courtesy title "Mr. Gilbert." On the basis of what had happened in 1883, an outburst of opposition should have followed such action. But if there was any outspoken opposition, it did not find its way into the columns of the *Wesleyan Advocate*.

The controvery over Gilbert's appointment tends to overshadow other important items of business at the Trustees meeting of June 6, 1888. Dunlap reported that the debt on the property had been paid in full, and that the most important condition for receiving Payne's endowment had now been met. The Board met again the next day and voted to pay the salary of a Southern white Methodist minister to serve as President of Lane Institute in Jackson, Tennessee. As if Walker had not had enough excitement in the past few days, he and Miss Sue Goodrich were married that Thursday afternoon after the Board meeting, by the chairman of the Board.

The struggles and excitement of the first six years of the institution's life subsided after 1888. Under the firm and steady leadership of President Walker, the school prospered and developed an orderly routine. In 1889, President Walker was able to report to the annual Board meeting that the school had passed through its most prosperous year. The facilities though inadequate were usable, and minor improvements were made from time to time. Walker seemed to have the ability to make the best use of limited resources. The endowment was not large, but with good management it was sufficient to avoid the dire financial straits of the past. In his report to the Southern General Conference in St. Louis in 1890, President Walker stated: "The Paine Institute . . . is a successful operation."

Paine began its work with a Normal department, and only gradu-
ally did it develop a "College" department. While the records are not complete on the subject, it appears that President Walker made an effort to develop a college program as early as 1888. At that time special instructions were given to advanced students on an individual basis. However, it was not until 1897 that Bishop Holsey made his first motion in a Board meeting to change the name of the school to Paine College. The secretary recorded that after "much discussion" Bishop Holsey withdrew his motion. Four years later in 1901, Bishop Holsey again moved to amend the Charter which was coming up for renewal in two years by changing the word "Institute" to "College." This time the Board gave its approval. Evidently the Trustees thought that by this time there had been enough development of the college program to justify the change. The petition to amend the Charter was filed in the Superior Court of Richmond County, Georgia on May 1, 1902; and it was acted on favorably on July 11, 1902 to take effect June 19, 1903.

The most momentous development in the period in which Paine was becoming a "college" in name was the decision of the Woman's Home Mission Board of the Southern Church in 1901 to establish a project for girls as an "annex" to the Paine campus.

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By way of summary, Paine Institute was begun with great enthusiasm in 1882. In 1883 came the first great crisis. The race question was raised vividly, and the proposed school for black people to be supported largely by white Southern Methodists came under stern attack in the church press. For a time it seemed that the school would die without having been born. But it actually did come to feeble birth in January 1884.

The second crisis came in November 1884, when three of the most important white leaders simultaneously offered their resignations. Emerging from this crisis with a new President, Paine was stronger except for its finances, which continued in a miserable condition until Payne's endowment gift of $25,000 was received.

The third and last of the school's early major crises came in 1888 over the issue of electing a black man to the faculty. This move was made against outspoken opposition, but it failed to provoke any substantial controversy. Actually it proved a means of strengthening the school.

Before 1889 there had been the constant question as to whether the institution would survive. By 1890, however, it was fairly well rooted. During the 1890's it developed into a "college" at least in name.

Note on sources: The basic sources for this study were the handwritten "Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Paine Institute," 1882-1903, and the Annual Catalogue, published annually beginning in 1887. Most of the early catalogues have been destroyed by fire since this study was made. The second most important source was the Advocates: Wesleyan Christian Advocate, 1880-1903, official organ
of Methodism in Georgia, and the Nashville Christian Advocate, official organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Both of these were published weekly. A third important source was the Official Journals of the General Conference of the M.E. Church, South, and of the North and South Georgia Annual Conferences.


Two unpublished doctoral dissertations were studied in detail and found very helpful for this study: Judson C. Ward, Jr., "Georgia Under the Bourbon Democrats, 1872-1890" (University of North Carolina, 1947), and William L. Graham, "Patterns of Intergroup Relations in the Cooperative Establishment, Control and Administration of Paine College (Georgia) by Southern Negro and White People: A Study of Intergroup Process" (New York University, 1955).

In spite of a diligent search, very few letters of any real value to this study were found. The greatest lack was the failure of this researcher to find records from the C.M.E. Church bearing on Paine Institute.